



ADDRESSING THE ROOT CAUSE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN FROM A ROMANIAN FORENSIC PERSPECTIVE

Carmen-Corina Radu¹, Timur Hoge¹, Dan-Perju Dumbravă², Cosmin Carașca¹

¹George Emil Palade University of Medicine, Pharmacy, Science, and Technology of Târgu Mureș, Romania

²Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University of Cluj Napoca, Faculty of Law, Romania

Summary: *Introduction. The violence against women sadly represents a highly prevalent phenomenon, in recent years Romania has faced a concerning increase in violence against women and domestic violence in particular. This dark reality underscores the need for urgent and coordinated action by state institutions, NGOs, and civil society, being a harsh reality in forensic medicine. Purpose of the research. The aim of this paper is to highlight the problems that contribute to domestic violence especially violence against women in Romania based on our daily forensic practice, pointing out some possible solutions. Materials and methods. We identified a complex etiology underlying this phenomenon, with real limitations imposed by administrative data collection in Romania, hindering the fair assessment of public policies and current legislation. Results. Based on the data collected for 2021, women represent the lead majority of domestic violence cases. 23,498 women suffered assault or other acts of violence, 4,431 were threatened (according to Article 206 of the New Criminal Code), and 100 women were raped. 19,094 of the perpetrators are or have been married to the victim, and 11,287 are current or former partners. Discussions. We reiterate the need to create an integrated system for collecting data on domestic violence and other forms of violence against women. We present the current situation from a forensic point of view, options available for the victim, and possible solutions. Conclusions. Collecting and publicly presenting incomplete/truncated data can lead public opinion to conclude that violence against women is a marginal phenomenon in Romanian society.*

Keywords. *Domestic violence, violence against women, victim management, contributing factors, stereotypes, social education, forensics*

Introduction: The violence against women sadly represents a highly prevalent phenomenon in all societies, dating back to ancient times, and severely affecting women's health and safety. It inherently

constitutes a breach of democratic principles and rights and is the most frequent and widespread violation of human rights. The World Health Organization estimates that around one-third of women worldwide are victims of acts of violence [1]. Victims generally do not go to doctors or even if they do, they don't benefit from adequate information or their constitutional rights to health, corporeal integrity, and fair justice [2].

The Istanbul Convention, the most comprehensive international treaty that addresses this serious violation of human rights, represents the convention that aims at preventing and fighting against violence towards women and domestic violence, being adopted in 2011 by the European Council [2], an organization that protects human rights and democracy, which brings together 46 states, including our country.

The Convention aims to protect women against all forms of violence by preventing, criminalizing, and eliminating violence against women and domestic violence [3]. The contribution to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women by promoting gender equality, as well as the emancipation of women, by protecting and supporting all victims of violence against women are some of the proposed directions. In essence, the convention constitutes a new call for equality between women and men within the society of which they belong, knowing that violence against women is deeply rooted in this inequality and is perpetuated by a culture of intolerance and denial. At the same time, it recognizes the phenomenon of violence against women as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination. It is the first international treaty to contain a definition of gender (the role that society assigns to men and women) and indicates the behavior, activities and attributes considered appropriate for women and men. Several crimes are also marked, such as forced sterilization, female genital mutilation, or psychological violence.

World Health Organization (WHO) supports the prevention of violence in general and domestic violence in particular, by supporting victims who have survived violence, helping to protect women's human rights, and promoting physical and mental health [2].

In recent years, Romania has faced a concerning increase in violence against women, a problem that has become increasingly prominent in our society. Rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment are just a few of the forms of violence that have disproportionately affected women in our country. This dark reality underscores the need for urgent and coordinated action by state institutions, NGOs, and civil society.

Understanding the complex etiology underlying the emergence of violent behaviors against women in the family/couple setting proves to be a rather challenging process. One of the main contributing factors to the increase in violence against women is the perpetuation of harmful cultural and social norms. Gender stereotypes and preconceived notions about women's roles in society can create an environment conducive to violence and abuse. The culture promoted in the media that minimizes or even justifies violence against women can make them feel unsupported and hesitant to seek help or report abuse.

Another crucial factor is the lack of effective protection and support systems for victims of domestic violence and other forms of gender-based aggression. Despite the efforts made by authorities and non-governmental organizations to provide services and shelters for abused women, resources often remain insufficient or inadequate to meet demand. Additionally, the lack of awareness and training of personnel within state institutions (judicial system, law enforcement agencies, healthcare system) regarding the sensitive treatment of victims can frequently lead to their retraumatization.

Furthermore, underreporting and underestimation of violence against women are major issues in Romania. The interconnection of numerous factors, such as fear of reprisals, social stigma, and unfortunately, lack of trust in the authorities, can discourage victims from reporting abuse. This leads to an underestimation of the actual extent of the problem, directly resulting in underfunding of services for victims. Since 2000, under pressure from international organizations and feminist associations, steps have been taken towards creating a legislative and institutional framework to combat domestic violence, steps continued through our country's accession to the EU and alignment with its norms and values. An important moment was the ratification of the Istanbul Convention in 2016 [3].

The concept of domestic violence is regulated in Romania by Law no. 217 of May 22, 2003 (republished) for the prevention of domestic violence, published in the Official Journal no. 948 of October 15, 2020, as any inaction or intentional action of physical, sexual, psychological, economic, social, spiritual or cybercrime, which occurs in the family or domestic environment, or between spouses or former spouses, as well as between current or former partners, regardless of whether the aggressor lives or has lived with the victim. Romania signed the Istanbul Convention in June 2014 and thus committed to adopt, promote, and respect a series of solid measures to ensure the adequate prevention of the violence phenomenon. The Convention applies to women and minors from any social background, regardless of age, race, religion, social origin, immigrant status or sexual orientation [4].

The World Health Organization considers virginity tests to be a violation of human rights, and in reports and analyses on violence against women, this practice is strongly denounced. In Romania this was mainly conducted at the request of the parents, who later would obtain financial benefits by demonstrating the virginity of the young woman who was about to get married. By introducing „The procedural norms regarding the conduct of expertise, findings, and other forensic work”, approved by the joint Order of the Minister of Health and the Minister of Justice no. 1434/687/C/2023, starting from April 2023 forensic medicine no longer issues certificates of virginity status, which are officially regarded as gender discrimination.

Purpose of the research: The aim of this paper is to highlight the most important problems that contribute to domestic violence especially violence against women in Romania based on our daily forensic practice and pointing out possible solutions.

Materials and methods: The first country report of the GREVIO group regarding the implementation of the provisions of this convention was published in 2022 and represents an extremely useful tool for understanding how the Romanian state has proved ineffective in combating violence against women. Overall, although acknowledging efforts made in several directions, the report highlights many aspects that have either not been addressed at all, have been initiated but are rather at the legislative level or promoted as part of plans and strategies, with implementation being precarious or non-existent. One of the chapters where we are deficient is data collection: “Romania does not have an integrated system for collecting data on domestic violence and other forms of violence against women”. [5]

Additionally, the reason why the Gender Equality Index [6] does not calculate the score for the field of violence against women is that there are not enough comparable data for all EU countries, about Romania stating: “Insufficient data to assess violence against women. Romania does not have a score in the violence domain, due to the lack of comparable data at the EU level” (Gender Equality Index 2022). This in itself is an indicator that public policies in the field of gender equality and violence against women are insufficiently developed and implemented: any public policy manual stipulates that the diagnosis stage is essential for developing relevant and consistent strategies. To quote from the GREVIO report [5]: “Another area of concern is the absence of an integrated data collection system on domestic violence and other forms of violence against women. The limitations imposed by administrative data collection in Romania do not allow for a comprehensive perspective on gender-based violence against women and domestic violence, hindering the fair assessment of public policies and current legislation. Therefore, the report emphasizes the need to improve data collection and implement an integrated data collection system (police, judicial authorities, health system) based on harmonized categories, which allows tracking the evolution of cases throughout the entire procedural process, covering all forms of violence against women as defined by the Istanbul Convention and disaggregated by sex, age, type of offense, and type of relationship between the perpetrator and the victim.”

How can priorities and objectives be set, how can actions be identified and indicators and deadlines be established if the true dimensions of the phenomenon are not even known?

Results: In the European Union, in 2021, Eurostat recorded 720 cases of femicide reported by an intimate partner, family member or relative, from 17 of the member states (the others did not transmit data) [6].

In the first 6 months of 2022, data on domestic violence recorded by the Romanian Police show that 18,507 women were victims of acts of violence, including: 18 cases of homicide, 13 attempted homicides, and 12,801 cases of bodily harm. In the Romanian Constitution it is written that “The right to life, as well as the right to physical and mental integrity of the person are guaranteed” (art. 22, para. 1). Therefore, the Romanian state failed to guarantee the fundamental rights enshrined in its own Constitution.

NSI data for the year 2021 showed that only 2,953 women were victims of acts of violence. Based on data collected by the Romanian Police, in 2021, 33,970 women were victims of acts of violence based on reports. Based on reports of acts of violence, a total of 51,222 victims were identified, of which 42,677 were adults and 8,545 were minors. In the case of adults, the victims are mostly women (33,970), while in the case of minors, both boys and girls are victims (4,163 boys and 4,382 girls). Among adults, 23,498 women suffered assault or other acts of violence, 4,431 were threatened (according to Article 206 of the New Criminal Code), and 100 women were raped. 19,094 of the perpetrators are or have been married to the victim, and 11,287 are current or former partners.

As in many other countries, In Romania, domestic violence is underrepresented or unrecognized by the responsible authorities [7]. The Romanian Police only collect data on domestic violence, data that do not cover all forms of violence against women provided for in the Istanbul Convention and not even those provided for in national legislation. Moreover, the Penal Code (art. 177 and art. 199) maintains the restrictive

definition of “family members,” which excludes partner perpetrators of acts of violence who do not live in the same household as the victim.

Continuing, we will refer to the definitions of violence from *Law 217/2003* for the prevention and combating of domestic violence, emphasizing that in the first iterations of this law the term “violence in the family” was kept in the title.

According to Article 4, domestic violence manifests in the following forms:

a) *Verbal violence* - addressing with insulting, brutal language, such as the use of insults, threats, degrading or humiliating words and expressions.

b) *Psychological violence* - imposing one’s will or personal control, causing states of tension and psychological suffering in any way and by any means, through verbal threats or in any other manner, blackmail, demonstrative violence towards objects and animals, ostentatious display of weapons, neglect, control of personal life, acts of jealousy, coercion of any kind, unauthorized surveillance, surveillance of the victim’s residence, workplace, or other frequented places, making phone calls or other types of communications through remote transmission means, which, through frequency, content, or timing, create fears, as well as other actions with similar effects;

c) *Physical violence* - bodily harm or injury through hitting, shoving, throwing, hair pulling, stabbing, cutting, burning, strangling, biting, in any form and to any degree of intensity, including those masked as accidents, poisoning, intoxication, as well as other actions with similar effects, subjecting to exhausting physical efforts or activities with a high risk to life, health, and bodily integrity, other than those under point e);

d) *Sexual violence* - sexual assault, imposition of degrading acts, harassment, intimidation, manipulation, brutality to force sexual relations, marital rape.

e) *Economic violence, social violence, spiritual violence, cyber violence* - are not subject to the activity of the forensic physician.

It is worth mentioning *Article 2*, which stipulates that “in no form and under no circumstances can custom, culture, religion, tradition, and honor be considered justification for any type of violent acts defined in this law.”

The new Penal Code provides in *Article 199* that crimes such as murder, qualified murder, assault or other violence, bodily harm, and assaults or injuries causing death committed against a family member are punished more severely, with the maximum limit of these punishments increasing by one quarter.

In cases of intrafamily violence, the police can act following the submission of a written complaint at the headquarters of the police unit in the victim’s area of residence (if made by the victim, it is called a complaint, if made by a witness, it is called a denunciation), following a telephone call to the duty officer of the police section/unit in that area, a request to the Single Emergency Call Service 112 (which can be made by anyone aware of such events), by calling 0800.500.333, the national toll-free number for victims of domestic violence, discrimination based on sex, and human trafficking, or by a verbal report made directly to a police officer on patrol. The police can also act *ex officio* when intervening in another case or even through mass media/social networks.

Reports of such acts of domestic violence can also be made by persons holding leadership positions within a public administration authority or within other public authorities, public institutions, as well as by any person with control duties who, in the exercise of their duties, become aware of the commission of a crime for which criminal action is initiated *ex officio*. They are obliged to immediately report to the criminal prosecution body and take measures to ensure that the traces of the crime, the *corpus delicti*, and any other means of evidence do not disappear. (*Article 291 Criminal Procedure Code*)

The victim should know that they can file a prior complaint with the criminal investigation body or the prosecutor. The right to file such a complaint is personal and belongs entirely to the injured party. The prior criminal complaint can also be filed by a proxy, in which case the power of attorney must be drawn up specifically for this purpose and must remain attached to the complaint throughout the proceedings.

Criminal action in the case of offenses punishable upon the prior complaint of the injured party may target one or more of the following articles:

- assault or other violence (*Article 193 of the Penal Code*)
- bodily harm (*Article 194 of the Penal Code*)
- violence in the family (*Article 199 of the Penal Code*)
- illegal deprivation of liberty (*Article 205 of the Penal Code*)
- threat (*Article 206 of the Penal Code*)
- blackmail (*Article 207 of the Penal Code*)

- harassment (Article 208 of the Penal Code)
- rape in non-aggravating forms (Article 218 paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 of the Penal Code)
- sexual assault in non-aggravating forms (Article 219 paragraph 1 of the Penal Code)
- sexual harassment (Article 223)
- home invasion (Article 224 of the Penal Code)
- theft among family members (Article 231 paragraph 1 of the Penal Code)
- destruction (Article 253 paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 of the Penal Code)
- abusive use of function for sexual purposes (Article 299 of the Penal Code)

For some of the articles mentioned, the victim may decide to withdraw the complaint, a situation that extinguishes the previously initiated criminal action, and the aggressor is no longer punished.

In the case of the offense of assault or other violence or bodily harm committed against a family member, criminal action can be initiated *ex officio* (i.e., not at the request of the victim), and in this case, the victim's will to stop the punishment of the aggressor cannot be expressed anymore.

For other categories of offenses (for which the law does not require the introduction of a prior criminal complaint), the criminal investigation authorities do not need the victim's explicit expression of will, to hold the perpetrator accountable, regardless of how they became aware of the crime.

Discussions: In Romania, state institutions have conducted extremely few national investigations related to perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of violence: the only detected study was ANES conducted by CCSAS [8]. National Survey Institute (NSI) has started to develop a series of statistics, including "Gender Equality," which has a sub-objective called "Elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls, in public and private spheres, including trafficking, sexual exploitation, and other forms of exploitation." Out of the 9 defined targets, only one concerns violence against women, the rest focusing on domestic violence, but even this measures data on domestic violence against women.

We reiterate the need to create an integrated system for collecting data on domestic violence and other forms of violence against women. Collecting and publicly presenting incomplete/truncated data can lead public opinion to conclude that violence against women is a marginal phenomenon in Romanian society. We have emphasized the lack of data and their role in the development of public policies to show the urgent need for quantitative and qualitative research that can provide the necessary information to understand the extent, as well as the causes and forms of manifestation of violence against women.

Unraveling the etiological complex that causes violent behavior against women in the family/couple is a rather difficult process. One of the main causes that determine the occurrence of domestic violence refers to the social attitudes and stereotypes that legitimize the dominant role of men and the subordinate role of women that have been perpetuated throughout human history. Thus, the mentality regarding male superiority is a main responsible factor in the manifestation of the phenomenon of domestic violence. It should not be forgotten that in Romania, especially in rural areas, the family is seen as a private sphere, under the control of men, based on the patriarchal relationship model, in which the man decides, and the woman listens, conforms, and follows him. Another problem is the perception of marriage dissolution. There is still, inherited through education, the perspective according to which divorce is the recognition of a women's failure, her being considered the primarily responsible for the family unit. In the mental state of fear caused by the partner's aggressions, the victim goes, in the first instance, to her family of origin and to the neighborhood, where, unfortunately, she may encounter a reaction of disapproval towards the intention to destroy his home. Unfortunately, many of the victims, discouraged, give up at this point and no longer hope that their situation can change or that someone can help them. Violent conflicts inside the family, in which the woman is the victim, gradually become known among the entourage and the community in which they live, and the lack of reaction of those around denotes indifference or even tacit approval.

Another cultural aspect that decisively contributes to the occurrence of violent behaviors in couples is represented by the fact that violence is seen as a form of resolving tense/conflict situations. This is visible not only at the family/couple level, but also at the community level and in the way of dealing with other types of conflict situations. Through violence, an attempt is made to impose one's own vision on issues that raise disagreements [9].

Means of mass communication. It cannot be said that the media creates violence, but it contributes to its maintenance and undoubtedly has a role in increasing the level of aggression. It is difficult to quantify the extent to which the mass media is responsible for the intensification of violent behaviors, but the tendency is towards the liberalization of media activities, without being doubled by an effective control or self-control

over the quality and responsibility of the impact of the dissemination of information, reported at the level of public understanding. Violence is a form of aggression that is learned, and the easiest form of learning is imitation, and media has an essential role in this. Even if there were no acts of aggression in the family of origin, violence abounds in society, schools, television programs from news to cartoons and social media.

Socio-economic factors. Poverty is one of the most often incriminated factors responsible for the emergence and proliferation of family violence. The inability to satisfy certain material needs determines the frustration of the individual, frustration that generates, in turn, a negative energy that spills over into family life. However this type of behavior occurs in all environments, so we should not conclude that domestic violence is a characteristic of poor families, without reaching the middle or upper classes from an economic point of view.

Legal factors. The heavy legal procedures applicable in the case of requesting custody of children, the lack of training of specialists from public institutions - social workers, prosecutors, psychologists are other factors that make it difficult to prevent and combat the phenomenon. At the same time, the lack of confidence in the legal system can be an aggravating factor.

Political factors. The lack of political interest in women's issues, in general, and in domestic violence, in particular, family being considered as a private space and by limiting the state's intervention in the couple's life, favors the perpetuation of domestic violence in society [9].

Abusers. They are often described as having low self-esteem, excessive jealousy, aggressive and hostile personalities, low communication skills, low social skills, intense need for power or feelings of helplessness, anxiety or strong fear of abandonment, narcissistic personalities, and selfishness. Most of the time, violent people in couples seem not to be aware or responsible for their actions or have unbalanced personalities, unable to control their anger or temper. However, except for pathological cases, the aggressors are normal people from a psychological point of view, belonging to all social categories, without essential differences in terms of education or social hierarchy [9]. From a legal point of view, the lack of recognition of guilt, suggests that the person still represents a public danger, compared to those who assume responsibility for the committed acts [10].

The interviews conducted by the law authorities with the aggressors, as part of their investigation, highlighted, in almost all cases, a dysfunctional attitude towards the partner and towards the situation, characterized by minimizing responsibility for one's own behavior and transferring responsibility for the state of violence onto the partner or other persons or situations that negatively influenced cohabitation with the partner [9].

Victims. At the same time, the personality characteristics of the victim play an important role in the emergence and proliferation of violent behavior in couples. Social learning theory explains why it is difficult for women to get out of a violent relationship, because just as aggressive behavior is learned, so is the attitude and behavior of helplessness, passive behavior, lack of reaction to violence. Women learn that violence is out of their control, or that it is normal, and thus become depressed and unable to help themselves. They come to regard violence as a given of their destiny, to accept it because of a wrong choice, and to try nothing more than to reduce its intensity, because they cannot imagine any other type of life [9].

The abusive process. Except for some atypical cases, there is a certain pattern of the abusive process. The first violent manifestations can appear quite early, the relationship begins with arguments, which very easily can turn into physical violence, in the absence of valid arguments from the partners. The abusive process can begin with the emergence of tensions, requests for explanations, with the progressive desire of control, with verbal, emotional, physical abuse, with restrictions/limitations imposed on the victim and can reach the point of exceeding the human limits of security and conservation. In the first phase, victims are not aware of or do not give importance to the various types of aggression that are directed towards their own person. This process can produce a personal devaluation of the victim, accompanied by a gradual decrease in self-esteem. The emotional life of the victim deteriorates, a series of dysfunctions appear even in terms of social life, relationships with friends, acquaintances, relatives, colleagues being affected. Often, at the beginning, the victim finds/invents numerous excuses for the partner's violent manifestations (tiredness/stress, alcohol consumption, or just that it simply happened once). The victim does not react appropriately, remains silent or avoids the partner, may be understanding, calm. A mechanism of denial is activated, of refusing to recognize that the problem is real. In this way, the feedback that is transmitted to the partner is that of accepting the abuse, a message sent without the victim realizing that she is actually giving consent to such behaviors. At this stage, abused women still have some control, but not over the partner, but over the situation itself. The repetition of these incidents, however, will generate anger, and then fear, which

will continuously fuel the tension in the couple and cause the victim's progressive loss of control over the situation. The passive acceptance of the partner's aggressive behavior, as well as the stereotypes related to the man's rights in the family, can encourage the aggressor to lose control and become more and more violent. He can also become more possessive, more brutal, he will use humiliation, mockery, and the woman will eventually become unable to restore the balance of the relationship and defend herself. The apparent permissiveness of the victim towards the aggression, defensive reaction, and the tendency to withdraw can be factors that will trigger even more aggressive behavior of the aggressor [9]. Aggressive behaviour is increased among people with a criminal record. Through repeated psychological and behavioural assessment, the risk of relapse in these persons can be reduced. Even though this recurrence sometimes occurs after years, at this time in our country, the risk of relapse is very high [10].

Family abuse has been politically and legislatively addressed in many countries with the purpose of providing increased support to those affected. In some countries, reporting domestic violence is mandatory, which means that anyone not only 'can' but also 'must' file a report, which is enough for criminal proceedings, even against the victim's desire [11].

Conclusions: To address this complex and concerning issue, a comprehensive and coordinated approach to the existing legislative framework is necessary to ensure real protection for the victim and punishment for the aggressor. First and foremost, it is essential to work on changing mentalities and cultural norms that tacitly support and indirectly promote violence against women. Attitude change can come through the introduction of civic education classes in schools, communities, and workplaces, with this subject as the main theme, raising awareness of the true extent of this scourge. Civil society psychoeducation can play a crucial role in changing perceptions and promoting gender equality. Forensic medicine can contribute to increasing the population's trust in the authorities and awareness of domestic violence as a public health problem.

Furthermore, it is imperative to strengthen protection and support systems for victims of domestic violence and other forms of aggression. This involves ensuring easy and timely access to counseling services, safe shelters, providing counseling, psychological support, and legal assistance for affected women, including assistance in obtaining protection orders or filing complaints against aggressors. Improving the training and sensitization of personnel in the judicial system, law enforcement, and medical personnel to identify signs of domestic violence is essential to ensure prompt reporting, victim management, and smooth conduct of legal proceedings.

Not to be overlooked, we consider it necessary to establish intervention and rehabilitation programs for aggressors that address the causes of violent behavior and provide support for its change.

Ultimately, it is crucial for all members of civil society to be involved in combating violence against women through awareness programs, training, and mutual support. By promoting a culture of respect, gender equality, and solidarity, we can build a society where women are treated with dignity and are protected against any form of violence and abuse. This mentality would encourage and support women's participation in decision-making processes at the political, economic, and social levels, promoting changes in social structures and norms that perpetuate violence against women.

In conclusion, violence against women is a serious and complex problem in Romania that requires immediate and coordinated action from authorities, NGOs, and the entire civil society. By addressing the root cause of violence and strengthening protection and support systems for victims, we can hope to create a society where women are treated with respect and dignity, and where violence against them becomes a painful memory of the past.

References:

1. <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>, accessed in 26 march 2024
2. Pădure A, Țurcanu-Donțu A. *Violența în familie și în bază de gen - suport de curs*. 2021. ISBN 978-9975-87-921-7.
3. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/gender-matters/council-of-europe-convention-on-preventing-and-combating-violence-against-women-and-domestic-violence>.
4. <https://gov.ro/en/government/cabinet-meeting/the-draft-law-on-the-ratification-of-the-istanbul-convention-approved-by-the-executive>.
5. Baseline Evaluation Report Romania, GREVIO - Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, 16 iunie 2022, <https://rm.coe.int/final-report-on-romania/1680a6e439>, accessed in 26 march 2024
6. <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2023/domain/violence>, accessed in 26 march 2024
7. DP Dumbrava, DI Ureche, C Rebeleanu, CC Radu. *Forensic and psychiatric perspectives indomestic violence*. Human and Veterinary Medicine, 2019.
8. <https://anes.gov.ro/legislatie-nationala-violenta-domestica/>, accessed in 26 march 2024
9. <https://www.politiaromana.ro/ro/prevenire/violenta-domestica/cauzele-violentei-domestice>, accessed in 26 march 2024

10. Ureche DI, Radu CC, Szigyarto E, Chiroban O, Micluția I. Evaluation of aggressive behaviour in forensic practice in Romania. *Rom J Leg Med.* 2018; 26:97-10.
11. Moreira DN, Pinto da Costa M. Should domestic violence be or not a public crime? *J Public Health (Oxf).* 2021 Dec 10;43(4):833-838.

Timur Hoge, MD, PhD student, assistant professor at *George Emil Palade* University of Medicine, Pharmacy, Science, and Technology of Târgu Mureș, Romania, e-mail timur.hogea@umfst.ro, ORCID ID 0000-0002-6575-4925