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CRIME AND GENDER

A STUDY ON HOW MEN AND WOMEN ARE REPRESENTED IN INTERNATIONAL CRIME STATISTICS

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Preface

Gender issues, especially in the form of violence against women and girls, are high on the agenda of the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the European Commission and other international organizations. As examples can be mentioned the Updated United Nations Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice,¹ the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, known as the Istanbul Convention² and the European Union Victims Directive.³ All these documents request comparative and high quality indicators by gender.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) collects statistics worldwide on different forms of crime through a dedicated questionnaire which includes a set of crime and criminal justice statistics and an annually changing module with selected crime issues. The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI) has a long history of working together with the UNODC in analysing these data sets.

The European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics is the largest available compilation of crime-related statistics on the European level. Five rounds of data have been collected so far, and the HEUNI has participated in the collection of the data and the analysis of the results.

In this report we use both datasets to describe how gender/sex is visible in the world of crime statistics. Unfortunately, the data are limited to administrative sources, because there are no recent representative survey data on the European level, much less on the world level. In the administrative data, the content is limited in respect of the gender aspect. Therefore, the report also examines possibilities in how the European crime data could be developed to meet the requirements of the needs that have been expressed by the various international organizations.

We hope that in the future, the new United Nations International Classification of Crimes for Statistical Purposes⁴ could provide more detailed information on both men and women in the criminal justice process. This might advance the possibilities for gender-related analysis of crime.

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¹ General Assembly resolution 65/228, annex, available at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/Model_Strategies_and_Practical_Measures_on_the_Elimination_of_Violence_against_Women_in_the_Field_of_Crime_Prevention_and_Criminal_Justice.pdf

² Available at: <http://www.coe.int/en/web/istanbul-convention/home>

³ Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA.

⁴ Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/statistics/iccs.html>

1 In Brief

The task is to find out how men and women are represented in the criminal justice process, ranging from the suspects as recorded by the police, to the enforcement of sentences. The aim is to show the level of differences in offender rates by gender, to study changes in offender rates by gender, and to present indicators of attrition by gender. The crime categories explored are total crime, homicide, rape, assault, theft and fraud. The study is based on crime statistics from two sources, the Crime Trends Survey coordinated by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics.

In each crime category studied, the share of women decreases the further one goes in the criminal justice process. In respect of total crime, 16 per cent of all suspects are female; this proportion decreases to 14 per cent of those convicted, and five per cent of those sentenced to unconditional imprisonment. In respect of homicides, the decrease in the share of women is less prominent but still notable: seven per cent of suspects and five per cent of those sentenced to unconditional imprisonment are women.

The number of men suspected of total crime has decreased worldwide from 2004 to 2013, while the total number of women has increased. The decrease in the number of men is evident in all regions, and is the greatest in the Americas. During the same time frame, the share of women suspected in the total crime rates have increased in Europe and Asia, but decreased in the Americas. These results hint to slight convergence until the year 2010 after which the female rates have also decreased. The correlation between male and female suspect rates is high; countries with high male suspect rates also show high suspect rates for females and

countries with low male suspect rates often have low female suspect rates.

The total number of convicted men has decreased, and the total number of convicted women is stable. However, punitivity is increasing. Overall, the rate of prison convictions has increased both for men (+8%) and for women (+9%).

The rate of homicide suspects for both men and women has decreased in a decade by one-quarter. This positive development is overshadowed by the fact that the rate of rape suspects has increased by eight per cent, and the rate of assault suspects has increased in Europe by 44 per cent for men and 83 per cent for women. The rate of men suspected of theft has decreased (-18 %), but the corresponding rate of women has increased.

The trends indicate crimes committed by men are decreasing while crimes committed by women are increasing. However, since the level of crime committed by women is much lower than that committed by men, there has overall been a decrease in the reported amount of crime. In this respect, assault and fraud are exceptions, since the number of both men and women being processed at all stages of the criminal justice system has increased.

The conviction ratio, which is one of the attrition measures used in this report, describes the share of convicted persons per suspected persons. For total crime, suspected men are convicted more often than women. However, in respect of homicide, theft, and fraud there is no difference between the genders. When it comes to persons who have committed an assault, men are convicted more often than women. This may be caused by the more severe consequences of male assaults; the share of women is smaller in aggravated assault than in assaults with minor injury.

2 Introduction

The goal of this report is to provide statistical information on the development and current situation of crime and gender. The report is divided into two sections. The first section presents global crime statistics for selected crimes as recorded by the United Nations Crime Trend Survey (UN-CTS), and the second section focuses on selected crimes in Europe using data from the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (ESB).

The global comparison of crime statistics is challenging due to, e.g. the criminal justice systems in different regions and countries being in different levels of development. The strength of using the European Sourcebook is that many European countries have long traditions in collecting crime statistics. However, there are still issues such as historical differences and variations in definitions that make the comparisons between crime statistics in the European countries a difficult task.

In this report, the analysis begins with the first steps of the criminal justice system, and presents data on male and female offenders as recorded by the police. It then moves on to analyse data from the other sections of the criminal justice system: prosecution, conviction and imprisonment. The report describes the prevalence of crime, and presents trends in the development of the offender structure in respect of selected crime categories.

Since 1970, the UN-CTS has collected

data on the gender of offenders arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned, using questionnaires sent to UN Member States (see e.g. Harrendorf et al. 2010). The present report includes sex-disaggregated rates from 2004 to 2013 for men and women who have come into formal contact with the criminal justice system. The results are shown across regions and by different income levels

The ESB has collected data from 1992 onwards with the fifth edition published in 2014 presenting data by gender up to 2010. The European Sourcebook contains data recorded by the police on the number of women who were suspected in 19 crime categories. Data by gender are available on different sweeps for the years 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010 on suspected, prosecuted, convicted and sentenced to prison. Using these sweeps, information can be produced as trends. In addition, the data contain information on the number of female personnel among the police, court and prison staff.

This statistical report is intended for researchers and policy makers as well as for individuals interested in gender issues. Accurate and reliable statistics on crime can help decision-makers to make informed decisions relating to criminal policy. More generally, bringing the gender structure of crime into focus will make the situation of women more visible, and is intended to facilitate discussions on the role of both men and women in crime.

2.1 Advantages and limitations of crime statistics

The law and legislation define what constitutes a crime in a country. One difficulty in comparing criminal statistics between different countries is that what is legal conduct in one country may be illegal in another. Furthermore, “known offences” might be defined differently, and it is these offence definitions that shape the official statistics in a given country (see Harrendorff 2013, Jehle 2013). The incidents recorded in national statistics are also shaped by more intangible circumstances such as willingness to report incidents, the trouble involved in reporting an incident, the attitude towards police and trust in justice, what topics are high on political agendas, and gender equality.

Administrative data sources are good for describing trends over time in reporting and recording data, crime statistics on suspects and convictions give a sense of the efficiency and structure of the criminal justice system and how it responds to men and women. For some crimes, there is a considerable difference between the genders, whereas for others the differences are less apparent. The construction of crime varies across time and place. In order to make in-depth interpretations regarding the development of crime and its social context, statistical information should be viewed in the light of a given criminal policy, and of cultural and social dimensions which may increase the risk that particular social groups are over-represented (see e.g., Maguire 2007). For instance, drug users can be overrepresented depending on a country’s drug policy,

and among drug users, men have often been overrepresented. Another example is that the “stop and search” policy in the UK results in an overrepresentation of minorities. A third example is domestic violence; policy determines whether this is deemed a private or public matter, and accordingly how often such cases are recorded.

Criminal statistics are often more centered around offenders, and they have been criticized for failing to provide in-depth details about the context or about the victims of crime (Walby and Myhill 2000). Victimization surveys and self-reporting studies help to illustrate the dark figures of crimes that are not reported to, or recorded by, the police or other authorities. However, although traditional official crime statistics show only a small part of all crime, and the share of hidden crime is high in respect of many crime types, both sources of information are important. Official crime statistics describe only those cases that are known (recorded) at the different stages of the criminal justice process, and the official crime statistics often do this with better accuracy that can be achieved by victimization surveys. This is due to the fact that victimization surveys are based on samples from the population, and they suffer from inaccuracies caused by, for instance, small number of observations of cases recorded by the authorities.

2.2 Why study gender in the criminal justice system

Sex/gender is a basic statistical category in social sciences. Research

has shown that crime is not gender-neutral. Men and women tend to commit different crimes. The gendered nature of crime is strongly visible in domestic and sexual offences, but less apparent for example in fraud-related offences. Gender inequality and the historical role of women in societies makes women more vulnerable to severe violence in the domestic sphere, whereas men are more often victims of violence outside the home. Crime can also be experienced differently by men and women, and the consequences of victimization differ. Because of these differences, we need specific explanatory frameworks that are based on sound crime statistics that distinguish between men and women.

What is the difference between the concepts “gender” and “sex” in statistical analysis? Usually, “sex” refers to physical differences between a man and a woman. “Gender” has additional connotations based on historical and cultural distinctions associated with being male and female. We have used “gender” and “sex” as synonyms in the text, as well as “man” and “male”, and “woman” and “female”, although “gender” might have been a better alternative.

This report shows that men dominate the field of crime. For most crime categories, few women appear as perpetrators. This historical fact has led to insufficient attention being paid to gender in research based on official crime figures, although this data would have been available, for example in the European Sourcebook.

The statistical analysis in this report will not go as far as theoretical debates on the constructions of gender, nor

will it lay out exhaustive explanations for why fewer women than men are suspected and convicted, but it does offer a detailed overview of the volume of and trends in offending across different crime categories all the way from the first steps in the criminal justice system, the police, to the rates of unconditional sentences to imprisonment.

2.3 Previous research on women offenders and women convicted of crime

The gender gap in crime has historically been greatest for serious crime and least for mild forms of law-breaking, such as minor property offences. One of the theories that explain the differences in the gender gap is the gender equality hypothesis: “the gender gap in crime is smaller in social settings where female roles and statuses presumably differ less from those of men: that is, in developed nations, compared to developing countries; in urban compared to rural settings; among minorities; among people of older ages compared to younger; and in time of war, compared to peacetime”. (Steffensmeier and Allan 1996.) This theory has been challenged to some extent, since structural factors other than gender equality appear to better explain those instances where the gender gap is not stable. Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) argue, however, that greater freedom has increased female participation in the public sphere (work, shopping, banking etc.) and this could partly explain the increase in the female share of arrests for petty property offences. This view is also problematic, since such petty offences are largely committed by

economically marginal individuals and do not truly reflect female emancipation.

Winfree and Dejong (2015) examined police recorded statistics by gender in the United States between the years 1993 and 2012. They found that in terms of general arrest trends, the volume and rate of arrests for women and men were proceeding in opposite directions: men's rates were decreasing while women's rates were increasing. In crimes where there are less differences between genders (larceny-theft, forgery-counterfeiting, fraud, and embezzlement) men's rates were decreasing considerably faster than women's, with fraud as the lone exception. For violent crimes, the ratio of male to female arrests dropped in the United Nations data from nearly 5:1 in 1993 to 3:1 in 2012. Winfree and Dejong explain the increase in the number of arrests of women for violence as being due to domestic violence cases, in which they may in fact have resorted to violence in self-defence against their abusers. Changes in the structures of a society contribute undoubtedly the changes in criminal behaviours, however the recording of crimes does as well. A study in the United Kingdom on women in the criminal justice system revealed that women offenders were generally more likely than men to have mitigating factors applied to their sentences, and men were generally more likely than women to have aggravating factors applied (Home Office 2014).

Not only is gender very much a factor in recording crimes, it is also relevant in looking at prison sentences in particular. The different aspects of prisons and prison systems, ranging from their architecture and security

procedures to healthcare, family contact, work and training, have been designed for men. Women prisoners are often at a disadvantage, with few prisons meeting their basic needs or preparing them well for release. According to research by Penal Reform International (PRI) (2015) the number of female prisoners has increased by 40 per cent between the years 2000 and 2013. The increase is linked to long sentences, minimal use of alternative sanctions and measures, as well as an increase in drug-related crimes (Huber 2015). The study highlighted that more than 625,000 women and girls are held in prisons around the world, and that the number of women prisoners is growing at a much faster rate than that of men. The majority of women were imprisoned for petty, non-violent offences, and the prison sentence was often a result of an inability to pay a fine or to post bail. The imprisonment was frequently a result, directly or indirectly, of discrimination and deprivation, often experienced at the hands of their husbands or partners, their family and the community, since women often depend financially on male family members. (Huber 2015.)

No unified theoretical framework has yet been developed for explaining the differences in male and female criminality, or the gender difference in crime. Regardless of an increasing focus on gender and criminal justice statistics there are still many gaps in the data on the background and circumstances of women going through the criminal justice system. Disagreements have emerged in respect of whether to apply gender-neutral or gender-specific theories.

2.4 Structure of the report

The rest of the report is divided into three main chapters: Crime over the world, Europe in focus, and Summary and discussion. The division of the report into chapters that describe crimes worldwide and in Europe is the result of the available data sources. The United Nations crime trends survey covers three crime categories: total crime, homicide and rape, where gender-related information from different stages of the criminal justice process was available. These three categories of crimes are not ideal for gender comparison, because “total crime” is an overall category, a sum of all crimes in a given country. Homicide is an unusual and infrequent crime, where the circumstances in male and female homicides differ. As for rape, it is a highly imbalanced crime by gender, since men are almost invariably the perpetrators, and women the victims. Three additional crime categories were chosen from the European Sourcebook to support the analysis: assault, theft and fraud.

The overall structure of the analysis of the CTS data is the following: we first study the rate of male and female suspects in different regions and in different income groups, then we show trend figures, and list extreme countries found from the data. Then the same description is given in respect of convicted persons and prisoners. In the end we present some attrition figures and summarize the results. “Attrition” means the filtering out of cases during the criminal justice process (Jehle 2012). The reasons for attrition are not discussed in this report.

The analysis based on the European Sourcebook is similar but more simple, since regional data are replaced by comparison of country-level trends. There is also no analysis based on differences in income level. The summary and discussion chapter collects the main findings on how gender is seen in the results and also discusses the limitations and problems found when analysing with the results.

3 Crime Around the World

3.1 Total crime

“Total crime” refers to all offences against the penal code. Total crime is a complex concept, which makes it a difficult measure for comparisons of crime levels between countries, because countries may include different crimes into the definition of total crime, and the legislation and statistical practices differ between the countries. However, “total crime” is an umbrella term for data collection in the Eurostat survey, in the European Sourcebook, as well as in the Crime Trend Survey of the UNODC.

In general, the starting point for a case to proceed through the criminal justice system is when it is recorded by the police. However, our analysis starts from the stage in the criminal justice process when a suspect has been identified. The offences for which a suspect was not identified are not included.

This chapter analyses total crime across the different stages of the criminal justice process. First, we compare the rates of male and female offenders in different regions (as defined by the UNODC) and income levels (as defined by the World Bank). Second, the analysis of male and female suspects is extended to conviction and imprisonment levels.⁵ Then, attrition estimates were calculated separately for both genders. Throughout this report, two types of

UN-CTS Questionnaire (2014)
definition of “Total crime”:

“total number of persons brought into formal contact with the police and/or the criminal justice system (all crimes)”.

information are given in each crime category:

- a) Latest available year (to describe the level of crime); which are calculated from most recently available data using “five-year averages” (2009-2013) in order to include as many countries as possible in to the analysis.
- b) Ten-year trend in offending (to describe increase and decrease of crime); which includes data between the years 2004-2013.

In total, 76 countries provided data for at least one year between the years 2009 and 2013 on both male and female offenders. Countries where data for one or both genders were missing were dropped from the analysis. Also, countries with less than 100 000 in population have been excluded from the analysis. Not all of these 76 countries which were accepted into the analysis of five-year averages could deliver data covering the entire period needed for the ten-year trend analysis (2004-2013). If data for one or two individual years were missing, it was imputed by the

⁵ Data on prosecuted offenders were omitted because of limited coverage.

adjacent value or with the average of the values closest to the missing year.

3.1.1 Suspects

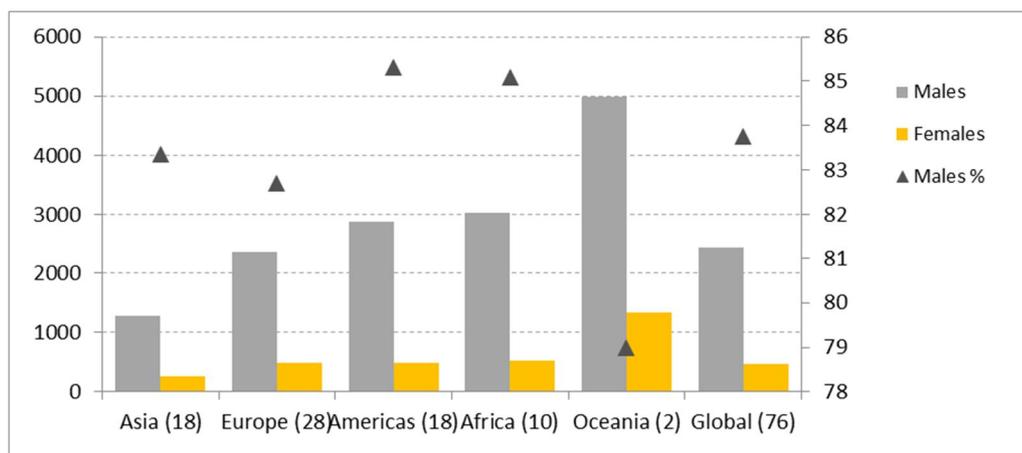
The rate of male suspects (offenders) was higher than the rate of female suspects in all regions (Figure 1.1). This applies to individual countries as well. In countries where the rate of male offenders was high, also the rate of female offenders was high ($r=.944$).

Fewer suspects per population were recorded by the police in Asia when compared to all other regions and the

rate of suspects was visibly lower than average.⁶ In regions where the income level is high, the rate of suspects was higher than in countries with a lower income level (Figure 1.2).

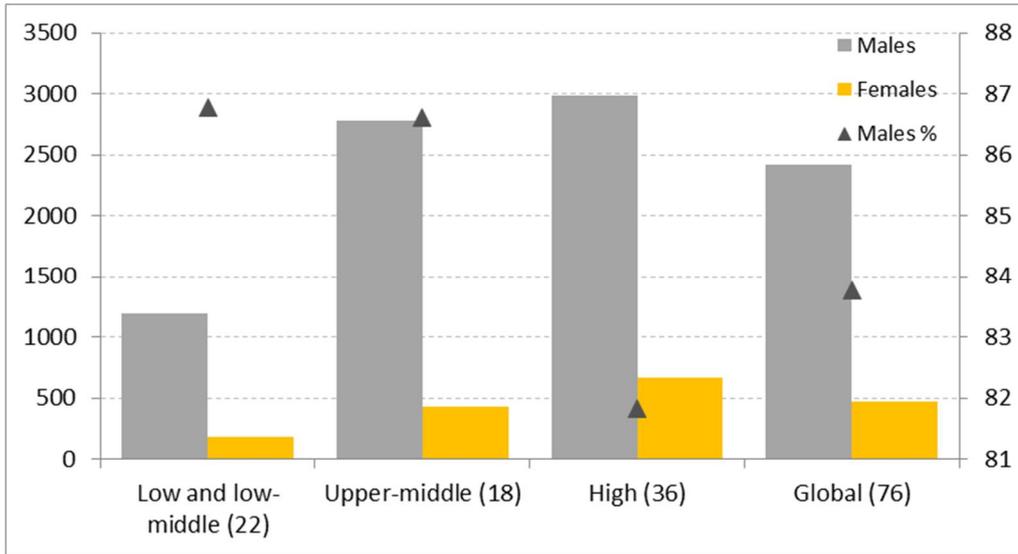
On average 84 per cent of the suspects were male. The share of male suspects is rather consistent across the different regions, however, when the income level increases, the share of male suspects decreases - 82 per cent in high income countries compared with 87 per cent in low and low-middle income countries.

Figure 1.1 Men and women as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population, regional averages (means), scale on left y-axis, and the share of men as suspects of all suspects (%), right y-axis



⁶ The coverage of the data from the African countries is limited. In addition, two African countries were able to provide data only for one year; without additional data these regional figures may be unreliable. If Botswana and Cape Verde were to be dropped from the African region, the offender rates for both men and women would be even lower than the corresponding rates of Asia. The low rate of total crime may be a consequence of less common crime in the region compared to other regions, but it may also be caused by different penal codes, different statistical practices, differences in trust in the authorities and differences in the efficacy of the criminal justice system (whether or not the reported crime was cleared). Also Oceania is a problematic region: in Australia the offender rates are close to the average, but in New Zealand considerably higher, and this raises the rates for Oceania.

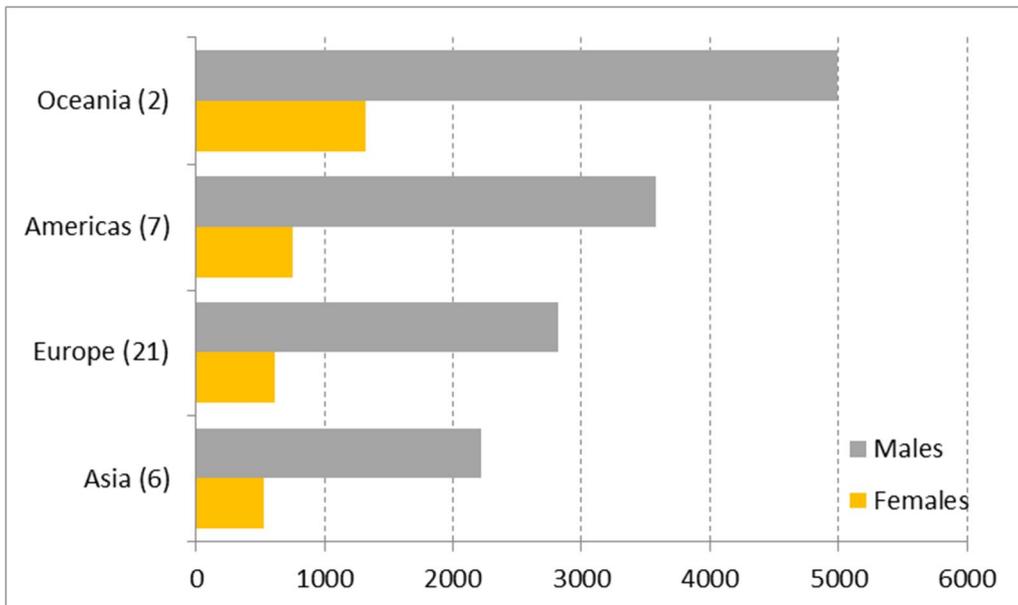
Figure 1.2 Men and women as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population, income groups (means), scale on left y-axis, and the share of men as suspects of all suspects (%) right y-axis)



The high-income group includes 36 countries, which is the highest number when compared to the other income categories. Figure 1.3 shows that large differences exist within the high

income group in different regions. The share of male offenders varied in the high income group between 83 (the Americas) and 79 (Oceania) per cent.

Figure 1.3 Men and women as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population in different regions in high income group.



Trend data on total crime were available from 36 countries. Due to the limited number of countries available from Oceania and Africa they are omitted from the analysis across regions, but included in the global trend.

The global offender rate for men has clearly decreased from 2004 to 2013 (-9 % in total with an average annual change of -1.1 %) while the female rate has increased (2.7 % in total with an average annual change of 0.3 %). The number of male suspects has decreased in all regions during the decade, with the greatest decrease in the Americas (-15 %) (Figure 1.4). The female rates have increased in Europe (3 %) and Asia (7 %), but decreased in the Americas (-3 %; the decline is based on the decrease in 2013). (In Figures 1.4 and 1.5, note the different y-axis scales).

The number of suspects has declined between the years 2004 and 2013 in high-income countries by 12 per cent (average annual change -1.4 %) for men and increased by 0.6 per cent for women (average annual change -0.1 %). However, during the 2010s the female suspect rate has decreased (Figures 1.6 and 1.7).

In the upper-middle income level of countries the rate of suspects has increased from the beginning of the decade; for men by six per cent (average annual change 0.7 %), and for women by 15 per cent. The numbers of suspects both among men and women have risen considerably in Mexico, Peru and Algeria while in the other four countries in the upper-middle income group the number of suspects has remained rather stable.

Figure 1.4 Men as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population in different regions, years 2004-2013

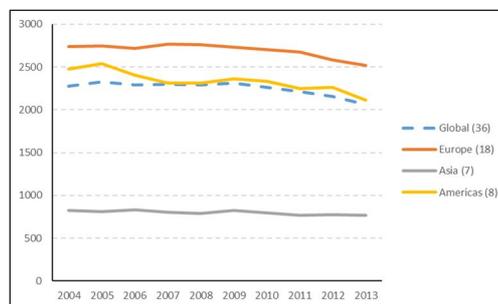
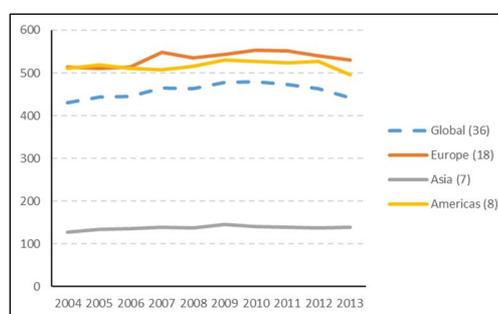
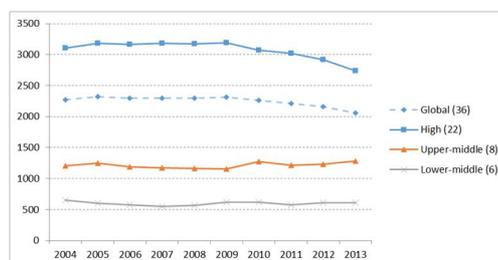


Figure 1.5 Women as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population in different regions, years 2004-2013



In lower-income countries, the rate of male suspects has decreased by six per cent (average annual change -0.7 %). The rate of female suspects has increased by 44 per cent between 2004 and 2013 (average annual change 4.1 %).

Figure 1.6 Men as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population in different income groups, years 2004-2013



The number of countries in the lower-income group is small, and the increase in two countries (Armenia and Mongolia) explains most of the increase in the group.

Figure 1.7 Women as suspects, total crime, per 100,000 in population in different income levels, years 2004-2013

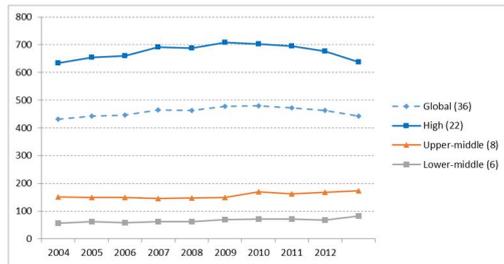


Table 1 shows the list of the ten countries with the highest female and male suspect rates. In eight of the ten countries where men have the highest rate of suspects, also women have the highest rates. The correlation between male and female crime rates was high ($r=0.94$); countries with high male suspect rates also show high suspect rates for women, and countries with low male suspect rates often have low female suspect rates. The countries in Table 1 come from all regions of the world. In addition, high, upper-middle and lower-middle countries are represented. Although the list is based on a limited number of countries (76), and the crimes included in the total crime differ, it shows the spread of high crime rate countries throughout the world.

Table 1 Countries with the highest male and female offender rates for total crime. Countries in alphabetical order

Men	Women
Botswana	Austria
Cape Verde	Botswana
Chile	Finland
Finland	Germany
Grenada	Grenada
Guyana	Guyana
Luxembourg	Luxembourg
New Zealand	New Zealand
Republic of Korea	Republic of Korea
United States of America	United States of America

3.1.2 Convictions

“Persons convicted” refers to suspects who are found guilty by any legal body authorized to pronounce a conviction under national criminal law, whether or not the conviction was later upheld. The total number of persons convicted also includes persons convicted of serious special law offences but excludes persons convicted of minor road traffic offences and other petty offences.

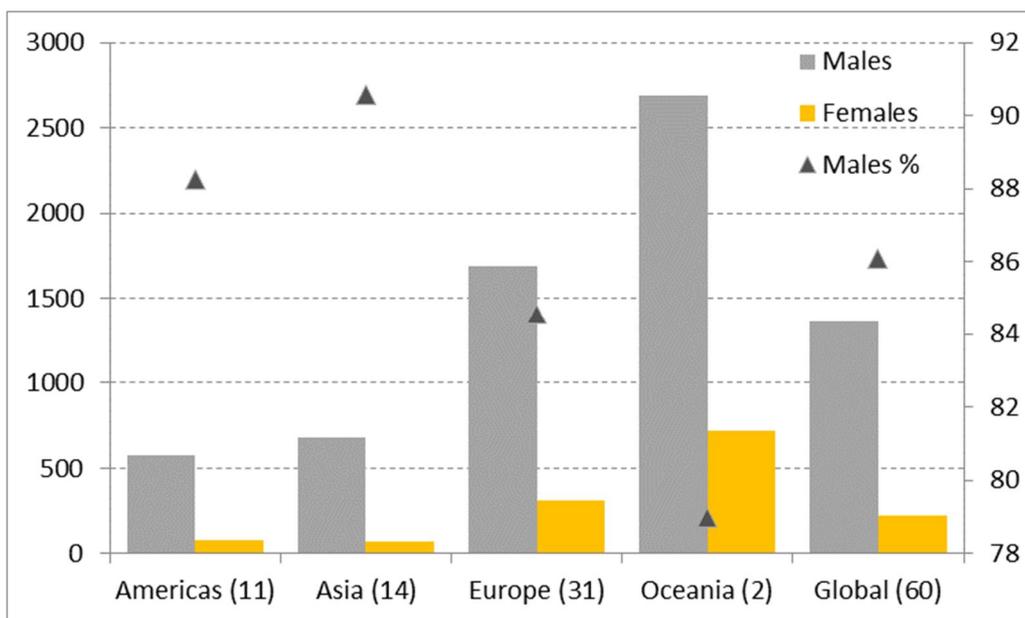
A total of sixty countries provided data that could be used in order to calculate the five-year average conviction rates for men and women. On average, 86 per cent of the convicted persons were male. The share of men was higher than average in the Americas and Asia, and lower in Oceania.

The rates of convicted persons varied considerably among the regions: in Oceania (2 countries) 2,700 men per

100,000 in population were convicted, while the corresponding figure in the Americas was 600. In Oceania 700 women per 100,000 were convicted, compared with seventy in Asia (Figure 1.8).⁷

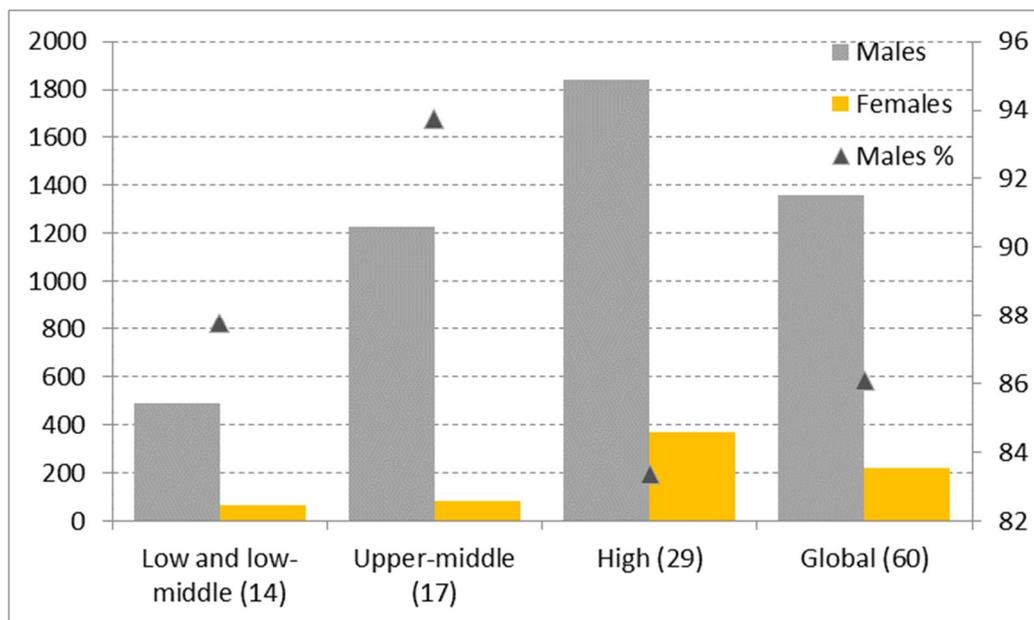
The conviction rates for both men and women were higher than the global average in high-income countries (Figure 1.9).

Figure 1.8 Convicted men and women, per 100,000 in population, total crime, regional averages (mean), scale on left y-axis, and the share of men convicted of all convicted (%) right y-axis



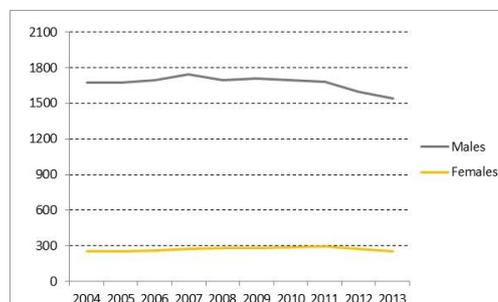
⁷ Figures for Africa are not shown because only three countries provided data, and this data contradicted with the police data.

Figure 1.9 Convicted men and women, per 100,000 in population, total crime, in different income levels (mean), scale on left y-axis, and the share of men convicted of all convicted (%) right y-axis



Trend data were possible to obtain from 46 countries.⁸ Globally, the rate of convicted women has remained rather stable between the years 2004 and 2013. The rate of convicted males has been slightly decreasing, more visible so from 2011 onwards (negative regression coefficient). The male conviction rate was on average six times higher than the female rate. (Figure 1.10).

Figure 1.10 Convicted men and women, total crime, per 100,000 in population, global rates, years 2004-2013



The list of countries with the highest female and male total crime conviction rates contains six countries from Europe, and most of the countries on the list are high income level countries (n=60). England and Wales and Northern Ireland are included in Table 2 but they were not included in the data

⁸ Full 10-year data were available from 15 countries. Missing data have been replaced by previous values or averages of adjacent years.

on suspects on the police level since data was not delivered. The correlation between individual countries of male and female conviction rate is high, 0.92.

Table 2 Countries with the highest male and female conviction rates for total crime. Countries in alphabetical order

Men	Women
Algeria	Australia
Cyprus	Cyprus
Finland	Denmark
Mauritius	Finland
New Zealand	Guyana
Sweden	New Zealand
Switzerland	Sweden
Turkey	Switzerland
UK England and Wales	UK England and Wales
UK Northern Ireland	UK Northern Ireland

3.1.3 Prisoners

In total, it was possible to use the statistics from 98 countries for calculating the five-year averages (2009-2013) of imprisonment for total crime. It was possible to include 48 countries to the comparison of ten year trends in imprisonment, of these however, half of the countries had incomplete series and missing values had to be substituted.⁹

The imprisonment rates of both men and women were highest in the Americas and lowest in Africa (Figure 1.11). The share of male and female prisoners did not vary much across the regions. On average five per cent of the prisoners globally were women. In countries with low and lower-middle income level the imprisonment was lower than in upper-middle and high income countries. This applies to both male and female prisoners (Figure 1.12).

⁹ Prisoners include persons held in prisons, penal Institutions or correctional institutions on a specified day and exclude non-criminal prisoners held for administrative purposes, for example, persons held pending investigation into their immigration status or foreign citizens without a legal right to stay.

Figure 1.11 Men and women as prisoners, total crime, per 100,000 in population, regional averages (mean) (scale on left y-axis), and the share of men as prisoners (% , right y-axis)

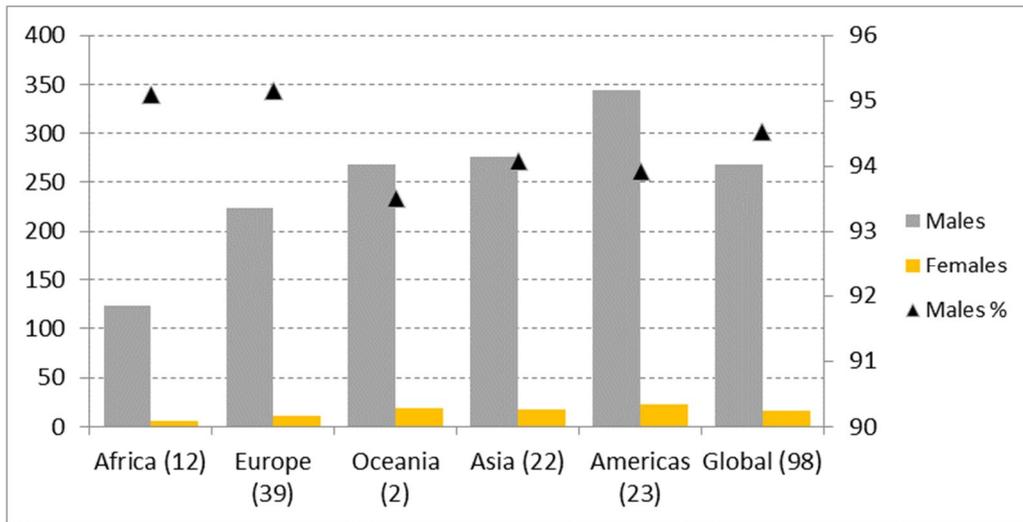
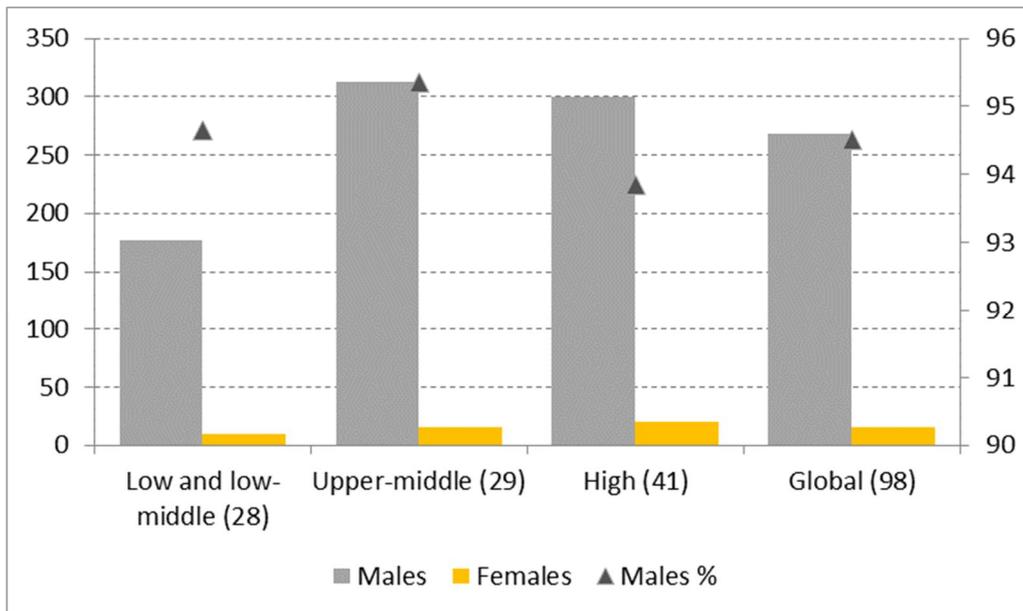


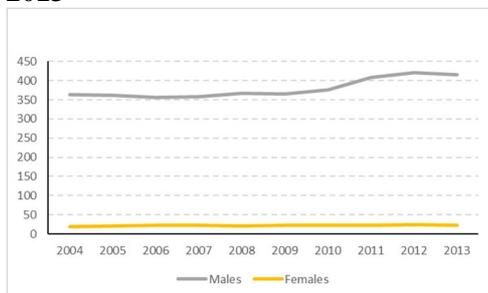
Figure 1.12 Men and women as prisoners, total crime, per 100,000 in population, income groups (means), scale on left y-axis), and the share of men as prisoners (% , right y-axis)



The trend data suggest that globally the rate of both male and female prisoners is increasing (n=48 countries) (Figure 1.13). From 2004 to 2013, the rate of male prisoners had increased by 15 per cent, and the

average annual change was 1.5 per cent. The rate of female prisoners had increased more rapidly: from 2004 to 2013 by 18 per cent, with an average annual change of 1.9 per cent.

Figure 1.13 Men and women as prisoners, total crime, per 100,000 in population, global rates, years 2004-2013



The list of the ten countries (n=98) which had the highest female and male total crime imprisonment rates does not contain any Western European countries, although most of the data were received from this region (Table 3). The correlation between the rate of male and female prisoners in each country was rather high, 0.73, but lower than the correlation between convicted men and women.

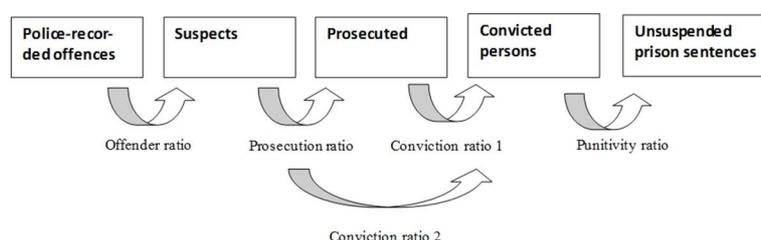
Table 3 Countries with the highest male and female prisoner rates for total crime. Countries in alphabetical order

Men	Women
Barbados	Belarus
El Salvador	Chile
Estonia	El Salvador
Georgia	Georgia
Kazakhstan	Hong Kong
Lithuania	Panama
Mongolia	Russian Federation
Panama	Singapore
Russian Federation	Thailand
United States of America	United States of America

3.1.4 Attrition

One of the objectives of this study was to compare the attrition rates for male and female suspects. “Attrition” means the filtering out of cases during the criminal justice process. The police, the prosecutors and the court may “drop” a case for a variety of reasons. Common reasons are the lack of evidence, the pettiness of the offence, the youth of the suspect, and the possibility of mediation or other settlement out of court. Therefore, the number of persons convicted and sentenced to prison is smaller than the number of suspected offenders (Jehle 2012).

Chart 1 Attrition process in the criminal justice system



After considering the possible indicators for attrition, Harrendorf et al. (2015) suggest four different measures:

1. the offender ratio (suspects per recorded offences)
2. the indictment ratio (prosecuted per suspects)
3. the conviction ratio (convicted persons per suspects)
4. the punitivity ratio (persons convicted and sentenced to unsuspended prison sentences per total persons convicted)

Since the CTS-data do not include the amount of total crime by gender, option one could not be tested. The data on the total number of persons prosecuted, in turn, could not be used, and therefore also option two had to be omitted.

Data needed for the conviction ratio and the punitivity ratio were available, and rough estimates were calculated for men and women. In addition, the prisoners per suspects-ratio is presented. Two kinds of estimates are provided: the figures in Table 4 are based on data from all countries which could give data from a given stage of the criminal justice process. Table 5 contains estimates only from those countries that had delivered data on all three stages of the criminal justice

process (suspects, convicted persons, persons sentenced to prison). The latter option makes the accurate country-level comparison possible, but renders a large part of data unusable.

Table 4 Number of countries which provided data from different stages of the criminal justice process, and the rates of suspected, convicted and imprisoned per 100,000 in population. Total crime

Number of countries			
	Suspected	Convicted	Prisoners
Men	76	65	98
Women	76	65	98
Rates			
	Suspected	Convicted	Prisoners
Men	2421	1164	269
Women	469	197	13

In total, data were available from 46 countries by gender for all three stages of the criminal justice process: suspected offenders, convicted persons and persons convicted to unsuspended imprisonment. In general, the differences between the figures in Table 4 and Table 5 are quite small.

Table 5 The global rates of suspected, convicted and imprisoned per 100,000 in population (countries which had data from all stages, n=46). Total crime

Rates				Number of countries
	Suspected	Convicted	Prisoners	
Men	2295	1239	304	46
Women	440	199	20	46

Figure 1.14 Suspected, convicted and imprisoned, total crime, per 100,000 in population, by gender (only those countries included which have data from all stages of the criminal justice process)



Table 6 Attrition ratios for total crime, for men and for women, %

	Conviction ratio	Punitivity ratio	Prisoners/ suspects	Number of countries
Men	54	25	13	46
Women	45	10	5	46

According to Table 6 the conviction ratio, the punitivity ratio and the ratio between imprisoned and suspects were higher for men than for women. One reason for this may be that the crimes which women commit differ from

those of men. Total crime is a summary concept of all crimes in a country, and on average, women may be suspected more often of less severe mass crimes (e.g. theft, fraud) than of other crimes.

The conviction ratio was smaller in lower-income countries than in the others, both for men and for women. On the other hand, the punitivity ratio was higher in lower-income countries, which may indicate that less severe cases do not proceed in the criminal justice process in the lower-income countries, and therefore more cases where the suspect is convicted lead to imprisonment.

3.1.5 Summary of total crime

In total, five per cent of women who were suspected of a crime end up with an unsuspended prison sentence while the corresponding figure for men was 13 per cent. The imprisonment/suspect ratio is thus nearly three times higher for men than for women. One reason for this may be that the crimes that women commit are less severe within the same crime type and differ from those committed by men. The figures are here calculated on the basis of total crimes, i.e. all offences against the penal code in a given country.

The punitivity ratio - persons convicted and sentenced to unsuspended imprisonment per total persons convicted - was ten per cent for women and 25 per cent for men. The punitivity ratio is 2.5 times higher for men than for women.

The conviction ratio (convicted per suspected persons) was 45 per cent for women and 54 per cent for men. The conviction ratio was 1.2 times higher by men than by women, which shows that in this respect there were no large differences between the genders.

When looking at this category of total crime, at all stages of the criminal justice process the share of men was

higher than that of women. According to the data (n=46):

- of suspects 84 per cent were men,
- of convicted persons 86 per cent were men
- of prisoners 94 per cent were men

In countries where the rate of male suspects was high, also the female rate of suspects often was high ($r=.95$). The same applies to convicted persons ($r=.92$) and to prisoners ($r=.86$), as well.

There are large differences in the rate of total crime suspects in different regions and at different income levels. In Oceania the male suspect rate (rate per 100,000 in population) was nearly 5,000 and in Asia 1,300; whereas the female suspect rate in Oceania was 1,300 and in Asia 250. Higher-income countries had a male suspect rate of 3,000 compared to 1,200 in low and low-middle countries. The corresponding rates for women were 700 and 200.

On a global level, the 10-year trend (2004-2013) for men and women was decreasing. The global male suspects trend was decreasing (-9.3 % from 2004 to 2013) while the female trend has somewhat increased (2.7 %).

On the global level, the rate of convicted women was rather stable (-0.1 % from 2004 to 2013) while the trend by men is decreasing (change -7.7 %). The male conviction rate was on average six times higher than the female rate.

The conviction rates increase along with an increase in the income level of the country, for men as well as for women. Six of the ten countries which had the highest female and male total

crime conviction rates come from Europe and most of the countries on the list are high income level countries.

The prisoner rates are highest in the Americas and lowest in Africa for both men and women. The share of male prisoners did not vary much by region: on average it was 95 per cent (n=98). The global male prisoner trend has increased by 15 per cent from 2004 to 2013, and the female trend has increased even more (18 %).

3.2 Homicide

UN-CTS Questionnaire (2014)
definition of “Homicide”:

“Intentional Homicide” means unlawful death purposefully inflicted on a person by another person. Data on intentional homicide should include serious assault leading to death and death as a result of a terrorist attack. It should exclude attempted homicide, manslaughter, death due to legal intervention, justifiable homicide in self-defence and death due to armed conflict.

Homicide is sometimes assessed as a proxy when studying peaceful and inclusive societies or as a measure of safety or violence in general. What makes homicide a useful indicator of violence is that it is in principle clearly measurable and comparable around the world. Most countries can also follow the basic statistical definition of homicide, although some countries are

not able to follow the inclusion/exclusion criteria.

The UN-CTS data on homicide is more detailed than the data on any other crime. It includes information on the number of victims, suspected offenders, prosecuted persons and convicted persons. This chapter presents global and regional homicide figures from different stages of the criminal justice system, classified by gender. More detailed results based on the same database are available from the UNODC Global Study on Homicide reports for 2011 and 2013, and the UNODC Homicide Statistics (2013).¹⁰

3.2.1 Homicide victims

According to the UNODC report (2013), intentional homicide was the cause of death for almost half a million people across the world in 2012. The UNODC report assesses that the global estimate for homicide rates is ten for men and 2.7 for women per 100,000 in population. Figure 2.1 shows higher figures for men (14) and lower (2.3) for women. Differences between the UNODC figures and the figures in this report can result from several reasons. The final UNODC homicide database has been prepared from two main datasets; the criminal justice data (UN-CTS) and the public health data provided by the WHO. It was possible to compensate for missing criminal justice data with public health figures. In addition, results of a statistical model were employed in the UNODC report to substitute missing values of homicide

¹⁰ Our results are based on the basic data received from the Member States. The data has not been further validated or supplemented with data from other sources.

victims in cases where no data were found from either source. Such substitutes were estimated especially for many African countries. In respect of further stages of the analysis of the data on homicide, restricting the analysis to the data from the criminal justice system is not a comparability issue, because health data are available only on victims. Also using regional averages instead of regional rates has increased the homicide rates in the Americas.¹¹

The homicide rates in the Americas are considerably above the global average rate, both for men and for women. In the Americas some individual countries had exceptionally high

homicide rates. For instance, in nine of 23 countries of the region - many were from Central America - the male homicide rate was over fifty, and in one country over 160.

On the average, 14 per cent of homicide victims are female.¹² The share of women was lowest in the Americas (11 %), and highest in Oceania (31 %). There seems to be a connection between the homicide rate in general and the share of female victims: the higher the total homicide rate, the lower the share of female victims.¹³ In most countries, male homicides were more common than female homicides.

¹¹ For more details, see the Methodology chapter in this report. Should exact point estimates on homicides be needed, we recommend consulting the UNODC (2013).

¹² The figure in the larger UNODC database was 21 per cent. The share of women out of all homicide victims in 2009-2013 (latest year) was 50 per cent or more in the following countries: Hong Kong (53 %), Japan (53 %), the Republic of Korea (53 %), Latvia (51 %), Switzerland (50 %) and New Zealand (51 %) (UNODC 2013).

¹³ This observation corresponds to Veli Verkko's first static law on homicide: "In countries with a high homicide level, the relative share of females among victims is small." (Verkko 1933)

Figure 2.1 Men and women as homicide victims, per 100,000 in population, regional average (mean) 2009 -2013 ¹⁴

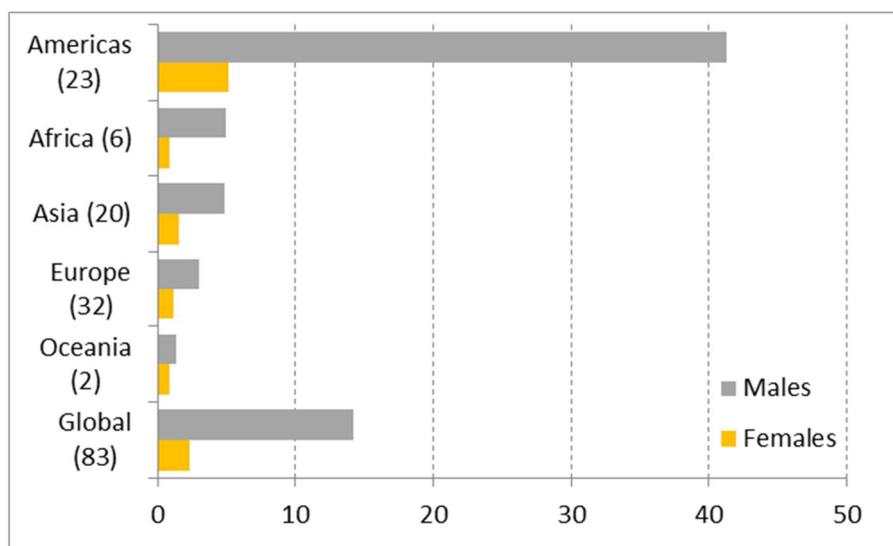
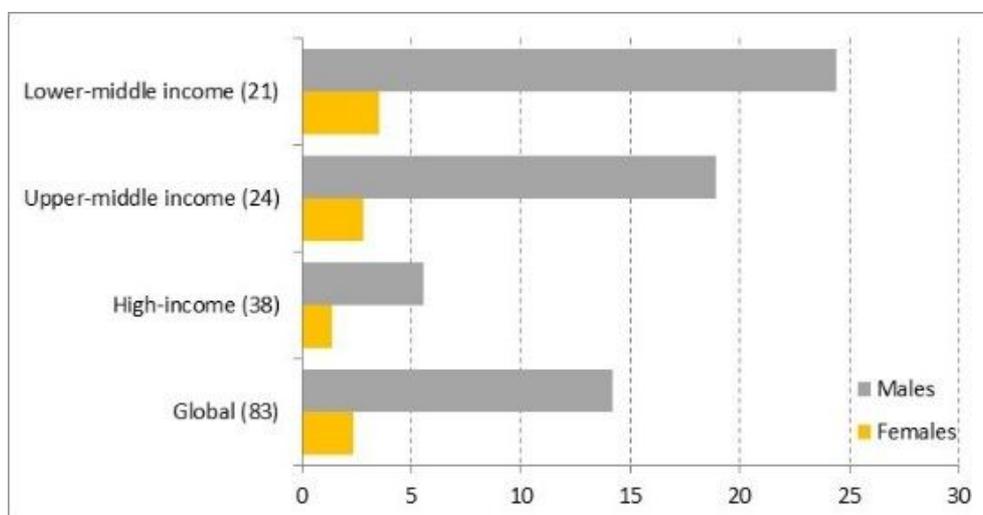


Figure 2.2 shows that the higher the level of income in a given region, the lower the homicide rate. This applies to both men and women. Especially high-income countries seem to benefit from their well-being.

Figure 2.2 Men and women as homicide victims, per 100,000 in population, in different income levels, average (mean) 2009-2013

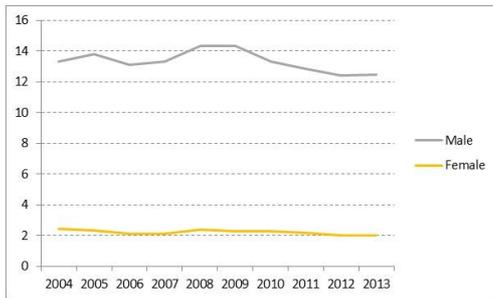


Although data for the five-year homicide rates were available from 83 countries, data for the trend figures were more scarce (n=39). The 10-year trend figures for male and female victims are shown in Figure 2.3 Male

¹⁴ Data on the Russian Federation, in the Asia group, are missing.

homicide rates have decreased from 2004 to 2013 by 6.6 per cent, and the female rates have decreased by 16.5 per cent. The rate of male homicide victims has decreased especially during the last five years, from 2009 to 2013 by 13 per cent.

Figure 2.3 Men and women as homicide victims per, 100,000 in population, global rates, years 2004-2013

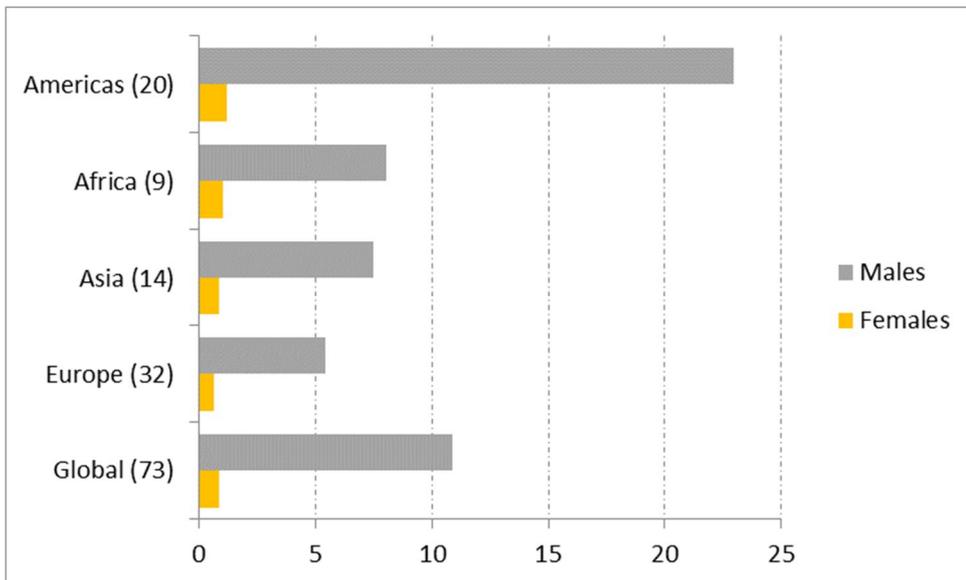


3.2.2 Suspects

Data on homicide suspects were available from 73 countries. On average there were 10.9 male suspects and 0.9 female suspects per 100,000 in population. Globally 92.5 per cent of the suspects were male. The share of male suspects was lowest in Europe (89.0 %) where also the suspect rates were lowest, and highest in the Americas (95.0 %), where the suspect rates were highest: there seems to be a tendency for the share of male suspects to increase along with an increase in the suspect rate. (Figure 2.4)

The Americas had the highest rate of both male and female suspects. The male rate in the Americas is more than twice as high as the global rate. In Europe, the rate of male suspects was one half of the global rate.

Figure 2.4 Men and women suspected for homicide, per 100,000 in population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013



According to Figure 2.5, the rate of female suspects was lowest in high income countries, and highest in low (and lower middle) income countries. For men, high income countries show

the lowest suspect rates, but in upper-middle income region the suspect rate was higher than in low income countries.

Figure 2.5 Men and women suspected for homicide, per 100,000 in population, in different income levels, average (mean) 2009-2013

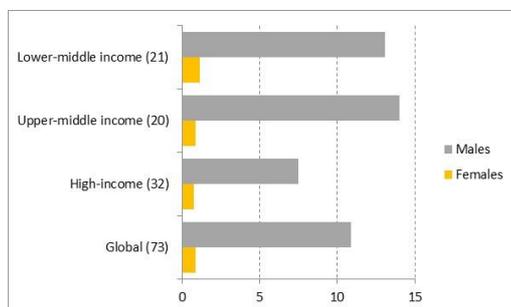
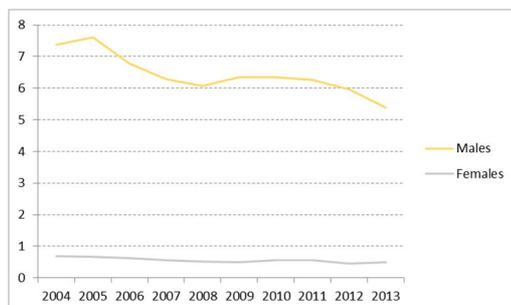


Figure 2.6 Men and women suspected for homicide, per 100,000 in population, global rates, years 2004-2013



The trend for male and female suspects was decreasing with an annual average of 3.4 per cent, both for men and women (-27 % between 2004 and 2013 for men and women; Figure 2.6). Unfortunately, data were available from only 31 countries,¹⁵ and for many high crime countries from the Americas, these data were missing.

The number of victims and suspects involved in each homicide case is not available in the data: one suspect may have killed one or more persons, and

more than one suspect may have killed one or more victims. In addition, there may be one or more victims, but no suspects. On average, there were 1.27 victims per perpetrator (n=60). In Europe and Asia the ratio is 0.95: roughly one homicide victim per suspect. In the Americas, the victims/suspects ratio is 2.0, i.e., on average two victims were believed to have been killed by each suspect.

3.2.3 Persons prosecuted and persons convicted

Data on suspects prosecuted for homicide were available from 55 countries. Globally, 93 per cent of the persons prosecuted were male. The share of men was highest in the Americas (95 %) and lowest in Europe (88 %). The Americas show 2.6 times higher figures for men than the global average. The difference between the Americas and other regions is striking. Europe had the lowest male rates of prosecuted persons. Also the rate of prosecuted women was nearly two times higher in the Americas than the global average (Figure 2.7).

The rates for persons convicted of homicide are shown in Figure 2.8 (n=62). In total, 94 per cent of the convicted persons were male. The share of men was higher in the Americas (96 %) and lower than average in Oceania and Europe. For Africa and Oceania, data on convicted persons were available only from two countries.

¹⁵ 17 countries had full data for both male and female homicide suspects between 2004 and 2013. In other countries, adjacent values were used to substitute for missing values (with substitutions made for at most 2 years for any one country).

Figure 2.7 Men and women prosecuted for homicide, per 100,000 in population in different regions, averages (mean) 2009-2013

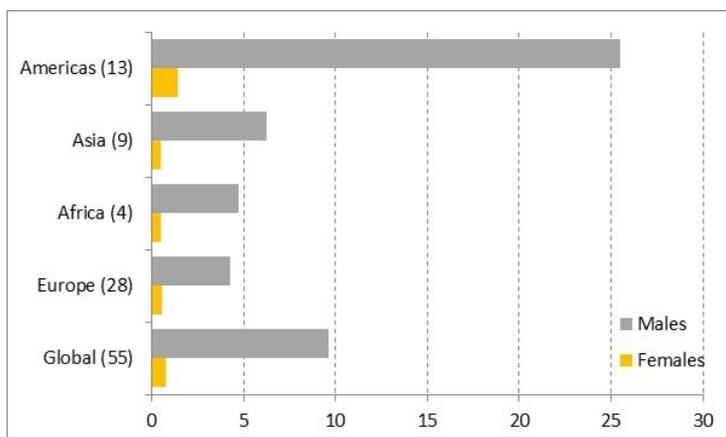
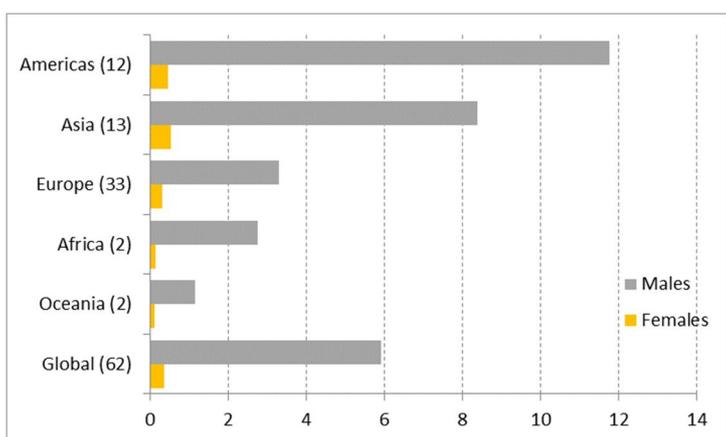


Figure 2.8 Men and women convicted for homicide, per 100,000 in population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013



However, it is not possible to compare e.g. the figures from the Asian region in Figures 2.7 and 2.8, because the set of countries in the region differs from one figure to the next. Of the nine Asian countries in Figure 2.7 only four are the same as the twelve countries in Figure 2.8, which can explain why the rate of convicted persons is higher than the rate of prosecuted offenders in Asia.

3.2.4 Attrition

Figure 2.9 comprises only those countries which have provided data for the UN-CTS on victims, suspects, prosecuted persons and convicted persons as recorded in their homicide statistics. This data set contains 23 countries; 13 from Europe, five from the Americas and the rest from Africa, Asia and Oceania. Following the attrition process sketched in Chart 1. the offender ratio is the first step. It shows the ratio between victims and offenders. For men, the offender/victim ratio was 94 per cent

and for women 32 percent. On average, the offender ratio in this sample of 23 countries was 82 per cent.

The prosecution ratio (how many persons were prosecuted compared to how many persons were suspected) is high for homicides, for men 99 percent and for women 108 per cent (in principle, the ratio should not exceed one hundred per cent, unless for example cases enter into the prosecution stage without a police investigation). The ratio between convicted and prosecuted persons for men was seventy per cent and for

women 64 per cent. One explanation for women being convicted less often from the prosecuted in comparison to men, is that the female offender cases might have contained less severe forms of homicide than the male cases. However, the second type of conviction ratio (i.e., how many are convicted from the suspected persons) is the same for men and for women (69 per cent). (Table 7).

The punitivity ratio (unsuspended prison sentences per convicted offenders) was not calculated, because flow data of prison sentences were not available.

Figure 2.9 Men and women as homicide victims, suspects, prosecuted and convicted offenders, per 100,000 in population, average (mean) 2009-2013

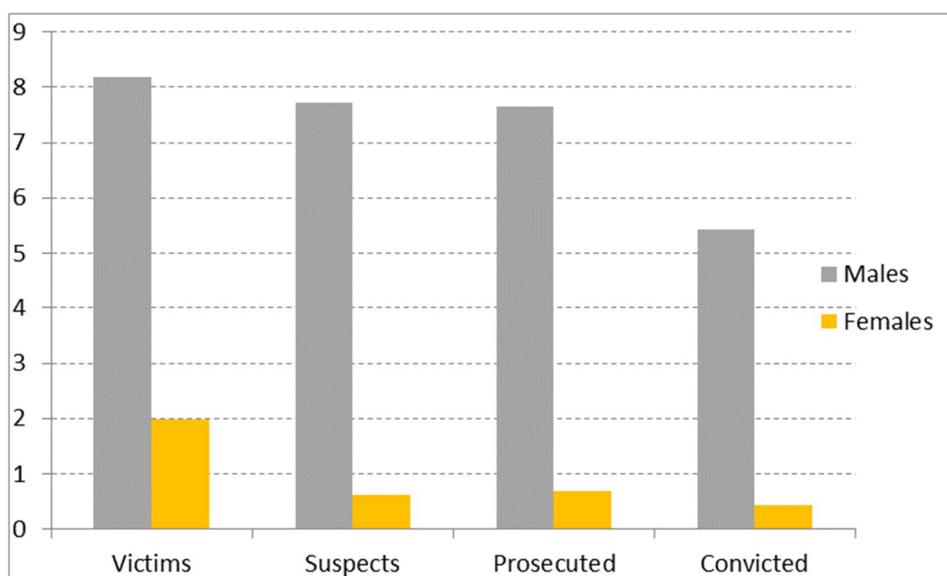


Table 7 Attrition ratios on homicide for men and for women (averages for 2009-2013, n=23)

	Men	Women
Offender ratio	94	32
Prosecution ratio	99	108
Conviction ratio 1	70	64
Conviction ratio 2	69	69

In eight of the 23 countries, the number of suspected persons (as recorded by the police) was lower than the number of prosecuted persons (as recorded by the judicial authorities).

3.2.5 Prison

Statistics on prisoners sentenced for homicide, by gender, were available

from a separate CTS-module covering the years 2010-2012. The module provides data on sentenced persons held in prisons, penal institutions or correctional institutions as of 31 December of each year, by principal offence noted in the final sentence. These data have not been combined with the attrition results in the previous chapter because prisoners sentenced for homicide are counted as a stock variable containing all imprisoned persons in a country on a given date.

Data from 43 countries are shown in Figures 2.10 and 2.11 by region and income level. The figures are somewhat contradictory because all regions have countries with both low and high prison rates, e.g. in Asia, the Russian Federation and Mongolia have very high rates of prisoner sentenced for homicide, as do in Europe Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and in the Americas, Panama and the United States.

On average 94 per cent of prisoners sentenced for homicide were male. The shares are rather similar across the different regions (95 % in Europe, 93 % in Asia).

Figure 2.10 Sentenced men and women held in prisons, penal institutions or correctional institutions sentenced for homicide, per 100,000 in population in different regions, average (mean) 2010-2012

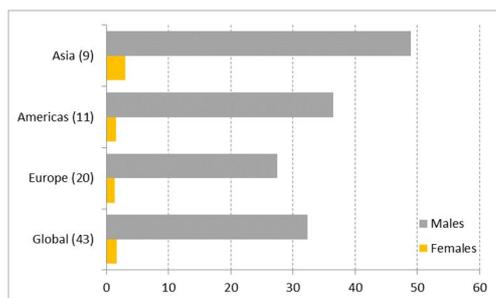
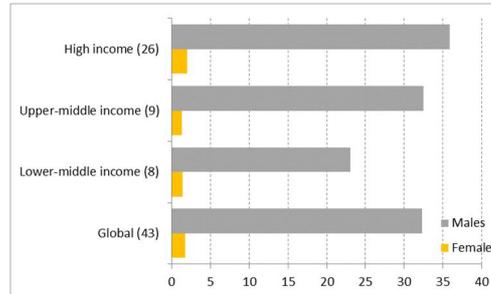


Figure 2.11 Sentenced men and women held in prisons, penal institutions or correctional institutions sentenced for homicide, per 100,000 in population, in different income levels, average (mean) 2010-2012



3.2.6 Summary of homicide

In total, 69 per cent of persons suspected of homicide were convicted. The ratio is the same for men and for women, and so no gender differences are found. The result is based on data from 23 countries. The United Nations has 193 member states, and so we have a sample of 12 per cent of all countries for the attrition calculations. The sample is biased towards affluent regions. European countries were more often able to provide crime statistics than were other regions. Data from most lower-income countries from Africa and Asia were missing.

The trend for male and female suspects is decreasing between 2004 and 2013, by an annual average of 3.4 per cent, both for men and women. The trend of male and female victims is also decreasing, but at a smaller pace than the trend of suspects (for men the average annual change was -0.8 %, for women -2.0 %).

The UNODC has supplemented the results of the annual Crime Trends Surveys with data from other sources, such as WHO data. In this study such an opportunity has not been used,

because the goal of this chapter has been to utilize data covering the different sectors of the criminal justice system.

In respect of homicides, far more men than women were represented at all stages of the criminal justice system (with minor exceptions regarding the suspects in some countries):

- 86 per cent of the victims of homicide were male¹⁶
- 92 per cent of the suspected homicide offenders were male
- 93 of the suspects prosecuted for homicide were male
- 94 of the offenders convicted of homicide were male
- 94 per cent of the offenders sentenced to prison for homicide were male

¹⁶ The figure in the larger UNODC data set was 79 per cent.

Table 8 Countries with highest and lowest male and female homicide rates, 2013

Countries with highest male homicide rate			Countries with highest female homicide rate	
	Rate			Rate
Honduras	169.0		El Salvador	27.4
El Salvador	109.6		Honduras	20.1
Jamaica	80.8		Guyana	18.6
Guatemala	69.3		Jamaica	15.6
Colombia	63.4		Bahamas	12.5
Dominican Republic	40.7		Trinidad and Tobago	10.4
Panama	27.4		Colombia	9.1
Nicaragua	24.2		Guatemala	8.4
Paraguay	18.5		Costa Rica	7.7
Costa Rica	17.1		Mongolia	7.5
Countries with lowest male homicide rate			Countries with lowest female homicide	
	Rate			Rate
Japan	0.3		State of Palestine	0.3
Singapore	0.4		Algeria	0.3
Switzerland	0.7		Singapore	0.3
Slovenia	0.8		Morocco	0.3
Germany	0.8		United Arab Emirates	0.5
United Arab Emirates	0.8		Japan	0.6
Czech Republic	1.0		Greece	0.6
New Zealand	1.0		Italy	0.8
State of Palestine	1.0		Kuwait	0.9
Algeria	1.0		Jordan	0.9
Countries with largest share of male victims			Countries with largest share of female victims	
	%			%
Panama	94.6%		China, Hong Kong SAR	52.9%
Puerto Rico	94.1%		Japan	52.9%
Greece	93.4%		Republic of Korea	52.5%
Honduras	93.2%		New Zealand	51.2%
Nicaragua	92.6%		Latvia	51.0%
Venezuela (Bolivarian Re	91.9%		Switzerland	50.0%
Ecuador	91.8%		Germany	47.3%
Trinidad and Tobago	91.7%		Norway	46.8%
Colombia	91.6%		Finland	46.1%
Dominican Republic	91.1%		Czech Republic	45.7%

3.3 Rape offences

UN-CTS Questionnaire (2014)
definition of “Rape”:

“Sexual intercourse without valid consent”.

This chapter focuses on police-recorded rape and the response of the criminal justice system to the crime, based on data from the UN-CTS survey.

The vast majority of rape victims in cases that become reported to the police are women, but men are victims of rape as well. Willingness to report incidents of rape are influenced by several factors such as trust in justice, the victim’s association to the perpetrator and on perceptions of the seriousness of the offence, as well as different dynamics present depending on e.g., whether rape takes place during a time of peace or a time of war (see e.g. Barberet 2014). Also access to justice influences on reporting incidents, e.g., refugees and migrants are vulnerable groups with often a limited access to the justice system, and thus the official data reflect a small fraction of the entire phenomenon. In addition to underreporting, the variations in legal definitions concerning rape make comparison even more challenging. For example, even though many countries have national legislation that criminalizes rape and sexual violence,

some countries might not consider marital rape as a crime.

Data on recorded rape in the UN-CTS were differently available depending on the stage of the criminal justice system. The number of responses (n=countries) are included in the figures in brackets. Countries with less than 100 000 in population have been excluded from the analysis.

The results are presented as regional and global means. Mean values per 100 000 in population were used to draw a trend for a ten-year period (2004-2013). The data were further analysed across different income levels. The rates of persons brought into formal contact with the police and/or the criminal justice system, and the rates of prosecuted and convicted are further presented for both men and women.

3.3.1 Police-recorded rape offences

The regional rates of police-recorded rapes have been calculated for the female population, since even though this section of the CTS does not request data on gender, based on other statistics it can be assumed that the vast majority of victims are female.¹⁷ Altogether 101 countries provided data that could be used to calculate the average rate per 100 000 in population for five years, the period 2009-2013.

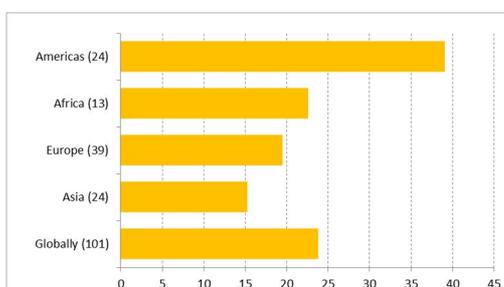
Globally, there were 24 reported rapes per year per 100 000 in population.¹⁸ The Americas had the highest police-

¹⁷ For example, the share of female victims of rape in Finland and Sweden was 98 percent in 2013 (BRÅ <http://www.bra.se/bra/bra-in-english/home/crime-and-statistics/crime-statistics/statistical-tables.html> Statistics Finland)

¹⁸ Standard deviation = 31; median rate = 12 – the median figure is less sensitive to extremely high values.

recorded rate of rapes while Asia had the lowest. No regional estimate was available from Oceania, since only the rate for New Zealand was available (55 per 100 000 in population). There were large variations within regions; e.g., the rate of recorded rape in Europe varied between 2 per 100 000 in population in Montenegro and 121 rape offences per 100 000 in population in Sweden (Figure 3.1).

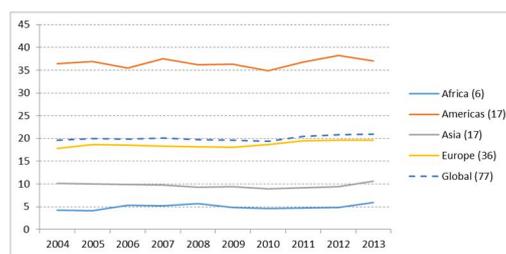
Figure 3.1 Police-recorded rape offences, rates per 100 000 in female population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013



Countries with at least five responses, out of the total of ten years under review, were included in the calculations (77 countries). Over the period from 2004 to 2013, the global rate of police-recorded rapes increased by seven per cent. The rate of recorded

rape increased the most in Africa (38 %), where the recorded rape rate is lower than in other regions, and in Europe (10 %), while the Americas and Asia had relatively steady trends (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Police-recorded rape offences, per 100 000 in female population, in different regions, years 2004-2013



Economic development is connected with the rate of reporting. High-income countries have nearly twice the number of recorded rapes. Over the past decade (2004-2013), the rate of recorded rape has been rather stable in high-income countries (+2 %) while in the upper-middle income countries there has been a clear increase (+20%). In low and lower-middle income countries, the rate of recorded rape has increased by 11 per cent from 2004 to 2013 (Figure 3.3)

Figure 3.3 Police-recorded rape offences, per 100 000 in female population, in different income levels, years 2004-2013

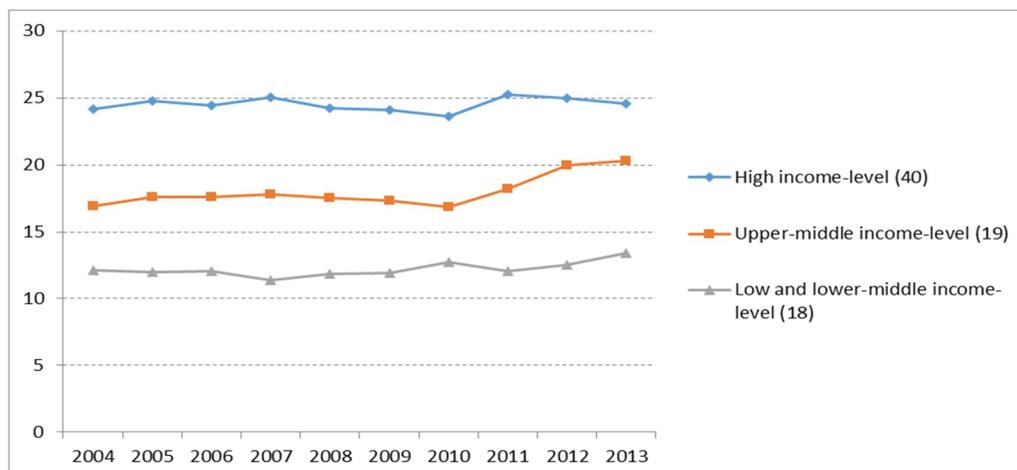
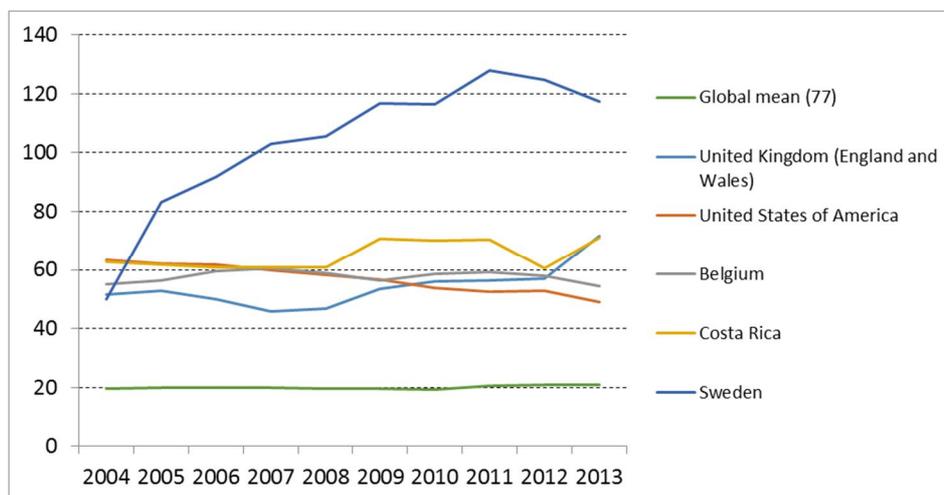


Figure 3.4 shows the ten-year trend in the five countries that have the highest recorded rate of rape. In the case of Sweden, the rapid rise primarily

reflects the result of legal changes made in 2005, as a result of which sexual abuse of a child was included in the definition of rape.

Figure 3.4 Police-recorded rape offences, per 100 000 in female population, in five highest countries, years 2004-2013



For a more in-depth gender analysis, information on the gender of the victim is needed, along with data on

the possible relationship between the victim and the perpetrator.¹⁹

¹⁹ The International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS) (2015) identifies a minimum set of characteristics of victims and perpetrators that should be recorded for analytical and comparative purposes.

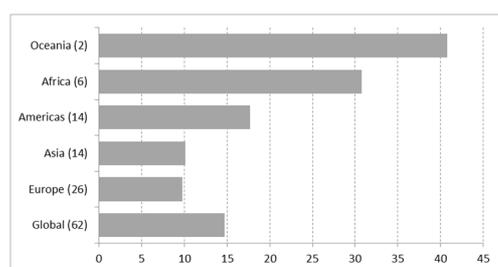
The next sections present the available data on rape and gender at the different stages of the criminal justice system, from the moment a suspect is recorded, to prosecutions and convictions.

3.3.2 Suspects

Persons brought into formal contact with the police and the criminal justice system (referred to below as suspects) include persons suspected, or arrested or cautioned, for a criminal offence.

Altogether, 62 countries provided data on the number of males and women suspected of rape. Overall, the share of male suspects was 99.2 per cent. The global rate of persons suspected of rape was 15 per year per 100 000 in population. Oceania (41 per 100 000) had the highest rate of suspects, followed by Africa (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5 Men suspected of rape offences, per 100 000 in male population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013



Women were brought into formal contact with the criminal justice system for rape in much lower rates than men. The proportion of female suspects was low across all the regions. Only a small portion of countries have rates of women that are over one per cent (Cape Verde 4.8, Australia 1.9, El Salvador 1.3, and Luxembourg 1.2).

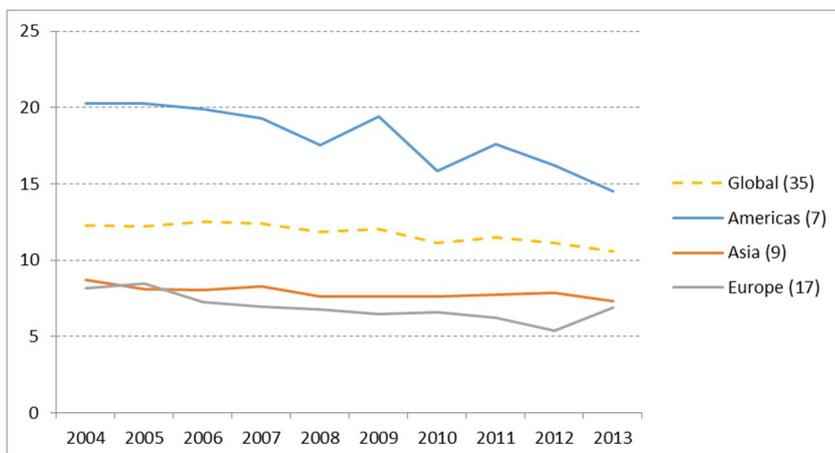
The global share of women suspected of rape was 0.8 per cent, and also the shares in the Americas and Asia were below one per cent. The highest share of women suspected of rape was found in Oceania (3 %) (Table 9).

Table 9 Share of women suspected of rape offences, by region, average for 2009-2013, %

Region	Share of female suspects from total, %
Oceania (2)	2.7
Americas (14)	0.7
Africa (6)	1.7
Europe (26)	1.0
Asia (14)	0.7
Global (62)	0.8

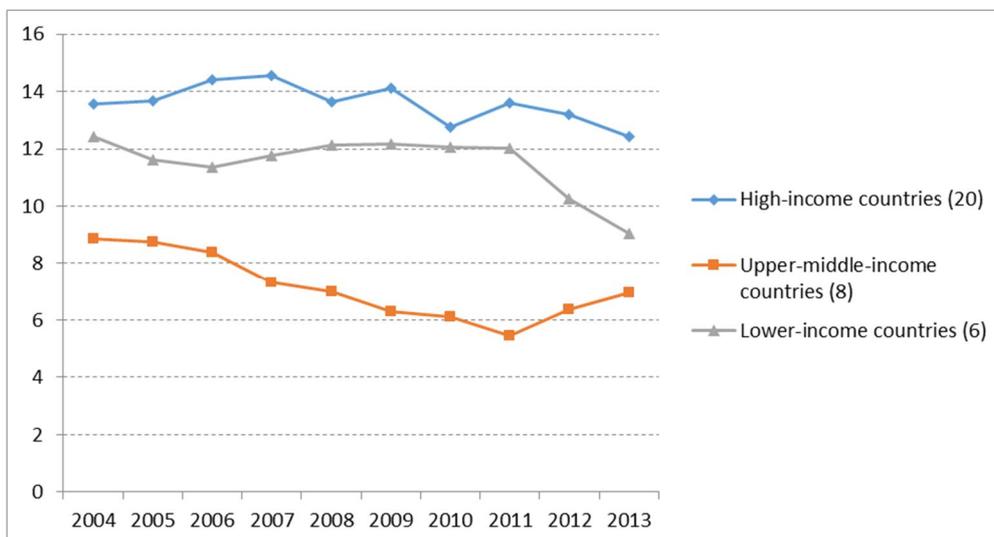
Altogether 35 countries were able to provide a ten-year trend for rape suspects. Overall, the number of rape suspects in these countries has been declining between the years 2004 and 2013. During the ten-year period, the rate of suspects has dropped 14 per cent. When looking at the different regions, the decrease has been strongest in the Americas. The inconsistent drop in 2008 and 2010 in the Americas is caused by fluctuations in Barbados and Trinidad, countries with relatively small populations. (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6 Men suspected of rape offences, rates per 100 000 in male population, in different regions, years 2004-2013



Rape suspects in high-income countries are brought into formal justice system in more frequent numbers than in upper-middle and lower-income countries (Figure 3.7). contact with the police or the criminal justice system in more frequent numbers than in upper-middle and lower-income countries (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7 Men suspected of rape offences, rates per 100 000 in male population, in different income levels, years 2004-2013

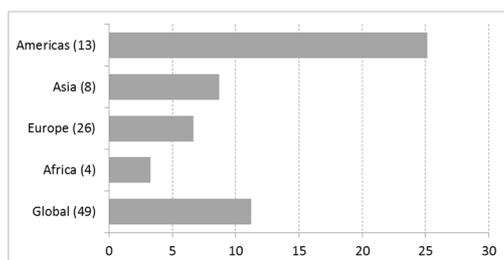


3.3.3 Prosecuted

Persons prosecuted means alleged offenders against whom prosecution commenced during the reporting year. Persons may be prosecuted by the public prosecutor or the law enforcement agency responsible for prosecution, at the national level, irrespective of the case-ending decision.

A total of 51 countries were able to provide figures for the prosecution section of the questionnaire. Only regions with three or more responding countries were included in Figure 3.8. Globally, the mean rate of men prosecuted for rape was 11 per 100 000 in population, and 98.1 per cent of all persons prosecuted were male. The Americas have over twice the rate of prosecuted men when compared to the global mean.

Figure 3.8 Men prosecuted for rape offences, rates per 100 000 in male population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013



Asia had the highest shares of women prosecuted for rape. This is due to the

fact that two countries, Kuwait and Turkey, had high rates of prosecuted women. (Table 10).

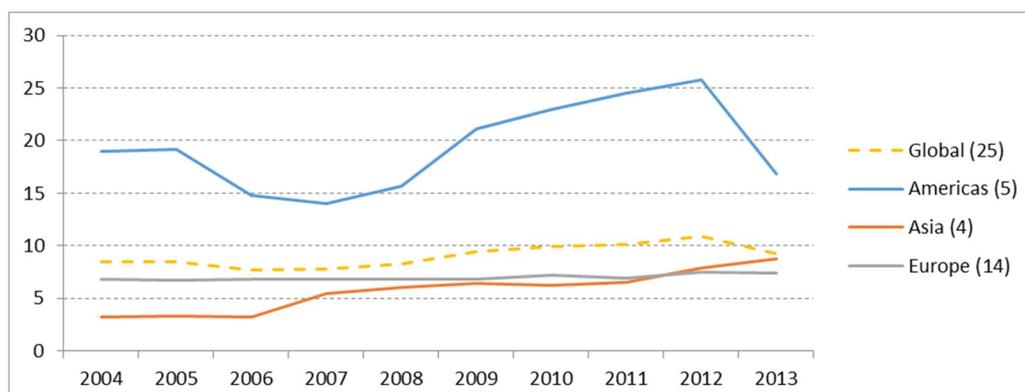
Table 10 Share of women prosecuted for rape offences out of the total prosecuted, by region, average for 2009-2013, %

Region	Share of women out of the total prosecuted, %
Global (49)	1.9
Africa (4)	0.6
Americas (13)	1.1
Europe (26)	1.5
Asia (8)	6.7

The trend for prosecuted men has increased by eight per cent. In Europe the rate has slightly increased while in the Americas it has decreased between 2004 and 2013. Asia has the most significant change with a 170 per cent increase; the rates of prosecuted men have increased especially in Armenia and Kazakhstan. Panama's heavily fluctuating figures are clearly visible in the trend for the Americas. In the Americas and in Asia, the low number of countries make the trend analysis challenging. (Figure 3.9).

The trend of prosecuted women has increased by 41 per cent between 2004 and 2013 (in Europe by 10 %). In 2013 the global rate was 0.1 per 100 000 in population.

Figure 3.9 Men prosecuted for rape offences, rates per 100 000 in male population, in different regions, years 2004-2013



When comparing groups of countries by income level, the rate of prosecuted men in high-income countries has been rather stable between the years 2004 and 2013 (+3 %) while it has increased in upper-middle income countries by 14 per cent, and in lower-middle income countries even more, by 35 per cent (however, the number of countries in this income group is only two). It seems that differences between countries with different income levels have decreased.

The countries that have the highest rates of men prosecuted also have the highest rates of women prosecuted. Two countries have a rate above two prosecuted women per 100 000 female population. (Table 11)

Table 11 Rate of men and women prosecuted for rape offences, the five highest countries, rates per 100 000 in population, average from 2009-2013

Country	Rate of men prosecuted
Bahamas	30.2
Bolivia	40.2
El Salvador	43.7
Kuwait	8.5
Turkey	27.4

Country	Rate of women prosecuted
Bahamas	0.5
Bolivia	0.7
El Salvador	0.7
Kuwait	2.1
Turkey	2.6

3.3.4 Convictions

Persons convicted means persons found guilty by any legal body authorized to pronounce a conviction under national criminal law, whether or not the conviction was later upheld.

Conviction here can refer to noncustodial or custodial sentences.

regions have rates closer to the global mean. The greatest variations are found in the Americas where Panama has the lowest rate of 1 conviction per 100 000 and Nicaragua the highest with 55 convictions per 100 000 in

Oceania has by far the highest rate of convictions for rape while the other

population. Only two countries from Africa were included in the regional mean. (Figure 3.10). The shares of women convicted of rape offences are listed in Table 12.

Figure 3.10 Men convicted of rape offences, rates per 100 000 in male population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013

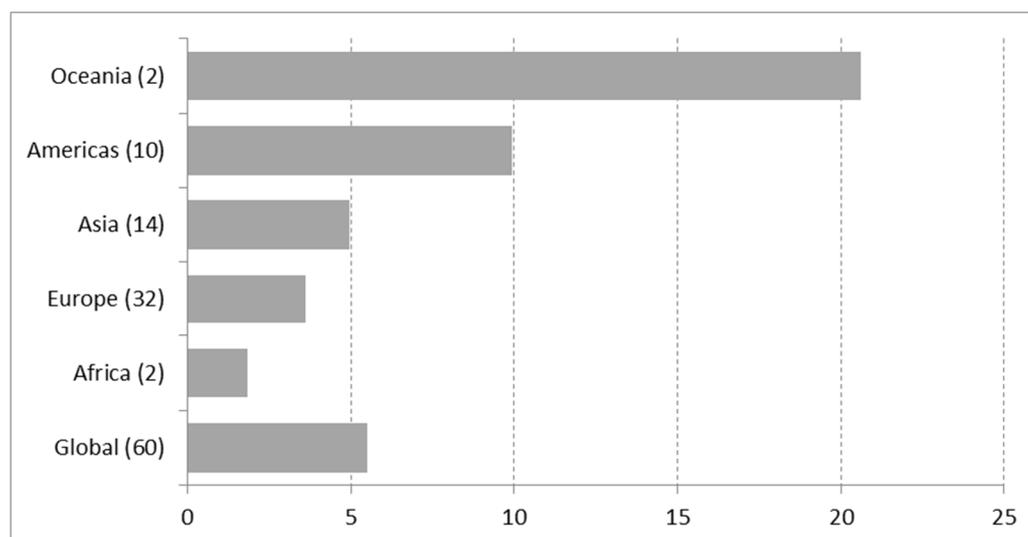
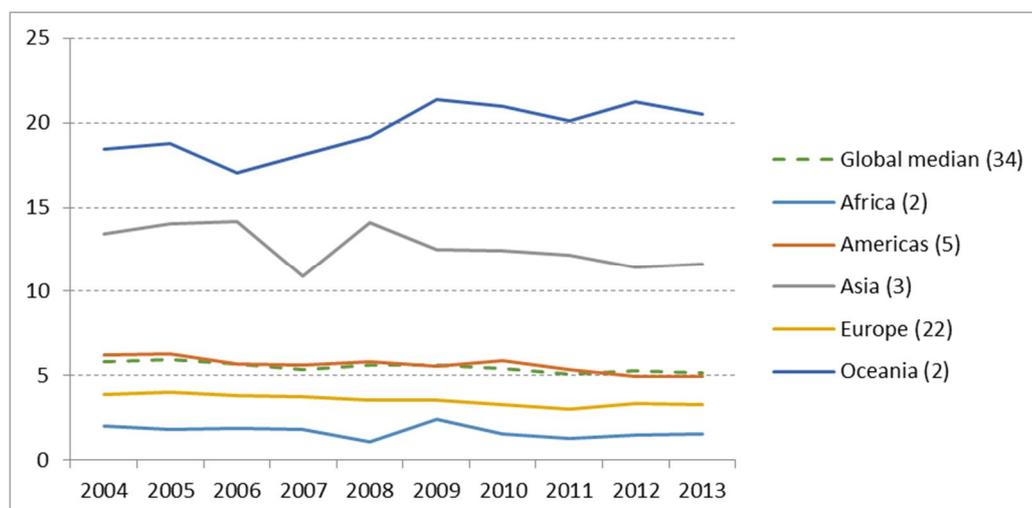


Table 12 Share of women convicted of rape offences, out of the total convicted, globally and by region, average for 2009-2013, %

Region	Share of females convicted from total (%)
Global (60)	0.6
Africa (2)	0.6
Asia (14)	0.6
Europe (32)	0.6
Americas (10)	2.4
Oceania (2)	0.1

The global trend for convicted men has decreased (-11%) during the years 2004-2013. All other regions, with the exception of Oceania, have seen a decrease in the number of convictions; however, with the low number of countries for some regions it is difficult to interpret the trends. The global trend of women convicted of rape has increased by 33 per cent (rate 0.07 in 2013, 34 countries). (Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11 Men convicted of rape offences, rates per 100 000 in male population, in different regions, average (mean) 2009-2013



Male rates of convictions in high-income and upper-middle income countries have decreased from 2004 to 2013, but increased in low-middle income countries. Nicaragua had the highest rates of convicted men and women. Turkey, Australia and New Zealand also have high female rates of convictions and high male convictions. (Table 13).

Table 13 Men and women convicted of rape offences, the five highest countries, rates per 100 000 in population, average from 2009-2013

Country	Rate of men convicted
Turkey	12.2
Australia	16.4
Mongolia	18.8
New Zealand	24.9
Nicaragua	55.8
Country	Rate of women convicted
New Zealand	0.3
Australia	0.3
Turkey	0.4
Bahamas	0.5
Nicaragua	0.7

3.3.5 Attrition

The number of countries that answered all the questions in the UN-CTS regarding rape was low. Altogether 22 countries have been able to provide data on all items regarding the criminal justice process, of which 14 were from Europe. Figure 3.12 shows the attrition chain for rape in those 22 countries for men.

This first attrition measures the offender ratio and refers to the relationship between crimes registered by the police and suspects identified. According to the available data, there were 0.7 suspects known to the police per cases reported (Table 14). The ratio between offences and offenders should only be used as a very rough approximation since statistical problems are present: from a criminal justice system point of view, a diverse group of countries have replied, the counting unit changes from the case to the person, countries have different recording practices, suspects might have committed several offences, the offence might have been committed by

several suspects, or the crime is knowingly not registered by the police because they do not perceive the crime as serious enough.

The second measure of attrition, the indictment ratio, refers to the rate of suspects that are prosecuted. Proceedings might be dropped for several reasons, either technical or policy-related. According to the data 81 per cent of suspects were prosecuted. (Table 14).

The third measure, the conviction ratio, refers to how many convictions

are given in relation to the number of prosecuted persons. According to the data, more than one third (39 %) of the men who are prosecuted, are convicted. Comparability problems here are related to recording practices, since sanctions and convictions can be given also during the prosecution stage as well as through formal court hearings. Since these are different parts of the criminal justice system, not all countries can provide separate figures.

Figure 3.12 Police-recorded rape offences, suspected, prosecuted, and imprisoned, rates per 100 000 in male population, average (mean) 2009-2013

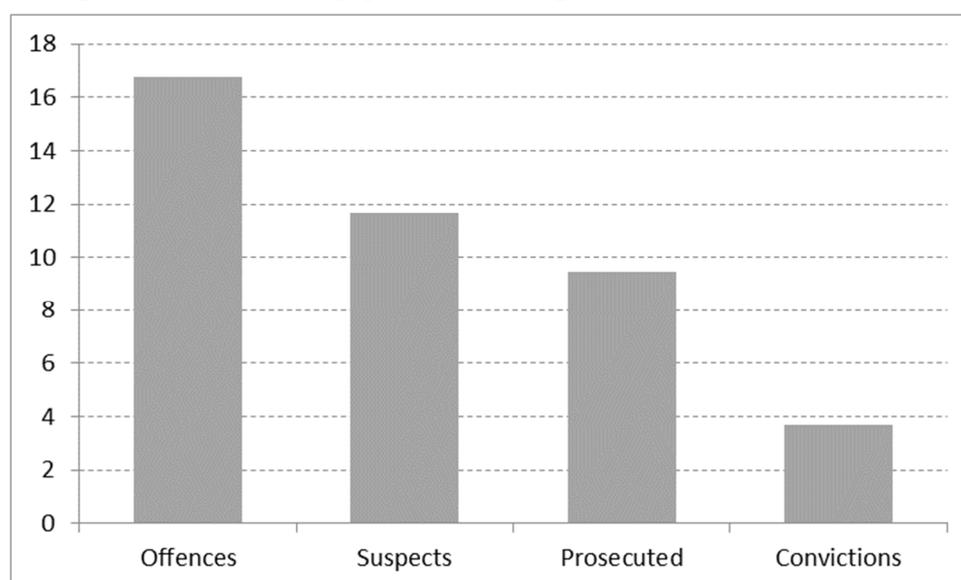


Table 14 Attrition ratios for rape offences, average for 2009-2013, rates per 100 000 in male population, mean

	%
Offender ratio (suspects per recorded offences)	70
Indictment ratio (prosecuted per suspects)	81
Conviction ratio (convicted persons per prosecuted)	39

For female rape offenders, it is possible to calculate the indictment ratio and the conviction ratio.

However, the results do not seem fully credible: the indictment ratio is over one hundred per cent, i.e., the rate of

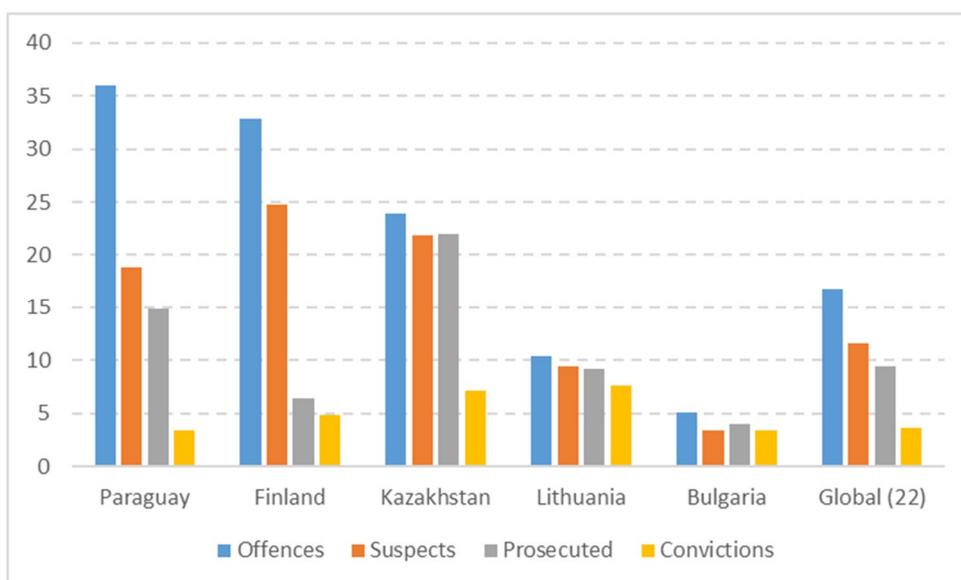
prosecuted persons is higher than the rate of suspected persons. Dropping two countries with a considerably high rate of prosecuted offenders (Austria and Canada) would decrease the female indictment ratio to 77 per cent. The female conviction ratio was 42 per cent.

Figure 3.12 shows rape-related attrition statistics for male offenders from five individual countries. The “model” is different in each country. In Paraguay there is a large difference between the rate of offences and the rate of male suspects, which may mean that a large number of perpetrators are not known by the authorities. The difference between suspected and prosecuted persons is not large in Paraguay, but only 23 per cent of the prosecuted men are convicted.

In Finland the offender ratio is higher than average (75 %), but the indictment ratio is low (26 %) and the conviction ratio high (76 %). In Kazakhstan the rate of offences, suspects and prosecuted men is about the same, and the conviction ratio 32 per cent.

Lithuania and Bulgaria are examples of Eastern European countries where the rate of offences is lower than the average rate, but the dropping of cases during the criminal justice process (attrition) is small. As a consequence, the rate of convictions in Lithuania is considerably higher than the global rate, and in Bulgaria only a little lower than the average even though the starting point, the rate of offences, is low compared to other countries.

Figure 3.13 Police-recorded rape offences, suspected, prosecuted, and imprisoned, rates per 100 000 in male population, in Paraguay, Finland, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, and Bulgaria, average (mean) 2009-2013



3.3.6 Summary of rape offences

Rape is not an ideal crime type for comparison of gender differences in the criminal justice process, because nearly all victims are women and nearly all the perpetrators are men. However, rape is a very serious crime which often causes lifelong consequences and suffering to the victim. The criminal justice system should (together with other support systems in society) actively process the cases. Against this background it seems surprising that less than 40 percent of prosecuted suspects are convicted.²⁰

It is clear that the experience of both women and men as offenders and victims needs to be recorded in order to truly understand the gendered nature of crime. However, the share of women of all suspects (0.8 %, 62 countries), of all persons prosecuted (1.9 %, 49 countries) and of all persons convicted of rape (1.2 %, 60 countries) is very low, and so far, the UNODC-survey does not provide further information on the perpetrators. In our data we had figures for calculation of attrition measures from only 22 countries, in spite of extensive imputation of missing cases.

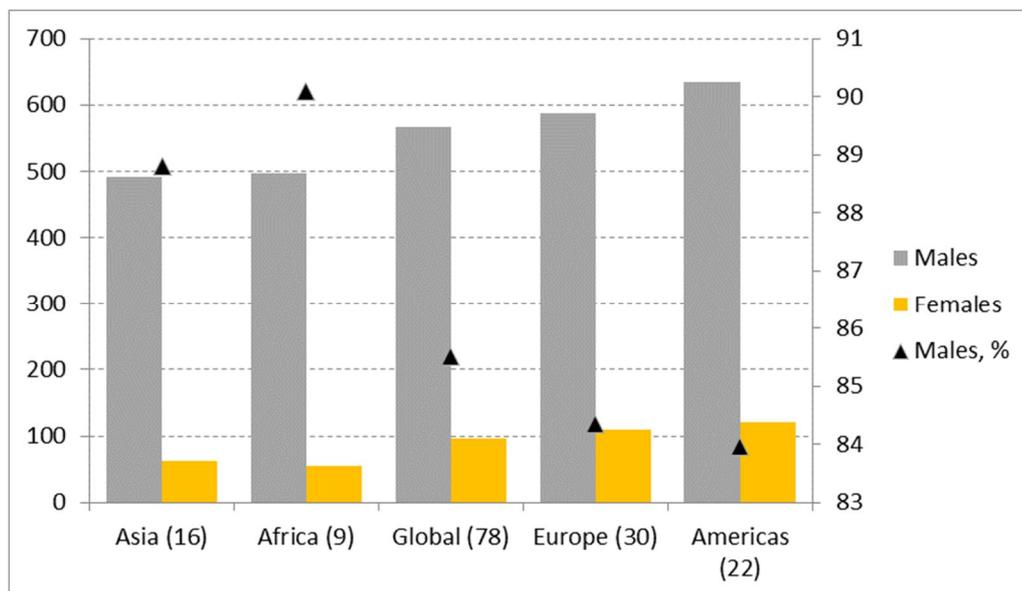
3.4 Men and women in the police staff

This chapter reports on the rate and proportion of male and female police officers (referred to below as police density) both across different regions and by income levels. Data on gender were available for the analysis from 77 countries. The United Nations, among others, has emphasised the urgent need for an increase in the number of female police officers. In August 2009, the United Nations launched a global effort to have more female police officers recruited into national police services and into UN police operations around the world. (United Nations 2016).

In the Americas and Europe, the number of male and female police officers per 100 000 in population is higher than the global average. Africa and Asia show lower figures than average, both for male and female police officers. The figure shows that as the number of police officers in a region increases, the share of male police officers decreases. (Figure 4.1).

²⁰ In Figure 3.12 of this section, the results from five individual countries are presented. The conviction ratio in these countries varied between 23 per cent in Paraguay and 86 per cent in Bulgaria. A high conviction ratio as such is not sufficient evidence of an efficient criminal justice system. In the case of Bulgaria, the rate of offences recorded by the police is strikingly low, which hints that the police personnel have a high threshold for recording rapes, and possibly women have a low willingness to report rapes to the police. According to the FRA (2014) EU-wide violence against women survey, in Bulgaria 12 per cent of adult women had experienced sexual violence since their fifteenth birthday, in Bulgaria while the EU-average was 11 per cent (<http://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/data-and-maps/survey-data-explorer-violence-against-women-survey>).

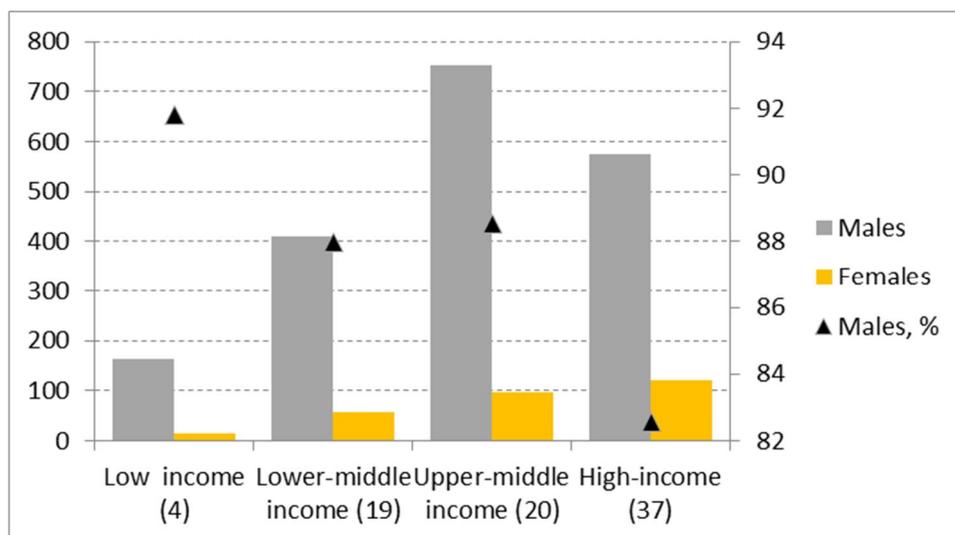
Figure 4.1 Men and women as police officers, per 100 000 in population, in different regions, scale on left y-axis rates, and the share of men as police officers of all officers (%) on right y-axis, average (means) 2009-2013



The rate of male police officers (police officers per 100,000 in population) is highest in the upper-middle income group and decreases in the high income group. For women the rate of police officers increases smoothly

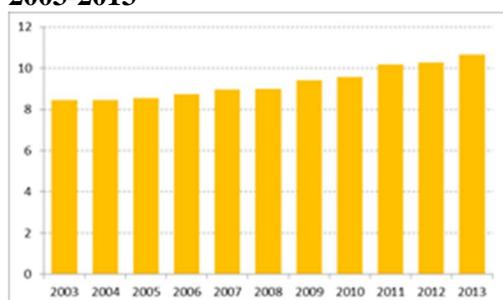
when moving from the low income group to higher income levels. The higher the income level in a country, the higher the share of women among the police staff. (Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2 Men and women as police officers, per 100 000 in population, in different income levels, scale on left y-axis rates, and the share of men as police officers of all police officers (%) on right y-axis, average (means) 2009-2013



The trend in 23 countries suggests that the share of female police officers has been growing. In 2013 the share of female police officers out of all police officers was on average 11 per cent (Figure 4.3). From 2003 to 2013 the number of male police officers increased by ten percent while the increase in female police officers was 42 per cent.

Figure 4.3 Share of women as police officers from all police officers, years 2003-2013



The UN-CTS does not include data on either rank or deployment by gender. Research by Prenzler and Sinclair (2013) on 18 countries internationally indicates that women are still very much confined to the lower ranks. On the basis of their trend data, there is some evidence that women are moving up in the ranks.

When looking at the ten countries with the highest share of female officers, they are all high-income countries, with the exceptions of Nicaragua and Guyana which are lower-middle income countries. Latvia is the only country where over thirty per cent of the police are female officers. The share of female officers in the other top nine countries ranges from 25 to 29 per cent. (Table 15).

Table 15 Ten countries with the highest share of female police officers, averages 2009-2013

Country	Male Rate	Female Rate	Men, %
Latvia	580	256	69
Netherlands	435	175	71
Nicaragua	243	89	73
Sweden	310	113	73
Northern Ireland	645	230	74
England and Wales	358	127	74
Lithuania	512	177	74
Scotland	496	169	75
Ireland	448	148	75
Guyana	613	200	75

The ten countries with the lowest share of female officers range from one per cent in Kuwait to six per cent in Mauritius. Two high-income countries, Japan and Italy, have a low share of female police staff. (Table 16).

Table 16 Ten countries with the lowest share of female police officers, averages 2009-2013

Country	Male Rate	Female Rate	Men, %
Mauritius	1664	112	94
Colombia	651	44	94
Japan	386	25	94
Italy	887	55	94
India	246	15	94
Morocco	324	17	95
Indonesia	306	11	96
Turkey	1001	34	97
Burundi	288	9	97
Kuwait	406	2	99

4 Crime in Europe

4.1 The European Sourcebook

The European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (ESB) is a project of European crime researchers, which tries to establish definitions and rules for collecting data on crime. The group not only collects data, but also carries out research in order to improve knowledge regarding crime statistics. For instance, the fifth sweep of the ESB focused on community sanctions and measures (Heiskanen et al. 2014).

So far, five sets of data have been collected, and annual data on selected crime categories (22 categories in 2010) are available from 1995 to 2011 (Aebi et al. 2014). The crime categories are listed in Table 17. In each data collection sweep, the last but one year of study has been chosen for more detailed data collection. This additional data contains information about the share of women, minors and aliens at different stages of the criminal justice system. The cross-sectional data covers the years 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010.

Table 17 shows that the crime categories studied have varied between the different data collections sweep. For instance, data on assault has been collected in all four sweeps, but data was collected on domestic

assault (which is a subcategory of assault) only in 2006.²¹

Total crime (the sum of all crimes in a country), homicide (completed cases) and rape have been covered in the previous chapters of this report, with the analysis based on the UN data from the Crime Trends Surveys. The analysis of these crime categories is not continued in the present chapter on the basis of the ESB data, because both data sets derive from more or less the same sources. However, the geographical scope of the results based on the UN data is wider, when compared to the ESB. This is why, in the previous chapters, the findings from the UN data were described by regions (Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, Oceania). In this chapter, the results based on the ESB data are examined more on the country level.

Fraud, money laundering and theft are the crimes where the share of female suspects was the largest in 2010. The smallest share of female offending, excluding rape and sexual offences, was found in respect of theft of a motor vehicle, robbery and burglary. In general, it seems that the share of women among the suspects is higher for property offences (excluding car thefts and burglaries) than for other offences.

²¹ In 2006 only 5 countries provided data on suspects of domestic violence. For this reason, the question was not repeated in the following data collection sweep (Aebi et al. 2010). For the next sweep of the ESB, data on domestic violence will probably be more extensively available, because the Council of Europe **Convention** on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention) stresses the importance of collecting information on violence in close relations, and almost all European countries have ratified or at least signed the Convention.

The trend in suspects for total crime (all crimes) has been rather stable during the 2000s in Europe.²² However, the share of female suspects has increased. There has been an increase in the share of female suspects in assault, theft and possibly also in fraud and money laundering. The two latter crimes were studied only in 2006 and in 2010.

The following crime types are examined on the basis of the ESB data in the next chapters: assault, theft and fraud offences. The focus is on the conviction rate (how many suspected persons are convicted), i.e., on suspected and convicted men and women. Also some results regarding male and female prisoners are described.

Table 17 Shares of female suspects by crime category in Europe in 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010²³

Crime category	1999	2003	2006	2010
Total	12.0	13.6	15.0	14.8
Traffic, major	9.0	9.8	9.0	10.9
Homicide, total	10.0	13.5	9.0	13.1
Homicide, completed	7.0	10.6	8.0	11.4
Assault	8.0	9.4	10.0	10.9
* Aggravated assault			7.0	9.5
* Minor bodily injury			13.0	
* Domestic violence			6.0	
Sexual assault, total			2.0	4.6
* Rape	3.0	0.8	1.0	1.5
Sexual abuse of a child			3.0	3.6
Robbery	6.0	6.8	6.0	6.5
Theft, total	12.0	14.6	15.0	16.2
* Theft of a motor vehicle	3.0	3.8	3.0	3.8
* Burglary	5.0	8.8	6.0	7.9
* Domestic burglary	9.0	10.0	10.0	10.1
Fraud			21.0	22.9
Money laundering			14.0	21.2
Corruption			15.0	13.5
Drug offences	12.0	12.2	12.0	10.0
* Drug trafficking	12.0	12.0	11.0	10.3
Offences against computer data systems			0.3	

*= subcategory, Gray colour = Described by the UN-CTS data Yellow colour = ESB data

²² The suspect rate is about 1,600 per 100,000 in population. The trend can be somewhat blurred by changes in the definition of total crime. E.g. minor traffic offences and minor property crimes are excluded from the definition in the last data collection.

²³ The figures in this table have been taken directly from the ESB publication (Aebi et al. 2014) and they may differ slightly from those presented later in this report, because for trend comparisons only those countries have been included which were able to provide results from all four years needed for the comparison.

4.2 Assault

4.2.1 Suspects

Because crime definitions in European countries differ, standard definitions have been developed for each crime category. These definitions are supported by instructions on which kind of incidents are to be included and which are to be excluded. The standard definition for assault in the European Sourcebook is “inflicting bodily injury on another person with intent” (Table 18).

The definition of assault is narrow. Only cases with bodily injury are to be

included, and lesser forms of violence should be excluded. In many countries it was not possible to follow this recommendation; for instance, a third of the participating countries also included cases recorded by police that did not involve any bodily injury. This may be caused by insufficient distinctions in national statistical practices, but it is also a consequence of how assault is defined in the penal code in different countries: assault may be defined according to the characteristics of the act itself, and not by its consequences (such as physical injury).²⁴

²⁴ The following countries included in assaults incidents causing only pain (e.g., slapping): Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Kosovo, Lithuania, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Scotland.

Table 18 Definition of assault in the European Sourcebook (Fifth Edition)

Bodily injury (assault)				
Standard definition: inflicting bodily injury on another person with intent				
	Indicate if included or excluded in police statistics:			
	Number of countries			
	Incl.	Excl.	No data	
Include the following:				
• minor bodily injury				
• aggravated bodily injury				
• bodily injury of a public servant/official				
• bodily injury in the domestic sphere				
• attempts				
Exclude the following:				
• assault leading to death				
• mere threats				
• assault only causing pain (e.g. slapping)				
• sexual assault				
• negligent bodily injury				

Although data on the number of assaults (offences) was available from 39 countries in the last data collection sweep, only 23 European countries provided data on suspects classified by gender. In addition, while the European Sourcebook contains data on suspects across gender for four years (1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010),

only 16 countries provided data for all four years.

Data on victims of assault have not been collected. Detailed data about victims could be collected through population surveys.

The number of both male and female assault suspects has increased in Europe (Figure 5.1 and Table 19).

From 1999 to 2010 the number of male suspects increased by 44 per cent and the number of female suspects increased by 83 per cent. The increase was larger between 1999 and 2003 than in the following years, and between 2006 and 2010 there was no longer any increase in the number of male suspects.²⁵

Although most suspects are men, the share of female suspects has increased smoothly; it was 13 per cent in 1999, and 16 per cent in 2010.

Figure 5.1 Men and women suspected of assault in Europe, per 100,000 in population (n=16)

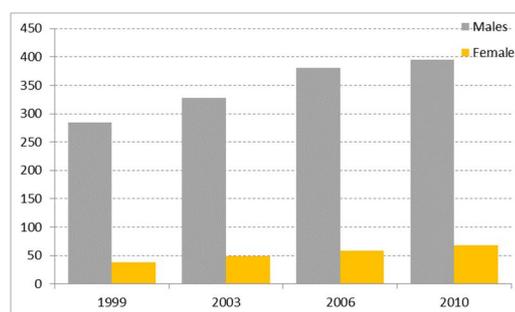


Table 19 Share of men and women suspected of assault, as recorded by the police, and the change in the number of suspects (n=16)

	Share of female and male suspects, %				Change in the number of female and male suspects, %				Average annual change 1999-2010 %
	1999	2003	2006	2010	1999-2003	2003-2006	2006-2010	1999-2010	
Men	87.0	86.0	85.7	84.0	20.5	20.0	-0.6	43.8	3.4
Women	13.0	14.0	14.3	16.0	30.7	22.9	13.8	82.8	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	21.8	20.4	1.5	48.9	3.7
N	622996	759039	913688	927339					

There were large differences among the European countries in respect of the number of persons suspected of assault. Unfortunately, data are missing from many countries, such as Denmark, Estonia, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 reveal a regional division around two hubs: the

countries of Eastern Europe (and Spain) have very low rates of suspects, both for men and for women. In the opposite direction, affluent countries in Western Europe had the highest rates of assault suspects. The situation is the reverse of that in respect of homicide rates: there were fewer homicides and persons suspected of

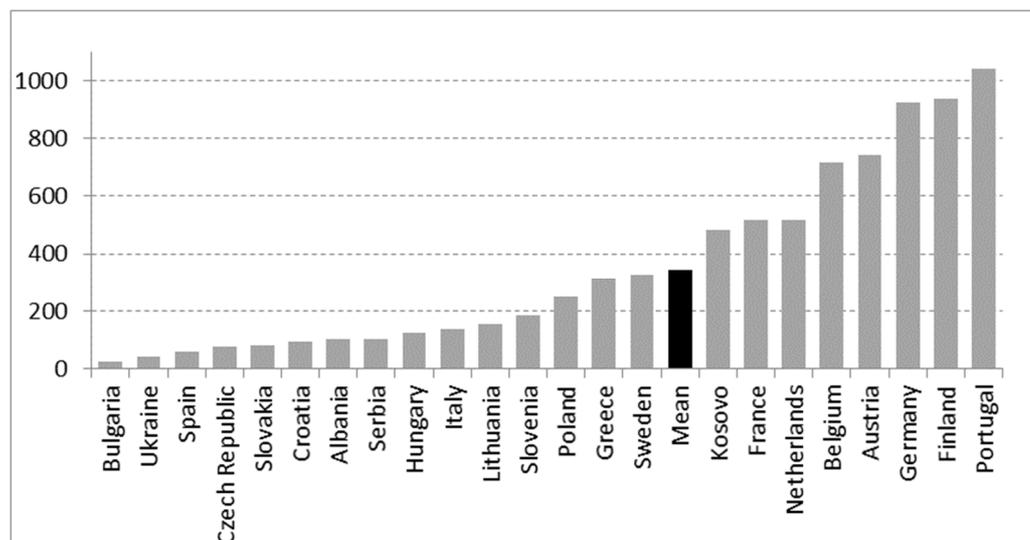
²⁵ According to the crime victimization surveys, a similar increase in the number of assaults had not occurred. Between the 1996 and 2005 ICVS-surveys the percentage of victims of assault and threats had in fact decreased from 4.0 per cent to 3.0 per cent (one-year total prevalence; the five-year prevalence figures were 10.5 per cent and 10.0 per cent; van Dijk et al. 2007). Based on these figures it seems that the increase in the number of suspects in the police statistics might be caused, for example, by the increased willingness of the population to report assaults to the authorities.

homicide in Western Europe than in Eastern Europe.²⁶

In Figure 5.4 the European countries are classified into three groups according to the level of their gross national product (GDP per capita). In

the group with the highest GDP per capita, the rate of persons suspected of assault is much higher compared to the countries with a middle or low GDP rate. This trend applies to both men and women. There may be several reasons for this difference.²⁷

Figure 5.2 Men suspected of assault, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=23)



²⁶ The countries that included in assaults incidents causing only pain (e.g. slapping) were: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Kosovo, Lithuania, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and UK: Scotland.

²⁷ The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014) suggest, based on their experience with the violence against women surveys, the following explanations for the differences in victimization prevalence between countries: acceptability of talking about the victimization, increased gender equality (leading to higher disclosure), urbanization, drinking patterns, differences in employment, life-styles and daily practices.

Figure 5.3 Women suspected of assault, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=23)

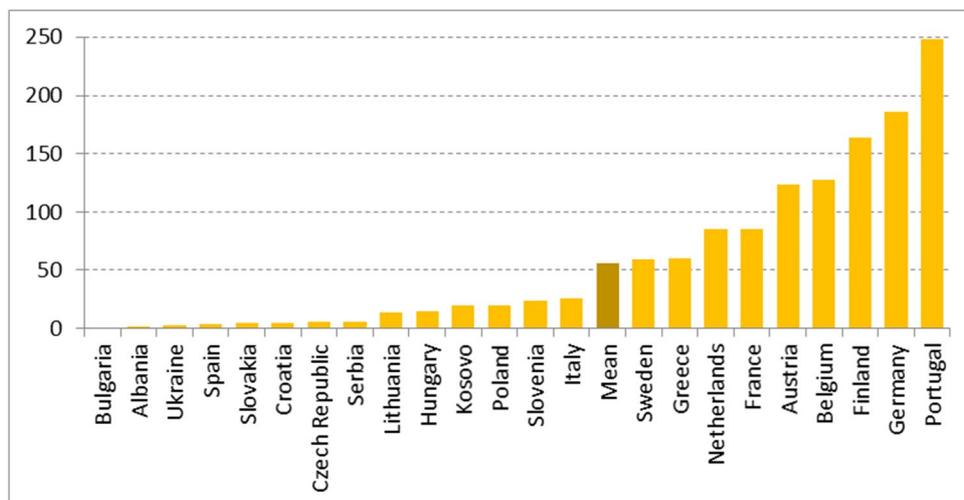
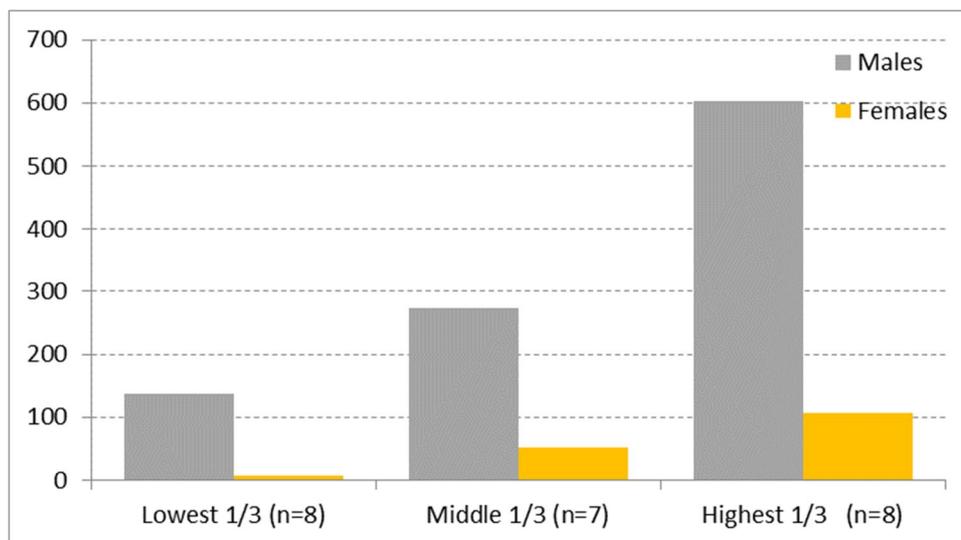


Figure 5.4 Men and women suspected of assault, per 100,000 populations, in different income levels²⁸, 2010 (n=23)



4.2.2 Convictions and the conviction ratio

The rate of convicted men and women increased from 1999 to 2006, but has decreased from 2006 to 2010 (Figure 5.5). The increase in the number of convicted persons was higher during

the beginning of the decade. When the entire time frame is studied, the number of convicted women has increased at a higher pace than has the number of convicted males (47 % vs. 15 %). Even so, the share of men out of all persons convicted of assault is slightly over 90 per cent (Table 20).

²⁸ GDP per capita in PPS, Index (EU28 = 100), 2012

Figure 5.5 Men and women convicted of assault, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=24)

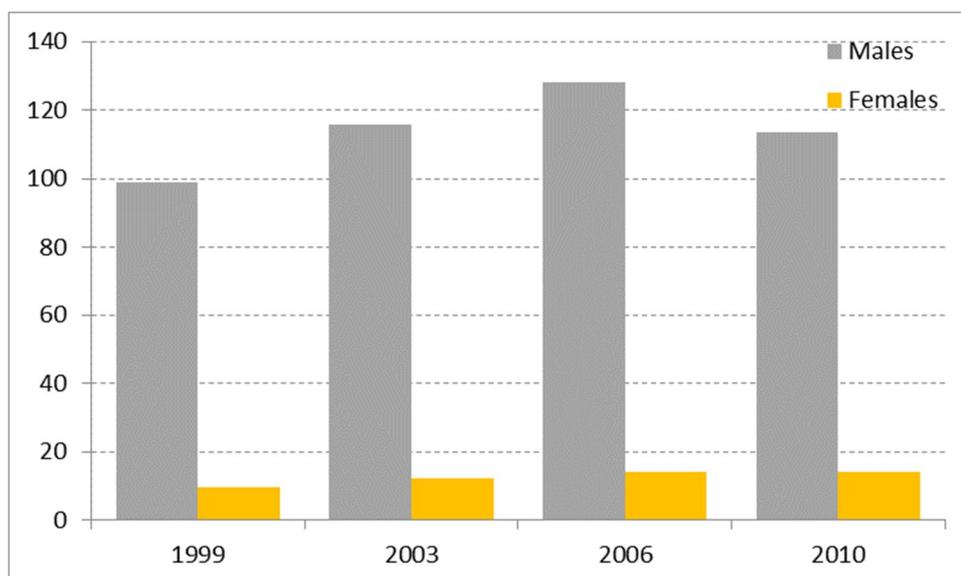


Table 20 Share of men and women convicted of assault and the change between 1999-2003 (n=24)

	Share of women and men convicted on assault,				Change in the number of convicted women and men, %				Average annual change 1999-2010 %
	1999	2003	2006	2010	1999-2003	2003-2006	2006-2010	1999-2010	
Men	90.0	90.9	91.8	90.4	17.1	10.7	-11.4	14.9	1.3
Women	10.0	9.1	8.2	9.6	27.3	15.0	0.2	46.7	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	18.2	11.1	-6.2	23.2	1.9
N	243086	287022	311263	320399					

Figure 5.6 Men convicted of assault, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=24)

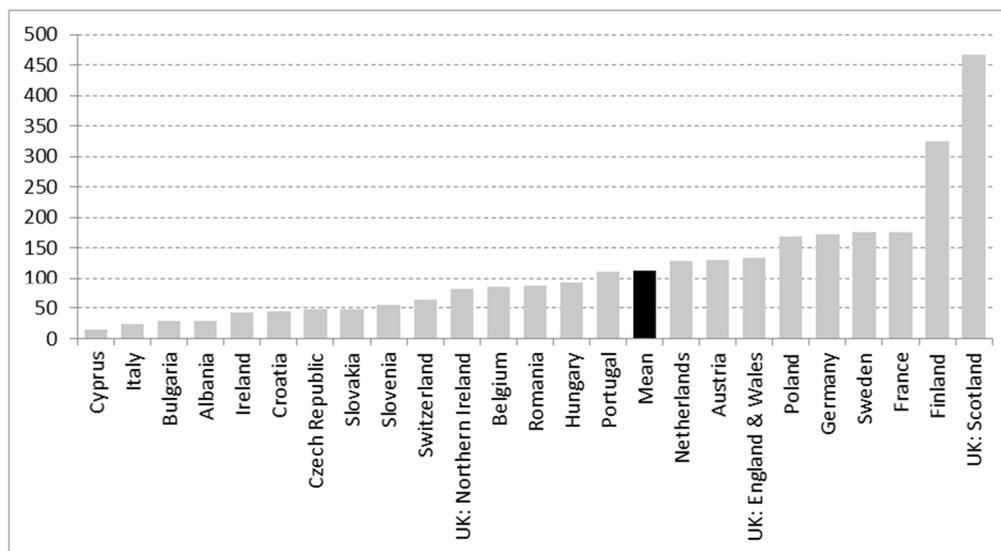
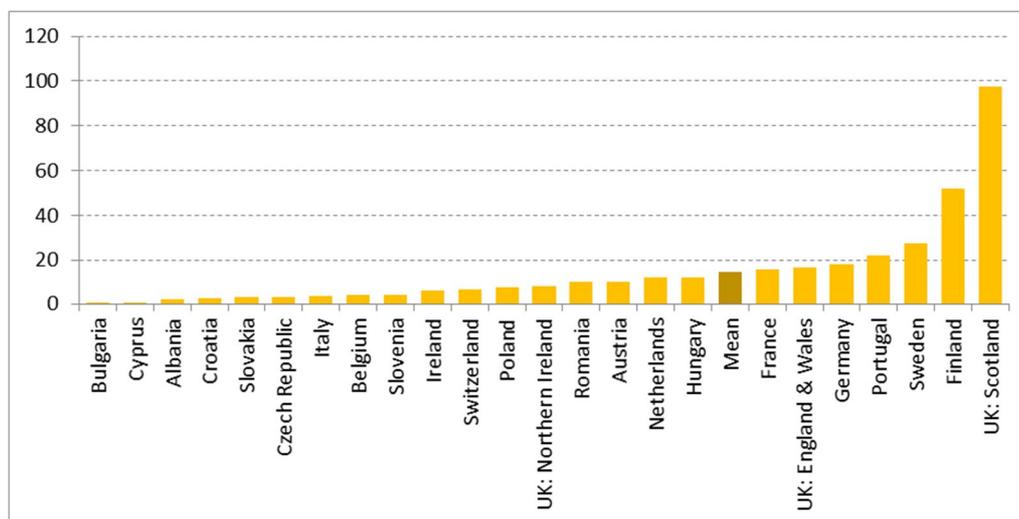


Figure 5.7 Women convicted of assault, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=24)



The figures for Scotland and Finland differ markedly from those for other countries in Figures 5.6 and 5.7, in these countries the rate of convicted men and women is considerably higher than average. (In the collection of statistics, the United Kingdom is divided into England and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland.) The figures from the UK were not available

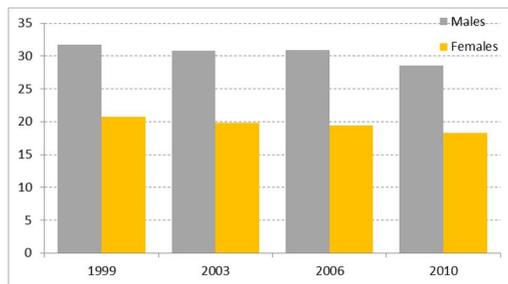
for the analysis of suspected of assault (previous chapter).

In 2010, 29 per cent of men suspected of assault were convicted. For women, the conviction ratio was 18 per cent. (Figure 5.8) It is possible that male suspects have committed more severe and repeated assaults as well as assaults outside the family, and

these cases might have proceeded to conviction more often than the cases of female offenders.

The trend in the conviction rate is decreasing among both men and women. This means that fewer persons who are suspected for assault are convicted. Between 1999 and 2010, the decrease for men was ten and for women 12 per cent.

Figure 5.8 Share (%) of convicted men and women per suspects in Europe, 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010 (n=14)

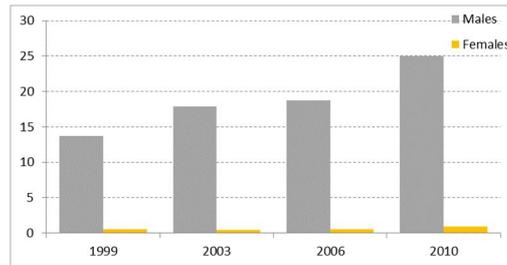


4.2.3 Prison

The number of both men and women sentenced to prison for assault has steadily increased since 1999 (Figure 5.9 the graph shows the situation as of 1 September of each respective year, per 100,000 in population). This is in line with the increase in the number of men and women suspected of assault. The increase in the number of persons sentenced to prison for assault between 1999 and 2010 was 82 per cent for men and ninety per cent for

women. Most of the persons sentenced to prison for assault were male (97 %), and there has been no change in the respective share of men and women.

Figure 5.9 Men and women sentenced to prison for assault, per 100,000 in population in Europe 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010 (n=10)



Trend data by gender on persons sentenced to prison for assault were available from ten countries. For the year 2010, 17 countries provided data (Figure 5.10). There are large differences among the countries, especially in the rate of male prisoners, Scotland and Northern Ireland showing the highest imprisonment rates for both men and women. Also France and Belgium are higher than average for male prisoners, and Finland and Estonia for women. The share of female prisoners was highest in Finland, Estonia and Scotland, while no female suspects were in prison for assault in Iceland (the day of measurement was 1 September 2010) (Figure 5.11).

Figure 5.10 Imprisoned men (Y-axis on the left) and women (y-axis on the right) for assault, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=17)

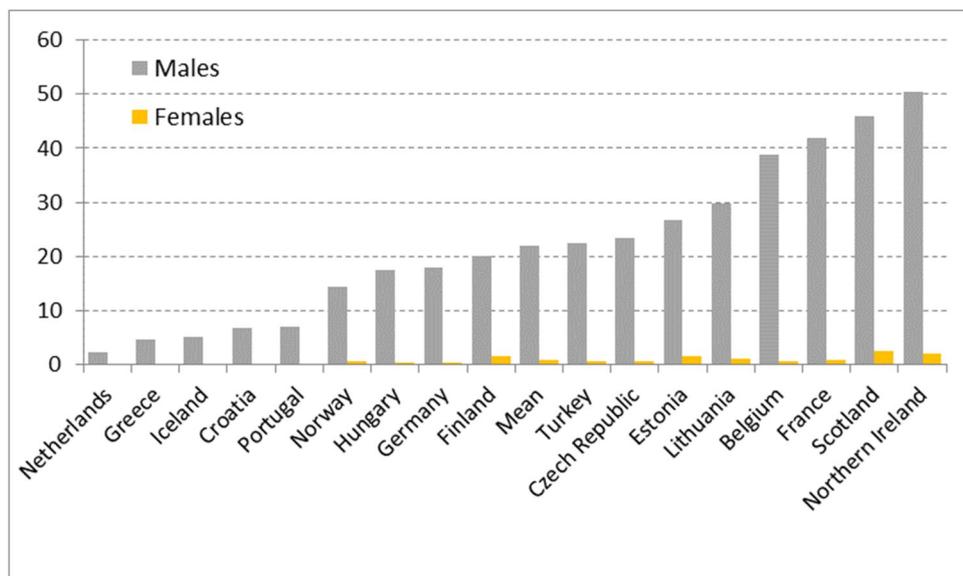
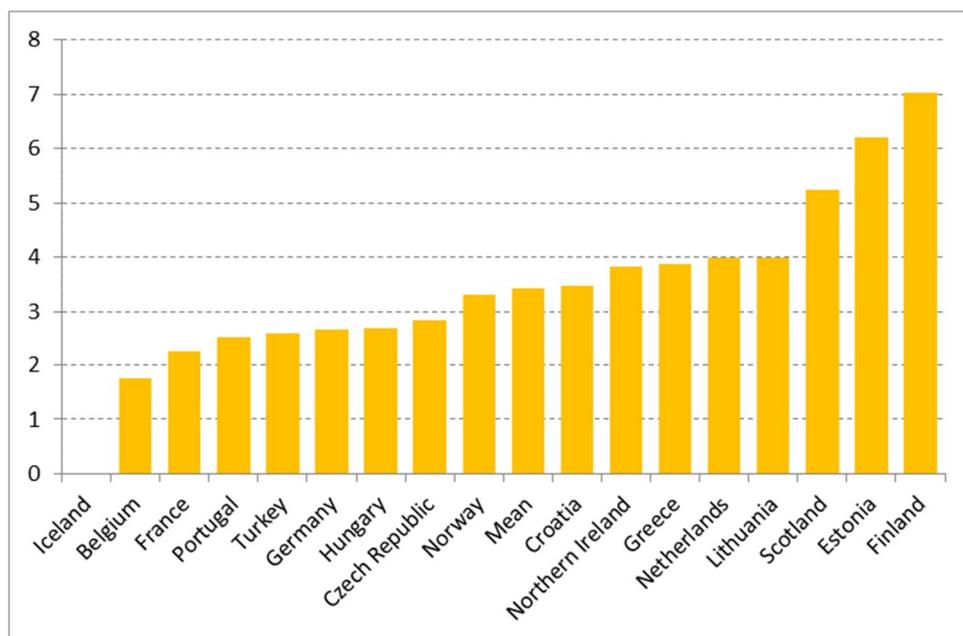


Figure 5.11 Share (%) of women sentenced to prison for assault, in different European countries, 2010 (n=17)



The European Sourcebook data allow the calculation of two indicators of the punitivity ratio for assault (see Harrendorf et al. 2014): the ratio between the number of persons imprisoned for assault and the number

of persons convicted for assault (punitivity ratio 1), and the number of persons imprisoned for assault and the number of persons suspected of assault (punitivity ratio 2). Both ratios have

been assessed for men and for women in Table 21.

Punitivity ratio 1 is four times higher for men compared with women. Punitivity ratio 2 is over seven times higher for men, which means that men suspected of assault are far more often sentenced to prison than are women. The data do not provide details regarding the assaults, but according to Table 17 in chapter 4.1 the share of male perpetrators increases along with the seriousness of the assault. This would suggest that the reason for the higher male punitivity ratios is that assault committed by men is different (and tends to be more serious) from assault committed by women.

Table 21 Punitivity ratios for men and women in 2010, %

	Men	Women
Punitivity ratio 1 (n=11)	15.0	3.7
Punitivity ratio 2 (n=9)	3.7	0.5

The countries where punitivity ratio 1 was higher than average were Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Hungary and Northern Ireland, and countries where this punitivity ratio was lower than average were Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Portugal and Scotland. However, this result is obscured by definitional issues, because it seems that e.g. Belgium, the Czech Republic and Northern Ireland have not included pettier forms of assault in the data that they provided to the European Sourcebook. Including only more severe assaults understandably increases the punitivity ratios, because

pettier forms of assault rarely lead to prison sentences.

4.2.4 Summary of assault

By definition, assault means the intentional infliction of bodily injury on another person. In practice, several European countries also included cases of physical violence with no visible injuries.

On the basis of the European Sourcebook data, it appears that the rate of both men and women suspected of assault has increased in Europe between 1999 and 2010. The differences among European countries are large, and may be due to different definitions in the penal codes. In Eastern Europe the assault rate is considerably lower than in Western Europe, both for men and women. The situation is different compared to the homicide rates, which were higher in Eastern Europe than in Western Europe. In more affluent European countries, there are more assaults recorded by the police than in poorer countries. This applies to both male and female suspects. The share of women out of all persons suspected of assault was 16 per cent in 2010, an increase of three percentage unit from 1999.

The rate of men and women convicted of assault has increased during the beginning of the decade. However, from 2006 to 2010 the conviction rate has decreased. The share of women out of all persons convicted of assault was 10 per cent in 2010. Out of all men suspected of assault in 2010, 29 per cent were convicted. For women, the conviction ratio was 18 per cent. The reason for the higher conviction rate among men can be found in e.g. the

seriousness of the assault, recidivism or in the relationship between the offender and the victim.

Up to 97 per cent of the persons sentenced to prison for assault were men. From 1999 to 2010, the number of persons sentenced to prison for assault increased by 82 per cent for men, and 90 per cent for women. These trend data were available from ten European countries.

The punitivity ratio, the ratio between persons imprisoned for and convicted of assault, was four times higher for men compared with women. This suggests that the acts of assault of

which men are convicted are more serious.

4.3 Theft

In the European Sourcebook, “theft” is a summary category for different property crimes, including theft (also of small value), burglary and theft of motor vehicles. Attempts are included (Table 22). The Sourcebook questionnaire contains additional questions on theft of motor vehicles, burglary and domestic burglary, but these data are not analysed here.

Table 22 Definition of theft in the European Sourcebook (Fifth Edition)

Theft				
Standard definition: depriving a person or organisation of property without force with the intent to keep it				
Type of list: incomprehensive	Indicate if <u>included</u> in or <u>excluded</u> from:			
	police statistics		conviction statistics	
	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.
Include the following:				
• small value theft				
• burglary				
• theft of motor vehicles				
• attempts				
Exclude the following:				
• embezzlement (including theft by employees)				
• robbery (see above)				
• receiving/handling stolen goods				
	Yes		No	

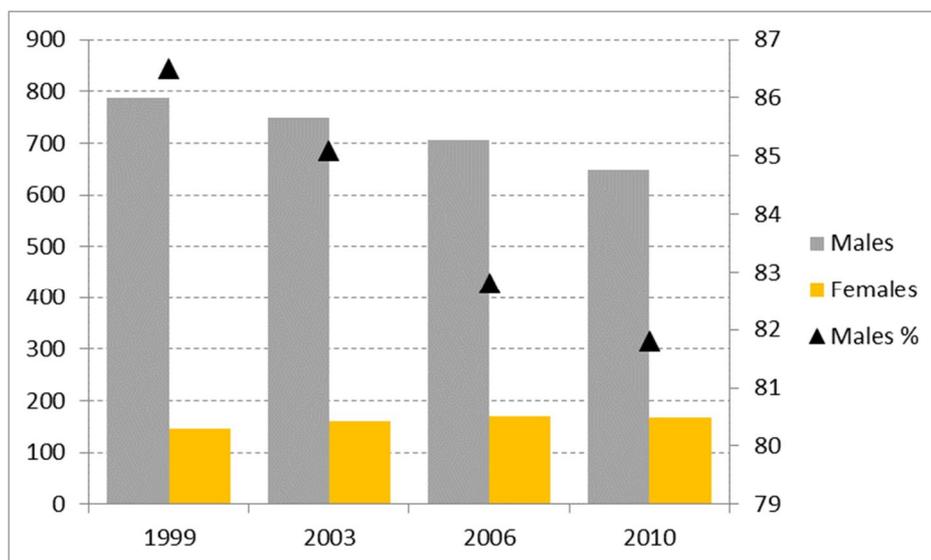
Are there any other deviations from the standard definition? (If yes, please specify in the comments box)		
If small value theft is <i>excluded</i> , what is the usual upper limit for the “small value”? Give an amount in Euros, please!		

4.3.1 Suspects

In total, the number of persons suspected of theft has decreased from 1999 to 2010 by 12.5 per cent (n=17 European countries). The decrease was 18 per cent for men, but there was an increase of 14 per cent for women. However, also the number of women

suspected of theft decreased slightly between the years 2006 and 2010 (by one %). Because the rate of male offenders decreased considerably through all the years for which the data was examined, the share of male offenders decreased from 87 to 82 per cent. (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Men and women suspected of theft in Europe, per 100,000 in population, scale of left y-axis, and the share of male suspects of all suspects (%) on right y-axis, 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010 (n=17 countries)



There were large differences in the theft offender rates among the individual countries for men as well as for women. The rates are highest in the Nordic and the Western European countries, while Eastern European countries show lower than average

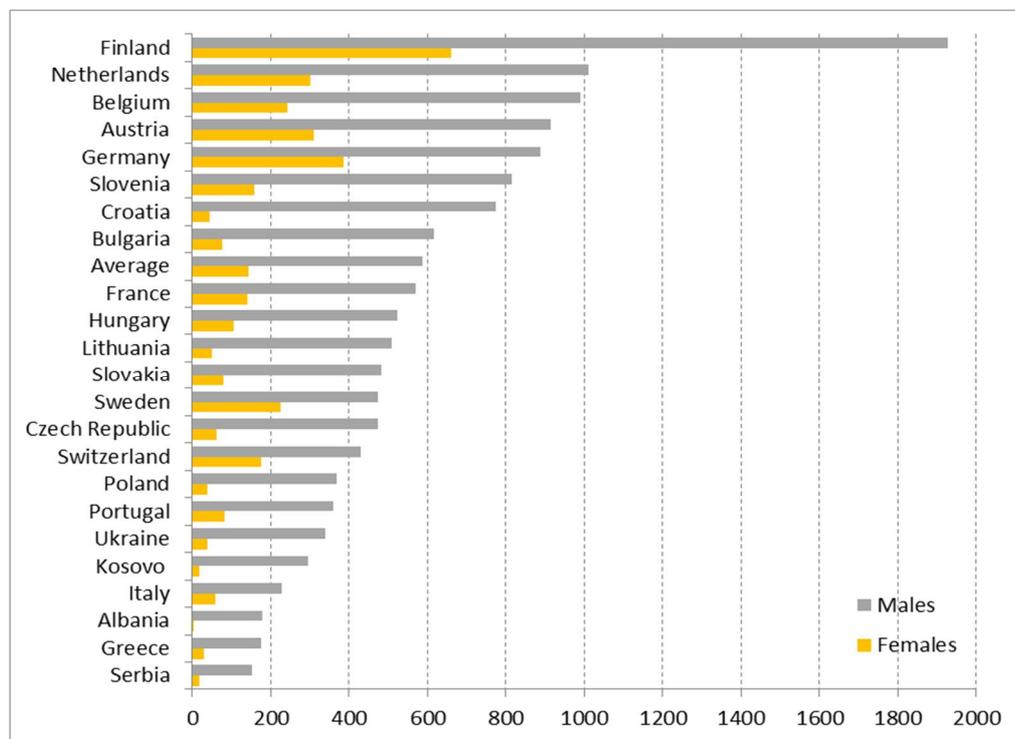
theft offender rates (Figure 6.2). The large differences may be caused by several factors which the data cannot explain; e.g., the targets for theft may differ between countries, the propensity to report the offence to the

police may differ,^{29, 30} and the recording practices of the police may differ.³¹

Also the respective proportions of men and women out of all theft suspects varied considerably among the countries: in Albania one per cent of the theft suspects were female while in Sweden the share of women was 32

per cent (Figure 6.2). The countries noted in Figure 6.3 are clearly concentrated along two dimensions; the Western European countries with their higher than average share of female suspects, and the Eastern European countries where the share of men out of all theft suspects is higher than average.

Figure 6.2 Men and women suspected of theft, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=24)

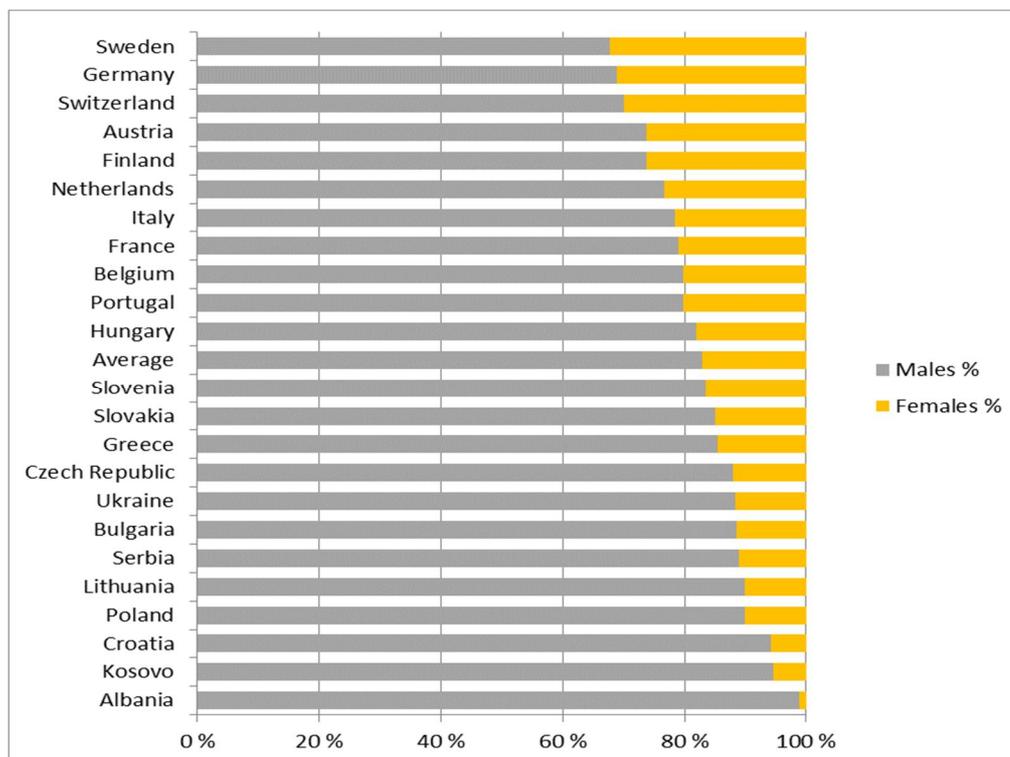


²⁹ In part the differences between countries can be a result of the efficiency of the police. If many property crimes remain unsolved, then no suspects are found.

³⁰ Many countries that have high rates of thefts recorded by police, e.g., Finland, do not, according to population survey studies, have higher than average victimization rates on burglary and theft of personal property (van Dijk et al. 2007).

³¹ The following countries reported that they apply a minimum threshold for property crimes, i.e. a certain monetary value (ranging from 10 to 266 €) in order for an incident to be recorded by the police as theft: Croatia, Hungary, Kosovo, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia and Ukraine (Aebi et al. 2014).

Figure 6.3 Share (%) of men and women out of all theft suspects in different European countries, 2010 (n=24)



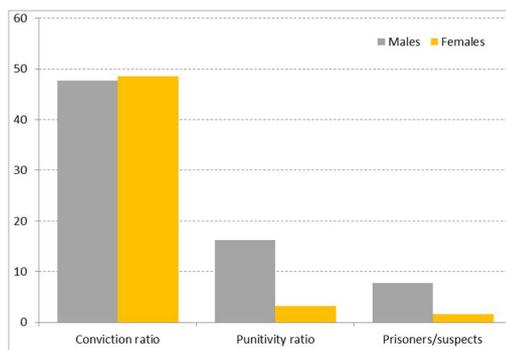
4.3.2 Conviction ratio and punitivity ratio

Less than one-half of both male and female theft suspects were convicted (Figure 6.4). There were large differences among the countries in respect of this conviction ratio. In Austria the ratio was lowest, 17 per cent for men and 13 per cent for women in 2010. Sweden and Poland had the highest conviction ratios (nearly 80 % for men and over 80 % for women). Although the male conviction ratio is often about the same as the female conviction ratio, in some countries (Bulgaria and Switzerland) the conviction ratio of men was over two times higher than the female ratio.

Although the male and female conviction ratio for persons suspected

of theft is the same, there were large differences between the male and female punitivity ratios (16 % vs. 3 %). The data offers no explanation for this result but it would seem that men commit more serious theft crimes (burglaries, objects of high value, professional crimes). (Figure 6.4). The punitivity ratios were high in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Ukraine, and low in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden. On average six per cent of persons suspected of theft were sentenced to unsuspended imprisonment.

Figure 6.4 Conviction ratio (share of convicted men and women out of all men and women suspected of theft, %) and punitivity ratio (share of men and women sentenced to prison, out of all men and women convicted of theft, %), 2010 (n=11 countries)



4.3.3 Summary

The rate of men suspected of theft has been continuously decreasing since 1999, while the rate of women

The definition of theft and police practices differ between European countries. This makes country comparisons difficult. Setting a minimum threshold value for the incidents to be recorded as theft influences the data on crime rates, because thefts of small value are excluded from the data. This explains the rates in some Eastern European countries. The theft rates in Nordic and

suspected of theft has increased up to 2006. Between 2006 and 2010 also the female theft rate has decreased. According to the European Sourcebook, the share of women out of all theft suspects recorded by the police has increased from 13 percent in 1999 to 18 percent in 2010.

The thefts committed by women are often “ordinary” thefts. Theft of a motor vehicle, burglary and domestic burglary are examples of theft crimes where the share of female offenders is considerably lower than for thefts on average. This may explain the differences between men and women in respect of the attrition measures: the conviction ratio is the same for men and women suspected of theft, but the punitivity ratio is much higher among men; more men than women convicted of theft are sentenced to prison.

Western European countries are higher than in Eastern Europe. Consequently, high punitivity ratios are found e.g. in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Ukraine, and low punitivity rates in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden. The share of female offenders is higher in many Western European countries than it is in Eastern Europe.

Annex figures on theft:

Figure 6.5 Men and women convicted of theft, per 100 000 in population, 2010 (n=25)

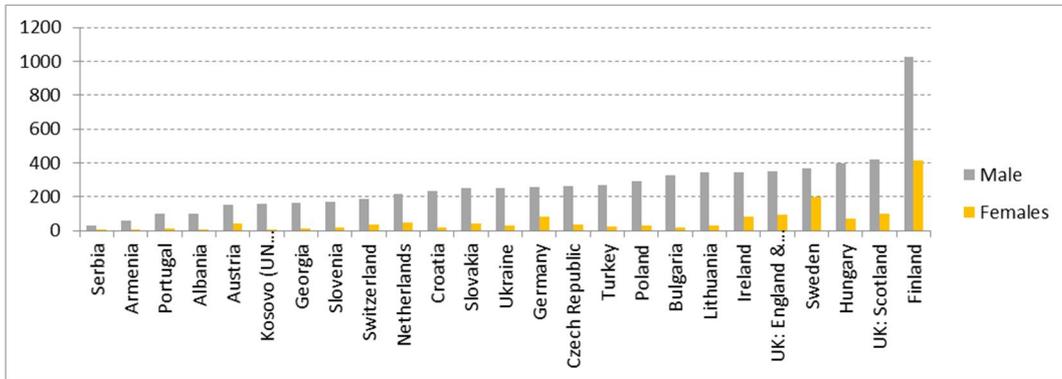


Figure 6.6 Share (%) of women out of all persons convicted for theft, 2010 (n=25)

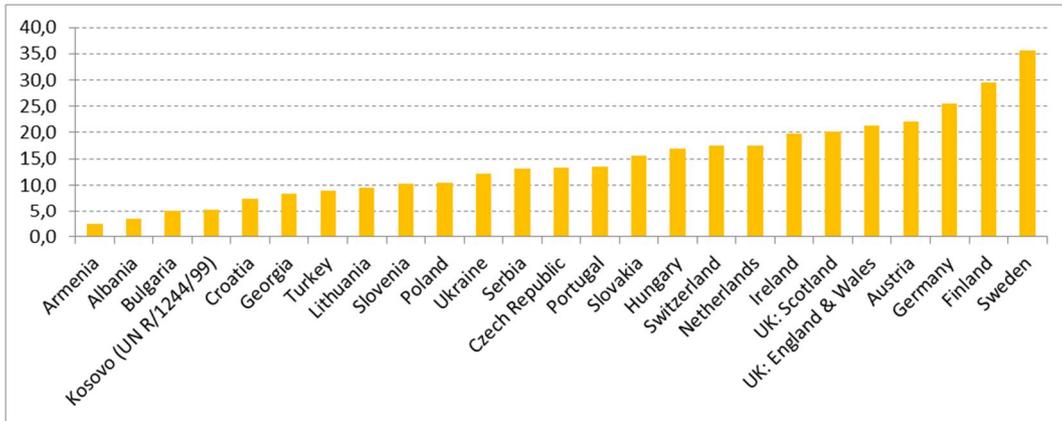


Figure 6.7 Men and women sentenced to prison for theft, per 100 000 in population, 2010 (n=21)

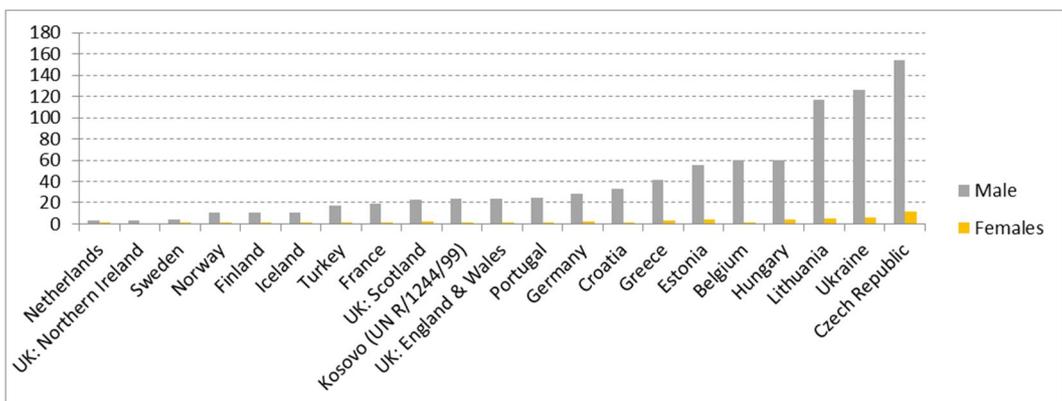
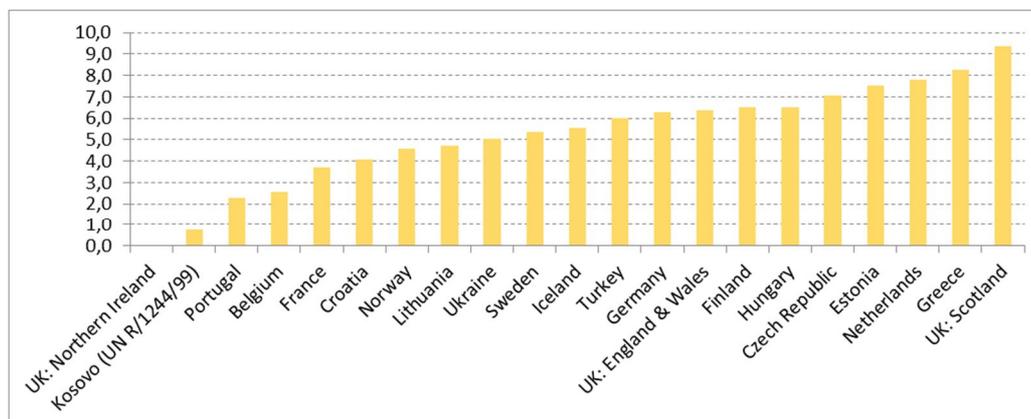


Figure 6.8 Share (%) of women out of all persons sentenced to prison for theft, 2010 (n=21)



4.4 Fraud

The fourth and fifth editions of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics included data on fraud (see definition Table 23). According to the standard definition,

fraud means “deceiving someone or taking advantage of someone’s error with the intent to unlawfully gain financial benefits, thereby causing the deceived person to enter any operation that will be damaging to his or a third person’s financial interests”.³²

³² Where possible, the figures include attempts but exclude receiving/handling stolen property, forgery of documents, passports etc., tax and customs offences, subsidy fraud, fraud involving welfare payments, money laundering, forgery of money/payment instruments, consuming goods or services, and breach of trust / embezzlement.

Table 23 Definition of fraud in the European Sourcebook (Fifth Edition)

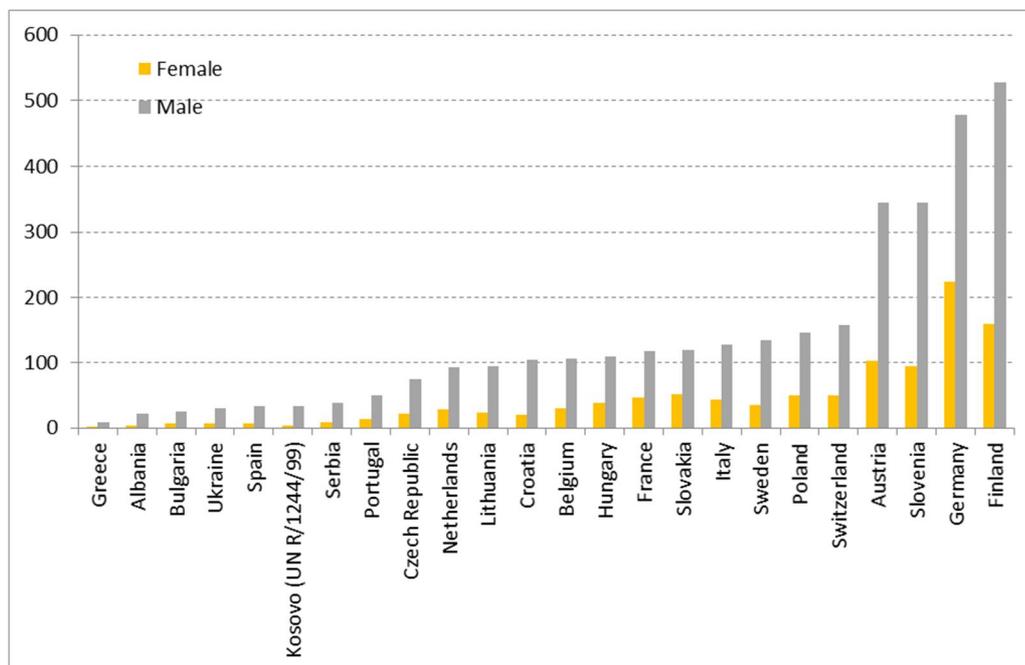
Fraud					
Standard definition: deceiving someone or taking advantage of someone's error with the intent to unlawfully gain financial benefits, thereby causing the deceived person to enter any operation that will be damaging to his/her or a third person's financial interests					
		Indicate if included in or excluded from:			
		police statistics		conviction statistics	
		incl.	excl.	incl.	excl.
Include the following:					
• attempts					
Exclude the following:					
• receiving/handling a stolen property					
• forgery of documents, passports etc.					
• tax and customs offences					
• subsidy fraud					
• fraud involving welfare payments					
• money laundering					
• forgery of money/payment instruments					
• consuming goods or services					
• breaching of trust / embezzlement					

4.4.1 Suspects

Altogether 24 countries were able to provide data on fraud for both men and women. All these countries, except for Scotland, were able to include attempts in the figures. In countries

where the rate of police-recorded offences is high for male offenders, it is high also for female offenders. Four countries (Austria, Finland, Germany and Slovenia) have rates above 200 per 100 000 in population. (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 Men and women suspected of fraud as recorded by the police, per 100 000 in population, 2010 (n=24)



The number of both men and women suspected of fraud increased between the years 2006 and 2010. Overall there were 8.5 per cent more suspects in 2010 than in 2006. (Table 24).

Somewhat over seventy per cent of all persons suspected of fraud were men. Table 23 shows the total number of persons suspected of fraud as well as

the number of women and men for the years 2006 and 2010. During this four-year period there has been an increase in the number of persons suspected of fraud for both genders, but the increase has been nearly ten per cent larger for women than for men. The number of women has increased by 15 per cent while the number of men suspected increased by six per cent.

Table 24 Share of men and women and the change in fraud suspects in Europe (19 countries) between 2006 and 2010

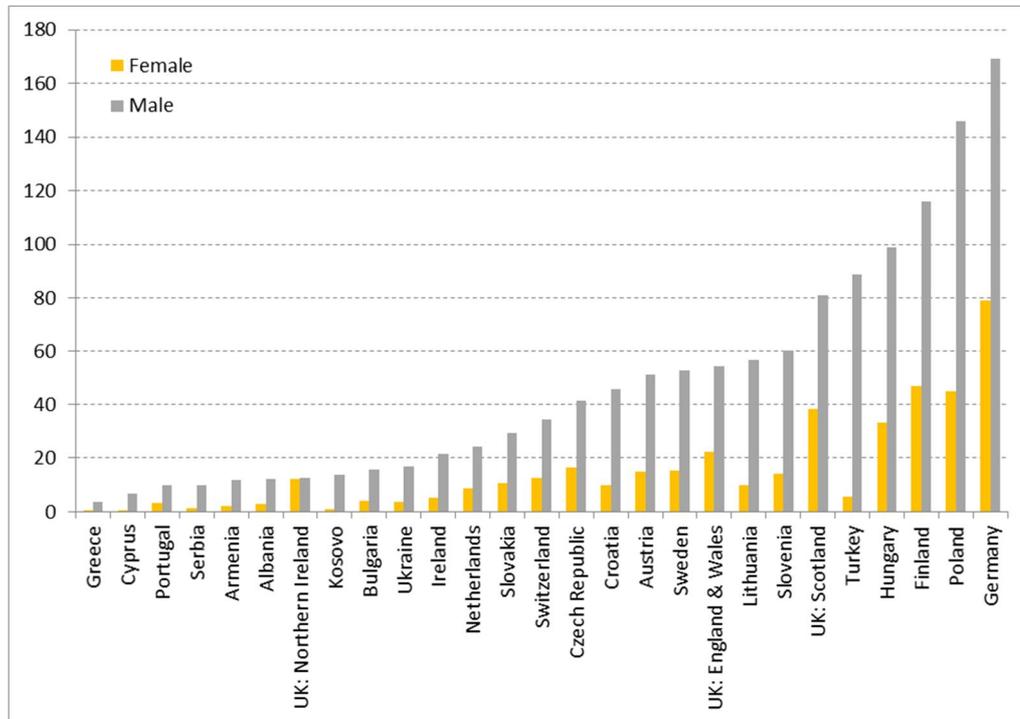
	2006		2010		Change, % 2006-2010
	n	%	n	%	
Women	6575	28	7558	30	15,0
Men	16549	72	17526	70	5,9
Total	23124	100	25084	100	8,5

4.4.2 Convictions

Altogether 27 countries were able to provide data on men and women convicted of fraud. In 2010, on the average 48 men per 100,000 in population and 16 women per 100,000 were convicted of fraud. The highest rates of fraud convictions for both men and women were found in Finland, Germany and Poland. (Figure 7.2).

In respect of the average share of female offenders and the total rate of convictions, Turkey had a very low share of female convictions, six per cent, whereas in Northern Ireland, men and women were convicted to about the same amount. Overall, suspended sentences were the most frequently used sanctions for fraud offences, and fines were the second most frequent.

Figure 7.2 Men and women convicted of fraud, per 100,000 in population, in different European countries, 2010 (n=27)



In 2010, women accounted for 26 per cent of those convicted in Europe for fraud. This was an only one per cent change in the share of women from 2006. The number of persons convicted of fraud has been increasing for both genders. It has increased slightly more for men; women had a

12 per cent increase whereas the increase for men was 15 per cent. (Table 25).

In the case of convictions, the gender gap in convictions for fraud is smaller than for many other crime types.

Table 25 Share of men and women and the change in persons convicted of fraud in Europe (20 countries) between 2006 and 2010.

	2006	%	2010	%	Change 2006-2010, %
Women	2478	27	2778	26	12,1
Men	6864	73	7861	74	14,5
Total	9342	100	10639	100	13,9

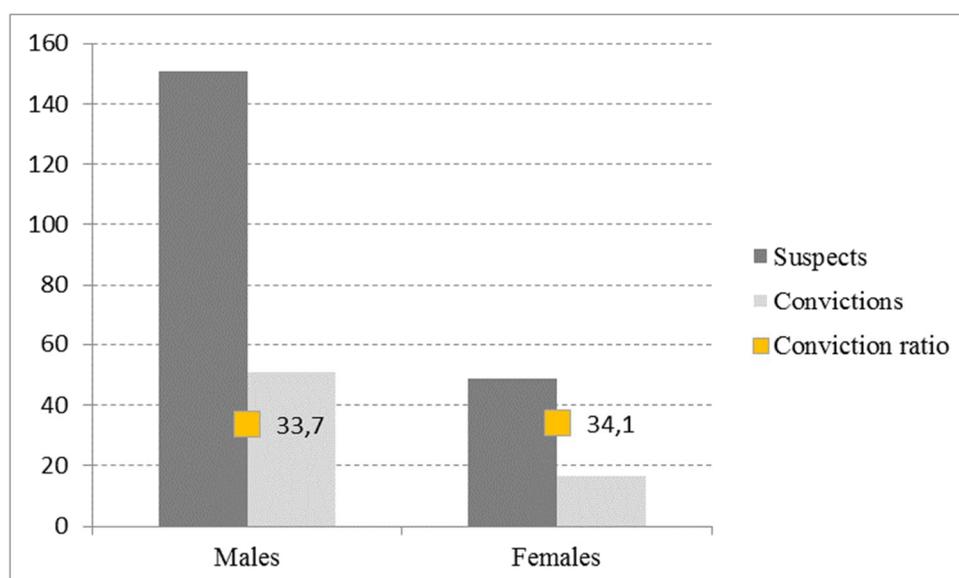
4.4.3 Attrition

The availability of gender-segregated data on suspects and convictions allows the measurement of the flow of cases between these two points in the criminal justice system (Figure 7.3). The conviction ratio measures the attrition between police-recorded suspects and convicted persons (Heiskanen et al. 2014). Similar

limitations in counting rules apply in this chapter as mentioned in previous chapters.

Altogether 19 countries were able to provide figures on fraud for both genders, at both the police and the conviction stages. Men account for the majority of suspected and convicted offenders.

Figure 7.3 Men and women suspected and convicted for fraud, per 100 000 in population, and the conviction rate for men and women (%), 2010 (n=19)



5 Concluding Discussion

The purpose of the present report was to find out how men and women are represented in the criminal justice process, ranging from police recording of the suspects, to prison sentences. The study is based on a macro-level approach, on country-level crime statistics. The statistics come from two sources. The Crime Trends Survey conducted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime has been sent annually to the member states of the United Nations. The European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics is a project driven by individual researchers covering the member states of the Council of Europe.

Both data sources are in principle ideal for statistical analysis. However, of the 193 member states of the United Nations, often less than one-third have provided data that could be utilized in this study. In matters of detail, the data availability was even worse. Trend data, especially from developing countries, was not available from many countries. The Crime Trends Survey data also suffers from low quality. In-depth data checks have not been carried out into the basic data set, and the figures from individual countries have been accepted as such. Because of this, the only possibility left for us was to leave aside data that clearly seemed to suffer from errors. This applies particularly to the trend analysis.

The task of the European Sourcebook Group was easier, because most of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe are developed countries (28 are members of the European Union) and have an advanced infrastructure in place for providing crime data that can be used also for international comparisons. Nevertheless, only 35 countries returned the most recent European Sourcebook questionnaire. The quality of the data was checked before the statistics were compiled, and if inconsistencies were found, the national correspondents were contacted to clarify the problems. The European Sourcebook also gives detailed instructions on what kind of incidents are to be included and what are to be excluded from the figures. Even so, comparisons between individual countries are not recommended because the details of the definition of individual crimes vary among the countries. In addition, changes in national penal codes cause challenges for the trend analysis of individual countries.

Traditional administrative crime statistics are offender-based,³³ beginning with suspects recorded by the police. This requires that the police know the possible perpetrator of the crime. If no suspect has been identified, the case generally cannot proceed through the criminal justice system. For certain less serious offences, such as thefts, the perpetrator remains unknown more often than in

³³ Victim-based statistics collected through population surveys in many countries support the offender-based crime statistics. Victimization survey results have not been presented in this report.

the case of more serious crimes, such as homicides. For homicides, also victim-based data is reported in this study.

After the police investigation, the next stage in the criminal justice system is prosecution. This stage is omitted from most crime types analysed here, because data on the gender of persons brought to court were scarce. The conviction and prison stages allow for more data for gender comparisons of the offenders. In general, the quality of both data sources seems to be better when analysing the total level of offenders than offenders by gender; this may be caused in part in respect of the European Sourcebook by the long and laborious data collecting process. Even so, and in spite of the criticism, there is large amount of data that can be used for the analysis of gender differences at the different stages of the criminal justice process.

The starting point in the analysis was to select a representative sample of available crime categories. For the United Nations Crime Trend Survey (UN-CTS), the number of options was limited to three crime categories: total crime, homicide and rape. None of these is ideal for a comparison of crimes committed by men and women. "Total crime" represents all crimes against the penal code in a country, and depending on which incidents (crime categories) are included in the penal code of individual countries (e.g., traffic crimes), the level of total crime varies. A rule of thumb might be that more affluent countries have a higher level of total crime. Homicide is a more suitable crime category for

the analysis, and also the quality of the data is relatively good; in addition, figures on victims are also available by gender. Rape is the third crime category of the UN-CTS which is analysed. The assumption regarding rape is that the victims are generally women and the perpetrators generally men,³⁴ and so this category is not functional for comparative gender analysis.

To support the analysis of crime types based on the UN-CTS, three crime categories were added from the European Sourcebook: assault, theft and fraud. Assault is a violent crime, and supports the analysis of the two violent crimes included in the UN-CTS-data, homicide and rape. Theft and fraud represent property crimes. This part of the report covers only European countries.

The research task was threefold: 1) to show the level of differences in offender rates by gender, 2) to study changes in offender rates by gender, and 3) to present indicators of attrition by gender. The level differences in offender rates are shown across regions and income levels based on the UN-CTS data. The crime trends cover the years 2004-2013 in the UN-CTS data and the years 1999, 2003, 2006 and 2010 in the European Sourcebook.

"Attrition" refers to the "dropping out" of cases at different stages of the criminal justice process. Not all persons suspected for crime end up in prison. Many suspects are not prosecuted. If they are prosecuted, they may not be convicted. And if they are convicted, they may not be sentenced to prison. The available data

³⁴ This is not true in all cases, although it holds in most cases.

from the criminal justice system leaves us with a “black box” in the sense that we do not know the reason for the attrition. For instance, the police may have identified a suspect but there may not be enough evidence to proceed against the suspect or the victim may want to waive the prosecution. Also during later stages of the criminal justice process, the charges against the suspect may be dropped due to several reasons. The use of imprisonment is a measure of serious crime; for some crimes, for instance homicide, an unsuspended sentence of imprisonment is most often the outcome – but not always. In general, the punitivity ratio reflects the criminal policy of the individual countries, as do also other attrition measures.

In an ideal case, we could follow the suspected offenders (the same individuals) through all phases of the criminal justice system. This is regrettably not possible in practice, due to the lengthiness of the process and the possibilities of appeal. A person recorded as a suspect during one year may be recorded as being prosecuted the next, and as being convicted the year after that. Because the crime levels are rather stable over short time periods, stock variables can be utilized. This means that we compare the figures for the same year for different stages of the criminal justice system.

In the following paragraphs we discuss the empirical results regarding 1) suspects, convicted offenders and offenders sentenced to prison and

gender, 2) crime trends and gender and 3) attrition by gender in respect of total crime, homicide, rape, assault, theft and fraud.

Table 26 shows a summary of male and female suspects, convicted offenders, and offenders sentenced to imprisonment in different crime categories. The data for total crime (all crimes against the penal code of a country), homicide and rape comes from the UN-CTS survey and represent global figures. The results regarding assault, theft and fraud are based on the European Sourcebook database. In the table, the maximum number of countries has been included. This means that there is not a direct connection between the rates of suspects, convicted offenders and offenders sentenced to prison, as the number of countries at each level of the criminal justice process may vary. In addition, the number of countries which were able to provide data for the different crime categories varies.³⁵

A general observation is that in each crime category noted in Table 26, the share of women decreases as the criminal justice process proceeds. For total crime, the share of female suspects is 16 per cent, of those convicted 14 per cent are women, and those sentenced to unsuspended imprisonment 5 per cent are women. We might think that women tend to commit different crimes than men. It is true, for instance, that the share of women is higher for property crimes than for violent contact crimes. But also within those crimes categories in which the share of female suspects is

³⁵ The numbers of countries that have provided data for the comparison are given in the figures in chapter 3. For the UN-CTS variables, a five-year average covering the years 2009-2013 was calculated. The European Sourcebook figures are from the year 2010.

higher than average, e.g., for thefts, the share of women sentenced to imprisonment is lower than that of men. It is possible that women commit less serious assaults or are suspected of less serious property crimes. It is also possible male suspects come from professional groups of criminals, and

they are more often recidivists. For homicides, the change in the share of women is less prominent but is still existent: the share of women out of all suspects was seven per cent, and the share of women out of all persons sentenced to imprisonment for homicide was five per cent.

Table 26 Suspects, convicted offenders and offenders sentenced to imprisonment per 100 000 in population by gender in different crime categories

Crime	Suspects			Convicted			Prison		
	Men	Women	Women %	Men	Women	Women %	Men	Women	Women %
Total crime	2420	470	16	1360	220	14	270	16	5
Homicide	11	1	7	6	0	6	30	2	5
Rape	15	0	2	21	0	2	-	-	-
Assault	395	69	16	114	14	10	25	1	3
Theft	587	144	24	269	59	18	41	2	6
Fraud	151	49	30	48	16	26	-	-	-

The total number of men suspected of any form of crime has decreased worldwide from 2004 to 2013 while the total number of women has increased. The number of male suspects has decreased in all regions, and most in the Americas. The number of women has increased in Europe and Asia, but decreased in the Americas. The results hint to slight convergence, but also the female rates have decreased since the year 2010. The correlation between male and female suspect rates is high; countries with high male suspect rates also have high suspect rates for women, and countries with low male suspect rates often have low female suspect rates. There are high suspect level countries in all regions of the world.

The total number of men convicted of any form of crime has decreased, and the total number of women convicted was stable. However, punitivity seems to be increasing for both sexes. For

total crime, the imprisonment rate has increased for both men (+8%) and women (+9%).

The number of both men and women suspected of homicide has decreased in a decade by one-quarter. This positive development is off-set in part by the fact that the number of persons suspected of rape has increased by eight per cent and, in Europe, the number of persons suspected of assault has increased by 44 per cent for men and 83 per cent for women. There has been a decrease in the number of men suspected of theft (-18 %), but an increase in the number of women suspected of theft (+14 %).

The trends suggest that the number of men suspected of crime is decreasing while the number of women suspected of crime is increasing, but because the level of crime committed by women is much lower than that committed by men, the total number of crimes had decreased. Assault and fraud are

exceptions to this. The number of both men and women being processed at each stage of the criminal justice system for assault has increased.

Table 27 describes the perhaps the most interesting attrition ratio, the conviction ratio, which is the number of persons convicted as compared to the number of persons suspected of crime. For total crime, more male suspects than female suspects are convicted. But for homicide, theft and fraud there is no difference between the sexes. For assaults, men are convicted more often than women. This may be caused by the fact that assaults by men tend to have more serious consequences; the share of women is smaller in aggravated assault than in all assaults, but higher in assaults resulting in minor injury.

Table 27 Conviction ratios for men and women³⁶

Crime	Conviction ratio	
	Men %	Women %
Total crime	54	45
Homicide	69	69
Rape	39	-
Assault	29	18
Theft	48	49
Fraud	32	33

Our macro-level analysis on attrition is preliminary. The data used in this study did not allow us to identify the specific reasons why the number of convictions is smaller than the number of suspects, both for men and women.

Nevertheless, the analysis shows that there is no significant difference between the sexes in the attrition process in homicide, theft and fraud. On the other hand, more analysis needs to be done for example in respect of what factors determine who are apprehended by the police for so-called mass crimes. Although the rate of female offenders is slightly increasing, women still constitute a minority of all offenders.

To sum up, what can be said about gender and crime? At best statistical data can support or cast doubt on various criminological theories. Traditional theories suggest that similar common frameworks or factors can be found behind both male and female offending, but that in respect of the details there are differences in the role of gender in crime. This is partly because these traditional theories have often been gender-neutral, i.e., they are based on studies on male delinquency. The lack of interest in crimes committed by women has been explained by the small share of female offenders out of all offenders; more data is available on male crimes/criminals.³⁷ In the following paragraphs, we summarize some points regarding gender and crime, based on the work of Steffensmeier and Allan (1996).

Steffensmeier and Allan (1996, 475) find several reasons for the gap in the offender level between men and women. They identify five areas that inhibit female crime but encourage

³⁶ The conviction ratios in the categories total crime, homicide and rape offences are based on global figures from the UN-CTS data, and assault, theft and fraud are based on European data from the European Sourcebook.

³⁷ For a long time, the typical focus of criminological research was the deviant young male (Heidensohn 1995).

male crime: gender norms, moral development and affiliative concerns, social control, physical strength and aggression, and sexuality. Gender differences in these domains are connected with differences in motivation and access to criminal opportunities, and also with the type, frequency and context of offending.

The difference in context and motivation of male and female offending is assessed to be smaller in less serious mass crimes than with serious crimes. Steffensmeier and Allan stress that research is needed on serious crime related to gender. Feminist research has tackled the problem of serious violence committed by women (Lattu 2016). For women, one important context in which a partner is killed is self-defence after a prolonged period of abuse. This context factor is infrequent among male offenders. Also, women rarely kill strangers or acquaintances. It therefore seems that gender-specific models are needed in order to understand homicide and other serious violence.

The higher than average share of women among those who commit minor offences, such as low value property crimes (such as shoplifting),

might be explained by better opportunities and activities common to women (shopping). For minor offences, according to Steffensmeier and Allan, there does not seem to be a need for gender-specific theories.

Although our data shows some levelling out in the shares of male and female offenders, researchers who have studied long-term trends have found that a similar difference between male and female offenders has prevailed for several hundreds of years (Beattie 1975, in Steffensmeier and Allan 1996) and can be explained by the historical durability of the “organization of gender”. Killias (2002) suggests that some of the reasons for the increase in the number of women committing crime could be e.g. the increase in women’s participation to working life (increased opportunities), an increase in women’s drug use (especially heroin), and youth cultures. In addition, today women may more often than before be arrested and convicted. Killias, however, suggests that sociology/criminology has not been very successful in explaining the differences between the level of male and female offenders.

Annex 1: Methodology

The offender/suspect (victim, conviction and prisoner) rates were calculated in the following way:

1. First, those countries that had provided data for both male and female offenders were selected (adults and minors). E.g., 76 countries had data on total crime recorded by the police for men and women.
2. Next, 5-year averages were calculated for male and female offenders (the years 2009-2013 in the UN-CTS data). This allowed for more countries to be included, regardless of whether or not they had missing data for some years.
3. Corresponding population figures were collected (total population for men and women) (UN 2013). Countries under 100 000 in population were generally dropped from the analysis.
4. The offender rates per 100 000 in population (number of offenders/population*100,000) were calculated for individual countries for men and women.
5. The regional offender rate (i.e., average) was calculated from the UN-CTS data as the average of offenders in individual countries divided by the population of those countries in that region (which participated in the survey) for men and women.
6. The classification of countries into regions and income groups follows the classification of the UN-CTS dataset. The number of countries included in the figure are shown in parentheses (e.g., Total (76))
7. Regarding trend data, missing values were imputed for at most two adjacent years. The number of countries for the trend analysis was considerably lower than for the level analysis because of missing data.
8. When calculating the attrition measures, those countries which were not able to provide data for all stages of the criminal justice sector (e.g., suspects/convicted/imprisoned) were excluded from the figures. However, when describing different crime categories, also countries which were able to provide data for at least some sectors, e.g., on suspects only, were included. This means that the number of countries vary by the stage of the criminal justice system. We found it important to include data for as many countries as possible, because when calculating e.g. regional estimates, the number of countries was often very small. Even in such a case, the data for some regions did not cover the region's figures in a reliable manner.
9. When analysing the European Sourcebook data, averages (mean values) were used in a similar way as in the European Sourcebook.
10. For this article six crime types were chosen. Of the UN-CTS data only total crime, homicide and rape could be chosen because the variables

describing gender in the criminal justice process were not available. These figures represent “the world” in the sense that they are intended to cover all regions of the world. The European Sourcebook data supplements the UN-CTS results by providing information on assault, theft and fraud. Including the data on mass crimes is necessary for better data quality. The Sourcebook figures are limited to Europe.

11. The mean values were used although in some regions and income groups the arithmetic means were affected by extreme values. Some clear outliers (probably errors) were excluded from the data.
12. Regional averages were used. They give the same weight for the results of small and large countries; therefore, this method cannot be used to assess the exact number of cases e.g., in Asia. The real number of offenders, however, is difficult to estimate, because many countries have not responded to the survey, and the nonresponse is not evenly distributed between the regions.

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