

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOMICIDES COMMITTED IN PARIS AND THE INNER SUBURBS according to the census drawn up by CORAIL between 2007 and 2013

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Although homicide is a rare event in statistical terms¹ (in comparison with other types of offence), it is still one of the crimes most commonly studied by researchers interested in criminal matters. This scientific interest can above all be explained by the fact that this offence is sometimes considered a good indicator of general violence, as it constitutes the most acute form of less serious criminal activity². It is also the most accurately measured offence since, owing to its severity, intentional homicide is more likely to be reported to the police than other offences, and therefore to form part of official statistics³.

To date, only police and legal data sources contain directly available information on the characteristics of homicides. In France, police (and therefore administrative) data is particularly recorded via a statistical database jointly filled by the gendarmerie and police, "Etat 4001", which brings together the crimes and offences reported by both forces. Despite the multiple indicators relating to homicides, this database is not designed to provide information about the context in which the offence was committed (date, time, location, weapon, etc.), the person implicated or the victim.

- (1) There are major disparities in homicide rates between States. A rare occurrence in developed countries, homicide is a much bigger problem in others, such as developing countries or those grappling with very high crime rates such as Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Jamaica.
- (2) Ouimet M., Tremblay P. (1996), A Normative Theory of the Relationship Between Crime Rates and Imprisonment Rates, *Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency*, 33, 1, 109-125.
- (3) Van Dijk, J. 2008. *The World of Crime: Breaking the Silence on Problems of Security, Justice, and Development Across the World*. Sage Publications.
- Gannon, M.; Mihorean, K.; Beattie, K.; Taylor-butts K.; and Kong, R.; 2005. Indicateurs de justice pénale, product no. 85-227-X in the Statistics Canada catalogue, (accessed 2011)
- Riedel, M. (1990). Nationwide homicide data sets: An evaluation of the uniform crime reports and National Center for Health Statistics data. In D. MacKenzie, P. Baunach, & R. Roberg, *Measuring crime: large-scale, long-range efforts* (pp. 175- 205). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Moreover, after analysing national operational databases (STIC-BN for the police and the PULSAR-MIS database for the gendarmerie) on homicides recorded in France in 2012, we have found that many pieces of key information for a detailed analysis of homicides were either missing or only partially provided. This is particularly the case when it comes to the location type, the trigger event, the type of weapon used or the link between the perpetrator and the victim.

For the purposes of obtaining more detailed information on homicides, the ONDRP got in touch with the Operations Cell for Matching and Analysing Associated Offences (CORAIL) of the Paris Regional Criminal Investigation Department (DRPJ). This enabled it to compile a sample of 602 homicides committed across four (Paris, Hauts-De-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne) over a seven-year period (2007 to 2013) with a view to studying their characteristics.

This study fits more broadly into the context of a Global Study on Homicide (GSH), an international research project funded by the Higher Council for Strategic Research and Training (CSFRS), together with criminologists from Université de Montréal, with the aim of collecting detailed information on homicides worldwide. The ONDRP is tasked with collecting, analysing and disseminating this type of information on homicides committed across European countries.

We would like to thank the CSFRS, the *Préfecture de Police de Paris* (Paris Metropolitan Police Service Headquarters), and above all the DRPJ and CORAIL, without which this unprecedented study would not have been possible.

In addition to this document, readers are invited to consult the associated leaflet presenting the study's main findings in graphic form. An Excel file containing the results tables associated with each of the study's graphs can also be consulted alongside the article and leaflet.

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The definition of implicated people

Police recorded crime data use the notion of “*mis en cause*”, that has been translated as “implicated person”. The Central Criminal Investigation Department (DCPJ) provides a precise definition of an implicated person as follows: “a person who has given a statement and against whom reliable and consistent evidence has been gathered in the process referred to the public prosecutor to justify pressing charges – proving his or her participation in the commission of the offence”. It does not correspond to a status defined by the Criminal Procedure Code; rather, to a situation well ahead of any court decision, regarding the opportunity for legal proceedings and, particularly, on the question of guilt.

The notion of implicated person must not therefore be confused with the notion of perpetrator. Not all implicated persons are found guilty. This is because it is only at the end of the legal procedure that a person can be convicted as the perpetrator of a crime. It is also different from the notion of mere suspect. During an investigation, it is quite common for there to be several suspects, with accusations being brought against one of them only.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the interest shown by part of the scientific community in studying this crime, coming up with a relevant and commonly agreed definition of homicide has constantly proved a challenge.

In France, there is no legal definition of homicide. The Criminal Code makes no mention of “intentional homicide” even. Indeed, French law distinguishes between unintentional injuries on the one hand and intentional attacks on another person’s life on the other. Among the latter, it only provides definitions of murder – i.e. intentionally causing another person’s death (Art. 221-1 of the Criminal Code) and premeditated murder, which constitutes an assassination (Art. 221-3 of the Criminal Code). In order to clarify the semantic field of the phenomenon in question, the ONDRP has chosen to adopt the same criteria as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to define intentional homicide¹. According to this international organisation, intentional homicide is committed when the incident involves **the killing of a person by another person (objective element). This incident must be unlawful (legal element) and the perpetrator must have wilfully intended to kill or seriously injure the victim (subjective element)**. This definition includes murders, assassinations, infanticides (or more generally murders of minors under 15) and involuntary manslaughter through intentional violence. It excludes abortions, negligent homicide (such as during road traffic accidents) and attempted homicide.

In 2006, the Paris Regional Criminal Investigation Department (DRPJ) set up an *Operations Cell for Matching and Analysing Associated Offences* (CORAIL). This must allow for the detection of serial offences from internal telegrams, report logbooks and any other operational piece of data forwarded by the police forces in Paris and the *départements* within the inner suburbs.

On the basis of this information, the National observatory of crime and criminal justice (ONDRP) has compiled a sample of 602 homicides committed across four *départements* (Paris, Hauts-De-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne) over a

seven-year period (2007 to 2013) with a view to studying their characteristics (*Graph 1*).

Annual samples were brought together to increase the number of observations and end up with more accurate findings. In this way we are able to offer a very detailed level of analysis on the characteristics of homicides, which would not be possible if each of the annual samples were studied independently. That said, instead of giving us more results for a specific reference date, the choice to combine the annual samples provides average estimations for the whole period of time covered.

The comparison of the data collected by CORAIL with the data from the tool for recording reports of offences received by the police and gendarmerie (Etat 4001) shows that the sample of homicides entered represents almost 80% of those recorded in Etat 4001 in Paris and the inner suburbs between 2007 and 2013 (*Appendix*). We thus assume the sample size is sufficient to justify using the results obtained to reveal the characteristics of intentional homicides committed in Paris and the *départements* in the inner suburbs.

The data obtained from the CORAIL database might not be exhaustive, but it does provide much more detailed information than the data from Etat 4001, both in terms of victims and the implicated persons.

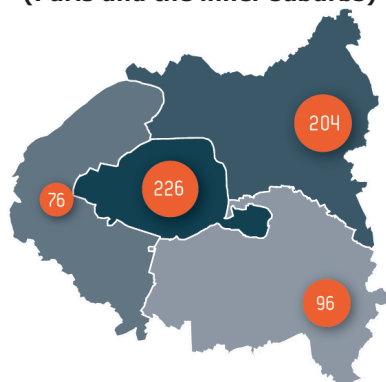
However, despite the similarities between both sources, there are always limits to the extent to which a sample can be processed, owing to the uncertainty over the characteristics of missing homicides. This means that we can only go so far in our interpretation of certain findings.

Furthermore, it is important to clarify that the unit of account is the victim. As such, if one person causes the death of several other people during the same incident, this will be counted as several different homicides even though they will all relate to the same location, time and action.

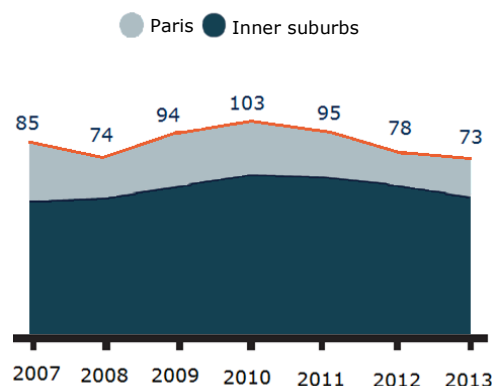
•••• (4) UNODC, (2013), *Global Study on Homicide, Trends / Contexts / Data*, Vienna

Graph 1. Presentation of the sample. Number of homicides in the sample ...

... per département
(Paris and the inner suburbs)



per year
(2007 to 2013)



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Readers are encouraged to refer to the chapter entitled “Focus on” to find out all of the methodological prerequisites for the performance of this study.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOMICIDES, VICTIMS AND IMPLICATED PEOPLE

The context

The homicides in the sample are committed more often on Friday and Saturday evenings

There are fewer homicides in our sample committed at the beginning of the week than at the end (*Graph 2*). Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are the three days on which the least homicides are committed in Paris and the inner suburbs (*in numbers: 72, 73 and 74 respectively*). From Thursday onwards, the number of homicides rises (78). Saturday is the day with the highest number of homicides in the sample (97).

Regarding the time period, 47% of homicides in our sample were committed at night (between 8pm and 7.59am), and 34% in the daytime (between 8am and 7.59pm). It was not possible to determine the time period for 19% of homicides. Most homicides are committed at night, irrespective of the day of the week. Wednesday is an exception to this rule, with more homicides being committed during the day (49% versus 41% during the night).

Over 40% of the homicides in the sample are committed in residential premises

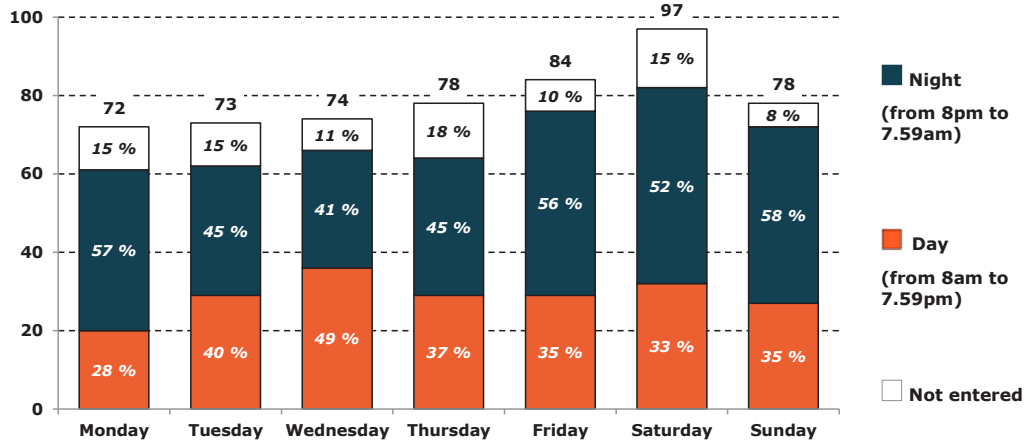
The proportion of homicides committed in the public sphere (49%) is almost identical to the proportion of homicides committed in the private sphere (50%) (*Definitions*).

In the public sphere, the highest number of homicides in Paris and the inner suburbs are committed on the street (*Graph 3*). More than a third of the sample’s homicides were committed in this type of location (35%). The other homicides committed in the public sphere were located in local businesses (6%) or other such public locations as woodland or parks for example (8%).

The majority of homicides in the private sphere were committed in residential premises (particularly the home of the victim or the implicated person). They account for 41% of the sample’s homicides. The “other private locations” (9%) where homicides were committed particularly include private car parks or the communal areas of a block of flats.

Over three-quarters of homicides committed in residential premises concern the victim’s home (82%): these account for more than a third of the sample’s homicides (34%).

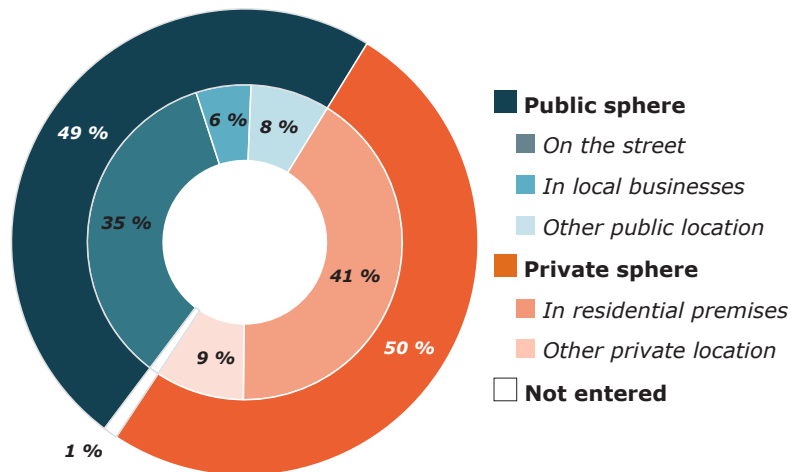
Graph 2. Breakdown of homicides by day of the week and time of day⁵



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 3. Breakdown of homicides according to location



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

•••• (5) In our sample of 602 homicides, it has not been possible to determine on what day 46 of them were committed.

Almost two-thirds of the sample's homicides were committed using a weapon

64% of homicides are committed using a weapon (Graph 4). The most commonly wielded weapon is a sharp object (Definitions): knives and other sharp instruments are used in more than a third of the sample's homicides (34%).

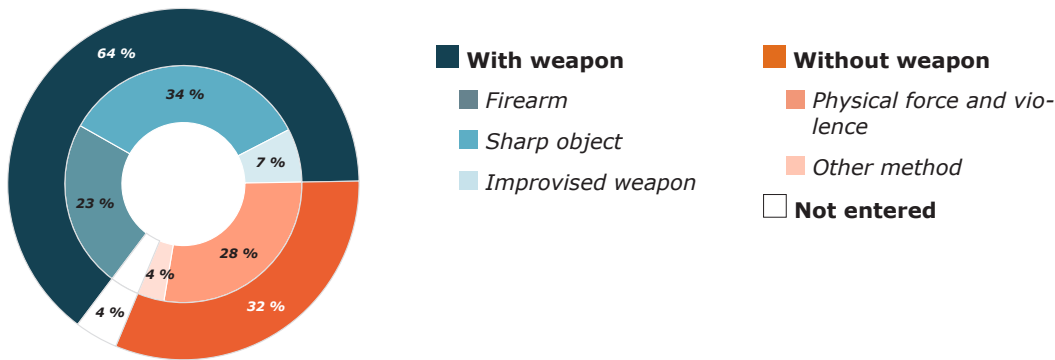
Physical force and violence (28%) and firearms (23%) are the other two most commonly wielded weapons. Improvised weapons (hammer, baseball bat, screwdriver, etc.) and other methods (poison, arson, etc.) are less represented, at 7% and 4% of weapons and methods used respectively.

Nearly half of the homicides committed with a sharp object were perpetrated at the victim's home

The breakdown of location types varies considerably depending on the type of weapon or method behind the homicide. Some 60% of homicides committed using a sharp object or physical force and violence took place in the private sphere (Graph 5). The victim's home is the most common location for the commission of homicide (48%).

On the other hand, when the weapon wielded is a firearm, the homicide is committed in the public sphere in three-quarters of cases (78%). 43% of homicides committed with a firearm were specifically perpetrated on the street.

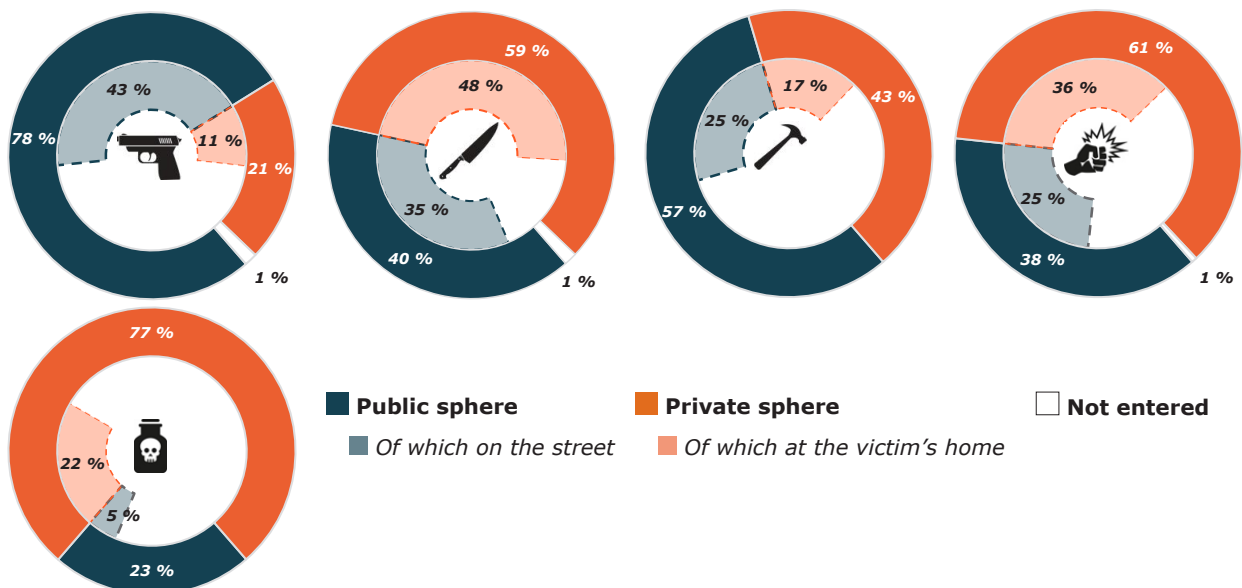
Graph 4. Breakdown of homicides according to weapon type or method used



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 5. Breakdown of homicides according to type of weapon used and location



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

The Victims

Over two-thirds of homicide victims are men

602 homicide victims have been counted in the sample, most of whom are male (69%). The proportion of female victims remains relatively high, making up nearly a third of the sample (31%) (Graph 6).

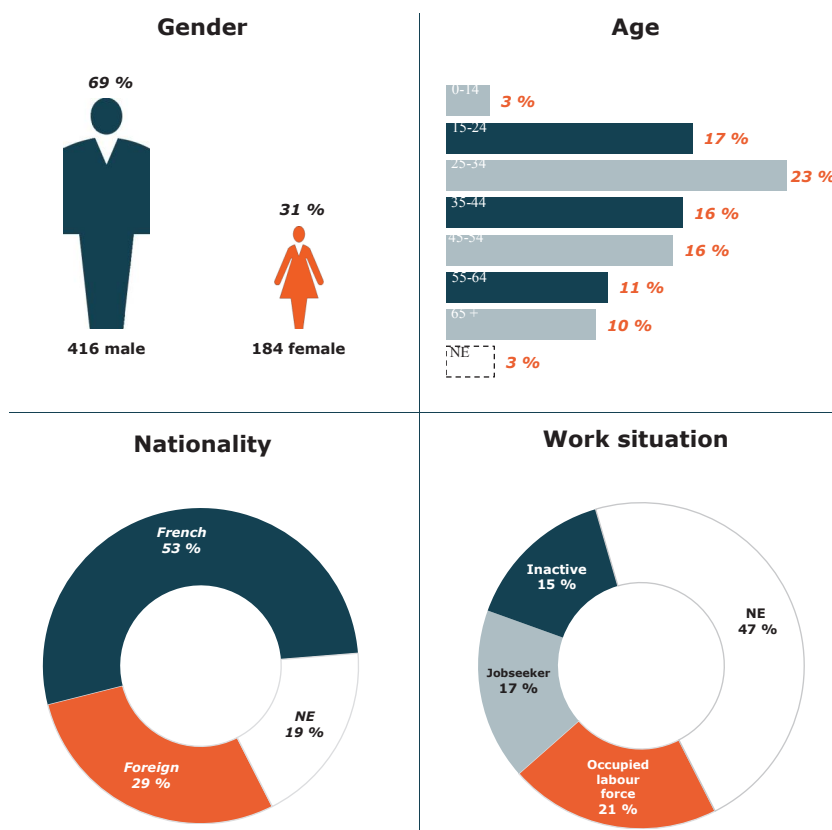
The average age of the victims in the sample is 40. The age-group comprising the highest number of victims is 25-34 years: 23% of victims in the sample. Victims under 25 years of age account for 20% of homicide victims in Paris and the inner suburbs (3% for 0-14 year olds and 17% for 15-24 year olds respectively). Note that 8% of such victims are aged under 18.

Victims aged between 35 and 44 years and those in the 45-54 age-group both represent 16% of the total. This means that 32% of homicide victims were aged between 35 and 54 years. Victims in the 55 years and over age group account for more than 20% of homicide victims (11% for the 55-64 age group and 10% for the 65 years and over group).

The majority of victims of homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs between 2007 and 2013 were of French nationality (53%). 29% were foreign nationals; while for 19% of them, it was not possible to identify their nationality (Definitions).

Regarding the socioeconomic status⁶ of the victims, 15% were considered to be inactive (Definitions), 21% were employed (in the occupied labour force), and 17% unemployed (jobseekers).

Graph 6. Breakdown of homicide victims⁷ according to the main sociodemographic characteristics



Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

••• (6) The ONDRP has decided to use the distinction drawn by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) to characterize the French population: inactive, in the occupied labour force and jobseeker. Jobseekers are equivalent to the unemployed.

(7) Of the 602 victims, it has not been possible to ascertain the age of 20 (3%) of them, or the gender of 0.3% of them.

More than half of the female homicide victims were French, in the same way as the male victims.

The proportion of French people among the male and female victims (52% and 54% respectively) is almost the same as the proportion of French people among the victims when taken as a whole (53%). The proportion of foreigners among the male victims stands at 30% (Graph 7).

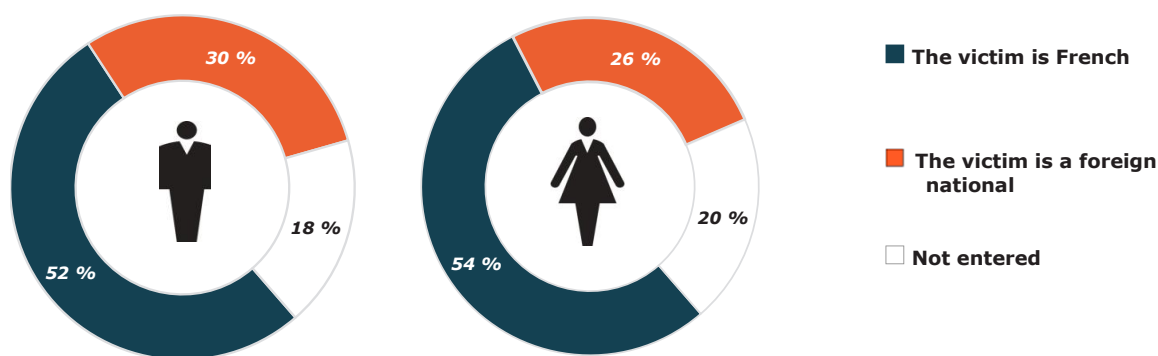
This breakdown between French and foreign victims is almost identical when the victim is female. 54% of female victims are of French nationality and a little over a quarter of foreign nationality (26%).

Victims under 15 are of French nationality for the most part

When the victim is French, the most prominently featured age group is 15-34 years (44%) whereas the largest proportion of foreign victims comes within the 35-54 age group (41%) (Graph 8).

Almost a quarter of French victims are over 55 years of age (24%). This age group is less represented when the victim is foreign, since only 17% of foreign victims are over 55 years of age. While 5% of French victims are under 15 years of age, it is above all important to note that there are no foreign victims under this age.

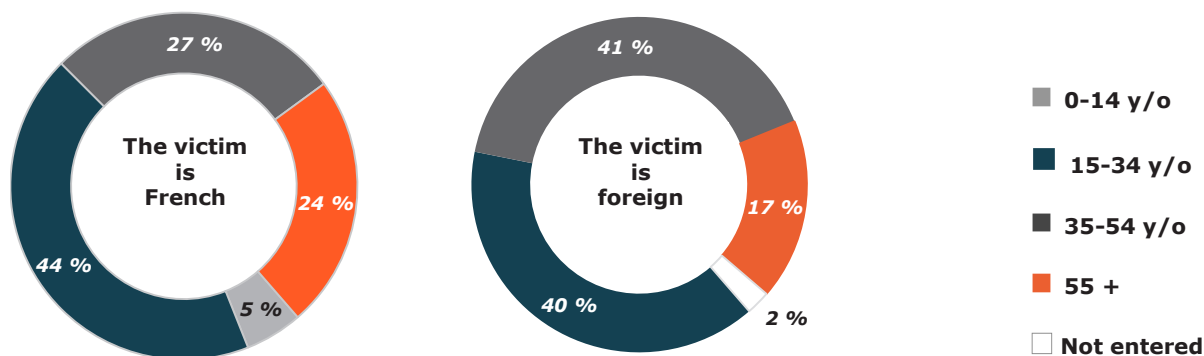
Graph 7. Breakdown of homicides according to the victim's gender and nationality



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 8. Breakdown of homicides according to the victim's nationality and age group



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Young male adults are especially exposed to homicides

Past the age of 34, the proportion of homicide victims falls the greater their age. Accordingly, there are relatively few victims among the oldest age group (21% after 54 years of age), the majority of them being in the young adult category (40% for people in the 15-34 age group) (Graph 9).

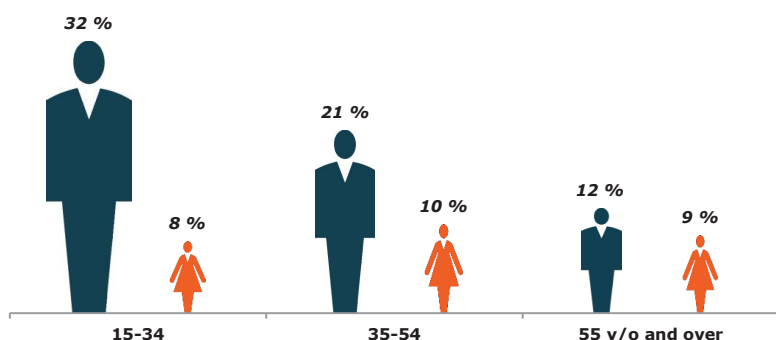
The proportion of men is higher in the 15-34 age-group (32%). It is lower but still high in the 35-54 age-group (21%) and similar to that of women for the 55 years and over group (12%).

Unlike men, the percentage of female victims changes very little as their age advances: past the age of 14, irrespective of the age group being considered, the proportion of women hovers around 10%.

Almost two-thirds of female homicide victims are killed in their own home, while almost half of male victims are killed on the street

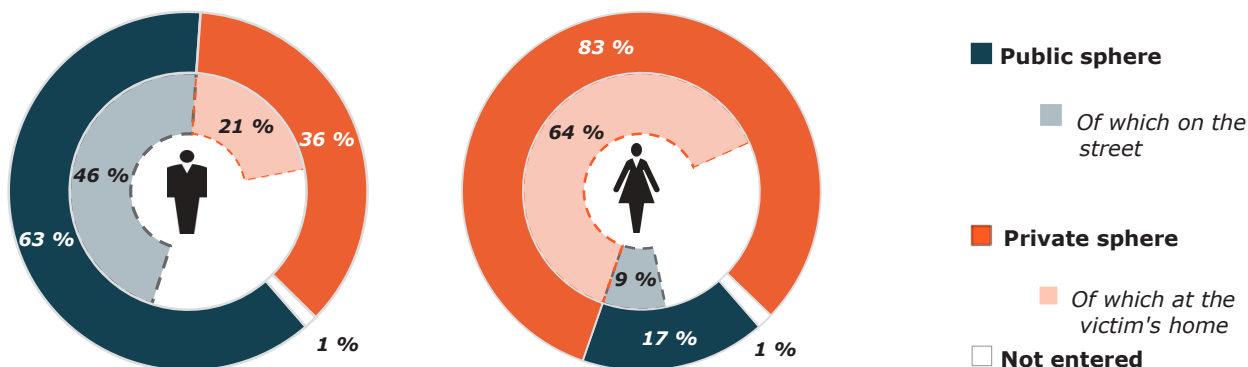
In the sample, some two-thirds of male homicide victims are killed in the public sphere (63%), but over three-quarters of women are killed in the private sphere (83%) (Graph 10). The majority – nearly two-thirds – of female homicide victims are killed directly in their own home (64%). This is in stark contrast with the number of men killed in their own home (less than a quarter: 21%), while almost half of male homicide victims are killed on the street (46%).

Graph 9. Breakdown of homicide victims⁸ by gender and age group



Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 10. Breakdown of homicides according to the victim's gender and the location of commission



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

•••• (8) Of the 602 victims, it has not been possible to ascertain the age of 20 (3%) of them, or the gender of 0.3% of them. What is more, since the number of victims under 15 years of age formed a minority in the sample's overall number of victims (accounting for a mere 3% of them), the ONDRP felt it was worth limiting the analysis of victims per gender and age group to individuals over 15 years of age. In spite of this selection, the breakdown by gender and age group still takes almost all of the sample's victims into account (97%).

For more than a third of male and female homicide victims in the sample, a sharp object was used

The most commonly wielded weapon in our sample, regardless of the victim's gender, is a sharp object: a knife was used in over a third of the individual homicide cases (Graph 11). More than a quarter of men were victims of firearm homicide (27%). For women, the proportion of firearm homicides is almost half that (14%). On the other hand, the proportion of female homicide victims killed by physical force and violence is higher than that of male victims: a third of women died as a result of such violence, compared with a quarter of men.

Over 60% of minors under 15 and 40% of 55 year olds and over were victims of physical force and violence-related homicide

In the sample, the majority of minors aged under 15 were killed by physical force or violence (61%) (Graph 12). This is also the most widely used means for victims over 55 years of age (40%).

For victims in this age group, sharp objects are responsible for a high number of cases: almost a third of individuals aged

55 and over were killed by such means. Moreover, this is the most common means of killing victims in the 15-34 (38%) and 35-54 (35%) age groups.

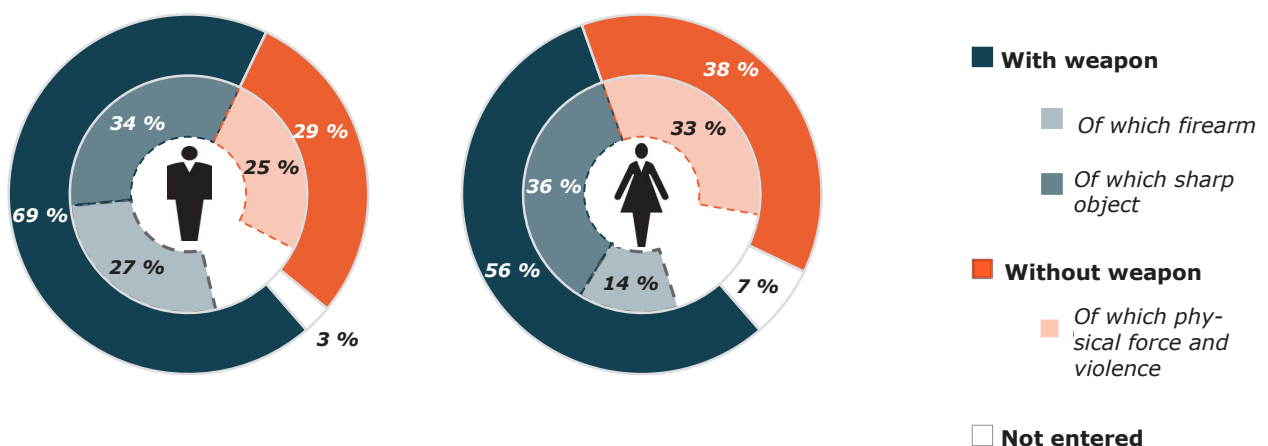
There is also a high proportion of firearm victims in the 15-34 age group, where a third of individuals were killed by such means (31%). In the 35-54 age group however, there is a higher proportion of victims killed by physical force and violence (27%).

Implicated people

More than three-quarters of the sample's homicides saw accusations being brought against at least one person

Of the 602 homicide victims in the sample, at least one person was implicated in 477 of the cases and no one was implicated for 125 (Graph 13). This means that accusations were brought against at least one person in more than three-quarters of the homicide cases in the sample (79%). 718 people were implicated in the context of these offences.

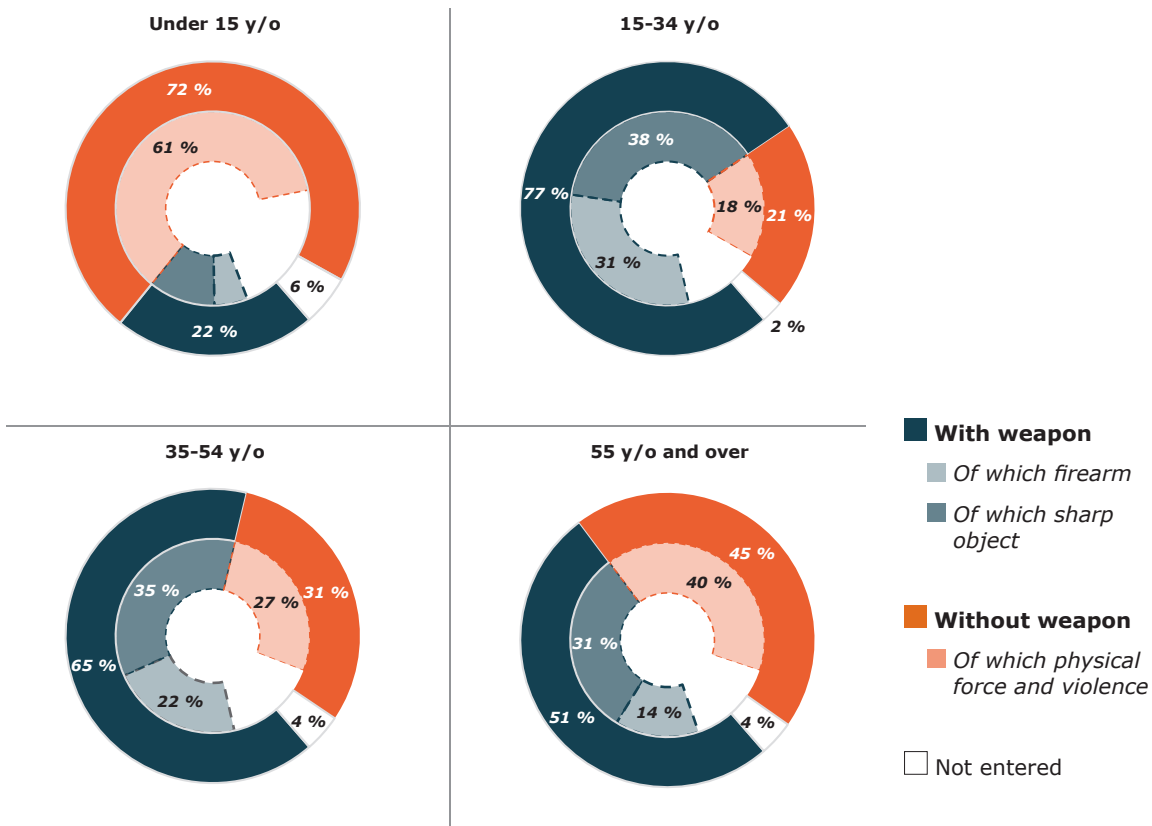
Graph 11. Breakdown of homicides according to the victim's gender and the weapon type



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

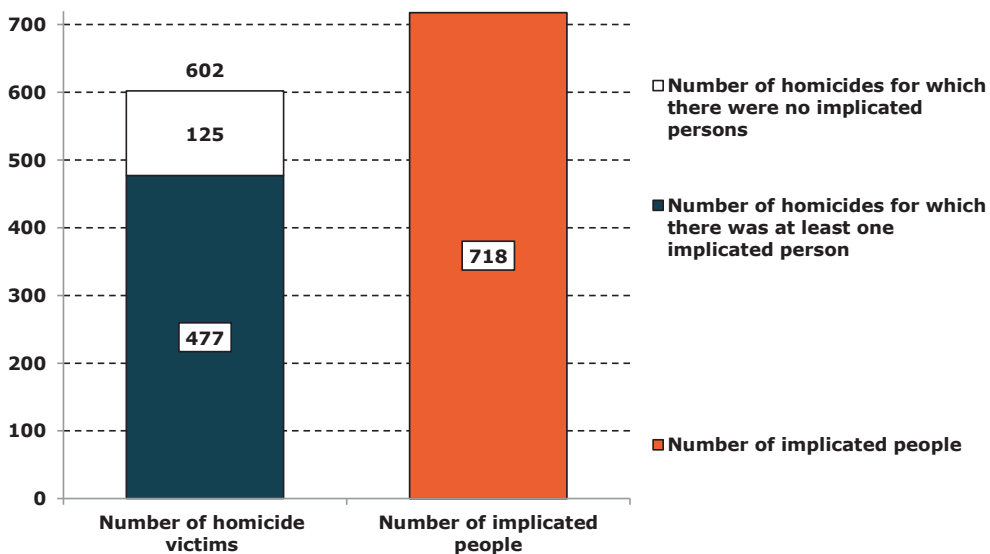
Graph 12. Breakdown of homicide victims per age group and according to the weapon type



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 13. Number of homicide victims, number of implicated persons



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

More than 9 in 10 implicated persons are male

Of the 718 implicated persons in the sample, more than 9 in 10 are male (Graph 14). Men far outnumber women in this respect across all age groups.

The average age of implicated persons is 35 years. Even though they are of adult age for the most part (91%), they are relatively young in the vast majority of cases. 6 in 10 are between 15 and 34 years of age (64%): a third are between 15 and 24 years of age and 31% between 25 and 34 years of age.

The proportion of implicated persons then falls significantly with age. 35-44 year olds account for 15% of the sample's implicated persons, which is half the proportion making up the previous age group. This proportion stands at 9% for 45-54 year olds and 8% for the over 54s.

The majority of implicated persons are French nationals (61%). 30% are foreign nationals. It was not possible to identify the nationality of 9% of implicated persons.

Regarding the socioeconomic status of implicated persons, 6% are inactive, 19% employed (in the occupied labour

force), and 31% unemployed (jobseekers). Note that it was not possible to identify the socioeconomic status for 44% of implicated persons.

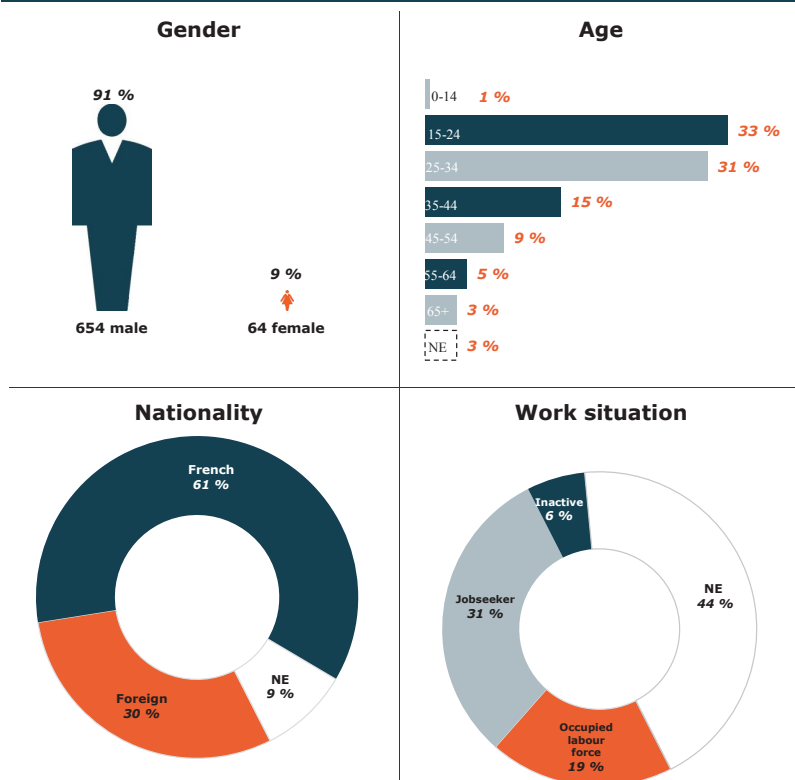
The proportion of foreigners among implicated males is higher than the proportion of foreigners among implicated females.

Although foreigners account for 31% of implicated males, they only represent 16% of implicated females for homicide cases (Graph 15).

The proportion of French implicated males is therefore lower than that of French implicated females (61% versus 69%).

Furthermore, no matter whether the implicated person is French or foreign, we have found that their breakdown by age is more or less the same. Only the 15-34 age group of implicated persons differs slightly, in that 69% of French implicated persons are in the 15-34 age group, compared with 64% of foreign implicated persons in the same age group (Graph 16).

Graph 14. Breakdown of people implicated of homicide⁹ according to the main sociodemographic characteristics

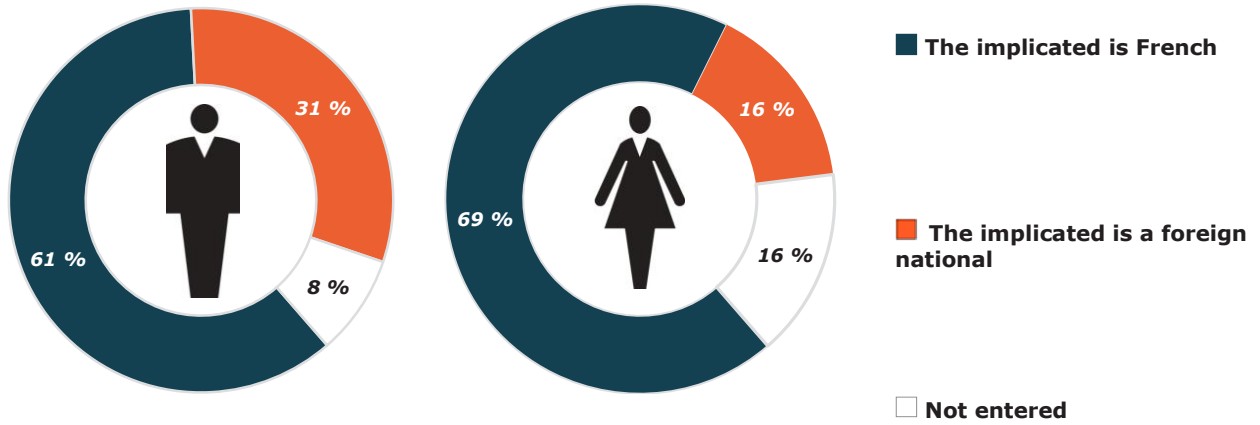


Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013
Processed by the ONDRP

••• (9) Of the 602 victims, it has not been possible to ascertain the age of 20 (3%) of them, and the gender of 0.3% of them.

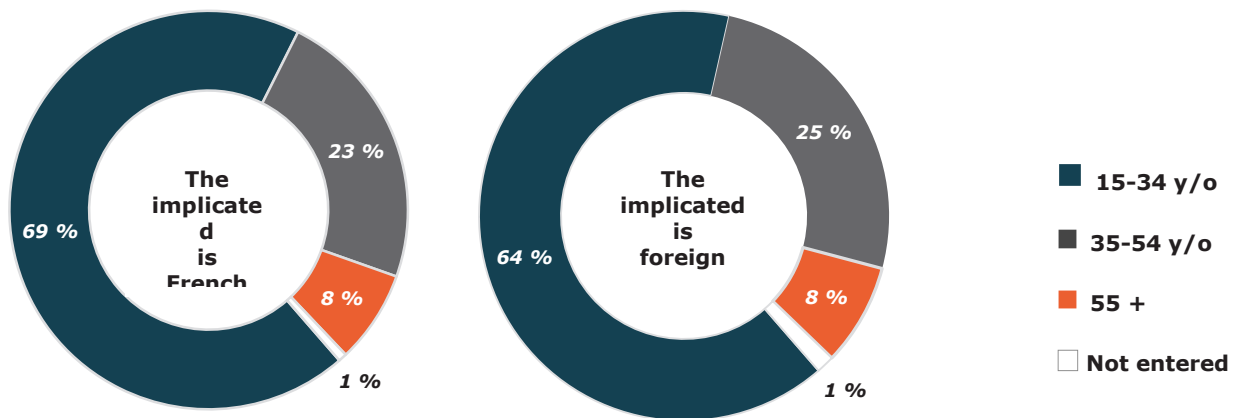
Graph 15. Breakdown of implicated persons according to gender and nationality



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 16. Breakdown of homicides according to the implicated person's nationality and age group



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Link between the profiles of victims and those of implicated people

The proportion of implicated females is higher when the victim is female

Implicated people in more than three-quarters of homicide cases, whether the victim was male or female, are all male (88% if the victim is a man and 86% when the victim is a woman) (*Graph 17*).

A striking difference nevertheless emerges when we look particularly at female victims: in 11% of such cases, implicated people were all female, compared with just 6% when the victim is a man.

On average, implicated people tend to be similar in age to their victims...

The graph below is based upon data concerning 477 victims for whom at least one person was implicated. Of these 477 victims, the age of both the victim and the implicated is known in 449 (so 94.1%) of cases. Of this sample, it has been calculated that implicated people are five years

younger than their victims on average. This age difference is calculated by subtracting the age of the implicated (average age when accusations were brought against more than one person) from the victim's age. This calculation was repeated after having grouped the victims into age groups.

The average age of victims and implicated persons is similar. The average age difference is 5 years: victims are five years younger than the implicated. The age difference between the implicated and victims varies considerably depending on the victim's age group.

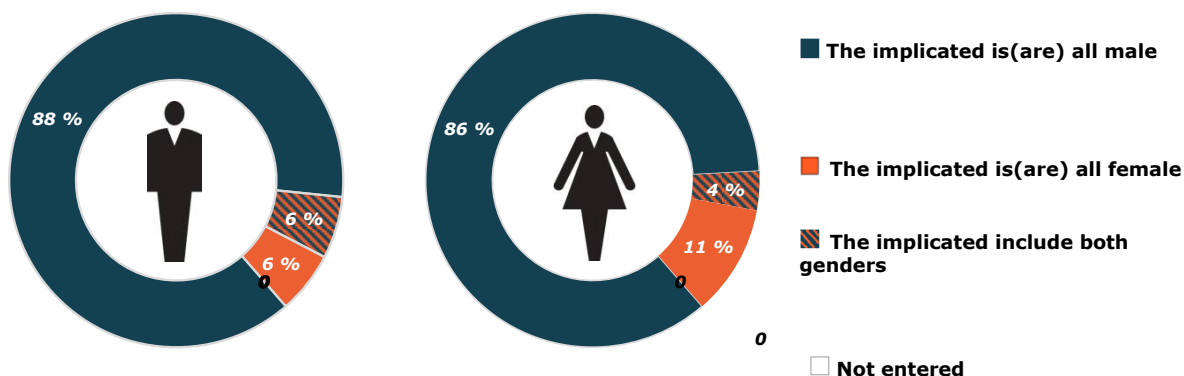
On average, victims between the ages of 15 and 54 years are only a year younger than the implicated. Three-quarters of victims come within this age bracket.

... but this hides differences for both the youngest and oldest victims

Regarding homicides in the under 15 age group (which accounts for less than 4% of victims), the implicated tended to be 33 years older than their victims (*Graph 18*). This means that child victims of homicide would not lead to accusations being brought against minors under 15 years of age.

Past 54 years of age, the implicated tended to be 24 years younger than their victims on average: victims over 55 years of age account for less than a quarter of victims (22%). It would seem that, for the oldest victims, implicated people are not of the same age.

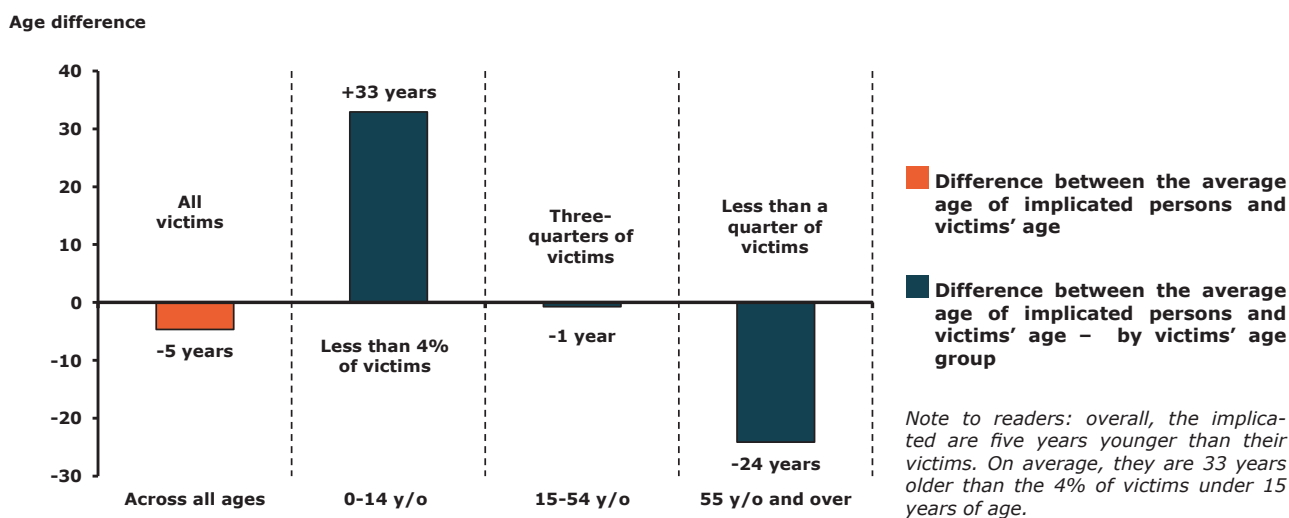
Graph 17. Breakdown of homicides according to the gender of the victim and implicated people



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 18. Difference between the average age of implicated persons and victims' age. Breakdown according to the victim's age groups



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

In a similar way to French victims for whom the implicated are for the most part French, the majority of people implicated of homicide against foreigners are also foreign

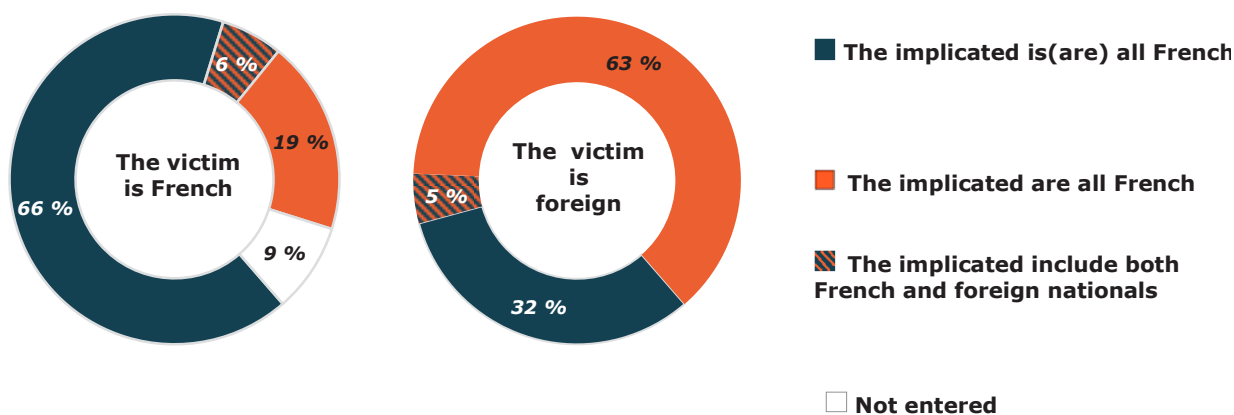
For all victims for whom there was at least one suspect (477), the people implicated in 53% of the cases were all of French nationality, and those implicated in 32% of cases all foreign (Graph 19). The proportion of victims regarding whom accusations were brought against both French and foreign nationals is small (5%).

When we distinguish French victims from foreign victims, similarities emerge with the implicated.

Indeed, for 66% of French victims, implicated people are all French. As with the French victims, one or more foreign nationals were implicated in almost two-thirds of foreign victims' cases.

Because of both the similarities and differences found between victims and the implicated, the ONDRP decided to characterise the homicides in the sample in such a way as to highlight their diversity and identify the specific profiles of each type of homicide.

Graph 19. Breakdown of homicides according to the nationality of the victim and the implicated



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

TYPOLOGIES OF HOMICIDES

Three categories of homicide

The ONDRP divided up the homicides in the sample according to two variables so as to assess the relationship between the homicide perpetrators and victims: i.e. any ties between the victim and the suspect (the police do not necessarily bring accusations against the suspect) and the homicide trigger event. Readers are encouraged to refer to the chapter entitled "Focus on" to find out about the contextual notions behind the typologies. Precise definitions of each of these notions as well as the methodological prerequisites for its creation are also given here.

The first level of typology aggregation distinguishes three categories of homicide: intimate partner/family-related homicides, homicides associated with a previous altercation and homicides related to a criminal activity (Graph 20).

Intimate partner/family-related homicides include homicides committed between partners and those committed within the same family (28% of all homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs). Intimate partner homicides (18%) correspond to murders of one's current or former spouse. The term partner encompasses married couples, couples in civil partnerships and common-law couples¹⁰. Family-related homicides (10%) refer to homicides by parents or offspring (parricide and infanticides), fratricides, murders of grandparents or grandchildren, or homicides of people with family ties to the perpetrator, such as homicide of one's brother-in-law.

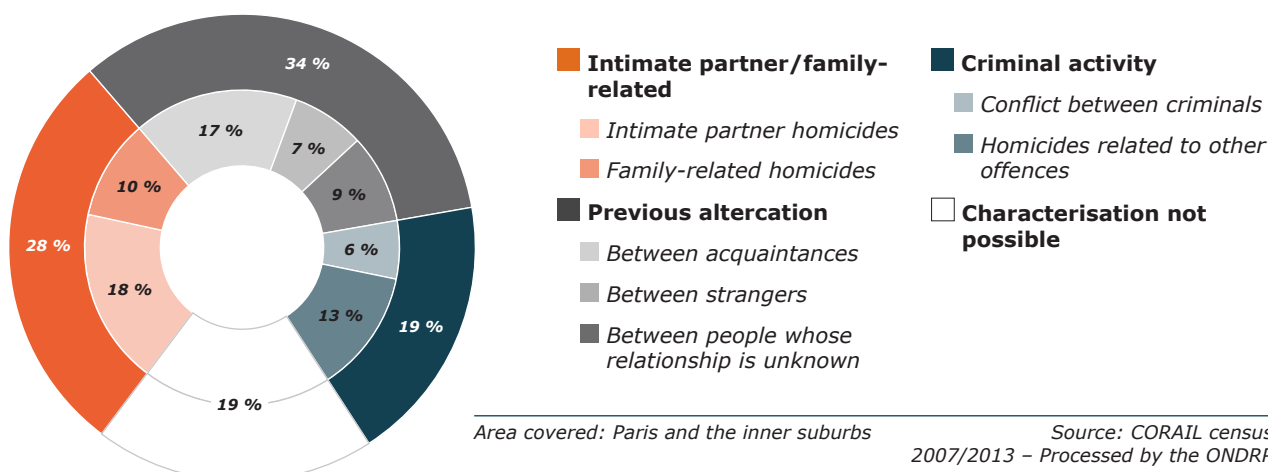
The category of previous altercation-related homicides includes those resulting from interpersonal conflicts between people with no family or conjugal ties (34%). A distinction is drawn between those committed between acquaintances (17%), such as homicides between neighbours, house mates, friends or more distant acquaintances, and those committed between strangers (7%), or whose relationship is unknown (conflict between rival gangs, between homeless people, etc.) (9%). These altercations can be the result of arguments, sometimes of the revenge-type, but they can also just as much concern acts of random violence for no apparent reason.

The last category of homicides, that of homicides related to a criminal activity (19%) are often committed with the direct or indirect aim of illegally obtaining benefits. This category distinguishes homicides between criminals (6%) from homicides related to other offences (13%).

Conflicts between criminals are characterised by the fact that both the perpetrator and the victim are involved in illicit activities. Homicides of this type can be directly related to drug trafficking or the result of score-settling between criminals, which may itself have something to do with drug-related debts.

Homicides related to other offences are those in which a crime or offence has been committed prior to or at the same time as the homicide itself. This sets them apart from homicides where an offence was committed after the fact. In this case, homicide is perpetrated with a view to committing another offence (this is particularly so in the case of theft) or to avoid identification after a crime has been committed (following sexual violence for example).

Graph 20. Breakdown of victims according to type of homicide



••• (10) The ONDRP has chosen to include «love triangle-related homicides» in this category, as both are associated with a romantic relationship whether this is ongoing or in the past. This type of homicide involves a third person (e.g.: a husband kills his wife's lover).

Gender, age and nationality

Three-quarters of intimate partner homicide victims are women

Whereas the breakdown by gender for all homicides is heavily skewed with 69% of men, homicides by type brings significant differences to the fore, not least when they are committed in a family or intimate partner setting (Graph 21). Unlike other types of homicide, the victims in this case are usually women: accounting for over 60% of homicides in this category. The proportion of female victims even reaches 74% when intimate partner homicides are looked at in isolation. It remains high, albeit lower than that of men, in family-related homicide cases too (40%).

What is more, over half of all homicides involving female victims are committed within an intimate partner or family setting (58%).

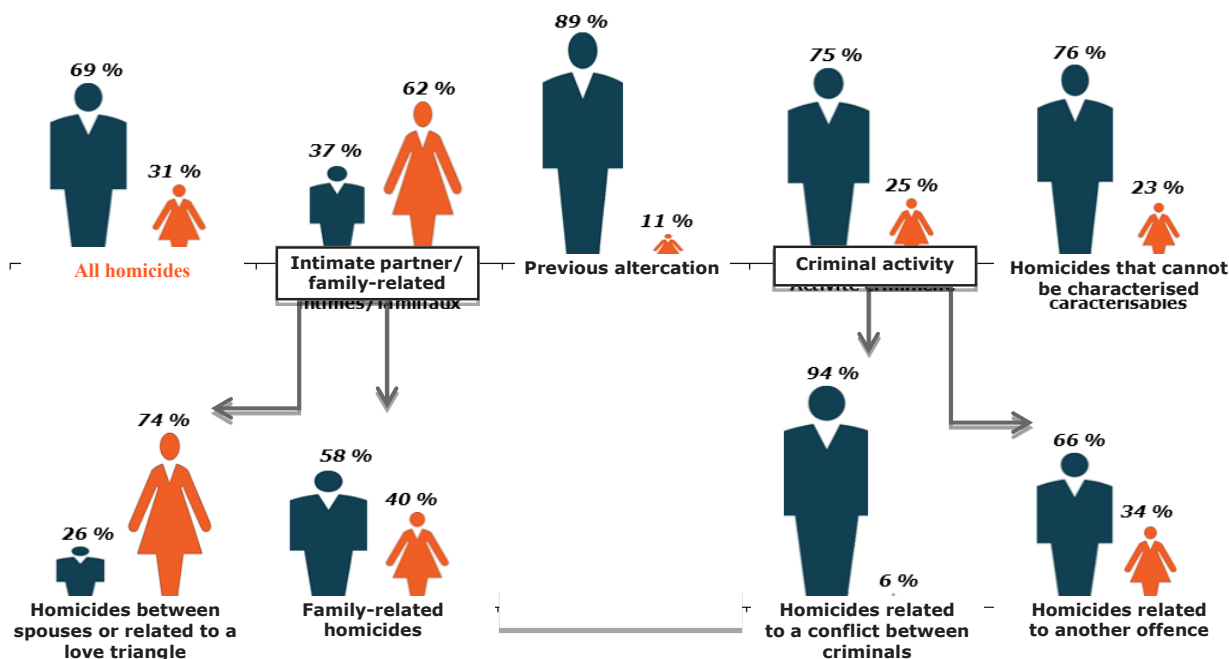
Family-related homicides were the cause of death of almost all victims under 15 years of age

Whereas almost three-quarters of victims across all types of homicide are between 15 and 54 years of age, the proportion of family homicide victims within this age bracket is smaller: standing at 52% (Graph 22).

Likewise, victims under 15 years of age account for 26% of family homicide victims, when they only represent a tiny percentage in light of the total number of homicides in the sample (3%). It transpires that 89% of victims under 15 years of age are killed within the family sphere.

Apart from the fact that no victims of intimate-partner homicide are under 15 years of age, the distinction by age of victims of this type of homicide does not reveal significant differences between the other three categories forming part of this analysis (Graph 22). 39% of intimate partner homicide victims are aged between 35 and 54 years, the age group encompassing the greatest number of victims.

Graph 21. Breakdown in the proportion of male and female victims according to homicide type

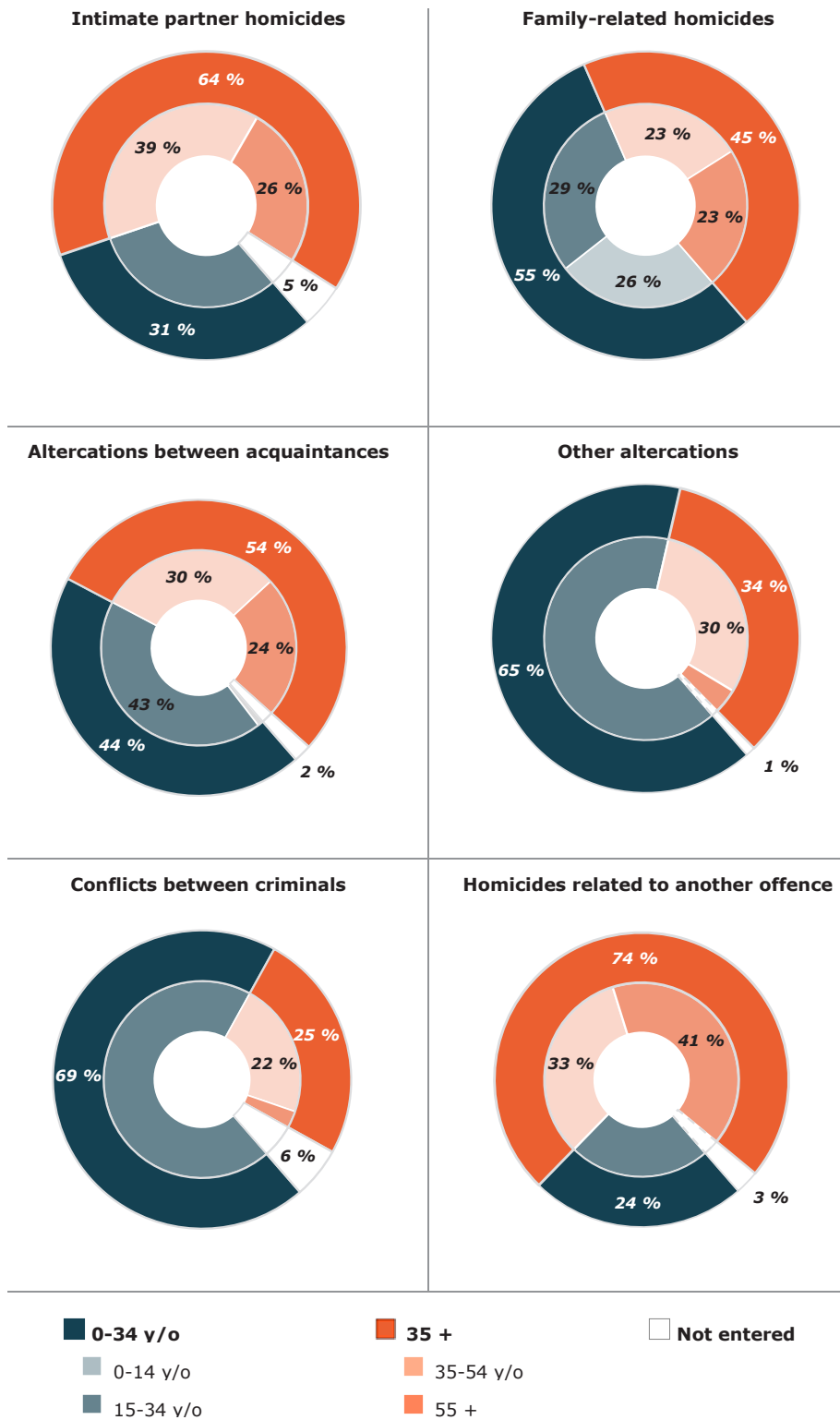


Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

When looking at the sample as a whole, the proportion of women varies little – no matter what the age group – and this is at odds with the proportion of men (Graph 9). It may be down to the fact that intimate partner homicides (for which no age effects have been observed) disproportionately affect women (Graph 21).

Graph 22. Breakdown of victims according to type of homicide and age group



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Over a third of victims of previous altercation homicides are young men

Almost all of the victims of previous altercation homicides are male (89%) and over half (54%) are between 15 and 34 years of age.

More specifically, in terms of previous altercation homicides involving strangers or where the perpetrator/victim relationship is unknown, the proportion of victims between 15 and 34 years of age amounts to almost two-thirds of the sample: 65%.

Regarding altercation-related homicides between acquaintances, 43% of victims are 15 to 34 years old and 30%, 35 to 54 years old. Victims aged 55 years and over represent almost a quarter.

More than two-thirds of victims of homicides related to conflicts between criminals are between 15 and 34 years of age

The comparison of homicide types according to victim's age and gender reveals a higher proportion of young men in homicides related to conflicts between criminals than for the other types of homicide: almost all victims of such homicides are men and nearly 70% are between 15 and 34 years of age.

As we have already seen, most of the victims between 15 and 54 years of age are male (Graph 9). The imbalanced ratio of men to women in this age group would seem to stem from the fact that homicides related to conflicts between criminals or following altercations overwhelmingly concern 15 to 54 year-old males.

Unlike conflicts between criminals, some three-quarters of victims of homicides related to other offences are over 34 years of age (74%). 33% of victims of this type of homicide are between 35 and 54 years of age and 41% are at least 55 years old.

Even though most of the victims in this category are male (66%), women nevertheless account for more than a third (34%).

By analysing the data entered, the ONDRP was able to identify the trigger events for homicides related to other offences (Table 3, "Focus on"). Thefts are usually the cause (84%), but sexual violence is also a major trigger (16%). Older people and women are more likely to be the victim of theft and sexual violence, and this would seem to account for their over-representation in the victim counts for this type of homicide.

More than a third of victims of homicides related to a previous altercation are of foreign nationality

While, across all types of homicide, 29% of victims are of foreign nationality, their proportion reaches 38% in the "previous altercation" homicide typology. This proportion is more or less the same for previous altercation homicides between acquaintances (37%), as for such homicides between strangers or between people whose relationship is unknown (38%) (Graph 23).

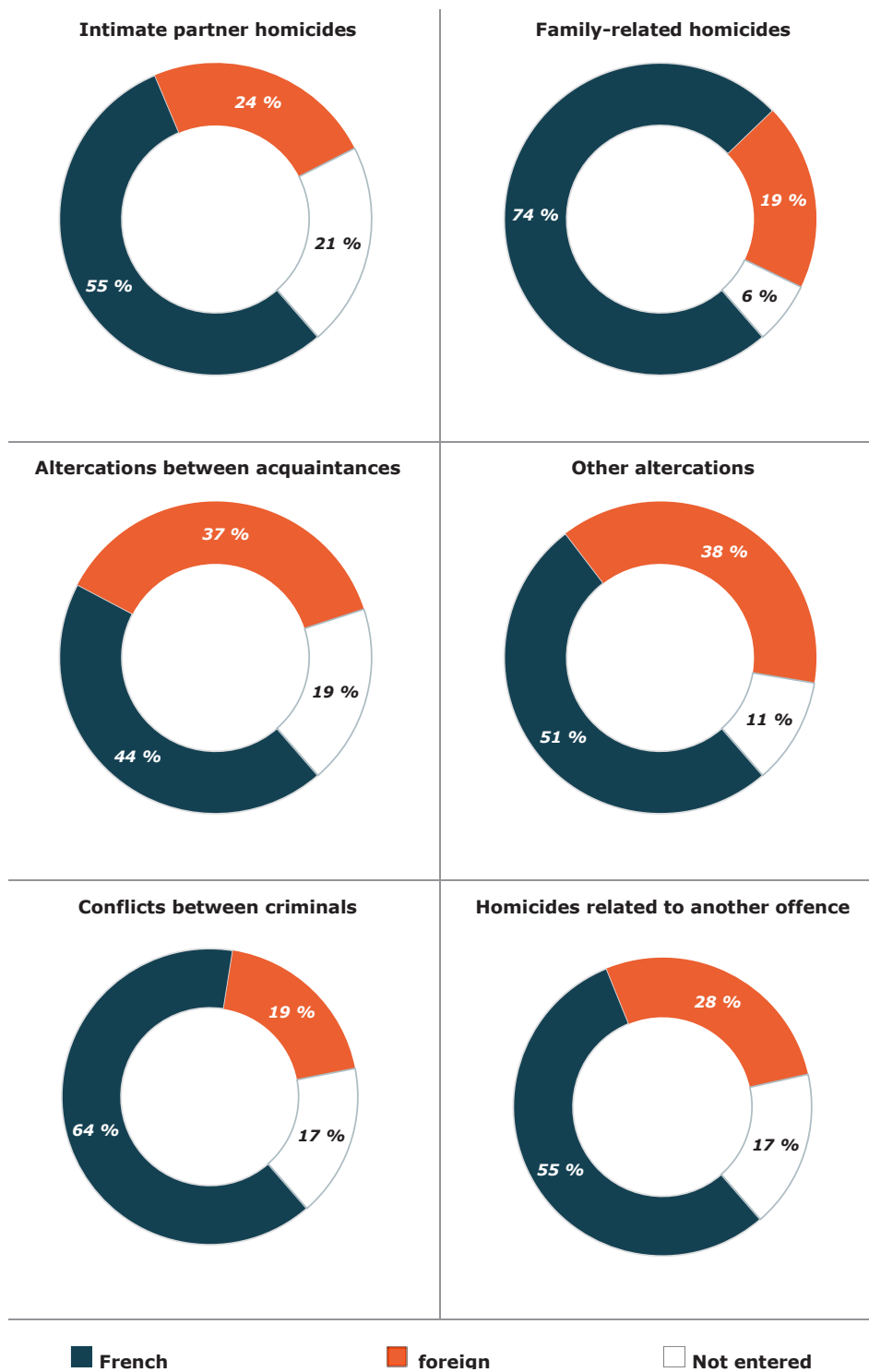
Taking the sample as a whole, 44% of foreign victims are killed in the context of a previous altercation.

The relationships between the victims and persons implicated of homicides related to previous altercations vary. By analysing the data entered, the ONDRP was able to distinguish the homicides for which the perpetrator and victim knew each other (51%), from those for which the perpetrator and victim did not know each other (22%) (Table 3, "Focus on"). The relationship between the perpetrators and victims is unknown for more than a quarter of them (27%). The level of precision provided by the data collected has enabled the ONDRP to identify the context in which the homicides were committed (between rival gangs or between homeless people). As such, for most of these homicides, there are parallels between the victims and implicated persons which can have nothing to do with the extent to which the individuals know each other.

Even if the ONDRP is not yet able to identify what triggered these homicides, this study does bring to light a certain specific profile behind them. The key characteristics of these profiles are that virtually all of the victims without exception are male, young and, compared with other types of homicide, the proportion of foreigners is higher.

This latter finding should be considered in connection with one of the findings from Part One, which states that, following the same pattern as French victims, the people implicated in relation with most foreign victims' cases are also of foreign nationality (Graph 19). Here again, a parallel emerges between victims and the implicated.

Graph 23. Breakdown of victims according to type of homicide and nationality



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 - Processed by the ONDRP

The time period and location of commission

71% of homicides related to an altercation between strangers or individuals whose relationship is unknown are committed at night

Most homicides related to an altercation between strangers or individuals whose relationship is unknown are committed between 8pm and 7.59am (71%) ([Graph 24](#)). The proportion of homicides committed at night is also high concerning altercations between acquaintances (55%) and conflicts between criminals (61%).

In the intimate partner and family sphere, the proportion of homicides committed between the hours of 8am and 7.59pm is higher than that of homicides committed at night: 44% versus 37%.

Close to two-thirds of intimate partner and family-related homicides are committed at the victim's home

Whereas the proportion of homicides committed in the public sphere is almost identical to that of homicides committed in the private sphere when calculated in terms of the whole sample, the breakdown between these two settings varies considerably if intimate partner/family-related homicides are taken in isolation ([Graph 25](#)).

The vast majority of these homicides are committed in private: 85% of intimate partner homicides and 77% of family-related homicides. The majority are committed at the victim's home (68% of the former and 56% of the latter).

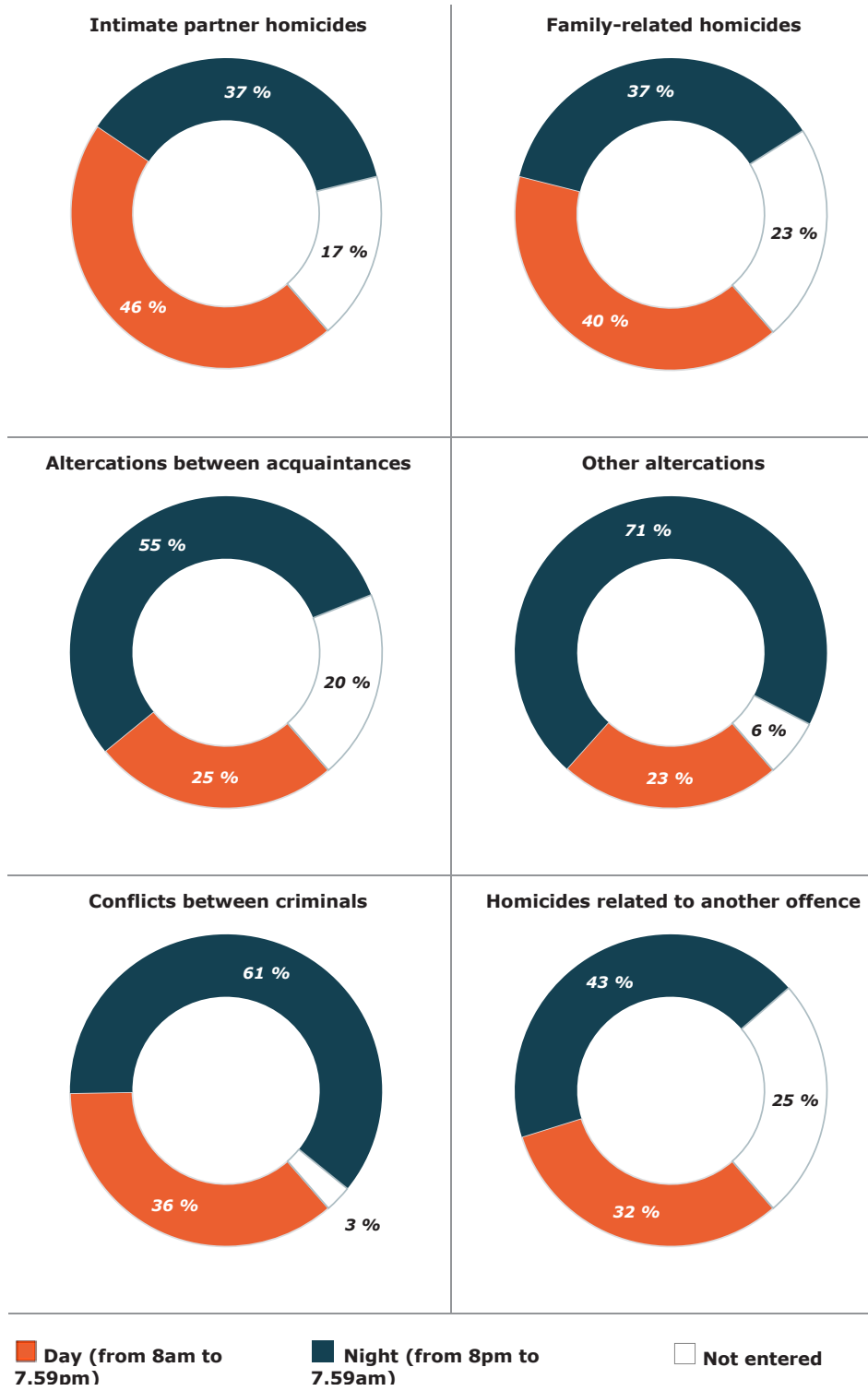
Three-quarters of homicides related to a conflict between criminals take place on the street

Most homicides related to a conflict between criminals are committed in a public setting (92%), and, more specifically, for three-quarters of them, out in the street (75%). By contrast, homicides related to other offences are just as likely to take place in public (51%) as in private (47%). The explanation for this relative balance concerning the location for this type of homicide could be that the homicides within this category concern a wide range of different offences. Indeed, some of these offences are more likely to be committed in a public setting (theft with violence, violence involving a weapon among several people, etc.) while others, in a private setting (intimate partner violence, thefts by trickery, etc.).

Whereas a little over half of homicides resulting from altercations between acquaintances are committed in private (57%), more than three-quarters of those resulting from altercations between strangers or individuals whose relationship is unknown take place in public: two-thirds are even committed right out in the street.

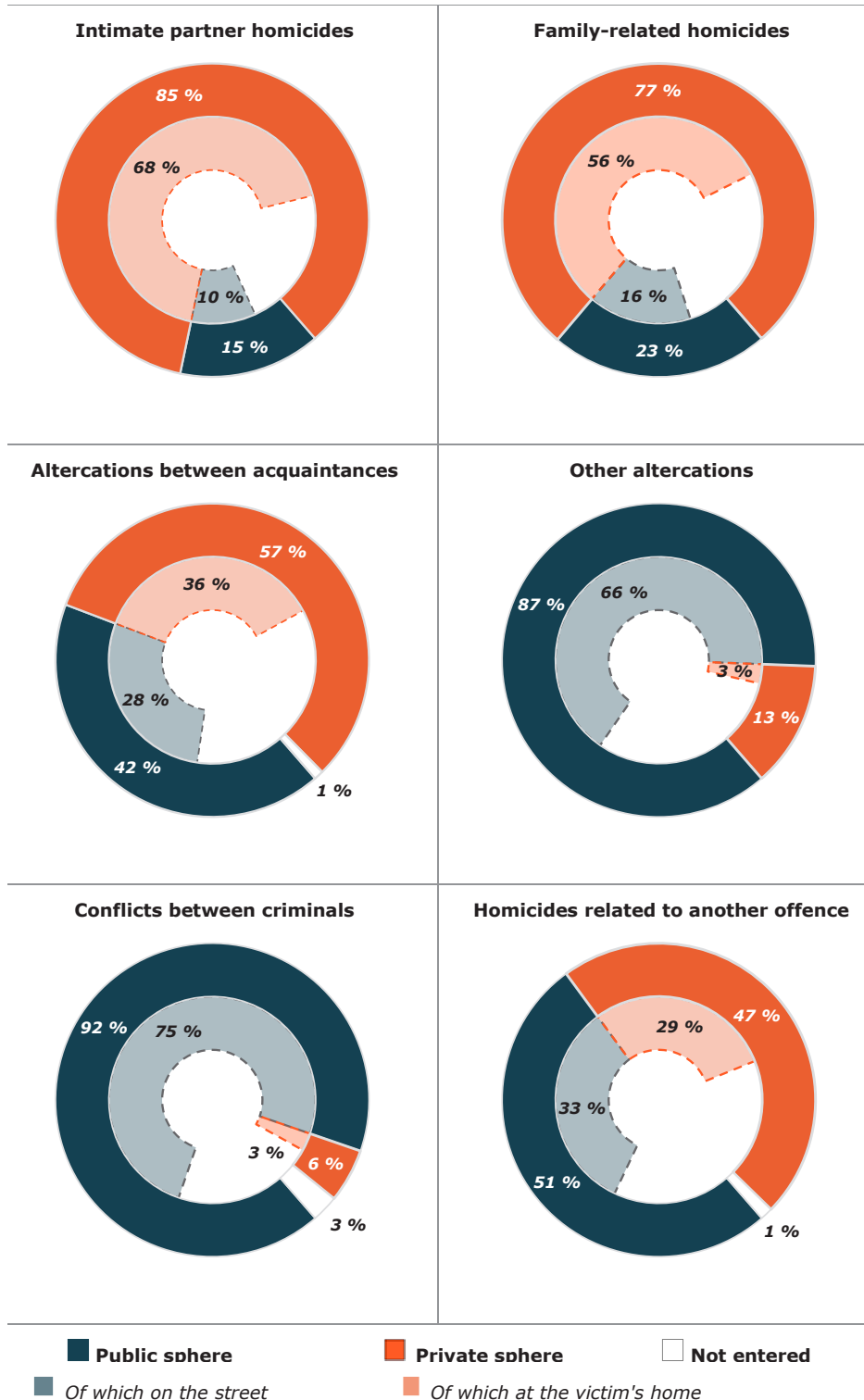
Unlike men, the majority of women in the sample are victims in their own home ([Graph 10](#)). This imbalance between the two genders would seem to stem from the fact that homicides between intimate partners or members of the same family concern women to a disproportionate extent ([Graph 21](#)) – homicides for which the victim's home is the most common location.

Graph 24. Breakdown of victims according to type of homicide and time period of commission



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

Graph 25. Breakdown of victims according to homicide type and location



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

The weapon or method used

More than two-thirds of intimate partner/family-related homicides are committed by employing a sharp object or physical force and violence

Sharp objects and physical force are usually the cause of intimate partner/family-related homicides: sharp objects account for 42% and physical force and violence 27% of such homicides. Firearms are used very little in this type of homicide (*representing just over 10%*) ([Graph 26](#)).

When looked at separately, the breakdown of weapons or methods used to commit intimate partner/family-related homicides is fairly similar (*40% of intimate partner homicides were committed using a sharp object, and this figure is 45% for family-related homicides; 28% of intimate partner homicides were the result of physical force and violence; this figure is 26% for family-related homicides*).

More than 40% of homicides related to a previous altercation are committed using a sharp object

Of the weapons or methods employed during homicides related to previous altercations, sharp objects are used in the majority of cases, irrespective of whether or not the perpetrator and victim know each other: around 40% of them are committed using a sharp object.

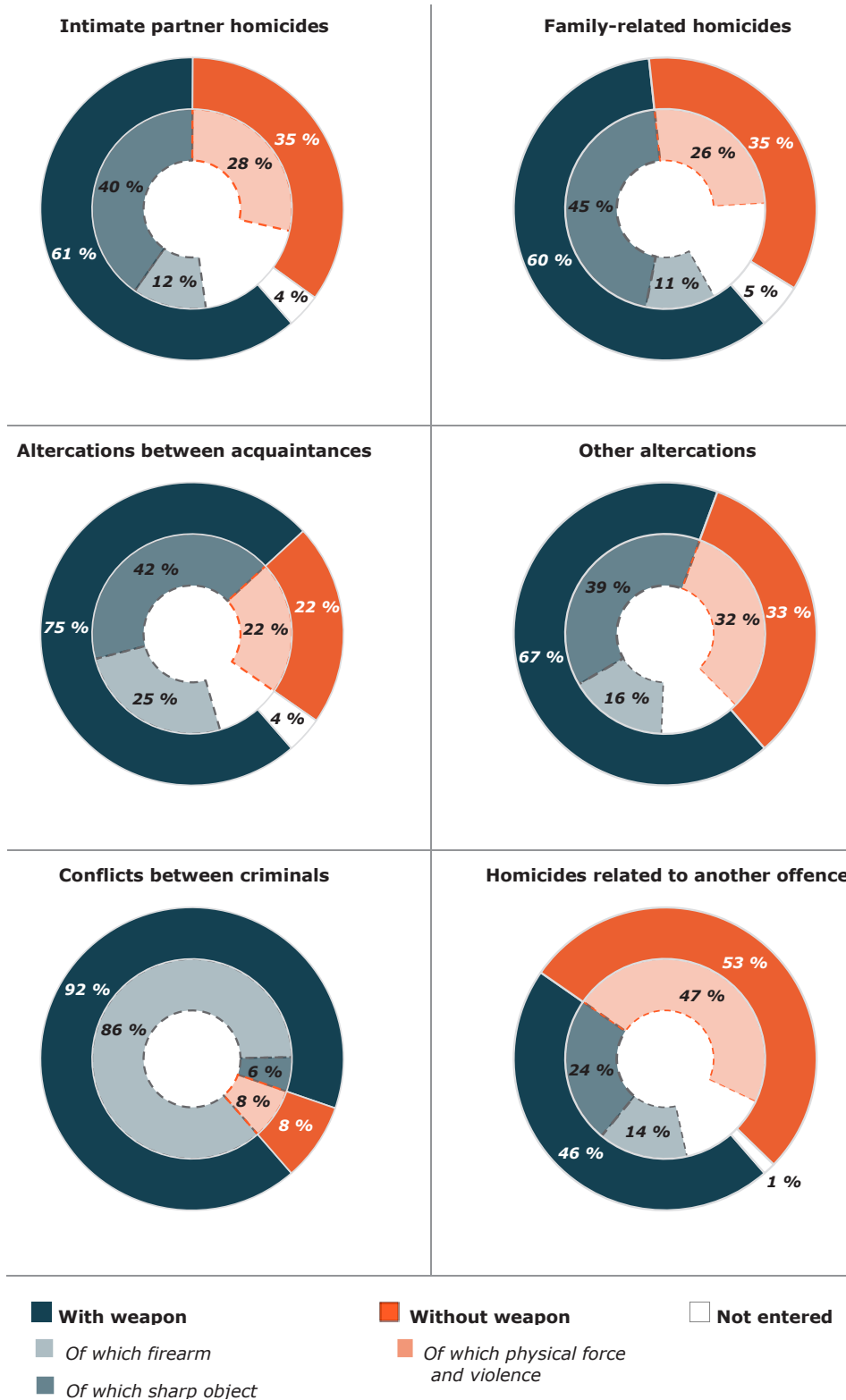
However, if the perpetrator and victim are known to each other, the proportion of homicides committed using a firearm (25%) is higher than for other altercations (16%). On the other hand, when the perpetrator and victim of the altercation do not know each other, physical force and violence are resorted to more often (32%) than when they do know each other (22%).

Firearms were used to kill three-quarters of victims of homicides related to conflicts between criminals

The profile of homicides related to conflicts between criminals sets them somewhat apart from other homicides, first and foremost because of the overwhelming use of firearms: only 19% of homicides when taking the sample as a whole are committed by firearm, but this figure concerns 86% of homicides related to a conflict between criminals.

The proportion of female victims of homicides committed using a firearm is almost half that of men ([Graph 11](#)). This finding is most likely due to the profile of homicides committed in the context of conflicts between criminals: the victims are mainly male and these homicides are usually committed using a firearm ([Graph 26](#)).

Graph 26. Breakdown of victims according to type of homicide and weapon



Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census 2007/2013 – Processed by the ONDRP

FOCUS ON...

THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTERPRETING THE HOMICIDE DATA RECORDED BY THE OPERATIONS CELL FOR MATCHING AND ANALYSING ASSOCIATED OFFENCES (CORAIL)

Definition of homicide

Over the past decade or so, the World Health Organization (WHO) has undertaken an approach aimed at harmonising the definition of homicide¹¹. It thus defines homicide as **the fact of causing a person's death through intentional violence or injury** (WHO, 2004). More recently, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has defined homicide at international level by highlighting three elements which characterise this offence: the objective, subjective and legal elements. Accordingly, **for the UNODC, an intentional homicide is the killing of a person by another person (objective element); this incident must be unlawful (legal element) and the perpetrator must have wilfully intended to kill or seriously injure the victim (subjective element)**¹².

This definition, adopted by the ONDRP for this study, includes murders, assassinations, infanticides (or more generally murders of minors under 15 years of age) and intentional violence where killing was not intended. It excludes abortions, negligent homicide and attempted homicide.

It is important to clarify that the unit of account is the victim. As such, if one person causes the death of several other people during the same incident, this will be counted as several different homicides even though they will all concern the same location, time and action.

Data collection

Exclusion of administrative databases

The National observatory of crime and criminal justice (ONDRP) uses two main sources to measure and study the phenomena of crime and delinquency: the initiative regarding annual victimhood surveys conducted jointly with the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) – the “Living environment and security” survey – and the tool for recording crimes and offences, Etat 4001. The latter classifies all of the crimes and offences reported by the police forces and gendarmerie units in a table comprising 103 different indicators.

In Etat 4001, offences in the homicide category are considered to be intentional attacks on physical integrity and are divided into two sub-categories: “score-settling between criminals” (indicator 1) and “homicides for theft” (indicator 2) –

••• (11) World Health Organization (2004). Estimated total deaths. Geneva: Department of Measurement and Health Information.

(12) The ONDRP has chosen to include «love triangle-related homicides» in this category, as both are associated with a romantic relationship whether this is ongoing or in the past. This type of homicide involves a third person (e.g.: a husband kills his wife's lover).

••• (13) The variable concerning the civil status of victims and the implicated tells us whether these individuals were married, single, in a common law partnership (i.e. not married), widowed and so on.

deemed a type of physical violence where robbery is the motive – as well as “homicides for other reasons” (indicator 3), “intentional physical force and violence followed by death” (indicator 6) and “homicides concerning children under 15 years of age” (indicator 51), which are deemed a type of physical violence where robbery is not the motive.

Despite the myriad indicators associated with homicide, the point of Etat 4001 is not to provide information about the context of a crime’s commission (date, time, location, weapon, etc.) or the victim (with the exception of indicator 51 which concerns “homicides concerning children under 15 years of age”). What is more, available information on the profile of the implicated is entered according to pre-determined categories (“binary” differentiations such as “Minors/Adults”, “Male/Female”, “French/Foreign”).

As such, although Etat 4001 is still a key tool for monitoring how this phenomenon is developing over time, it is not suitable for studying the inherent characteristics of homicides. This is why the ONDRP has decided to draw from other sources in its analysis of this phenomenon.

Such information, found in internal telegrams, can paint a more detailed statistical picture of the profile of victims and implicated persons, and it is with this in mind that the ONDRP asked the police and gendarmerie for extractions from information systems (STIC-BN for the police and PULSAR-MIS base for the gendarmerie) on homicides recorded in France in 2012.

An analysis of the data received revealed that some key contextual details were either missing (no facts concerning the trigger event) or very patchy (over 30% of the information on the location of the homicide and over 83% of information about the weapon or method is missing). There are also no or very few details about the profiles of victims and implicated people. Although their gender, age and nationality are well specified, there is no information about their profession or level of intoxication (drug or alcohol) at the time the homicide was committed. Finally, one of the most important variables for analysing homicides – the relationship between the victim and suspect – is also missing in many instances (the level of completeness is 30%).

Regarding the “Living environment and Security” survey, conducted jointly by the ONDRP and INSEE once a year among potential individual or household victims, it stands to reason that it cannot be completed by homicide victims. As a result, this statistical source cannot be used for this study.

Constitution of a database on homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs

In its continuing efforts to obtain additional information of quality concerning homicides, the ONDRP got in touch with the Préfecture de Police de Paris (Paris Metropolitan Police Service Headquarters) and was allowed to collect information directly regarding this criminal phenomenon thanks to the partnership set up with one of their specialist departments.

In 2006 the Paris Regional Criminal Investigation Department (DRPJ) set up an *Operations Cell for Matching and Analysing Associated Offences (CORAIL)* which records, within an eponymous IT platform, an extensive set of information on crimes and offences committed in Paris and the inner suburbs.

This Cell **devotes its attentions first and foremost to detecting serial offences** from internal telegrams, report logbooks and any other operational piece of data and, if a link is found, it forwards the information immediately on to the investigations departments of the DRPJ in Paris and Versailles or of the Paris Region Community Safety Department (DSPAP). **The purpose of this mission is to increase opportunities for matching details and therefore for significantly improving the rate at which accusations are brought against at least one person in crime and offence cases.** There is also **a strategic point** to CORAIL, to enable geography or trend research of criminal phenomena.

Three ONDRP research officers were invited to the CORAIL premises to collect information about homicides (excluding attempted homicides) committed in Paris and the inner suburbs between 2007 and 2013.

Creation of a database on homicides

An analytical framework was drawn up to help with data collection. This comprised various types of variable that had been identified as being key to the analysis of homicides (*Tables 1 and 2*). It was edited and adjusted as the available information was entered over the period running from June 2013 to January 2014.

Some of these variables concern the homicide context (*Table 1*). They shed light on time or geography aspects or on the way in which the homicide was committed. Moreover, their details have also been thoroughly filled in – their average level of completeness is 88.9%. Only the variable telling us about the trigger event has been less reliably completed, although at a level that was still considered usable (74.8%).

Other variables tell us about the profiles of victims and implicated people, particularly their gender, age and nationality, as well as their socioeconomic status and place of residence (*Table 2*).

When the ONDRP did not think that variables' level of completeness was sufficient, they were only used for descriptive purposes (*Part 1*). Some variables, because of their very low level of completeness, were excluded from all analyses: this was the case for variables telling us about the "civil status"¹⁴ of victims and suspects (23.8% for victims and 14.8% for suspects) or their state of intoxication (drugs and/or alcohol) at the time the homicide took place (the level of completeness is 48.5%)

Using these analytical frameworks (*Tables 1 and 2*), it was possible to collect and analyse detailed information concerning 602 homicides and 718 implicated persons.

So as to improve processing and analysis, some of the variables needed recoding. Recoding means transforming the values of a variable. The recoded variable is still the same, but its values change. This process allows for new variables to be created, containing a redistribution of the values of the initial variables. A continuous variable, such as the victims' and suspects' age, can be recoded into a nominal categorical variable (e.g.: under 15 years of age, between 15 and 34 years of age and over 35 years of age). Variable recoding is explained in the "Definitions" part of the section entitled "Focus on".

Table 1. Level of completeness of contextual variables on homicides committed in Paris between 2007 and 2013

	Characteristics studied	Description	Level of completeness
	Homicides		602 100.0
Contextual details	Date of commission	The homicides took place between 1/01/2007 and 31/12/2013	100.0
	Time of commission	Time at which the police estimated the homicide took place	80.9
	Département	Paris and the three départements in the inner suburbs (e.g.: 92, Hauts-de-Seine)	100.0
	Municipality	Municipality in which the homicide took place	100.0
	Location type	Type of location in which the homicide took place (e.g.: the victim's home, on the street, in a bank, etc.)	99.0
	Weapon or method used	Weapon having caused the homicide (revolver, knife, fire, explosive device, etc.)	96.0
	Trigger event	Event having triggered the act of homicide (brawl in a bar after insults, family feud, argument between intimate partners, etc.)	74.8
	Number of people implicated of homicide	From 1 to 11	100.0

Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs Source: CORAIL census – Processed by the ONDRP

••• (14) Wolfgang, Marvin E. (1958). Patterns in criminal homicide. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Table 2. Level of completeness of variables concerning the profiles of victims and suspects of homicides committed in Paris between 2007 and 2013

	Characteristics studied	Description	Level of completeness
	Number of homicides		602 100.0
characteristics of the victim and suspect	Victim's gender	Male or female	99.7
	Victim's age	45	96.8
	Victim's nationality	French	88.2
	Victim's civil status	Civil status of the victim (did the victim live alone or in a couple?)	23.8
	Victim's socioeconomic status	Victim's profession (if the victim was involved in illicit activities, this must be indicated here)	53.3
	Victim's département of residence	92 (Hauts-de-Seine)	89.2
	Was the victim already known to the police?	Yes / No	52.5
	Had the victim consumed alcohol and/or drugs?	Was the victim under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs at the time of the homicide? (e.g.: drugs; alcohol; alcohol and drugs; no)	47.5
	Suspect's gender	Male or female	100.0
	Suspect's age	45	96.4
	Suspect's nationality	French	90.8
	Suspect's civil status	Civil status of the suspect (did the suspect live alone or in a couple?)	14.8
	Suspect's socioeconomic status	Suspect's profession (if the suspect was involved in illicit activities, this must be indicated here)	59.5
	Suspect's département of residence	92 (Hauts-de-Seine)	94.0
	Was the suspect already known to the police?	Yes / No	62.4
	Had the suspect consumed alcohol and/or drugs?	Was the suspect under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs at the time of the homicide? (e.g.: drugs; alcohol; alcohol and drugs; no)	48.5
	Relationship between the victim and suspect	Relationship between the victim and suspect(s)	78.6
	Date on which the suspect was arrested	Date on which the suspect was arrested (if suspect not arrested, indicate this here)	93.0
Municipality in which arrest took place	Municipality in which the suspect(s) was(were) arrested	93.0	

Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs Source: CORAIL census – Processed by the ONDRP

Creation of a typology

In the same way as Wolfgang¹⁵ (1958), de Boisvert & Cusson¹⁶ (1994), and the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime¹⁷ (UNODC, 2014), the ONDRP decided to classify homicides on the basis of two main characteristics: the relationship between the victims and suspects and the trigger event that led to the homicide.

Of the 602 homicides collected, 103 could not be characterised as neither of these facts (relationship and trigger event) were known (19% of the sample). Because of this, it is impossible to ascertain whether the homicides which cannot be characterised would be included in the typology, detail-permitting, or if they would form a separate category (at least for part of them). The ONDRP is thus planning to analyse them as is in a future study.

In addition, the trigger event given for 13 homicides is “temporary insanity” on the part of the suspect at the time of the homicide. But inasmuch as no medical diagnosis corroborated this fact, we considered it preferable not to characterise these homicides. This means that, in all, 116 homicides could not be included in our typology.

It is important to note that a person does not necessarily have to be implicated for a link between the victim and suspect to be established by the police departments leading the investigation. Indeed, there may be homicides for which reliable and consistent evidence has been gathered to justify pressing charges – proving his or her participation in the commission of the offence, when this person may be at large or have died.

Three main categories of homicide have been defined by the ONDRP: intimate partner/family- related homicides, homicides related to a criminal activity and homicides related to a previous altercation (Table 3)

Homicides related to a criminal activity include both homicides perpetrated when another offence is being committed and those resulting from a conflict associated with the suspect and victim’s criminal activities.

- **Homicides related to another offence** are homicides during which a crime or offence was committed at the same time as or before the fact. This distinguishes them from homicides where an offence is committed after the fact. This category therefore includes homicides for theft (with or without violence) and homicides following a case of sexual violence (rape or sexual assault).

- **Homicides following a conflict between criminals** include both score-settling between criminals and homicides related to drug trafficking. These types of homicide are characterised by the fact that the presumed murderer and his/her victim are both involved in illicit activities which may or may not be known to the police.

Intimate partner and family-related homicides are a category where the people involved are or have been linked by a certain level of intimacy, either through family ties or as spouses.

- **Family-related homicide** is the act of killing a member of one’s family. This family relationship can come in an array of forms. For example, this category encompasses homicides by parents or offspring (parricide and infanticides), fratricides, murders of grandparents or grandchildren or homicides of people with family ties to the perpetrator, such as homicide of one’s brother-in-law.

- **Intimate partner homicide** is the act of killing one’s current or former spouse. The term partner encompasses married couples, couples in civil partnerships and common-law couples. The ONDRP has chosen to include “love triangle-related homicides” in this category, as both are associated with a romantic relationship whether this is ongoing or in the past. This type of homicide involves a third person (for example: a husband kills his wife’s lover).

••• (15) Boisvert, R. & Cusson, M. (1994). «Une typologie des homicides commis à Montréal de 1985 à 1989». Revue internationale de criminologie et de police technique, vol. XLVII, no 3, p. 282-297.

(16) http://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf

(17) Paris Regional Court (TGI), 23 October 1986, confirmed by a Paris Court of Appeal ruling dated 19 November 1986

Homicides related to a previous altercation involve people with no family or intimate partner ties. They include murders resulting from fights between acquaintances or strangers to resolve a conflict for various reasons. This therefore includes revenge homicides and homicides over money disputes. Such homicides may result from acts of random violence for no apparent reason.

In this category, the ONDRP has decided to distinguish homicides related to a previous altercation between **acquaintances** from those involving **strangers**. A third sub-category of homicide related to a previous altercation concerns those for which a link is found, but it is not known whether or not the victim and suspect know each other.

Table 3. Typologies of homicides committed in Paris between 2007 and 2013

Victims of homicides in Paris and the inner suburbs: CORAIL census	Homicides in the sample	
	In number	In %
Number of homicides that can be characterised	485	100.0
Intimate partners/family-related	171	35.3
Homicides between spouses or individuals in a love triangle situation	109	22.5
Homicide between spouses	86	17.7
Homicide between former spouses	15	3.1
Love triangle homicide	8	1.6
Family-related homicides	62	12.8
Family-related homicide between blood relatives	34	7.0
Family-related homicide by marriage	14	2.9
Other type of family-related homicide	14	2.9
Homicides related to a criminal activity	112	23.1
Homicides related to a conflict between criminals	36	7.4
Conflict between drug traffickers	17	3.5
Score-settling between criminals	19	3.9
Homicides related to another offence	76	15.7
Homicide resulting from theft with violence	54	11.1
Homicide resulting from theft without violence	10	2.1
Homicide related to sexual violence	12	2.5
Homicides related to a previous altercation	202	41.6
Homicides between acquaintances	102	21.0
Homicides between strangers	45	9.3
Other homicides related to a previous altercation	55	11.3
Homicide involving rival gangs	21	4.3
Homicide related to a dispute between homeless people	21	4.3
Other (previous altercation where the relationship is not known)	13	2.7

Area covered: Paris and the inner suburbs

Source: CORAIL census - Processed by the ONDRP

APPENDIX

Comparison of the sources

The sample of homicides entered represents almost 80% of those recorded in Paris and the inner suburbs between 2007 and 2013 in Etat 4001: 602 compared with 760. Over the 2007-2013 period, the proportion of intentional homicides committed in Paris accounts for 38.8% of all homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs according to Etat 4001. This proportion is very similar to the one concerning the CORAIL sample: 37.5%. Irrespective of the source and the year of observation, the proportion of homicides committed in the inner suburbs is high (Table 4).

In terms of the geographic distribution of homicides, 2010 and 2012 are the two years where the two sources present the most differences. According to Etat 4001, 38.3% of intentional homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs were in Paris, so 5.3% less than the proportion calculated from the CORAIL sample. On the other hand, in 2012 the proportion of homicides committed in Paris stands at 41.4%, so 7.3 points less than those calculated from the CORAIL sample.

Bear in mind that the limited differences could be down to a time lag between the report (date indicated in the CORAIL sample) and the recording of the homicide in Etat 4001 (date indicated in Etat 4001). In this instance, the deviation measured between the two sources is too great for this to be the sole explanation for the cause. As such, despite the virtual exhaustiveness of data entered in comparison with Etat 4001, the ONDRP still believes this set of data forms but a sample.

In light of these observations, comparison of the two sources reveals sufficient similarities to justify the use of the findings of the sample's processing to describe the characteristics of intentional homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs in detail.

Table 4. Breakdown of the number of victims of homicides committed in Paris and the inner suburbs between 2007 and 2013. Comparison of data from Etat 4001 with data from CORAIL

Homicides in Paris and the inner suburbs: Etat 4001 and CORAIL census		Etat 4001			CORAIL			CORAIL/Etat 4001 ratio
		Paris	Inner suburbs	Paris and the inner suburbs	Paris	Inner suburbs		
Paris and the inner suburbs								
All homicides between 2007 and 2013		760	38.8	61.2	602	37.5	62.5	79.2
Year	2007	112	33.9	66.1	85	28.2	71.8	75.9
	2008	103	45.6	54.4	74	41.9	58.1	71.8
	2009	114	31.6	68.4	94	31.9	68.1	82.5
	2010	115	38.3	61.7	103	33.0	67.0	89.6
	2011	107	39.3	60.7	95	38.9	61.1	88.8
	2012	111	41.4	58.6	78	48.7	51.3	70.3
	2013	98	42.9	57.1	73	43.8	56.2	74.5

Area covered: Paris and its inner suburbs

Source 1: CORAIL census – Processed by the ONDRP
Source 2: annual Etat 4001, DCPJ – Processed by the ONDRP

DEFINITIONS

The time of the homicide's commission

The time of commission variable has been transformed into a dichotomous variable distinguishing two "commission periods". It is now thus possible for us to know whether the homicide was committed during the day (between the hours of 8am and 7.59pm) or night (between the hours of 8pm and 7.59am).

The location of commission

The location of commission variable was a nominal categorical variable composed of almost 200 different options. For easier interpretation and analysis, we decided to transform it to create several variables corresponding to different levels of aggregation.

The first level of aggregation allows us to distinguish between two location options: in private or in public.

The public sphere includes the street as well as places open to the public or providing a public service. French case law defines a place open to the public as follows: "somewhere accessible to everyone without the need for any special authorisation, whether this access be on a permanent and unconditional basis or subject to certain conditions"¹⁸.

Accordingly, the following are considered to come within the public sphere: local businesses (cafés, restaurants, shops), recreational venues (bars, cinemas, theatres, night clubs, etc.), public transport, the streets and gardens or woodland when they are public.

On the other hand, locations which, by definition, the public cannot access come within the private sphere: private firms, hotel or hospital rooms, associations' premises, residential premises, etc.

The second level of aggregation allows us to further clarify the first two location categories. Accordingly, the street, local businesses and other public locations are the three categories of the second level of aggregation making up the public sphere.

The "street" is a geographic area that is difficult to define

with any precision. Although there is no legal definition of a street, it is nevertheless possible to define it as road space that is accessible to the public and which it is possible to travel along¹⁹.

The "local businesses" category includes places open to the public where goods and services are bought and resold. This category encompasses bars, restaurants, night clubs, jewellery stores and bakeries for example.

The "other public locations" category includes different types of location, which are off the street and cannot be considered a local business, and to which no one indicator applies enabling them to be grouped together. Public transport, parks, gardens, woodland and public car parks all fall within this public location category.

For the private sphere, we considered it essential to distinguish "residential premises" from "other types of private location". "Residential premises" refer to the victim's or suspect's home, hotel rooms, hospital rooms, homes and shelters, caravans and so on.

The "other types of private location" category includes places where the public cannot come and go as they please, all except for residential premises. This may particularly concern a private car park, the communal area of a block of flats, or a private firm's premises.

The weapons used

The "weapon or method used" variable comprised 80 different options. It was possible to create several variables grouping together all of these options from the original variable.

First of all, we were able to distinguish homicides committed using a weapon (64.5%) from those committed without a weapon (31.6% of homicides did not make use of any weapon).

In order to go into greater detail, the ONDRP also decided to create another variable comprising five options: firearms, sharp objects, improvised weapons, physical force and violence and other methods.

••• (18) The ONDRP has provided a detailed definition of what constitutes a street in «Grand Angle» article no. 24: http://www.inhesj.fr/sites/default/files/ga_24.pdf

(19) Decree no. 2013-700 of 30 July 2013 implementing Act No. 2012-304 of 6 March 2012 on establishing modern, simplified and preventive control of weapons, chapter 1, section 1, para. 5

A firearm is a weapon which fires a projectile based on ignition of a propellant²⁰. This category includes both long guns (pump-action rifle, assault rifle, etc.) and handguns (colt 45, Beretta, etc.).

The “sharp objects” category encompasses all weapons which require human force to pierce, cut or break²¹ (knives, cutters, axes, sabres, etc.).

Improvised weapons are defined by Article 132-75 of the Criminal Code as being objects (other than weapons designed to kill) that are likely to pose a danger to people the moment they are used to kill, injure or threaten (baseball bat, hammer, screwdriver, etc.).

Intentional violence and physical force have also been adopted as methods used to kill. In this situation, it was the perpetrator’s physical force rather than a weapon that caused the victim’s death. The ONDRP has decided to include homicides resulting from intentional pushing onto underground train tracks in this category. “Other methods” mainly include poisoning and murders by first-degree arson.

Age and nationality of the victim and perpetrator

The age of the victim and suspect are two continuous variables from which several categorical variables have been created. Like in the Etat 4001 tool, it is first of all possible to distinguish minors from adults.

With a view to improving the quality of the analysis, a variable supplying a greater level of detail has been created. This variable comprises seven age groups. Since French law considers killing a minor under 15 years of age to be an example of aggravating circumstances (*Article 221-4 para.1 of the Criminal Code*), the ONDRP has decided to select this age as the starting point for the age groups it has created. In this way, we are able to find out the number of victims and suspects “under 15 years of age”, “between 15 and 24 years of age”, “between 25 and 34 years of age”, “between 35 and 44 years of age”, “between 45 and 54 years of age”, “between 55 and 64

years of age” and “over 65 years of age”.

Regarding the nationality of the victim and perpetrator, the ONDRP has decided to distinguish between French and foreign nationals as the Etat 4001 tool does.

Socioeconomic status of the victim and perpetrator

The ONDRP has decided to use the distinction drawn by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) to classify the socioeconomic statuses of the French population: inactive, in the occupied labour force and jobseeker.

“Inactive” people are conventionally defined as those who are not in employment or officially unemployed. This category therefore includes, among others, young people under the age of 15, students, pensioners and people unable to work²².

INSEE defines “the occupied labour force” as persons aged 15 years or older who have worked (even for one hour) in the course of a given week (called reference week), be they salaried, self-employed or helpers in an enterprise or a family operation. National servicemen, apprentices and paid interns are included in the occupied labour force²³.

Jobseekers are mainly made up of “unemployed” people of working age, excluding inactive people, but who are looking for a job. -

•••• (20) <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000027792819&categorieLien=id>
(21) <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000027792819&categorieLien=id>
(22) <http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/inactifs.htm>
(23) <http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/population-active-occupee-bit.htm>