

THE ROLE OF THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE IN THE PREVENTION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SERBIA

Saša Marković¹, Siniša Dostić²

¹University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade, Republic of Serbia, e-mail: sasamarkovic975@gmail.com

²Faculty of Business Studies and Law "Union - Nikola Tesla" University, Belgrade, Republic of Serbia,
e-mail: sinisa.dostic@fsp.edu.rs

Abstract: By ratifying the Istanbul Convention, Serbia has committed itself to ensuring that the police are adequately involved in the prevention of domestic violence as soon as such cases occur. Unlike in criminal proceedings, where the public prosecutor is responsible for prosecuting perpetrators of domestic violence, the police play a dominant role in domestic violence prevention proceedings. They are responsible for risk assessment and risk management as well as for taking immediate action against the perpetrator. Based on these legal provisions, it is clear that the police and the public prosecutor within the Serbian legal system must effectively cooperate and coordinate in the fight against domestic violence. Although the main goal of repressive measures in criminal law is to punish the perpetrator, we believe that both preventive and repressive measures in the field of domestic violence should have the same main goal: to prevent violence by eliminating the conditions and causes that lead to it. The competent authorities should take appropriate legal action against a potential perpetrator in order to prevent them from committing domestic violence for the first time or reoffending if they have done so in the past. Imposing immediate measures, such as the perpetrator moving out of the home if they share it with the victim, and prohibiting contact with or approaching the victim is intended to remove the conditions that could lead to future violence. The public prosecutor can only propose to the court an extension of the immediate measures against the perpetrator if these measures were originally imposed by the police. In addition, the public prosecutor plays another important role: presiding over the Group for Coordination and Cooperation, which is established within the jurisdiction of each public prosecutor. One of the tasks of the Group is to develop an individual protection and support plan for the victim. The aim of this paper is to present the results of research related to certain effects of the implementation of the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, adopted as a result of the ratification of the Istanbul Convention and the application of the pre-crime concept in the field of domestic violence in Serbia, in the period from 2018 to 2024. The subject of the conducted research is the analysis of the practical actions of the competent authorities in preventing domestic violence and protecting victims of domestic violence. The research focused on determining the extent of domestic violence in Serbia and assessing the efficiency and effectiveness of the competent authorities, in particular the impact of the measures taken to ensure the safety of the victim. The research was based on the application of normative and statistical methods, content analysis and comparative and formal-logical analysis. The results obtained from the study were processed statistically using an appropriate selection of statistical methods. Through the application of content analysis, the paper examines legal regulations and relevant academic texts related to the topic of combating domestic violence. Using statistical methods, the data of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Serbia and the General Public Prosecution on the topic of domestic violence for the period 2018–2024 were analyzed. The results show that the number of registered incidents of domestic violence in Serbia has remained at a similar annual level, as has the number of emergency measures imposed. The number of criminal offenses related to domestic violence is decreasing, as is the number of family members killed in acts of domestic violence. This indicates the positive effects of the application of the concept of combating criminal records in the field of domestic violence in Serbia. However, the high number of women killed by men with whom they had some form of intimate relationship remains a major cause for concern. In several cases, the murders occurred even though the victims had previously reported domestic violence to the police. It is therefore necessary to raise the efficiency of the competent authorities in preventing the most serious forms of domestic violence to a higher level.

Keywords: *domestic violence, prevention, repression, perpetrators of violence, victim protection.*

Field: Social sciences

1. INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence has been recognized as a major social problem worldwide. It has existed since the beginnings of human society and has accompanied its development. Men, as the physically stronger gender, have often used violence to dominate women and other family members. Such behavior was condoned by the community and was not considered punishable. For years, the male role was characterized by the idea that no one could challenge male authority without risking consequences (Westerhof, 2020, p. 47). As society has developed, attitudes towards domestic violence have also

¹Corresponding author: sasamarkovic975@gmail.com



changed. In the United States, courts in the 1870s ceased to recognize the common law principle that granted husbands the right to physically punish disobedient wives. In the United Kingdom, the traditional right of a husband to administer moderate physical punishment to his wife in order to keep her within the bounds of her duties was abolished in 1981 (Alokan, 2013, p. 101). Today, domestic violence is prohibited, and in many countries, certain forms of violence against a family member are classified as distinct criminal offenses (e.g., Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Norway, Sweden). In other countries, domestic violence is treated as an aggravated form of specific criminal offenses that typically involve elements of violence (e.g., North Macedonia, Spain, Switzerland) (Marković, 2018, pp. 117–120). Women are most often the victims of domestic violence, while men are most often the perpetrators. The majority of cases of violence against women are not reported to the police (Sapirova & Abenova, 2024, p. 39; Kadam & Chaudhari, 2011, p. 262). The most severe form of domestic violence is the murder of a family member, with men most often being the perpetrators and women the victims (Kolarić & Marković, 2024, pp. 570–571; Marković & Kolaric, 2024, pp. 231–233). Intimate femicide is the most common form of femicide within the family (Aljinović, 2024, p. 84; Joković, 2020, p. 178). Although many studies confirm this pattern in most countries (Australia, England and Wales, Scotland, Canada, India, Denmark), research conducted in the United States shows that men are just as likely to be victims of intimate femicide as women — some studies even suggest that men are up to twice as likely to be victims of intimate femicide compared to women (Muller, 2005, pp. 55–57). In Serbia, women are the most frequent victims of intimate femicide, with almost 50% of perpetrators subsequently committing or attempting suicide (Marković, 2024, p. 383). In 2015, the United Nations set the goal of eliminating all forms of violence against all women and girls in both public and private spheres (UN, 2015, Annex 5, Goal 5, Target 5.2). The success of criminal policy depends on how precisely and realistically the goals in the area of combating a particular type of crime are set and whether the measures, means and methods that the competent authorities will use to achieve the planned objectives are well thought out and concretized. In the area of combating crimes against marriage and family, a realistic goal would be to reduce the number of victims of the most severe forms of domestic violence that result in the loss of a family member's life at the hands of another family member.

Criminal policy shapes and conveys the political will of the authorities through a criminal strategy that is intended to operationalize the criminal policy concept of crime control (Marković & Kolaric, 2023, p. 41). The main strategic directions in the fight against crime are prevention and repression, with modern police crime-fighting strategy models based on proactivity (Marković, 2019a, p. 162). In 2002, Serbia criminalized domestic violence in its criminal justice system, as repressive measures were seen as the preferred model for combating crime in this area (Kolarić & Marković, 2021, p. 264). In 2005, the Family Law (FL) was passed, which introduced court-ordered protective measures against domestic violence (Kolarić & Marković, 2021, p. 265). Prevention of domestic violence was carried out in the manner prescribed by this law. A public prosecutor (PP), a guardianship authority, a family member affected by violence or their legal representative could file a complaint and apply for one or more protective measures. The FL did not assign a role to the police in the prevention of domestic violence.

By ratifying the Istanbul Convention, Serbia undertook, among other things, to include provisions in its legal system assigning the police a leading role in the prevention of domestic violence. The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence (LPDV) stipulates that there must be an immediate response to signs of domestic violence and that the victim must be protected immediately. The procedure conducted under the LPDV is a special, specific integrated police and judicial process consisting of two interconnected parts in which the PP is involved (Kolarić & Marković, 2022, p. 199). The police are obliged to carry out a risk assessment and, if a risk is identified, to impose emergency protective measures against domestic violence (Kolarić & Marković, 2021, pp. 265–266). The LPDV was adopted in 2016 and has been in force since June 1, 2017. In contrast to protective measures under family law, which are imposed by the court in civil proceedings for a period of up to one year and require the court to prove that domestic violence has occurred in the past, emergency measures are imposed by the police immediately after the risk assessment.

For a police officer to be authorized to prevent domestic violence, two requirements must be met: The officer must complete 33 hours of specialized training in this area, which is conducted at the University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, and they must be designated by the head of the police department for domestic violence prevention. Emergency measures may only be imposed on a potential perpetrator who has been brought to the police after they have had the opportunity to comment on the circumstances of the case and where an imminent risk of domestic violence has been identified through a risk assessment. The commission of violence in the past is not a necessary condition for the imposition of emergency measures. The purpose of emergency measures is to prevent future violence by eliminating the causes and conditions that lead to violence. The competent authorities have adopted a

proactive approach in this area. The aim is to address the underlying problem that may lead to an incident or form of violence. The duration of the emergency measures is 48 hours, and the court can extend them for another 30 days at the request of the PP.

The Serbian Constitution stipulates that the PP prosecutes criminals and other criminal offences and performs other tasks to protect the public interest in accordance with the law. Since the PP is named as a party to proceedings for the prevention of domestic violence in both the FL and the LPDV, it can be concluded that the state has assigned this role to the PP because it considers the protection of victims of domestic violence and its prevention to be a matter of high public interest.

The deadlines for action are extremely short: the prosecutor has 24 hours to conduct a risk assessment and submit a proposal to the court for the extension of the emergency measures, and the court has the same amount of time to make a decision based on the file and its independent risk assessment. There is no hearing, which is why this procedure is often referred to in academic literature as a "quasi-judicial" procedure. The court decides during the period of the emergency measures imposed by the police (48 hours). In 2018, the first full year of implementation of the LPDV, the court extended 90% of the emergency measures imposed by the police, with 85% of perpetrators being male and 72% of victims being female (Marković, 2019, pp. 60–61). An administrative offense punishable by up to 60 days in prison was introduced for violations of the emergency measures, as well as a protective measure with similar content to the two emergency measures, which can last up to one year. However, this protective measure can only be imposed if the applicant for the initiation of the misdemeanor proceedings requests the imposition of this measure against the accused or if the injured party proposes it in an oral hearing, which is very rare (Marković, 2024a, p. 221).

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The paper analyzes the legal provisions related to domestic violence using the content analysis method, while statistical methods were applied to process data from the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Serbia (MI) and the General Public Prosecution (GPP) related to domestic violence for the period from 2018 to 2024. The sample includes all reported incidents with elements of domestic violence recorded by the MI during the specified period, as well as data on potential perpetrators, emergency measures, victims of domestic violence and perpetrators who violated emergency measures, as contained in the electronic records of the MI. It also includes data from the GPP on the activities of the Group for Coordination and Cooperation (Group) in the same period (number of meetings held, participation of victims in the meetings and number of individual victim protection plans developed).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of the LPDV has led to a shift in the criminal-strategic approach to combating domestic violence in Serbia. The pre-crime concept has become the fundamental mode of operation for the police and the PP. All information about perpetrators of domestic violence is forwarded to the police, who are obliged to assess all risk factors and carry out a risk assessment in relation to domestic violence. The PP is also subject to this obligation.

One of the options available to the police to prevent the possibility of contact between the potential perpetrator and the victim is to order a temporary restraining order. Another option is to temporarily remove the perpetrator from the home if they live with the victim. The procedure is urgent and the police cannot decide at their own discretion whether to carry out a risk assessment. They are obliged to do so. The police are also obliged to provide the victim with immediate protection if the perpetrator cannot be reached and there is a certain risk of violence. This means that a risk assessment is carried out even if the possible perpetrator cannot be reached, although immediate measures can only be imposed on a person who has been brought to the police station and only if they have had the opportunity to respond to the allegations.

Emergency police measures are valid for 48 hours and cannot be revoked, even if the police officer who imposed them intends to do so. The order, which contains the risk assessment and the immediate measures, is immediately forwarded to the PP, which must then carry out its own risk assessment. If it finds that there is a risk, it applies to the court to extend the emergency measures by 30 days. The court is also obliged to carry out its own risk assessment. It is clear that the actions of all relevant authorities are based on a domestic violence risk assessment. The police forward the order with the risk assessment and the emergency measures to the social services department and the Group, which are then obliged to carry out a risk assessment and draw up an individual victim protection plan if they determine that there is a risk of domestic violence.

Table 1: Reported perpetrators of domestic violence and emergency measures in the period 2018–2024 (MI, 2025)

| | |
|--|--------|
| Individuals reported for the domestic violence | 208807 |
| Risky individuals | 149818 |
| Individuals under police emergency measures | 147179 |
| Individuals proposed by the PP for the extension of emergency measures | 138491 |
| Individuals whose emergency measures have been extended by the court | 133611 |

Source: Author's research

In Serbia, between 29,000 and 31,000 potential perpetrators of domestic violence are recorded each year. In around 71% of these cases, the police determine that there is a risk of domestic violence and impose emergency measures (MI, 2025). The trend in the annual number of people reported and the percentage of emergency measures imposed and extended has remained stable and consistent over the seven years that the LPDV has been implemented. The court extends emergency measures in 91% of cases which were originally imposed by the police. Out of all persons reported for domestic violence, 81% were male and in most cases they lived in a marital or cohabiting relationship with the victim (38%). A large proportion of those reported (40%) were reported two or more times and 50% were between 31 and 50 years old.

The Groups held 19,522 meetings, between 2,600 and 3,000 per year, during which they adopted 132,914 individual victim protection plans. The fewest plans were drawn up in 2018, 13,109 and the most in 2023, 25,396. In 2024, a total of 19,726 plans were drawn up (GPP, 2025). A total of 6,283 victims took part in the meetings of the Groups, in which the necessity, nature and extent of their protection was decided. It is noteworthy that in 2023 and 2024 alone, 4,855 victims (77%) of the total number of victims who attended the meetings during the seven-year period were present at these meetings. The LPDV requires the Groups to invite victims to the meetings and allow them to attend if they wish, as the meetings concern their safety. It is important for the Groups to find out from the victims how they themselves assess the risk of repeated violence in the future. The PP filed 2,394 complaints for the imposition of family law protection measures against domestic violence, of which 1,205 were upheld by the courts. The highest number of complaints was filed in 2024 (728), of which 544 were upheld (GPP, 2024). We conclude that the PP has changed its approach in the last two years of the analyzed period, as the participation of victims in the meetings of the Group and the filing of complaints for protective measures under the FL have increased significantly.

Table 2: Administrative offenses – Violation of the emergency measures under Article 36 of the Act on the LPDV (MI, 2025)

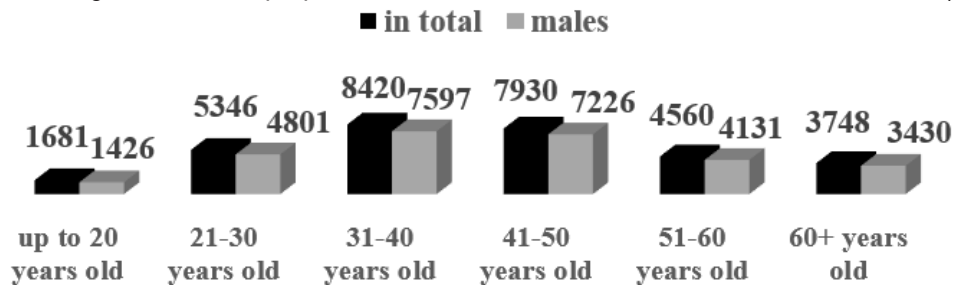
| | |
|--|-------|
| Individuals suspected of an offense | 14197 |
| Male individuals suspected of an offense | 12586 |
| Punished individuals | 11944 |
| Individuals sentenced to imprisonment | 9981 |

Source: Author's research

The table shows that just under 10% of the perpetrators against whom emergency measures were imposed violated them (9.6%), 89% of whom were male. According to the MI, emergency measures were imposed on 123,619 men, which means that over 10% of male perpetrators violated the measures (10.2%). Out of 23,586 women against whom emergency measures were imposed, 1,611 (6.8%) breached them. Of the total number of persons suspected of this offense, 84% were sanctioned, with 84% of those receiving a prison sentence. The majority of prison sentences were up to 10 days (3,359), followed by 11 to 20 days (2,694), 21 to 30 days (2,326) and the fewest of 31 to 60 days (1,602). Considering that the only prescribed penalty for this offense is a prison sentence of up to 60 days, it can be concluded that the sentencing policy is lenient. A total of 87% of those sanctioned were sentenced to either a fine or a prison sentence of up to 30 days. In 2018, 93% of those convicted were sentenced to imprisonment, compared to 78% in 2022 (Marković, 2023, p. 12). This trend towards lower sentences continued in 2024, with the proportion of custodial sentences at just under 77%. Of the total of 1,716 sentences imposed, 399 (23.3%) were fines (MI, 2025). The Misdemeanor Court imposed 467 protective measures prohibiting contact with the victim, which may also include a ban on approaching the shared residence if the perpetrator and the victim live together. The Ministry of Interior's Standard Operating Procedures for the Prevention and Suppression of Domestic Violence, which have been in effect since December 12, 2022, require the party

filing the request for misdemeanor proceedings to propose this protective measure. The court cannot impose it without a proposal from the applicant or the victim. Although the use of this protective measure increased in 2023 and 2024 (117 and 154 orders respectively), it is still rarely imposed, despite the fact that it can last up to a year. The penalty for violating this protective measure is the same as for the original misdemeanor — up to 60 days imprisonment. It is considered that this legislation should be applied more frequently, as it can be a suitable tool for preventing domestic violence in many cases.

Chart 1: Age structure of perpetrators of the Criminal Offense of Domestic Violence (MI, 2025)



Source: Author's research

Serbian criminal legislation, domestic violence is prescribed as a separate criminal offense. Between 2018 and 2024, a total of 34,112 criminal offenses of domestic violence were registered. The highest number was registered in 2018 (5,977) and the lowest in 2024 (4,097). The number of offenses decreased until 2023, when there was a slight increase, but fell again in 2024, with a third fewer offenses compared to the beginning of the observation period. In the same period, a total of 31,709 perpetrators of domestic violence were recorded, of whom 28,634 (90 %) were male. This means that 21% of those assessed by the police as being at risk of domestic violence were suspected of having committed the crime of domestic violence. It can be seen that the number of perpetrators increases with age, with the highest proportion of 31 to 40 year olds and 41 to 50 year olds, while the number decreases thereafter. According to MI records, 24 perpetrators — 23 men and one woman - were not given an age. A total of 33,818 victims were registered, 75% of whom were female.

The offense of domestic violence includes a basic form, three aggravated forms and one special form. The basic form consists of three acts: Use of force, serious threat and outrageous or inconsiderate behavior. The consequences are a threat to the peace, physical integrity or mental state of a family member. This form is the most common.

During the reporting period, 28,485 such offenses were recorded — 84% of the total — committed by 24,247 perpetrators, representing 82% of the total number of offenders, 91% of whom were male. The difference in the number of offenses and perpetrators is due to the fact that some individuals are repeat offenders. A total of 27,553 victims were registered for this form of the offense, of whom 77% were women. Female victims were most often between 31 and 40 years old (5,100 or 24%), while the male victims were most often over 60 years old (1,985 or 32%). The first aggravated form of this offense occurs when the perpetrator uses a weapon, dangerous tool, or other object that can cause serious bodily injury or damage to health. A total of 2,190 such offenses were registered, which is 6% of all offenses. Charges were filed against 2,128 people, 81% of whom were men. There were 2,425 victims, 57% of whom were women. The male perpetrators were relatively evenly represented in all age groups over 21, while the victims were mostly older men and women (over 60).

The second aggravated form includes cases in which the victim suffers serious bodily injury or serious impairment of health as a result of the basic form or the first aggravated form, or if the victim is a minor. The third aggravated form occurs when the victim — a family member — dies as a result of the crime. A total of 2,287 such offenses were registered (8% of all cases). Charges were filed against 2,228 people, 84% of whom were male. A total of 2,780 victims were registered, 63% of whom were women. The male perpetrators were most frequently between 41 and 50 years old.

The lowest number of recorded offenses relates to the third, aggravated form. A total of 11 offenses were committed in which 12 perpetrators took the lives of 11 family members, one of whom was a minor. A particularly severe penalty is provided if the victim is a minor family member — at least 10 years imprisonment.

The consequences in the form of grievous bodily harm or death in the case of the second and third aggravated forms must be due to negligence on the part of the perpetrator; if caused intentionally, the perpetrator is held liable for grievous bodily harm or murder. A special criminal offense is provided for a

perpetrator who violates protective measures against domestic violence imposed by the court under the Family Law. What is interesting about the Serbian legal system is that protective family law measures are established in civil proceedings but are protected under criminal legislation. During the period studied, 1140 such offenses were registered, which corresponds to 3% of all offenses, 869 men and 50 women were suspected of having committed this type of crime, while 836 women and 180 men were identified as victims.

We conclude that the perpetrators of domestic violence are mostly men in full physical strength, while the victims are mostly younger women aged 31 to 40 and older men who are physically weaker due to their age. An analysis of the perpetrators of prescribed forms of criminal offenses revealed that women are more likely to commit the first aggravated form than the basic form, suggesting that they are more likely to use a dangerous weapon or other means capable of causing serious bodily harm in domestic violence than to rely on physical strength. Men predominate as victims in the qualified form of the offense, accounting for 43% of cases, compared to only 23% in the basic form. When assessing the risk of the most severe consequences of domestic violence, the competent authorities should take particular account of the following risk factors: the breakup of an intimate partnership, death threats against the victim, jealousy and stalking of a partner who has left the relationship, possession of or access to firearms and threat of suicide (Mršević, 2014, p. 91; Pavlov, Lacmanović, 2023, p. 12). Between 2018 and 2024, a total of 143 people were killed in cases of intimate partner violence, 119 men killed their female partners, 3 killed their male partners and 21 women killed their male partners. We are deeply concerned about the high number of women killed in cases of intimate partner violence. Throughout the years 2015 to 2017, a total of 66 women were killed by their partners (19 in 2015, 23 in 2016 and 24 in 2017); between 2018 and 2020, the number was 59 and between 2021 to 2023 it was 46 (Marković, 2024, p. 393). It should be noted that the implementation of the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence has shown positive impact in recent years. However, in 2023 and 2024 there was a negative trend compared to 2021 and 2022, as 4 more women were killed. In 2023, 18 women were killed and in 2024, 14 women were killed (MI, 2025), which leads us to conclude that the year 2023 is an exception to the downward trend in the number of women killed by partner violence.

The number of women killed in cases of partner violence previously reported to the police is also worrying — a total of 27 cases (MI, 2025). This data shows that the measures taken by the competent authorities to protect victims were ineffective and inadequate. The high number of suicides among perpetrators is also worrying. From 2018 to 2024, 59 of 119 male perpetrators — i.e. 50% — attempted or committed suicide. This data shows how difficult it is for the authorities to take preventive measures against the most serious forms of domestic violence, as in half of the cases the male perpetrators simultaneously decide to commit suicide after the murder, making general prevention measures ineffective. The fear of punishment cannot prevent perpetrators from committing the crime, which is why it is important to eliminate the conditions that may lead to the commission of the crime.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the research conducted, we conclude that the pre-crime concept has had a positive impact in the field of combating domestic violence in Serbia. The number of reported incidents of domestic violence remains at a similar level every year, but the number of cases in which the police have to file criminal charges is steadily decreasing. Women continue to be the most frequent victims of domestic violence; however, the number of women killed by their partners has decreased significantly in recent years, especially compared to the period before the introduction of the LPDV.

The positive effects observed in 2023 and 2024 are reflected in the changed approach of the PP in these cases. Prosecutors are increasingly inviting victims of domestic violence to the meetings of the Group to involve them in drawing up their own protection plans. This change was probably influenced by the previous relatively high number of women who were killed after reporting intimate partner violence. The number of complaints filed by PP under the FL, seeking the imposition of long-term protective measures against domestic violence has also increased significantly.

An opinion survey commissioned by the OSCE Mission to Serbia and conducted at national level from November 14 to December 12 shows that 15% of citizens consider domestic violence to be the most important security problem in the country. Overall, 61% of citizens said they would report domestic violence if they became aware of it, which is a significantly higher percentage than those who would report other types of crimes in similar circumstances — 42% (Kantar TMG Insights, 2025).

This research shows that citizens in Serbia have recognized the importance of preventing domestic violence and that they trust the competent authorities and the police to take timely and effective action to

combat this harmful social phenomenon.

However, in the first year of implementation of the law (the law has been in force since June 1, 2017), 63% of citizens stated that they would report domestic violence (Kantar TMG Insights, 2025). This was followed by a downward trend, which reversed in the seventh year of the law's implementation. Nevertheless, trust in the police has not yet returned to the level before the introduction of the law, whose main aim was to prevent domestic violence.

REFERENCES

- Alokan, F. B. (2013) Domestic violence against women: A family menace, Proceedings from the 1st Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference, AIIC 2013, 24-26 April, Azores, Portugal, 100-107.
- Aljinović, N. (2024) Intimni femicid u kontekstu obiteljskog nasilja: Od neologizma do nomenklature kaznenog djela. *Služba Božja*, 1, 57-98.
- Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence [Istanbul Convention] Istanbul, 11. V. 2011.
- Joković, J. (2020) Determinante i faktori rizika izloženosti femicidu, *Pedagogija*, 3, 172-189.
- Kadam, S.S. Chaudhari, V. (2011) Domestic violence against woman: Past, present, future, *J Indian Acad Forensic Med.* July-September 2011, Vol. 33, No. 3, 261-266.
- Kantar TMG Insights 2025, Istraživanje o stavovima građana Srbije prema radu policije naručeno od strane Misije OEBS-a i realizovano od 14. Novembra do 12. Decembra 2024. godine
- Kolarić, D., Marković, S. (2024) Causes and Manifestations of Homicide Resulting from Domestic Violence in the Republic of Serbia, *Sociološki pregled*, 2, 548-572.
- Kolarić, D., Marković S. (2022) Analiza dosadašnje primene Zakona o sprečavanju nasilja u porodici, *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, Vol 70, broj 1, 2022, 193.-230.
- Kolarić, D., Marković, S. (2021) Posamezni učinki uporabe Zakona o preprečavanju nasilja u družini kot enega izmed vidikov kriminalistično-strateškega nasprotovanja nasilju v družini v Republiki Srbiji, *Revija za kriminalistiko in kriminologijo*, Leto 72, št. 3, 264-279.
- Krivični zakonik [Criminal Code], "Službeni glasnik RS", br. 85/2005, 88/2005, 107/2005, 72/2009, 111/2009, 121/2012, 104/2013, 108/2014, 94/2016, 35/2019.
- Letter from the Ministry of Interior with statistical data, 05-13 No. 050-307/22 -2 of 17.3.2022. and 03.7.1 No. 74/25 of 10.2.2025.
- Marković, S. (2024), Homicides in the context of intimate partner violence in Serbia: Manifestations and victim protection, *Temida*, vol. 27, 3, 375-400. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/TEM2403375M>
- Marković, S. (2024a), Analysis of the practical implementation of law on the prevention of domestic violence by competent authorities in the Republic of Serbia, *Baština*, 2024, Vol. 34, sv. 63, 209-224. DOI:<https://doi.org/10.5937/bastina34-51714>
- Marković, S. (2023), The Misdemeanor Court as an Entity of Opposition to Domestic Violence, *Bezbednost*, vol. 65, br. 3, 5-28
- Marković, S. (2019) Measures for prevention of domestic violence and for protection of victims in Serbia's legal system with special reference to emergency measures, *NBP*, 24, 2, 45-63, doi:10.5937/nabepo24-20916
- Marković, S. (2019a). Strategic decision-making in the police and contemporary models of CI-intelligence collection, *Bezbednost*, 3, 160-178. Doi: 10.5937/bezbednost1903160M
- Marković, S. (2018) Sprečavanje i suzbijanje nasilja u porodici, *Beograd:Službeni glasnik*.
- Marković, S., Kolarić, D. (2024) The Possibilities and Limitations of Preventive Action as a Form of Opposition to the Most Severe Forms of Domestic Violence. *Teme*, 1, 223.-241. <https://doi.org/10.22190/TEME230707012M>
- Marković, S. Kolarić, D. (2023) Some Effects of 'Pre-Crime' Concept in Combating Domestic Violence, *NBP*, Vol. 28, Issue 1, 40-57 <https://doi.org/10.5937/nabepo28-42953>
- Mrščević, Z. (2014) *Nasilje i mi - Ka društvu bez nasilja*. Beograd:Institut društvenih nauka.
- Muller, D. A. (2005) *The Social Context of Femicide in Victoria*, PhD thesis, Criminology, University of Melbourne. <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/39042>
- Pavlov, T., Lacmanović V. (2023) Karakteristike i prevencija slučajeva femicida-suicida počinjenih vatrenim oružjem u intimnom partnerskom odnosu. Istraživački izveštaj. Beograd: Program Ujedinjenih nacija za razvoj.
- Porodični zakon [Family Law], "Službeni glasnik RS", 18/2005, 72/2011, 6/2015.
- Sapirova, M., & Abenova, K. (2024). Social work with domestic violence against women in rural areas. *Social & Legal Studies*, 7(4), 38-47. doi: 10.32518/sals4.2024.38
- United Nations (2015) Technical report by the Bureau of the United Nations Statistical Commission on the process of the development of an indicator framework for the goals and targets of the post-2015 development agenda. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/6754Technical%20report%20of%20the%20UNSC%20Bureau%20%28final%29.pdf>.
- Zakon o sprečavanju nasilja u porodici [Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence], "Službeni glasnik RS", br. 94/2016, 10/2023 (drugi zakon)
- Westerhof, L. (2020) Domestic Violence – Can We Combat the Crime of Domestic Violence? *Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences*, Vol 3, Issue 1, 45-49, doi.org/10.33140/JHS

