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— LÉTAL

Monitor of Use of Lethal Force in Latin America and the Caribbean

Jamaica | 2024



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MONITOR DEL USO DE LA FUERZA LÉTAL EN VENEZUELA

Monitor of Use of Lethal Force in
Latin America and the Caribbean

Jamaica



**THE UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WEST INDIES**



University of the West Indies

Tarik Weekes

1. INTRODUCTION

This report is about fatal shooting events involving members of the security forces in Jamaica, in particular the police and the soldiers assigned to the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) and the Jamaica Defence Force (JDF). The report follows up on a previous report published in 2022 highlighting fatal shootings by members of the security force¹. The previous report focused on two years of civilian deaths caused by on duty officers but this year's report takes a much longer view, highlighting the data on fatal shootings involving on duty officers from 2017 up to 2022. As with the previous report this one reveals that police officers are overwhelmingly contributing to a higher number of fatal police shootings when compared to soldiers in the Jamaica Defence Force. In 2017 for example, of the 168 fatal shootings recorded only 7 involved officers from the Jamaica Defence Force (JDF). In 2018, 3 of the 137 fatal shootings were assigned to soldiers and in 2019 only 1 of the 86 involved JDF. In 2020, there was an increase over the 2019 figure where soldiers were involved in 10 of the 115 fatal shooting events in 2020. In the last decade, the number of fatal shootings with JCF has caused much concern and individual incidents have also drawn their own alarm by human rights groups, residents and oversight bodies such as the Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM). The number of civilians killed compared to those shot and injured and the disparity in officers killed and shot and injured are also part of the revelations of the reports and perhaps the pressing issue at hand because of the excess in civilians killed.

Incidence and abuse data are presented in this report to illustrate the excessive killing of civilians in security force encounters. Descriptive statistics are also presented in the report and are calculated based on data from the review and analysis of secondary data collected from official and media sources. This report sticks to the use of official and media sources on fatal shootings and the discussion on fatal shootings is supported by

¹ Tarik Weekes, Monitor of Use of Lethal Force in Latin America and the Caribbean, Jamaica 2022. https://www.monitorfuerzaletal.com/docs/MonitorFuerzaLetal_2022_Jamaica.pdf

these two sources. This approach has shown to be useful in triangulating and filling in gaps in the data series of fatal shootings. The focus on incidence and abuse is aligned with a wider framework of understanding lethal violence, being used by Monitor Fuerza Lethal involving eight other countries within Latin America and the Caribbean². The next sections speak to methods, a presentation of findings and a conclusion follows.

² Person interested in this project can access country reports and a comparative report at this link:
<https://www.monitorfuerzaletal.com>

2. METHODS

The report is the result of a desk review and a quantitative approach to analysing fatal shootings. It largely relies on descriptive statistics found in the reports published by the Independent Commission of Investigations and also a dataset on fatal shootings shared with the researcher by the Commission to present the fatal shooting situation in Jamaica. The data itself has been collected to meet the explanation for indicators of incidents and abuse in police use of lethal and sub lethal force in the project's wider framework of understanding lethal violence involving security forces.³

2.1. *Terms in Use*

Public security agents when used in the report serve as a collective term for police officers and soldiers. It includes joint police military behaviour. Most importantly it excludes security guards providing security at public places and correctional officers. Reference to public security agents also means those who are on duty unless otherwise stated.

2.2. *Data collection*

Data collected to produce this report began in March 2023, with request for data sent to local security agencies such as the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) and the Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM) an independent oversight body commissioned by parliament. The request to these agencies asked for disaggregated data on fatal shootings of civilians by police as well as shooting injuries incurred in police citizen encounters. The approach taken to the request for data gave sensitivity to officers also injured and killed and such data was also requested. Between the period April to November, data was also collected on incidents from two national newspapers, the Jamaica Gleaner and the

³ For more details on how the previous reports used the approach please see <https://www.monitorfuerzaletal.com>

Jamaica Observer but was only done for the years 2020-2022. This data extracted was guided by a search protocol that the members of the eight country team developed for the previous report which covered the years 2018-2019 and is also presented in this report. Differing from the previous round of data collection, this round of data collection included additional items such as race and ethnicity to be included in the disaggregation. The addition of these items were part of the attempt to present the unique characteristics at individual and situation levels that accompany fatal shooting events. A significant amount of literature debating and focused on race, ethnicity and other structural predictors such as poverty have been examined in fatal shootings by the police in North America and there are information gaps when the literature in the LAC is examined, This may be an unfair comparison given contexts and what may be prioritized as important in each region. There are also differences between Latin America and the Caribbean regions. There are difference in political regimes for example. Countries with homicide rates above the global average such as El Salvador and Jamaica have different approaches to their security crisis. However, there are some stable issues in the literature coming out from Latin America and the Caribbean regions exposing problems with the reliability of data and statistics on fatal shootings collected by police organizations, racial bias, the lack of attention given to broader problems of police violence, trust relations between police and citizens, police legislation and police professionalization which are important to fatal shooting by police discussions.^{4 5 6 7 8}

⁴ Stephen Wu, "Leadership Matters: Police Chief Race and Fatal Shootings by Police Officers", *Social Science Quarterly*, Volume 102, Number 1 (January 2021): 407-419 DOI:10.1111/ssqu.12900

⁵ Anneke Osse & Ignacio Cano (2017) Police deadly use of firearms: an international comparison, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 21:5, 629-649, DOI: 10.1080/13642987.2017.1307828

⁶ Ignacio Cano (2010) Racial bias in police use of lethal force in Brazil, *Police Practice and Research*, 11:1, 31-43, DOI: 10.1080/15614260802586350

⁷ Tamara Forde, Generating an understanding of police brutality in the small island state of Trinidad and Tobago, *Island Studies Journal* (18) 1 (2023) 74-98 <https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.415>

⁸ Randy Seepersad, Monitor of Use of Lethal Force in Latin America and the Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago 2022. https://www.monitorfuerzaletal.com/docs/MonitorFuerzaLetal_2022_TrinidadTobago.pdf

Following a briefing of the project by the researcher, a dataset with fatal shootings by the police, military and department of corrections was shared by the INDECOM. This dataset had ages, location and dates of the incident, security organization involved, sex of victims, and identification of off duty officer involvement. The dataset had information for the years 2017-2020 and information to support 2021 and 2022 was extracted from reports published by INDECOM, including its year in review for 2022. The dataset and the reports reviewed did not provide any information on race and ethnicity and when inquired it was identified as an area that could be added but was not available at the time of the request. Inquiries were also made from a third official source, the Registrar General's Department but the death records do not capture race or ethnicity. None of the three sources could provide or had not collected race and ethnicity data for deaths. This report uses data from INDECOM, with a few exceptions in which JCF data on officers killed on duty was used.

Newspaper sources which serve to bring transparency on fatal shootings and an alternative to official data on fatal shootings and injuries inflicted by members of the police or military did not always have disaggregated information and they also did not have information on race or ethnicity in their reporting of fatal shootings or injuries. The absence of race and ethnicity in the data on fatal shootings limited the analysis in this report. In this report, the use of media sources and the data presented are approached a bit different from the previous report. In the previous report, data on civilians killed and injured was captured especially where official data was hard to obtain but in this report media sources appear in almost all categories of incident and abuse indicators as a push to track the evolution within this source in the reporting on fatal shooting events and victims. It is expected that this tracking will serve to elucidate an

aspect of transparency in fatal shootings but also tell of the reporting behaviour from this source. A change in reporting behaviour for example could be a movement from not reporting race and ethnicity identifiers to reporting of it. In keeping with the pattern observed with official sources, newspaper sources provided no individual level characteristics of members of JCF or JDF officers, except for the organization they were part of. Without this type of data, it is difficult to put forward recommendations supporting individual behaviour change for a comprehensive treatment of the issues influencing fatal shootings.

2.3. *Other Procedures*

All of the official and press data were reviewed and examined in Microsoft Excel. A review of the data involved checking for duplicate information and identifying gaps in information. To arrive at the final counts for civilians killed duplicates in the press data had to be removed and a final spreadsheet with on-duty killings was created.

2.4. Data Analysis

In Excel, two by two tables were generated showing fatalities and shooting injured for both officer and civilians. Calculations for averages and percentages were also performed with the data while it was stored in Excel.

2.5. Limitations

While the use of press sources in the examination of police fatal shootings and in particular the indicators on incidents and abuse has proven to be useful there have been drawbacks in its application in the fatal shooting analysis for this report. For example, information on public security agent numbers is not routinely published but official sources do publish yearly figures. For the analysis of the indicator civilians killed per 1000 public agents (I-3), the rates that appear in the table for this indicator result from using the media source on civilians killed but the official source on public agents. Other indicators such as rates per 1000 arrests also follow this approach. An obvious criticism is how independent is the media source if the power of it functioning as a check on the movement of this indicator if there is a reliance on an official source of data to produce its indicator. The solution could rest with using other unofficial data sources such as the data produced by international development agencies (such as the World Bank) that also conduct independent research. As aforementioned the press data used for these indicators provide a lens to assess the reporting behaviour on the indicator especially because the variable civilian killed is tracked in the press.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Incident Indicators

I-1 – Civilians Killed

The six year trend starts with 2017 and shows a decline in the number of fatal shootings involving on-duty members of the security forces. In 2017, fatal shootings was 153 but would decline to 120 in 2018 and falling further to 70 in 2019. Twenty- four more incidents were recorded in 2020 and climbed upwards to 94, 115 in 2021 and 116 in 2022. The increase of twenty four fatalities over 2019 is a point of interest as this was the year of SARS-CoV-2, more popularly known as COVID-19 and Jamaica began a series of lockdown combinations in response to controlling the spread of this coronavirus. In this report, lockdown combinations refer to the restrictions on movement and activity and included combinations such as geographic specific curfews alongside stay at home orders and no movement days island wide.^{9 10}

In 2017, there were 131 fatal shooting incidents involving on duty officers but the number of fatal shooting incidents declined to 103 in 2018 and 61 in 2019. In 2020 there were 28 more incidents with INDECOM reporting a total of 83 fatal shooting incidents. As Table 1 illustrates, 16.8 % of fatal shooting incidents in 2020 occurred between January 2 when the first incident involving an on duty officer occurred and March 6 the last day before the declaration of the virus presence in Jamaica on March 10.¹¹ The percentage for 2020 is lowest over the four year period. Between 2017 and 2019, the percentage of fatal shooting incidents as part of the total fatal shooting incidents remained at 19% for individual years.

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<https://opm.gov.jm/news/tighter-restrictions-announced-as-government-again-seeks-to-flatten-the-curve-after-spike-in-covid-19-cases/>

¹⁰ <https://opm.gov.jm/news/st-catherine-has-been-placed-under-lockdown-for-seven-days/>

¹¹ <https://www.moh.gov.jm/jamaica-confirms-first-imported-coronavirus-case/>

Table 1. Fatal shootings incidents involving on-duty officers during COVID identification and early response

Period	2017	2018	2019	2020
January 2-March 6 (Counts)	25	20	12	14
% of total fatal shootings incidents involving on duty officers	19.08	19.4	19.6	16.8

Utilizing the same period, the percentage of civilians killed by on-duty officers was also the lowest across the four year period in 2020. Table 2 shows that the percentage killed fluctuated between 2017-2020, but fell to the lowest over the four years for the January 2 to March 6 period.

Table 2. Civilians killed by on duty officers during COVID identification and early response

Period	2017	2018	2019	2020
January 2-March 6 (Counts)	32	22	14	17
% of total civilians killed by on-duty officers	20.9	18.3	20	18

I-2 Civilians killed per 100,000 inhabitants.

In keeping with the larger decline trend in fatal shootings involving on duty security members, the rate of fatal shootings fell from 5.61 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2017 to 4.39 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018, 2.56 in 2019, 3.43 in 2020 , 4.20 in 2021 and 4.23 in 2022. The reasons for the decline between 2017 and 2019 and increase thereafter are expected to vary. In the period post 2009, there were efforts to improve the training of officers and their conduct. These efforts included the development and expansion of community policing and the establishment of the Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM), commissioned by parliament as an independent body that has investigation of conduct by members of the security forces as one of its chief functions and makes recommendations to authorities such as the Commissioner of Police and Office of the Director of Public Prosecution for sanctions and ruling.¹² INDECOM replaced the Police Public Complaints Authority, also an independent agency with a similar chief function. The work of these oversight bodies, laws and policies should serve as a deterrent to excessive use of force by officers but together with the data on civilians killed a closer examination is needed of risk perception as a deterrence device influencing reduction. Table 2 below shows that within the period 2017-2022, civilians shot and injured by on duty officers was lowest in 2017 with 15 cases but this more than tripled in subsequent years, with the highest count being 72 cases in 2022.

¹² More could be read about INDECOM's functions and powers here
<https://www.indecom.gov.jm/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/INDECOM-Act.pdf>

Table 3. Civilians Shot and Injured by On-Duty Officers 2017-2022

Period	Civilians shot and injured by on duty officers					
	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Counts	15	59	62	68	58	72
Rate per 100,000 population	.55	2.16	2.26	2.48	2.11	2.63

I-3 Civilians killed per 1000 public security agents (officers).

The data available for analysis showed that between the years 2017 and 2022, civilians killed per 1000 public agents remained relatively stable. In 2020 the rate was 5.76 per 1000 officers but increased in 2021 to 5.89, but falling off 50 5.77 in 2022. This period may be regarded as an improvement in the rates as they came down from highs of 10.25 in 2017 and 7.25 in 2018. The number of police officers and soldiers in the JCF and the JDF have been concerning for a lengthy period of time. Both organizations have reported operating below their required establishment in successive ESSJs over the 2017-2022 period. In the case of the JCF, it has been operating with a current strength in the range of 80-88% of its established strength.

I-4 Civilians killed per 1000 arrests.

Data on arrests for crimes can be examined based on category one crimes and total crimes in Jamaica. Both are part of the reporting norm on arrests. Regarding category one crimes; murder, shooting, robbery, break-in, aggravated assault and rape, data from the Economic and Social Surveys indicate a total of 2995 arrests in 2017, 2838 arrests in 2018, 2622 in 2019, 2651 in 2020, 2409 in 2021 and 2443 in 2022. For this report and indicator, this meant civilians killed per 1000 arrest moved down from a high of 51.08 per 1000 arrests in 2017 to a low of 26.6 in 2019 for arrests for category 1 crimes. Since this decline, the official data shows an

increase from 2020 when the rate was 35.45 moving to 46.57 in 2021 and 47.4 per 1000 arrests in 2022.

The rate of civilians killed per 1000 arrests using the category one crime data represents a small number of arrests compared to total arrests for all crimes. For example in 2018, there were 13,392 arrests for all categories of crime but this declined to 13,144 in 2019 and 12,824 in 2020. The number of arrests for all categories of crime increased to 15,277 in 2021 but would fall again to 12,033 in 2022. The inconsistent trend in civilians killed per 1000 arrests observed for the category one crimes was also observed for all categories of crime. The rate per 1000 moved down from 8.9 in 2018 to 5.3 in 2019 but increased to 7.33 and 7.75 for 2020 and 2021 respectively. In 2022 the rate increased to 9.64 per 1000 showing an increase in the 2020-2022 period.

For this indicator, the data for category one crimes is used in the Table on incidence indicators to show its change from 2017 to 2022 as all the data for the years was available.

I-5 CK per 1,000 guns confiscated

The presence of illegal firearms amongst members of the Jamaican society contributes a threat perception amongst citizens and police. The presence of illegal weapons and illegal weapon carrying is somewhat a reason for the police to also carry weapons so that they may protect the life of others, but only as a last resort should force be used. Between 2017 and 2021, the police seized and recovered a total of 3574 firearms of which 55% were pistols, 19.8% home-made weapons, 11.5% revolvers, 7% rifles, 3.2% shot guns and 2.3% were semi-machine guns. For the period 2017-2021, the rate of civilians killed per 1000 guns confiscated fell from a high of 177.4 in 2017 to 163.5 in 2021. Between those years a downward trend was short lived as rates climbed once more and held steady for 2021.

I-6 Public Agents Killed

The status of this indicator was represented by counts captured from the official sources and press cases. On duty police officers killed was at its highest in 2021 with 9 cases up from 5 cases in 2020. In 2022, the number of on-duty police officers killed fell back to 5. but this number is open to revision as it could be higher. The press cases across all the years revealed that deaths of officers mostly occurred in shoot outs with civilians. The press reported events where officers who were part of a joint-police military team were attacked by a civilian with a firearm while they were patrolling a community. The news reports reveal situations where officers are fired upon when requesting a vehicle to stop or approaching it by individuals acting alone or in a group. Other instances include being fired upon while entering premises to execute an arrest. Other situations where officers got shot and killed include those where they intercept criminal events and individuals shoot at them. Cases across the years where data is available point to incidents largely occurring in public spaces with eye witnesses and where property and life could be lost due to the exchange in gunfire.

I-7 Public Agents killed (AK) per 1,000 agents

The results from calculations of this indicator support the view of how negligible on duty police officer deaths are compared to citizens killed. Less than one per 1000 agents were killed in the years 2017-2020.¹³ The statistic has to be interpreted cautiously however as other factors intervening in the rate of survival such as available transport, applying emergency care by a trained officer between being shot and transported to the hospital, wearing a ballistic vest could also affect the likelihood of death. In 2020 for example, 10 officers were shot and injured. In some cases, reported by the press, these officers were rushed to nearby hospitals for emergency surgery.

¹³ Here only the current strength of the Jamaica Constabulary Force is used since the data is only on duty police officers killed.

3.2. Abuse Indicators

A-1 % of homicides due to the intervention of public agents

Within the period 2017-2022, the proportion of deaths involving a firearm and the number of deaths by members of the security forces climbed from 10.2% in 2017 to 10.5% in 2018 but fell to 5.8% percentage points in 2019. In 2020 the percentage increased to 7.76 and again in 2021 to 8.4%.

A-2 Ratio between civilians killed and agents killed

Both official sources and press data amplify the concern over the low number of police officer fatalities when civilian fatalities are 100 times more than officer fatalities. The use of force on both sides can be discerned to be uneven.

A-3 Lethality Index for civilians

The data from official sources for the calculation of this indicator provide further evidence of the excess in civilians killed in a context where moderation in the use of force is advocated and articulated in policies at the organizational level such as the JCF Human Rights and Police Use of Force Firearms Policy. In the period 2017-2022, 2019 was the only year where civilians shot and killed and those shot and injured by on duty officers came to close to a 50:50 ratio when it was 70:62 or 1.12:1.

A-4 Lethality Ratio

The data in Table 4 to support this indicator came from the press cases and show that the number of civilian deaths even where press cases are deemed to be conservative as they do not capture all cases, surpass one of the accepted benchmark for determining excessiveness in civilians killed. Between 2017 and 2022, law enforcement data suggest that the threat officers face can be very real in certain communities within the parishes. This threat is shaped by gun violence and firearms used to settle

interpersonal and gang disputes. The approach to counter this has been the enacting of legislation that would support area and community interventions and among these recently new pieces of legislation is the Law Reform (Zones of Special Operations) (Special Security and Community Development Measures) Act. Using press cases alone more on-duty officers were shot and injured than killed over the period. Using the available data on on-duty police officers killed and the press data, the number of shot and injured cases compared to officers killed do appear to be higher for the former.

A-5 Average number of civilians killed per incident

For the six year period 2017-2022 the average number of civilians killed by on duty officers remained above one but not enough to indicate mass or multiple killings in fatal shooting events involving police and or soldiers. However, the findings does not mean that there have not been cases of 2 or more civilians killed in an incidents. Table 4 below shows that in 2017 there were 17 incidents with 2 civilians killed representing 12.9% of all incidents in 2017 involving on-duty officers. In 2018, the number of incidents with two civilians killed by on- duty officer increased to 13.2% and would increase further in 2019 14.9% but falling slightly to 14.4% in 2020. There have been 3 and as much as 6 civilians killed in incidents in 2017 and 2018. In 2017, the single incident with 6 civilians killed was .76% of all incidents involving on-duty officers. The year also had 1 incident with three civilians killed and that too represented just .76% of cases. In 2018, there were 3 incidents with 3 civilians killed in each. As a percentage of all incidents for 2018 involving on duty officers, the three incidents represented 2.9%. At the time of writing data for 2021 and 2022 were not available.

**Table 4. Incidents with two or more civilians killed by on-duty officers
2017-2020**

Period	Number of incidents			
	2017	2018	2019	2020
2 civilians killed in an incident	17	11	9	12
3 civilians killed in an incident	1	3	0	0
6 civilians killed in an incident	1	0	0	0

Table 5. Incident indicators

YEAR	I-1 Civilians killed (CK) ¹⁴		I-2 CK per 100,000 inhabitants. ¹⁵		I-3 CK per 1,000 public security agents ¹⁶		I-4 CK per 1,000 arrests		I-5 CK per 1,000 guns confiscated ¹⁷		I-6 Public Agents killed (AK) ¹⁸		I-7 Public Agents killed (AK) per 1,000 agents ¹⁹	
	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source
2017	153	n.d	5.61	n.d	10.25	n.d	51.08	n.d	177.4	n.d	3	n.c ²⁰	.20	n.d
2018	120 ²¹	33	4.39	1.20	7.45	2.05	42.2	11.6	166.	45.8	0	0	0	n.d
2019	70 ²²	7	2.56	.25	4.25	.42	26.6	2.66	105.1	10.5	1	0	.06	n.d
2020	94	45	3.43	1.64	5.36	2.56	35.45	16.9	150.8	72.2	5	4	.42	n.d
2021	115	42	4.20	1.53	5.89	2.15	46.57	17.01	163.5	59.7	9	2	.74	n.d
2022	116	67	4.23 ²³	2.44	5.77	3.43	47.4	27.4	n.d	n.d	5	1	.40	n.d

¹⁴ The data is for on-duty members of security forces and excludes correctional officers.

¹⁵ The mean population is used for these years. In 2017 it was 2725900, 2018-2728500, 2019-2732600, 2020-2734800, 2021-2736100.

¹⁶ The indicator rate is produced from the total strength of the Jamaica Constabulary Force and the Jamaica Defence Force. Based on data from Economic and Social Surveys from 2017 to 2021, the two Forces combined strength of 14923 in 2017, 16094 in 2018, 16490 in 2019, 17533 in 2020, 19507 in 2021 and 20,102 in 2022. It is important to note here that the rate produced for the media source is based on the data from the official source and therefore this rate is only depicting a disparity in recording and not a rate produced from data on security forces and number of civilians killed recorded in the press.

¹⁷ The JCF produces data on firearms seized and recovered. This data can be found in their yearly statistical summaries. In 2017, 862 firearms were seized or recovered, 720 in 2018, 666 in 2019, 623 in 2020 and 703 in 2021. No distinction is made between seized and recovered in their reports.

¹⁸ The number of on-duty public security agents killed was used to calculate this indicator. Data from the JCF has been used as an official source. The indicator result is also expected to be conservative as it does not include deaths of on-duty soldiers.

¹⁹ On-duty police officers killed and the current strength of the JCF in the given year are used to calculate this indicator.

²⁰ n.c here means that the indicator rate for that year was not calculated.

²¹ Revised count.

²² Revised count.

²³ Mean population count for 2021 was used.

Table 6. Abuse Indicators

YEAR	A-1 % of homicides due to the intervention of public agents ²⁴		A-2 Ratio between CK and AK		A-3 Lethality Index for civilians ²⁵		A-4 Lethality Ratio		A-5 Average number of civilians killed per incident ²⁶	
	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source	Official Source	Media Source
2017	10.23	n.d	153:3	n.d	153:15	n.d	n.d	n.d	1.16	-
2018	10.5	3.14	120:0	33:0	120:59	33:2	n.d	33:2/ 0:9	1.9	-
2019	5.88	.62	70:1	7:0	70:62	7:1	n.d	7:1/0:3	1.14	-
2020	7.76	3.87	94:5	45:5	94:68	45:7	n.d	45:7/ 5:13	1.10	-
2021	8.44	3.26	115:9	42:6	115:58	42:8	n.d	42:8/ 6:6	1.12	-
2022	8.39	5.66	116:5	67:1	116:72	67:9	n.d	67:9/ 1:7	1.17	-

²⁴ To calculate this indicator gun use counts in homicides were used. In 2017, 1342 persons were killed with a firearm, 1015 in 2018, 1119 in 2019, 1117 in 2020, 1246 in 2021 and 1266 in 2022. The percentage of homicides of which were due to security force intervention is the number of persons dying due to the use of a firearm. This is a bit of different interpretation than just saying the number of persons who were intentionally killed by another person which is problematic for including legal interventions. Hence, persons dying by death of a firearm is the terminology in use for this indicator and captures all deaths with a firearm except suicide, death due to armed group conflict, death due to civil war conflict sensitivity or likeness. In this indicator the percentages under media sources reflect only the proportion of deaths by firearm reported from police data captured in the two national newspapers.

²⁵ The counts for shooting injuries due to a firearm occurred in events where the officer was on duty.

²⁶ The data reflects civilians killed by on duty security agents and this count is divided into the total number of on-duty incidents.

4. CONCLUSION

The report on lethal use of force focused on fatal shootings involving police officers and soldiers and utilized data from a combination of official and unofficial sources namely newspapers. Both sources at different points between 2017 and 2022 reveal civilians killed more than civilians wounded and civilians killed as much as 100 times more than public security agents within specific years during the period. The report also mentions that the excessive deaths of civilians in comparison to shooting injuries and for public security agents across similar indicator categories exist in an environment where polices and advocacy place emphasis on moderation and proportionality. The report builds on work completed in 2022 but it does not advance some areas earmarked for inclusion in this report. No data on race or ethnicity was available for participants in fatal shooting incidents. This is a topic that is worth pursuing more in advocacy and future reports.

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