

# The Persistence of Indolence

Femicides in Puerto Rico

2014-2018



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Gracias, Carmen.

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# The Persistence of Indolence

## Femicides in Puerto Rico

### EDITORIAL NOTE

Every seven days we go through it again. Another woman is murdered, not because she is involved in a violent business, not because she lives in a war zone, but for the mere fact of being a woman in a deeply unequal country. For years we have studied this tragedy from our diverse spaces of struggle, sought to uncover the true data that the authorities aim to conceal, urgently called for action, tried to comprehend the dimensions of femicides in our country, looking for public policy solutions, and executed community strategies of prevention, education, and activism.

During the past decade, since the conceptual dismantling of the Office of the Women's Advocate, it has become increasingly difficult to know, in fact, how many femicides occur in Puerto Rico.

We started conceiving this study a few years ago, when we met Carmen Castelló and her project, Seguimiento de Casos [Case Tracking]. When we noticed the strictness with which Carmen collected the femicide data from Puerto Rico's press outlets, we saw that her work contained the seeds of a great contribution.

When we finally had the opportunity, the context, and collaborative resources to carry out research that could take us closer to the real amount of femicides in our country, we undertook the task of managing said investigation. Undoubtedly, a scientific study had to be performed by seizing the data archives garnered by Seguimiento de Casos.

That is how this collaboration between Proyecto Matria and Kilómetro Cero started, which earned the support of Oxfam America. *The Persistence of Indolence: Femicides in Puerto Rico 2014-2018* is a scientific study that analyzes the available femicide data to understand its dimensions, establish incidence rates, how they compare to those of other countries, and to make public policy recommendations regarding the scope of the researched information. Furthermore, along with the report, we also published the first public database on femicides in Puerto Rico, which spans the years from 2014 to 2018, and which, we hope, can be updated continuously.

*The Persistence of Indolence* reveals, through more accurate data, a high average rate of femicides in Puerto Rico, comparable to the Dominican Republic and Peru; and very high rates among the women with lower financial and educational resources. From a human rights perspective, this painful reality now becomes another engine to propel the equality we dream of.

We hope that this research serves as scientific support and investigative inspiration to the organizations, activists, and scholars who, throughout the years, have been entrusted with the difficult task of creating awareness in Puerto Rico regarding gender violence.

For us, the greatest cause of violence against women rests on the constant influence of conservative and patriarchal thought in government structures, and the latter's lack of will to advance an equality agenda. We have not the slightest doubt that equality is the best antidote against gender violence, and without it, femicides will continue being a tragic reality here. Therefore, those of us who fight for women's peace and security, will continue insisting on the liberating strategies of feminism to effect and transform the lives of women in our country.

Amárilis Pagán Jímenez and Mari Mari Narváez  
Proyecto Matria and Kilómetro Cero

# The Persistence of Indolence

## Femicides in Puerto Rico

### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report comes as a reaction to the marked and systemic indolence shown by governmental agencies (the Puerto Rico Police, Department of Justice, Office of Courts Administration, Department of Health, and Bureau of Forensic Sciences) in rigorously documenting femicides in Puerto Rico, disclosing it to the citizenry, and enforcing measures to prevent them.

This report aims to document femicides in Puerto Rico through the use of international comparison standards and to promote public policy recommendations to reduce or eradicate the phenomenon. The study was documented from a public health perspective; we analyzed femicides by way of concepts and methods typically used to detect patterns and mortality trends.

Femicides are defined in accordance with the classification of the European Institute for Gender Equality: the murder of women as a result of intimate partner violence or the death of a woman as a result of any practice damaging to them, regardless of the motivations leading said action (Eige, 2017, p. 5). Under the definition, we include women who are murdered by partners, ex-partners, or unknown assailants.

We identified and analyzed 266 femicide cases from 2014 to 2018, incorporating news articles, mortality data from the Vital Statistics Registry of Puerto Rico, and demographic information from the United States Census as our data sources. We were unable to include data from the Police due to its unwillingness to disclose data related to individual cases. However, we were able to compare Police statistics of murdered women with the data we collected, to find that the Police reported from 11% to 27% less murdered women per year than the results of this investigation. Errors of such magnitude year after year prove that the Police neither updates nor is interested in verifying the validity of its own records.

In Puerto Rico, 1 femicide occurs every 7 days. This is tantamount to an average femicide rate of 3.00 femicides per every 100,000 women. According to the classification used in the **Global Burden of Armed Violence, Every Body Counts** report, rates greater than 3.00 femicides per each 100,000 women are high. In fact, it was proven that Puerto Rico is among the countries with the highest femicide rates, along with the Dominican Republic (3.2) and Peru (3.3). We also compared it to the United States, where the federal government does not classify deaths according to the concept of femicide. However, it was observed that Puerto Rico had higher femicides rates than the United States from 2014 to 2017. When, compared to the 50 states and Washington D.C., Puerto Rico is in 13th place among the highest rates, tied with the state of Tennessee.

Women with a low level of education have femicide rates almost 5 times higher than the average for their age group and women from the ages of 25 to 34 are at a higher risk than the rest. Femicides mainly occur in women's own homes or those of family members, and 58% are murdered with firearms.

As a discipline, public health demands that we identify and promote courses of action geared towards reducing and eventually eradicating femicides. On the basis of empirical evidence, we conclude this report with 6 recommendations to reduce and eradicate femicides in Puerto Rico:

Create a femicide watch system,

Train health staff and other professionals,

Train members of the Police, the Courts, and other public order agencies,

Increase the investigation and prevention of femicides,

Reduce the availability and possession of weapons,

Promote social and gender equality and a culture that censures violence.

# The Persistence of Indolence

## Femicides in Puerto Rico

*Unless there is accurate and comparable data collection on a given crime, there will be no proper understanding of it and no effective strategy with which to combat it.*

Academic Council on the United Nations System,  
*Establishing a Femicide Watch in Every Country*, 2017

Yalitxa died at the age of 16 after being shot several times during the early morning hours. A man also died in the same incident and three people were injured. These homicides occurred in front of a baseball park in the municipality of Yabucoa in 2016<sup>1</sup>.

Maritza's corpse appeared in a river after one of the accomplices confessed to the crime. Two men and a woman were accused of the crime committed when Maritza worked as a nurse at the home of a patient in Sabana Grande in 2017.

Francheska worked as a cashier in a supermarket. She would have been 28 the next day, had she not been strangled by her intimate partner. Her corpse was found in her home in Coamo in 2018. The Police classified the incident as a murder-suicide.

These cases evidence the murders of women who are underage and of legal age, with or without a college education, whose murders occurred in public places or in their homes, during work hours or in the early morning hours. Among their assailants, there are intimate partners, persons known or unknown to them, there are those who use firearms and those who use their own hands to commit the crime.

...

At a public hearing of the Puerto Rico Senate Committee on Women's Issues in February 2019, a female lieutenant from the Domestic Violence Division, a male lieutenant from the Criminal Investigations Auxiliary Superintendence, and a male sergeant from the Homicide Division of the Puerto Rico Police presented data on the murder of women (Caro González, 2019). Members of the senate committee questioned why, in half of the 51 cases of murdered women in 2018, the Police had not been able to identify the motive of the crime. A female senator considered unacceptable that these statistics take more than a year to be updated and made public, which could easily be done on a monthly basis. The female lieutenant stated that they have been trying to update the statistics monthly, but they have faced hardship because the technology required is "onerous." The male sergeant affirmed that "we're still waiting" for the results of autopsies pending before the Bureau of Forensic Sciences. At the hearing, a female prosecutor from the

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1. Information on this and subsequent cases is available in the public access database that accompanies this report.

Domestic Violence and Child Abuse Specialized Unit of the Department of Justice stated that, out of the 23 misogynistic murders perpetrated last year (by intimate partners), judgment was only rendered in one case, and that 10 cases were closed because the perpetrator committed suicide after committing the murder<sup>2</sup>.

What was inexplicable was the Police's unbelievable statement that, out of the 51 women murdered, none was a femicide. This statement reveals an unjustifiable lack of awareness by those who hold management positions and are in charge of investigations related to violence against and murder of women. The assertion reveals the persistence of indolence of the Puerto Rico Police regarding the different forms of gender violence.

The Police force is indifferent in its lack of diligence to renew its practice of collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and disclosing the statistics of murdered women in accordance with broadly used international standards. In 2019, a diligent police unit would have modified its practice after observing that, for decades, any murder of a woman by her husband, partner, ex-husband, or ex-partner, has been classified as a form of femicide (Widyono, 2019). At the height of 2019, classifying murders as crimes of "passion" (see Appendix 1) shows the persistent use of obsolete and offensive categories, which international bodies categorically reject (EIGE, 2017). It is unacceptable for the Police to justify problems as if they were technological in nature, to then argue that adopting these practices is onerous.

...

This report comes as a reaction to the marked indolence of the different agencies of the State (Police, Department of Justice, Courts Administration, Department of Health, and the Bureau of Forensic Sciences) in documenting the situation of femicides in Puerto Rico rigorously and disclosing it to the citizenry. The collection and analysis of femicide data constitute fundamental tools to determine the magnitude of the problem, understand its patterns and trends, and establish international comparisons that can help us evaluate the success and failure of prevention efforts.

Several international organizations, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and several United Nations agencies have made a call to document, address, and prevent femicides. This report's core objective is to document femicides in Puerto Rico through the use of international comparison standards, as a basis to formulate specific recommendations. This study is based on a public health perspective that analyzes the femicide phenomenon with the concepts and methods traditionally used to analyze mortality patterns and trends.

## **Femicides are a Public Health Priority**

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The WHO considers violence a serious threat to local and global public health and points out that these situations of violence include violence between intimate partners, youth violence, violence and negligence towards the elderly, sexual violence, self-inflicted violence, and collective violence (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, *et al*, 2002). The discipline of public health has developed

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2. Our investigation has found that there were 11 cases of murder-suicide in 2018, according to the review of press articles.

methods to quantify the magnitude of the violence phenomenon and to identify patterns and trends. The public health mission demands paying particular attention to equity in health, and thus, identifying specific populations facing disproportionate situations of violence is a priority. When examining violence from a perspective of equity in health, it is necessary to explore the structural causes of the phenomenon, issues that tend to go unnoticed.

The femicide phenomenon has been explicitly recognized by the WHO as the most extreme case of all the forms of gender violence (WHO, 2012). This report complies with two of the fundamental functions of public health: (a) to make a critical diagnosis of the situation, and (b) to propose public policies to address the situation (Institute of Medicine, 2002). We grouped the objectives of this investigation under those two functions.

Through the use of diverse data sources—such as press coverage of the cases, annual mortality databases from the Vital Statistics Registry, and the data compiled by the Puerto Rico Police Police—this study aims to fulfill four objectives (see box, **Study Objectives**).

This report does not aim to make a quantitative description in isolation from public policy standpoints. To the contrary, promoting public health requires identifying and defending courses of action that promote a consistent decrease and the eventual eradication of femicides.

### Study Objectives

#### To make a critical diagnosis of the situation from 2014 to 2018

1. To estimate the magnitude of femicides in Puerto Rico, trends throughout the years, patterns in diverse groups of women (according to age and education), and to identify some of their characteristics.
2. To make databases containing information on femicides available for public use.
3. To identify deficiencies in official governmental information sources on femicides.

#### To develop public policies

4. To outline a series of recommendations to adequately address the situation of femicides.

### Definitions of Femicide

In the English-speaking world, the term **femicide** was used for the first time as a sociological concept in 1976, to emphasize the political aspect of women murdered by men (Russel, 2008). In the Spanish-speaking world, the term **feminicidio** was coined by Marcela Lagarde in the context of a committee of the Cámara de Diputados de México, which, in 2005, studied murders of women in Ciudad Juárez. The murders of women occur in contexts so diverse in modern societies that they challenge the adoption of a single concept useful for all historical, social, and cultural circumstances in which they occur (Russel, 2006). Femicide, in its broadest context,

The term **feminicidio** was incorporated to the *Diccionario de la lengua española* by La Real Academia Española in its 2014 edition

refers to any murder of a woman, regardless of the motives for the crime or the relationship between victim and assailant (Campbell and Ryan, 1998). This contrasts with the term's strictest sense, the murder of a woman for being a woman (Russell, 2006), that is, because of contempt, resentment, hostility, or misogyny. (See box, ***The Contempt Toward Abandoned Bodies***).

The concept of femicide should not be understood as a term that simply specifies the victim's sex, but as an event that represents the culmination of gender violence against women (Lagarde, 2006, p.12). It is so illustrated by Sandra's case, who was murdered in 2016 by her husband on her balcony with a firearm, after several incidents of domestic violence and after one of the complaints that she filed against him was dismissed. This is also observed in Arelis's case, who was murdered by her ex-partner with a knife in 2017, despite having a protection order in force after several incidents of domestic violence.

### **Contempt for Abandoned Bodies**

**Noemí**'s body was found in a garbage container in Vega Baja with stab wounds and evidence of strangling (2016) • **Milagros** was found on a Luquillo riverbed, with abrasions on her body (2017) • **Maritza**'s strangled corpse was thrown into a river and found in Hormigueros (2017) • **Xiomara**'s body showed bullet wounds and was found inside an abandoned residence in San Juan (2017) • **Edith** was raped and strangled, and her body was found in a state of decomposition in an abandoned residence in Juana Díaz (2018) • **Valerie** was stabbed, her throat was slit, and her corpse appeared on a lakeshore in Adjuntas (2018) •

(Note: the data related to these cases appears in the database attached to this report. This database is based on the work of Carmen Castelló.)

The concept of femicide also carries an accusation against the State, for its negligence in guaranteeing the life and security of women, and for its lack of interest in solving the cases, access to justice, disclosure of truth, and reparation of damages (Lagarde, 2006, p.12). The impunity with which State officials operate can be seen in the lack of consequences for those who decide to ignore or violate regulatory or legal provisions. The State's indolence in its dissemination of the truth gains a particular form when it repeatedly classifies the cause of death of murdered women as "cause of death ill-defined or imprecise." The local press has described the causes of death in several murders of women (such as those in which women have been killed with firearms), and thus, it is difficult to understand why the Bureau of Forensic Sciences classifies them as "ill-defined or imprecise."

The Department of Health uses the international Statistical Classification of Diseases (ICD-10) to identify the causes of mortality and disease. Within the system, murders of women are not classified as femicides, and are not even classified by gender or domestic violence. However, the use of the "ill-defined or imprecise" classification by the Bureau of Forensic Sciences as a generic category is unacceptable in cases in which the cause of death can be determined. The effect of resorting to this category indiscriminately renders violence against women invisible. (see Table 1)

**Table 1**  
**What does the press say when the Vital Statistics Registry  
does not inform the cause of death?**

| Name and Age  | Year | Cause of death according to the Vital Statistics Registry | Form of death according to the press |
|---------------|------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Irette, 36    | 2015 | cause of death ill-defined or imprecise                   | firearm                              |
| Leia, 32      | 2015 | cause of death ill-defined or imprecise                   | burns                                |
| Laryaneliz, 1 | 2016 | cause of death ill-defined or imprecise                   | poisoning                            |
| Martha, 52    | 2017 | cause of death ill-defined or imprecise                   | beating                              |
| Maritza, 51   | 2018 | cause of death ill-defined or imprecise                   | firearm                              |

**Note:**

Information from the press is included in the public access database that accompanies this report. Vital Statistics Registry information comes from the annual mortality databases of said agency, whose causes of death are specified by the Bureau of Forensic Sciences. Press extracts were taken from El Nuevo Día, Primera Hora, El Vocero, Noticel, Telemundo, and Wapa.tv.

This is aggravated by the Police's resistance to provide individual information on the femicides specifying the characteristics of the incident. It bears clarifying that the Police routinely offers verbal information to the media in murder cases, in which the victim's name is released. However, the Police refuses to compile the information in a consistent manner and make it public, on a case-by-case basis, in an official report. Since the Police offers its information on the murders of women in aggregated form, using the categories of "domestic violence" and "passion," without specifying the name of the murdered woman, it is impossible to use Police data to estimate the amount of intimate partner femicides.

The indolence of State agencies (Police, Department of Justice, Office of Courts Administration, Department of Health, and the Bureau of Forensic Sciences) is also proven when they fail to comply with their own regulations and protocols. This is evidenced by Crucita's case, who was murdered in 2016 in her residence by her partner. Although her partner was under the Electronic Surveillance Program of the Pretrial Services Office, he was able to penetrate the established perimeter and enter Crucita's home without an immediate alert from the electronic system. The murder of Áurea in 2017 shows equal negligence displayed by the State. Despite the fact that an arrest warrant had been issued previously against the murderer for gender violence, the Police did not serve the order.

The **Glossary of definitions of rape, femicide, and intimate partner violence** (EIGE 2017, p.5) establishes that a difference must be made between the legal and statistical definitions of femicides,

as they are not equivalent. Statistical definitions tend to exclude certain elements of the legal statutes or criminal codes of each country, such as motive or intent, in order to make international comparisons possible. Furthermore, the availability of data in a country also affects the statistical definition of femicide to be used.

In this study we used the definition of femicide proposed by the **Glossary of definitions of rape, femicide, and intimate partner violence** (EIGE, 2017, p. 28), which is “The killing of a woman by an intimate partner and the death of a woman as a result of a practice that is harmful to women,” regardless of the motive behind the action. An intimate partner should be understood as a husband or partner, past or present, regardless of whether they lived together or had lived together in the same residence or whether they are of the same sex (Breiding et al, 2015). Aside from intimate partners, under the concept of femicides, we include women murdered by unknown assailants. The definition allowed us to do without any issue related to the intention of the action that caused the woman’s death.

### **To Start a Femicide Watch: 53 annual femicides and the Police's Non-Registry**

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In commemoration of the *International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women* in 2015, Dubravka Simonovic, United Nations Special Rapporteur for violence against women, made a call for each country to establish a “femicide watch” and “violence against women observatories” as part of a strategy to prevent the murders of women (ONU, 2016). When there is no institution whatsoever working as a femicide watch, Simonovic stated, the officials involved tend to erroneously identify femicides, hide them, or underestimate their numbers. Several femicide observatories have been developed in the Spanish-speaking world (see Appendix 2), based on the tradition of social observatories as institutions dedicated to the collection and analysis of data and to the exchange, reflection, and broadcasting of data on social phenomena (Angulo Marcial, 2009).

This report is fueled by the publications of two institutions that work as femicide observatories: *The Femicide Census* of the United Kingdom (Long, Harper, and Harvey, 2018) and the *Delegación de Gobierno para la Violencia de Género, del Ministerio de Sanidad de España* (Vives-Cases and Sanz-Barbero, 2017). With multiple years of research experience, both institutions quantify femicides based on diverse sources of information:

1. Press documents.
2. Health Authorities' official documents.
3. Police documents.
4. Judicial Proceedings Documents.
5. Voluntary citizen information channeled through Internet websites or other media.

***The Femicide Census: 2017*** (Long, Harper, and Harvey, 2018) collects data on women 14 years old and older, where a man is the main defendant or was convicted of the woman’s death. Information provided by the Police is its main data source, and then that information is supplemented by

public information from journalistic media, judicial proceedings, and voluntary information submitted through the Internet.

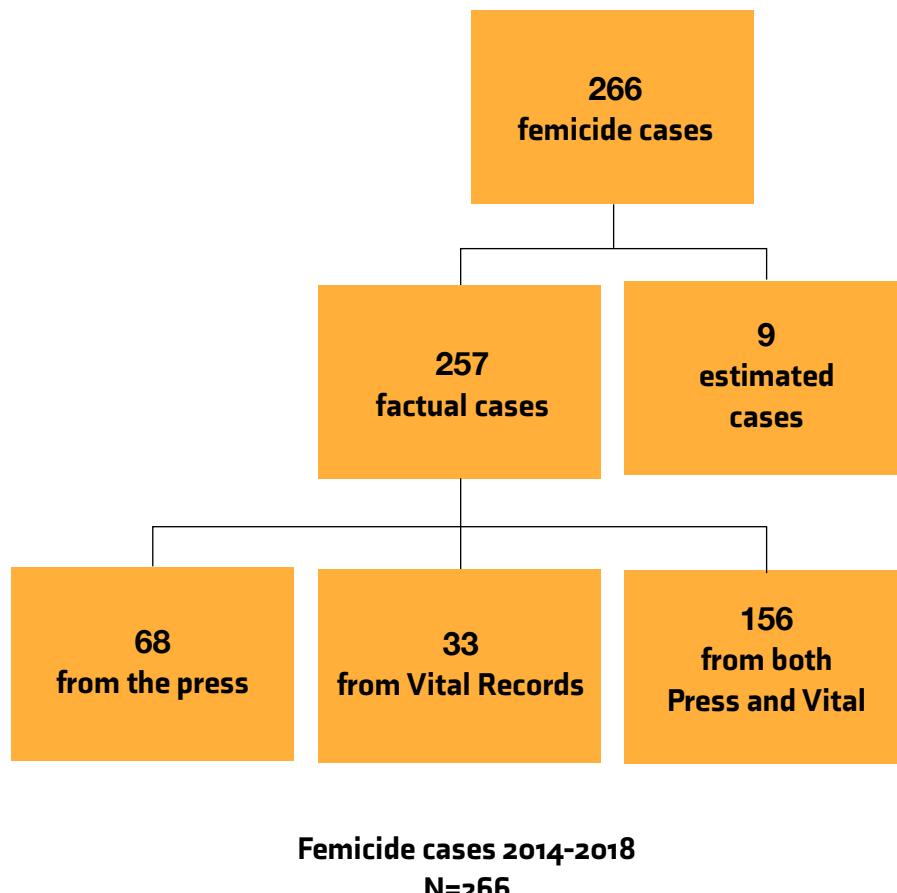
In this study, we start with journalistic data and then match it to the Vital Statistics Registry data. We cannot start with Police data due to its reticence to disseminate individual cases. Still far from an ideal femicide observatory such as those cited above, this study uses the following two data sources:

1. A documentary archive of journalistic coverage of femicides in Puerto Rico from 2014 to 2018.
2. A Vital Statistics Registry of Puerto Rico database on deaths for the years 2014-2018.

The number of cases arising from this data source combination appears in Diagram 1.

**Diagram 1**

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The documentary archive of the journalistic coverage was based on the initiative of Carmen Castelló, the retired social worker who compiled news articles on cases of femicides and women missing in Puerto Rico since 2011 to this day. Carmen Castelló's initiative, entitled **Seguimiento**

**de Casos**, identified articles from national newspapers (El Nuevo Día, El Vocero, and Primera Hora) and regional newspapers. Thanks to her generosity, we obtained access to her journalistic stockpile.

Our research team selected all the cases identified by **Seguimiento de Casos** for the years 2014-2018 and examined in detail the cases that occurred during the years 2016-2018. The sample consisted of 221 femicide cases for the years 2014-2018, which led to a total of 691 news articles. These articles offered information on the nature, method, and circumstances of the femicides, as well as the characteristics of the assailant and his or her relationship with the victim. When reviewing the articles, we found additional cases that had been included, increasing the total number of cases identified through news articles to 224.

On the basis of the press documents, we define femicide as those deaths of women caused by their spouses or ex-spouses, their partners or ex-partners, or which were caused by persons performing activities damaging to women, even if said persons are unknown to the victims. We exclude from femicide cases those instances in which the press notes the existence of a woman's corpse, alludes to a history of mental health problems, and does not provide evidence of violence in its narrative. We understand that in these cases, the journalistic narration suggests that the event may be classified as a suicide. We also excluded hit and run cases of women who were run over by motor vehicles on public thoroughfares.

As a result of a legal action for access to information filed by Kilómetro Cero, the Vital Statistics Registry of Puerto Rico, attached to the Department of Health, produced a database with information about all persons who died between 2014 and 2018, and part of 2019. This database contains individual information of the decedent (name and physical address, sex, age, education, occupation, etc.) and information on the circumstances of death (causes and type of death). The Bureau of Forensic Sciences of Puerto Rico submits information to the Vital Statistics Registry after examining the bodies and certifying the type of death (natural death, homicide, suicide, or pending an investigation). In this database, we defined as femicide the deaths of women that were classified as "homicides" under the "type of death."

The information of the cases identified by the press archive was matched to that of the Vital Statistics Registry, using the names of the deceased women along with other personal traits. We were able to successfully match 214 out of the 224 cases for the 2014-2018 period, contained in the press archive. When matching the cases, we eliminated the possibility of double counting, and in turn, we were able to add the information from the news articles to that of the Demographic Registry's mortality databases. The cases from the press archive (10 cases in 5 years) that could not be matched had to do with bodies that were not identified, typically abandoned in solitary places or on public thoroughfares.

In Puerto Rico,  
a (1) femicide  
occurs every

7  
days

The annual analysis for the 2014-2018 period appears in Table 2, where we classified femicide cases as concordant or discordant. The cases published by the press as violent deaths, and that were matched in the Vital Statistics Registry's database as homicides, constitute concordant cases. On the other hand, the cases that appear under other classifications in the Vital Statistics Registry, but which the press published as violent deaths, constitute discordant cases.

**Table 2**  
**Femicide Cases in Puerto Rico per information source**

| Femicide Cases                                     | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | TOTAL |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Matching cases                                     | 47   | 29   | 48   | 27   | 5    | 156   |
| Cases exclusively in the Vital Statistics Registry | 4    | 10   | 11   | 8    | 9*   | 42*   |
| Cases exclusively documented by the press          | 9    | 2    | 5    | 3    | 49   | 68    |
| TOTAL  | 60   | 41   | 64   | 38   | 63*  | 266*  |

\* Estimated data.

See Appendix 3: Methodological Appendix, for the computation of the estimated data

Vital Statistics Registry's femicide cases are the sum of the first two rows (concordant cases plus those exclusive of the Demographic Registry). The femicide cases of the press archive are the sum of the first and third rows (concordant cases plus those exclusively documented by the press). The *Appendix 3: Methodological Appendix* details the reasons and method to estimate the number of cases exclusively in the Vital Statistics Registry for 2018. The total number of 266 femicide cases in 5 years represents an average of 53 femicides in a year.

**Table 3**  
**Mistaken gender assignment on registered homicides Vital Records 2014-2018**

| Classified as women | Classified as men |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Edgar               | Rosa              |
| Giovanni Abel       | Silvia            |
| Javier              | Ashley            |
| Edgardo André       | Audeliz           |
| José Alberto        | Yeileen Zahir     |
| Miguel Ángel        | Jubilee           |
| James Alexander     | Diosly            |
| Christian David     | Nayr              |

As part of our analysis, we verified the quality of the Vital Statistics Registry's information in its gender codification (male or female) for all the homicide cases of men and women. For the years 2014-2018, we identified 16 codification errors corresponding to 8 men and 8 women (Table 3). After making the corresponding corrections, we proceeded with the analysis.

Our analysis took all the murders of women reported by the Police as if they were femicides (a term which the Police does not use). As would be expected of societies that do not have a femicide watchdog, multiple cases went unnoticed, were underestimated, or were concealed. For each year, the number of murders reported by the Police is less than that found by our study. This pattern evinces annual errors by the Puerto Rico Police of between 10% and 27% (See Table 4 and Graph 1.)

An error of a magnitude of 27%, detected by our team when reviewing the country's newspapers, is difficult to accept as the product of mere human error. Furthermore, when we observe that this type of error of such a considerable magnitude occurs year after year, it suggests that for years the Police Department itself has had no interest in corroborating the validity of its own numbers. Consistent errors of this magnitude imply that there are no reliable criteria for evaluating government performance.

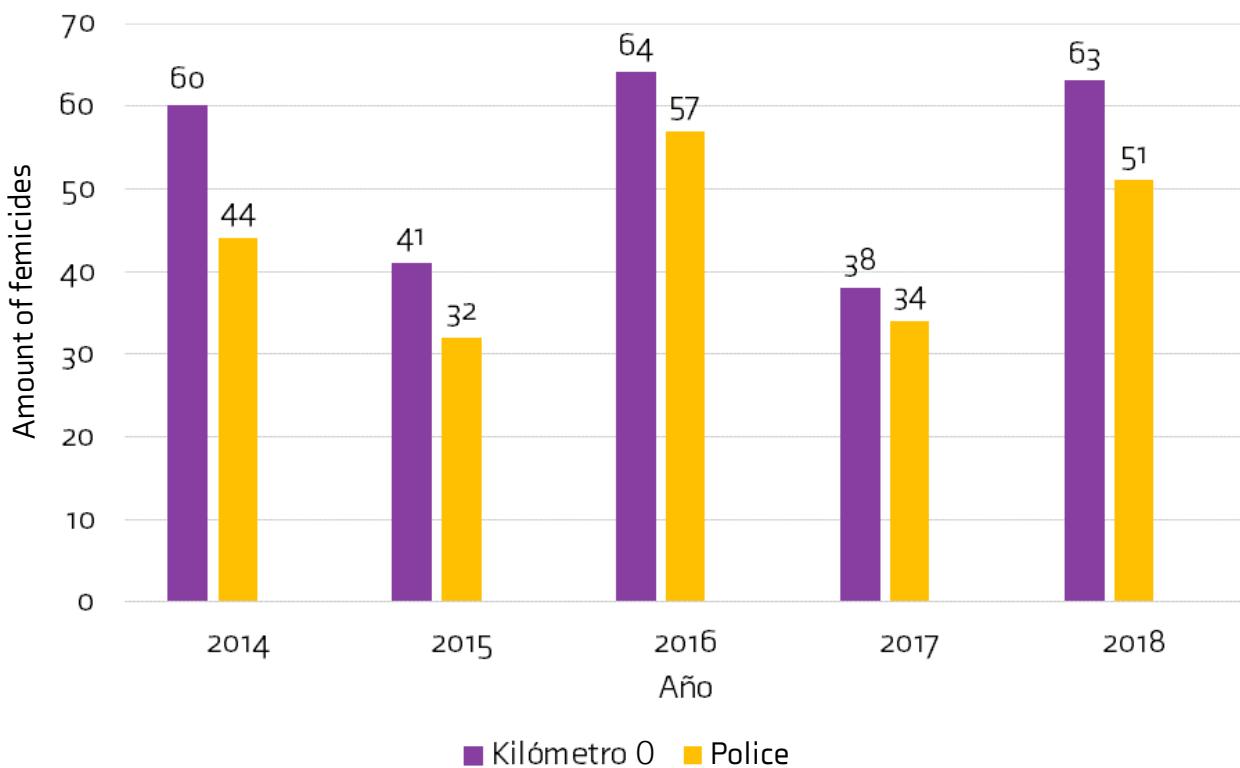
**Table 4**  
**Femicide cases in Puerto Rico by source**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Kilometer 0</b> | <b>Police</b> | <b>% not reported</b> |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 2014        | 60                 | 44            | 26.7                  |
| 2015        | 41                 | 32            | 22.0                  |
| 2016        | 64                 | 57            | 10.9                  |
| 2017        | 38                 | 34            | 10.5                  |
| 2018        | 63                 | 51            | 19.0                  |
| 2014-2018   | 266                | 218           | 18.5                  |

\*Police data appears in Appendix 1

$$\text{Percentage of not reported} = \frac{(\text{estimate of Kilómetro Cero} - \text{estimate of the Police})}{(\text{estimate of Kilómetro Cero})} \times 100$$

**Graphic 1**  
**Police underreports femicides**



### **Puerto Rico: Alarmingly High Levels of Femicides**

International reports on femicides use the “femicide” rate as the statistic that allows for valid comparisons. The femicide rate refers to the amount of femicides that occur in a certain, specific population in relation to the total amount of women that make up that population. To facilitate the calculations, it is common to establish the amount of 100,000 women in the population as a comparison level. The femicide rate is interpreted as the amount of femicides that occur for every 100,000 women in a particular group within the population.

**Table 5**  
**Femicide Rate (per 100 thousand women) Puerto Rico 2014-2018**

| Year       | Femicides | Population of Women | Rate |
|------------|-----------|---------------------|------|
| 2014       | 60.0      | 1,845,988           | 3.3  |
| 2015       | 41.0      | 1,816,838           | 2.3  |
| 2016       | 64.0      | 1,786,319           | 3.6  |
| 2017       | 38.0      | 1,744,350           | 2.2  |
| 2018       | 63.0      | 1,677,110           | 3.8  |
| 2014-2018* | 53.2      | 1,774,121           | 3.0  |

Note:

\* Represents an average for those years.

The population of women is extracted from the Puerto Rico population estimate, by age, for 2010-2018, U.S. Census Bureau (June 2019).

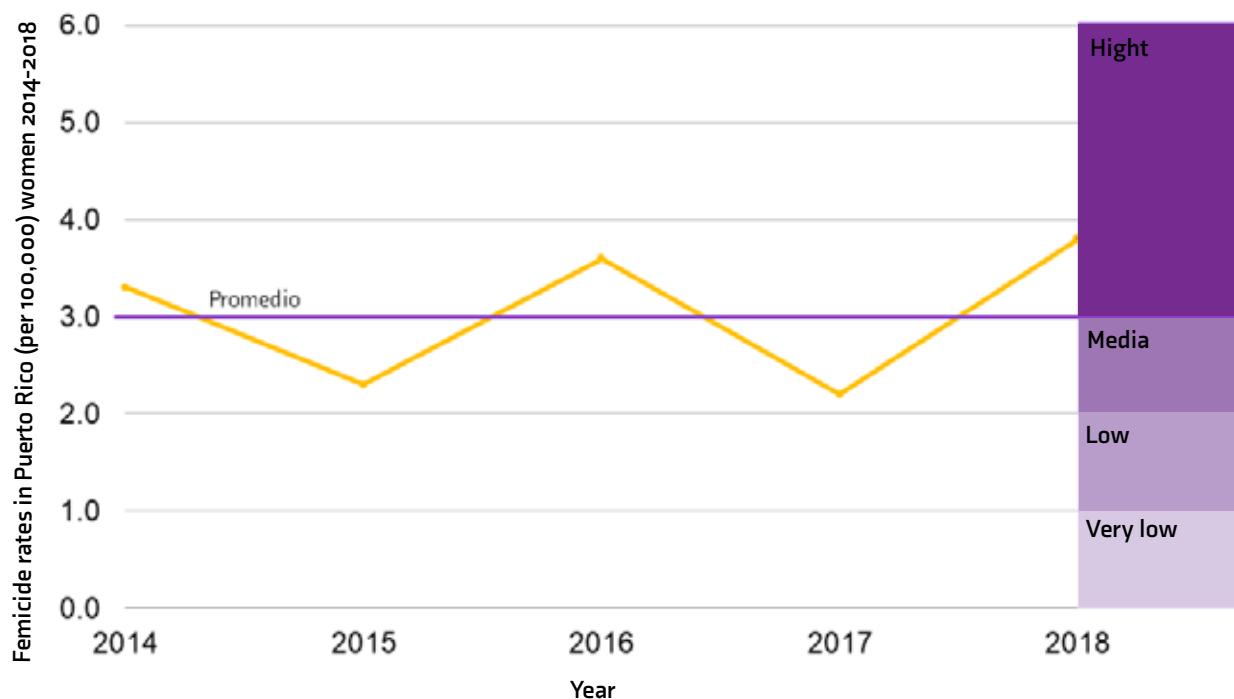
Table 5 shows a tabulation of the annual rates of femicides for Puerto Rico. For each year, it contains the cases of femicide and the estimated number of women per the US Census Bureau. The average femicide rate for the period between 2014-2018 is 3.0 for every 100,000 women.

The most recent report of the series entitled ***Global Burden of Armed Violence, Every Body Counts*** (2015) continues the practice of establishing a series of levels in the femicide rate for every 100,000 women:

- very low (between 0 and 0.9);
- low (between 1 and 1.9);
- medium (between 2 and 2.9);
- high (from 3 to 5.9)
- very high (more than 6).

These levels were established assuming the average global rate of 2.3 femicides. Under this method, rates between 3 and 6 are considered high. Puerto Rico compares unfavorably with the rest of the world, since it has registered high levels of femicides in recent years (See Graph 2).

**Graphic 2**  
**Femicide rates in Puerto Rico (per 100,000) women 2014-2018**



In the region of the Americas, there are countries with lower and higher rates of femicide than those of Puerto Rico (See Table 6).

**Table 6**  
**Femicide Rate Countries in the Americas**

| Country        | Rate |
|----------------|------|
| Canada         | 0.8  |
| Chile          | 1.0  |
| Ecuador        | 2.2  |
| Uruguay        | 2.4  |
| Guyana         | 2.6  |
| Puerto Rico    | 3.0  |
| Dominican Rep. | 3.2  |
| Peru           | 3.3  |
| Granada        | 5.6  |
| Belize         | 8.1  |
| Jamaica        | 9.3  |

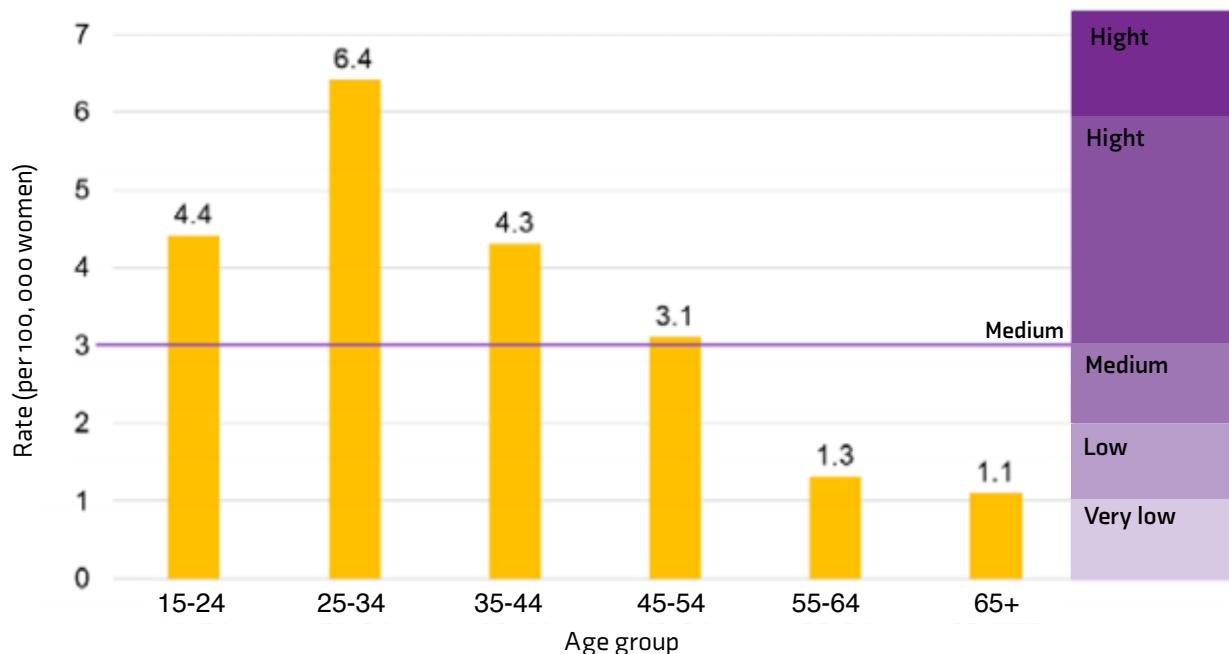
Source: UNODOC (2018), except Puerto Rico.

## All are at risk, but the risk is unequal

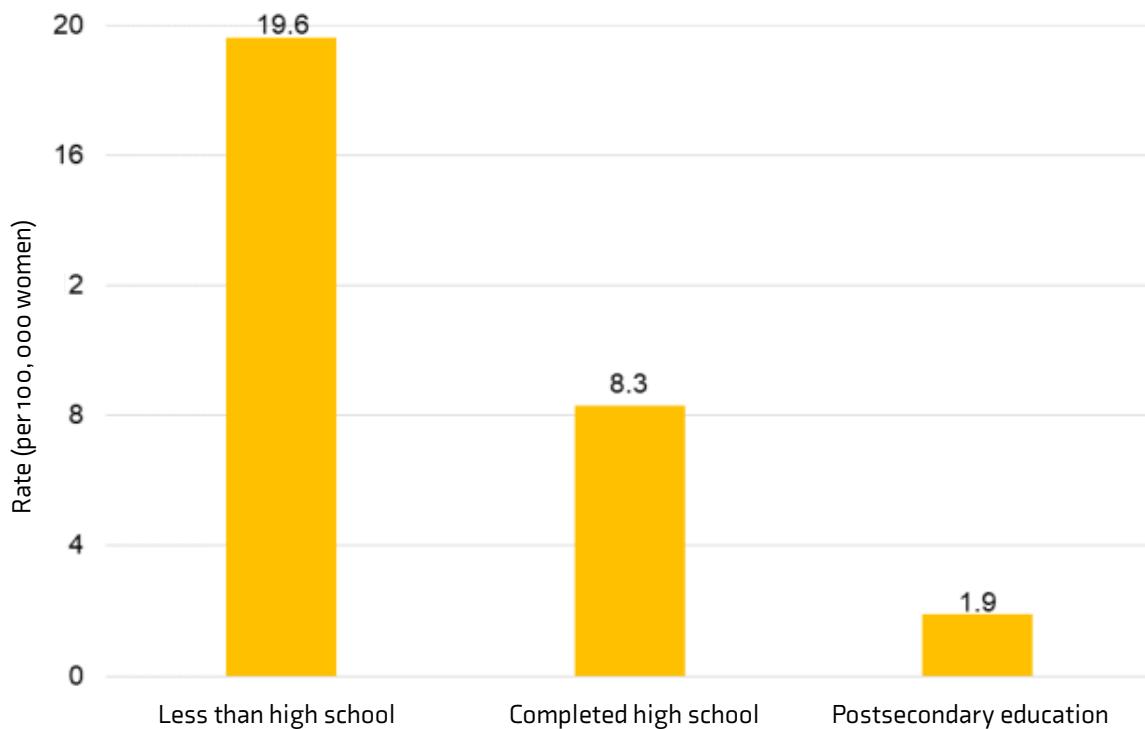
The statement that all women are at risk of being the victim of a femicide is correct and should not be discounted. However, this does not imply that the risk of being murdered is the same for all women. Previous research suggests that the risk of femicide depends on the individual attributes of the victims, as well as the attributes of the communities where they live. This report analyzes the attributes of the individuals with the hope that subsequent studies might analyze the social geography of femicides.

Aware that, in many countries, homicide patterns increase dramatically from the age of 15, both for men and for women (UNODOC, 2019, at 12), for this report, we studied the femicide rates for this age group. The femicide rates reveal a concerning pattern: women between the ages of 15 and 44 have a femicide rate that exceeds the average for Puerto Rico. (See Graph 3.) Among them, women between the ages of 25 and 34 display the most alarming rate, which is more than twice the average rate, thus placing them in the “very high” category.

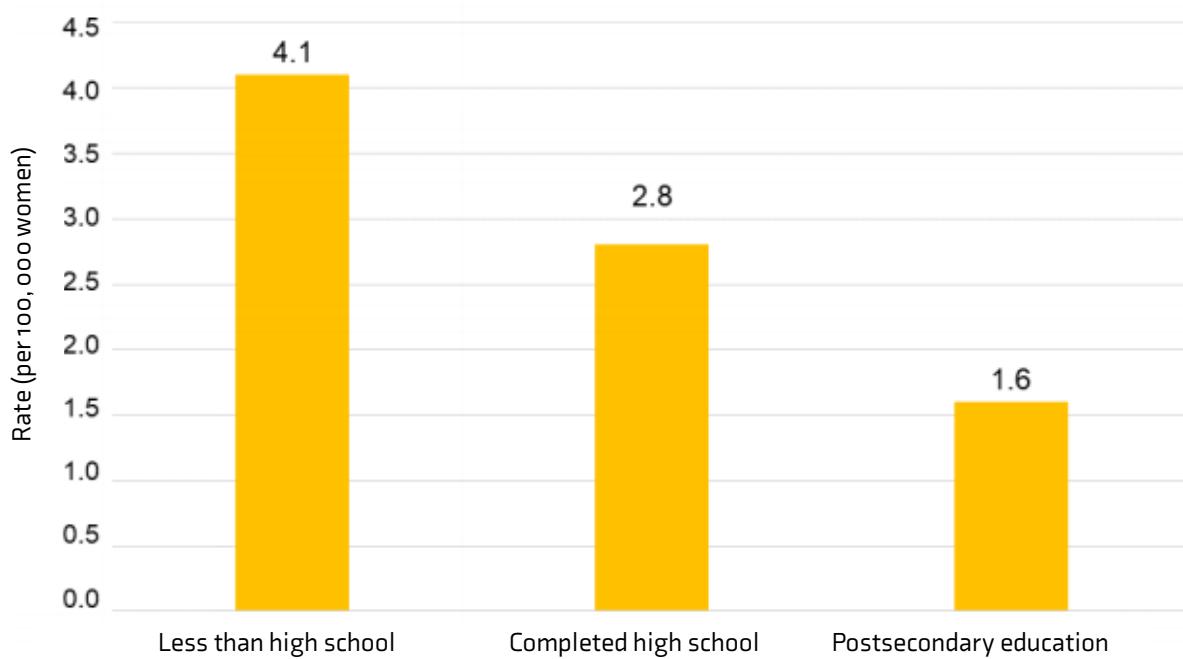
**Graphic 3**  
**Femicide rates in Puerto Rico by age group**



**Graphic 4**  
**Femicide rates in PR by education level, 2014-2018, in women ages 18-24.**



**Graphic 5**  
**Femicide rates in women by education level, 2014-2018, in women ages 25 or older.**



Previous research has identified low levels of education as a factor that is closely related to intimate partner violence (WHO, 2010). A low level of education is associated with the high femicide rate in Puerto Rico. The femicide rate for the 18 to 24 year old group (Graph 4) is 19.6 when subjects have not finished high school, which implies a risk that is almost 5 times the average risk of femicide for women of that age group. In all of our analysis, we found no group that is at a greater risk of femicide than this one. For women above the age of 25, the correlation that the greater their education, the lower their risk of femicide is maintained. (See Graph 5.)

The limitations of this report do not allow us to analyze in detail other factors related to education levels such as poverty or social class distinctions and their community or geographic dimensions. Subsequent investigative research may be able to distinguish whether education levels are actually just one indicator of a social reality of inequality that transcends dimensions and places certain groups of women at an even greater risk of femicide.

### **Home is not a safe space**

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Multiple studies have clearly established two differences between homicides of women and homicides of men. Femicides occur disproportionately in the home at the hands of partners, former partners, or acquaintances (UNODOC, 2018; UNODOC, 2019; Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, Abrahams & Campbell, 2013). The pattern for homicides of men is the complete opposite. The idea of the home and the community as safe or protective spaces or as refuges for individual for their families is simply not real for a majority of the women in the world. The data for Puerto Rico confirms this global tendency.

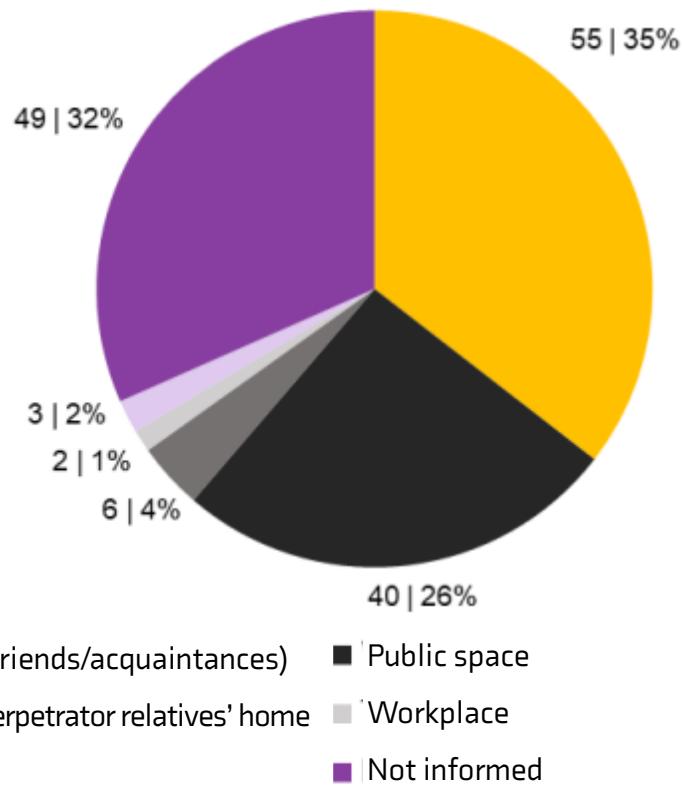
#### **Femicides in the Home and Community**

**Sonia** was shot while she slept at her home in Carolina. She died while receiving medical assistance (2014) · **Jessica** was shot while visiting her mother's home in Cayey, and she died on the porch (2014) · **Ileana** was shot by her neighbor in San Juan, the result of a dispute among neighbors (2014) · **Gladys** died at the hands of her nephew during a domestic dispute in Trujillo Alto (2015) · **Marisol** was shot while doing chores at her home in Bayamón (2017) · **Rosaura** was shot from an automobile while on the sidewalk in front of her home in Cayey (2018).

(Note: Information pertaining to these cases can be found in the data bank that is attached to this report. This data bank is based on the work of Carmen Castelló.)

We examined a subset of all the cases for the three most recent years (2016-2018) from our journalistic archive to analyze the locations where the femicides occurred. Out of 155 cases registered by the press, we found that 55 (35%) had occurred in the privacy of the woman's home or at the home of a family member and 40 cases (26%) that occurred on a public thoroughfare. (See Graph 6).

**Graphic 6**  
**Femicide by location**



### **Death at the hands of an intimate partner**

The relationship between victim and assailant in cases of femicide around the world is clear. The majority of these cases occur through the actions of their intimate partners or former partners, family members, or acquaintances. Global estimates for femicides where the assailant is the victim's partner or former partner or is a family member are expressed as rates for every 100,000 women (UNODOC, 2018). This rate is 1.2 for the Americas and 0.6 for Europe.

Some epidemiological calculations of intimate partner femicide rates begin counting cases at the age of 14 (Abrahams, Martín, Mathews, et al., 2009). In this study, femicides were accounted for from the age of 15. Our calculations for the intimate partner femicide rate for the United States, based on the data in the report entitled **When Men Murder Women** (2019), is 0.8/100 thousand women aged 15 years or more. (See Appendix 3: Methodological Appendix.)

From newspaper records for the years 2014-2018, we were able to obtain 247 cases of femicide that occurred to women at least 15 years of age. Of these, 91 cases included information on the assailant, and among these, 75 were perpetrated by an intimate partner (husband or ex-husband, partner or ex-partner). The average yearly rate of intimate partner femicide for Puerto Rico is 1.0 intimate partner femicides/100 thousand women 15 years of age and over. (See Table 7.)

**Table 7**  
**Proportion of intimate partner femicide: 2014-2018**

| Year       | Intimate partner femicides | Total | Rate of intimate partner femicide |
|------------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| 2014       | 16                         | 59    | 1.0                               |
| 2015       | 9                          | 41    | 0.6                               |
| 2016       | 13                         | 56    | 0.9                               |
| 2017       | 14                         | 37    | 0.9                               |
| 2018       | 23                         | 54    | 1.6                               |
| 2014-2018* | 75                         | 247   | 1.0                               |

Note

\* Represents an average for those years.

This data excludes cases of femicides on women younger than 15 years old

In 156 of the cases involving women aged 15 years and over, there is no information on the relationship between the victim and the assailant, which induces the calculation of intimate partner femicide rates that are lower than they actually are (underestimated rates). The problem of underestimating intimate partner femicide rates due to a dearth of information is not exclusive to Puerto Rico. This is common in countries where the investigative system stubbornly observes the elements of the offense as defined by law instead of obtaining broader information on possible assailants, their behaviors, and the circumstances of the femicides (UNODOC, 2018, p. 28). We can assume that, if there were more information regarding the assailants in those 156 cases, it is highly likely that the number of intimate partner femicides would increase considerably.

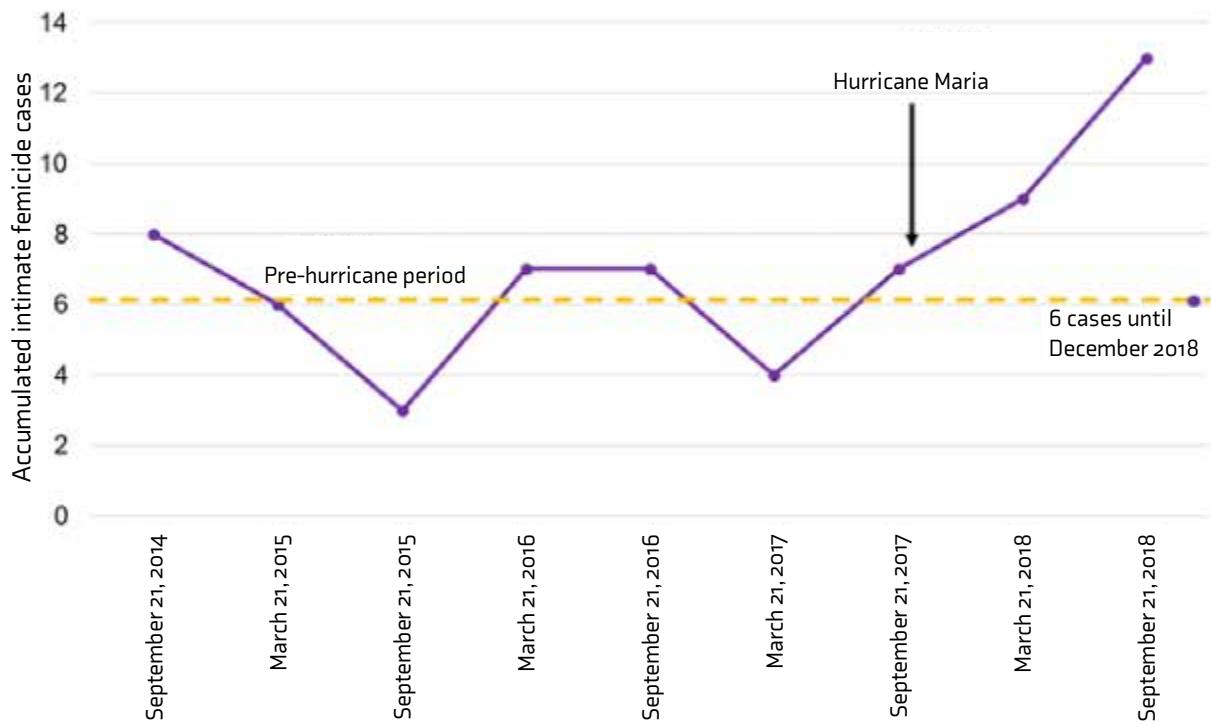
### **Did femicides increase following Hurricane Maria?**

Several scientific studies have documented a relation between natural disasters (tsunamis, earthquakes, hurricanes, floods) and an attendant increase in the levels of gender-based violence (Rezaeian, 2013). These studies typically obtain information through questionnaires or through the experiences of persons who have worked in shelters. We are not aware of any studies that have documented intimate partner femicides following a disaster event. In the aftermath of Hurricane Maria, we asked the question: did intimate partner femicides increase in the months that followed the hurricane?

To answer this question, we analyzed the pattern of deaths in accordance with the method of the epidemiological curve, which consisted of accounting for the cases and their grouping in time. Since the hurricane hit on September 20, 2017, we created six-month time intervals before and after September 21 of every year. Each interval begins either September 21 or March 21 of each year. (See Graph 7). The six-month intervals allowed us to identify patterns that, had we used

twelve-month intervals, might have been overlooked. This method does not require estimated population values like the calculation of the rate does.

**Graphic 7**  
**Comparison of intimate femicides by semester 2014-2018**



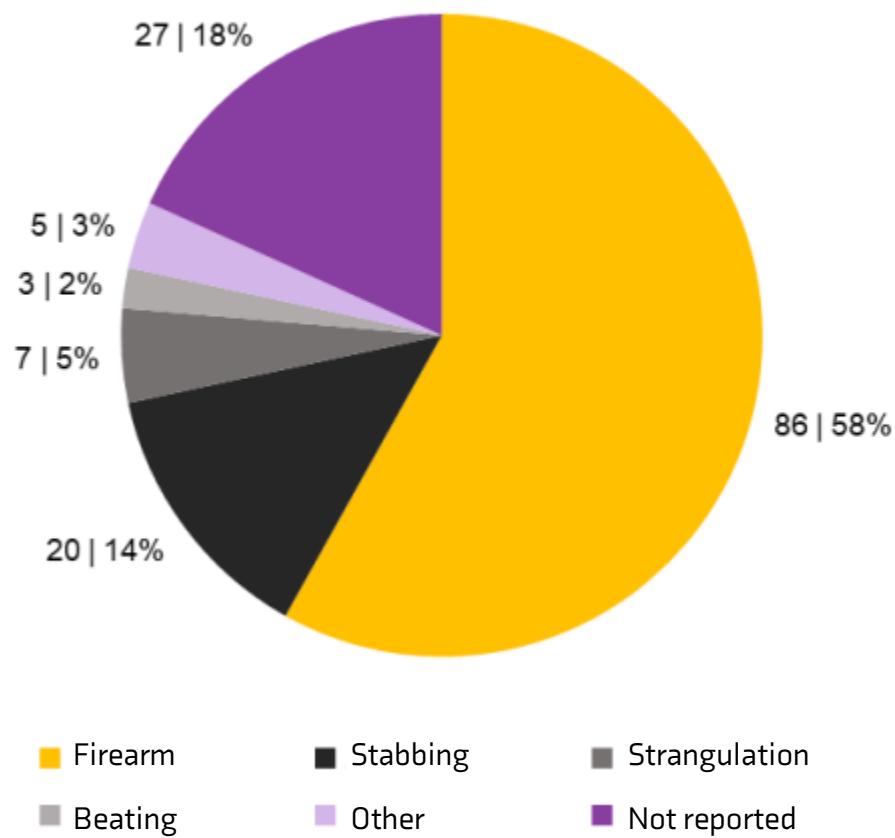
The epidemiological curve of intimate partner femicides (Graph 7) exhibits a fluctuating pattern from September 21, 2014 through September 21, 2017. From September 2017 on, there is a considerable increase that is not observed in previous years. The increase in the epidemiological curve is evidence that an event altered the established patterns. Since we did not have journalistic information after December 2018, we have no data to determine whether the ascending pattern was maintained or if it decreased.

Nevertheless, to identify the mechanisms that set off the increase in the post-hurricane period, we require additional sources of information. Through interviews with survivors of the disaster (Abrahams, Martin, Mathews, et al., 2009) or staff from aid organizations (Fisher, 2010), we can obtain information on, among other factors, how, in the post-disaster period (1) intimate partner relationships are overburdened due to the new challenges faced at home, work, and financially; (2) community support systems and governmental mechanisms of protection (Police or Court action) were disrupted or disappeared altogether; and (3) shelters and other places to turn to for help do not adopt practices for the proper protection of women's bodily and mental integrity.

## **Firearms do not protect women**

At a time when there is ongoing debate in Puerto Rico regarding the desirability of bills to deregulate access to firearms, it is clear that the majority of femicides (58%) are perpetrated through the use of firearms. (See Graph 8.) The mechanism used to carry out femicides displays a similar pattern in the United States, where there are few restrictions on access to firearms. It is estimated that, in the United States, the proportion of homicides against women where firearms were used reaches 54% (Petrosky, Blair, Betz, et al, 2017) or 56% (Violence Prevention Center, 2018). In Puerto Rico, a similar tendency as that observed in the United States can be confirmed (Wintemute GJ, Wright MA & Drake, 2003; Diaz, 2015, Chapter 3): firearms in the home do not tend to protect women and their families, rather they are used against them.

**Graphic 8**  
**Methods of femicide (%) 2016-2018 (N=148)**



Regarding firearms, we must underscore the experience of European countries where there is no market for weapons such as there is in the United States. Table 8 shows the very low femicide rates that these countries have as compared to Puerto Rico. When we observe the social factors associated with lower femicide rates—educational opportunities, less gender inequality,

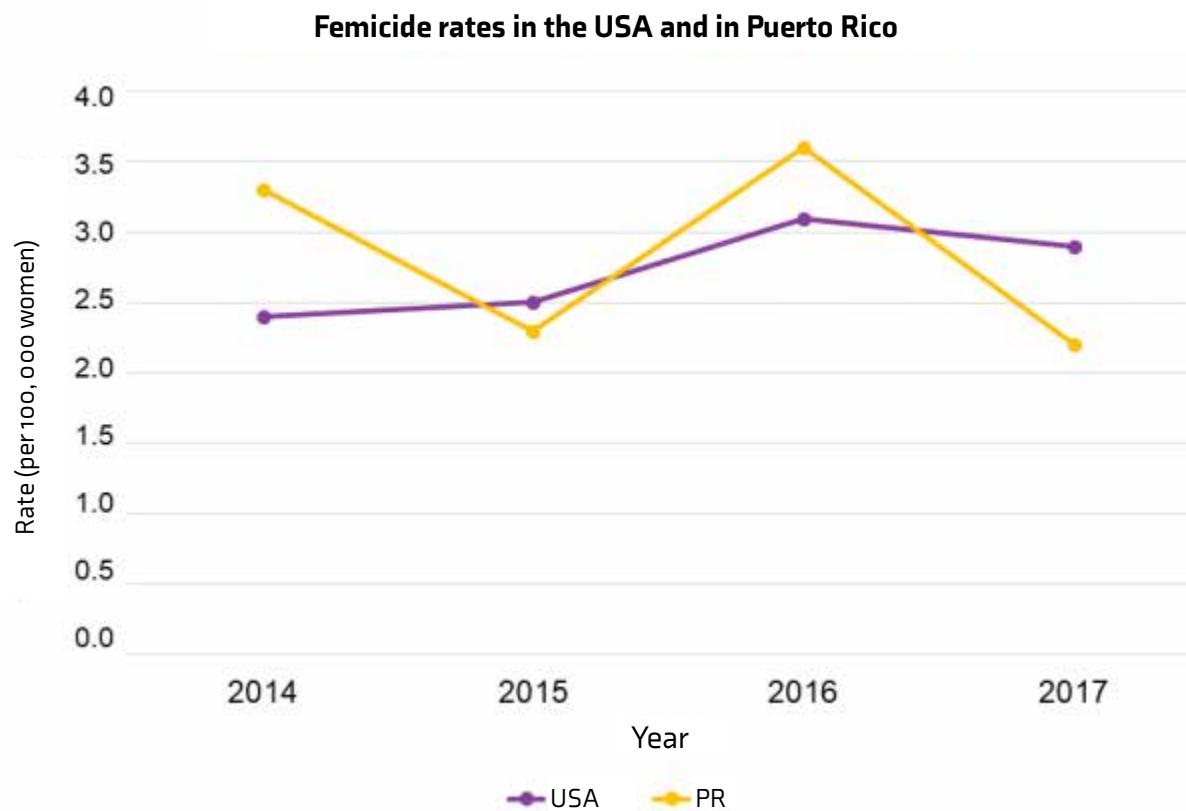
lower poverty, and low acceptance of violence (WHO, 2010, p. 27)—we find that these are also present in European countries. Nevertheless, a lack of a market for weapons is a factor worth highlighting.

**Table 8**  
**Rates of femicides in European countries (without weapons market)**

| <b>País</b>        | <b>tasa</b> |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Netherlands        | 0.4         |
| Spain              | 0.5         |
| Italy              | 0.5         |
| Iceland            | 0.6         |
| United Kingdom     | 0.6         |
| Switzerland        | 0.6         |
| Finland            | 0.8         |
| France             | 1.0         |
| Germany            | 1.1         |
| Hungary            | 1.6         |
| <b>Puerto Rico</b> | <b>3.0</b>  |

Source: UNODOC (2-18), except Puerto Rico

## Femicides: United States vs. Puerto Rico

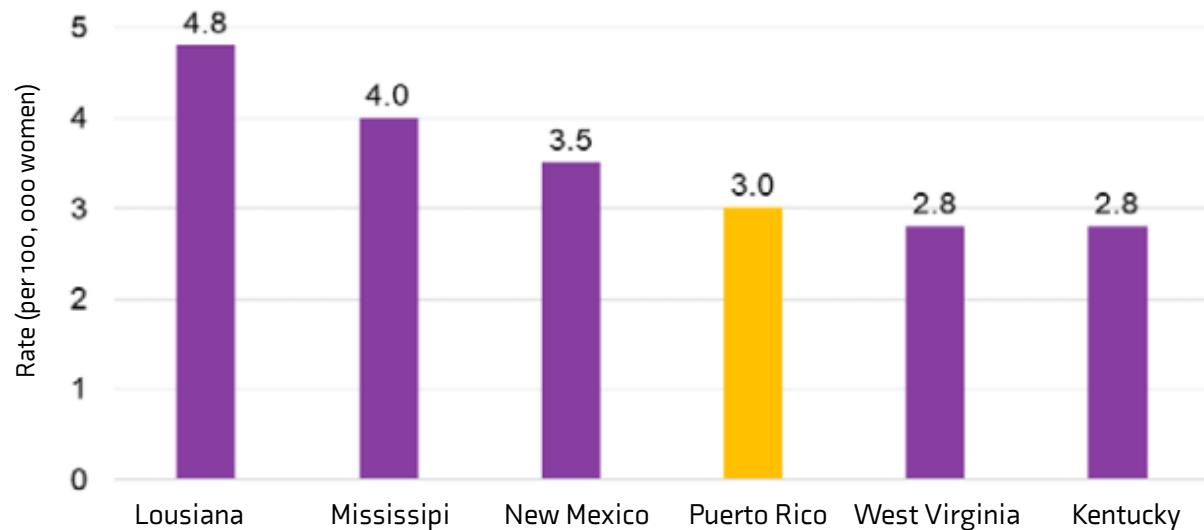


The femicide rates of Puerto Rico and the United States are relatively similar. Puerto Rico's rates were higher in 2014 and 2016.

Source for US data: The CDC's WONDER database

Puerto Rico is in the  
**13<sup>th</sup>**  
position with most femicides cases among the 52 US jurisdictions.

**Femicide rates in the 5 most impoverished jurisdictions  
in the US and in Puerto Rico.**



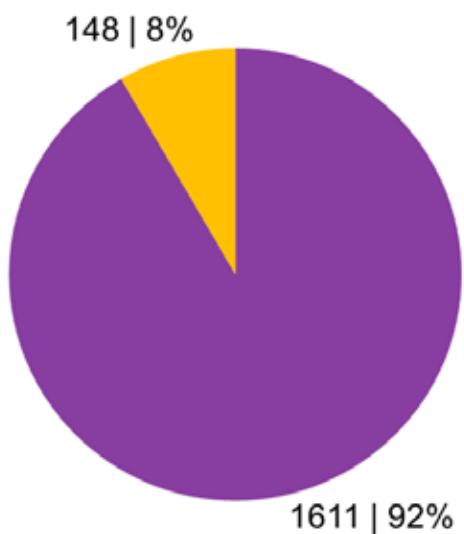
The Puerto Rico rate is in 4th place among the poorest US states.

Source for US data: The CDC's WONDER database: year 2017.

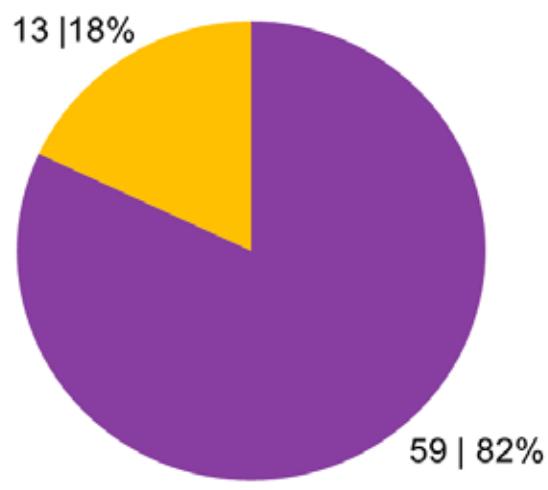
**Does the victim know her aggressor?**

- Known aggressor
- Unknown aggressor

**United States (2017)**



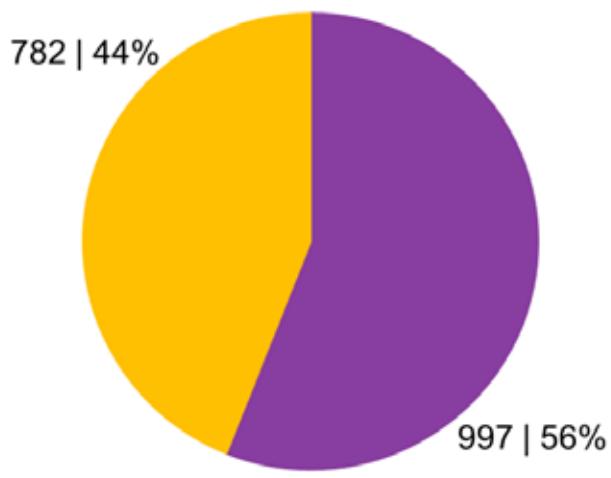
**Puerto Rico (2016-2018)**



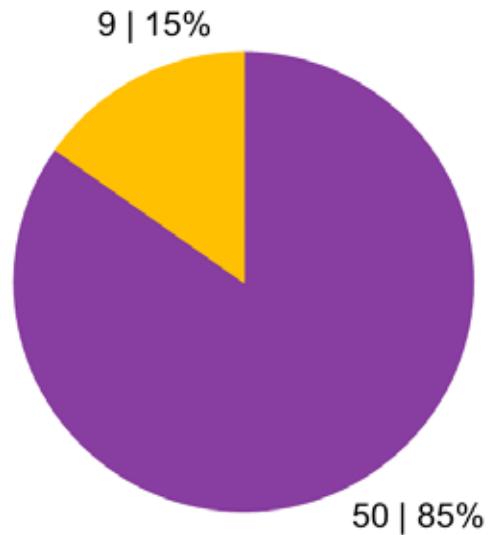
**What is the relationship between the victim and her aggressor?**

- Intimate (partner or ex-partner, etc.)
- Not intimate

**United States (2017)**



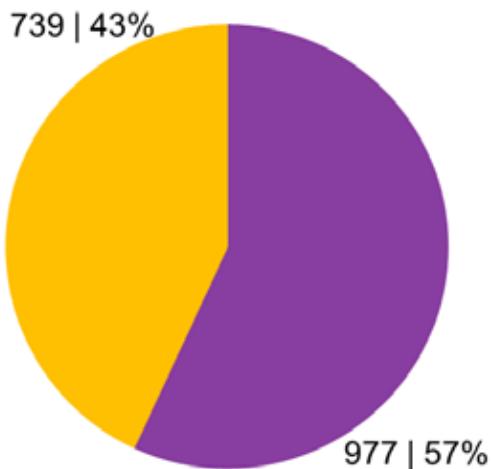
**Puerto Rico (2016-2018)**



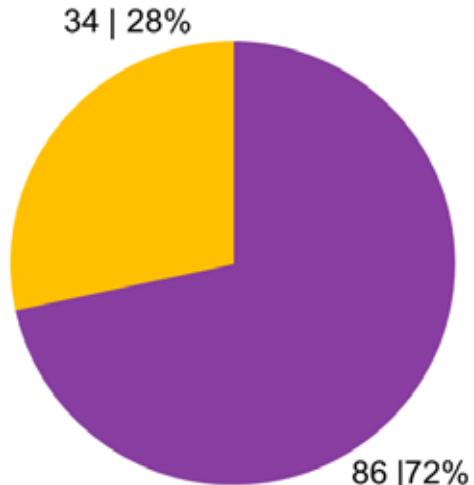
**Was a firearm used in the assault?**

- Firearm was used
- Another method was used

**United States (2017)**



**Puerto Rico (2016-2018)**



## **Observations**

The reports on homicides against women in the United States do not use the recommended scientific standards; therefore, any comparisons must be made with caution.<sup>1,2</sup>

- The federal government does not compile, analyze, or publish femicide statistics.<sup>1</sup>
- US data on relationship with the assailant, intimate partner femicide, and use of firearms is from a 2019 publication that analyzes data from 2017.<sup>3</sup>
- The published data underestimates the number of femicides, since it only compiles information on the homicides of women where there was only one victim and only one assailant.<sup>3</sup>
- The calculation for US intimate partner femicide has several problems: (1) it uses FBI information that does not include ex-boyfriends and similar situations such as intimate partners, which contradicts CDC recommendations,<sup>5</sup> and (2) it implicitly adopts a high-level estimate for intimate partners.<sup>4</sup>
- To compare femicides in the US and Puerto Rico, it is necessary to use high-level estimators. We have not adopted that practice in our report, *The Persistence of Indolence*. See Methodological Appendix for more details.

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1. U.S. Department of Justice. (2014). The Nation's Two Measures of Homicide. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
2. Campbell JC, Glass N, Sharps PW, Laughon K & Bloom T. (2007). Intimate partner homicide: Review and Implications of research and policy. Trauma, Violence, & Abuse. 8(3): 246-269.
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## **Recommendations**

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### **Address femicides as a public health priority**

The refusal of the government of Puerto Rico to adopt a series of specific, public policy measures to combat the problem of femicide—and more broadly, the problem of gender-based violence—is the logical result of persistent negligent attitude routinely displayed by different government agencies. State agencies have not firmly assumed the task of adopting reliable institutional practices that would allow for documenting, quantifying, communicating, and addressing the problem, by even enforcing the already existent public policies. In response to this situation, we present specific recommendations based on information that is verifiable and can be freely accessed.

### **WHO recommendations as a starting point: What we discard and what we added?**

Aware of the public health perspective we have adopted throughout our analysis, we examine the recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO) for confronting the problem of femicide. The findings of this report lead us to endorse the first five of their six recommendations and to add a recommendation that was not included by the organization. (See Table 9.) In the following section, we will present in detail our specific recommendations for Puerto Rico based on the WHO scheme, but before that we will explain what we have discarded and what we have added.

**Table 9**  
**Recommendations for reducing and eradicating femicides**

| Recommendation   | ¿Adopted by the WHO? (1) |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1 Strengthen femicide surveillance.  | YES                      |
| 2 Train and sensitize health staff.  | YES                      |
| 3 Train and sensitize members of the police, courts, and other law enforcement agencies. | YES                      |
| 4 Research strategies for prevention and intervention.                                   | YES                      |
| 5 Reduce availability and possession of weapons.   | YES                      |
| 6 Promote social and gender equality and a culture of non violence.                      | NO                       |

Source:

(1) Pan American Health Organization. (2012). *Femicide*. Washington, DC, Pan American Health Organization. Available at:  
<https://www.paho.org/hq/dmdocuments/2012/vaw-femicide.pdf>

The WHO recommends preventing and punishing homicides committed in the name of “family honor.” This practice, which is included in the broader category of “honor-based violence”, refers to violence mainly committed against girls and women, usually perpetrated collectively by a family or a community that acts to defend itself against a violation of its honor that has occurred as a result of the victim’s real or perceived behavior (Bhanbhro, Cronin de Chavez & Lusambili, 2016). Typically, this behavior is identified as transgressions of the expectations of the female gender in matters of virginity, faithfulness, and heterosexuality.

In countries where more than two thirds (68%) of births for the years 2015 and 2016 are from couples that are not legally married (Departamento de Salud, 2019, p.32), the conditions do not arise for families and communities to maintain strict rules on honor that would sanction femicide. Furthermore, the journalistic data analyzed reveals no evidence whatsoever that would lead to the conclusion that family or community honor femicides occur in Puerto Rico.

A report such as this, grounded in a public health perspective, must acknowledge the characteristic limitations of this discipline to be able to transcend them. Typically, public health actions tend to adopt multicausal explanations based on multiple risk factors that reduce the analysis to the traits of the individuals and often ignore, or simply mention in passing, their social, economic, and political context. Consistent with this type of multicausal explanation, the recommendations of public health organizations for facing femicides are focused on individual and sometimes organizational issues (OPS, 2013, p. 4 ; WHO, 2010, p. 7). As a result, they tend to ignore or relegate to secondary status actions geared toward addressing the structural situations within which femicides are framed. To address this defect, we propose a sixth recommendation: promoting social and gender equality and a culture of nonviolence. We explain each of the recommendations below.

### **Recommendation # 1:**

#### **Create a system for surveilling femicides**

Improve the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information on femicides, which requires obtaining information on both the victim and the perpetrator.

##### **Problems to be corrected:**

- Lack of a definition of femicide adopted by government agencies.
- Lack of an institution for the study of femicides that could reveal the magnitude, patterns, and tendencies of femicides.
- Inconsistent practices for the quantification of femicides by government agencies.

##### **Specific recommendations:**

- Establish a femicide observatory that integrates data from a variety of sources (vital Statistics Registry, Police, Courts, press, and community). For its continuous operation to be guaranteed for several years, consistent financing is necessary.

- Establish mechanisms to ensure that anyone is able to offer information directly regarding the violent death of a woman.
- The Puerto Rico Statistics Institute must establish specific rules for compiling, analyzing, and disseminating information on femicides—in terms of nomenclature and methods—that are then adopted by the appropriate government agencies

## **Recommendation #2**

### **Train health staff and other professionals**

Train health and forensic sciences staff to improve the quality and accessibility of documentation pertaining to femicide in order to enhance their interventions.

#### **Problems to be corrected:**

- Incomplete, imprecise, and inconsistent information on death certificates and the Vital Statistics Registry's mortality data bases.
- Resistance of health authorities to provide public information.
- Health staff lack the elements to identify women at their clinical or hospital facilities who are at risk of becoming victims of femicide.

#### **Specific recommendations:**

- Train medical and forensic science personnel, as well as other professionals on the importance of properly filling out all the femicide documentation, which includes cause of death on death certificates and relevant circumstances.
- Establish targets for reducing the proportion of autopsies classified as “poorly defined or imprecise cause of death” and for reducing systematic errors.
- Train Health Department and Forensic Sciences personnel, as well as staff of other agencies to understand the benefits of adopting a policy of information transparency that promotes the broad and routine dissemination of data and information, that contains effective mechanisms for requesting information and policy oversight, and that data is published in a way that can be processed according to a previously established schedule.
- Train health professionals so they are able to identify women at their workplace who are at high risk of encountering situations of violence and so they may make the necessary referrals.

## **Recommendation # 3**

### **Train police, court, and other law enforcement agency staff**

Train staff to adequately document femicides and take action to prevent them.

#### **Problems to be corrected:**

- Lack of professionalization of the processes for compiling and analyzing police data.
- Resistance of authorities to providing public information and data in a routine way that facilitates review and analysis.

#### **Specific recommendations:**

- Have the Police (and other agencies) adopt a policy of information transparency that promotes the broad and routine dissemination of data and information, including processable non-aggregated data.
- Create effective mechanisms for requesting information and policy oversight. It is important that information and data documented by the Police be accessible to the citizenry and that it is explicit, detailed, and updated through multiple means. All public entities must keep a record of all the documents in their possession that is available to the people and ensure easy, timely, and free access to that information. This information must be complete, objective, truthful, and be drafted in plain, understandable language. It must also be reusable and processable so that community organizers, programmers, journalists, and the citizenry are able to manage, use, and analyze it and are able to generate new knowledge and analyses from it.
- Train Puerto Rico Police staff (and that of other agencies) to understand the benefits of adopting a policy of information transparency that promotes the broad and routine dissemination of data and information, that contains effective mechanisms for requesting information and policy oversight.
- Use statistical definitions, categories, and methods that are comparable to international reports. For example, statistical definition of femicide: “the death of a woman caused by her intimate partner or the death of a woman as a result of a practice that is harmful to women” (EIGE, 2017).
- Immediately eliminate the category of “passion” in the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information on incidents of gender-based violence.
- Issue monthly reports on cases of femicide that are solved, unsolved, and unsolved pending investigation.
- Form inter agency commissions to detect and reduce discrepancies among the records of each government agency.

#### **Recommendation # 4**

##### **Increase research femicide and its prevention**

Develop research on femicide, its specific causes of death and the surrounding circumstances, as well as prevention and intervention measures.

#### **Problems to be corrected:**

- Invisibility of femicides as an academic research topic in Puerto Rico.
- Lack of availability of information and data that is accessible to the public.

#### **Specific recommendations:**

- Perform periodic population surveys geared toward quantifying the different forms of violence against women every two or three years.

- Make femicide information data banks readily available.
- Carry out femicide research that provides information on methodological aspects that is consonant with social activism and international academic debate.
- Research the appropriate ways to intervene in gender-based violence matters before they escalate to femicide.
- Research perpetrators of femicide.
- Research information on cases that have gone to court.

## **Recommendation # 5**

### **Reduce availability and possession of weapons**

Develop actions to reduce the availability and possession of firearms, regardless of whether this requires new legislation.

#### **Problems to be corrected:**

- Use of firearms in the home against the perpetrator's own family.
- Tolerance of violence as a method for resolving interpersonal issues.

#### **Specific recommendations:**

- Adopt legislation that enforces measures for seizing weapons from any person accused of gender violence, especially private security staff and law enforcement personnel.
- Avoid deregulation measures that favor the availability and possession of firearms.
- Launch campaigns for surrendering unregistered firearms in community spaces (churches and community organizations, for example).

## **Recommendation # 6**

### **Promote social and gender equality and a culture that censures violence**

Adopt medium and long-term strategies that eliminate the subordination of women, foster their education and financial independence, and promote a culture that condemns the use of violence.

#### **Problems to be corrected:**

- A disproportionately high femicide rate for women with lower levels of education.

#### **Specific recommendations:**

- Train teachers and implement a gender equality curriculum in all of our country's schools.
- Promote educational alternatives that would tend to reduce the proportion of young people pushed out of the country's education system.
- Promote a culture of respect and mediation with the purpose of avoiding the use of violence as a solution for conflict resolution.

## **Conclusion**

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In 1989, the statement of motives of the Domestic Abuse Prevention and Intervention Act (LAW 54) affirms that, although the Puerto Rico Police had provided data on the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator in cases of murder or homicide of women for 1983, 1984, and 1985, statistics were not released for subsequent years. For several years these murders and homicides remained invisible. Thirty years later, a newspaper headline reads, “Law 54 Has Found the Government to Be the Biggest Obstacle for Its Implementation” (Caro González, 2019). Three decades on, the persistence of a lack of rigor and transparency in the statistics of what we now term femicides, the gravest act of violence against women, is unquestionable.

While women's voices have been typically ignored or silenced, femicides constitute social facts that have been relegated to the realm of invisibility (Weil, 2016). Evidence of the invisibility of this phenomenon can be found both in the Police quote that we cited at the beginning of this report (“in 2018, there were no femicides in Puerto Rico”) and in their underestimation or indifference as a topic of research within academic circles.

Among the reasons for the invisibility of femicides are (1) the rampant problem of the poor quality and overall lack of data, which makes statistical analyses that much more difficult and (2) the problem of a lack of common standards that allow for comparing data (Weil, 2016). With these limitations, comparing femicide rates continues to be the greatest challenge for research aimed at bringing this phenomenon to light (Weil, 2016).

We do not know of any study that proposes to estimate the annual femicide rate for Puerto Rico by combining Vital Statistics data with information from news coverage of the incidents. The result of this initiative was methodologically encouraging and sociologically disconcerting. In methodological terms, we were able to lay the foundation that would allow statistical comparisons with other countries. In sociological terms, it is completely discouraging to see that our femicide rate (3.0/100,000 women) places us in the “high level” category, according to international standards.

The dearth of rigor in the production of information by Puerto Rico's government agencies forced us to make calculations with existing information, based on premises that were necessarily subject to criticism and academic debate. (See Appendix 3: *Methodological Appendix*.) When observing our estimates, we recall the words of one of the founders of epidemiology, John Snow:

“This appears to be the actual fact, as far as I have been able to extend my inquiries. The subject is capable of being decided by an exact numerical investigation, but I have thought it better to publish my inquiry in its present imperfect state, than to wait till I should be able to make such a complete research as I could wish (Snow, 1858, p. 264-265)”.

To abstain from making these estimates while we wait to obtain more complete sources of information for the sake of methodological purity, would make us accomplices to this very indolence.

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## Apéndice 1

### Estadísticas de la Policía de Puerto Rico: asesinatos ocurridos por región y motivo 2014-2018

Policía de Puerto Rico  
División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2018



|           | Total |           |          | Pelea     |          | Pasional  |          | Violencia Doméstica |          | Drogas    |          | Robo      |          | Otros     |          | Se Desconoce |          |
|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|
|           | Total | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino           | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino    | Femenino |
| Total     | 641   | 590       | 51       | 8         | 0        | 1         | 0        | 3                   | 23       | 9         | 1        | 2         | 0        | 3         | 0        | 564          | 27       |
| San Juan  | 143   | 135       | 8        | 2         |          |           |          |                     | 3        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 133          | 5        |
| Arecibo   | 31    | 27        | 4        |           |          |           |          | 1                   | 2        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 26           | 2        |
| Ponce     | 60    | 57        | 3        | 2         |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 54           | 3        |
| Humacao   | 24    | 21        | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     | 1        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 21           | 2        |
| Mayagüez  | 25    | 20        | 5        | 1         |          |           |          |                     |          | 4         | 1        |           |          |           |          | 18           | 1        |
| Caguas    | 78    | 73        | 5        | 2         |          |           |          |                     | 2        |           |          |           | 1        | 2         |          | 68           | 3        |
| Bayamón   | 110   | 101       | 9        |           |          | 1         |          | 1                   | 4        | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 98           | 5        |
| Carolina  | 71    | 68        | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     | 2        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 68           | 1        |
| Guayama   | 28    | 25        | 3        | 1         |          |           |          |                     | 1        | 2         |          |           |          | 1         |          | 21           | 2        |
| Aguadilla | 9     | 6         | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     | 2        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 6            | 1        |
| Utuado    | 3     | 2         | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 2            | 1        |
| Fajardo   | 35    | 34        | 1        |           |          |           |          | 1                   |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 32           | 1        |
| Aibonito  | 24    | 21        | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     | 2        | 4         | 1        |           |          |           |          | 17           |          |



Policía de Puerto Rico  
División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2017

|           | Total |           |          | Pelea     |          | Pasional  |          | Violencia Doméstica |          | Drogas    |          | Robo      |          | Otros     |          | Se Desconoce |          |
|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|
|           | Total | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino           | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino    | Femenino |
| Total     | 679   | 645       | 34       | 0         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0                   | 3        | 0         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1         | 0        | 644          | 31       |
| San Juan  | 165   | 156       | 9        |           |          |           |          |                     | 1        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 156          | 8        |
| Arecibo   | 35    | 34        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 34           | 1        |
| Ponce     | 58    | 56        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     | 1        |           |          |           |          | 1         |          | 55           | 1        |
| Humacao   | 31    | 30        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 30           | 1        |
| Mayagüez  | 24    | 22        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 22           | 2        |
| Caguas    | 77    | 76        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 76           | 1        |
| Bayamón   | 124   | 117       | 7        |           |          |           |          |                     | 1        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 117          | 6        |
| Carolina  | 78    | 75        | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 75           | 3        |
| Guayama   | 30    | 26        | 4        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 26           | 4        |
| Aguadilla | 13    | 12        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 12           | 1        |
| Utuado    | 2     | 2         | 0        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 2            | 0        |
| Fajardo   | 25    | 24        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 24           | 1        |
| Aibonito  | 17    | 15        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 15           | 2        |



Policía de Puerto Rico  
 División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
 Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
 Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2016

|           | Total     |          |           | Pelea    |           | Pasional |           | Violencia Doméstica |           | Drogas   |           | Robo     |           | Otros    |           | Se Desconoce |           |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
|           | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino            | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino     | Masculino |
| Total     | 679       | 622      | 57        | 1        | 0         | 1        | 1         | 1                   | 8         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1         | 1        | 7         | 618          | 40        |
| San Juan  | 155       | 147      | 8         |          |           |          |           |                     | 1         |          |           |          |           |          |           | 147          | 7         |
| Arecibo   | 30        | 25       | 5         |          |           |          |           |                     | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 1         | 25           | 3         |
| Ponce     | 84        | 78       | 6         |          |           |          |           | 1                   | 1         |          |           |          |           | 1        | 2         | 76           | 3         |
| Humacao   | 35        | 30       | 5         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           | 30           | 5         |
| Mayagüez  | 25        | 21       | 4         | 1        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           | 1        | 20        | 3            |           |
| Caguas    | 65        | 59       | 6         |          |           |          |           |                     | 1         |          |           |          |           | 2        | 59        | 3            |           |
| Bayamón   | 101       | 93       | 8         |          |           |          |           | 2                   |           |          |           |          |           |          | 93        | 6            |           |
| Carolina  | 80        | 74       | 6         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          | 1         | 74       | 5         |              |           |
| Guayama   | 36        | 33       | 3         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          | 33        | 3            |           |
| Aguadilla | 19        | 18       | 1         |          |           |          |           | 1                   |           |          |           |          |           |          | 18        |              |           |
| Utuado    | 3         | 2        | 1         |          |           |          |           | 1                   |           |          |           |          |           |          | 2         |              |           |
| Fajardo   | 30        | 27       | 3         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           | 1        |           |          | 27        | 2            |           |
| Aibonito  | 16        | 15       | 1         |          |           | 1        | 1         |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          | 14        |              |           |



Policía de Puerto Rico  
 División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
 Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
 Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2015

|           | Total     |          |           | Pelea    |           | Pasional |           | Violencia Doméstica |           | Drogas   |           | Robo     |           | Otros    |           | Se Desconoce |           |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
|           | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino            | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino     | Masculino |
| Total     | 584       | 552      | 32        | 0        | 0         | 1        | 0         | 1                   | 9         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0         | 1        | 5         | 549          | 18        |
| San Juan  | 116       | 112      | 4         |          |           |          |           | 1                   | 2         |          |           |          |           |          |           | 111          | 2         |
| Arecibo   | 27        | 26       | 1         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           | 2        | 26        | 1            |           |
| Ponce     | 62        | 55       | 7         |          |           |          |           |                     | 2         |          |           |          |           | 2        | 54        | 3            |           |
| Humacao   | 27        | 26       | 1         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          | 26        | 1            |           |
| Mayagüez  | 21        | 21       | 0         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          | 21        |              |           |
| Caguas    | 76        | 73       | 3         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          | 1         | 73       | 2         |              |           |
| Bayamón   | 107       | 104      | 3         |          | 1         |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          | 103       | 3            |           |
| Carolina  | 68        | 63       | 5         |          |           |          |           | 1                   |           |          |           | 1        |           |          | 63        | 4            |           |
| Guayama   | 24        | 21       | 3         |          |           |          |           |                     | 1         |          |           |          | 2         | 21       |           |              |           |
| Aguadilla | 10        | 9        | 1         |          |           |          |           | 1                   |           |          |           | 1        |           |          | 9         |              |           |
| Utuado    | 4         | 4        | 0         |          |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          | 4         |              |           |
| Fajardo   | 25        | 23       | 2         |          |           |          |           |                     | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 23        | 1            |           |
| Aibonito  | 17        | 15       | 2         |          |           |          |           | 1                   |           |          |           |          |           | 15       | 1         |              |           |



**Policía de Puerto Rico**  
**División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad**  
**Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo**  
**Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2014**

|           | Total |           |          | Pelea     |          | Pasional  |          | Violencia Doméstica |          | Drogas    |          | Robo      |          | Otros     |          | Se Desconoce |          |
|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|
|           | Total | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino           | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino    | Femenino |
| Total     | 681   | 637       | 44       | 9         | 3        | 1         | 0        | 1                   | 16       | 92        | 0        | 7         | 0        | 2         | 3        | 525          | 22       |
| San Juan  | 114   | 106       | 8        | 3         |          |           |          |                     | 2        | 17        |          |           |          |           |          | 86           | 6        |
| Arecibo   | 37    | 31        | 6        |           |          |           |          |                     | 4        | 3         |          |           |          |           |          | 28           | 2        |
| Ponce     | 75    | 71        | 4        | 1         |          |           |          |                     | 3        | 14        | 2        |           |          | 1         | 1        | 53           |          |
| Humacao   | 34    | 33        | 1        | 1         |          |           |          |                     |          | 5         |          |           |          |           |          | 27           | 1        |
| Mayagüez  | 18    | 17        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 2         |          |           |          | 1         | 1        | 14           |          |
| Caguas    | 84    | 77        | 7        | 1         | 1        |           |          |                     | 4        | 9         | 2        |           |          |           |          | 65           | 2        |
| Bayamón   | 111   | 102       | 9        | 1         | 1        | 1         |          |                     | 1        | 12        | 1        |           |          |           |          | 87           | 7        |
| Carolina  | 94    | 92        | 2        | 1         |          |           |          |                     |          | 17        | 1        |           |          |           |          | 73           | 2        |
| Guayama   | 42    | 40        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     | 1        | 2         |          |           |          |           | 1        | 37           | 1        |
| Aguadilla | 14    | 12        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     | 2        | 1         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 11       |
| Utuado    | 3     | 3         | 0        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |              | 3        |
| Fajardo   | 37    | 36        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 6         |          |           |          |           |          | 30           | 1        |
| Aibonito  | 18    | 17        | 1        | 1         | 1        |           |          |                     |          | 4         | 1        |           |          |           |          |              | 11       |

**USO OFICIAL EXCLUSIVAMENTE**

**Apéndice 2**  
**Observatorios contra feminicidios en países hispanoparlantes**

| País       | Nombre   | Año de fundación | Dirección web   |
|------------|--|------------------|---|
| Argentina  | Observatorio de feminicidios   | 11/15/2016       | <a href="http://www.dpn.gob.ar/observatorio-femicidios.php">http://www.dpn.gob.ar/observatorio-femicidios.php</a>   |
| Argentina  | Observatorio de Femicidios en Argentina Adriana Marisel Zambrano<br><br>Coordinado por La Asociación Civil La Casa del Encuentro | 2009             | <a href="http://www.lacasadelencontro.org/femicidios02.html">http://www.lacasadelencontro.org/femicidios02.html</a>   |
| Perú       | El Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia Contra las Mujeres y los Integrantes del Grupo Familiar                                 | 3/18/2018        | <a href="https://observatorioviolencia.pe/mv_femicidio/">https://observatorioviolencia.pe/mv_femicidio/</a>   |
| México     | Obsevatorio Ciudadano del Feminicidio  | 2009             | <a href="https://www.observatoriofeminicidiomexico.org/">https://www.observatoriofeminicidiomexico.org/</a>   |
| Costa Rica | Observatorio de Violencia de Género contra las Mujeres y Acceso a la Justicia  | 3/26/2014        | <a href="https://observatoriodegenero.poder-judicial.go.cr/">https://observatoriodegenero.poder-judicial.go.cr/</a>   |
| España     | Feminicidio.net  | 2010             | <a href="https://gestion.feminicidio.net/articulo/quienes-somos#overlay-context=">https://gestion.feminicidio.net/articulo/quienes-somos#overlay-context=</a> |

## **Apéndice 3** **Apéndice metodológico**

### Contenido

1. Introducción
2. Método para examinar submuestra de reportajes periodísticos (2014-2018).
3. Criterios para parear casos de prensa con Registro Demográfico (2014-2018).
4. Identificación y exclusión de datos atípicos del Registro Demográfico (2018).
5. Estimado de casos de feminicidios (2018).
6. Cálculo de tasas de feminicidios.
7. Comparación de estadísticas de la Policía sobre mujeres asesinadas con estimados de Km o.
8. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios íntimos.
9. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios por lugar del incidente.
10. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios por mecanismo o instrumento de muerte.
11. Método del análisis del patrón de muertes por feminicidios luego del paso del Huracán María.

### **1. Introducción**

El primer objetivo del informe La persistencia de la indolencia: los feminicidios en Puerto Rico, consistió en “Estimar la magnitud del feminicidio en Puerto Rico, su tendencia a través de los años, sus patrones en diversos grupos de mujeres (según edad y educación) e identificar algunas de sus características”. Dada la falta de precedentes en Puerto Rico en el cálculo de tasas de feminicidios, este apéndice metodológico detalla las fuentes, las definiciones, los procesos y las fórmulas que utilizamos para obtener las estadísticas presentadas en el informe.

Desde un principio decidimos utilizar fuentes de información, definiciones y métodos estadísticos que hicieran que nuestros resultados fueran comparables con los de artículos académicos y observatorios nacionales de feminicidios. Según ya explicado, nuestras fuentes de información consistieron en reportajes periodísticos, de los bancos de datos de defunciones (2014-2018) producidos por el Registro Demográfico de Puerto Rico, de los informes de estadísticas de asesinatos producidos por el Negociado de la Policía de Puerto Rico y la información demográfica de Puerto Rico producida por el Negociado del Censo de los Estados Unidos.

### **2. Método para examinar submuestra de reportajes periodísticos (2016-2018)**

El proyecto Seguimiento de Casos, una iniciativa personal de la trabajadora social Carmen Castelló, ha organizado y compilado un acervo de noticias periodísticas sobre desapariciones y

muertes violentas de mujeres en Puerto Rico a partir del año 2011. Nuestro equipo de investigación examinó una submuestra de su acervo: todos los casos entre los años 2016-2018 y se dio a la tarea de corroborar la información y buscar información adicional de los casos del acervo en otros periódicos y fuentes noticiosas, tanto en versiones impresas como digitales. Este equipo creó una plantilla para estandarizar el recogido de información sobre cada caso, que incluye información sobre la víctima, el agresor y las circunstancias del asesinato (vea Plantilla 1).

### Plantilla 1

#### Instrumento para corroborar la información de los feminicidios en medios periodísticos

www.kilometro0.org  
info@kilometro0.org  
787 322 1577  
Apartado 262289  
San Juan, PR 00936-2289



#### Instrumento para corroborar la información de femicidios en los medios

| Característica  | Medio: El Nuevo Día | Medio: Primera Hora | Medio: El Vocero |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Nombre de la víctima                                    |                     |                     |                  |
| Edad de la víctima                                      |                     |                     |                  |
| Municipio de residencia de la víctima                   |                     |                     |                  |
| Historial de antecedentes penales de la víctima         |                     |                     |                  |
| Fecha de muerte (víctima)                               |                     |                     |                  |
| ¿Tenía hijos la víctima?<br>Si tuvo, mencionar cuantos. |                     |                     |                  |
| Ocupación de la víctima                                 |                     |                     |                  |

Investigador: \_\_\_\_\_

Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

| <b>Característica</b>  | <b>Medio: El Nuevo Día</b> | <b>Medio: Primera Hora</b> | <b>Medio: El Vocero</b> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nombre del agresor   |                            |                            |                         |
| Edad del agresor   |                            |                            |                         |
| Ocupación del agresor.   |                            |                            |                         |
| Historial de antecedentes penales del agresor<br><br>(algún crimen cometido, órdenes de protección, órdenes de alejamiento, ley 54, entre otros) |                            |                            |                         |
| Tipo de relación entre agresor y la víctima  |                            |                            |                         |
| ¿El agresor intentó suicidarse?<br>• Mencionar si completó el suicidio y cómo.   |                            |                            |                         |

| <b>Característica</b>   | <b>Medio: El Nuevo Día</b> | <b>Medio: Primera Hora</b> | <b>Medio: El Vocero</b> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Fecha de los hechos   |                            |                            |                         |
| Lugar de los hechos   |                            |                            |                         |
| Método utilizado para el asesinato<br>(arma de fuego, cuchillo, etc.) |                            |                            |                         |
| Relato de los hechos<br>(Resumen breve de los eventos ocurridos)      |                            |                            |                         |

### **3. Criterios para parear casos de prensa con Registro Demográfico**

Siguiendo la práctica de combinar diferentes fuentes de información en el estudio de los feminicidios (Biroscak, Smith & Post, 2006), nuestro equipo combinó la información de los casos individuales que surgieron a partir de los reportajes periodísticos con la información del banco de datos de defunciones (2014-2018) del Registro Demográfico de Puerto Rico. Para enlazar la información extraída de la narrativa en fuentes periodísticas, unimos la información estadística del Registro Demográfico para cada caso de feminicidio, usando el nombre y los apellidos de la víctima, su edad, su fecha de defunción y el municipio donde murió. Combinamos exitosamente 214 casos, mientras que 10 casos de la prensa y 33 del Registro Demográfico no los pudimos parear.

### **4. Identificación y exclusión de datos atípicos del Registro Demográfico (2018)**

En el proceso de parear los casos de prensa con los del Registro Demográfico nuestro equipo de investigación se percató de una anomalía en los datos del 2018. El banco de datos de fallecimientos contiene una variable llamada type of death, cuyas categorías son muerte natural, homicidio, accidente, suicidio, pendiente de investigación y no pudo determinarse. Entre los años 2014 al 2017 los homicidios de mujeres bajo esta variable oscilaron entre 4 y 11. Para el año 2018, en la variable se clasificaron 168 muertes de mujeres como “homicidio”. Ya que este número es tan drásticamente diferente a lo esperado, nos dimos a la tarea de verificar si constituye un valor atípico, lo cual exige un examen en detalle.

En estadística un valor atípico (outlier) es aquel dato que se encuentra tan alejado numéricamente de los demás que hace levantar sospechas sobre si la cifra es correcta o si fue generada por un mecanismo diferente al que dio origen a los otros datos (Hawkins, 1980). Si los valores atípicos no son identificados y corregidos, pueden llevar a establecer patrones artificiosos y a generar estimados incorrectos. Según un criterio puramente numérico, confirmamos nuestra sospecha de que la cifra de 168 casos constituye un valor atípico fundamentados en el método de identificación de valores atípicos por la desviación absoluta de la mediana (Leys, Ley, Klein, Bernard & Licata, 2013).

Tabla A1

Cifras de homicidios en mujeres Registro Demográfico de Puerto Rico, 2014-2018

| Año                | Cifra |
|--------------------|-------|
| 2014               | 4     |
| 2015               | 10    |
| 2016               | 11    |
| 2017               | 8     |
| Subtotal 2014-2017 | 33    |
| 2018               | 168 * |

\* La validez de este dato es cuestionable. No usamos la cifra en *La persistencia de la indolencia*.

La inspección de la tendencia histórica levanta dudas sobre la veracidad del dato de 168 feminicidios para 2018 informado por el Registro Demográfico. En el 2018 los casos de feminicidios son cinco veces la suma de la cantidad de feminicidios de los cuatro años anteriores (2014 al 2017), que totaliza 33 casos. La observación levanta una bandera de alerta.

Además de los criterios anteriores, existen dos razones sustantivas que nos llevan a cuestionar la validez del dato del 2018. Es de conocimiento público que durante los meses posteriores al paso de los huracanes Irma y María en septiembre de 2017, Puerto Rico experimentó un descalabro generalizado. En esos meses se recrudecieron las situaciones irregulares que ya existían en el Negociado de Ciencias Forenses, la organización encargada de identificar el tipo de muerte como homicidio, quien investiga y clasifica las muertes para luego suplir la información al Registro Demográfico. Una investigación de la Cámara de Representantes de Puerto Rico (2018), iniciada antes del paso de los huracanes documentó múltiples irregularidades procesales y administrativas en el Negociado de Ciencias Forenses. Ante un panorama donde se evidenciaron múltiples anomalías en el Negociado, entendemos que es poco juicioso otorgarle validez a la cifra de 168 homicidios. De ser válida la cifra, 168 homicidios de mujeres escaparon del ojo de los periodistas, quienes no pudieron captar la dramática alza en homicidios de mujeres. Esto nos parece extremadamente improbable haya sucedido.

Fundamentados en razones estadísticas, en la observación de tendencias históricas y en razones sustantivas, concluimos que el dato de 168 casos de homicidios de mujeres informado para el 2018 por el Registro Demográfico es un valor atípico, que luego de detectado debe atenderse. En este informe presentamos el dato atípico, señalamos las dudas sobre su validez y ofrecimos un estimado que a nuestro juicio es más realista (vea explicación en próxima sección). Alentamos a quienes difieran de nuestro criterio a que utilicen la información disponible en este informe para ofrecer sus propios estimados. Los debates intelectuales, informados y críticos nutren el desarrollo de la ciencia y la formulación de políticas públicas.

## **5. Estimado de casos de feminicidios (2018)**

Una vez un valor atípico es identificado, hay que hacer algo con él. Ya sea descartarlo, modificarlo, o sustituirlo. El valor nunca puede ser ignorado. Descartarlo implicaría restringir nuestro análisis a los años 2014 al 2017. Modificarlo requeriría de algún tipo de información, la cual actualmente no tenemos, que fundamentalmente atenuar su magnitud. En nuestro caso, decidimos sustituir el valor atípico de 168 casos y adoptamos una estrategia conservadora. Sustituimos el valor atípico por la mediana de los casos de los años anteriores, identificados exclusivamente en el Registro Demográfico bajo la categoría de homicidios. La mediana de los valores 4, 8, 10 y 11 (vea Tabla A1) resulta ser 9. El cálculo de la cantidad estimada de feminicidios para el 2018 se obtiene sumando 9 (casos estimados por la mediana) + 5 (casos pareado) + 49 (casos exclusivos de la prensa). De la suma obtuvimos los 63 casos estimados para el 2018. Consideramos que este número es mucho más realista que el valor atípico, por lo cual es la cifra que hemos usado en La persistencia de la indolencia. La tabla A2 presenta la comparación entre el desglose de los casos de feminicidios informados y estimados del año 2018.

Tabla A2  
Estimado de feminicidios en Puerto Rico, 2018

| Casos de feminicidios                 | Informados | Estimados |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Casos pareados Registro Dem. y Prensa | 5          |           |
| Casos exclusivos del Registro Dem.    | 168 *      | 9**       |
| Casos exclusivos de la prensa         | 49         |           |
| TOTAL                                 | 222*       | 63***     |

\* La validez de estos datos es cuestionable.

\*\* Valor estimado (mediana de años previos = 9).

\*\*\* Esta cifra ( $63 = 5 + 9 + 49$ ) de feminicidios para el año 2018 es la que se utiliza en La persistencia de la indolencia.

## 6. Cálculo de tasas de feminicidios

Nuestra investigación tuvo como objetivo calcular tasas que permitieran establecer comparaciones internacionales y entre grupos de edad y educación. Las tasas revelan la probabilidad de que un evento ocurra, independientemente del tamaño del grupo de referencia. Aunque también generamos proporciones (medidas en por cientos), el objetivo principal de este informe es la producción de tasas y sus tendencias. El cálculo de las diversas tasas y proporciones requiere el uso de combinaciones diferentes de las fuentes de información (vea Tabla A3). Aclaramos que las diversas medidas cuantitativas utilizadas en este informe no provienen todas de un mismo banco de datos.

Tabla A3  
Combinación de fuentes de información usadas en diversos indicadores estadísticos

| Indicador estadístico                                    | Prensa 2014-2018 | Submuestra de prensa 2016-2018 | Registro Demográfico | Censo |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Tasa anual de feminicidios                               |                  |                                |                      |       |
| Tasa de femicidios íntimos                               |                  |                                |                      |       |
| Tasa de femicidios, por edad                             |                  |                                |                      |       |
| Tasa de femicidios, por nivel educativo                  |                  |                                |                      |       |
| Proporción de feminicidios -agresor conocido             |                  |                                |                      |       |
| Proporción del lugar del feminicidio                     |                  |                                |                      |       |
| Proporción del mecanismo de o instrumento de feminicidio |                  |                                |                      |       |

La tasa anual de feminicidios consiste en la cantidad de casos de feminicidios para un año dividida por el estimado de la población de mujeres en Puerto Rico para el mismo año (vea Fórmula A1). La tabla A4 presenta el resultado de la tasa general de feminicidios por cada año. La tasa de 3/100,000 se interpreta de la siguiente manera: por cada 100,000 mujeres que viven en Puerto Rico, 3 mujeres fueron víctimas de feminicidio durante el año mencionado.

**Fórmula A1**  
**Tasa anual de feminicidios**

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios en un año específico}}{\text{población de mujeres en el mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A4  
Tasa de feminicidios (por cada 100 mil mujeres) Puerto Rico 2014-2018

| Año       | Feminicidios | Población de mujeres (1) | Tasa |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|------|
| 2014      | 60           | 1,845,988                | 3.3  |
| 2015      | 41           | 1,816,838                | 2.3  |
| 2016      | 64           | 1,786,319                | 3.6  |
| 2017      | 38           | 1,744,350                | 2.2  |
| 2018      | 63           | 1,677,110                | 3.8  |
| 2014-2018 | 53.2*        | 1,774,121**              | 3.0  |

Nota:

\* Promedio anual de feminicidios entre 2014-2018.

\*\* Promedio de la población estimada entre 2014-2018.

(1) Fuente de información: Estimado poblacional de Puerto Rico, por edad 2010-2018, Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos, División de la Población; datos publicados en junio 2019

Los feminicidios íntimos son aquellos en los cuales el agresor tiene o ha tenido una relación de pareja íntima con la víctima. El informe del Center for Disease Control and Prevention con el título Intimate Partner Violence Surveillance: Uniform Definitions and Recommended Data Elements (Breiding, Basile, Smith, Black & Mahendra, 2015) especifica claramente la diversidad de relaciones que se agrupan bajo el concepto de pareja íntima: parejas actuales o exparejas --independientemente de que estén o hayan estado legalmente casados o no, de que convivan o hayan convivido bajo el mismo techo o no, de que sean novios, parejas románticas, parejas de citas o parejas sexuales-- ya sean de sexos opuestos o del mismo sexo (p. 11). En nuestra investigación, la información sobre la relación entre el agresor y la víctima que da pie a categorizar un feminicidio en Puerto Rico como feminicidio íntimo, proviene de las narraciones de la cobertura

periodística. Siguiendo el ejemplo del estudio The global prevalence of intimate partner homicide (Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, Abrahams Campbell Watts & García Moreno, 2013) excluimos del análisis de la relación de pareja íntima a aquellos casos de feminicidios de niñas y adolescentes menores de 15 años.

La tasa anual de feminicidios íntimos consiste en la cantidad de casos de feminicidios íntimos para un año dividida por el estimado de la población de mujeres en Puerto Rico de 15 años en adelante para el mismo año (vea Fórmula A2). La tabla A5 presenta el resultado de la tasa de feminicidios íntimos por cada año. La tasa de 1/100,000 se interpreta de la siguiente manera: por cada 100,000 mujeres que viven en Puerto Rico, 1 mujer fue víctima de un feminicidio íntimo durante el año mencionado. Para comparar la cantidad de feminicidios íntimos en Estados Unidos con Puerto Rico, calculamos una tasa de feminicidios íntimos de Estados Unidos a partir del último informe de When Men Murder Women publicado en septiembre 2019 (vea Tabla A6).

### **Fórmula A2 Tasa anual de feminicidios íntimos**

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios íntimos en un año específico}}{\text{población de mujeres de 15 años en adelante del mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A5  
Tasa de feminicidios íntimos (por cada 100 mil mujeres) Puerto Rico 2014-2018

| Año       | Feminicidios | Población de mujeres de 15 años en adelante(1) | Tasa |
|-----------|--------------|--|------|
| 2014      | 16           | 1,543,809                                      | 1.0  |
| 2015      | 9            | 1,529,843                                      | 0.6  |
| 2016      | 13           | 1,514,575                                      | 0.9  |
| 2017      | 14           | 1,489,627                                      | 0.9  |
| 2018      | 23           | 1,443,916                                      | 1.6  |
| 2014-2018 | 15*          | 1,504,354**                                    | 1.0  |

Nota:

\* Promedio anual de feminicidios entre 2014-2018.

\*\* Promedio de la población estimada entre 2014-2018.

(1) Fuente de información: Estimado poblacional de Puerto Rico, por edad 2010-2018, Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos, División de la Población; datos publicados en junio 2019

Tabla A6  
Tasa de feminicidios íntimos (por cada 100 mil mujeres) Estados Unidos, 2017

| Año  | Feminicidios | Población de mujeres de 15 años en adelante(1) | Tasa |
|------|--------------|--|------|
| 2017 | 997*         | 124,699,580                                    | 0.80 |

Nota:

\* dato tomado del estudio When Men Murder Women, 2019

(1) Fuente de información: Estimado poblacional de Estados Unidos Rico, por edad 2010-2018, Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos, División de la Población; datos publicados en junio 2019

El cálculo de las tasas específicas por grupo de edad utiliza como numerador la cantidad de feminicidios en un grupo específico de edad y como denominador la cantidad estimada de mujeres en un mismo grupo de edad, según informada por el Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos para el periodo 2010-2018, publicados en junio de 2019 (vea Fórmula A3 y Tabla A7). Para este cálculo excluimos 14 casos: los 9 casos que estimamos para el año 2018 y 5 casos que no contenían información de edad.

### Fórmula A3

#### Tasa de feminicidios por edad, 2014-2018

$$\left( \frac{\text{promedio de casos de feminicidios en un grupo de edad para los años 2014-2018}}{\text{promedio de las poblaciones para el mismo grupo de edad para los años 2014-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A7  
Tasas de feminicidios en Puerto Rico por grupo de edad (2014-2018)

| Grupo de edad* | Promedio de casos | Población estimada | Tasa |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|------|
| 15-24          | 10.4              | 231975             | 4.5  |
| 25-34          | 13.8              | 216562             | 6.4  |
| 35-44          | 9.6               | 222785             | 4.3  |
| 45-54          | 7.4               | 237231             | 3.1  |
| 55-64          | 3                 | 233915             | 1.3  |
| 65+            | 4                 | 361884             | 1.1  |

Nota:

\*Se excluyeron 14 casos de feminicidios por no tener información de edad.

Una tasa de 6.4 para el grupo de 25-34 años, por ejemplo, se interpreta como que unas 6 mujeres fueron víctimas de feminicidios por cada 100,000 mujeres que se encontraban entre las edades de 25 a 34 años.

Realizar el cálculo de la tasa de feminicidios según el nivel educativo conlleva un poco más de complejidad. Tomamos la información de escolaridad de las víctimas en el banco de datos de defunciones del Registro Demográfico y los estimados de la cantidad de mujeres en los diversos niveles educativos de la Encuesta de la Comunidad (American Community Survey) para los años 2013-2017).

Debido a que el nivel educativo necesariamente se relaciona con la edad, hicimos los cálculos de nivel educativo para dos grupos diferentes de edad: uno de 18-24 años y otro de 25 años en adelante (vea Fórmula A4, Tabla A7 y Tabla A8). De este análisis excluimos 33 casos; 9 casos estimados para el año 2018 y 24 casos que no tenían información sobre el nivel educativo. Categorizamos los niveles educativos en: (1) no terminó escuela superior, (2) terminó escuela superior, y (3) comenzó o terminó estudios técnicos o universitarios.

#### Fórmula A4

#### Tasa de feminicidios por nivel educativo, 2014-2018

$$\left( \frac{\text{promedio de casos de feminicidios en un en un nivel educativo para los años 2014-2018}}{\text{promedio de las poblaciones para el mismo nivel educativo para los años 2014-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A8  
Tasas de feminicidios en Puerto Rico para las edades 18-24 años  
durante el 2014-2018, por nivel educativo

| Nivel educativo                    | Promedio de casos por grupo | Población estimada | Tasa de feminicidios |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Menos de escuela superior          | 2.8                         | 14,273             | 19.6                 |
| Escuela superior                   | 3.6                         | 43,030             | 8.3                  |
| Estudios técnicos o de universidad | 1.8                         | 113841             | 1.9                  |
| TOTAL                              | 8.2                         | 171,144            | 4.8                  |

Tabla A9  
Tasas de feminicidios en Puerto Rico para las edades de 25 años en adelante  
durante el 2014-2018, por nivel educativo

| Nivel educativo                | Promedio de casos por grupo | Población estimada | Tasa de feminicidios |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Menos de escuela superior      | 12.2                        | 300,214            | 4.1                  |
| Escuela Superior o equivalente | 9                           | 324,535            | 2.8                  |
| Algo de universidad            | 10.6                        | 663,084            | 1.6                  |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                   | <b>31.8</b>                 | <b>1287,833</b>    | <b>2.5</b>           |

Una tasa de 8.3 para el grupo de 18 a 24 años que terminó su escuela superior, por ejemplo, se interpreta como que unas 8 mujeres fueron víctimas de feminicidios por cada 100,000 mujeres que terminaron su escuela superior y que se encuentran entre las edades de 18 a 24 años.

#### **7. Comparación entre las estadísticas de mujeres asesinadas de la Policía con los estimados de Km 0**

Nuestro análisis tomó todos los asesinatos de mujeres informados por la Policía como si fueran feminicidios (término que la propia Policía no usa) y comparamos con los datos identificados por nuestro equipo en los reportajes de prensa y el Registro Demográfico. El numerador consistió en los casos identificados por Kilómetro Cero menos los casos informados por la Policía para cada año. El denominador fue el número de casos estimados por Kilómetro Cero (vea Fórmula A5). El dato que resulta de la operación aritmética es el porcentaje de casos que la Policía no informa para cada año (vea Tabla A10).

## Fórmula A5

### Porcentaje no informado por la Policía

$$\left( \frac{\text{estimado de Kmo para un año} - \text{estimado de la Policía para el mismo año}}{\text{estimado de KmO para un año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A10  
Casos de feminicidios en Puerto Rico según la fuente de información

| Año       | Kilómetro Cero | Policía | % no informado |
|-----------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| 2014      | 60             | 44      | 26.7           |
| 2015      | 41             | 32      | 22.0           |
| 2016      | 64             | 57      | 10.9           |
| 2017      | 38             | 34      | 10.5           |
| 2018      | 63             | 51      | 19.0           |
| 2014-2018 | 266            | 218     | 18.5           |

Durante el periodo 2014-2018 la Policía no informó un promedio de 18.5% de los casos que Kilómetro Cero identificó.

## 8. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios íntimos y no íntimos

En el cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios íntimos no hay duda sobre cuál debe ser el numerador: la cantidad de feminicidios en los cuales el agresor fue una pareja íntima de la víctima. Lo que no queda tan claro es cuál es el denominador idóneo para establecer la proporción. Los artículos académicos y los informes de las organizaciones nacionales e internacionales suelen optar entre dos alternativas para el denominador: (1) la cifra total de casos de feminicidios o (2) la cifra de casos de feminicidios para los que se conoce la identidad del agresor y la relación con la víctima. La diferencia entre la primera alternativa de denominador y la segunda estriba en la cantidad de casos para los cuales se desconoce la identidad del agresor o la relación con la víctima. Estos casos en los cuales se desconoce o falta información se les llama valores perdidos (missing data). Ignorar la situación de los valores perdidos representa un serio peligro a la validez de los resultados (Regoeczi & Riedel, 2003).

La selección de los denominadores para el cálculo de las proporciones de feminicidios íntimos va de acuerdo con lo que Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, et al (2013) llaman estimados conservadores (de bajo nivel) y estimados de alto nivel. Los estimados conservadores producen una proporción más baja de feminicidios íntimos (vea Fórmula A6), pues su denominador es mayor e incluye

la cifra de los casos con valores perdidos. Los estimados de alto nivel producen una proporción mayor de feminicidios íntimos, ya que excluyen del denominador la cifra de los valores perdidos (vea Fórmula A7). En nuestro estudio preferimos utilizar tasas de feminicidios íntimos, pero presentamos los cálculos con el estimado conservador, comparable con el estudio Global prevalence of intimate partner homicide (Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, et al, 2013). El estudio When Men Murder Women (Violence Policy Center, 2019, p. 5) calcula la proporción de feminicidios íntimos para Estados Unidos utilizando una variante del estimado de alto nivel.

### Fórmula A6

#### Proporción de feminicidios íntimos: estimado conservador

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios íntimos en un año}}{\text{total de feminicidios para el mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

### Fórmula A7

#### Proporción de feminicidios íntimos: estimado de alto nivel

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios íntimos en un año}}{\text{total de feminicidios con identidad informada del agresor para el mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A11  
Proporción de feminicidios íntimos: 2014-2018

| Año               | Fem. íntimos | Fem. con identidad agresor | Fem. totales | Estimado conservador (%)** | Estimado de alto nivel (%)*** |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2014              | 16           | 19                         | 59           | 27                         | 84                            |
| 2015              | 9            | 13                         | 41           | 22                         | 69                            |
| 2016              | 13           | 17                         | 56           | 23                         | 76                            |
| 2017              | 14           | 17                         | 37           | 38                         | 82                            |
| 2018              | 23           | 25                         | 54           | 43                         | 92                            |
| Periodo 2014-2018 | 75           | 91                         | 247          | 30                         | 82                            |

Nota:

De este análisis se excluyen 10 casos de mujeres menores de 15 años y 9 casos que se estimaron para el 2018.

## **9. Compara Cálculo de la proporción del lugar de asesinato**

El cálculo de la proporción del lugar de asesinato utiliza como numerador la cantidad de feminicidios en la correspondiente categoría de lugar del incidente y como denominador la cantidad de casos en los que existe información sobre el lugar del feminicidio (vea Fórmula A8, Fórmula Ag y Tabla A12). Similar que la sección anterior, destacamos la importancia de considerar los valores perdidos en el denominador. En este apéndice incluimos los cálculos que corresponden a ambos estimados, pero en La persistencia de la indolencia informamos el estimado conservador.

### **Formula A8**

#### **Proporción del lugar de feminicidios: estimado conservador**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por lugar del incidente en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

### **Formula Ag**

#### **Proporción del lugar de feminicidios: estimado de alto nivel**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por lugar del incidente en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios con información de lugar en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A12  
Proporción del lugar del feminicidio: 2016-2018

| Lugar                                      | Casos | Estimado conservador (%) | Estimado de alto nivel (%) |
|--|-------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Residencia (propia, familiares, conocidos) | 55    | 35                       | 51                         |
| Vía pública                                | 40    | 26                       | 38                         |
| Residencia del agresor o sus familiares    | 6     | 4                        | 6                          |
| Trabajo                                    | 2     | 1                        | 2                          |
| Otros lugares                              | 3     | 2                        | 3                          |
| No informado                               | 49    | 32                       | -                          |

Nota:

De este análisis se excluyen los casos que se estimaron para el 2018.

g. El cálculo de la proporción del mecanismo de feminicidio utilizó las mismas fuentes de información y básicamente la misma fórmula que en la proporción del lugar en que se cometió el feminicidio. Fundamentamos el cálculo usando los datos de la prensa para los años 2016-2018. De este análisis excluimos las mujeres menores de 15 años.

### **Formula A10**

**Proporción de mecanismos utilizados en el acto del feminicidio:  
estimado conservador**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por mecanismo utilizado en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

### **Fórmula A11**

**Proporción de mecanismos utilizados en el acto del feminicidio:  
estimado de alto nivel**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por mecanismo utilizado en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios con información de mecanismos en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A13

Proporción del lugar del feminicidio: 2016-2018

| Lugar          | Casos | Estimado conservador (%) | Estimado de alto nivel (%) |
|----------------|-------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Arma de fuego  | 86    | 58                       | 71                         |
| Arma blanca    | 20    | 14                       | 17                         |
| Estrangulación | 7     | 5                        | 6                          |
| Golpes         | 3     | 2                        | 2                          |
| Otros***       | 5     | 3                        | 4                          |
| No informado   | 27    | 18                       | -                          |

Nota:

De este análisis se excluyen: mujeres menores de 14 años y los casos que se estimaron para el 2018.

## **10. Análisis del patrón de muertes por feminicidios luego del paso del Huracán María**

Para determinar el impacto del Huracán María sobre la frecuencia de feminicidios íntimos en los meses posteriores al huracán, analizamos el patrón de muertes antes y después del 21 de septiembre de cada año. En términos de método, utilizamos la curva epidemiológica que consiste en un conteo de los casos y su agrupación en el tiempo. Creamos intervalos de tiempo de seis meses que comienzan a partir del 21 de septiembre o del 21 de marzo de cada año. Para periodizar usamos las fechas de defunción que aparecen en el banco de datos del Registro Demográfico para los casos de feminicidios íntimos previamente identificados. El proceso produjo 9 intervalos de seis meses y uno de 3 meses (21 de septiembre 2018 hasta diciembre 2018) donde se distribuyeron los 70 casos analizados (vea Tabla A14).

Tabla A14

Muertes por feminicidios luego del paso del Huracán María, en semestres

| Intérvalo | Fecha*        | Cantidad de femicidios |
|-----------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1         | 21 mar. 2014  | 8                      |
| 2         | 21 sept. 2014 | 6                      |
| 3         | 21 mar. 2015  | 3                      |
| 4         | 21 sept. 2015 | 7                      |
| 5         | 21 mar. 2016  | 7                      |
| 6         | 21 sept. 2016 | 4                      |
| 7         | 21 mar. 2017  | 7                      |
| 8         | 21 sept. 2017 | 9                      |
| 9         | 21 mar. 2018  | 13                     |
| 10        | 21 sept. 2018 | 6                      |

Nota: De este análisis se excluyen 10 casos de mujeres menores de 15 años, 9 casos que se estimaron para los 2018 y 5 feminicidios íntimos que ocurrieron entre 1 de enero del 2014 al 20 de enero del 2014.

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**Améndice 1**  
**Estadísticas de la Policía de Puerto Rico: asesinatos ocurridos por región y motivo**  
**2014-2018**



Policía de Puerto Rico  
 División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
 Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
 Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2018

|           | Total |           | Pelea     |          | Pasional  |          | Violencia Doméstica |          | Drogas    |          | Robo      |          | Otros     |          | Se Desconoce |          |    |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|----|
|           | Total | Masculino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino           | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino    | Femenino |    |
|           | Total | 641       | 590       | 51       | 8         | 0        | 1                   | 0        | 3         | 23       | 9         | 1        | 2         | 0        | 3            | 564      | 27 |
| San Juan  | 143   | 135       | 8         | 2        |           |          |                     |          | 3         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 133      | 5  |
| Arecibo   | 31    | 27        | 4         |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         | 2        |           |          |           |          |              | 26       | 2  |
| Ponce     | 60    | 57        | 3         | 2        |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |              | 54       | 3  |
| Humacao   | 24    | 21        | 3         |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 21       | 2  |
| Mayagüez  | 25    | 20        | 5         | 1        |           |          |                     |          | 4         | 1        |           |          |           |          |              | 18       | 1  |
| Caguas    | 78    | 73        | 5         | 2        |           |          |                     |          | 2         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 68       | 3  |
| Bayamón   | 110   | 101       | 9         |          |           |          |                     | 1        | 1         | 4        | 1         |          |           |          |              | 98       | 5  |
| Carolina  | 71    | 68        | 3         |          |           |          |                     |          | 2         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 68       | 1  |
| Guayama   | 28    | 25        | 3         | 1        |           |          |                     |          | 1         | 2        |           |          |           |          |              | 21       | 2  |
| Aguadilla | 9     | 6         | 3         |          |           |          |                     |          | 2         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 6        | 1  |
| Utuado    | 3     | 2         | 1         |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |              | 2        | 1  |
| Fajardo   | 35    | 34        | 1         |          |           |          |                     | 1        | 1         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 32       | 1  |
| Aibonito  | 24    | 21        | 3         |          |           |          |                     |          | 2         | 4        | 1         |          |           |          |              | 17       |    |



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|           | Total |           | Pelea    |           | Pasional |           | Violencia Doméstica |           | Drogas   |           | Robo     |           | Otros    |           | Se Desconoce |           |          |
|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|
|           | Total | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino            | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino     | Masculino | Femenino |
|           | Total | 679       | 645      | 34        | 0        | 0         | 0                   | 0         | 3        | 0         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1         | 0            | 644       | 31       |
| San Juan  | 165   | 156       | 9        |           |          |           |                     |           | 1        |           |          |           |          |           |              | 156       | 8        |
| Arecibo   | 35    | 34        | 1        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 34        | 1        |
| Ponce     | 58    | 56        | 2        |           |          |           |                     |           | 1        |           |          |           |          |           |              | 55        | 1        |
| Humacao   | 31    | 30        | 1        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 30        | 1        |
| Mayagüez  | 24    | 22        | 2        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 22        | 2        |
| Caguas    | 77    | 76        | 1        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 76        | 1        |
| Bayamón   | 124   | 117       | 7        |           |          |           |                     |           | 1        |           |          |           |          |           |              | 117       | 6        |
| Carolina  | 78    | 75        | 3        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 75        | 3        |
| Guayama   | 30    | 26        | 4        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 26        | 4        |
| Aguadilla | 13    | 12        | 1        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 12        | 1        |
| Utuado    | 2     | 2         | 0        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 2         | 0        |
| Fajardo   | 25    | 24        | 1        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 24        | 1        |
| Aibonito  | 17    | 15        | 2        |           |          |           |                     |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |              | 15        | 2        |



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División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2015

|           | Total |           |          | Pelea     |          | Pasional  |          | Violencia Doméstica |          | Drogas    |          | Robo      |          | Otros     |          | Se Desconoce |          |
|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|
|           | Total | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino           | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino    | Femenino |
| Total     | 584   | 552       | 32       | 0         | 0        | 1         | 0        | 1                   | 9        | 0         | 0        | 0         | 0        | 1         | 5        | 549          | 18       |
| San Juan  | 116   | 112       | 4        |           |          |           |          | 1                   | 2        |           |          |           |          |           |          | 111          | 2        |
| Arecibo   | 27    | 26        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 26           | 1        |
| Ponce     | 62    | 55        | 7        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 2         |          |           |          |           |          | 54           | 3        |
| Humacao   | 27    | 26        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 26           | 1        |
| Mayagüez  | 21    | 21        | 0        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |              | 21       |
| Caguas    | 76    | 73        | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 73           | 2        |
| Bayamón   | 107   | 104       | 3        |           |          | 1         |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          | 103          | 3        |
| Carolina  | 68    | 63        | 5        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 63           | 4        |
| Guayama   | 24    | 21        | 3        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 21           |          |
| Aguadilla | 10    | 9         | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 9        |
| Utuado    | 4     | 4         | 0        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |              | 4        |
| Fajardo   | 25    | 23        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 23           | 1        |
| Aibonito  | 17    | 15        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 1         |          |           |          |           |          | 15           | 1        |

Policía de Puerto Rico  
 División de Estadísticas de la Criminalidad  
 Asesinatos Ocurridos Por Región y Motivo  
 Acumulados al 31 de Diciembre del 2014



|           | Total |           |          | Pelea     |          | Pasional  |          | Violencia Doméstica |          | Drogas    |          | Robo      |          | Otros     |          | Se Desconoce |          |   |
|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|---|
|           | Total | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino           | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino | Femenino | Masculino    | Femenino |   |
| Total     | 681   | 637       | 44       | 9         | 3        | 1         | 0        | 1                   | 16       | 92        | 0        | 7         | 0        | 2         | 3        | 525          | 22       |   |
| San Juan  | 114   | 106       | 8        | 3         |          |           |          |                     | 2        | 17        |          |           |          |           |          |              | 86       | 6 |
| Arecibo   | 37    | 31        | 6        |           |          |           |          |                     | 4        | 3         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 28       | 2 |
| Ponce     | 75    | 71        | 4        | 1         |          |           |          |                     | 3        | 14        |          | 2         |          | 1         | 1        | 53           |          |   |
| Humacao   | 34    | 33        | 1        | 1         |          |           |          |                     |          | 5         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 27       | 1 |
| Mayagüez  | 18    | 17        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 2         |          |           |          | 1         | 1        | 14           |          |   |
| Caguas    | 84    | 77        | 7        | 1         | 1        |           |          |                     | 4        | 9         |          | 2         |          |           |          | 65           | 2        |   |
| Bayamón   | 111   | 102       | 9        | 1         | 1        | 1         |          |                     | 1        | 12        |          | 1         |          |           |          | 87           | 7        |   |
| Carolina  | 94    | 92        | 2        | 1         |          |           |          |                     |          | 17        |          | 1         |          |           |          | 73           | 2        |   |
| Guayama   | 42    | 40        | 2        |           |          |           |          | 1                   |          | 2         |          |           |          |           |          | 1            | 37       | 1 |
| Aguadilla | 14    | 12        | 2        |           |          |           |          |                     | 2        | 1         |          |           |          |           |          |              | 11       |   |
| Utuado    | 3     | 3         | 0        |           |          |           |          |                     |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |              | 3        |   |
| Fajardo   | 37    | 36        | 1        |           |          |           |          |                     |          | 6         |          |           |          |           |          | 30           | 1        |   |
| Aibonito  | 18    | 17        | 1        | 1         | 1        |           |          |                     |          | 4         | 1        |           |          |           |          | 11           |          |   |

USO OFICIAL EXCLUSIVAMENTE

**Apéndice 2**  
**Observatorios contra feminicidios en países hispanoparlantes**

| País       | Nombre   | Año de fundación | Dirección web   |
|------------|--|------------------|---|
| Argentina  | Observatorio de feminicidios   | 11/15/2016       | <a href="http://www.dpn.gob.ar/observatorio-femicidios.php">http://www.dpn.gob.ar/observatorio-femicidios.php</a>   |
| Argentina  | Observatorio de Femicidios en Argentina Adriana Marisel Zambrano<br><br>Coordinado por La Asociación Civil La Casa del Encuentro | 2009             | <a href="http://www.lacasadelencontro.org/femicidios02.html">http://www.lacasadelencontro.org/femicidios02.html</a>   |
| Perú       | El Observatorio Nacional de la Violencia Contra las Mujeres y los Integrantes del Grupo Familiar                                 | 3/18/2018        | <a href="https://observatorioviolencia.pe/mv_femicidio/">https://observatorioviolencia.pe/mv_femicidio/</a>   |
| México     | Obsevatorio Ciudadano del Feminicidio  | 2009             | <a href="https://www.observatoriofeminicidiomexico.org/">https://www.observatoriofeminicidiomexico.org/</a>   |
| Costa Rica | Observatorio de Violencia de Género contra las Mujeres y Acceso a la Justicia  | 3/26/2014        | <a href="https://observatoriodegenero.poder-judicial.go.cr/">https://observatoriodegenero.poder-judicial.go.cr/</a>   |
| España     | Feminicidio.net  | 2010             | <a href="https://gestion.feminicidio.net/articulo/quienes-somos#overlay-context=">https://gestion.feminicidio.net/articulo/quienes-somos#overlay-context=</a> |

## **Apéndice 3** **Apéndice metodológico**

### Contenido

1. Introducción
2. Método para examinar submuestra de reportajes periodísticos (2014-2018).
3. Criterios para parear casos de prensa con Registro Demográfico (2014-2018).
4. Identificación y exclusión de datos atípicos del Registro Demográfico (2018).
5. Estimado de casos de feminicidios (2018).
6. Cálculo de tasas de feminicidios.
7. Comparación de estadísticas de la Policía sobre mujeres asesinadas con estimados de Km o.
8. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios íntimos.
9. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios por lugar del incidente.
10. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios por mecanismo o instrumento de muerte.
11. Método del análisis del patrón de muertes por feminicidios luego del paso del Huracán María.

#### **1. Introducción**

El primer objetivo del informe La persistencia de la indolencia: los feminicidios en Puerto Rico, consistió en “Estimar la magnitud del feminicidio en Puerto Rico, su tendencia a través de los años, sus patrones en diversos grupos de mujeres (según edad y educación) e identificar algunas de sus características”. Dada la falta de precedentes en Puerto Rico en el cálculo de tasas de feminicidios, este apéndice metodológico detalla las fuentes, las definiciones, los procesos y las fórmulas que utilizamos para obtener las estadísticas presentadas en el informe.

Desde un principio decidimos utilizar fuentes de información, definiciones y métodos estadísticos que hicieran que nuestros resultados fueran comparables con los de artículos académicos y observatorios nacionales de feminicidios. Según ya explicado, nuestras fuentes de información consistieron en reportajes periodísticos, de los bancos de datos de defunciones (2014-2018) producidos por el Registro Demográfico de Puerto Rico, de los informes de estadísticas de asesinatos producidos por el Negociado de la Policía de Puerto Rico y la información demográfica de Puerto Rico producida por el Negociado del Censo de los Estados Unidos.

#### **2. Método para examinar submuestra de reportajes periodísticos (2016-2018)**

El proyecto Seguimiento de Casos, una iniciativa personal de la trabajadora social Carmen Castelló, ha organizado y compilado un acervo de noticias periodísticas sobre desapariciones y

muertes violentas de mujeres en Puerto Rico a partir del año 2011. Nuestro equipo de investigación examinó una submuestra de su acervo: todos los casos entre los años 2016-2018 y se dio a la tarea de corroborar la información y buscar información adicional de los casos del acervo en otros periódicos y fuentes noticiosas, tanto en versiones impresas como digitales. Este equipo creó una plantilla para estandarizar el recogido de información sobre cada caso, que incluye información sobre la víctima, el agresor y las circunstancias del asesinato (vea Plantilla 1).

## Plantilla 1

### Instrumento para corroborar la información de los feminicidios en medios periodísticos

www.kilometro0.org  
info@kilometro0.org  
787 322 1577  
Apartado 362289  
San Juan, PR 00996-3289



#### Instrumento para corroborar la información de femicidios en los medios

| Característica  | Medio: El Nuevo Día | Medio: Primera Hora | Medio: El Vocero |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Nombre de la víctima                                    |                     |                     |                  |
| Edad de la víctima                                      |                     |                     |                  |
| Municipio de residencia de la víctima                   |                     |                     |                  |
| Historial de antecedentes penales de la víctima         |                     |                     |                  |
| Fecha de muerte (victima)                               |                     |                     |                  |
| ¿Tenía hijos la víctima?<br>Si tuvo, mencionar cuantos. |                     |                     |                  |
| Ocupación de la víctima                                 |                     |                     |                  |

Investigador: \_\_\_\_\_

Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

| <b>Característica</b>  | <b>Medio: El Nuevo Día</b> | <b>Medio: Primera Hora</b> | <b>Medio: El Vocero</b> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nombre del agresor   |                            |                            |                         |
| Edad del agresor   |                            |                            |                         |
| Ocupación del agresor.   |                            |                            |                         |
| Historial de antecedentes penales del agresor<br><br>(algún crimen cometido, órdenes de protección, órdenes de alejamiento, ley 54, entre otros) |                            |                            |                         |
| Tipo de relación entre agresor y la víctima  |                            |                            |                         |
| ¿El agresor intentó suicidarse?<br><br>• Mencionar si completó el suicidio y cómo.   |                            |                            |                         |

| <b>Característica</b>   | <b>Medio: El Nuevo Día</b> | <b>Medio: Primera Hora</b> | <b>Medio: El Vocero</b> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Fecha de los hechos   |                            |                            |                         |
| Lugar de los hechos   |                            |                            |                         |
| Método utilizado para el asesinato<br>(arma de fuego, cuchillo, etc.) |                            |                            |                         |
| Relato de los hechos<br>(Resumen breve de los eventos ocurridos)      |                            |                            |                         |

### **3. Criterios para parear casos de prensa con Registro Demográfico**

Siguiendo la práctica de combinar diferentes fuentes de información en el estudio de los feminicidios (Biroscak, Smith & Post, 2006), nuestro equipo combinó la información de los casos individuales que surgieron a partir de los reportajes periodísticos con la información del banco de datos de defunciones (2014-2018) del Registro Demográfico de Puerto Rico. Para enlazar la información extraída de la narrativa en fuentes periodísticas, unimos la información estadística del Registro Demográfico para cada caso de feminicidio, usando el nombre y los apellidos de la víctima, su edad, su fecha de defunción y el municipio donde murió. Combinamos exitosamente 214 casos, mientras que 10 casos de la prensa y 33 del Registro Demográfico no los pudimos parear.

### **4. Identificación y exclusión de datos atípicos del Registro Demográfico (2018)**

En el proceso de parear los casos de prensa con los del Registro Demográfico nuestro equipo de investigación se percató de una anomalía en los datos del 2018. El banco de datos de fallecimientos contiene una variable llamada type of death, cuyas categorías son muerte natural, homicidio, accidente, suicidio, pendiente de investigación y no pudo determinarse. Entre los años 2014 al 2017 los homicidios de mujeres bajo esta variable oscilaron entre 4 y 11. Para el año 2018, en la variable se clasificaron 168 muertes de mujeres como “homicidio”. Ya que este número es tan drásticamente diferente a lo esperado, nos dimos a la tarea de verificar si constituye un valor atípico, lo cual exige un examen en detalle.

En estadística un valor atípico (outlier) es aquel dato que se encuentra tan alejado numéricamente de los demás que hace levantar sospechas sobre si la cifra es correcta o si fue generada por un mecanismo diferente al que dio origen a los otros datos (Hawkins, 1980). Si los valores atípicos no son identificados y corregidos, pueden llevar a establecer patrones artificiosos y a generar estimados incorrectos. Según un criterio puramente numérico, confirmamos nuestra sospecha de que la cifra de 168 casos constituye un valor atípico fundamentados en el método de identificación de valores atípicos por la desviación absoluta de la mediana (Leys, Ley, Klein, Bernard & Licata, 2013).

Tabla A1

Cifras de homicidios en mujeres Registro Demográfico de Puerto Rico, 2014-2018

| Año                | Cifra |
|--------------------|-------|
| 2014               | 4     |
| 2015               | 10    |
| 2016               | 11    |
| 2017               | 8     |
| Subtotal 2014-2017 | 33    |
| 2018               | 168 * |

\* La validez de este dato es cuestionable. No usamos la cifra en *La persistencia de la indolencia*.

La inspección de la tendencia histórica levanta dudas sobre la veracidad del dato de 168 feminicidios para 2018 informado por el Registro Demográfico. En el 2018 los casos de feminicidios son cinco veces la suma de la cantidad de feminicidios de los cuatro años anteriores (2014 al 2017), que totaliza 33 casos. La observación levanta una bandera de alerta.

Además de los criterios anteriores, existen dos razones sustantivas que nos llevan a cuestionar la validez del dato del 2018. Es de conocimiento público que durante los meses posteriores al paso de los huracanes Irma y María en septiembre de 2017, Puerto Rico experimentó un descalabro generalizado. En esos meses se recrudecieron las situaciones irregulares que ya existían en el Negociado de Ciencias Forenses, la organización encargada de identificar el tipo de muerte como homicidio, quien investiga y clasifica las muertes para luego suplir la información al Registro Demográfico. Una investigación de la Cámara de Representantes de Puerto Rico (2018), iniciada antes del paso de los huracanes documentó múltiples irregularidades procesales y administrativas en el Negociado de Ciencias Forenses. Ante un panorama donde se evidenciaron múltiples anomalías en el Negociado, entendemos que es poco juicioso otorgarle validez a la cifra de 168 homicidios. De ser válida la cifra, 168 homicidios de mujeres escaparon del ojo de los periodistas, quienes no pudieron captar la dramática alza en homicidios de mujeres. Esto nos parece extremadamente improbable haya sucedido.

Fundamentados en razones estadísticas, en la observación de tendencias históricas y en razones sustantivas, concluimos que el dato de 168 casos de homicidios de mujeres informado para el 2018 por el Registro Demográfico es un valor atípico, que luego de detectado debe atenderse. En este informe presentamos el dato atípico, señalamos las dudas sobre su validez y ofrecemos un estimado que a nuestro juicio es más realista (vea explicación en próxima sección). Alentamos a quienes difieran de nuestro criterio a que utilicen la información disponible en este informe para ofrecer sus propios estimados. Los debates intelectuales, informados y críticos nutren el desarrollo de la ciencia y la formulación de políticas públicas.

## **5. Estimado de casos de feminicidios (2018)**

Una vez un valor atípico es identificado, hay que hacer algo con él. Ya sea descartarlo, modificarlo, o sustituirlo. El valor nunca puede ser ignorado. Descartarlo implicaría restringir nuestro análisis a los años 2014 al 2017. Modificarlo requeriría de algún tipo de información, la cual actualmente no tenemos, que fundamentalmente atenuar su magnitud. En nuestro caso, decidimos sustituir el valor atípico de 168 casos y adoptamos una estrategia conservadora. Sustituimos el valor atípico por la mediana de los casos de los años anteriores, identificados exclusivamente en el Registro Demográfico bajo la categoría de homicidios. La mediana de los valores 4, 8, 10 y 11 (vea Tabla A1) resulta ser 9. El cálculo de la cantidad estimada de feminicidios para el 2018 se obtiene sumando 9 (casos estimados por la mediana) + 5 (casos pareado) + 49 (casos exclusivos de la prensa). De la suma obtuvimos los 63 casos estimados para el 2018. Consideramos que este número es mucho más realista que el valor atípico, por lo cual es la cifra que hemos usado en La persistencia de la indolencia. La tabla A2 presenta la comparación entre el desglose de los casos de feminicidios informados y estimados del año 2018.

Tabla A2  
Estimado de feminicidios en Puerto Rico, 2018

| Casos de feminicidios                 | Informados | Estimados |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Casos pareados Registro Dem. y Prensa | 5          |           |
| Casos exclusivos del Registro Dem.    | 168 *      | 9**       |
| Casos exclusivos de la prensa         | 49         |           |
| TOTAL                                 | 222*       | 63***     |

\* La validez de estos datos es cuestionable.

\*\* Valor estimado (mediana de años previos = 9).

\*\*\* Esta cifra ( $63 = 5 + 9 + 49$ ) de feminicidios para el año 2018 es la que se utiliza en La persistencia de la indolencia.

## 6. Cálculo de tasas de feminicidios

Nuestra investigación tuvo como objetivo calcular tasas que permitieran establecer comparaciones internacionales y entre grupos de edad y educación. Las tasas revelan la probabilidad de que un evento ocurra, independientemente del tamaño del grupo de referencia. Aunque también generamos proporciones (medidas en por cientos), el objetivo principal de este informe es la producción de tasas y sus tendencias. El cálculo de las diversas tasas y proporciones requiere el uso de combinaciones diferentes de las fuentes de información (vea Tabla A3). Aclaramos que las diversas medidas cuantitativas utilizadas en este informe no provienen todas de un mismo banco de datos.

Tabla A3  
Combinación de fuentes de información usadas en diversos indicadores estadísticos

| Indicador estadístico                                       | Prensa<br>2014-<br>2018 | Submuestra de<br>prensa<br>2016-2018 | Registro<br>Demográfico | Censo |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Tasa anual de feminicidios                                  |                         |                                      |                         |       |
| Tasa de femicidios íntimos                                  |                         |                                      |                         |       |
| Tasa de femicidios, por edad                                |                         |                                      |                         |       |
| Tasa de femicidios, por nivel educativo                     |                         |                                      |                         |       |
| Proporción de feminicidios<br>-agresor conocido             |                         |                                      |                         |       |
| Proporción del lugar del feminicidio                        |                         |                                      |                         |       |
| Proporción del mecanismo de<br>o instrumento de feminicidio |                         |                                      |                         |       |

La tasa anual de feminicidios consiste en la cantidad de casos de feminicidios para un año dividida por el estimado de la población de mujeres en Puerto Rico para el mismo año (vea Fórmula A1). La tabla A4 presenta el resultado de la tasa general de feminicidios por cada año. La tasa de 3/100,000 se interpreta de la siguiente manera: por cada 100,000 mujeres que viven en Puerto Rico, 3 mujeres fueron víctimas de feminicidio durante el año mencionado.

**Fórmula A1**  
**Tasa anual de feminicidios**

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios en un año específico}}{\text{población de mujeres en el mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A4  
Tasa de feminicidios (por cada 100 mil mujeres) Puerto Rico 2014-2018

| Año       | Feminicidios | Población de mujeres (1) | Tasa |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------|------|
| 2014      | 60           | 1,845,988                | 3.3  |
| 2015      | 41           | 1,816,838                | 2.3  |
| 2016      | 64           | 1,786,319                | 3.6  |
| 2017      | 38           | 1,744,350                | 2.2  |
| 2018      | 63           | 1,677,110                | 3.8  |
| 2014-2018 | 53.2*        | 1,774,121**              | 3.0  |

Nota:

\* Promedio anual de feminicidios entre 2014-2018.

\*\* Promedio de la población estimada entre 2014-2018.

(1) Fuente de información: Estimado poblacional de Puerto Rico, por edad 2010-2018, Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos, División de la Población; datos publicados en junio 2019

Los feminicidios íntimos son aquellos en los cuales el agresor tiene o ha tenido una relación de pareja íntima con la víctima. El informe del Center for Disease Control and Prevention con el título Intimate Partner Violence Surveillance: Uniform Definitions and Recommended Data Elements (Breiding, Basile, Smith, Black & Mahendra, 2015) especifica claramente la diversidad de relaciones que se agrupan bajo el concepto de pareja íntima: parejas actuales o exparejas --independientemente de que estén o hayan estado legalmente casados o no, de que convivan o hayan convivido bajo el mismo techo o no, de que sean novios, parejas románticas, parejas de citas o parejas sexuales-- ya sean de sexos opuestos o del mismo sexo (p. 11). En nuestra investigación, la información sobre la relación entre el agresor y la víctima que da pie a categorizar un feminicidio en Puerto Rico como feminicidio íntimo, proviene de las narraciones de la cobertura

periodística. Siguiendo el ejemplo del estudio The global prevalence of intimate partner homicide (Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, Abrahams Campbell Watts & García Moreno, 2013) excluimos del análisis de la relación de pareja íntima a aquellos casos de feminicidios de niñas y adolescentes menores de 15 años.

La tasa anual de feminicidios íntimos consiste en la cantidad de casos de feminicidios íntimos para un año dividida por el estimado de la población de mujeres en Puerto Rico de 15 años en adelante para el mismo año (vea Fórmula A2). La tabla A5 presenta el resultado de la tasa de feminicidios íntimos por cada año. La tasa de 1/100,000 se interpreta de la siguiente manera: por cada 100,000 mujeres que viven en Puerto Rico, 1 mujer fue víctima de un feminicidio íntimo durante el año mencionado. Para comparar la cantidad de feminicidios íntimos en Estados Unidos con Puerto Rico, calculamos una tasa de feminicidios íntimos de Estados Unidos a partir del último informe de When Men Murder Women publicado en septiembre 2019 (vea Tabla A6).

### **Fórmula A2 Tasa anual de feminicidios íntimos**

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios íntimos en un año específico}}{\text{población de mujeres de 15 años en adelante del mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A5  
Tasa de feminicidios íntimos (por cada 100 mil mujeres) Puerto Rico 2014-2018

| Año       | Feminicidios | Población de mujeres de 15 años en adelante(1) | Tasa |
|-----------|--------------|--|------|
| 2014      | 16           | 1,543,809                                      | 1.0  |
| 2015      | 9            | 1,529,843                                      | 0.6  |
| 2016      | 13           | 1,514,575                                      | 0.9  |
| 2017      | 14           | 1,489,627                                      | 0.9  |
| 2018      | 23           | 1,443,916                                      | 1.6  |
| 2014-2018 | 15*          | 1,504,354**                                    | 1.0  |

Nota:

\* Promedio anual de feminicidios entre 2014-2018.

\*\* Promedio de la población estimada entre 2014-2018.

(1) Fuente de información: Estimado poblacional de Puerto Rico, por edad 2010-2018, Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos, División de la Población; datos publicados en junio 2019

Tabla A6  
Tasa de feminicidios íntimos (por cada 100 mil mujeres) Estados Unidos, 2017

| Año  | Feminicidios | Población de mujeres de 15 años en adelante(1) | Tasa |
|------|--------------|--|------|
| 2017 | 997*         | 124,699,580                                    | 0.80 |

Nota:

\* dato tomado del estudio When Men Murder Women, 2019

(1) Fuente de información: Estimado poblacional de Estados Unidos Rico, por edad 2010-2018, Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos, División de la Población; datos publicados en junio 2019

El cálculo de las tasas específicas por grupo de edad utiliza como numerador la cantidad de feminicidios en un grupo específico de edad y como denominador la cantidad estimada de mujeres en un mismo grupo de edad, según informada por el Negociado del Censo de Estados Unidos para el periodo 2010-2018, publicados en junio de 2019 (vea Fórmula A3 y Tabla A7). Para este cálculo excluimos 14 casos: los 9 casos que estimamos para el año 2018 y 5 casos que no contenían información de edad.

**Fórmula A3**  
**Tasa de feminicidios por edad, 2014-2018**

$$\left( \frac{\text{promedio de casos de feminicidios en un grupo de edad para los años 2014-2018}}{\text{promedio de las poblaciones para el mismo grupo de edad para los años 2014-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A7  
Tasas de feminicidios en Puerto Rico por grupo de edad (2014-2018)

| Grupo de edad* | Promedio de casos | Población estimada | Tasa |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|------|
| 15-24          | 10.4              | 231975             | 4.5  |
| 25-34          | 13.8              | 216562             | 6.4  |
| 35-44          | 9.6               | 222785             | 4.3  |
| 45-54          | 7.4               | 237231             | 3.1  |
| 55-64          | 3                 | 233915             | 1.3  |
| 65+            | 4                 | 361884             | 1.1  |

Nota:

\*Se excluyeron 14 casos de feminicidios por no tener información de edad.

Una tasa de 6.4 para el grupo de 25-34 años, por ejemplo, se interpreta como que unas 6 mujeres fueron víctimas de feminicidios por cada 100,000 mujeres que se encontraban entre las edades de 25 a 34 años.

Realizar el cálculo de la tasa de feminicidios según el nivel educativo conlleva un poco más de complejidad. Tomamos la información de escolaridad de las víctimas en el banco de datos de defunciones del Registro Demográfico y los estimados de la cantidad de mujeres en los diversos niveles educativos de la Encuesta de la Comunidad (American Community Survey) para los años 2013-2017).

Debido a que el nivel educativo necesariamente se relaciona con la edad, hicimos los cálculos de nivel educativo para dos grupos diferentes de edad: uno de 18-24 años y otro de 25 años en adelante (vea Fórmula A4, Tabla A7 y Tabla A8). De este análisis excluimos 33 casos; 9 casos estimados para el año 2018 y 24 casos que no tenían información sobre el nivel educativo. Categorizamos los niveles educativos en: (1) no terminó escuela superior, (2) terminó escuela superior, y (3) comenzó o terminó estudios técnicos o universitarios.

#### Fórmula A4

#### Tasa de feminicidios por nivel educativo, 2014-2018

$$\left( \frac{\text{promedio de casos de feminicidios en un en un nivel educativo para los años 2014-2018}}{\text{promedio de las poblaciones para el mismo nivel educativo para los años 2014-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A8  
Tasas de feminicidios en Puerto Rico para las edades 18-24 años  
durante el 2014-2018, por nivel educativo

| Nivel educativo                    | Promedio de casos por grupo | Población estimada | Tasa de feminicidios |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Menos de escuela superior          | 2.8                         | 14,273             | 19.6                 |
| Escuela superior                   | 3.6                         | 43,030             | 8.3                  |
| Estudios técnicos o de universidad | 1.8                         | 113841             | 1.9                  |
| TOTAL                              | 8.2                         | 171,144            | 4.8                  |

Tabla A9  
Tasas de feminicidios en Puerto Rico para las edades de 25 años en adelante  
durante el 2014-2018, por nivel educativo

| Nivel educativo                | Promedio de casos por grupo | Población estimada | Tasa de feminicidios |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Menos de escuela superior      | 12.2                        | 300,214            | 4.1                  |
| Escuela Superior o equivalente | 9                           | 324,535            | 2.8                  |
| Algo de universidad            | 10.6                        | 663,084            | 1.6                  |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                   | <b>31.8</b>                 | <b>1287,833</b>    | <b>2.5</b>           |

Una tasa de 8.3 para el grupo de 18 a 24 años que terminó su escuela superior, por ejemplo, se interpreta como que unas 8 mujeres fueron víctimas de feminicidios por cada 100,000 mujeres que terminaron su escuela superior y que se encuentran entre las edades de 18 a 24 años.

#### **7. Comparación entre las estadísticas de mujeres asesinadas de la Policía con los estimados de Km 0**

Nuestro análisis tomó todos los asesinatos de mujeres informados por la Policía como si fueran feminicidios (término que la propia Policía no usa) y comparamos con los datos identificados por nuestro equipo en los reportajes de prensa y el Registro Demográfico. El numerador consistió en los casos identificados por Kilómetro Cero menos los casos informados por la Policía para cada año. El denominador fue el número de casos estimados por Kilómetro Cero (vea Fórmula A5). El dato que resulta de la operación aritmética es el porcentaje de casos que la Policía no informa para cada año (vea Tabla A10).

**Fórmula A5**  
**Porcentaje no informado por la Policía**

$$\left( \frac{\text{estimado de Kmo para un año} - \text{estimado de la Policía para el mismo año}}{\text{estimado de Km0 para un año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A10  
 Casos de feminicidios en Puerto Rico según la fuente de información

| Año       | Kilómetro Cero | Policía | % no informado |
|-----------|----------------|---------|----------------|
| 2014      | 60             | 44      | 26.7           |
| 2015      | 41             | 32      | 22.0           |
| 2016      | 64             | 57      | 10.9           |
| 2017      | 38             | 34      | 10.5           |
| 2018      | 63             | 51      | 19.0           |
| 2014-2018 | 266            | 218     | 18.5           |

Durante el periodo 2014-2018 la Policía no informó un promedio de 18.5% de los casos que Kilómetro Cero identificó.

#### **8. Cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios íntimos y no íntimos**

En el cálculo de la proporción de feminicidios íntimos no hay duda sobre cuál debe ser el numerador: la cantidad de feminicidios en los cuales el agresor fue una pareja íntima de la víctima. Lo que no queda tan claro es cuál es el denominador idóneo para establecer la proporción. Los artículos académicos y los informes de las organizaciones nacionales e internacionales suelen optar entre dos alternativas para el denominador: (1) la cifra total de casos de feminicidios o (2) la cifra de casos de feminicidios para los que se conoce la identidad del agresor y la relación con la víctima. La diferencia entre la primera alternativa de denominador y la segunda estriba en la cantidad de casos para los cuales se desconoce la identidad del agresor o la relación con la víctima. Estos casos en los cuales se desconoce o falta información se les llama valores perdidos (missing data). Ignorar la situación de los valores perdidos representa un serio peligro a la validez de los resultados (Regoeczi & Riedel, 2003).

La selección de los denominadores para el cálculo de las proporciones de feminicidios íntimos va de acuerdo con lo que Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, et al (2013) llaman estimados conservadores (de bajo nivel) y estimados de alto nivel. Los estimados conservadores producen una proporción más baja de feminicidios íntimos (vea Fórmula A6), pues su denominador es mayor e incluye

la cifra de los casos con valores perdidos. Los estimados de alto nivel producen una proporción mayor de feminicidios íntimos, ya que excluyen del denominador la cifra de los valores perdidos (vea Fórmula A7). En nuestro estudio preferimos utilizar tasas de feminicidios íntimos, pero presentamos los cálculos con el estimado conservador, comparable con el estudio Global prevalence of intimate partner homicide (Stöckl, Devries, Rotstein, et al, 2013). El estudio When Men Murder Women (Violence Policy Center, 2019, p. 5) calcula la proporción de feminicidios íntimos para Estados Unidos utilizando una variante del estimado de alto nivel.

### Fórmula A6

#### Proporción de feminicidios íntimos: estimado conservador

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios íntimos en un año}}{\text{total de feminicidios para el mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

### Fórmula A7

#### Proporción de feminicidios íntimos: estimado de alto nivel

$$\left( \frac{\text{casos de feminicidios íntimos en un año}}{\text{total de feminicidios con identidad informada del agresor para el mismo año}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A11  
Proporción de feminicidios íntimos: 2014-2018

| Año               | Fem. íntimos | Fem. con identidad agresor | Fem. totales | Estimado conservador (%)** | Estimado de alto nivel (%)*** |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2014              | 16           | 19                         | 59           | 27                         | 84                            |
| 2015              | 9            | 13                         | 41           | 22                         | 69                            |
| 2016              | 13           | 17                         | 56           | 23                         | 76                            |
| 2017              | 14           | 17                         | 37           | 38                         | 82                            |
| 2018              | 23           | 25                         | 54           | 43                         | 92                            |
| Periodo 2014-2018 | 75           | 91                         | 247          | 30                         | 82                            |

Nota:

De este análisis se excluyen 10 casos de mujeres menores de 15 años y 9 casos que se estimaron para el 2018.

## **9. Compara Cálculo de la proporción del lugar de asesinato**

El cálculo de la proporción del lugar de asesinato utiliza como numerador la cantidad de feminicidios en la correspondiente categoría de lugar del incidente y como denominador la cantidad de casos en los que existe información sobre el lugar del feminicidio (vea Fórmula A8, Fórmula Ag y Tabla A12). Similar que la sección anterior, destacamos la importancia de considerar los valores perdidos en el denominador. En este apéndice incluimos los cálculos que corresponden a ambos estimados, pero en La persistencia de la indolencia informamos el estimado conservador.

### **Formula A8**

#### **Proporción del lugar de feminicidios: estimado conservador**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por lugar del incidente en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

### **Formula Ag**

#### **Proporción del lugar de feminicidios: estimado de alto nivel**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por lugar del incidente en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios con información de lugar en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A12  
Proporción del lugar del feminicidio: 2016-2018

| Lugar                                      | Casos | Estimado conservador (%) | Estimado de alto nivel(%) |
|--|-------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Residencia (propia, familiares, conocidos) | 55    | 35                       | 51                        |
| Vía pública                                | 40    | 26                       | 38                        |
| Residencia del agresor o sus familiares    | 6     | 4                        | 6                         |
| Trabajo                                    | 2     | 1                        | 2                         |
| Otros lugares                              | 3     | 2                        | 3                         |
| No informado                               | 49    | 32                       | -                         |

Nota:

De este análisis se excluyen los casos que se estimaron para el 2018.

9. El cálculo de la proporción del mecanismo de feminicidio utilizó las mismas fuentes de información y básicamente la misma fórmula que en la proporción del lugar en que se cometió el feminicidio. Fundamentamos el cálculo usando los datos de la prensa para los años 2016-2018. De este análisis excluimos las mujeres menores de 15 años.

### **Formula A10**

**Proporción de mecanismos utilizados en el acto del feminicidio:  
estimado conservador**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por mecanismo utilizado en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

### **Fórmula A11**

**Proporción de mecanismos utilizados en el acto del feminicidio:  
estimado de alto nivel**

$$\left( \frac{\text{cifra de feminicidios por mecanismo utilizado en el periodo 2016-2018}}{\text{total de feminicidios con información de mecanismos en el periodo 2016-2018}} \right) \times 100,000$$

Tabla A13  
Proporción del lugar del feminicidio: 2016-2018

| Lugar          | Casos | Estimado conservador (%) | Estimado de alto nivel (%) |
|----------------|-------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Arma de fuego  | 86    | 58                       | 71                         |
| Arma blanca    | 20    | 14                       | 17                         |
| Estrangulación | 7     | 5                        | 6                          |
| Golpes         | 3     | 2                        | 2                          |
| Otros***       | 5     | 3                        | 4                          |
| No informado   | 27    | 18                       | -                          |

Nota:

De este análisis se excluyen: mujeres menores de 14 años y los casos que se estimaron para el 2018.

## **10. Análisis del patrón de muertes por feminicidios luego del paso del Huracán María**

Para determinar el impacto del Huracán María sobre la frecuencia de feminicidios íntimos en los meses posteriores al huracán, analizamos el patrón de muertes antes y después del 21 de septiembre de cada año. En términos de método, utilizamos la curva epidemiológica que consiste en un conteo de los casos y su agrupación en el tiempo. Creamos intervalos de tiempo de seis meses que comienzan a partir del 21 de septiembre o del 21 de marzo de cada año. Para periodizar usamos las fechas de defunción que aparecen en el banco de datos del Registro Demográfico para los casos de feminicidios íntimos previamente identificados. El proceso produjo 9 intervalos de seis meses y uno de 3 meses (21 de septiembre 2018 hasta diciembre 2018) donde se distribuyeron los 70 casos analizados (vea Tabla A14).

Tabla A14

Muertes por feminicidios luego del paso del Huracán María, en semestres

| Intérvalo | Fecha*        | Cantidad de femicidios |
|-----------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1         | 21 mar. 2014  | 8                      |
| 2         | 21 sept. 2014 | 6                      |
| 3         | 21 mar. 2015  | 3                      |
| 4         | 21 sept. 2015 | 7                      |
| 5         | 21 mar. 2016  | 7                      |
| 6         | 21 sept. 2016 | 4                      |
| 7         | 21 mar. 2017  | 7                      |
| 8         | 21 sept. 2017 | 9                      |
| 9         | 21 mar. 2018  | 13                     |
| 10        | 21 sept. 2018 | 6                      |

Nota: De este análisis se excluyen 10 casos de mujeres menores de 15 años, 9 casos que se estimaron para los 2018 y 5 feminicidios íntimos que ocurrieron entre 1 de enero del 2014 al 20 de enero del 2014.

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