

# Tendencias historicas y diferencias transnacionales en los homicidios:

Como cambia la violencia letal y sus posibles determinantes

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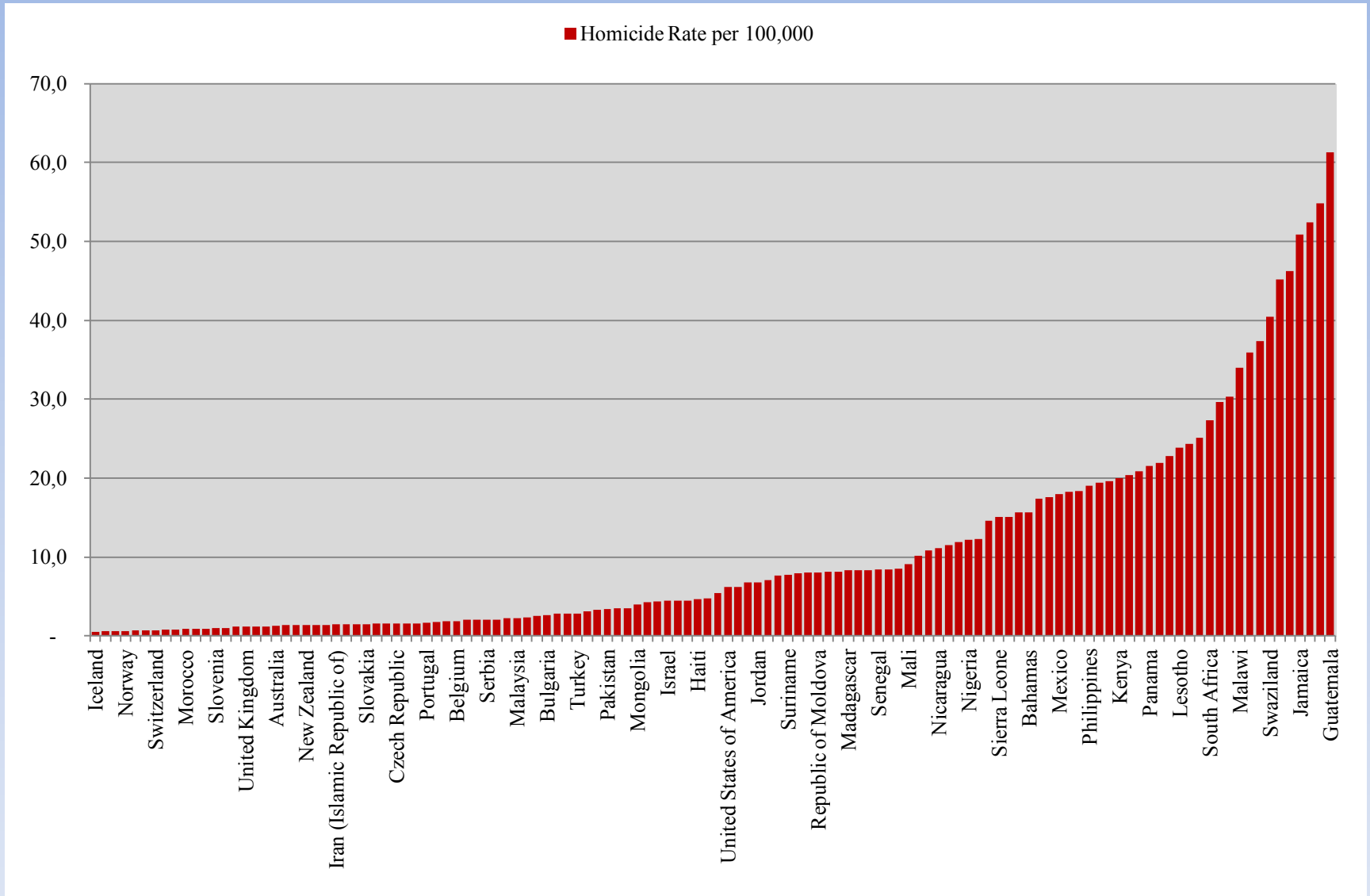
University of Cambridge

# Structure

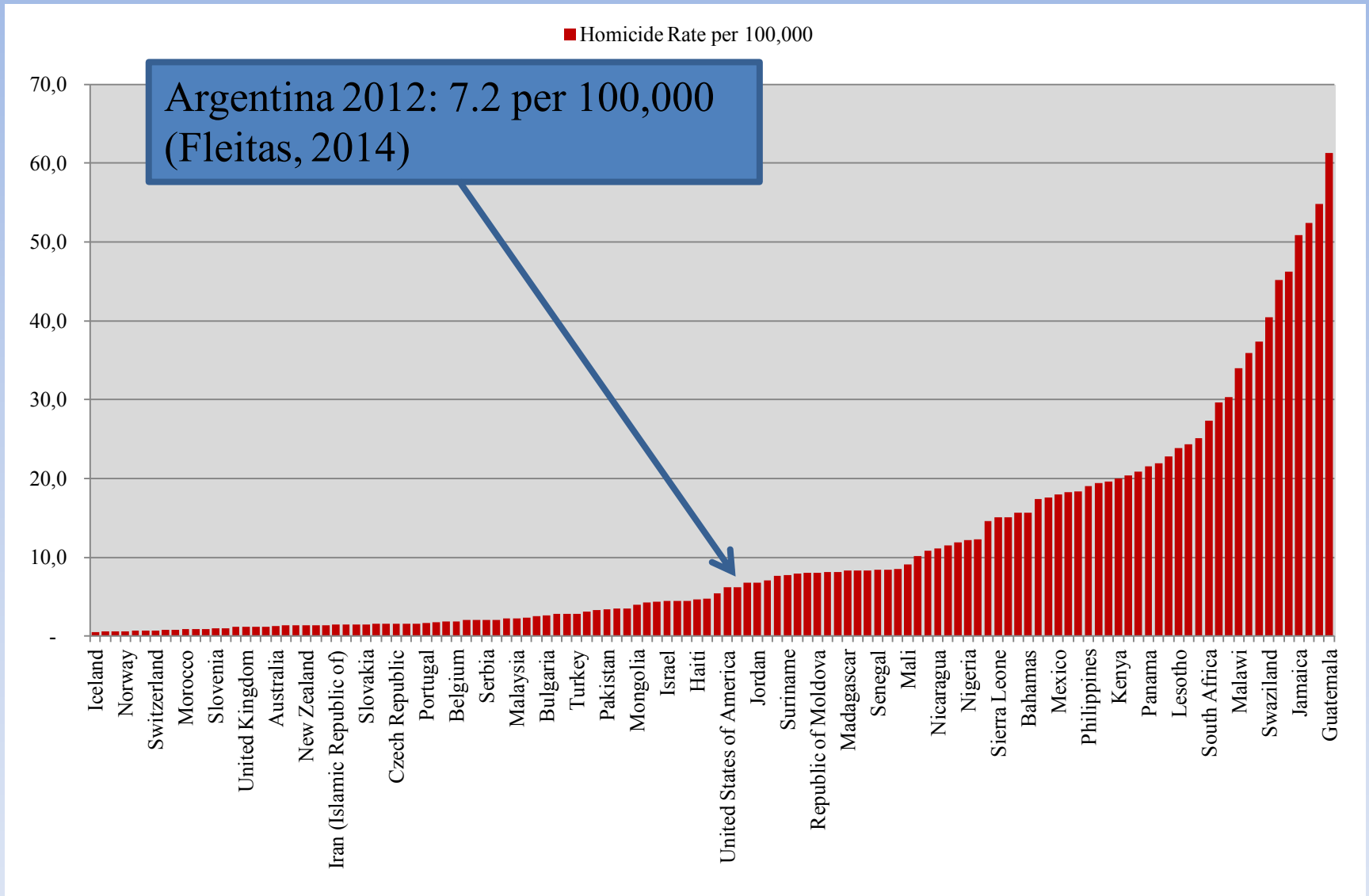
**How much variation in homicide rates is there across time and between societies?**

**Where does it come from?**

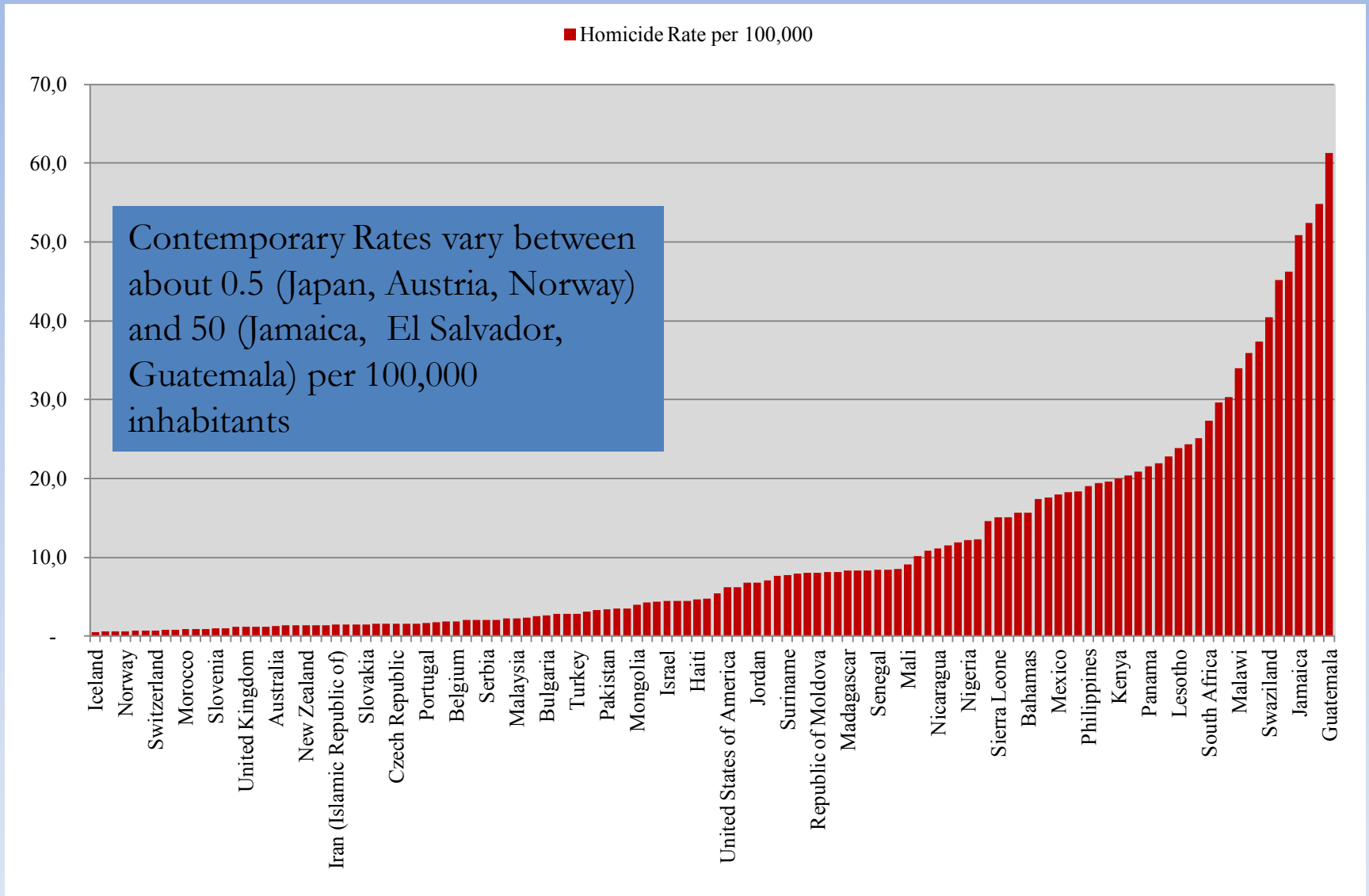
# Variation in Homicide Rates in the Contemporary World



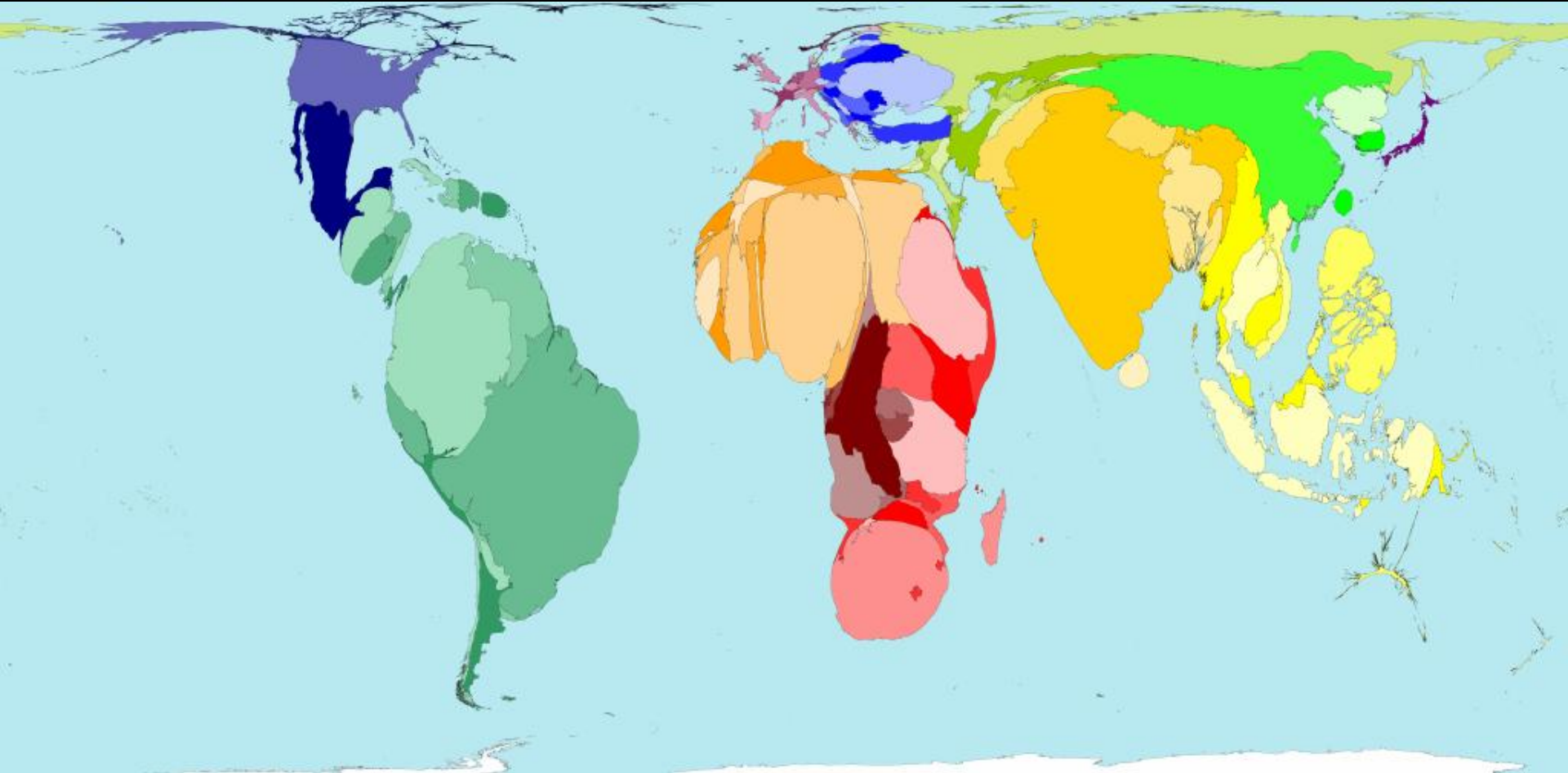
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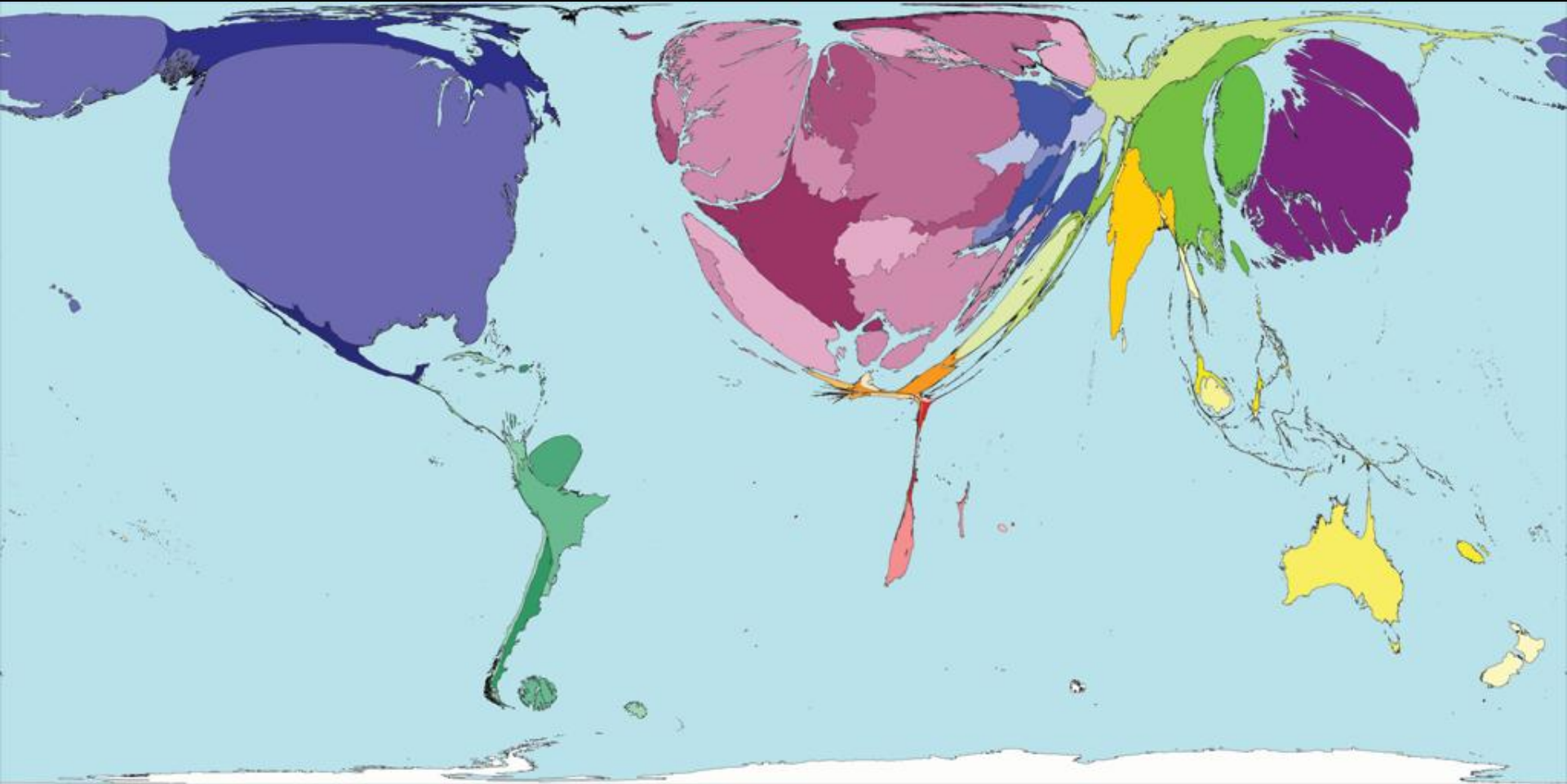


# Map of the World by Homicides



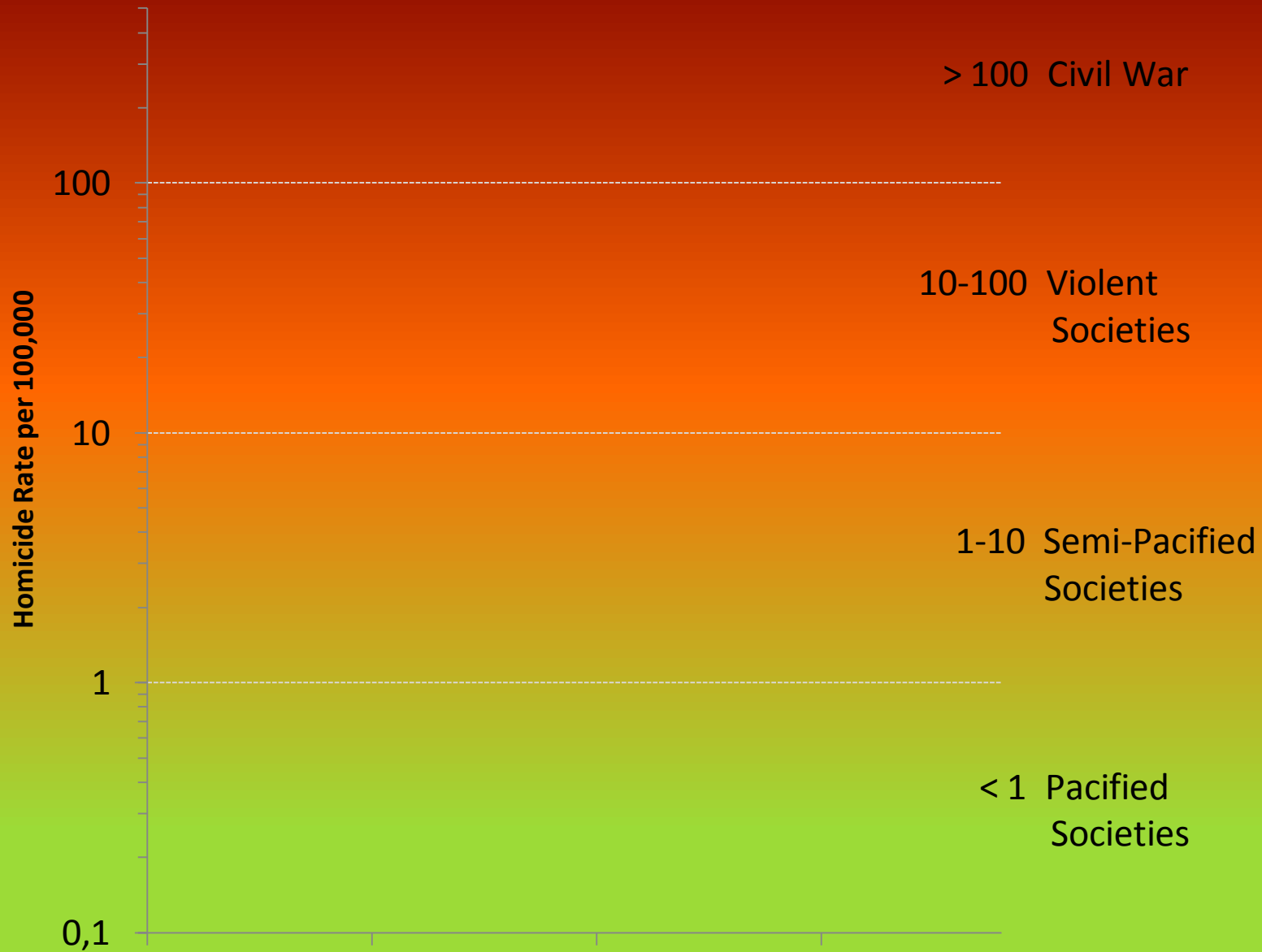
(WHO recorded homicides 2002,  
[www.worldmapper.org](http://www.worldmapper.org))

# Map of the World by Research Output



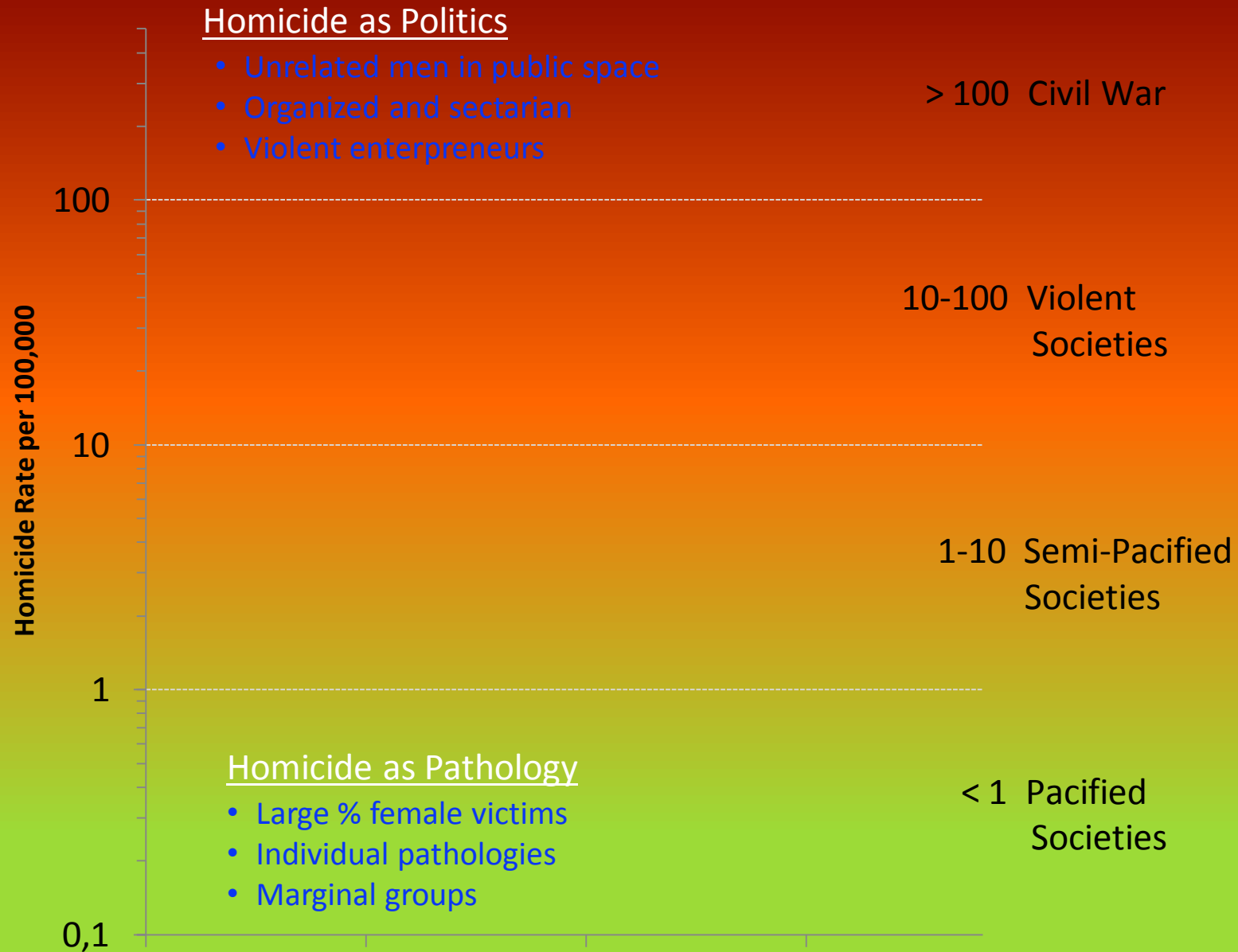
(Published papers in 2001  
[www.worldmapper.org](http://www.worldmapper.org))

# Homicide Scale

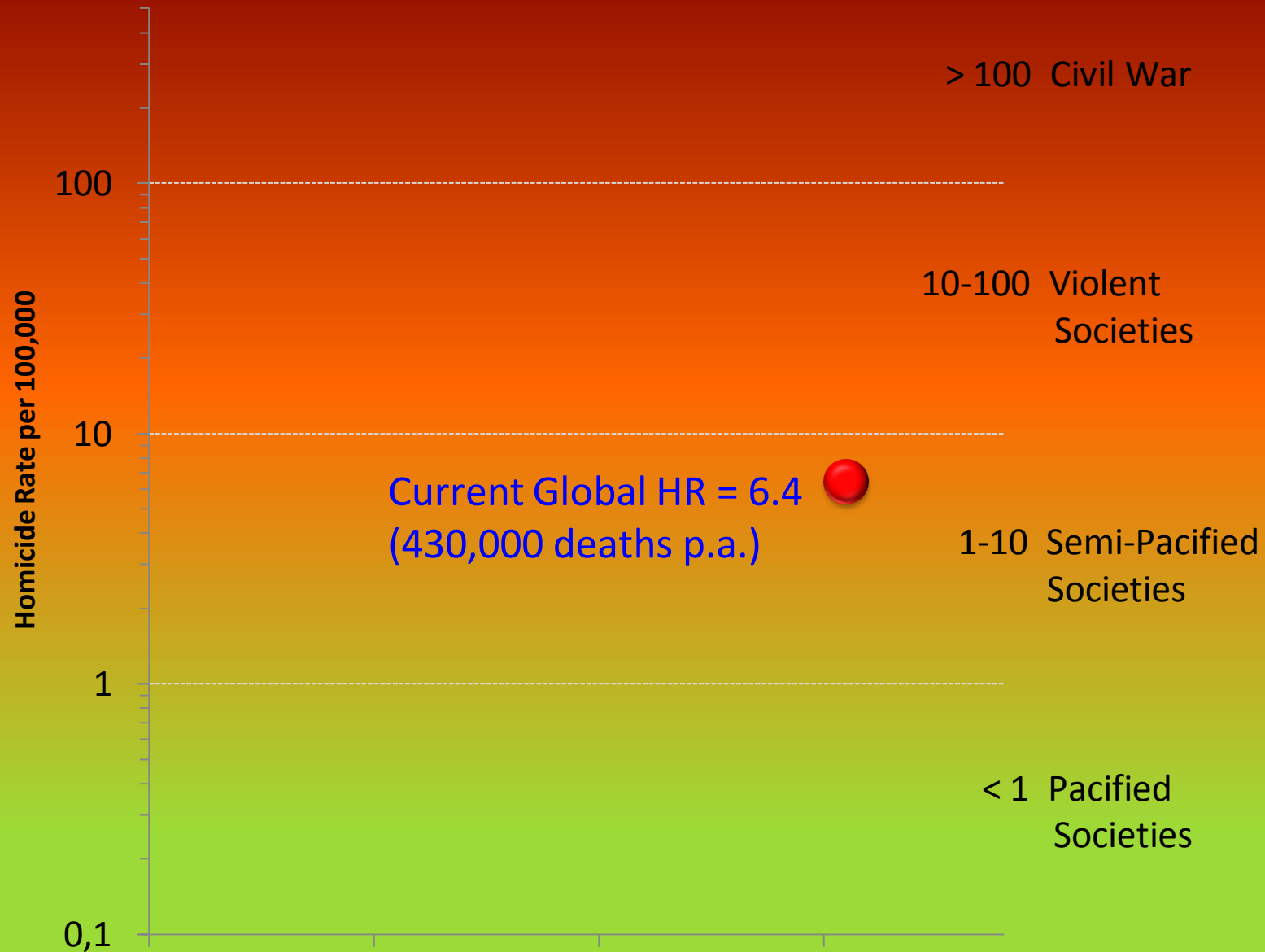




# Homicide Scale

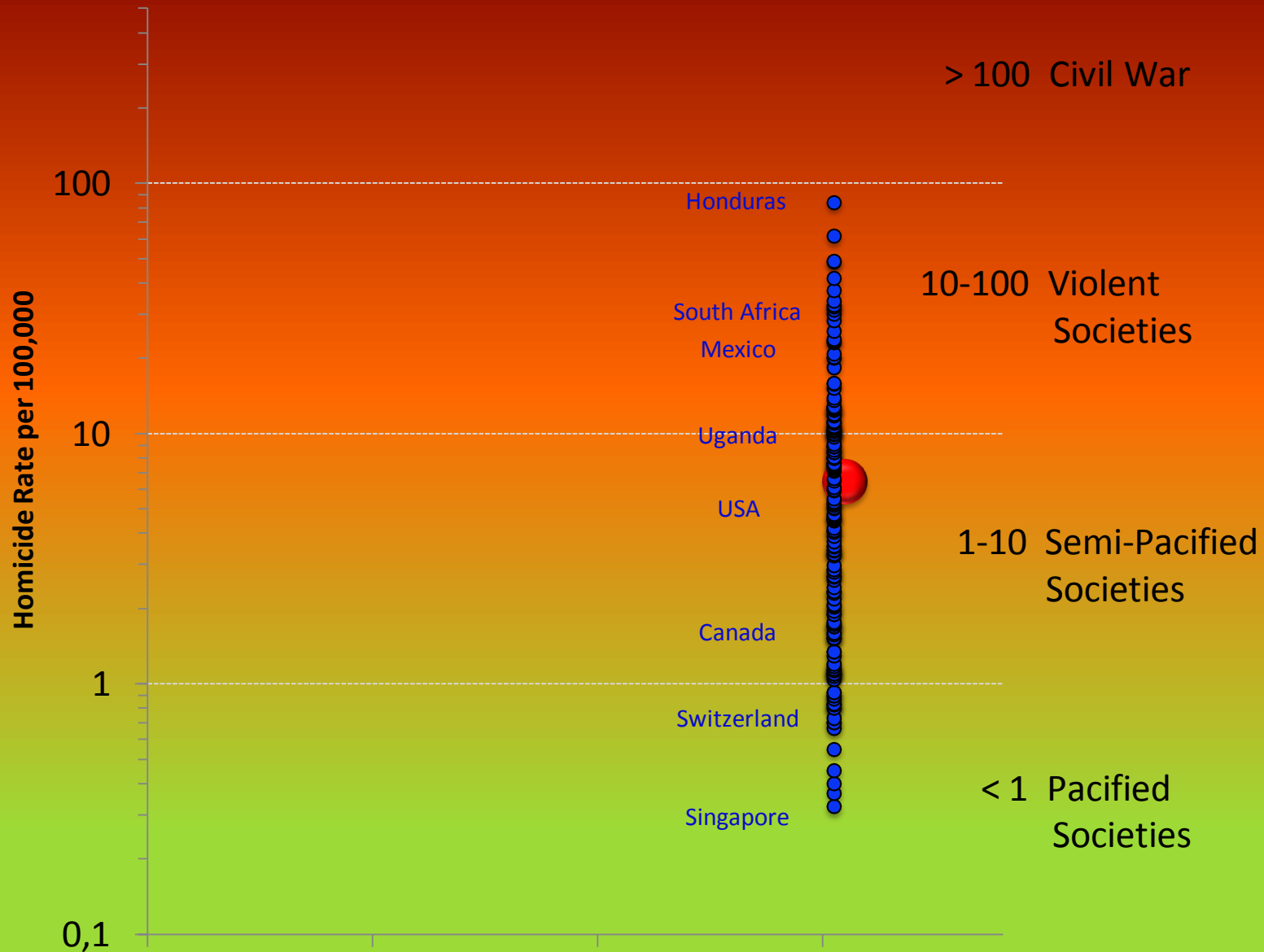


# Homicide Scale



Source:  
UNODC (2014)  
Global Study on Homicide

# Homicide Scale

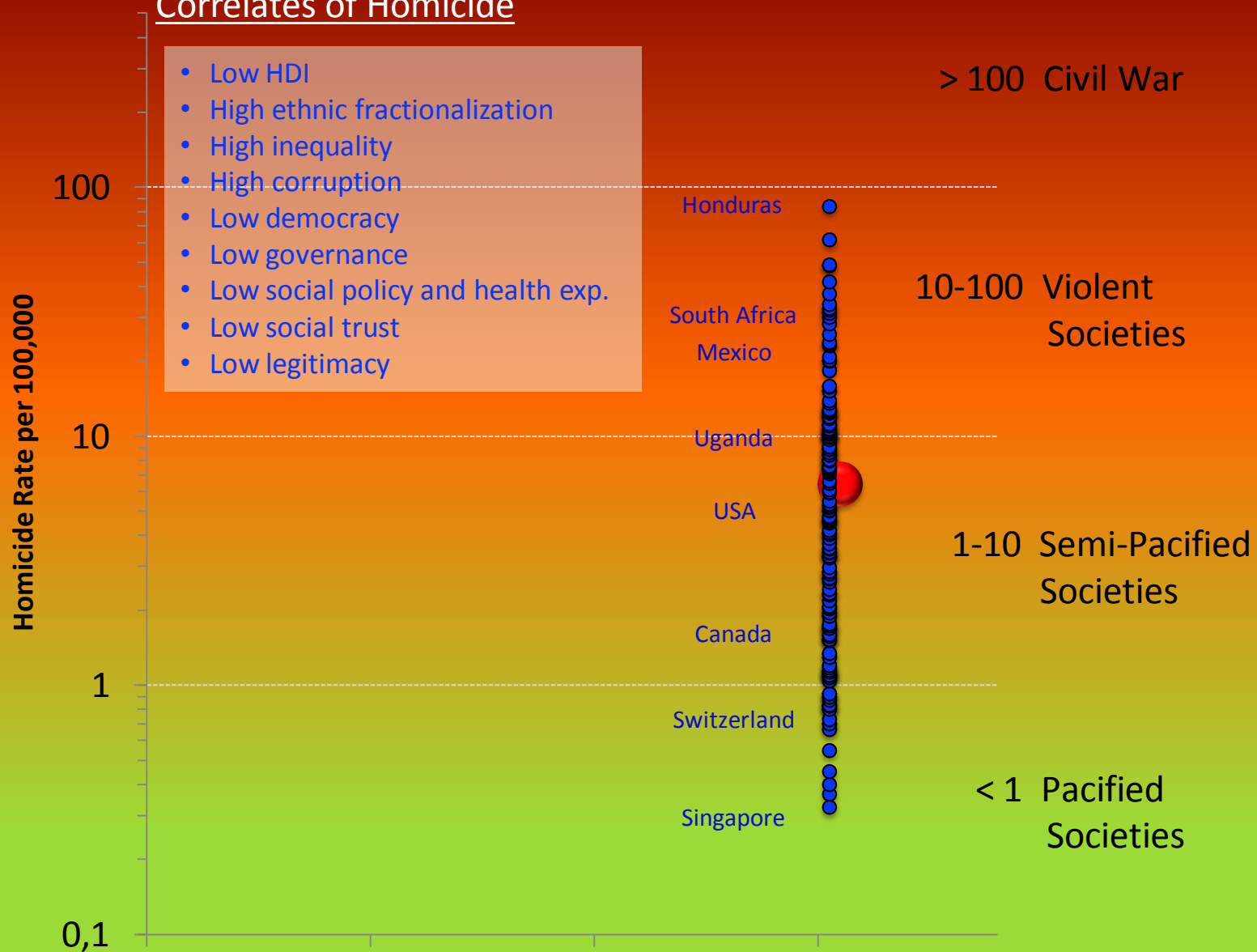


Source:  
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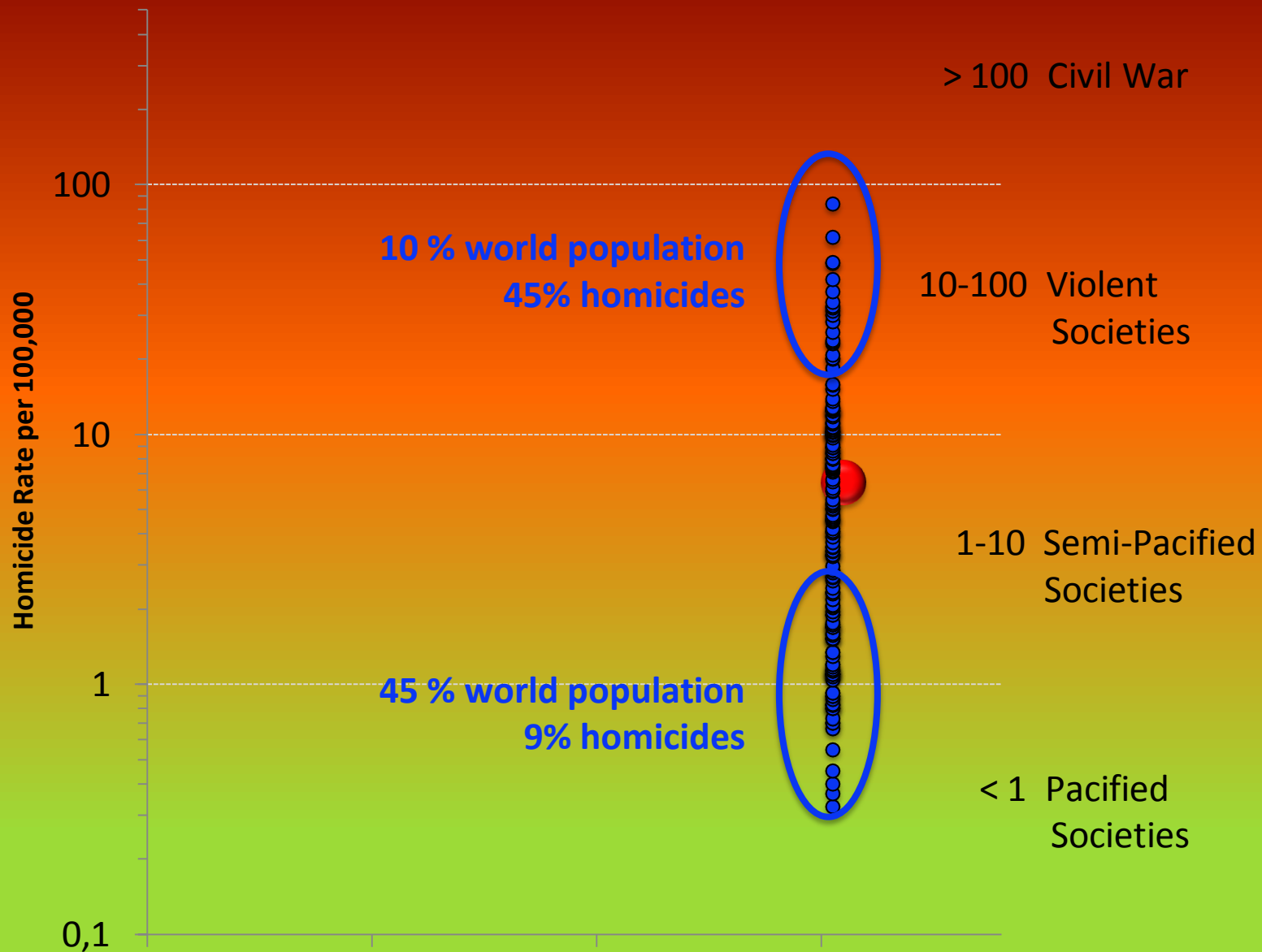
## Correlates of Homicide

- Low HDI
- High ethnic fractionalization
- High inequality
- High corruption
- Low democracy
- Low governance
- Low social policy and health exp.
- Low social trust
- Low legitimacy

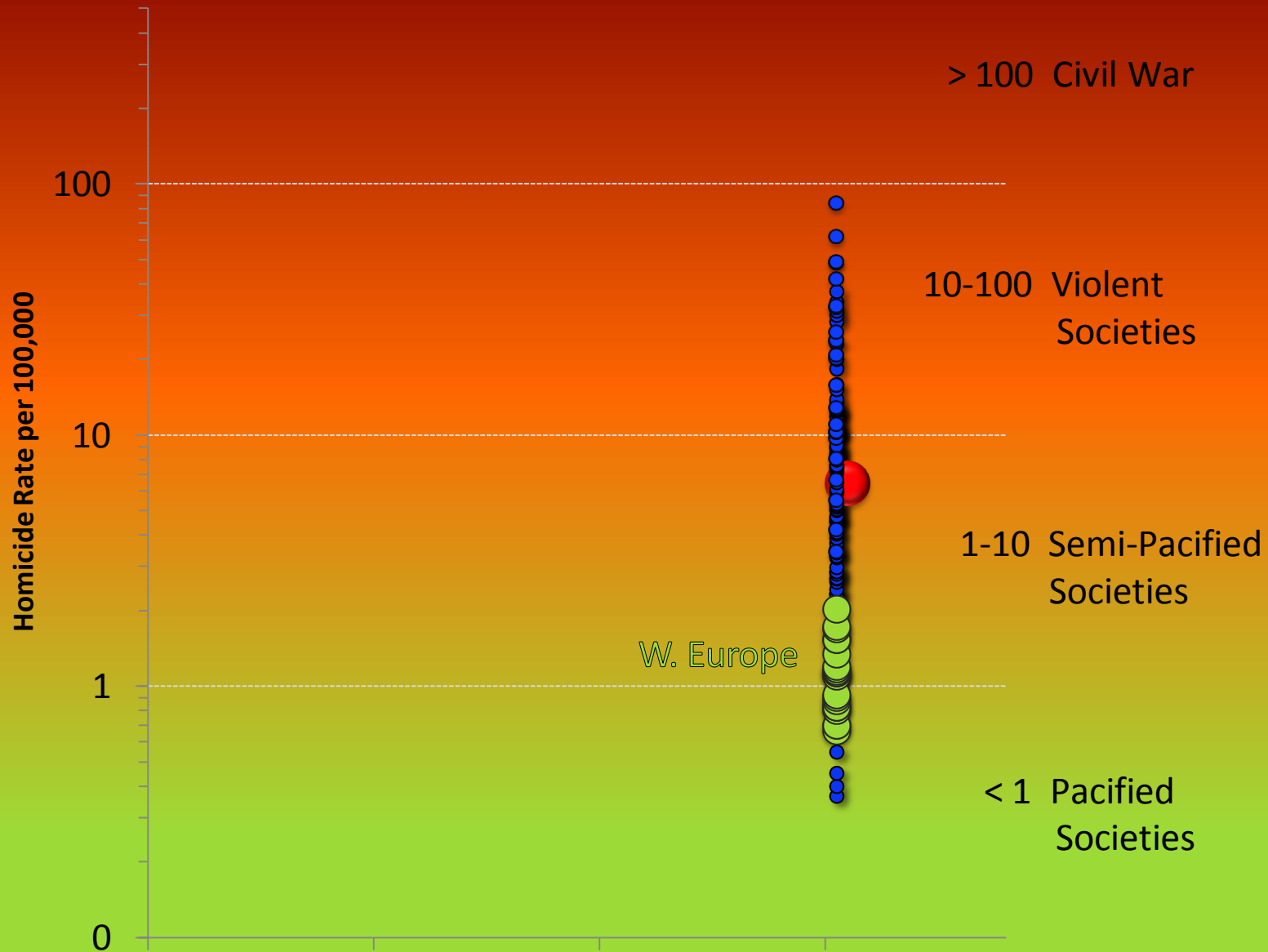


Sources:  
Lappi-Sappälä & Lehti (2014)  
Global Homicide Trends  
Nivette(2011) Hom Studies  
Nivette & Eisner (2012)  
Hom Studies

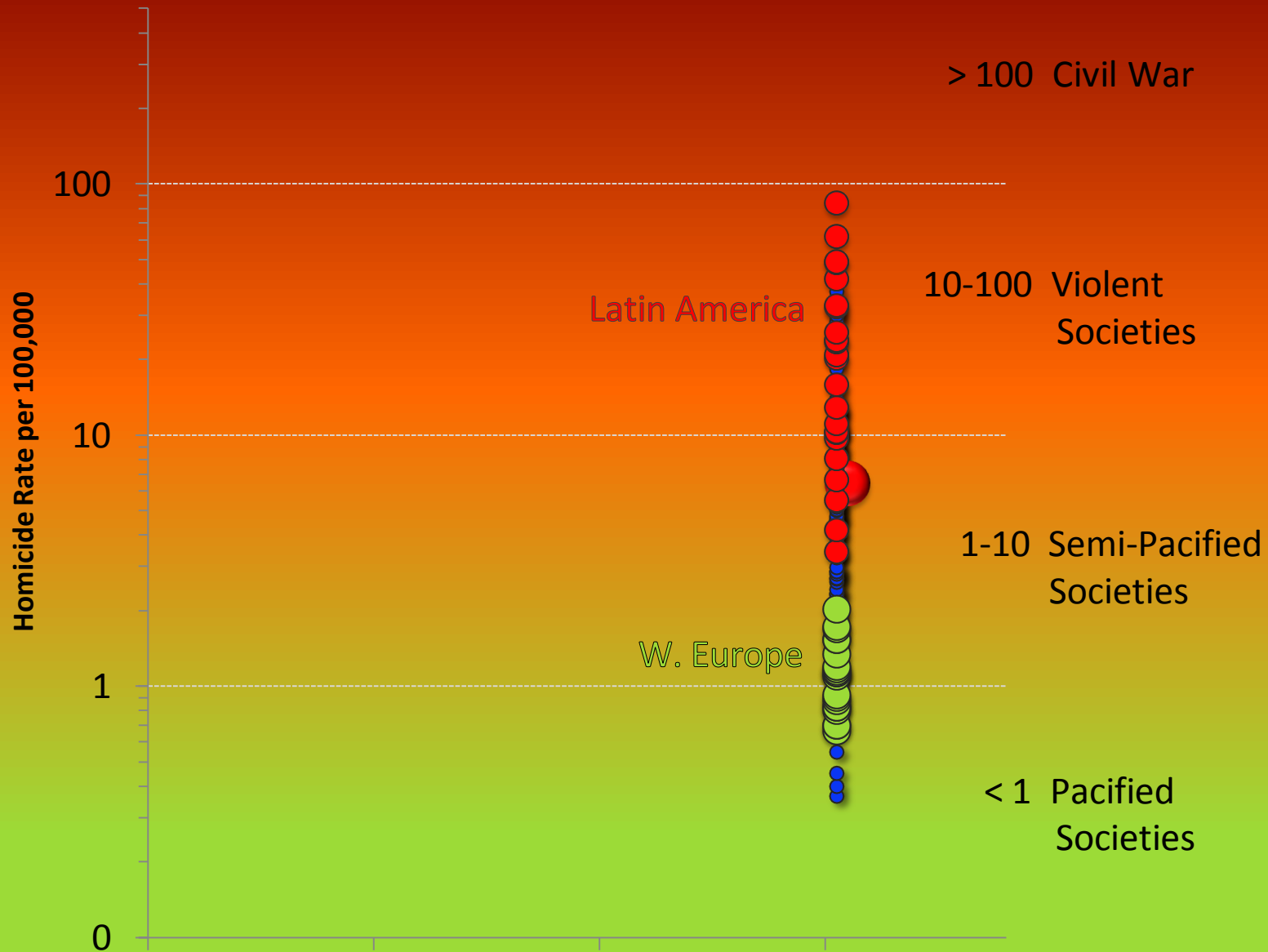
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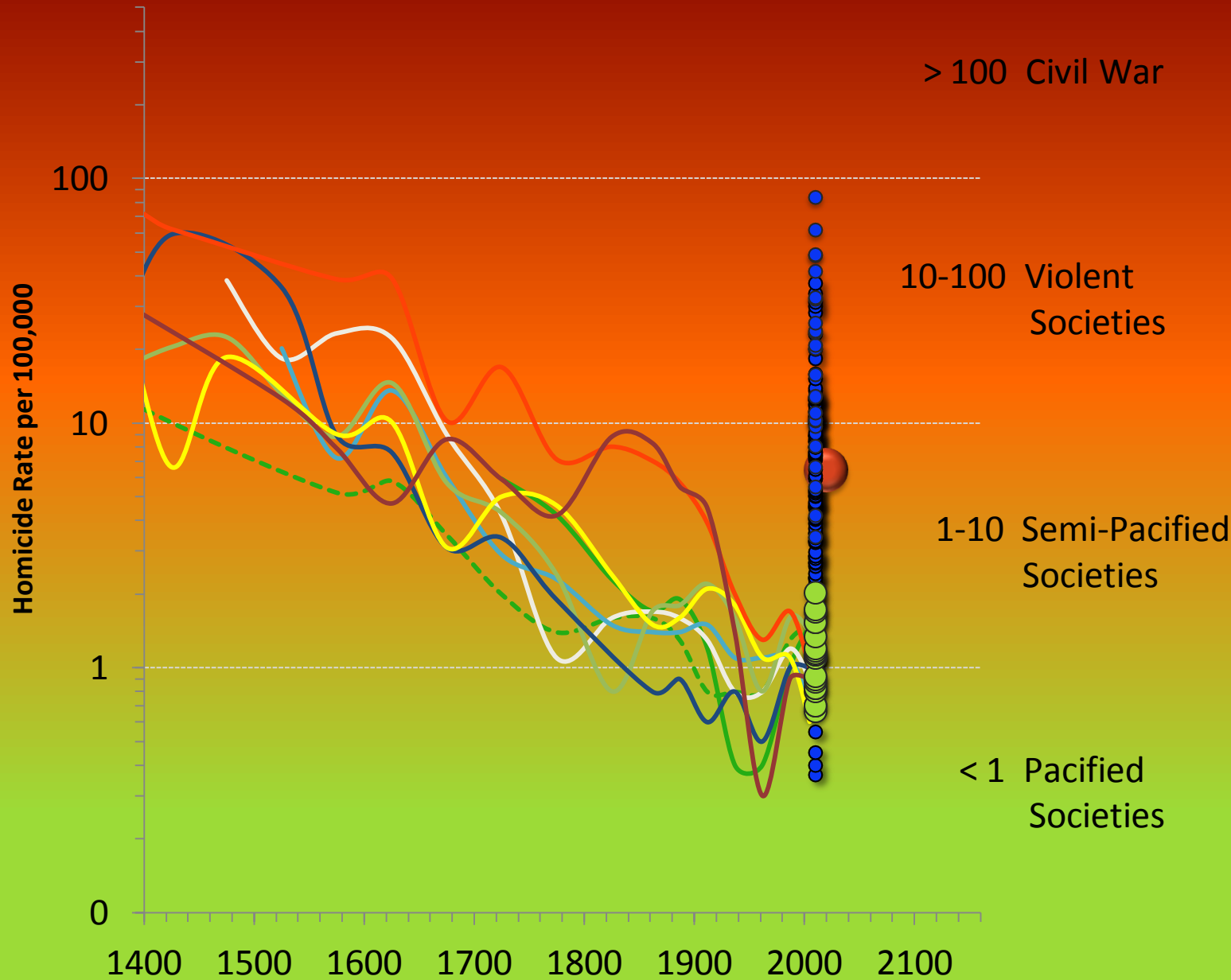


# Homicide Scale



# Homicide Scale

Homicide Trends in 8 European Regions, 15<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> c.



Source:  
Eisner (2014) *Swords to Words*, C & J



# Why did homicide decline in Europe?

# Why did homicide decline in Europe?

## Four hypotheses

1. The long-term decline in homicide in the general population was preceded by a pacification of the political elites.
2. The Early Modern (15<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century) decline in homicide was associated with a transition from a punitive regime anchored in the *spectacle of suffering* to a punitive regime focused on *regulation, discipline, and imprisonment*.
3. The Early Modern (15<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century) decline in homicide was partly due to the frontal lobe training in self-control resulting from the diffusion of the book and literacy.
4. The up and down of homicide across the Western World since the 1950s is the result of cultural change related to self-control and discipline.



## The Hypothesis

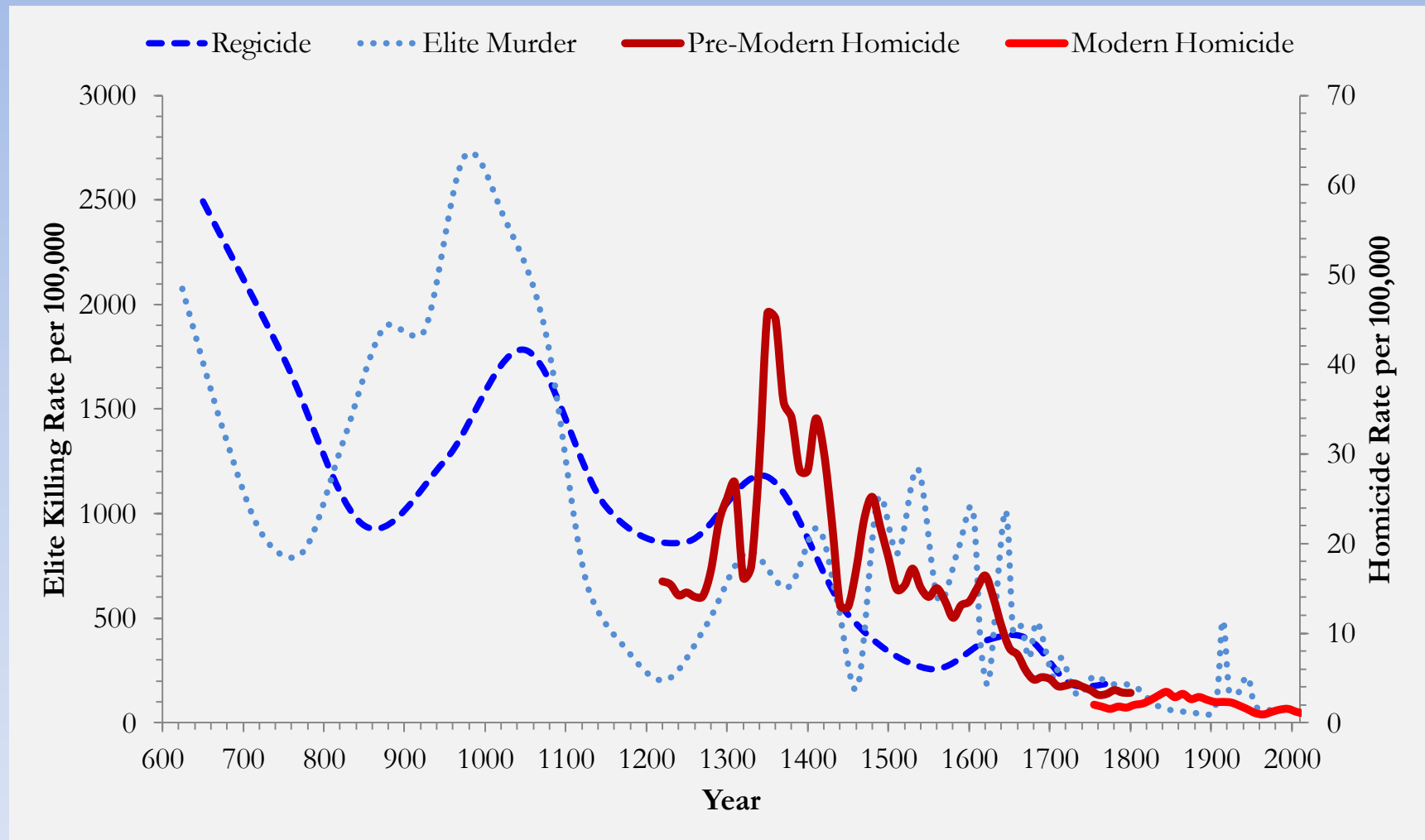
**Any decline in homicide in the general population requires a prior pacification of the political elites.**

## The Data

**1. Regicide Database:** Coding of violent deaths of all 1513 rulers in 45 monarchies of Europe, 600-1800. See Eisner, M. (2011). Killing Kings..., *British Journal of Criminology*.

**2. VIP Violent Death Database:** Coding of all male entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 600-2000 for homicide and execution.

# Elite Violence and the Decline in Homicide, 600-2013



Source: Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice (in press).

## The Hypothesis

The decline in homicide was associated with a transition from a punitive regime anchored in the *spectacle of suffering* to a punitive regime focused on *regulation, discipline, and imprisonment*.

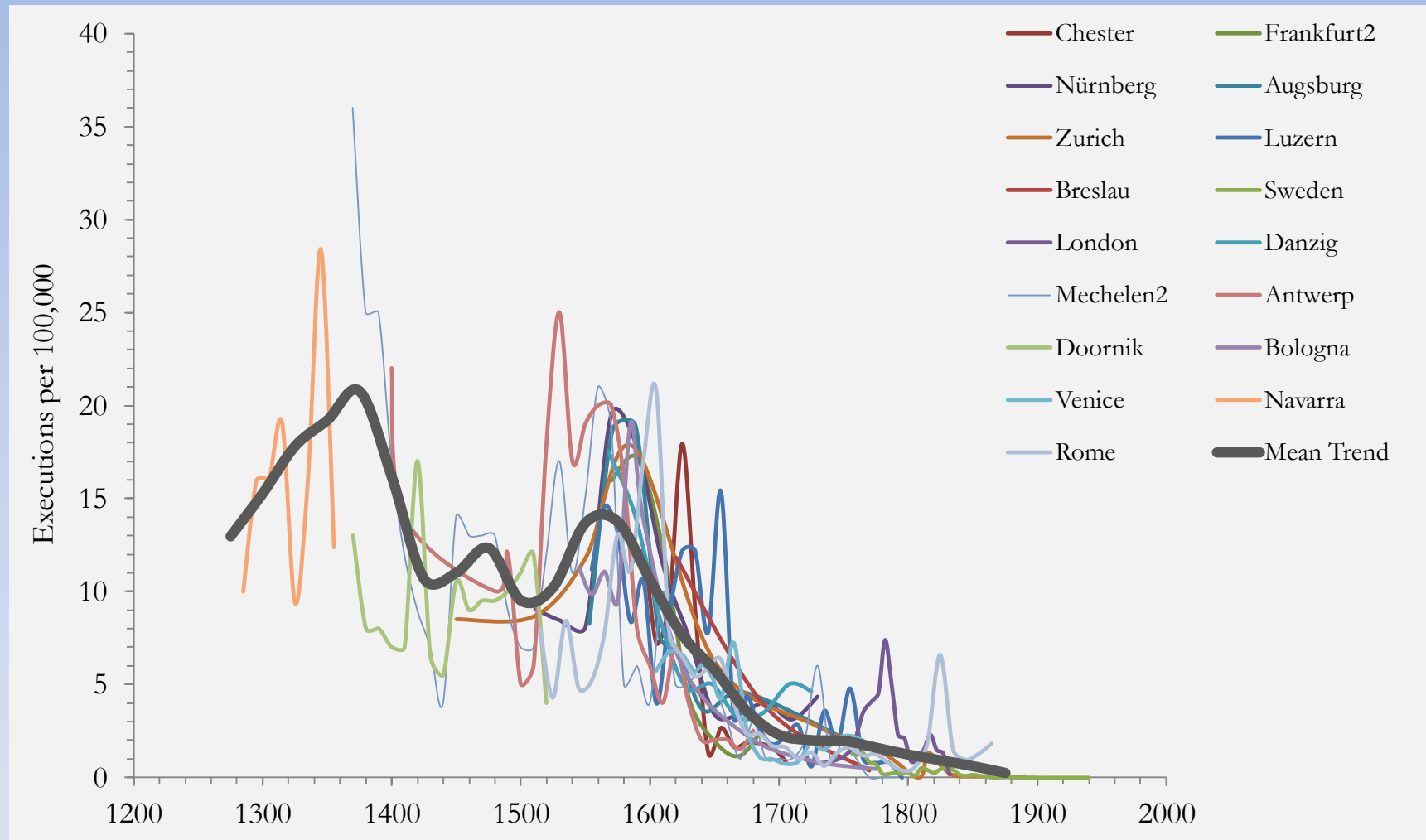


## The Data

Series of capital punishment in 17 European cities, 1200 – 1800, covering Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, Netherlands, England.

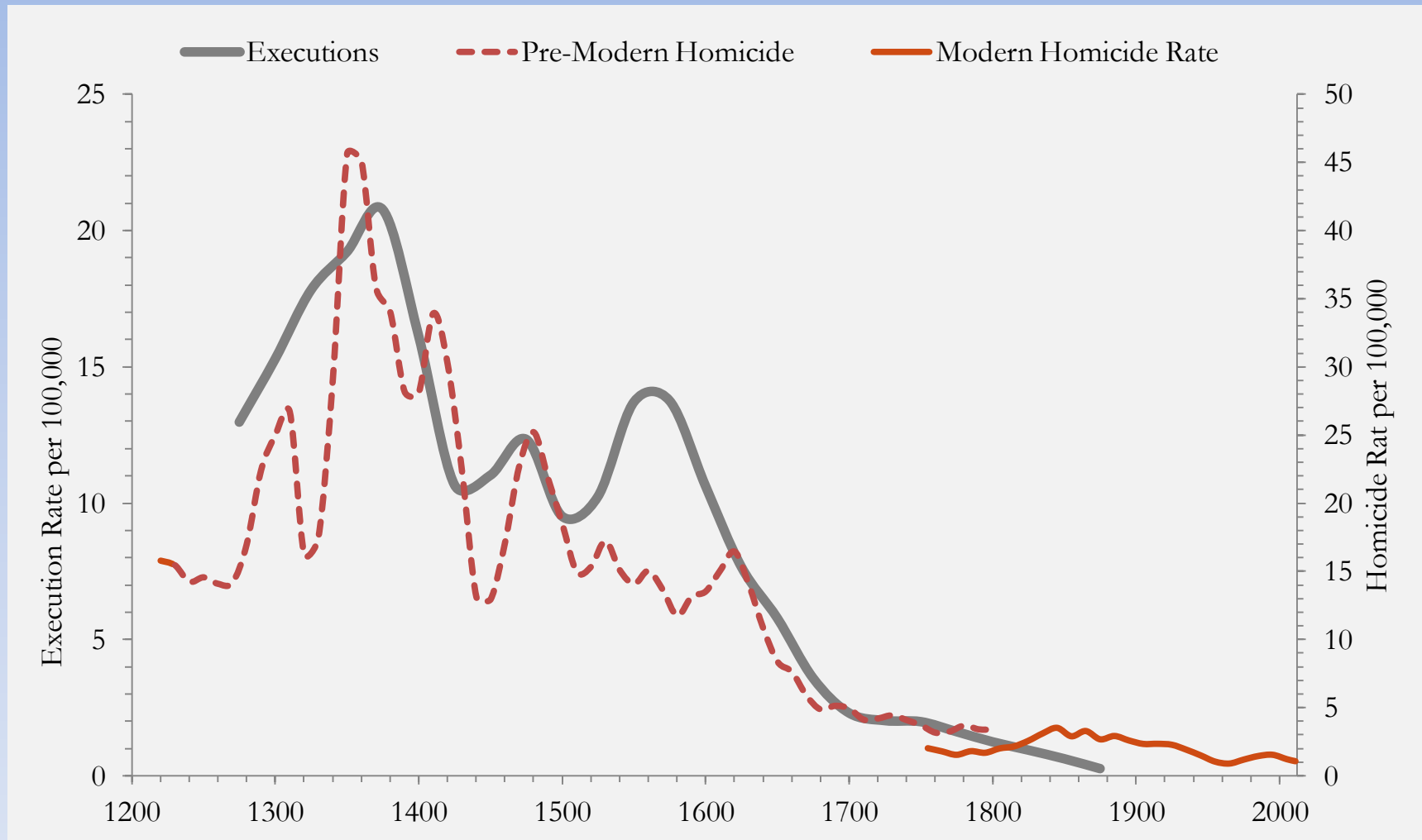
Retrieved from various historical publications.

# 17 Series of Capital Punishment and European Trend, 1200-2000



Source: Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice (in press).

# Decline in Capital Punishment vs. Decline in Homicide



Source: Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice (in press).

## The Hypothesis

**The Early Modern (15<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century) decline in homicide was partly due to the frontal lobe training in self-control resulting from the diffusion of the book and literacy.**



Jan Steen (1665) The Schoolmaster.

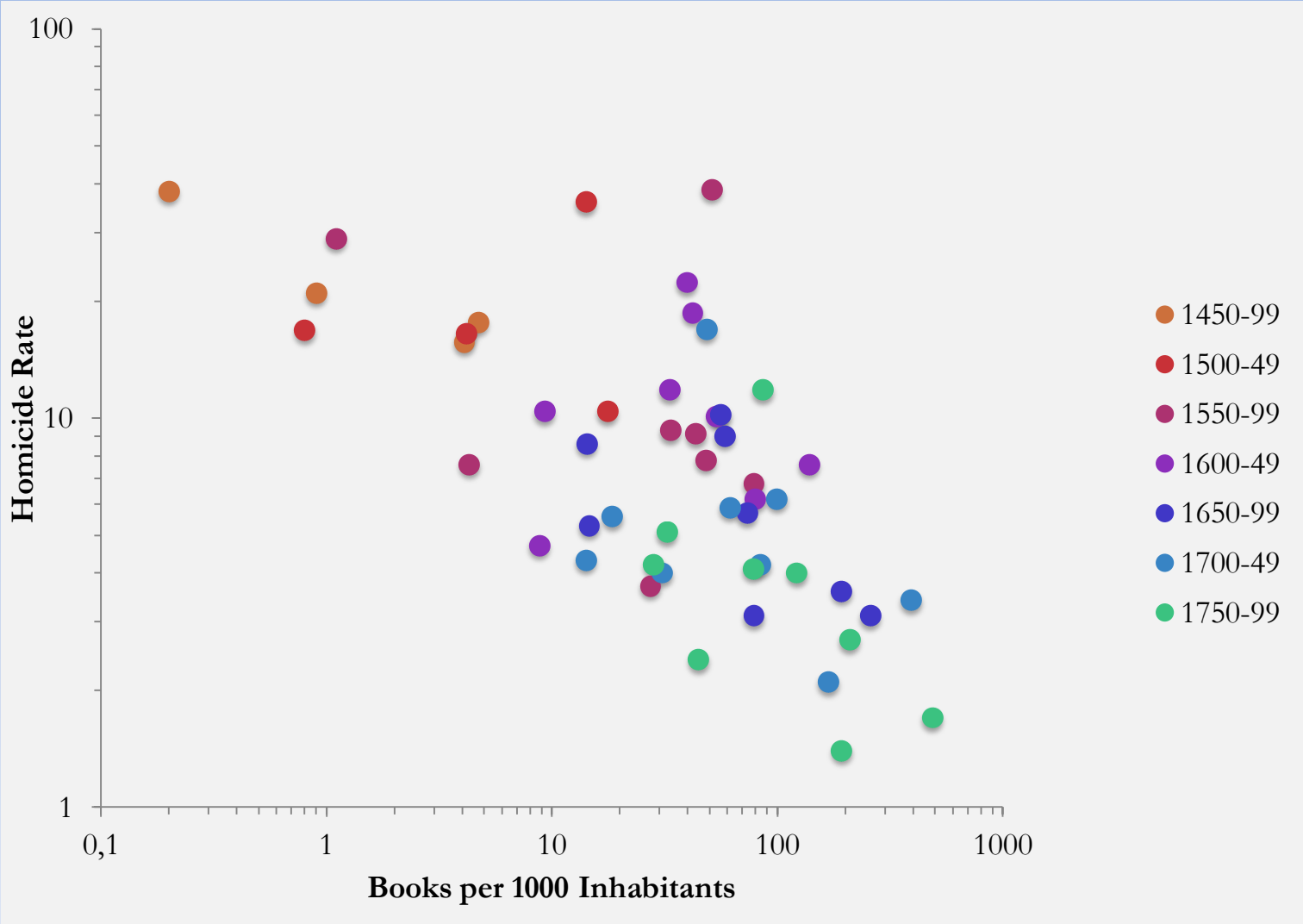
## The Data

Number of printed books per 1000 inhabitants for 13 European regions between 1450 and 1800, by 50-year periods.

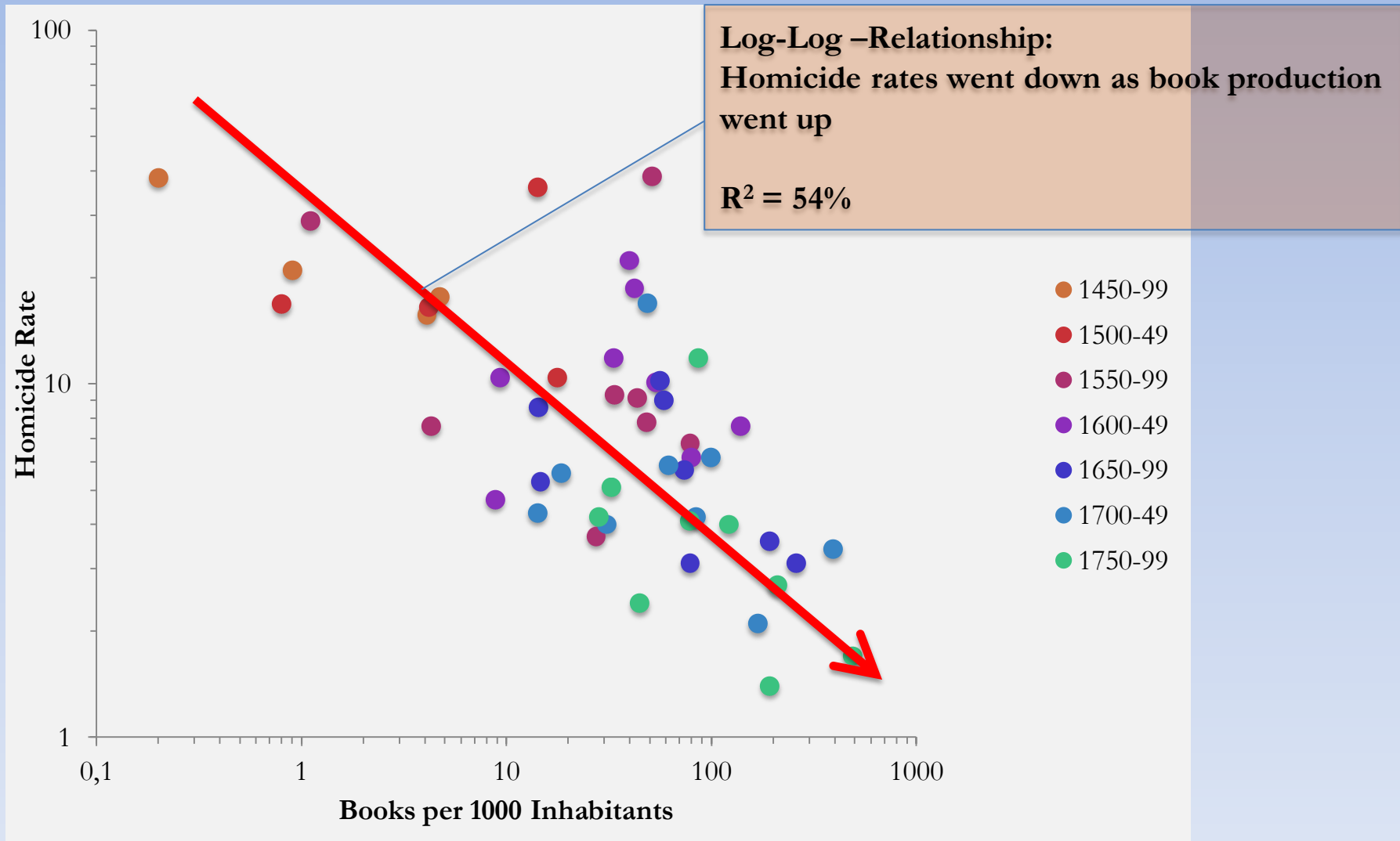
Buringh, E. and J. L. Van Zanden (2009). "Charting the "Rise of the West": Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, a long-term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries." *The Journal of Economic History*, **69**(02): 409-445.



# Book Production and Homicide Rate, 1450-1800



# Book Production and Homicide Rate, 1450-1800



## The Hypothesis

**The late 19<sup>th</sup> / early 20<sup>th</sup> century decline in homicide was partly a result of self-control training associated with a Victorian cultural emphasis on domesticity, temperance, and rational recreation.**

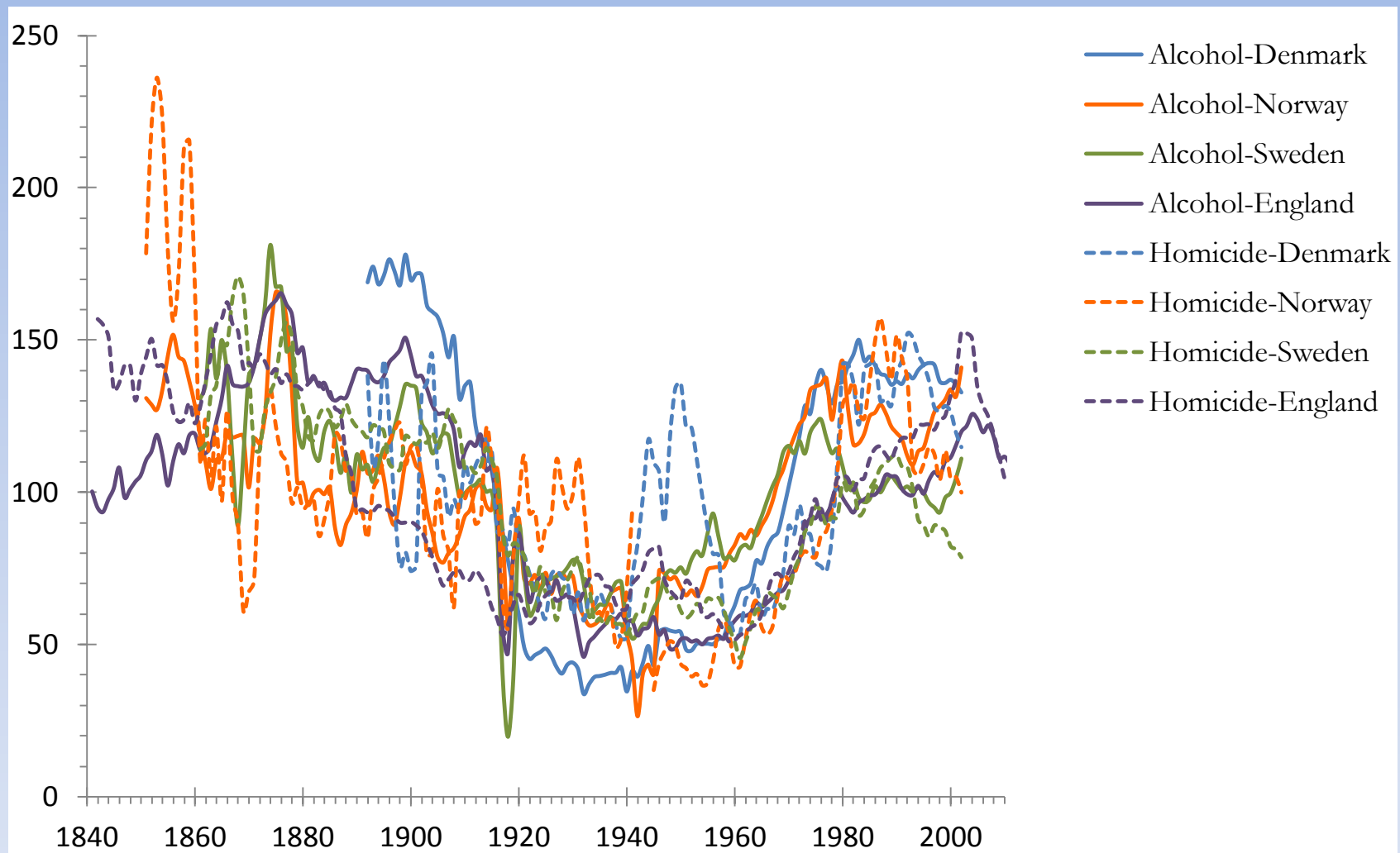


Victorian Christmas Card

## The Data

Annual time-series of alcohol consumption per capita for England (1840-2012), Norway (1851-2002), Sweden (1861-2005 and Denmark (1892-2002) .

# Alcohol Consumption versus Homicide in Northern Europe



Source: Eisner, M. (2014). *From Swords to Words – Does Macro-Level Change in Self-Control predict Long-Term Variation in Homicide Rates*. Crime and Justice (in press).

## The Hypothesis

The increase in violent crime from the early 1960s to the 90s and the decline since then reflect a move away from and a return to cultural values of *self-control* and *discipline*.



<http://chrismaverick.deviantart.com>

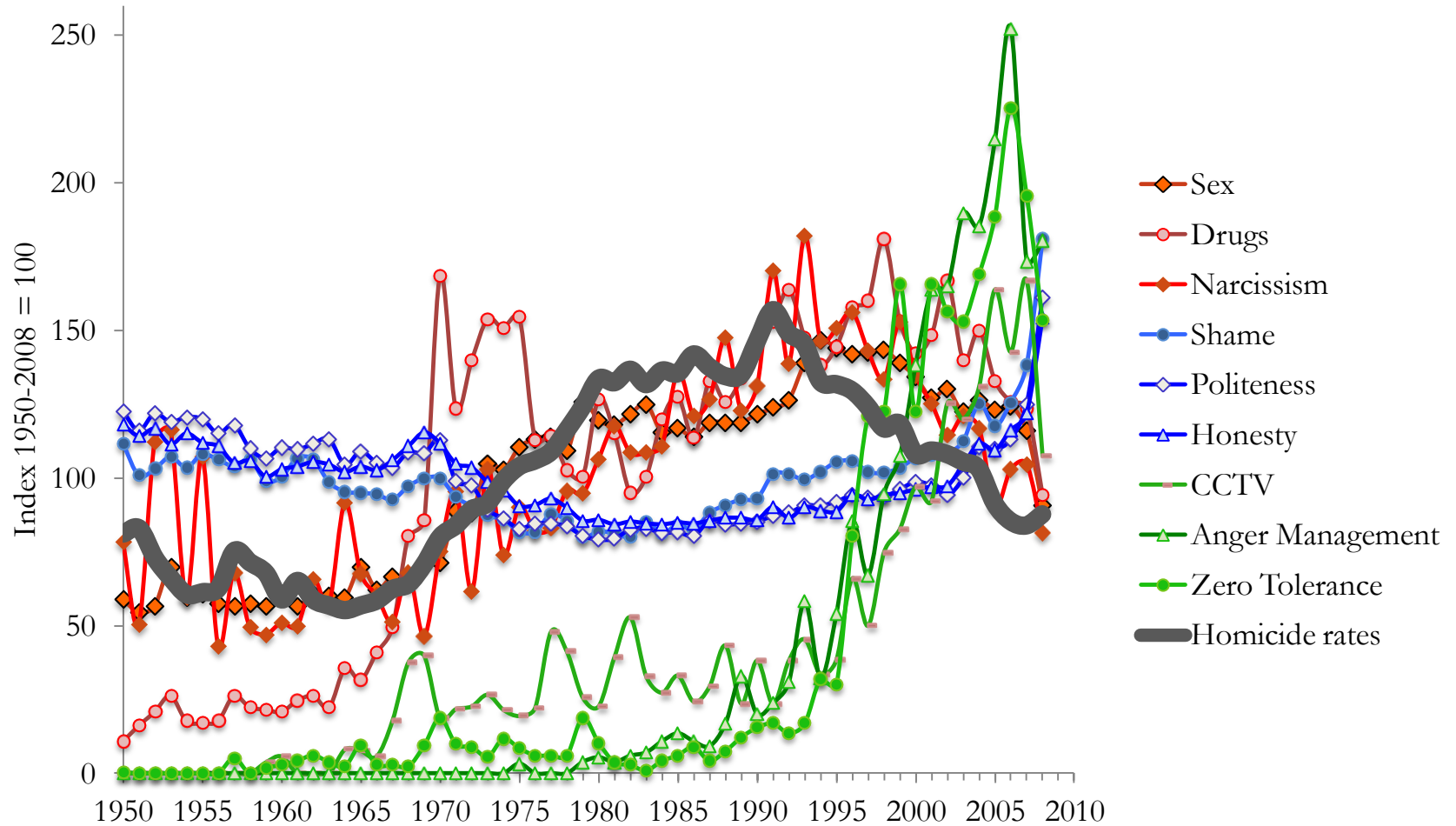
## The Data

NGRAM frequencies of nine thematic fields related to loss of self-control (sex, drugs, narcissism), inner control (shame, politeness, honesty), and outer control (CCTV, anger management, zero tolerance).

Corpus of all English books in google.books, no smoothing.

All series standardized to Mean (1950-2008) = 100.

# Trends in Cultural Themes related to Discipline and Western World Homicide Rates



# What Drives Homicide Down?

## Governance and Civil Society

- Control over protection entrepreneurs
- Enforcement of 'rule of law', compliance with authority
- 'Civil service ethos'
- Legitimacy ("fairness") of social order
- Inclusive state services

Rotberg (2004) *When States Fail*; Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) *Why Nations Fail*.

## Bundles of Social Control Technologies

- Monitoring technologies (CCTV, Mobile)
- Control over disorderly conduct (ASBOs, Curfews, alcohol sale, hooliganism)
- Early screening, victim protection services, home visits, CD treatment
- Probation & parole

Finkelhor (2013), Farrell et al. (2011)

## Morality and Self Control

Coalitions of 'moral entrepreneurs' who promote health, child development, civility, self-control, respect, morality.

# Proposal 1

Any sustained violence reduction will require better governance and a movement towards inclusive civil societies

Level	Examples
Universal	Rule of law Civil servants Anti-corruption policies Control over private protection markets Compliance with human rights State legitimacy
Selective	Effective policing Victim protection services Effective complaints and internal affairs procedures
Indicated	Absence of torture Respect for rights of defendant Fairness of judiciary Availability of offender treatment





# Theme     Legitimacy of Social Order

## Background

Violence is not just an issue of individual pathology, it has systemic features influenced by, amongst others, benefits of violence, costs of violence, and beliefs about the benefits of cooperative behaviors, e.g. Eisner (2011).

What makes a social order legitimate?

- E.g. Tankebe and Bottoms , Tankebe (2012)

Why do people comply with moral rules?

- E.g. moral socialization, e.g. Malti et al (2009)
  - developmental antecedents of legal cynicism (e.g. Nivette et al 2014)
- 
- What systemic features of families, kindergartens, schools, care-homes, prisons, states make people more likely to follow rules?

# Example 1

## Saliency of Risk Factors in Zurich and Montevideo



### Police recorded crime

	Montevideo	Zurich	
<b>Homicide</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>x 15</b>
<b>Robbery</b>	<b>1050</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>x 5</b>

# Example 1

## Saliency of Risk Factors in Zurich and Montevideo



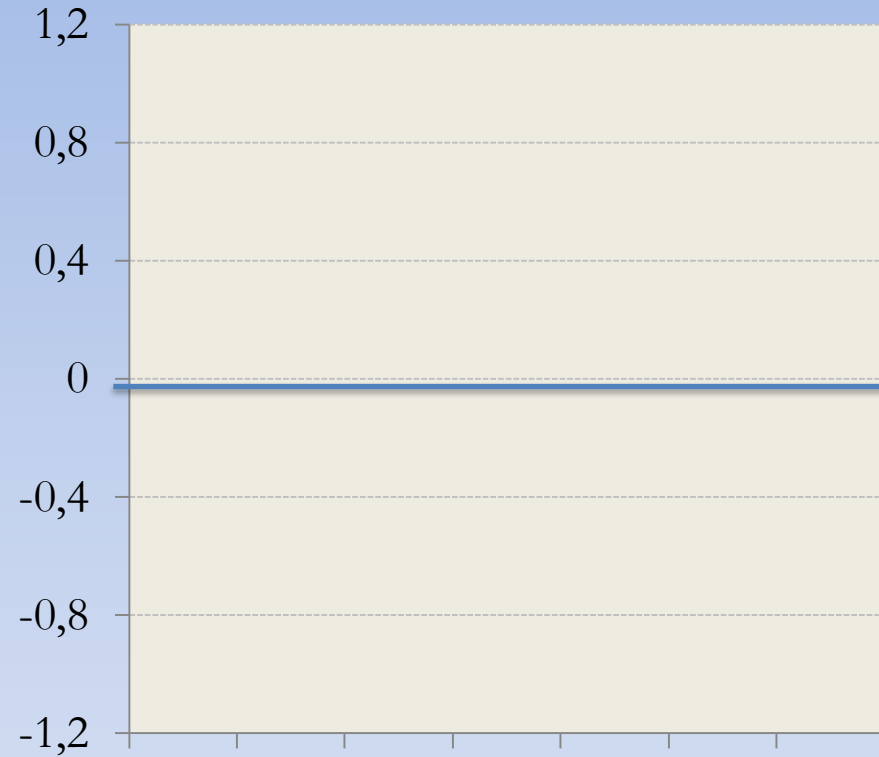
Police recorded crime

	Montevideo	Zurich	
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Montevideo higher

Standard Deviations  
Cohen's d

Zurich higher



# Example 1

## Saliency of Risk Factors in Zurich and Montevideo



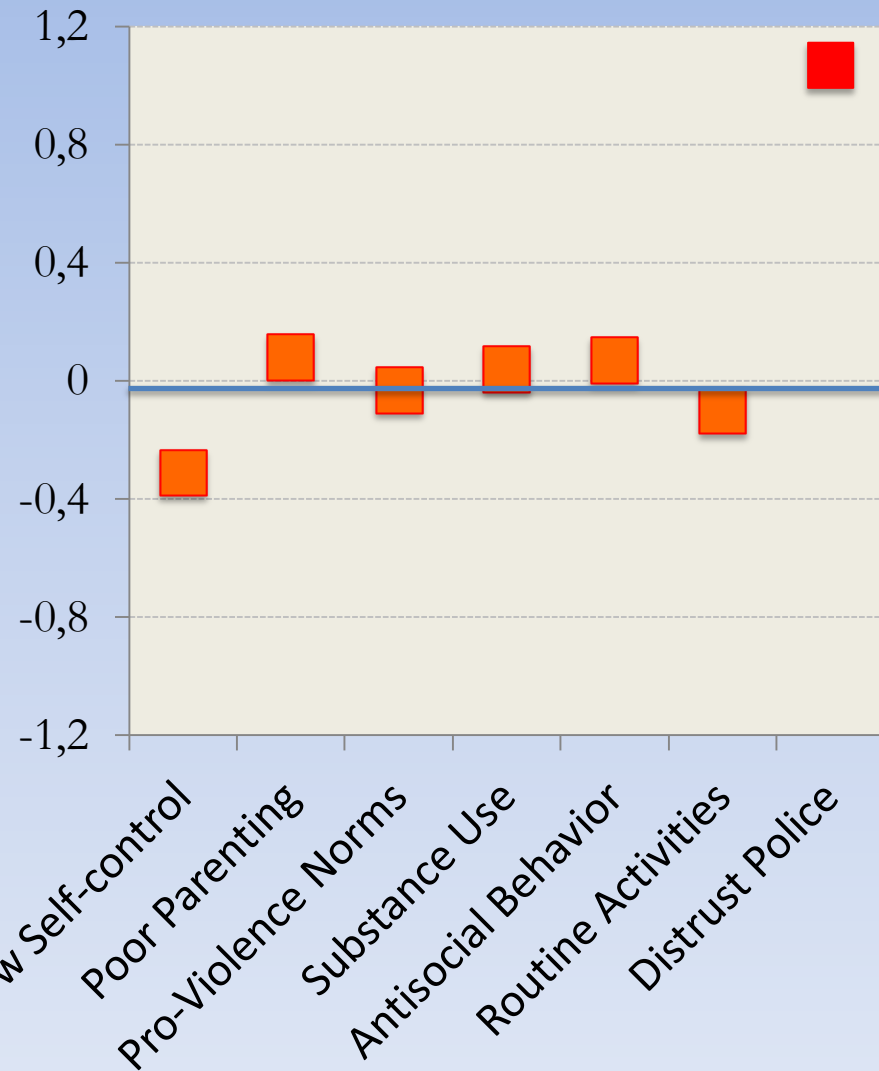
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Montevideo higher

Standard Deviations  
Cohen's d

Zurich higher



# Proposal 2

Any sustained violence reduction will rest on more intensive and effective formal and informal social control mechanisms

Universal	Effective supervision of children Urban Planning Elimination of physical money CCTV monitoring
Selective	Control over truancy Enforcement of alcohol regulations Effective gun control
Indicated	Higher likelihood of punishment Faster punishment Electronic tagging

# Example 2 Punishment for Homicide in Honduras

## Background

Punishment (costs for norm transgressions) is important. Punishment is here to stay for the next 30 years. **If the state doesn't punish somebody else will.**

There is quite some knowledge about what characteristics of punishment are more or less conducive to deterrence. E.g. Nagin (2013).

What is the average 'tariff' for a murder in Honduras?

- Imprisonment rate 160 per 100,000, Daniel Ortega (2014)
- Assume 50% in prison for murder
- Homicide rate 80 per 100,000
- > **Average tariff is 1 year per murder committed**

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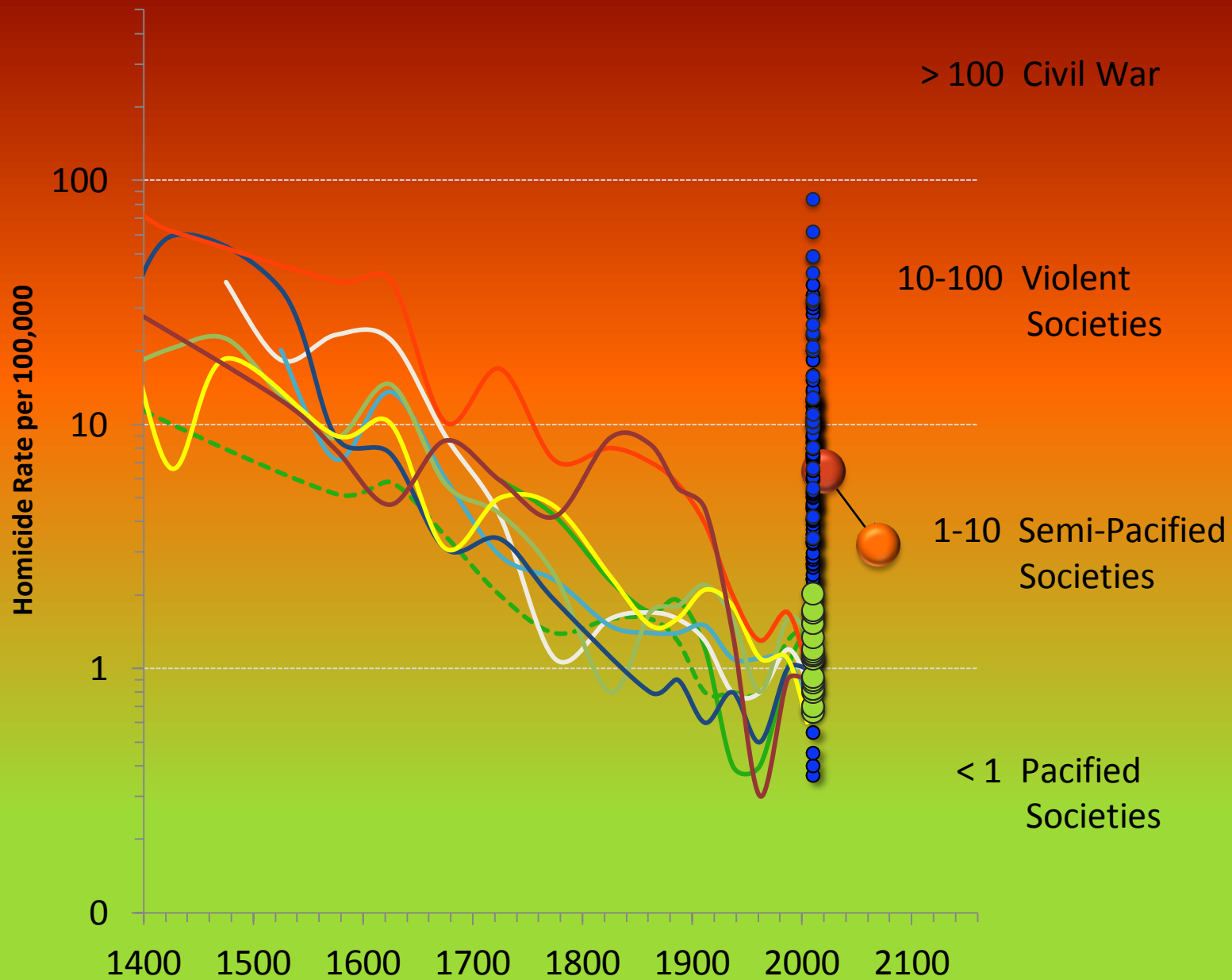
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- Imprisonment rate 160 per 100,000.
- Assume 50% in prison for murder
- Homicide rate 80 per 100,000
- > **Average tariff is 1 year per murder committed**

Today	Future
Slow	Fast
Severe	Lenient/moderate
Unfair	Fair
Rare	Certain

# Homicide Scale

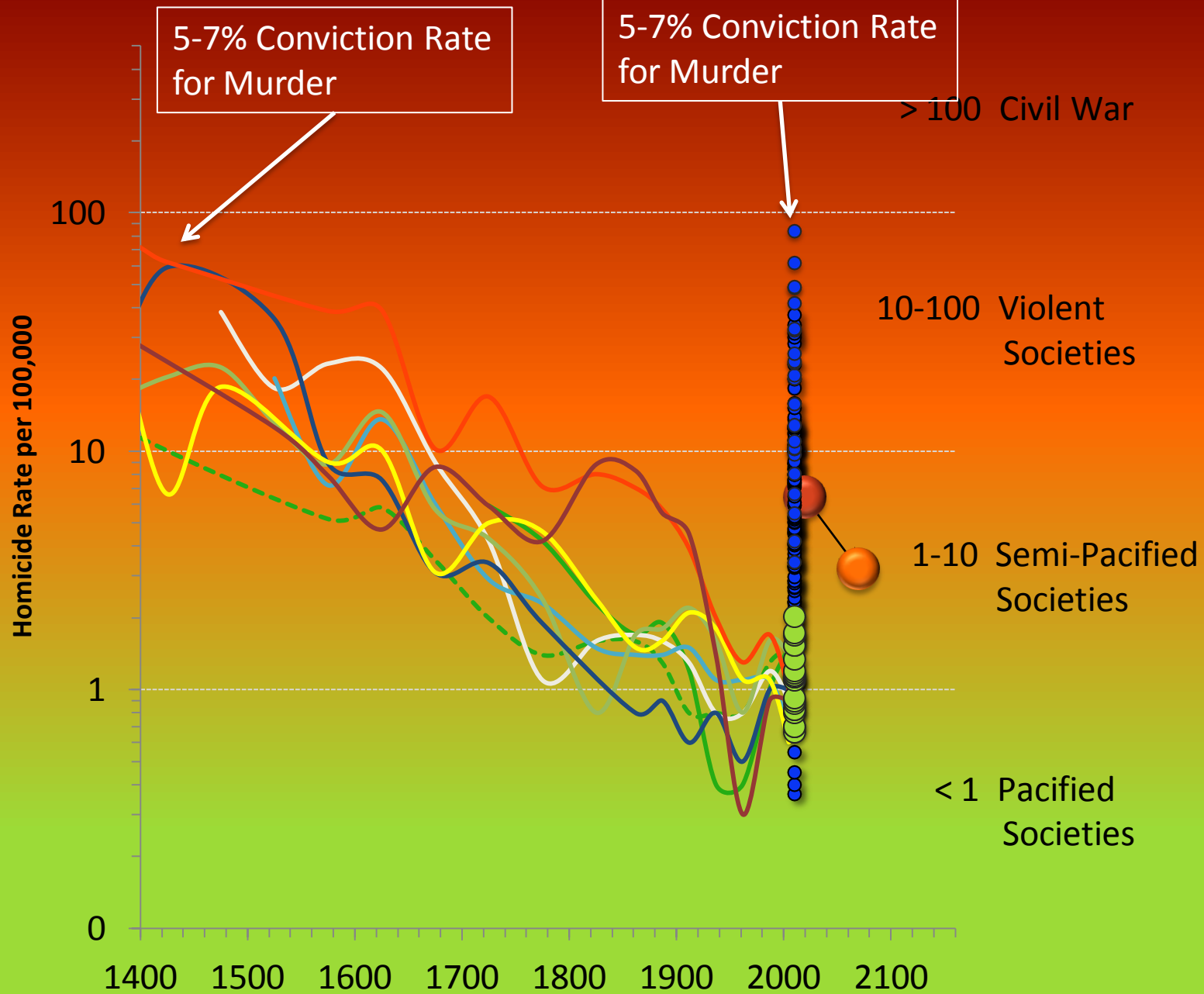
Homicide Trends in 8 European Regions, 15<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> c.



Source:  
Eisner (2014) *Swords to Words*, C & J



# Homicide Scale



Homicide Trends in 8 European Regions, 15<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> c.

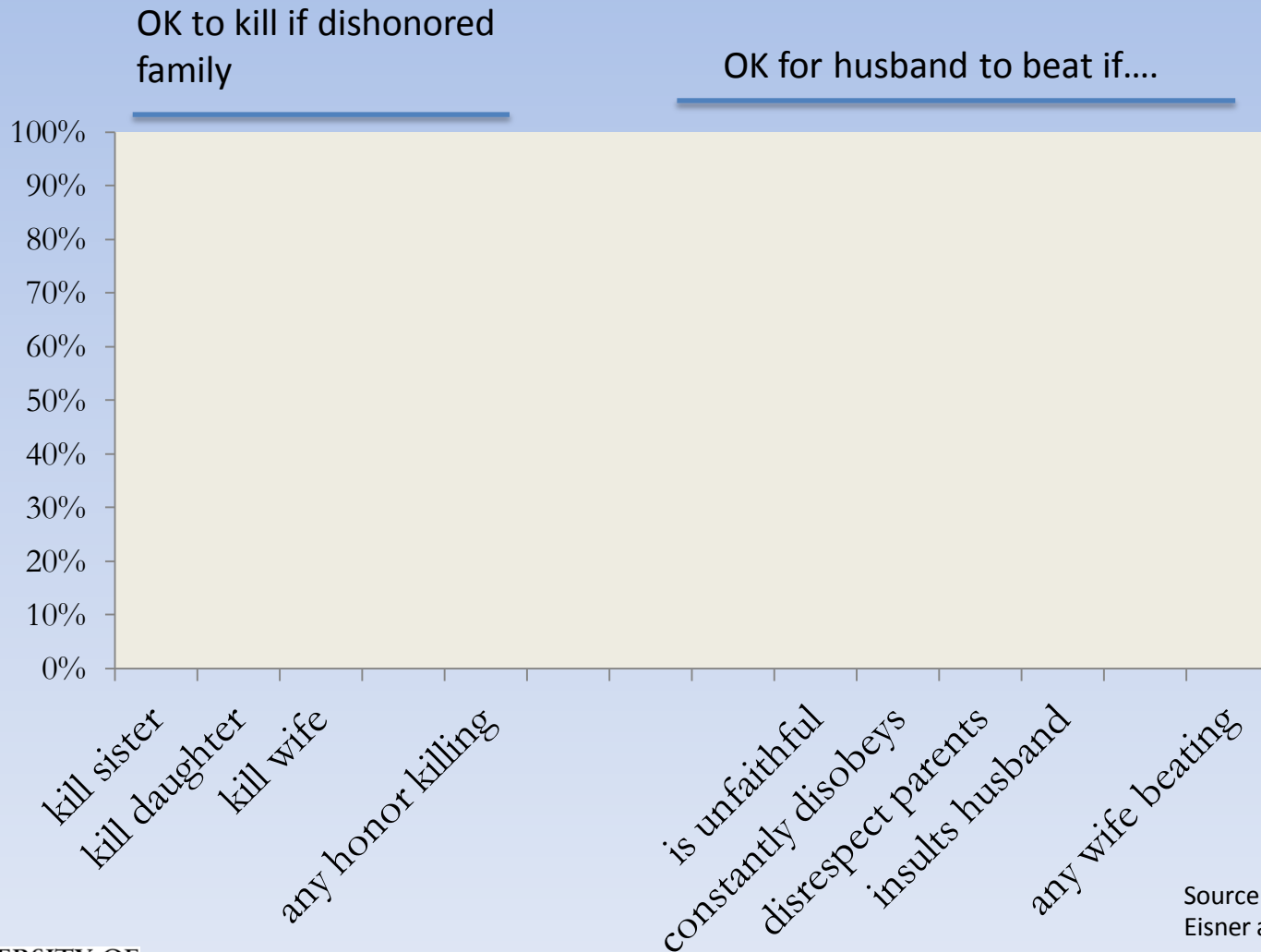
Source: Eisner (2014) *Swords to Words, C & J*

## Proposal 3

A major decline in violence will require substantial efforts by coalitions of moral entrepreneurs to change moral beliefs and sensitivities.

# What is morally right for adolescents in Amman?

Background: Moral Neutralisations of harm-doing are powerful facilitators of violence, especially if supported by religious and political elites.

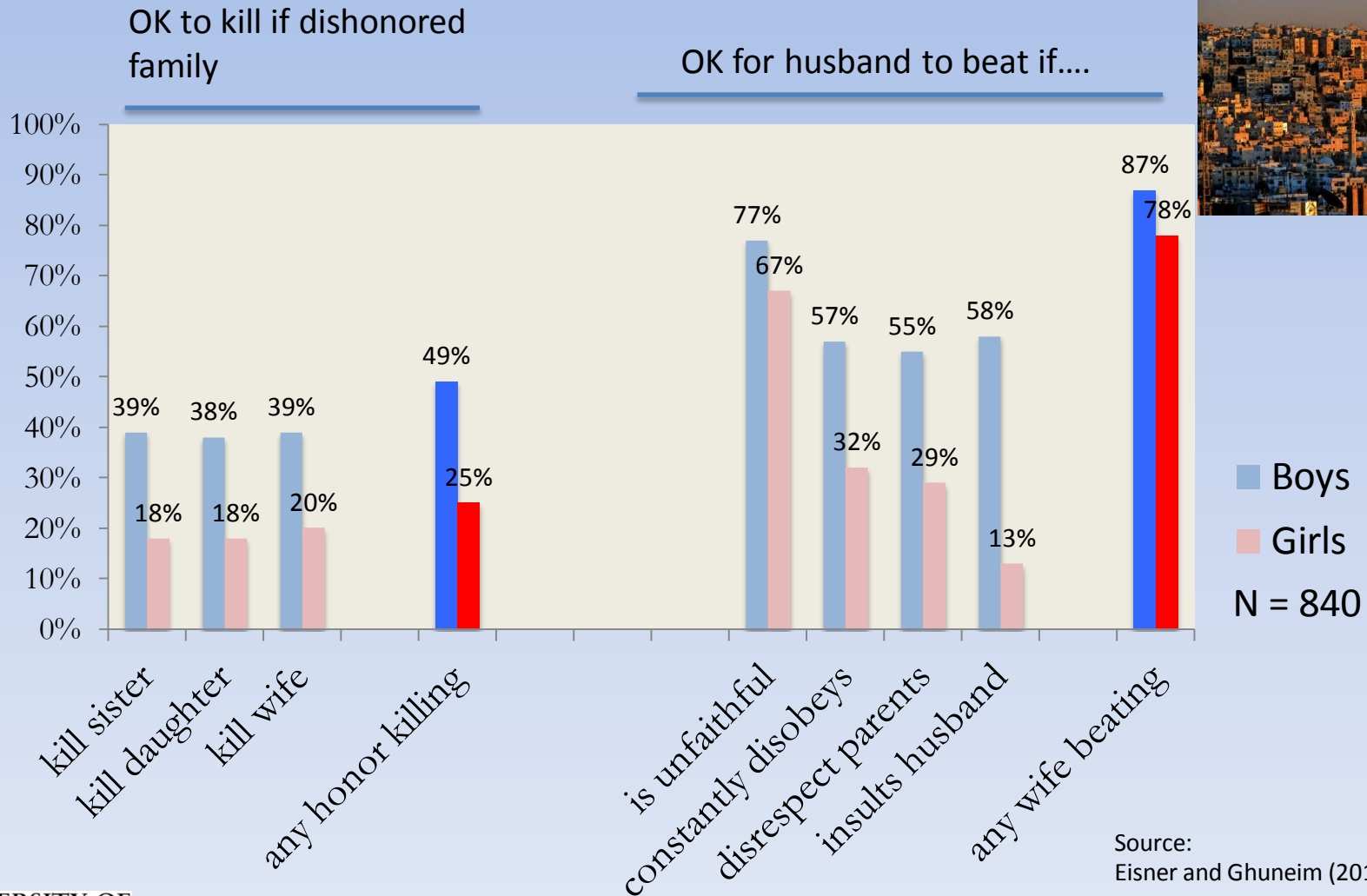


Boys  
Girls  
N = 840

Source:  
Eisner and Ghuneim (2013). Honor Killing

# What is morally right for adolescents in Amman?

Background: Moral Neutralisations of harm-doing are powerful facilitators of violence, especially if supported by religious and political elites.



Finally.....



## Public Health

- Child development
- Early prevention
- Social skills

## Justice and Governance

- Better policing
- Fight corruption
- Better justice
- Offender treatment



## Civil Society

- Sectarian violence
- Minorities, ethnic tensions
- Transitional justice
- Political violence





## Public Health

- Child development
- Early Prevention
- Social Skills

## Justice and Governance

- Better policing
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- Offender treatment



## Civil Society

- Sectarian violence
- Minorities, ethnic tensions
- Transitional justice
- Political violence



# Six Papers

## Historical trends and patterns in homicide

Eisner, Manuel (2003). Long-term trends in violent crime. *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, 30, 83-142.

Eisner, Manuel (2014). From Swords to Words. *Crime and Justice*, Vol 38.

## Historical trends and patterns in elite violence

Eisner, Manuel (2011). Killing kings; patterns of regicide in Europe, 600-1800. *British Journal of Criminology*,

## General theory of violence

Eisner, Manuel (2010). The uses of violence: An examination of some cross-cutting issues, *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 3, 40-59.

## Cross-national comparison of homicide rates

Nivette, Amy and Manuel Eisner (2014). Political Legitimacy and Homicide: A cross-national analysis. *Homicide Studies*.

## Macro-level prevention of homicide

Eisner, Manuel and Amy Nivette (2012). How to reduce the global homicide rate to 2 per 100,000 by 2060. in: Welsh, Brandon and Rolf Loeber (eds.). *The Future of Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



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