

Femicidio Uruguay

An experience of monitoring and mapping femicide.

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I am a Latin American activist, researcher and social communicator, with a focus on feminism and human rights. I was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, but have lived most of my life in London, UK.

I have more than 20 years of experience in the area of digital and offline communications and campaigns. I have worked with Amnesty International, the Global Call for Action against Poverty (GCAP) and the Uruguayan feminist collective Cotidiano Mujer, among others, currently working independently. I hold a Masters in Gender, Media and Culture from Goldsmiths, University of London (2017) and I am a doctoral student at the Center for Interdisciplinary Methodologies, University of Warwick (2019-2022) - my specialization is in feminist data practices in relation to femicide. Since 2019, together with Catherine D'Ignazio (Data + Feminism Lab @ MIT) and Silvana Fumega (ILDA), I co-lead an international participatory action-research project, Data Against femicide, whose objective is to foster a community of practice and develop tools around femicide data.

In 2015, I started a map and database of cases of femicide in the country that I continue updating to date. This report presents a brief overview of Femicidio Uruguay, an activist experience of monitoring and mapping femicide at a national level.

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Acronyms

- CEPAL / ECLAC - Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
- CNCLVD - National Advisory Council for the Fight against Domestic Violence
- SIPIAV - Comprehensive System for the Protection of Children and Adolescents against Violence

Femicidio Uruguay is a record of gender-related violent deaths of women that have occurred in Uruguay from 2001 to date. Women from different parts of the country, of different ages, with different stories and life plans. Women who are not here today. An interactive map and a database comprise this unofficial, and surely incomplete, record of femicide cases in the country. It is an imperfect tool for denouncing and making visible. It is updated, with pain and anger, with each new case reported in the media or through friends or family.

From the website <https://femicidiouruguay.net/acerca-de>

Gender-based violence against women in Uruguay

In Uruguay, more than three out of four women aged 15 years or over (76.7%) have experienced some type of gender-based violence in their lifetime, and almost half (47%) have experienced gender-related violence by a partner or ex-partner, according to the results of the second survey on gender-based violence and generations carried out in 2019 (CNCLVD 2020). Both figures show an increase since the first survey six years earlier (68.8%¹ and 45.4% respectively) (CNCLVD and SIPIAV 2013). Regarding femicide, understood as the lethal expression of gender-related violence, according to ECLAC's reports from official data provided by each state, Uruguay has one of the highest rates in Latin America (excluding the Caribbean), 1.4 per 100,000 women, ranking fourth after Bolivia (2.1), Brazil (1.8) and Mexico (1.5) (CEPAL ONU n.d.).

The legal framework in Uruguay that contemplates gender-related murders of women began to take shape with the approval in 2002 of the Domestic Violence Law (Ley n.º 17.514), and most recently consolidated with the inclusion of the figure of "femicide" in the Penal Code in 2017 (Ley n.º 19.538) and the adoption of the Comprehensive Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Gender-based Violence in 2018 (Ley n.º 19.580). These laws provide a framework for recording of violence against women for reasons of gender. Specifically, the Comprehensive Law requires the State to generate quantitative and qualitative data records on gender-based violence, which consider variables such as age, disability status, ethnic or racial origin, religion, territoriality, among other dimensions of discrimination. (Ley n.º 19.580, art. 11 J).

However, official data on femicide do not necessarily reflect the entire phenomenon, for various reasons. On the one hand, state records are not easily accessible and different state institutions produce "discordant data" (Suárez Val 2021). For example, while the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Social Development record all homicide cases that include a gender component as "femicide", in order to offer effective citizen care from their different approaches, the Judicial Power only records as "femicide"

¹ New questions were added to the 2019 survey, compared to 2013. According to the comparable questions, the total number of women who experienced some type of gender-based violence throughout their lives was 72.7%, an increase of four percentage points. The 76.7% figure quoted above includes the new questions.

those cases judged as such.² On the other hand, because the term raises penal controversies (Toledo Vázquez 2009, 62–78), its legal definition does not necessarily include all the modalities that are constructed from feminist theorizations.

The lack or insufficiency of data on femicide in Uruguay, those “missing data” that data feminism (pre)occupies itself with (D’Ignazio and Klein 2020), were part of the motivation to start an activist record of cases of femicide in 2015. However, the driving force was outrage at the cases of femicide and its treatment in the media (Suárez Val 2014).

Beginnings of Femicidio Uruguay

Femicidio Uruguay is a labour of feminist activism, and it aims to denounce and make visible the phenomenon of femicide in Uruguay through monitoring, systematizing, mapping and publishing reusable data backed up with sources. At the same time, the project constitutes a memorial to the women murdered due to their gender.

The initiative arose as part of the mobilizations against femicide that began in November 2014, when the news of the femicide of Yamila Rodríguez shook participants in the First Encounter of Feminisms of Uruguay³, spontaneously calling us to take to the streets to protest against violence against women and the objectifying and revictimizing media treatment of the cases. At that meeting, the Coordinadora de Feminismos del Uruguay⁴ and its commission “Feministas en Alerta y en las Calles”, of which I was initially a part, whose function was to quickly communicate the calls for “Alertas feministas”, actions to take public space that still take place with each new case of femicide (ver Furtado Alonzo and Grabino Etorena 2018; La Internacional Feminista 2018).

As part of our communication work for the alerts, in March 2015 the commission decided to create a collaborative spreadsheet in Google Docs, where all members could document the cases we were protesting, including the name and age of the woman and her relationship with the femicide, the date and place of the femicide, a brief description of the events and a link to a news item on the case. For November 25, 2015, as a contribution to the actions to raise awareness of femicide in Uruguay planned by the Coordinadora within the framework of the International Day to Eliminate Violence against Women, I put together an interactive map of the cases in the Google Spreadsheet, using the ZeeMaps application⁵. The intention was to create a visualization of the cases of femicide in Uruguay that could reverberate

² In some cases the prosecution may not request the aggravating circumstance, due to lack of probative evidence or preference, given the lack of familiarity with a relatively new figure. It may also happen that the aggravating factor is requested but the judge rejects the classification for lack of evidence, ignorance or bad disposition.

³ See <https://encuentrofeminismos.wordpress.com>.

⁴ See <https://www.facebook.com/coord.feminismos.uy>.

⁵ See <https://zeemaps.com>.

through social media and through bodies (Suárez Val 2018). A map full of markers/tears ⁶ as a form of “open grieving” (Butler 2009, 39; ver también 2020): a public display of feminist grief, pain and indignation, opposed to indifference and inaction in the face of femicide (Suárez Val 2018).

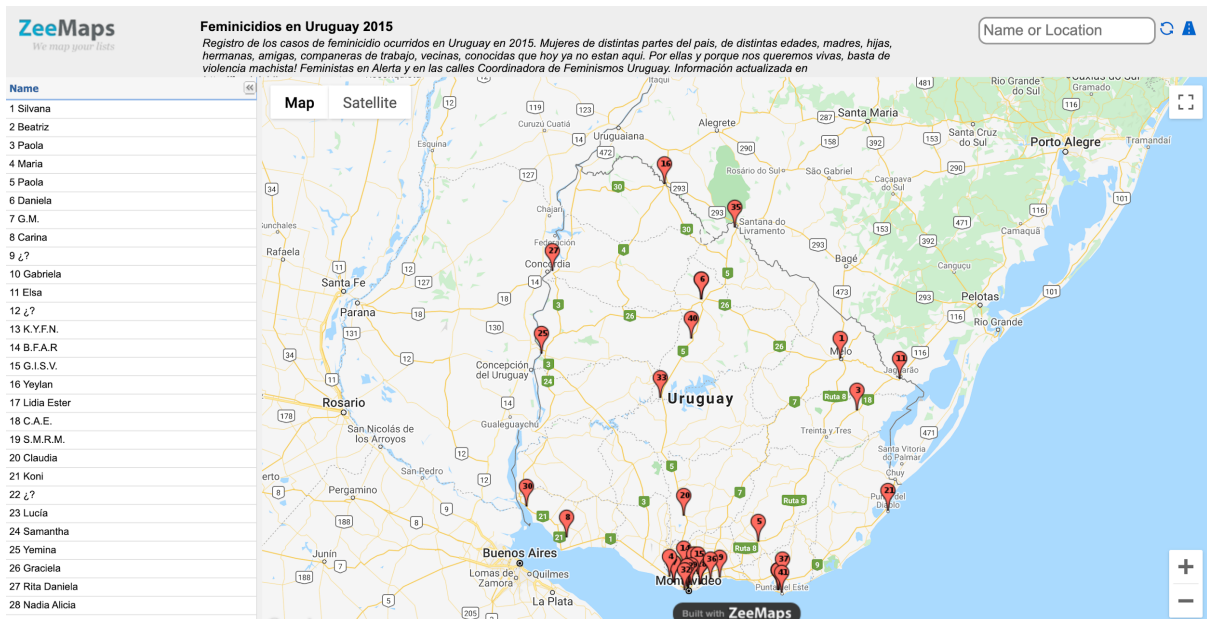


Figure 1. Femicides in Uruguay 2015 (screenshot).

This first mapping of cases was the beginning of the Femicidio Uruguay project. Starting in 2016, I continued to independently record femicide cases, exchanging information or links about the cases with feminist activists such as artist-researcher Hekatherina C. Delgado, who at that time was leading the street intervention La Caída de las Campanas also in response femicides (ver Delgado 2016; Stevens 2020), and communicator Sol Bauzá⁷. In 2017, the activist Yoselin Machin Castro began to collaborate regularly with the project, contributing and corroborating information about the cases.

In summary, Femicidio Uruguay constitutes a continuous and constantly evolving record and mapping of data on femicide and other violent deaths of women in Uruguay. It is voluntary and unremunerated activist work. The data is available to view, share, or download on the project website and dedicated accounts on social networks, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.⁸ The project is available to anyone who wants to collaborate with the monitoring, use the data for their research, or develop communications, pedagogical instances or other events related to the data, to deepen our understanding of femicide in Uruguay.

⁶ In a map of gender violence in Spain, the author writes “I try to create a tear for each victim of gender violence” (Blázquez Carpallo 2017). If the map is rotated, the territory appears covered in tears/markers.

⁷ See <https://casicasiafrica.blogspot.com>.

⁸ See [Circulation of Femicidio Uruguay](#).

Methodology

For the monitoring of Femicidio Uruguay cases, I follow feminist theorizations of the concept of femicide by Latin American feminist authors, such as Marcela Lagarde y de los Ríos (2008) and Rita Segato (2004; 2006; 2011), among others, and I use the guidelines in the Model Latin American Protocol for the Investigation of Violent Deaths of Women for Gender Reasons (femicide/femicide) (Bernal Sarmiento et al. 2014). I take the concept "femicide", instead of "femicide", because I consider, with Lagarde, that this term forces us to examine the context in which the murder of a woman is committed, to consider the implication, in the murder of a woman, of a hierarchical and patriarchal gender system that endorses violence against women and feminized bodies and upholds impunity with the complicity and/or negligence of the states. Not all murders of women are femicides, but, as Ivonne Ramírez (Madrigal et al. 2019, 70) writes and the UN model protocol suggests, all murders of women should be investigated as femicides until proven otherwise.

Femicidio Uruguay includes murders of women committed by their partners or ex-partners, or other relatives in the context of domestic violence, misogynistic murders, murders of trans women (transfemicide (Radi and Sardá-Chandiramani 2016)), sexually motivated murders, murders of sex workers, suicides in the context of gender violence, and other violent deaths of women, girls and adolescents related to sexist violence. Some cases are still not clarified, but whose characteristics strongly indicate that they were femicides. Cases of infanticide of girls are not included, unless a strong gender component is revealed (for example, in cases of linked femicide or when sexual abuse is involved). For the conceptual reasons explained above, the data from Femicidio Uruguay do not always coincide with official data from state institutions or with data from other activist groups (ver Suárez Val 2021).

In all cases, I do my best to present the information as accurately as possible. Data is collected through media monitoring (online, radio, television and printed press) and all data is interpreted from published information, in some cases corroborating with other activist or state sources. In many cases news items are brief or different information is published in different media, sometimes the media correct published articles in the course of a case without leaving a record of the changes made. Full names and other information about the women do not always appear in the press, but are sometimes published on social media by groups or organizations that work with victims of violence, such as Mujeres de Negro Uruguay⁹, or by family or friends.

The geolocation is obtained from the geographical information that appears in news items and the precision depends on available indications. In most cases, geographical location is given at the level of a

⁹ See <https://www.facebook.com/groups/58383368963>.

street, a neighborhood, a city, in other cases, when there are photos or videos "from the crime scene" (both professional and amateur), Google Streetview can be used to compare the images and find an exact location. The date on which the murder took place is recorded or, in cases where the body of a woman is found some time later, an attempt is made to calculate that date from the information available.

Currently, the fields that are recorded in the database are as follows:

Countryside	Format	Value
Woman's name	Text	Full name of the woman or "Name omitted in the media."
Age of the woman	Numeric	Years, or a range of years (for example, 30-40).
Date of femicide	Date	Day Month Year.
Location of femicide	Text	Neighborhood, city or town, department.
Description	Text	Brief description of the event, such as how the woman was found or the circumstances of the murder.
Relationship between the femicide and the woman	Text	It refers to the link between the woman and the perpetrator of her murder. Values: Abuser, Relative, CASE IN PROGRESS, CASE UNCLAIMED, Client, Employer, Family member, Family member (theft), Child, Child (robbery), Mother, Stepfather, Father, Partner or ex-partner, Partner or ex-partner (of a partner), Partner or ex-partner (of a friend), Partner or ex-partner (of a relative), No relationship, Suicide.
Age of the femicide	Number	Years, or a range of years (for example, 30-40).
Space where the body was found	Text	It refers to the physical space, for example, public road, body of water, a woman's home, a couple's home, etc.
Category	Text	Subtype: Intimate femicide, femicide with suicide attempt, femicide-Suicide, Suicide, Transfemicide.
Link	Hyperlink	URL for a media article related to the event.
Prior police records	Text	It refers to police records of domestic violence, but information is also entered when there is evidence of unreported violence. Values: Yes, No, No with qualifier (for example, "No, but neighbors mentioned frequent fights").
Weapon	Text	Type of weapon or method used for the murder.
Other informations	Text	Additional context, for example, if there was sexual abuse or rape, if the woman was a sex worker, if the aggressor was related to the security forces (military, police, security guards), if the case is related to drugs and / or if the victim was a trans woman.
Occupation of the femicide	Text	Occupation of the femicide perpetrator.

More links	Hyperlink	URLs for other articles from which information was taken.
Latitude	Numeric	Latitude coordinates.
Length	Numeric	Longitude coordinates.
Department	Text	One of the 19 administrative divisions of Uruguay.
Country	Text	The list includes some cases outside the country.
Date of admission	Date	For cases that come to light or where relevant information comes out to be categorized as femicide years later, in the "Date" field the date of the murder is entered and in this field the date the case was included in the record.
Input source	Text	It is used when the data is taken from other records.

Table 1. List of fields in the Femicidio Uruguay database.

Database development

The database is continually updated with new cases or new information about cases already recorded and, when they come up in the course of routine searching, I enter cases outside the date range or cases of murders outside the country involving Uruguayan women and men. In addition, I constantly look for new sources of data and for collaborations with other groups or activists working on the issue, in order to complete missing data.

The most important development of the database took place in 2017 when, with permission from its author, I incorporated cases of gender-related murders of women between March 2001 and June 2014, from the record also based on media monitoring meticulously carried out by Haydée Gallego from the NGO Caminos - Centro Interdisciplinary, available on the website "Quiénes eran"¹⁰. To fill the gap between the end of the Caminos record (June 2014) and the start of Femicidio Uruguay (January 2015), cases were retrospectively collected from internet searches for the missing period. Infanticide cases, which are included in the Caminos record, were not imported. As they were not part of the Caminos record, to complete the gaps, data on transfemicide cases for that period were collected from internet searches and from information published in Sofía Vanoli Imperiale's (2014) final degree project on murders of trans women between November 2011 and March 2013. Data on femicide cases prior to 2014 have not yet been geolocated.

Also starting in 2017, in a separate database, I added a record of cases of attempted femicide, a record of other violent deaths of women, including suicides, where the gender motivation is doubtful, and a

¹⁰ See <http://www.caminos.org.uy/quieneseraninicial.htm>. Haydée, in turn, recovered data from the activist record of the "Crespón Negro" campaign, which ran from March 2001 to July 2003 (Labastie 2007).

record of feminicides by relation¹¹ where the victim is male. Cases of violent deaths of women are not included where it is clear from the published information that there was no gender motivation. Initially, I kept this information for my personal use, to follow up on cases when a woman ended up hospitalized in serious condition or when the motivation for the murder was initially unclear. I was very hesitant to make this data public, considering that they are necessarily much more incomplete than the data for cases of consummated feminicide. Not all attempts at feminicide will reach the media - many cases will remain as a visit to the hospital and silence. Not all suicides are reported with sufficient information to elucidate whether that woman was going through a situation of gender-based violence that motivated the outcome. Not all feminicides by relation of men will be reported in the media as such. In many cases, it is not possible to elucidate the gender motivation from what is published in the media. For these reasons, this part of the record should be considered even more incomplete than the record of consummated cases, however the inclusion of these data contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the scope of lethal feminicidal violence.

As of 2020, I began to include data related to the feminicide perpetrators (age and occupation), based on the suggestion and the data collected for 2019 by Camila Hergatacorzian, Marcela Rodríguez and Romina Talarico, who were motivated to understand the incidence in cases of feminicide of some perpetrators' links to security forces (in a national context in which there was public debate, for example, on whether retired police personnel should be allowed to continue to use their regulation firearms (Méndez 2020)). Information about the space where the body was found was also added and the names of some fields were modified for clarity. The task remains of reviewing all cases from years prior to 2019 to include data for these new fields.

These latest modifications to the structure of the Femicidio Uruguay database are in line with a motivation to give greater visibility to feminicide perpetrators and to gender relations within the data. The design of a database - which fields are included or not, the name of the fields, their position relative to others, the type of values that they include - has political and affective effects, by drawing attention to certain entities and relationships (and not others), thus suggesting certain possible actions against feminicide (and not others) (Suárez Val 2019b). The current data structure of Femicidio Uruguay, like other records of this type that also act as memorials, focuses mainly on women. This emphasis puts the social element of gender relations in the background, and may reinforce the notion that gender-based violence is a "women's problem" by making the perpetrators, those healthy children of patriarchy, invisible. The next stages of development of Femicidio Uruguay will focus on this aspect, modifying the

¹¹ Feminicide by relation includes cases where the victim was murdered in order to indirectly cause harm to a woman, for example, a child murdered to "get at" the mother or targeting a woman's new partner. Cases of feminicide by relation where the victim is female are added to the main database.

data structure to more clearly communicate the implication of the gender system, as well as doing a retrospective search to complete the missing data and geolocate all cases in the record.

Related projects

Since I started Feminicidio Uruguay, I have focused my actions on improving my understanding of the use of femicide data as a form of activism and on fostering the consolidation of a community of practice around femicide data to exchange concerns, knowledge and ideas.

In 2016-2017, I obtained an MA in Gender, Media and Culture at Goldsmiths, University of London, where I analyzed, through interviews with activists, how feminist activists amplify affects, and politics, towards the social body through cartographies of femicide that circulate in digital spaces (Suárez Val 2017; 2018). Through that work, I made contact with other activists conducting monitoring and mapping of femicide in Mexico, Ecuador and Spain. It was also then that I contacted Haydée Gallego and we agreed to replicate her data in Feminicidio Uruguay.

I am currently pursuing a doctorate at the Center for Interdisciplinary Methodologies at the University of Warwick, focusing my research on the political and affective effects of the circulation of femicide data on social networks, using digital and qualitative methods. Within the framework of this doctorate, I completed an MA in Social Sciences Research, graduating in 2019 with a study on the political implications of “femicide data frames” (Suárez Val 2019b), based on a comparative analysis of the data structures of Feminicidio Uruguay and an official data set on femicide in 2018 published in the Open Data Catalog of Uruguay (División Políticas de Género and Observatorio Nacional de Violencia y Criminalidad 2019). I hope to complete the PhD in September 2022.

In addition to academic activity, I have developed several artistic and activist collaborations around Femicide Uruguay. For example, at the beginning of the project there was a constant exchange of data with Hekatherina C. Delgado, director of the public intervention La Caída de las Campanas. In another collaboration, on March 8, 2016, a work of video art was shown on a public screen in the center of Montevideo, alternating intimate photographs of clothes of women victims of femicide, taken by photographer Manuela Aldabe, with cartographic images of their murders extracted from Feminicidio Uruguay (Montevideo Portal 2016). In 2018, data activist Paula Domínguez Font proposed that we investigated the possibility of “opening” the Feminicidio Uruguay dataset, publishing it on Wikidata, the collaborative open data platform, a project that is still under development. As of 2020, the organization MundoSur has taken the data for its Latin American Femicide Map.¹² Finally, feminist collectives from

¹² See <https://mundosur.org/femicidios>.

different parts of Uruguay have used the database to create posters, embroidery and other interventions in public spaces, to denounce feminicidal violence and commemorate the lives of women.

Together with Mexican activists Sonia Madrigal, Ivonne Ramírez Ramírez and María Salguero, who map femicide at different geographic levels in Mexico¹³, we have established a working and support group. In 2019, the four of us participated in the Meeting of Critical and Autonomous Geographies in Quito, organized by the Colectivo de Geografía Crítica del Ecuador (2019). Within that meeting, and with Argentine feminist geographer Diana Lan and the Geobrujas group from Mexico, we shared our respective experiences, in a discussion that we called “More than data: feminist actions on societies, territories and bodies to trace and make visible femicide”. Ivonne, María, Sonia and I later published our reflections on monitoring, recording and mapping of cases of femicide in *Femicide Volume XII: Living Victims of Femicide*, a publication of the Academic Council of the United Nations System (Madrigal et al. 2019).

Since mid-2019, Catherine D'Ignazio (Data + Feminism Lab @ MIT), Silvana Fumega (ILDA) and I started a collaborative action-research project with the aim of fostering a community of practice and developing tools around femicide data. In 2020 we held a public event, *Data Against Femicide*¹⁴ aimed at those who work or plan to work with femicide data. Throughout November, we offered a series of sessions in various interactive formats (webinar, workshop, talk and group work) and with simultaneous translation into Spanish, English and Portuguese. Over 500 people registered their interest, from 40 countries and from various sectors: activism, academia, journalism, civil society and state institutions. We look forward to continuing this project to further strengthen the community of practice around femicide data.

Circulation of Femicidio Uruguay

During the first year of Femicide Uruguay, when a new case entered the database, I circulated the information through my personal Facebook account, sharing a screenshot of the case on the map in the private Facebook group “Movimiento Feminista Uruguay”, which was created following the First Encounter of Feminisms of Uruguay. Members of the group shared the publications on their own pages, generating visibility and supporting the mobilizations in the streets.

In November 2016, I decided to separate the project from my personal account and created a Facebook page dedicated to Femicidio Uruguay (<https://facebook.com/femicidio.uruguay>). This page today counts with 3,148 “likes” and posts about cases may have a reach between 500 to 18,000¹⁵. Also in 2016, I activated an account on Twitter (<https://twitter.com/femicidioURY>) that to date 1,277 accounts follow.

¹³ Sonia carries out the work *La Muerte Sale por el Oriente*, mapping cases in the State of Mexico, public intervention and photography (Madrigal n.d.). Ivonne carries out *Ellas Have a Name*, a mapping of femicides in Ciudad Juárez (Ramírez n.d.). María makes *Yo Te Nombro*, the map of femicide cases throughout Mexico (Salguero n.d.).

¹⁴ See <https://idatosabiertos.org/evento/datos-contra-el-femicidio>.

¹⁵ According to Facebook analytics.

Finally, noting the growing use of the platform in Uruguay, in 2018 I activated an account for the project on Instagram (<https://instagram.com/femicidiouruguay>), which are already followed by 5,911 accounts.

In 2017, I decided to create a website for the project (<https://femicidiouruguay.net>), to provide a frame for the map and the database and so that they would be more accessible and reusable, beyond the circulation of the cases on social media. The site includes the map of femicide cases in Uruguay; a page with the different sheets of the database; a page with information about the project; and another page where I share a mapping of 78 projects in Latin America¹⁶ of monitoring, registration and / or mapping of cases of femicide. In the last year (03/31/2020 - 03/31/2021) the site has had 4,800 visits / 3,700 visitors.

These figures may seem small, but as well as the relatively small population of Uruguay, it must be taken into account that the growth of Femicidio Uruguay online and on social media has been totally organic (that is, it has not been achieved through paid advertisements).

Analysis of cases between 2001 and 2021

They are not numbers, they are women.

I include in this section a brief analysis of the data held in Femicidio Uruguay, always remembering that behind these numbers there are women, families, friends and whole social networks directly affected by each case of femicide. As quantitative methodologies are not my specialty, the analysis presented here is basic. My hope is that researchers or data journalists can use the record of cases to deepen our understanding of the phenomenon.

Between March 31, 2001 and March 31, 2020, 571 cases of femicide were recorded in Uruguayan territory. The database also includes eight cases that occurred abroad and three cases prior to March 31, 2001, making a total of 582 women murdered due to their gender. It is important to remember that, since the record relies on media coverage of femicide cases, it is possible that there are more cases that are not recorded in the database.

Generally, the annual rate of femicide is calculated for every 100,000 women, women being the population at risk of femicide. In this case, the average rate in Uruguay in the 20 years that the record comprises is 1.67 (per 100,000 women).¹⁷ However, considering that practically all the perpetrators in the

¹⁶ This mapping is part of my ongoing quest to learn from other projects and expand the community of practice on femicide data.

¹⁷ The average number of cases was calculated by dividing the total number of cases x 20 years between March 31, 2001 and March 31, 2021 (571 cases). Some years have had higher rates than others (see figure 3). The rates were calculated using the total population identified as "male" or "female", according to data from the 2011 Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2011).

database are men, it might make sense to think of the rate from the point of view of the population at risk of *committing* femicide. In this case, the femicide rate is 1.81 (per 100,000 men). In other words, almost two out of every 100,000 men in Uruguayan territory have murdered a woman due to their gender in the last 20 years.

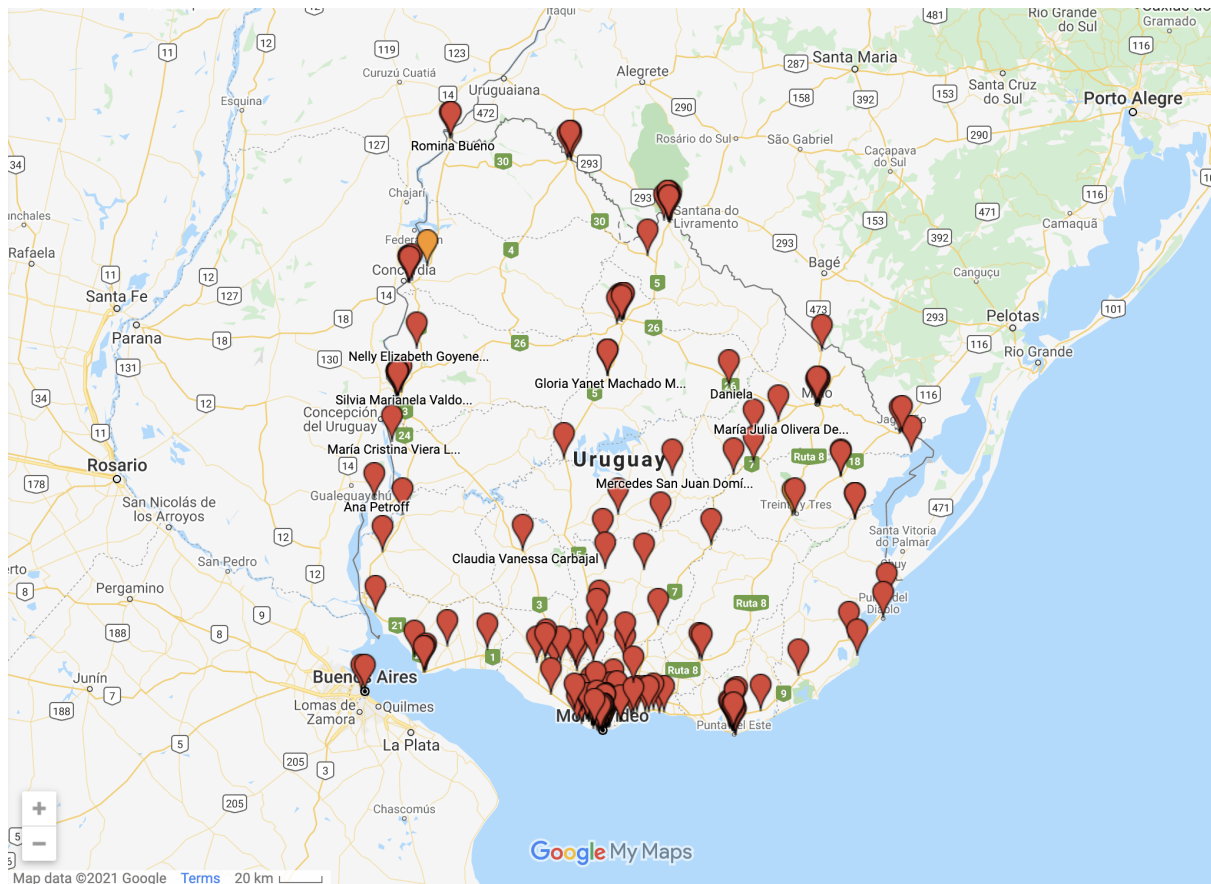


Figure 2. Map of femicides in Uruguay 2014-2021 (as of March 31, 2021) (screenshot)

The map shows the Uruguayan territory covered with femicide, with the highest concentration in the most populated areas to the south (Montevideo and Canelones have more than 50% of the total population). However, when breaking down cases by department (see table 2), we see that it is not these areas that have the highest rates. Treinta y tres (with only 1.46% of the country's population) is the department with the highest rate (4.06 per 100,000 men), followed by Cerro Largo (3.29) and Florida (2.88). These numbers in themselves do not explain much, they are only a clue to begin to investigate the needs and priorities for attention and care, community action, and national and local public policies against femicide. In order to go deeper, it would be necessary to carry out investigations of an ecological model type (Heise 1998; Vives-Cases 2011), which could analyze the geographical and temporal distribution of cases of femicide together with other variables related to gender (in)equality at personal, community and society levels, including, among others, availability and access to services for

care and prevention of gender-based violence, political participation of women, differential access to education, health and the labor market (Suárez Val 2019a).

<i>Departamento</i>	Casos	% del total de Casos	Tasa anual (por 100.000 mujeres)	Tasa anual (por 100.000 hombres)
Artigas	15	2,63%	2,01	2,08
Canelones	77	13,49%	1,44	1,52
Cerro Largo	27	4,73%	3,09	3,29
Colonia	20	3,50%	1,59	1,66
Durazno	6	1,05%	1,04	1,06
Flores	6	1,05%	2,36	2,43
Florida	19	3,33%	2,79	2,88
Lavalleja	5	0,88%	0,83	0,87
Maldonado	35	6,13%	2,10	2,16
Montevideo	218	38,18%	1,55	1,78
Paysandú	19	3,33%	1,64	1,72
Río Negro	6	1,05%	1,10	1,09
Rivera	27	4,73%	2,54	2,68
Rocha	17	2,98%	2,44	2,55
Salto	11	1,93%	0,86	0,90
San José	13	2,28%	1,20	1,20
Soriano	12	2,10%	1,44	1,47
Tacuarembó	19	3,33%	2,07	2,15
Treinta y Tres	19	3,33%	3,84	4,06
Suma total	571	100,00%	1,67	1,81

Table 2. Femicides in Uruguay between March 19, 2001 and March 31, 2021, by department.

In the last 20, some years have had higher rates than others but, according to linear statistical analysis of the data¹⁸, the trend is on the increase ($R^2 = 0.023$) (see graph 3). This could be related to an increase in the visibility of cases in the media or it could reflect an actual increase in cases. In order to elucidate further, it would be necessary to compare the data from Femicidio Uruguay with official data from the Ministry of the Interior and the Judiciary. One example of the use of activist and official data together is the Ministry of the Interior's report on intimate femicides in the period 2012-2016 (Gambetta Sacías and Coraza Ferrari 2017), which used the Caminos record as a supplementary source.

¹⁸ I applied the "Trend" function in Google Spreadsheets.

Femicidio Uruguay

No son cifras, son mujeres

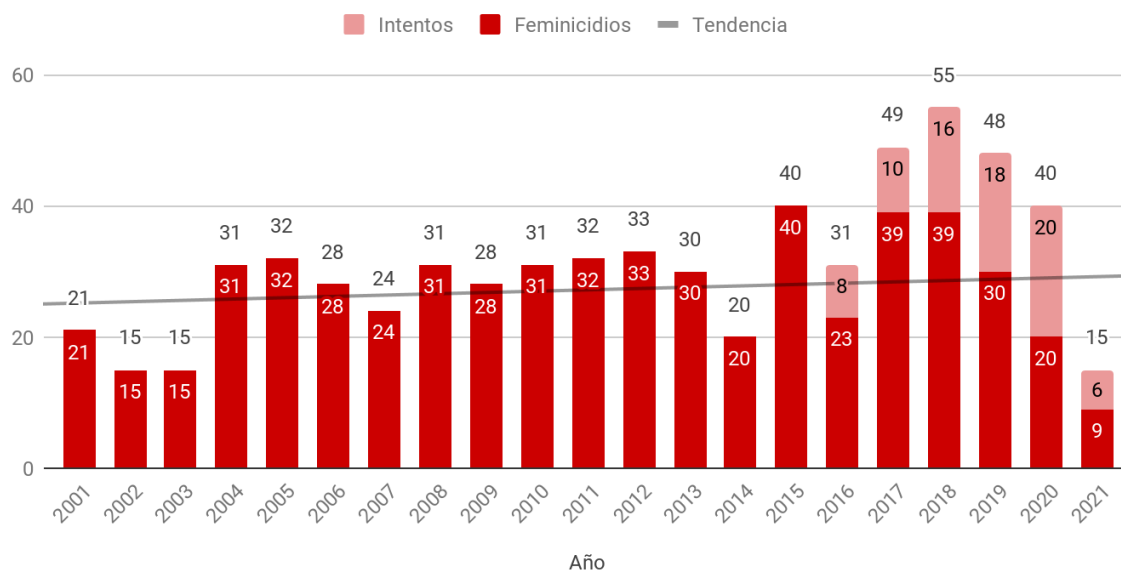


Figure 3. Femicides in Uruguay between March 31, 2001 and March 31, 2021, by year.

Starting in 2016, I began to record cases of attempted femicide. The inclusion of this data, despite being even more incomplete than data on consummated cases of femicide,¹⁹ contributes to having a slightly more complete vision of the phenomenon. For example, in 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic, 20 cases of femicide were recorded, a relatively “low” number compared to other years.²⁰ In contrast, both globally and nationally, during that year feminist organizations and state institutions reported an increase in reports and calls to hotlines for gender-based violence (ver Espino and de los Santos 2020; Fumega 2020). When we add the attempts (20) recorded in the database, we see that there were actually *at least* 40 possible femicides during 2020, always bearing in mind that not all femicide attempts reach the media and therefore the record. In the first three months of 2021, still going through the pandemic and economic crisis, there have been at least nine cases of consummated femicide and six attempts.

This brief analysis of the data seems to suggest that, despite advances in legislation, in practice, Uruguayan women today run a risk of being victims of femicidal violence that is not so different from 20 years ago. Much more is needed, starting with allocating an adequate budget for the full implementation of the comprehensive law to guarantee women a life free of gender-based violence, a demand from feminist organizations in Uruguay to which I add my voice (Prensa Latina 2020).

¹⁹ On this point, see the [Database development](#) section.

²⁰ We can never truly talk about a low number of femicides until we reach zero, because what we want is Ni Una Menos (Not One Woman Less).

Closing

In this brief report, I have presented some aspects of the experience of monitoring and mapping cases of femicide in Uruguay, an activist, unremunerated and voluntary work that I have been carrying out since 2015. There is much to do to continue developing the Femicidio Uruguay project, from improving the database to continuing to explore artistic, activist and academic collaborations. I hope in the future to be able to produce reports with much more analysis and many fewer cases, until the day we will reach Ni Una Menos.

Through carrying out Femicidio Uruguay, I have met many committed people and I have learned, and continue to learn, about data practices, about femicide and about feminism. I thank all the women who continue to accompany and teach me, especially Elena Fonseca who encouraged me to write this report (among many other things), Yoselin for staying firm, Ivonne, Sonia and María for forming an essential WhatsApp group, Catherine and Silvana because our thinking is action, Nirmal Puwar, who one day received me in her office and opened the door to academia, and Hekatherina, who reminds me, always, of how to be and do feminist politics.

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