**Singapore population 5,850,342H E U N I**

E U R O P E A N I N S T I T U T E F O R

CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL,

AFFILIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

Edited by

S. Harrendorf, M. Heiskanen, S. Malby

**INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS**

**on CRIME AND JUSTICE**

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HEUNI Publication Series No. 64

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International􀀃Statistics􀀃on􀀃Crime􀀃and􀀃Justice􀀃

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Helsinki􀀃2010􀀃

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ISBN􀀃978􀇦952􀇦5333􀇦78􀇦7􀀃

ISSN􀀃1237􀇦4741

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**Disclaimers􀀃􀀃**

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This􀀃report􀀃has􀀃not􀀃been􀀃formally􀀃edited.􀀃

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The􀀃contents􀀃of􀀃this􀀃publication􀀃do􀀃not􀀃necessarily􀀃reflect􀀃the􀀃views􀀃or􀀃policies􀀃of􀀃the􀀃United􀀃Nations,􀀃UNODC􀀃or􀀃

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the􀀃 United􀀃 Nations􀀃 or􀀃UNODC􀀃 concerning􀀃 the􀀃 legal􀀃 status􀀃 of􀀃 any􀀃 country,􀀃 territory􀀃 or􀀃 city􀀃 or􀀃 its􀀃 authorities,􀀃 or􀀃

concerning􀀃the􀀃delimitation􀀃of􀀃its􀀃frontiers􀀃or􀀃boundaries.􀀃

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*International Statistics on Crime and Criminal Justice*

Introduction

Introduction􀀃

**Kauko􀀃Aromaa\*􀀃**

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The􀀃United􀀃Nations􀀃Surveys􀀃on􀀃Crime􀀃Trends􀀃and􀀃

the􀀃Operations􀀃Criminal􀀃Justice􀀃Systems􀀃(denoted􀀃

UN􀇦CTS􀀃 below􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 sake􀀃 of􀀃 brevity)􀀃 collect􀀃

basic􀀃 information􀀃 on􀀃 recorded􀀃 crime􀀃 and􀀃 on􀀃

resources􀀃 of􀀃 \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 systems􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃

􀀃 􀀃Its􀀃 mandate􀀃 being􀀃 Europe􀀃 and􀀃

North􀀃 America,􀀃 HEUNI􀀃 has􀀃 analysed􀀃 and􀀃

reported􀀃on􀀃the􀀃surveys􀀃for􀀃this􀀃part􀀃of􀀃the􀀃world􀀃

from􀀃the􀀃very􀀃beginning.􀀃For􀀃other􀀃regions􀀃of􀀃the􀀃

world,􀀃such􀀃reporting􀀃has􀀃not􀀃been􀀃achieved.􀀃􀀃

The􀀃 present􀀃 volume,􀀃 prepared􀀃 in􀀃 partnership􀀃 of􀀃

HEUNI􀀃and􀀃 the􀀃UNODC,􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 first􀀃 time􀀃pulls􀀃

together􀀃 global􀀃 responses􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃 UN􀇦CTS􀀃

questionnaire,􀀃the􀀃most􀀃recent􀀃one􀀃included􀀃here􀀃

is􀀃UN􀇦CTS􀇦10􀀃 that􀀃 allows􀀃 the􀀃 analysis􀀃 of􀀃 data􀀃 up􀀃

to􀀃2006.􀀃􀀃

In􀀃 the􀀃 current􀀃 report,􀀃 the􀀃 improvement􀀃

introduced􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 previous􀀃 one􀀃 (looking􀀃 only􀀃 at􀀃

Europe􀀃 and􀀃 North􀀃 America;􀀃 Aromaa􀀃 and􀀃

Heiskanen􀀃2008)􀀃was􀀃retained:􀀃also􀀃this􀀃time,􀀃the􀀃

report􀀃addresses􀀃a􀀃 time􀀃period􀀃of􀀃about􀀃ten􀀃years􀀃

in􀀃order􀀃to􀀃provide􀀃more􀀃stability􀀃to􀀃the􀀃situation􀀃

assessment.􀀃In􀀃a􀀃global􀀃report,􀀃it􀀃is􀀃more􀀃difficult􀀃

to􀀃 keep􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃 ten􀇦year􀀃 framework􀀃 since􀀃 many􀀃

countries􀀃 have􀀃 not􀀃 responded􀀃 regularly􀀃 but􀀃 data􀀃

gaps􀀃are􀀃 frequent.􀀃In􀀃this􀀃case,􀀃the􀀃basic􀀃solution􀀃

has􀀃 been􀀃 that􀀃 data􀀃 for􀀃 1996,􀀃 2000,􀀃 and􀀃 2006􀀃 are􀀃

used􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 ten􀇦year􀀃 (actually,􀀃 eleven􀇦year)􀀃

perspective􀀃 to􀀃 be􀀃 covered.􀀃 For􀀃 many􀀃 countries,􀀃

this􀀃 could􀀃 be􀀃 achieved,􀀃 for􀀃 many􀀃 others,􀀃 one􀀃 or􀀃

more􀀃 of􀀃 these􀀃 years􀀃 had􀀃 to􀀃 be􀀃 complemented􀀃 by􀀃

data􀀃 for􀀃 adjacent􀀃 years􀀃 because􀀃 the􀀃 country􀀃

response􀀃for􀀃one􀀃(or􀀃several)􀀃of􀀃the􀀃required􀀃years􀀃

had􀀃not􀀃been􀀃made􀀃available.􀀃

Reporting􀀃 for􀀃 more􀀃 recent􀀃 years􀀃 has􀀃 not􀀃 been􀀃

possible.􀀃 This􀀃 may􀀃 not􀀃 be􀀃 satisfactory􀀃 to􀀃 those􀀃

who􀀃 require􀀃 more􀀃 up􀇦to􀇦date􀀃 information.􀀃

However,􀀃 the􀀃 timeliness􀀃 of􀀃 large􀇦scale􀀃

comparative􀀃 data􀀃 has􀀃 always􀀃 been􀀃 a􀀃 significant􀀃

problem􀀃 and􀀃 remains􀀃 one.􀀃 First􀀃 of􀀃

all,􀀃 statistical􀀃data􀀃on􀀃 crime􀀃and􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃

are􀀃 typically􀀃 not􀀃available􀀃until􀀃 after􀀃 the􀀃 relevant􀀃

year.􀀃Country􀇦level􀀃data􀀃on􀀃police􀇦recorded􀀃crime􀀃

are􀀃often􀀃released􀀃relatively􀀃soon􀀃after􀀃the􀀃shift􀀃of􀀃

the􀀃 year,􀀃 but􀀃 statistics􀀃 on􀀃 later􀀃 stages􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃

criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 procedure􀀃 are􀀃 more􀀃 delayed.􀀃

Next,􀀃 disseminating􀀃 the􀀃 UN􀇦CTS􀀃 data􀀃 collection􀀃

instrument􀀃 to􀀃 􀀃 􀀃 collecting􀀃 and􀀃

validating􀀃the􀀃responses,􀀃drafting􀀃a􀀃reporting􀀃plan􀀃

and􀀃creating􀀃a􀀃database􀀃necessary􀀃for􀀃the􀀃analysis,􀀃

analysing􀀃 the􀀃 data􀀃 and􀀃writing􀀃 up􀀃 the􀀃 report􀀃 are􀀃

stages􀀃in􀀃the􀀃process􀀃that􀀃cannot􀀃be􀀃avoided,􀀃and􀀃

they􀀃do􀀃consume􀀃time.􀀃􀀃

As􀀃a􀀃consequence,􀀃reports􀀃of􀀃this􀀃kind􀀃are􀀃always􀀃

providing􀀃 results􀀃 that􀀃do􀀃 not􀀃 refer􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃current􀀃

year􀀃or􀀃the􀀃previous􀀃one􀀃but􀀃will􀀃shed􀀃light􀀃on􀀃the􀀃

situation􀀃 3􀇦4􀀃 years􀀃 back􀀃 in􀀃 time.􀀃 So􀀃 far,􀀃 ways􀀃 to􀀃

introduce􀀃 significant􀀃 improvements􀀃 to􀀃 this􀀃

dilemma􀀃have􀀃 not􀀃 been􀀃 found.􀀃For􀀃many,􀀃a􀀃delay􀀃

of􀀃3􀇦4􀀃years􀀃would􀀃seem􀀃to􀀃be􀀃too􀀃long􀀃for􀀃an􀀃up􀇦

to􀇦date􀀃 assessment􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 current􀀃 situation,􀀃

whether􀀃 globally􀀃 or􀀃 for􀀃 one􀀃 region􀀃 only,􀀃 even􀀃

considering􀀃that􀀃experience􀀃has􀀃shown􀀃that􀀃crime􀀃

data􀀃of􀀃the􀀃kind􀀃analysed􀀃here􀀃usually􀀃do􀀃not􀀃vary􀀃

radically􀀃 over􀀃 short􀀃 time􀀃 periods.􀀃 A􀀃 marked􀀃

improvement􀀃would􀀃however􀀃 require􀀃much􀀃more􀀃

advanced􀀃 statistical􀀃 systems􀀃 in􀀃 many􀀃 􀀃

tates,􀀃and􀀃a􀀃much􀀃 higher􀀃 priority􀀃 to􀀃 be􀀃 given􀀃 to􀀃

the􀀃 UN􀀃 data􀀃 collection􀀃 exercise􀀃 than􀀃 is􀀃 the􀀃 case􀀃

today.􀀃

Another,􀀃 even􀀃 more􀀃 disturbing􀀃 observation􀀃 that􀀃

has􀀃 been􀀃 made􀀃 repeatedly􀀃 is􀀃 that􀀃 many􀀃 􀀃

􀀃 continue􀀃 to􀀃 be􀀃 unable􀀃 to􀀃 answer􀀃 the􀀃 UN􀇦

CTS􀀃 questionnaire􀀃 at􀀃 all,􀀃 or􀀃 are􀀃 only􀀃 able􀀃 to􀀃

provide􀀃a􀀃partial􀀃 response.􀀃This􀀃 state􀀃of􀀃 affairs􀀃 is􀀃

in􀀃 part􀀃due􀀃 to􀀃a􀀃very􀀃 basic􀀃 reason:􀀃 some􀀃or􀀃 all􀀃of􀀃

the􀀃required􀀃data􀀃are􀀃not􀀃available.􀀃However,􀀃 less􀀃

excusable􀀃 is􀀃 the􀀃 situation􀀃 for􀀃 many􀀃 other􀀃

countries􀀃 that􀀃are􀀃known􀀃 to􀀃possess􀀃 the􀀃 required􀀃

data􀀃but􀀃do􀀃not􀀃respond.􀀃􀀃

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**\*􀀃**Director,􀀃European􀀃Institute􀀃for􀀃Crime􀀃Prevention􀀃and􀀃Control,**􀀃**affiliated􀀃with􀀃the􀀃United􀀃Nations

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For􀀃those􀀃in􀀃need􀀃of􀀃improving􀀃their􀀃statistics,􀀃the􀀃

UNODC􀀃 has􀀃 been􀀃 working􀀃 on􀀃 a􀀃 support􀀃 and􀀃

assistance􀀃approach􀀃which􀀃is􀀃also􀀃bearing􀀃fruit􀀃in􀀃

the􀀃 long􀀃 term.􀀃 Those􀀃 􀀃 􀀃 that,􀀃 for􀀃 a􀀃

multiplicity􀀃of􀀃 reasons,􀀃have􀀃 failed􀀃 to􀀃 respond􀀃 to􀀃

the􀀃Surveys􀀃although􀀃they􀀃are􀀃in􀀃the􀀃possession􀀃of􀀃

the􀀃 relevant􀀃 data,􀀃 should􀀃 take􀀃 this􀀃 task􀀃 more􀀃

seriously􀀃in􀀃the􀀃future.􀀃This􀀃would􀀃also􀀃be􀀃in􀀃their􀀃

own􀀃interest􀀃as􀀃they􀀃would􀀃benefit􀀃from􀀃knowing􀀃

their􀀃 position􀀃 in􀀃 a􀀃 global􀀃 dataset.􀀃 Also􀀃 others􀀃 in􀀃

the􀀃 global􀀃 community􀀃 would􀀃 be􀀃 keen􀀃 to􀀃 know􀀃

how􀀃 others􀀃 have􀀃 been􀀃 doing􀀃 in􀀃 core􀀃 issues􀀃 of􀀃

crime􀀃and􀀃criminal􀀃justice.􀀃

Some􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 unavoidable􀀃 delay􀀃 problems􀀃 have􀀃

been􀀃 partially􀀃 resolved􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃 UNODC􀀃 in􀀃 that􀀃

they􀀃 publish􀀃 some􀀃 data􀀃 from􀀃 the􀀃 country􀀃

responses􀀃 on􀀃 their􀀃 website􀀃 as􀀃 soon􀀃 as􀀃 they􀀃 are􀀃

made􀀃 available􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃 􀀃 􀀃 The􀀃

advantage􀀃is􀀃that􀀃the􀀃delay􀀃is􀀃as􀀃short􀀃as􀀃it􀀃can􀀃be􀀃

under􀀃 the􀀃 circumstances,􀀃 where􀀃 national􀀃

responses􀀃are􀀃the􀀃basis.􀀃Of􀀃course,􀀃before􀀃there􀀃is􀀃

a􀀃 national􀀃 response,􀀃 nothing􀀃 can􀀃 be􀀃 made􀀃

available.􀀃It􀀃is􀀃therefore􀀃of􀀃paramount􀀃importance􀀃

that􀀃 delays􀀃 caused􀀃 by􀀃 􀀃 tates􀀃 are􀀃

minimized.􀀃 –The􀀃 drawback􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 UNODC􀀃

solution􀀃is􀀃that􀀃the􀀃information􀀃on􀀃the􀀃website􀀃is􀀃

not􀀃 –􀀃 and􀀃 cannot􀀃 be􀀃 –􀀃 validated􀀃 and􀀃 processed,􀀃

leaving􀀃 the􀀃 potential􀀃 user􀀃 without􀀃 expert􀀃

assistance􀀃when􀀃 trying􀀃to􀀃 interpret􀀃the􀀃data.􀀃 It􀀃 is􀀃

highly􀀃 problematic􀀃 and􀀃 perhaps􀀃 not􀀃 advisable􀀃 at􀀃

all􀀃 to􀀃 publish􀀃 raw􀀃 data􀀃 of􀀃 this􀀃 kind􀀃 without􀀃

adequate􀀃commentary􀀃regarding􀀃known􀀃problems􀀃

related􀀃 to􀀃 its􀀃 validity􀀃 and􀀃 interpretation􀀃

problems.􀀃

The􀀃 ten􀇦year􀀃 time􀀃 span􀀃 applied􀀃 should􀀃 illustrate􀀃

that􀀃 for􀀃 many􀀃 criteria,􀀃 it􀀃 is􀀃 often􀀃 of􀀃 no􀀃 massive􀀃

importance􀀃 that􀀃 the􀀃 data􀀃 are􀀃 never􀀃 fully􀀃 up􀀃 to􀀃

date:􀀃many􀀃of􀀃the􀀃trends􀀃displayed􀀃can􀀃be􀀃seen􀀃to􀀃

be􀀃 rather􀀃 stable,􀀃 meaning􀀃 that􀀃 simple􀀃 basic􀀃

indicators􀀃 of􀀃 features􀀃 of􀀃 recorded􀀃 crime􀀃 and􀀃

operations􀀃of􀀃the􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃system􀀃are􀀃often􀀃

of􀀃 a􀀃 rather􀀃 robust􀀃 nature.􀀃 Consequently,􀀃 a􀀃 large􀀃

proportion􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 presented􀀃 data􀀃 and􀀃 findings,􀀃

even􀀃 if􀀃 outdated,􀀃 are􀀃 unlikely􀀃 to􀀃 change􀀃

significantly􀀃 from􀀃 one􀀃 year􀀃 to􀀃 another.􀀃

Consequently,􀀃the􀀃current􀀃delay􀀃in􀀃the􀀃timeliness􀀃

of􀀃 the􀀃 presented􀀃 data􀀃 is􀀃 mostly􀀃 of􀀃 no􀀃 major􀀃

concern.􀀃The􀀃most􀀃obvious􀀃exceptions􀀃are􀀃

countries􀀃 undergoing􀀃 irregular􀀃 rapid􀀃

transformations􀀃 –􀀃 for􀀃 such􀀃 countries,􀀃 however,􀀃 a􀀃

UN􀇦CTS􀀃is􀀃hardly􀀃of􀀃immediate􀀃interest􀀃anyway.􀀃

We􀀃 have􀀃 not􀀃 reproduced􀀃 the􀀃 data􀀃 collection􀀃

instruments􀀃 in􀀃 this􀀃 volume.􀀃 Due􀀃 to􀀃 various􀀃

changes􀀃over􀀃time,􀀃each􀀃UN􀇦CTS􀀃questionnaire􀀃is􀀃

slightly􀀃 different.􀀃 The􀀃 questionnaires􀀃 can􀀃 be􀀃

found􀀃in􀀃all􀀃UN􀀃languages􀀃at􀀃the􀀃address:􀀃􀀃

http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data􀇦and􀇦

analysis/Ninth(Tenth)􀇦United􀇦Nations􀇦Survey􀇦

on􀇦Crime􀇦Trends􀇦and􀇦the􀇦Operations􀇦of􀇦

Criminal􀇦Justice􀇦Systems.html􀀃

The􀀃 report􀀃 comprises􀀃 eight􀀃 chapters.􀀃 They􀀃 are􀀃

designed􀀃to􀀃deal􀀃with􀀃all􀀃central􀀃 issues􀀃addressed􀀃

in􀀃the􀀃questionnaires.􀀃First,􀀃police􀇦recorded􀀃crime􀀃

is􀀃discussed,􀀃with􀀃separate􀀃chapters􀀃on􀀃homicides􀀃

(chapter􀀃 1),􀀃 other􀀃 police􀇦recorded􀀃 crimes􀀃

(chapter􀀃 2),􀀃 and􀀃 drug􀇦related􀀃 crime􀀃 and􀀃 drug􀀃

trafficking􀀃 (chapter􀀃 3).􀀃 Also,􀀃complex􀀃 crimes􀀃 are􀀃

analysed􀀃separately,􀀃such􀀃as􀀃organised􀀃crime,􀀃and􀀃

trafficking􀀃 in􀀃 human􀀃 beings􀀃 ( hapter􀀃 4).􀀃 Such􀀃

offences􀀃have􀀃played􀀃a􀀃marginal􀀃role􀀃in􀀃traditional􀀃

crime􀀃 statistics,􀀃 and􀀃 in􀀃 order􀀃 to􀀃 improve􀀃 the􀀃

relevance􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 such􀀃 offences,􀀃 new􀀃

solutions􀀃 need􀀃 to􀀃 be􀀃 developed.􀀃 Chapter􀀃 5,􀀃

shifting􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃 next􀀃 stage􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃

system,􀀃 presents􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 responses􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃

criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 system,􀀃 including􀀃 an􀀃 innovation􀀃

where􀀃 attrition􀀃 issues􀀃 are􀀃 being􀀃 discussed.􀀃 A􀀃

parallel􀀃 issue􀀃 to􀀃 responses􀀃of􀀃 the􀀃criminal􀀃 justice􀀃

system􀀃are􀀃 resources􀀃and􀀃performance.􀀃These􀀃are􀀃

discussed􀀃in􀀃 􀀃6􀀃where􀀃also􀀃a􀀃discussion􀀃on􀀃

the􀀃 punitivity􀀃 of􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 systems􀀃 is􀀃

included.􀀃 Next,􀀃 a􀀃 presentation􀀃 on􀀃 prison􀀃

populations􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 world􀀃 closes􀀃 the􀀃 analysis􀀃 of􀀃

criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data.􀀃 The􀀃 last􀀃 chapter,􀀃 finally􀀃

discusses􀀃 challenges􀀃 with􀀃 crime􀀃 and􀀃 criminal􀀃

justice􀀃 statistics,􀀃 arguing􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 importance􀀃 of􀀃

further􀀃improvements􀀃in􀀃the􀀃area.􀀃

The􀀃 objective􀀃 of􀀃 this􀀃 report􀀃 is􀀃 to􀀃 show􀀃 potential􀀃

users􀀃of􀀃international􀀃crime􀀃data􀀃what􀀃they􀀃could􀀃

learn􀀃 from􀀃 these,􀀃 and􀀃 provide􀀃 guidance􀀃 as􀀃 to􀀃

restrictions,􀀃 pitfalls􀀃 and􀀃 strengths􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 unique􀀃

set􀀃 of􀀃 data􀀃 that􀀃 is􀀃 now􀀃 available􀀃 thanks􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃

countries􀀃that􀀃have􀀃responded􀀃to􀀃the􀀃UN􀀃Surveys.􀀃

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7

*International Statistics on Crime and Criminal Justice*

Homicide

**Steven􀀃Malby\*􀀃**

**Abstract􀀃**

This􀀃 chapter􀀃 presents􀀃 available􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 the􀀃 crime􀀃 of􀀃 intentional􀀃 homicide􀀃 –􀀃 the􀀃 intentional􀀃 killing􀀃 of􀀃 a􀀃

person􀀃 by􀀃 another.􀀃 As􀀃 one􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 most􀀃 effectively􀀃 recorded􀀃 crimes,􀀃 law􀀃 enforcement􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 intentional􀀃

homicide􀀃is􀀃typically􀀃more􀀃readily􀀃available􀀃than􀀃for􀀃other􀀃crimes.􀀃As􀀃such,􀀃rates􀀃of􀀃intentional􀀃homicide􀀃per􀀃

100,000􀀃population􀀃have􀀃sometimes􀀃been􀀃used􀀃as􀀃a􀀃proxy􀀃 for􀀃 levels􀀃 of􀀃 violent􀀃 crime􀀃or􀀃even􀀃overall􀀃crime.􀀃

Data􀀃 from􀀃 both􀀃 law􀀃 enforcement􀀃and􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃sources􀀃may􀀃 be􀀃combined􀀃 to􀀃 increase􀀃data􀀃 availability􀀃

and􀀃 geographic􀀃 coverage.􀀃Results􀀃 suggest􀀃 that􀀃 the􀀃 highest􀀃 homicide􀀃 levels􀀃 are􀀃 found􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 Americas􀀃and􀀃

Africa􀀃region,􀀃with􀀃the􀀃 lowest􀀃homicide􀀃 levels􀀃generally􀀃 in􀀃countries􀀃 in􀀃Europe.􀀃For􀀃those􀀃countries􀀃where􀀃

trend􀀃 data􀀃 is􀀃 available,􀀃 the􀀃 majority􀀃 show􀀃 decreasing􀀃 or􀀃 stable􀀃 homicide􀀃 rates,􀀃 with􀀃 the􀀃 exception􀀃 of􀀃 a􀀃

number􀀃 of􀀃 countries,􀀃 predominantly􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 Americas􀀃 that􀀃 show􀀃 high􀀃and􀀃 increasing􀀃 rates.􀀃ÿæÿæÿæÿæ\_\_Such􀀃 increases􀀃

may􀀃 be􀀃 linked􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃 challenges􀀃 of􀀃 organized􀀃 crime,􀀃 drug􀀃 trafficking,􀀃 and􀀃 gang􀀃 activity.􀀃 Significant􀀃 data􀀃

challenges􀀃 remain􀀃 however,􀀃 particularly􀀃 in􀀃 Africa,􀀃where􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 intentional􀀃 homicide􀀃 is􀀃

presently􀀃very􀀃limited.􀀃

**Introduction􀀃**

The􀀃 intentional􀀃 killing􀀃 of􀀃 a􀀃 person􀀃 by􀀃 another􀀃

(‘intentional􀀃 homicide’)􀀃 represents􀀃 the􀀃 most􀀃

serious􀀃 end􀀃 of􀀃 the􀀃 spectrum􀀃 of􀀃 violent􀀃 crime.􀀃

Recent􀀃 attention􀀃 on􀀃 the􀀃 issue􀀃 of􀀃 armed􀀃 violence􀀃

and􀀃 the􀀃 growing􀀃 importance􀀃 of􀀃 homicide􀀃 as􀀃 an􀀃

indicator􀀃 has􀀃 resulted􀀃 in􀀃 increased􀀃 efforts􀀃 to􀀃

improve􀀃 statistics􀀃 at􀀃 international,􀀃 regional􀀃 and􀀃

national􀀃levels.􀀃

The􀀃 results􀀃 presented􀀃 in􀀃 this􀀃 chapter􀀃 derive􀀃

primarily􀀃 from􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data.􀀃 Despite􀀃

varying􀀃 definitions,􀀃 ‘homicide’􀀃 is􀀃 perhaps􀀃 the􀀃

most􀀃widely􀀃 collected􀀃and􀀃 reported􀀃 crime􀀃 in􀀃 law􀀃

enforcement􀀃 and􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 statistics.􀀃 Due􀀃

to􀀃its􀀃seriousness,􀀃the􀀃killing􀀃of􀀃a􀀃person􀀃tends􀀃to􀀃

be􀀃recorded􀀃more􀀃effectively􀀃than􀀃other􀀃crimes.􀀃

Nonetheless,􀀃 the􀀃 challenges􀀃 of􀀃 cross􀇦national􀀃

comparability􀀃 are􀀃 considerable.􀀃 National􀀃 legal􀀃

systems􀀃 may􀀃 have􀀃 different􀀃 thresholds􀀃 for􀀃

categorising􀀃 a􀀃 death􀀃 as􀀃 intentional􀀃 homicide.􀀃

Whilst􀀃intentional􀀃homicide􀀃usually􀀃requires􀀃that􀀃

the􀀃perpetrator􀀃purposefully􀀃intends􀀃to􀀃cause􀀃the􀀃

death􀀃 or􀀃 serious􀀃 injury􀀃 of􀀃 a􀀃 victim,􀀃 in􀀃 some􀀃

countries􀀃 a􀀃 death􀀃 that􀀃 occurs􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 act􀀃 or􀀃

attempted􀀃 act􀀃 of􀀃another􀀃 serious􀀃 crime􀀃may􀀃 also􀀃

qualify􀀃 as􀀃 ‘intentional’􀀃 homicide􀀃 or􀀃 murder.􀀃

Infanticide,􀀃 assault􀀃 leading􀀃 to􀀃death􀀃and􀀃 killings􀀃

carried􀀃 out􀀃 by􀀃 law􀀃 enforcement􀀃 officers􀀃 (acting􀀃

legitimately􀀃in􀀃the􀀃line􀀃of􀀃duty􀀃or􀀃not)􀀃all􀀃may􀀃or􀀃

may􀀃not􀀃be􀀃included􀀃in􀀃police􀇦recorded􀀃statistics.􀀃

In􀀃 addition,􀀃 differences􀀃 in􀀃 police􀀃 recording􀀃

practices􀀃 such􀀃 as􀀃 differences􀀃 in􀀃 counting􀀃 units􀀃

(offences,􀀃 suspects􀀃 or􀀃 cases),􀀃 whether􀀃 or􀀃 not􀀃

attempted􀀃 homicide􀀃 or􀀃 non􀇦intentional􀀃

homicides􀀃are􀀃included􀀃in􀀃published􀀃figures,􀀃and􀀃

the􀀃 point􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 investigation􀀃 at􀀃 which􀀃 a􀀃

suspicious􀀃death􀀃is􀀃classified􀀃as􀀃homicide􀀃all􀀃vary􀀃

as􀀃between􀀃countries.􀀃

Moreover,􀀃 as􀀃 forms􀀃 of􀀃 organized􀀃 criminality􀀃 and􀀃

state􀀃insecurity􀀃become􀀃increasingly􀀃intertwined,􀀃

the􀀃 line􀀃 between􀀃 violent􀀃 deaths􀀃 that􀀃 occur􀀃 in􀀃

armed􀀃 conflict􀀃 and􀀃 those􀀃 that􀀃 can􀀃 be􀀃 labelled􀀃

‘crime’􀀃is􀀃often􀀃blurred.􀀃Acts􀀃which􀀃are􀀃likely􀀃to􀀃be􀀃

recorded􀀃by􀀃law􀀃enforcement􀀃and􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃

institutions􀀃 as􀀃 intentional􀀃 homicide􀀃 can􀀃 take􀀃

place􀀃 in􀀃 a􀀃 wide􀀃 range􀀃 of􀀃 contexts,􀀃 including􀀃 the􀀃

home,􀀃 family,􀀃 social􀀃 or􀀃 domestic􀀃 setting,􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃

course􀀃of􀀃burglary,􀀃theft􀀃or􀀃robbery,􀀃or􀀃associated􀀃

with􀀃 gang,􀀃 organized,􀀃 or􀀃 drug􀇦related􀀃 crime.

**􀀃**

**􀀃**

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Chapter􀀃1􀀃– Homicide

8

**Combining􀀃data􀀃sources**􀀃

This􀀃 chapter􀀃 differs􀀃 from􀀃 others􀀃 in􀀃 this􀀃

publication􀀃 in􀀃 that􀀃 –􀀃 for􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃

information􀀃 –􀀃 it􀀃 draws􀀃 on􀀃 data􀀃 wider􀀃 than􀀃 that􀀃

reported􀀃 through􀀃 the􀀃 United􀀃 Nations􀀃 Survey􀀃 of􀀃

Crime􀀃Trends􀀃and􀀃Operations􀀃of􀀃Criminal􀀃Justice􀀃

Systems􀀃(UN􀇦CTS).􀀃􀀃

Whilst􀀃 UN􀇦CTS􀀃 data􀀃 is􀀃 included􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 analysis,􀀃

in􀀃order􀀃to􀀃provide􀀃as􀀃wide􀀃a􀀃geographic􀀃coverage􀀃

as􀀃 possible􀀃 the􀀃 chapter􀀃 uses􀀃 data􀀃 from􀀃 other􀀃

available􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 sources.􀀃 These􀀃 include􀀃

other􀀃 cross􀇦national􀀃 data􀀃 sources,􀀃 such􀀃 as􀀃 data􀀃

collected􀀃 and􀀃 published􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃 Statistical􀀃 Office􀀃

of􀀃 the􀀃 European􀀃 Communities􀀃 (Eurostat),􀀃 the􀀃

United􀀃 Nations􀀃 Children’s􀀃 Fund􀀃 (UNICEF),􀀃 the􀀃

International􀀃Police􀀃Organization􀀃 (Interpol),􀀃and􀀃

the􀀃 Observatorio􀀃 Centroamericano􀀃 sobre􀀃

Violencia􀀃 (OCAVI).􀀃 The􀀃 analysis􀀃 also􀀃 makes􀀃 use􀀃

of􀀃 data􀀃 available􀀃 at􀀃 the􀀃 national􀀃 level,􀀃 including􀀃

that􀀃 published􀀃 on􀀃 national􀀃 police,􀀃 Ministry􀀃 of􀀃

Interior􀀃and􀀃Ministry􀀃of􀀃 Justice􀀃websites.􀀃 Priority􀀃

was􀀃 given􀀃 to􀀃 data􀀃 available􀀃 at􀀃 the􀀃 regional􀀃 or􀀃

international􀀃 level􀀃 over􀀃 national􀀃 data􀀃 due􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃

fact􀀃 that􀀃 cross􀇦national􀀃 data􀀃 collections􀀃 (such􀀃 as􀀃

the􀀃 UN􀇦CTS􀀃 and􀀃 Eurostat)􀀃 make􀀃 use􀀃 of􀀃

standardized􀀃 definitions􀀃 of􀀃 intentional􀀃 homicide􀀃

and􀀃 are􀀃 usually􀀃 supported􀀃 by􀀃extensive􀀃metadata􀀃

that􀀃 allows􀀃 the􀀃 user􀀃 to􀀃 better􀀃 understand􀀃 the􀀃

content􀀃of􀀃reported􀀃numbers.􀀃􀀃

Although􀀃this􀀃chapter􀀃derives􀀃its􀀃results􀀃primarily􀀃

from􀀃 such􀀃 ‘multi􀇦source’􀀃 *police􀇦recorded*􀀃 crime􀀃

statistics,􀀃 the􀀃 fact􀀃 of􀀃 a􀀃 death􀀃 means􀀃 that􀀃

homicides􀀃 are􀀃 usually􀀃 processed􀀃 both􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃

medical􀀃 system􀀃 and􀀃 the􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 system,􀀃

creating􀀃 two􀀃 potential􀀃 sources􀀃 of􀀃 administrative􀀃

statistics.􀀃 These􀀃 two􀀃 systems􀀃 measure􀀃 subtly􀀃

different􀀃phenomenon􀀃and􀀃–􀀃whilst􀀃figures􀀃can􀀃be􀀃

expected􀀃 to􀀃 show􀀃 reasonable􀀃 levels􀀃 of􀀃 agreement􀀃

–􀀃they􀀃are􀀃unlikely􀀃to􀀃generate􀀃identical􀀃numbers.􀀃

In􀀃 order􀀃 to􀀃 provide􀀃 as􀀃 complete􀀃 a􀀃 picture􀀃 of􀀃

possible􀀃of􀀃the􀀃level􀀃and􀀃trend􀀃of􀀃homicides􀀃in􀀃the􀀃

world,􀀃and􀀃for􀀃comparative􀀃purposes,􀀃this􀀃chapter􀀃

provides􀀃data􀀃available􀀃from􀀃public􀀃health􀀃sources􀀃

alongside􀀃those􀀃from􀀃criminal􀀃justice.􀀃The􀀃public􀀃

health􀀃 sources􀀃 used􀀃 are􀀃 predominantly􀀃 cross􀇦

national,􀀃 including􀀃 data􀀃 published􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃World􀀃

Health􀀃 Organization􀀃 (WHO)􀀃 and􀀃 the􀀃 Pan􀇦

American􀀃 Health􀀃 Organization􀀃 (PAHO).􀀃 Public􀀃

health􀀃statistics􀀃on􀀃intentional􀀃homicide􀀃typically􀀃

consist􀀃 \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_of􀀃 data􀀃 recorded􀀃 under􀀃 the􀀃 International􀀃

Classification􀀃 of􀀃 Disease􀀃 (ICD􀇦10)􀀃 codes􀀃

corresponding􀀃 to􀀃 ‘injuries􀀃 inflicted􀀃 by􀀃 another􀀃

person􀀃with􀀃intent􀀃to􀀃injure􀀃or􀀃kill,􀀃by􀀃any􀀃means’.􀀃

For􀀃a􀀃death􀀃to􀀃be􀀃classified􀀃in􀀃this􀀃category,􀀃there􀀃

must􀀃 be􀀃 sufficient􀀃 evidence􀀃 for􀀃 a􀀃 medical􀀃

professional􀀃to􀀃determine􀀃that􀀃the􀀃cause􀀃of􀀃death􀀃

was􀀃assault􀀃and􀀃not􀀃an􀀃accident􀀃or􀀃self􀇦harm.􀀃􀀃

Whether􀀃 from􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 or􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃

sources,􀀃 it􀀃 must􀀃 be􀀃 remembered􀀃 that􀀃 official􀀃

statistics􀀃 rarely􀀃 capture􀀃 the􀀃 number􀀃 of􀀃 actual􀀃

criminal􀀃events􀀃that􀀃have􀀃occurred.􀀃Homicide􀀃can􀀃

be􀀃 reported􀀃 by􀀃 relatives􀀃 and􀀃 witnesses,􀀃 but􀀃

obviously􀀃cannot􀀃be􀀃measured􀀃through􀀃reports􀀃by􀀃

victims.􀀃 The􀀃 quality􀀃 of􀀃 homicide􀀃 figures􀀃 is􀀃 also􀀃

affected􀀃 by􀀃approaches􀀃 to􀀃case􀀃 recording􀀃and􀀃 the􀀃

capacity􀀃 of􀀃 national􀀃 institutions􀀃 to􀀃 gather􀀃 data􀀃

and􀀃accurately􀀃record􀀃events.􀀃􀀃

The􀀃 capacity􀀃 gap􀀃 between􀀃 developed􀀃 and􀀃

developing􀀃 countries􀀃 particularly􀀃 affects􀀃 the􀀃

cross􀇦national􀀃 comparison􀀃 of􀀃 police􀇦recorded􀀃

crime􀀃 statistics,􀀃 with􀀃 the􀀃 result􀀃 that􀀃

administrative􀀃 statistics􀀃 are􀀃 not􀀃 a􀀃 particularly􀀃

strong􀀃 basis􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 study􀀃 of􀀃 cross􀇦national􀀃

differences􀀃 in􀀃 criminal􀀃 activity.􀀃 As􀀃 shown􀀃 in􀀃 this􀀃

Chapter,􀀃 the􀀃 differences􀀃 between􀀃 health􀀃 and􀀃

police􀀃 statistics􀀃 are􀀃 especially􀀃 marked􀀃 in􀀃

developing􀀃countries.􀀃In􀀃higher􀀃income􀀃countries,􀀃

such􀀃 as􀀃 those􀀃 in􀀃 West􀀃 and􀀃 Central􀀃 Europe,􀀃

significant􀀃 differences􀀃 also􀀃 remain􀀃 for􀀃 countries􀀃

between􀀃 police􀀃 and􀀃 health􀀃 statistics.􀀃 Such􀀃

differences􀀃 may􀀃 be􀀃 linked􀀃 to􀀃 limitations􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃

capacity􀀃 of􀀃 police􀀃 and􀀃 law􀀃 enforcement􀀃 agencies􀀃

to􀀃 identify􀀃 and􀀃 record􀀃 homicide􀀃 events,􀀃 and􀀃 to􀀃

other􀀃 factors􀀃 such􀀃 as􀀃 the􀀃 lethality􀀃 of􀀃 assaults.􀀃

Indeed,􀀃 the􀀃 lethality􀀃 of􀀃 assaults􀀃 can􀀃 be􀀃 a􀀃

particularly􀀃 important􀀃 factor􀀃 in􀀃 understanding􀀃

cross􀇦national􀀃 differences􀀃 and􀀃 long􀇦term􀀃 trends􀀃

in􀀃homicides.􀀃Evidence􀀃suggests􀀃that􀀃the􀀃lethality􀀃

of􀀃assaults􀀃in􀀃North􀀃America􀀃and􀀃Western􀀃Europe􀀃

for􀀃 example􀀃 has􀀃 dropped􀀃 dramatically􀀃 due􀀃 to􀀃

developments􀀃in􀀃medical􀀃technology􀀃and􀀃medical􀀃

support􀀃services􀀃(Aebi􀀃2004).􀀃

**Global􀀃homicide􀀃levels􀀃**

Data􀀃previously􀀃published􀀃by􀀃the􀀃United􀀃Nations􀀃

Office􀀃 on􀀃 Drugs􀀃 and􀀃 Crime􀀃 suggests􀀃 that􀀃

approximately􀀃 490,000􀀃 deaths􀀃 from􀀃 intentional􀀃

homicide􀀃 occurred􀀃 in􀀃 2004􀀃 (Geneva􀀃 Declaration􀀃

2008).􀀃This􀀃represented􀀃a􀀃world􀀃average􀀃homicide􀀃

rate􀀃 in􀀃 2004􀀃 of􀀃 7.6􀀃 per􀀃 100,000􀀃 population.􀀃 The􀀃

dataset􀀃 used􀀃 for􀀃 this􀀃 calculation􀀃 focused􀀃 on􀀃

maximum􀀃 geographic􀀃 coverage􀀃 at􀀃 the􀀃 expense􀀃 of􀀃

more􀀃recently􀀃available􀀃data􀀃for􀀃some􀀃countries􀀃in􀀃

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order􀀃 to􀀃 produce􀀃 a􀀃 single􀀃 global􀀃 dataset􀀃 for􀀃 one􀀃

point􀀃in􀀃time􀀃(UNODC􀀃2008).􀀃

In􀀃 contrast,􀀃 this􀀃 chapter􀀃 takes􀀃 the􀀃 approach􀀃 of􀀃

‘latest􀀃 available􀀃 year’􀀃 data􀀃 in􀀃 order􀀃 to􀀃 provide􀀃 as􀀃

timely􀀃 information􀀃 as􀀃 possible,􀀃 whilst􀀃 also􀀃

maintaining􀀃wide􀀃geographic􀀃coverage.􀀃

In􀀃 order􀀃 to􀀃 represent􀀃 the􀀃 distribution􀀃 of􀀃 this􀀃

nearly􀀃half􀀃a􀀃million􀀃annual􀀃homicides􀀃by􀀃regions􀀃

of􀀃the􀀃world,􀀃figure􀀃1􀀃below􀀃shows􀀃the􀀃average􀀃of􀀃a􀀃

limited􀀃 set􀀃 of􀀃 countries􀀃 in􀀃 each􀀃 sub􀇦region􀀃 (144􀀃

countries􀀃in􀀃total);􀀃being􀀃those􀀃 for􀀃which􀀃at􀀃 least􀀃

one􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 *and*􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃 value􀀃 for􀀃

intentional􀀃 homicide􀀃 are􀀃 available􀀃 during􀀃 the􀀃

period􀀃 2003􀀃 to􀀃 2008.􀀃 The􀀃 range􀀃 of􀀃 countries􀀃 for􀀃

which􀀃 data􀀃 is􀀃 available􀀃 for􀀃 each􀀃 source􀀃 alone􀀃 is􀀃

somewhat􀀃 greater􀀃 and􀀃 it􀀃 should􀀃 be􀀃 noted􀀃 that􀀃

average􀀃 rates􀀃 calculated􀀃 on􀀃 this􀀃 wider􀀃 set􀀃 of􀀃

countries􀀃would􀀃be􀀃different.􀀃􀀃

􀀃

**Figure􀀃1.􀀃Average􀀃intentional􀀃homicide􀀃rate􀀃by􀀃sub􀍲region,􀀃latest􀀃available􀀃year,􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃and􀀃**

**public􀀃health􀀃data**􀀃

􀀃

Note:􀀃 Figure􀀃 1􀀃 includes􀀃 only􀀃 those􀀃 countries􀀃 for􀀃 which􀀃 at􀀃 least􀀃 one􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 and􀀃 one􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃 value􀀃 for􀀃 intentional􀀃

homicide􀀃 are􀀃 available􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 period􀀃 2003􀍲2008.􀀃 This􀀃 is􀀃 indicated􀀃 alongside􀀃 each􀀃 sub􀍲region􀀃 name􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃 number􀀃 of􀀃 countries􀀃

included􀀃out􀀃of􀀃the􀀃total􀀃countries􀀃in􀀃the􀀃sub􀍲region.􀀃􀀃

Overall,􀀃 figure􀀃 1􀀃 shows􀀃 comparatively􀀃 low􀀃

homicide􀀃levels􀀃in􀀃countries􀀃in􀀃Europe,􀀃Asia􀀃and􀀃

North􀀃 America,􀀃 with􀀃 reasonable􀀃 agreement􀀃

between􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃and􀀃public􀀃health􀀃data.􀀃

In􀀃 contrast,􀀃 both􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 and􀀃 public􀀃

health􀀃data􀀃(albeit􀀃with􀀃less􀀃agreement)􀀃indicate􀀃

significantly􀀃 higher􀀃 rates􀀃 in􀀃 South􀀃 America,􀀃

Central􀀃 America,􀀃 the􀀃 Caribbean,􀀃 and􀀃 Southern􀀃

Africa.􀀃 Large􀀃 data􀀃 discrepancies􀀃 remain􀀃 for􀀃

Middle,􀀃Western,􀀃and􀀃Eastern􀀃Africa.􀀃Substantive􀀃

work􀀃on􀀃administrative􀀃data􀀃recording􀀃systems􀀃in􀀃

both􀀃the􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃and􀀃public􀀃health􀀃fields􀀃

is􀀃 required􀀃 in􀀃 these􀀃 sub􀇦regions􀀃 before􀀃

meaningful􀀃comparisons􀀃can􀀃be􀀃made􀀃with􀀃other􀀃

sub􀇦regions􀀃of􀀃the􀀃world.􀀃􀀃

Figure􀀃 1􀀃 also􀀃 reveals􀀃 the􀀃 continued􀀃 existence􀀃 of􀀃

signficant􀀃 data􀀃 limitations.􀀃 In􀀃 particular,􀀃 very􀀃

few􀀃countries􀀃in􀀃Middle,􀀃West􀀃and􀀃Eastern􀀃Africa􀀃

0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Western􀀃Europe􀀃(8/9􀀃countries)

Southern􀀃Europe􀀃(12/13􀀃countries)

Oceania􀀃(3/25􀀃countries)

Eastern􀀃Asia􀀃(4/5􀀃countries)

Northern􀀃Europe􀀃(9/10􀀃countries)

Western􀀃Asia􀀃(16/18􀀃countries)

Northern􀀃Africa􀀃(5/7􀀃countries)

Southern􀀃Asia􀀃(8/9􀀃countries)

Northern􀀃America􀀃(2/3􀀃countries)

Central􀀃Asia􀀃(5/5􀀃countries)

South􀍲Eastern􀀃Asia􀀃(8/11􀀃countries)

Eastern􀀃Europe􀀃(10/10􀀃countries)

Caribbean􀀃(9/24􀀃countries)

Central􀀃America􀀃(8/8􀀃countries)

Western􀀃Africa􀀃(9/17􀀃countries)

South􀀃America􀀃(12/13􀀃countries)

Eastern􀀃Africa􀀃(9/19􀀃countries)

Middle􀀃Africa􀀃(2/9􀀃countries)

Southern􀀃Africa􀀃(5/5􀀃countries)

**Rate􀀃per􀀃100,000􀀃population**

Criminal􀀃Justice Public􀀃Health

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are􀀃 able􀀃 to􀀃 provide􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃

intentional􀀃 homicide.􀀃 Where􀀃 data􀀃 is􀀃 available,􀀃

significant􀀃 differences􀀃 exist􀀃 as􀀃 compared􀀃 with􀀃

public􀀃health􀀃figures.􀀃The􀀃limitations􀀃in􀀃criminal􀀃

justice􀀃data􀀃availability􀀃in􀀃Africa􀀃relative􀀃to􀀃other􀀃

regions􀀃are􀀃shown􀀃in􀀃figure􀀃2.􀀃

􀀃

**Figure􀀃 2.􀀃Availability􀀃 of􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 intentional􀀃homicide:􀀃 Countries􀀃 with􀀃 at􀀃 least􀀃 one􀀃**

**criminal􀀃justice􀀃source􀀃available􀀃(2003􀍲2008)􀀃􀀃**

Note:􀀃The􀀃boundaries􀀃and􀀃designations􀀃used􀀃on􀀃this􀀃map􀀃do􀀃not􀀃imply􀀃endorsement􀀃or􀀃acceptance􀀃by􀀃the􀀃United􀀃Nations􀀃

􀀃

For􀀃 those􀀃 countries􀀃 where􀀃 both􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃

and􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃 data􀀃 are􀀃 available,􀀃 significant􀀃

differences􀀃 often􀀃 exist.􀀃 As􀀃 shown􀀃 in􀀃 figure􀀃 1,􀀃 for􀀃

nine􀀃 countries􀀃 in􀀃 Western􀀃 Africa,􀀃 for􀀃 example,􀀃

the􀀃public􀀃health􀀃average􀀃rate􀀃is􀀃ten􀀃times􀀃that􀀃of􀀃

the􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃average􀀃rate.􀀃􀀃

In􀀃 countries􀀃 in􀀃 both􀀃 Central􀀃 America􀀃 and􀀃 the􀀃

Caribbean􀀃 sub􀇦regions,􀀃 the􀀃 average􀀃 rate􀀃 of􀀃

intentional􀀃homicide􀀃reported􀀃by􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃

institutions􀀃is􀀃higher􀀃than􀀃that􀀃reported􀀃by􀀃public􀀃

health􀀃institutions.􀀃This􀀃may􀀃be􀀃due􀀃to􀀃a􀀃number􀀃

of􀀃 factors.􀀃 The􀀃 dataset􀀃 used􀀃 in􀀃 figure􀀃 1􀀃 relies􀀃

primarily􀀃 on􀀃 national􀀃 data􀀃 for􀀃 countries􀀃 in􀀃

Central􀀃 America􀀃 and􀀃 the􀀃 Caribbean.􀀃 Data􀀃

published􀀃 by􀀃 national􀀃 authorities􀀃 may􀀃 be􀀃 less􀀃

comparable􀀃 than􀀃 that􀀃 collected􀀃 through􀀃 cross􀇦

national􀀃 initiatives,􀀃 such􀀃 as􀀃 the􀀃 UN􀇦CTS,􀀃 which􀀃

make􀀃 use􀀃 of􀀃 standard􀀃 definitions􀀃 and􀀃metadata.􀀃

Further,􀀃 with􀀃 respect􀀃 to􀀃 the􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃 data,􀀃

some􀀃countries􀀃 in􀀃 these􀀃 regions􀀃have􀀃 incomplete􀀃

death􀀃 registration􀀃 data,􀀃 resulting􀀃 in􀀃 possible􀀃

under􀇦capture􀀃of􀀃violent􀀃deaths.􀀃Finally,􀀃as􀀃shown􀀃

later􀀃 in􀀃 this􀀃chapter,􀀃homicide􀀃 rates􀀃 in􀀃a􀀃number􀀃

of􀀃 countries􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃 Central􀀃 America􀀃 and􀀃

Caribbean􀀃 sub􀇦regions􀀃 have􀀃 increased􀀃 in􀀃 recent􀀃

years.􀀃Criminal􀀃justice􀀃data􀀃for􀀃countries􀀃in􀀃these􀀃

sub􀇦regions􀀃 corresponds􀀃 to􀀃 more􀀃 recent􀀃 years􀀃

(mostly􀀃 2007􀀃 and􀀃 2008)􀀃 than􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃 data􀀃

(mostly􀀃 2003􀇦2006).􀀃 A􀀃 combination􀀃 of􀀃 these􀀃

factors􀀃may􀀃explain􀀃the􀀃pattern􀀃observed.􀀃

The􀀃 pattern􀀃 of􀀃 differences􀀃 between􀀃 criminal􀀃

justice􀀃 and􀀃 public􀀃 health􀀃 data,􀀃 and􀀃 indeed􀀃 the􀀃

level􀀃 of􀀃 availability􀀃 of􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃

homicide,􀀃 can􀀃 be􀀃 more􀀃 clearly􀀃 seen􀀃 at􀀃 the􀀃

individual􀀃 country􀀃 level.􀀃 Figures􀀃 3􀀃 to􀀃 5􀀃 represent􀀃

the􀀃 latest􀀃 year􀀃 criminal􀀃 justice􀀃 data􀀃 available􀀃 by􀀃

country,􀀃 presented􀀃 alongside􀀃 a􀀃 set􀀃 of􀀃 country􀀃

‘death􀀃 by􀀃 violence’􀀃 estimates􀀃 produced􀀃 by􀀃 the􀀃

World􀀃 Health􀀃 Organization􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 year􀀃 2004􀀃

(WHO􀀃2009).􀀃

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**Figure􀀃3.􀀃Homicide􀀃rate􀀃per􀀃100,000􀀃population,􀀃Africa􀀃region,􀀃by􀀃country􀀃(criminal􀀃justice,􀀃latest􀀃**

**available􀀃year;􀀃public􀀃health,􀀃2004)􀀃**

Note:􀀃Number􀀃by􀀃country􀀃name􀀃signifies􀀃year􀀃of􀀃criminal􀀃justice􀀃data􀀃

􀀃

Figure􀀃 3􀀃 shows􀀃 clearly􀀃 the􀀃 extremely􀀃 limited􀀃

availability􀀃 of􀀃 police􀇦recorded􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 homicide􀀃

in􀀃 Africa.􀀃 Of􀀃 all􀀃countries􀀃 in􀀃 the􀀃continent,􀀃only􀀃

25􀀃 report􀀃 police􀇦recorded􀀃 homicide􀀃 data􀀃 at􀀃 the􀀃

international􀀃 level􀀃 or􀀃 make􀀃 such􀀃 information􀀃

publicly􀀃available􀀃at􀀃the􀀃national􀀃level.􀀃This􀀃is􀀃not􀀃

to􀀃 say􀀃 that􀀃 the􀀃 other􀀃 countries􀀃 do􀀃 not􀀃 record􀀃

deaths􀀃that􀀃come􀀃to􀀃the􀀃attention􀀃of􀀃the􀀃police,􀀃or􀀃

that􀀃such􀀃data􀀃is􀀃not􀀃available􀀃to􀀃law􀀃enforcement􀀃

institutions􀀃 and􀀃 government􀀃 ministries􀀃

internally.􀀃 The􀀃 situation􀀃 of􀀃 data􀀃 completeness􀀃

and􀀃availability􀀃within􀀃the􀀃police􀀃and􀀃government􀀃

institutions􀀃likely􀀃varies􀀃from􀀃country􀀃to􀀃country.􀀃

Nonetheless,􀀃it􀀃is􀀃the􀀃case􀀃that􀀃although􀀃one􀀃fifth􀀃

of􀀃the􀀃world’s􀀃population􀀃lives􀀃in􀀃Africa􀀃and􀀃more􀀃

than􀀃a􀀃quarter􀀃of􀀃all􀀃countries􀀃in􀀃the􀀃world􀀃are􀀃in􀀃

Africa,􀀃 the􀀃 continent􀀃 is,􀀃 by􀀃 far,􀀃 the􀀃 least􀀃

documented􀀃 region􀀃 in􀀃 terms􀀃 of􀀃 data􀀃 on􀀃 crime.􀀃

This􀀃 absence􀀃 of􀀃 reliable􀀃 information􀀃 contributes􀀃

to􀀃the􀀃limited􀀃attention􀀃devoted􀀃to􀀃solving􀀃crime􀀃

and􀀃safety􀀃challenges􀀃in􀀃the􀀃region.􀀃􀀃

Where􀀃 police􀇦recorded􀀃 homicide􀀃 data􀀃 is􀀃

available,􀀃 rates􀀃 per􀀃 100,000􀀃 population􀀃 are􀀃

typically􀀃 significantly􀀃 lower􀀃 than􀀃 WHO􀀃 2004􀀃

estimates,􀀃 with􀀃 the􀀃 exception􀀃 of􀀃 a􀀃 few􀀃 countries􀀃

including􀀃Egypt,􀀃Tunisia,􀀃Mauritius,􀀃 Libyan􀀃Arab􀀃

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

Morocco􀀃􀍲 06

Egypt􀀃􀍲 05

Tunisia􀀃􀍲 04

Mauritius􀀃􀍲 06

Libyan􀀃Arab􀀃Jamahiriya􀀃􀍲 03

Somalia

Seychelles􀀃􀍲 06

Djibouti

Sao􀀃Tome􀀃and􀀃Principe

Algeria􀀃􀀃􀍲 06

Cape􀀃Verde􀀃􀍲 07

Ghana􀀃􀍲 05

Comoros

Madagascar

Namibia

Lesotho􀀃􀍲 05

Benin

Togo

Gambia

Senegal􀀃􀍲 04

Mauritania

Eritrea

Cameroon􀀃􀍲 03

Gabon

Guinea

Liberia

Malawi

Mali

Guinea􀍲Bissau

Nigeria􀀃􀍲 06

Burkina􀀃Faso

Equatorial􀀃Guinea

Chad

Congo

Mozambique

Niger

Ethiopia􀀃􀍲 04

Kenya􀀃􀍲 08

Swaziland

Botswana􀀃􀍲 06

Zambia􀀃􀍲 00

Uganda􀀃􀍲 08

United􀀃Republic􀀃of􀀃Tanzania􀀃􀍲…

Sudan

Rwanda􀀃􀍲 04

Central􀀃African􀀃Republic

Zimbabwe􀀃􀍲 04

Angola􀀃􀍲 04

Democratic􀀃Republic􀀃of􀀃the􀀃…

Sierra􀀃Leone􀀃􀍲06

Burundi

Côte􀀃d'Ivoire􀀃􀍲 00

South􀀃Africa􀀃􀍲 07

**Intentional􀀃homicide􀀃rate􀀃per􀀃100,000􀀃population**

Criminal􀀃justice

WHO􀀃2004

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Jamahiriya,􀀃 and􀀃 Cape􀀃 Verde.􀀃 Further􀀃 research􀀃 is􀀃

needed􀀃 to􀀃 identify􀀃 ‘true’􀀃 underlying􀀃 homicide􀀃

rates􀀃 in􀀃 countries􀀃 in􀀃 Africa.􀀃WHO􀀃 estimates􀀃 of􀀃

death􀀃 by􀀃 violence􀀃 rates􀀃 for􀀃 the􀀃 majority􀀃 of􀀃

s19 ᗹcountries