Introduction

Over the course of just a few weeks during the first few months of 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic radically changed the nature of social interaction and economic activity in all regions across the world. By the first week of April 2020, 3.9 billion people – more than half the global population – were under some form of lockdown. In the months that followed, countries enforced a broad spectrum of restrictions, adjusting and re-adjusting their response in accordance with the course of the pandemic.

These ongoing changes are affecting all aspects of life, with crime being no exception. This research brief is aimed at providing initial observations about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on four types of crime: homicide, robbery, theft and burglary. Based on ongoing data collection launched by UNODC in March 2020, trends before and after lockdown measures were introduced are compared in order to assess whether the measures have had a significant impact on those crimes. The possible longer-term impact of the emerging global economic crisis on the same forms of crime is also discussed.

The insight provided by the national and regional data analysed in this research brief shows that the unprecedented changes related to the pandemic differ by type of crime, by country or region and over time. Given the paucity of the data and the heterogeneity of the emerging dynamics, this brief is focused on illustrative country and regional examples without drawing conclusions on the global impact of COVID-19 measures on the crimes in question. The resulting observations can serve as a starting point for further data analyses and for informing programme delivery in the field of crime prevention.

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1 Euronews, “Coronavirus: Half of humanity now on lockdown as 90 countries call for confinement”, April 2020. Available at www.euronews.com/2020/04/02/coronavirus-in-europe-spain-s-death-toll-hits-10-000-after-record-950-new-deaths-in-24-hou. The term lockdown can refer to anything from stay-at-home orders to curfews, the tightening of borders or the banning all travel, closures of schools and businesses, or bans on events and gatherings.

Reported robbery, theft and burglary declined significantly, falling by more than 50 per cent in most countries. The decrease was larger in countries with stricter lockdown regimes. It is likely that this decline was not only the result of a decrease in the number of crimes committed but also in their reporting.

Homicide underwent a short-term decline of 25 per cent or more in some countries. In others, there was no visible change or the variability in the number of homicide victims remained within its pre-pandemic range.

The impact varied across countries and type of crime. Any significant changes were short-lived and pre-pandemic dynamics soon returned.

The economic downturn caused by the pandemic is likely to increase property crime.
Key findings

Criminological theory suggests that lockdown measures could activate causal mechanisms for both a reduction and an increase in crime, in particular violent and property crime, with some types of crime more likely to increase and others more likely to decrease. The empirical data presented in this research brief confirm this heterogeneous impact, with diverging trends emerging across countries and types of crime in the short-term after measures were put in place in response to the pandemic. The diversity of measures and pre-existing conditions have likely triggered different mechanisms that have reduced or increased crime or have balanced the conflicting mechanisms with no notable changes.

The focus in this brief is on two categories of crime:

- **Intentional homicide**: Data from 21 countries show diverse trends in the number of homicide victims recorded after the introduction of lockdown measures. When restrictive measures were in place, in some countries the decrease in the homicide trend in March/April 2020 was more than 25 per cent larger than the average recorded in those months over the period 2015–2019. However, the pre-lockdown trend re-emerged once measures were relaxed. Homogeneous changes were visible in countries in Europe and other regions where data were available, while trends were quite heterogeneous across Latin America. This makes it difficult to draw general conclusions on the impact of the pandemic on the level of lethal violence. Several factors could explain this heterogeneity: differences in the level of restrictive measures imposed by Governments, pre-existing socioeconomic conditions, and the overall predominance of a particular typology of homicide, which in Latin America is often related to organized crime and gangs, whereas in Europe it is more closely linked to interpersonal and family-related violence.

- **Property crime**: In the emergency phase immediately following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, decreases were observed in the incidence of robbery, theft and burglary reported to and recorded by the authorities. For example, the decrease in reported robbery was more than 50 per cent in the majority of countries. Compared with the trends observed in the number of homicide victims, changes in recorded property crimes were more homogenous and more marked. However, those changes are more difficult to interpret because they reflect changes in the crime itself as well as in reporting capacity and the accessibility of criminal justice institutions, which have most likely been affected by the pandemic. Survey data available from one country, covering the duration of the initial lockdown, confirm an actual decline in property crime.

In the medium to long term, the declining trend in reported robbery, theft and burglary may be reversed as a consequence of the economic downturn. As observed in the past, economic crises increase unemployment and have a greater impact on vulnerable groups, thus putting additional stressors on people and limiting their opportunities for financial stability, which may in turn trigger a spike in property crime in the later stages of the COVID-19 pandemic or even after its conclusion.

Criminological theory: how is crime expected to evolve during a pandemic?

When examining the possible impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on crime, it is useful to distinguish between a short-term and a long-term perspective:

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• In the short term, crime can be affected by lockdown restrictions in combination with pre-existing factors, such as the presence of organized crime and gang violence, which vary across countries. Restrictive measures not only reduce opportunities to commit street crime but also limit the possibility of criminals breaking into private homes. Social-distancing measures, such as restrictions on public gatherings or the closure of bars, restaurants and shops, also have a significant impact on interpersonal violence, as circumstances in which crimes are committed, such as physical assault outside the domestic sphere, shoplifting, theft and robbery, are not likely to occur.

• In the longer term, the closure of businesses and subsequent unemployment and loss of income may affect crime, in particular acquisitive and profit-oriented crime, where economic and social safety nets are not sufficient to ensure livelihoods. Furthermore, looting and rioting are a risk in areas where the population is economically impacted and dissatisfied with the Government’s response.

The short- and long-term impact on crime can be viewed in the context of criminological theories known as “opportunity theory” and “strain theory”. These theories predict two diverging trends for crime: opportunity theory posits that lockdown measures can potentially reduce the possibility of criminal offences being perpetrated because of the restrictions imposed on mobility and social interaction; strain theory argues that socioeconomic strains that affect a large stratum of the population, especially the most vulnerable groups, have the potential to create an atmosphere of pressure that drives individuals to commit crime.

**FIGURE 1** Simulation of crime trends based on causal mechanisms that influence crime during a pandemic

![Simulation of crime trends](image)

*Note: Based on, Manuel Eisner and Amy Nivette, “Violence and the pandemic – Urgent questions for research”.*

Thus, from a theoretical point of view, lockdown measures can trigger different dynamics, with the predominant trend likely to depend on a variety of factors, including the nature of the restrictions, the socioeconomic support provided by Governments to overcome the challenges and pre-existing conditions in terms of crime and governance.

In general, a reduction in certain types of crime can be expected in conditions of strict confinement due to the subsequent reduction in opportunities to commit crime. As opposed to opportunity reduction, strain is expected to manifest itself well after the introduction of lockdowns and curfews, as people become negatively affected by dire
economic circumstances caused by the lockdown and may begin to lose faith in government measures to contain the pandemic. The impact of the latter causal mechanism is likely to have a more long-lasting effect, even after lockdown measures are lifted.

Empirical evidence on trends in intentional homicide during the COVID-19 pandemic

Sudden and unexpected, the COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted the lives of people everywhere, presumably including those of members of criminal gangs and criminal organizations. At the beginning of the pandemic, although countries needed time to produce and release comparable statistics on lethal violence, the international media was already publishing anecdotal evidence of sudden changes in homicide. The initial evidence suggested heterogeneous trends, not only across but also within countries. Now, some 10 months since the onset of the pandemic, monthly data from 21 countries in different regions around the world can help improve understanding of the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on homicide in the months after lockdown measures were put in place. That data shows that in 7 out of 10 countries where monthly trends could be compared, the decrease in homicide during March/April 2020 was more than 25 per cent larger than the average recorded during the same months over the period 2015–2019.

Homicide in Latin America

Some of the countries with the highest homicide rates worldwide are located in Latin America. A large share of those homicides are perpetrated by members of gangs, organized criminal groups and other illegal armed groups. In order to assess if, and ultimately how, homicide levels have been impacted by the COVID stay-at-home and social-distancing measures in Latin America, monthly homicide time series data have been analysed. The specific objective is to assess if the onset of the pandemic was associated with a significant change in homicide trends, beyond ongoing long-term trends, seasonality and high volatility. The trend in homicide in 2020 was benchmarked against trends observed since 2015.

The analysis points to the COVID-19 pandemic having a heterogeneous impact in the region, despite the many common drivers of lethal violence. In some countries, such as Colombia and Guatemala, a significant drop was observed in the number of homicide victims after the lockdown started. Compared with the average trend recorded in the month of April over the period 2015–2019, there were 32 per cent fewer victims in April, a month after the lockdown began, in Colombia and 26 per cent fewer victims in Guatemala. This effect was short-lived, however, as the number of victims had already gone back to the pre-pandemic level by June.

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4 Manuel Eisner and Amy Nivette, “Violence and the pandemic – Urgent questions for research”.  
6 UNODC, Global Study on Homicide 2019 (Vienna, 2019).  
7 Data are available for Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico.  
8 For each year, January is used as a benchmark. The number of monthly homicides is indexed within each year and the value of January always made equal to 100.
FIGURE 2  Trends in the number of homicide victims, Colombia and Guatemala, 2015–2020

A notable decrease in the number of homicide victims, which corresponded with the lockdown measures introduced by national Governments, was also noticed in Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador and Honduras. However, when taking into account the great volatility of homicide trends in previous years, it is difficult to unequivocally attribute such changes to the lockdown. The great volatility registered in El Salvador may have been due to the swift reaction of criminal gangs to the new circumstances and countermeasures taken by law enforcement agencies.9

Different trends were observed in the two largest countries in Latin America. Brazil experienced a gradual increase in the number of homicides during the first quarter of 2020. Based on the average trend observed over the previous five years, in March there were 16 per cent more homicides; however, the increase was reversed after the first lockdown measures were gradually introduced and the number of homicides decreased significantly. In

Mexico, unlike in all the other countries in the region, the number of homicides remained fairly constant after lockdown measures were introduced and the trend was very similar to the one recorded in 2019. It appears that violence in Mexico, including that perpetrated by organized criminal groups, has remained unaffected by the COVID-19 pandemic.10

**Homicide in Europe**

Aggregated data from 11 European countries suggest a small decrease in the number of victims of homicide in April 2020. Most of the European countries included in the analysis introduced a lockdown in March and began lifting it in May, making April the only full month of common restrictions. However, when looking at data from individual countries separately, the impact of the lockdown becomes clearer. For example, in Italy, the Republic of Moldova and Spain, there was a significant decrease in the number of homicides perpetrated in March/April that coincided with the introduction of confinement measures in those three countries. As in Latin America, the change was only detectable during the short time span of the lockdown, with pre-pandemic levels returning in the following months.

**Source:** UNODC Global initiative to improve knowledge of the impact of COVID-19 on crime and drugs.

*Note: The following countries are included in the computation of the index: Albania, Croatia, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, North Macedonia, Republic of Moldova, Serbia, Slovenia and Spain. The data for North Macedonia and Republic of Moldova refer to number of offences.*
Homicide in Africa and Asia: evidence from two countries

Given the scarcity of monthly homicide data from Africa and Asia, it is difficult to draw conclusions about how the pandemic has affected violent crime in those regions. Nonetheless, data from one country in Africa and one in Asia point to a large and significant decrease in the number of homicide victims immediately after the introduction of stay-at-home restrictions. South Africa recorded the largest decrease in the number of homicide victims in April, while Kazakhstan recorded the largest decrease in March. As in other countries with notable changes, however, the reduction in the number of victims was short-lived.

A trend in the number of homicide victims, South Africa and Kazakhstan, 2015–2020

Property crime

Robbery, theft and burglary \(11\) constitute a considerable share of all crime experienced by the population in all countries. As countries across the globe were in the process of shutting down their regular economic and social activities because of the rapid spread of COVID-19, opportunities for some property crime to be committed were reduced.

Data available for the period October 2019 to August 2020 from 22 countries located in five

\[11\] These three crimes are also referred to as property crime throughout this brief.
different regions provide evidence of a relatively steep decline in March, and even more so in April, in the reporting of property crime to the authorities. As the COVID-19 containment measures were progressively put in place, the number of reported robberies declined by 58 per cent from February to April, burglaries by 58 per cent and theft by 72 per cent. The significantly smaller number of reported crimes in April was observed in most of the countries under consideration. As data from more countries become available, it will be possible to determine whether the situation was similar in countries not included in this analysis.

The declining trend observed in the 22 countries where data are available should be interpreted with caution since this may be the result of different dynamics: a decline in the commission of the crime; a decline in the reporting of the crime by residents; and a decline in the recording and detecting of the crime by the authorities.

Future victimization surveys will shed light on the actual trend in property crime. Recent data collected through a household survey in Mexico confirm that there was a decline in the share of households that fell victim to property crime in the context of the pandemic. In the first semester of 2020, 21.8 per cent of Mexican households fell victim to theft, robbery or burglary, a drop of 37.5 per cent compared with the same period in 2019 and of 38.2 per cent compared with the second semester of 2019. The largest decrease was reported in the case of crimes committed outside private dwellings: 8.5 per cent of household members fell victim to theft or robbery in public spaces during the first semester of 2020, a decrease of 47.2 per cent compared with the second semester of 2019.

FIGURE 9 Trends in the number of reported property crimes: robbery, theft and burglary, November 2019–April 2020

Source: Crime Data: UNODC Global initiative to improve knowledge of the impact of COVID-19 on crime and drugs.

Note: The trend is calculated based on the total number of property crimes reported to the police in 22 countries for which data are available. The base month is February 2020 = 100. A value of less than 100 indicates that the total number of reported crimes in that month was lower than in February 2020. A value of more than 100 indicates that the total number of victims in that month was higher than in February 2020. Robbery = 22 countries; burglary = 20 countries; theft = 21 countries.

Property crime and restriction of movement

On 11 March, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 to be a pandemic. The virus had already spread rapidly by the beginning of the month, yet reaction times and measures varied significantly between countries. By the end of

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13 These data only represent reported crime. While it is a well-established fact that they suffer from underreporting, the examination of trends before and during the COVID-19 crisis can provide useful information.

14 See figure 13 in the annex at the end of this document.


16 Albania, Colombia, Croatia, Eswatini, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Namibia, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Paraguay, Peru, Republic of Moldova, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Uruguay and Macao, China.

17 Albania, Colombia, Croatia, Eswatini, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Namibia, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Paraguay, Republic of Moldova, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Uruguay and Macao, China.

18 Albania, Colombia, Croatia, Eswatini, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Namibia, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Paraguay, Peru, Republic of Moldova, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Uruguay and Macao, China.
March, among the countries considered in this analysis, only 3 had adopted a very strict form of lockdown, 11 had imposed restrictions on leaving the house other than for daily exercise, grocery shopping and essential trips, 4 had simply provided recommendations to their citizens, while another 3 had neither imposed restrictions nor provided recommendations. For this reason, analysis by the timing and type of lockdown measures adopted is essential if the effect that the COVID-19 pandemic has had on the population’s experience of property crime is to be understood. If lockdown and social-distancing measures actually act as a deterrent to crime, the stricter the measures implemented, the greater the reduction in crime will be.

Data on the mobility of individuals can provide indirect information about the lockdown measures implemented by various countries as well as about the level of enforcement of such measures. Data from Google COVID-19 Community Mobility Reports provide day-to-day information about how actual visits to places such as restaurants, cafes, parks, grocery stores have changed during the pandemic. In countries with tight lockdown measures and a high level of enforcement, it is likely that mobility was greatly affected. Figure 10 describes the strong positive correlation between the change in reported property crimes between February and April 2020 and the change in population movement (related to retail and recreation), which suggests that countries with stricter lockdown measures experienced a greater reduction in property crime than those with more lenient measures. A similar correlation is observed when analysing mobility data related to grocery and drug stores, parks, public transport hubs and places of work.

FIGURE 10 Relationship between the change in the number of reported property crimes and the change in population movement related to retail and recreation (selected countries based on available data), February to April 2020

Source: Google COVID-19 Community Mobility Reports.

Note: The change in retail and recreational movement shows how visits and length of stay in the case of places such as restaurants, cafes, shopping centres, theme parks, museums, libraries and cinemas between countries should be compared with caution. In order to provide additional supporting evidence of the relationship between lockdown measures and property crimes, the stringency index computed by the Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (OxCGRT) is used as a robustness check. Results are provided in the annex at the end of this document.


21 Since internet coverage, location accuracy and the understanding of categorized places varies from region to region, movement data...
change compared with a baseline. The baseline is the median value, for the corresponding day of the week, during the five-week period from 3 January to 6 February 2020. The figures above report the average change for the month of April. For more information on how the daily changes are calculated, visit www.google.com/covid19/mobility/data_documentation.html?hl=en.

When socioeconomic development and population movement are analysed together, available data indicate that property crime decreased both in middle-income and high-income countries, with the decrease being stronger in countries with less population movement. These results suggest that in both middle-income and high-income countries, a large part of the observed change in crime was linked to lockdown measures. Due to a lack of data from low-income countries, it is not possible to assess whether there was a similar short-term effect in countries where a large share of the population is living in poverty and where restrictive measures are not always a viable option if basic needs are to be met.

**FIGURE 11** Relationship between the change in the number of reported property crimes and the change in population movement related to retail and recreation in middle-income and high-income countries, February to April 2020

[Graph showing the relationship between changes in property crime and population movement]
Potential long-term impact of economic recession on property crime

Beyond the immediate impact, property crime can be expected to rebound when the restrictive measures that were the immediate cause of the observed decrease in criminal activity have been lifted or removed. Criminological theory suggests that some forms of crime could even increase beyond their pre-pandemic level as a result of the additional economic strain caused by COVID-19 measures.

Indeed, the social and economic impact of the pandemic and related measures are unprecedented. Among other alarming statistics, 400 million full-time jobs were lost in the second quarter of 2020, 71 to 100 million people were pushed into extreme poverty and 1.6 billion students were affected by school closures. 24 Disproportionate social and economic consequences among some population groups, such as people who are poor, unemployed, homeless, or with substance use disorder, may increase their urgency and motivation to engage in criminal activity in order to make a living.

The impact of a sudden and unexpected economic crisis on crime has been extensively analysed in the context of the financial crisis of 2008–2009. Although the literature has shown contrasting evidence, in some countries significant changes in economic factors have been associated with significant changes in crime, with violent property crimes such as robbery being most affected. For example, data from Brazil (Sao Paulo), Costa Rica and Jamaica suggest that prolonged periods of rising unemployment are associated with increases in robberies.

Source: Crime Data: UNODC Global initiative to improve knowledge of the impact of COVID-19 on crime and drugs.

Note: High-income = 10 countries; middle-income = 10 countries.

22 Croatia, Czechia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Spain and Uruguay.

23 Albania, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Mexico, Namibia, Serbia and Thailand.

Visualizing the impact of economic crisis on crime: increase in robbery during inflation growth and contraction of GDP, Jamaica, São Paulo (Brazil) and Costa Rica, 2000–2010

Source: UNODC, Monitoring the Impact of Economic Crisis on Crime (Vienna).

Note: CPI = Consumer Price Index; GFP = Gross Domestic Product.
Annex

Property crime

FIGURE 13 Percentage change in the number of reported property crimes from February to March and from February to April 2020

Source: Crime Data: UNODC Global initiative to improve knowledge of the impact of COVID-19 on crime and drugs.

Note: A percentage change of less than 0 from February to March indicates that the total number of reported crimes in March was lower than in February. A percentage change of less than 0 from February to April indicates that the total number of reported crimes in April was lower than in February.

FIGURE 14 Relationship between the change in the number of reported property crimes and a Government Response Stringency Index, countries with available data, February–April 2020


Note: Government Response Stringency Index: composite measure based on nine response indicators including school closures, workplace closures and travel bans, rescaled to a value from 0 to 100 (100 = strictest response). This index simply records the number and strictness...
of government policies and should not be interpreted as “scoring” the appropriateness or effectiveness of a country’s response. A higher position in the index does not necessarily mean that a country’s response is “better” than others lower on the index.

**FIGURE 15** Relationship between the share of the population living in extreme poverty and the change in population movement related to workplace, February to April 2020

![Image of scatter plot showing relationship between poverty and movement]


Note: The change in workplace movement shows how visits and length of stay in the case of places of work change compared with a baseline. The baseline is the median value, for the corresponding day of the week, during the five-week period from 3 January to 6 February 2020. The figures above report the average change for the month of April. For more information on how the daily changes are calculated, visit www.google.com/covid19/mobility/data_documentation.html?hl=en. Share of the population living in extreme poverty refers to most recent year available since 2010.

**FIGURE 16** Relationship between the change in the number of reported property crimes and the change in population movement related to retail and recreation, Europe and Latin America, February to April 2020

![Image of scatter plot showing relationship between crime and movement]

Source: Google, COVID-19 Community Mobility Reports – Google.

Note: The change in retail and recreational movement shows how visits and length of stay in the case of places such as restaurants, cafes, shopping centres, theme parks, museums, libraries and movie theaters change compared to a baseline. The baseline is the median value, for the corresponding day of the week, during the five-week period from 3 January to 6 February 2020. The figures above report the average change for the month of April.