PUNGGAWA LAW REVIEW
Punggawa Law Review
Volume 1, Number 2, 2026
E-ISSN: 3125-0580
Open Access: punggawajournal.com/plr

Mapping Recorded Homicide in Indonesia: An Ecological Criminological Analysis Using BPS Data

Zul Khaidir Kadir[1]
[1] Fakultas Hukum, Universitas Muslim Indonesia, Indonesia
Correspondence: zulkhaidir.kadir@umi.ac.id

Article Info
Article history:
Received May 15, 2026
Revised May 20, 2026
Accepted May 24, 2026

Keyword:
Recorded homicide; Ecological criminology; BPS data; Indonesia.

ABSTRACT
This article maps recorded homicide in Indonesia using BPS-based crime statistics and interprets its territorial visibility through ecological criminology. Rather than treating homicide only as an individual criminal act or as a doctrinal problem of criminal law, the article examines how officially recorded lethal violence appears across national, provincial, village-level, and police-region data. The study uses a descriptive ecological criminological design based on *Statistik Kriminal 2024/2025*. The findings show that recorded homicide declined slightly from 1,129 incidents in 2023 to 1,106 incidents in 2024. Podes-based territorial data show that the percentage of villages or urban villages with homicide incidents in 2024 ranged from 0.18 percent to 1.87 percent, with the highest percentages in DKI Jakarta, Papua Selatan, and Papua Tengah, and the lowest in Aceh, Kalimantan Utara, and Bali. As a supporting comparison, police-region data on crimes against life show the highest burden in Jawa Timur, Sumatera Utara, and Papua. The article argues that these data should be interpreted as indicators of official visibility and territorial burden, not as direct measures of individual criminality or causal explanation. By linking BPS data with ecological criminological theory, the article contributes to Indonesian homicide studies by offering a disciplined descriptive mapping of recorded homicide while clarifying the methodological limits of official statistics.

INTRODUCTION

Homicide occupies a distinctive position in criminological inquiry because it represents the most irreversible form of interpersonal violence (Finch et al., 2022). Unlike property crime, fraud, or minor assault, homicide ends with the permanent loss of life and leaves behind consequences that extend beyond the immediate victim. Families, communities, and local institutions are drawn into the aftermath of lethal violence, while the criminal justice system is required to respond through investigation, prosecution, adjudication, and punishment. For that reason, homicide is rarely treated merely as one offence among others. It is usually regarded as a crucial indicator of public safety, social order, and the capacity of a society to regulate conflict without lethal escalation. Recent qualitative work on homicide spikes also confirms that lethal violence cannot be separated from crisis conditions, social breakdown, and the situational context in which violence becomes thinkable and executable (Densley & Peterson, 2025).

In Indonesia, however, homicide has more often been examined through legal and case-based approaches than through ecological criminological analysis. Legal scholarship commonly focuses on the doctrinal construction of murder, premeditated murder, criminal responsibility, sentencing, evidentiary reasoning, or judicial interpretation. These studies are valuable because they explain how homicide is processed within criminal law. Yet they do not fully explain whether recorded homicide appears evenly across the country, whether certain territories consistently enter official statistics more visibly than others, or whether lethal violence can be read as part of a broader spatial pattern (Kadir, 2025). A case-based legal approach can explain the reasoning of a court in a particular case, but it cannot by itself reveal the territorial pattern of recorded homicide across Indonesia. Recent critical

perspectives in homicide studies also call for a broader understanding of homicide beyond mainstream explanatory frames, including attention to structures, practices, and policies that shape violence (Holt, 2024).

This article starts from a different premise. Homicide should not only be studied as an individual criminal event, but also as a spatially distributed social phenomenon (Manwaring, 2024). The question is not simply why a person kills another person, but where recorded homicide becomes visible in official crime statistics and how that visibility should be interpreted (Kadir, 2026d). Such a question requires an ecological criminological perspective. In this perspective, territory is not treated as a neutral container where crime happens (Zhang, 2025). A province, village, urban village, or police region is understood as an administrative and social space shaped by demographic structure, institutional capacity, territorial coverage, local disorder, conflict dynamics, and patterns of formal and informal control.

The use of BPS data gives this study an empirical foundation. *Statistik Kriminal 2024/2025* explains that the data presented in the publication come from three complementary sources: police registration data, Susenas, and Podes. Police registration data describe reported criminal incidents, Susenas describes victimization experience, while Podes provides territorial information at the village or urban-village level. The publication itself cautions that police data only cover criminal events reported by the public or cases in which the offender is caught by the police, meaning that recorded figures may underestimate actual crime because of the dark number of crime.

At the same time, the expression "recorded homicide" is used deliberately. Official statistics do not capture every dimension of lethal violence. BPS data do not provide detailed information about motive, victim-offender relationship, weapons, location of incidents, domestic background, cultural claims, land disputes, gang conflict, or judicial outcomes. They also depend on reporting, recording, classification, and administrative aggregation (McWilliams & Hunter, 2021). The study therefore does not claim to explain individual homicidal behavior, but examines homicide as officially recorded and uses that information to map territorial visibility (Krüsselmann et al., 2023). This distinction is necessary to avoid overclaiming and to prevent ecological findings from being incorrectly transformed into individual-level explanations.

The research is guided by three questions. First, how did recorded homicide move nationally between 2023 and 2024? Second, how was homicide territorially visible in Podes-based provincial data in 2024? Third, how can ecological criminology help interpret the territorial unevenness of recorded homicide without converting official statistical counts into causal claims? These questions connect descriptive mapping with theoretical interpretation. The article does not treat official statistics as a complete explanation. Instead, statistical patterns become an entry point for examining how lethal violence becomes visible within particular territorial and institutional arrangements.

The contribution of this article is threefold. First, it shifts Indonesian homicide studies from a predominantly case-based and doctrinal orientation toward descriptive ecological mapping. Second, it demonstrates that recorded homicide cannot be adequately understood through national aggregate figures alone because territorial variation may reveal different layers of recorded visibility. Third, it critically evaluates the usefulness and limits of BPS data for homicide research. BPS data are valuable for macro-level criminological mapping, but they remain insufficient for explaining motive, relational dynamics, and case-level causation. By combining official statistics with ecological criminological theory, this article offers a foundation for a more data-informed study of homicide and criminal policy in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a descriptive ecological criminological mapping to examine the territorial visibility of recorded homicide in Indonesia based on BPS crime statistics. The term "recorded homicide" is used deliberately because the data refer to homicide incidents that have entered official statistical records, not the entire universe of lethal violence in society. The primary source is the BPS publication *Statistik Kriminal 2024/2025*, which compiles crime statistics through police registration data, Susenas, and Podes. BPS explains that data from Mabes Polri are organized by police jurisdiction at the Polda level, while Podes data are presented territorially at the village or urban-village level and by province. This design follows the logic of spatial homicide studies, which treat place-based variation

as analytically meaningful while avoiding immediate individual-level causal inference (Mohammadi et al., 2022).

The empirical analysis uses three layers of data. The first layer is the national trend of recorded homicide, especially the movement from 1,129 homicide incidents in 2023 to 1,106 incidents in 2024. The second layer is Podes-based territorial homicide visibility, measured through the percentage of villages or urban villages that experienced homicide during the previous year. The third layer is police-region data on crimes against life in 2024. This third layer is used only as a supporting comparison because BPS defines crimes against life as a broader category that includes homicide and negligence resulting in death. BPS records homicide at 1,106 incidents in 2024 and negligence resulting in death at 563 incidents, giving a combined crimes-against-life total of 1,669 incidents. The caution against inconsistent variable selection in spatial crime research also supports the decision to separate homicide, Podes visibility, and crimes-against-life data rather than forcing them into a single empirical category (Groeneveld & Breetzke, 2022).

The analysis proceeds in three steps. First, it describes the national movement of recorded homicide between 2023 and 2024. Second, it examines Podes-based provincial variation in the percentage of villages or urban villages with homicide incidents in 2024. Third, it uses police-region data on crimes against life to compare the burden of fatal or death-related offences across Polda jurisdictions. The study does not conduct regression analysis, correlation testing, or homicide-rate calculation per 100,000 population because the current objective is descriptive ecological mapping, not statistical modelling. Its contribution lies in offering a disciplined reading of official homicide visibility while maintaining a clear boundary between aggregate territorial distribution and individual-level causation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. National Trend of Recorded Homicide

BPS data show that recorded homicide declined slightly between 2023 and 2024. In the category of crimes against life, BPS identifies two specific types of offences: *pembunuhan* and *kelalaian yang mengakibatkan orang mati*. The homicide figure fell from 1,129 incidents in 2023 to 1,106 incidents in 2024. Negligence resulting in death also declined, from 875 incidents in 2023 to 563 incidents in 2024. The total category of crimes against life therefore moved from 2,004 incidents in 2023 to 1,669 incidents in 2024.

Table 1. National Trend of Recorded Homicide and Crimes Against Life in Indonesia, 2023–2024

Category	2023	2024	Change
Homicide	1,129	1,106	-23
Negligence resulting in death	875	563	-312
Crimes against life total	2,004	1,669	-335

This trend confirms that homicide, understood narrowly as *pembunuhan*, declined only slightly in 2024. The broader category of crimes against life declined more sharply because negligence resulting in death experienced a larger decrease. This distinction is methodologically important. If the article examines homicide, it should use the figure of 1,106 homicide incidents for 2024. If the article examines crimes against life, it may use the broader total of 1,669 incidents. Mixing the two would produce an inflated and conceptually unclear picture of homicide.

The Podes data provide a more explicitly territorial picture of homicide because they report the percentage of villages or urban villages that experienced homicide during the previous year. BPS states that the percentage of villages or urban villages with homicide incidents in 2024 ranged from 0.18 percent to 1.87 percent. The highest percentage was recorded in DKI Jakarta at 1.87 percent, followed by Papua Selatan at 1.59 percent and Papua Tengah at 1.57 percent. The lowest percentages were recorded in Aceh at 0.18 percent, Kalimantan Utara at 0.21 percent, and Bali at 0.28 percent.

Table 2. Provinces with the Highest and Lowest Percentage of Villages or Urban Villages Reporting Homicide Incidents, 2024

Position	Province	Percentage of villages or urban villages with homicide incidents, 2024
Highest	DKI Jakarta	1.87%
Second highest	Papua Selatan	1.59%
Third highest	Papua Tengah	1.57%
Lowest	Aceh	0.18%
Second lowest	Kalimantan Utara	0.21%
Third lowest	Bali	0.28%

This finding is highly relevant for ecological criminology because it does not merely count cases at the national level. It shows how homicide appears across local administrative units. DKI Jakarta's position as the highest province suggests that urban density and concentrated social interaction may matter, although the Podes data do not explain motive or incident details. Papua Selatan and Papua Tengah also require a different ecological reading because their higher percentages may be linked to territorial scale, local conflict, institutional reach, or reporting patterns. The data do not prove any of these explanations, but they justify a more spatially sensitive inquiry.

Police-region data provide a different but useful comparison. BPS Figure 2.6 reports crimes against life by police region in 2024, not homicide alone. The highest figure was recorded in Polda Jawa Timur with 307 incidents, followed by Polda Sumatera Utara with 139 incidents, and Polda Papua with 114 incidents. BPS states directly that Jawa Timur dominated the 2024 distribution, followed by Sumatera Utara and Papua.

Table 3. Police Regions with the Highest Number of Crimes Against Life, 2024

Police region	Crimes against life, 2024
Jawa Timur	307
Sumatera Utara	139
Papua	114

This comparison should not be treated as a homicide-only ranking. It includes the broader category of crimes against life, which combines homicide with negligence resulting in death. Its value lies in showing the police-region burden of fatal or death-related offences. Jawa Timur's position as the highest police region may reflect population size, case volume, administrative recording, and broader jurisdictional burden. Papua's high position, by contrast, suggests that high death-related crime counts may also appear in regions with different territorial and institutional characteristics.

The findings show that recorded homicide in Indonesia cannot be adequately understood through one statistical layer alone. The national homicide figure tells us that *pembunuhan* declined slightly from 1,129 incidents in 2023 to 1,106 incidents in 2024. Yet this national movement does not explain how homicide becomes territorially visible across Indonesia. Podes data reveal that the percentage of villages or urban villages with homicide incidents differs across provinces, ranging from 0.18 percent to 1.87 percent. Police-region data on crimes against life add another layer by showing where fatal or death-related offences place a heavier burden on Polda jurisdictions. These three layers show that homicide is not only a legal category or individual act, but also a territorial and administrative phenomenon.

2. Recorded Homicide and the Limits of Official Crime Statistics

The expression "recorded homicide" is not a minor technical label. Homicide in a broad criminological sense refers to the killing of one person by another, but official statistics only capture homicide incidents that pass through reporting, registration, classification, and administrative aggregation. A killing must become known to state institutions before it enters crime statistics. It must then be classified within a specific legal or administrative category before it appears as a recorded case. For that reason, BPS-based homicide data should not be treated as a complete mirror of all lethal violence in society. They are better understood as official records of homicide that have become visible within the criminal justice and statistical system.

This distinction matters because official crime statistics are shaped by institutional processes. BPS itself states that Polri data cover criminal incidents reported by the public or cases where offenders are caught by the police; it further acknowledges that reluctance to report crime contributes to a relatively high dark number, so official crime data may underestimate actual crime. A high number of recorded homicide cases may therefore reflect a higher number of incidents, but it may also reflect stronger reporting, more active detection, better administrative recording, or broader police jurisdiction. A low number may reflect genuinely fewer incidents, but it may also reflect smaller population size, weaker reporting, different classification practices, or limited administrative visibility. Contemporary modelling of underreported crime also shows that observed police data may combine true incidence and reporting behaviour in ways that complicate direct interpretation (Riascos Villegas et al., 2023).

The available BPS data also do not provide case-level detail for homicide. They do not explain motive, victim-offender relationship, weapon use, domestic context, gang involvement, land conflict, communal tension, or judicial outcome. They do not show whether a recorded homicide involved a spouse, family member, stranger, neighbour, group conflict, robbery, revenge, or other situational background. This limitation prevents the article from making claims about why particular homicides occurred. The analysis must therefore remain at the level of descriptive ecological mapping. Its task is to identify territorial visibility and interpret that pattern with caution, not to reconstruct the internal dynamics of individual cases.

The national figure of 1,106 homicide incidents in 2024 is important, but it is not sufficient. National totals are useful for identifying general movement, yet they may conceal territorial differences. Podes data correct that limitation by showing where homicide appears across villages or urban villages. DKI Jakarta's figure of 1.87 percent is the highest, while Aceh's 0.18 percent is the lowest. This contrast matters because it shows that homicide is not distributed evenly across local administrative units. The national number functions as a baseline, while Podes data provide the spatial texture needed for ecological interpretation.

The fact that DKI Jakarta appears as the highest province in the Podes homicide indicator invites careful interpretation. Jakarta's position may be related to urban density, compressed social interaction, administrative visibility, or reporting conditions. The relationship between homicide and land use has been examined in spatial homicide research, where built environment variables were found to matter beyond conventional neighbourhood characteristics (Inlow, 2020). The Podes indicator does not specify whether Jakarta's homicide incidents occurred in domestic settings, public spaces, criminal disputes, intimate partner contexts, or other situations. The safest interpretation is that Jakarta has the highest territorial visibility of homicide in the Podes indicator, not that it has the highest individual risk of homicide.

Papua Selatan and Papua Tengah, with 1.59 percent and 1.57 percent respectively, require a different ecological reading. Their position may reflect local security conditions, territorial scale, conflict history, institutional reach, or reporting patterns. However, these remain possible lines of interpretation, not proven causes. The data do not show the motive or legal background of each homicide incident. Their value lies in signalling that homicide visibility is not limited to dense urban spaces. It also appears in eastern provinces with different geographical, administrative, and institutional conditions. This pattern supports the argument that homicide must be studied through multiple territorial configurations rather than through one national narrative.

The police-region data on crimes against life provide a different but useful supporting comparison. Jawa Timur recorded 307 incidents, Sumatera Utara 139 incidents, and Papua 114 incidents. These figures should not be used as homicide-only rankings because BPS defines crimes against life as a category that includes both homicide and negligence resulting in death. Still, the data reveal the burden of fatal or death-related offences within police jurisdictions. This burden is important for criminal justice administration because each incident entering the category requires police recording, possible investigation, and institutional response.

Jawa Timur's position as the highest police region requires careful interpretation. The figure of 307 incidents is striking, but Jawa Timur is also a highly populated and socially complex region. A high count may partly reflect population size, dense interaction, case volume, and administrative capacity to record incidents. The safer interpretation is that Jawa Timur carried the largest recorded burden of crimes against life in 2024. This does not automatically mean that Jawa Timur had the highest homicide risk. A risk-based conclusion would require homicide rates per 100,000 population and disaggregation

between homicide and negligence resulting in death. Spatial-temporal work on homicide decline in São Paulo also illustrates why territorial trajectories cannot be inferred from aggregate counts alone and require attention to district-level variation (Nivette & Peres, 2022).

Papua's position in the police-region data is equally important. Its 114 crimes-against-life incidents cannot be read in the same way as Jawa Timur because the territorial and demographic context differs. Papua may raise questions about conflict, security conditions, geography, and institutional access, but the available BPS category does not identify which part of the count involved homicide and which part involved negligence resulting in death. It also does not identify location, victim-offender relationship, or motive. Papua's position therefore functions as a criminological signal, not a causal finding. It suggests the need for deeper case-level and territorial analysis.

3. Ecological Criminological Reading of the Pattern

Ecological criminology helps interpret the uneven distribution without reducing homicide to individual morality. The main insight is that crime is spatially patterned. Lethal violence occurs through individual acts, but those acts are situated within territorial environments. Such environments differ in population size, density, economic pressure, informal control, local conflict, institutional access, and administrative capacity. A high level of recorded homicide visibility may therefore emerge from the interaction of social and institutional factors rather than from individual criminality alone (Kadir & Mappaselleng, 2025). Studies of homicide trajectories in South Korean neighbourhoods similarly show that structural characteristics can shape differentiated pathways of lethal violence across subnational areas (Cho et al., 2021).

Social disorganization theory is the most useful framework for this article. The theory suggests that crime is more likely to concentrate in areas where informal social control is weakened. Informal social control refers to the ability of families, neighbourhoods, local communities, and institutions to regulate behaviour, mediate conflict, and prevent violence from escalating. In homicide research, this is especially relevant because many killings emerge from interpersonal conflict that escalates beyond control (Kadir, 2026b). Research from Brazil shows that social disorganization remains relevant for examining homicide rates in the Global South, although its indicators may operate differently across local contexts (Silva et al., 2024). The present data do not measure these conditions directly, but the uneven territorial visibility justifies using social disorganization as an interpretive lens.

Strain theory adds another layer. Economic pressure, limited opportunity, unemployment, and inequality may create background conditions for frustration and interpersonal conflict. Yet this article does not test those variables statistically. It cannot claim that poverty or unemployment caused the higher Podes percentages in DKI Jakarta, Papua Selatan, or Papua Tengah. The theory is used more modestly. It helps explain why future research should connect homicide data with social indicators. Evidence from spatial ecological research on homicide and socioeconomic disadvantage supports the need to distinguish absolute disadvantage from relative disadvantage when interpreting homicide concentration (Gobaud et al., 2022).

Relative deprivation is also relevant because homicide cannot always be explained through absolute deprivation. Perceived inequality, status humiliation, and social resentment may matter, especially in regions where wealth and exclusion exist side by side. A future study could examine whether provinces with higher inequality also experience higher territorial visibility of homicide or higher homicide rates after population adjustment. At this stage, however, such analysis remains prospective. The available data identify territorial visibility, not causal relationships. Recent theoretical work on inequality and homicide also stresses that income inequality must be read together with grievances, legitimacy, and dispute-resolution capacity rather than as a single-variable explanation (Daly, 2023).

Routine activity theory and the concept of guardianship provide a final layer of interpretation. Homicide may occur when motivated aggression, vulnerable targets, conflict situations, and weak intervention converge. Guardianship does not refer only to police presence. It may include family control, community mediation, neighbourhood intervention, local leadership, institutional access, and the capacity to interrupt conflict before it turns fatal. Recent work on social control argues that criminology should pay closer attention to the concrete actors and mechanisms that create neighbourhood control rather than assuming control exists automatically (Linning et al., 2024). However, the present data do not reveal the setting of each homicide. Guardianship can therefore only

be discussed as a theoretical possibility. It cannot be empirically specified through the available BPS figures.

The broader value of ecological criminology in this article lies in its disciplined modesty. It does not turn the data into claims they cannot support. It simply provides a framework for reading territorial unevenness (Kadir, 2026c). The article does not say that high-visibility provinces are socially disorganized, economically strained, or weakly guarded as proven facts. It says that the uneven distribution of recorded homicide should be interpreted through those possible ecological dimensions and that future research should test them with richer data. Contemporary work on crime concentration also supports the idea that observed crime patterns are co-produced through opportunity structures and territorial processes, not merely through individual offending propensities (Linning et al., 2022).

The findings point to the need for a more integrated homicide data infrastructure in Indonesia. BPS data provide a valuable starting point because they allow national homicide figures, Podes-based territorial visibility, and police-region crimes-against-life burdens to be identified. Yet homicide research requires more than counts or percentages. It needs information on victim and offender characteristics, relationship, gender, age, location, weapon, motive, situational background, investigation outcome, prosecution, conviction, and sentencing. Without these variables, researchers cannot distinguish domestic homicide from robbery-related homicide, revenge killing, communal violence, land-conflict killing, intimate partner homicide, or other forms of lethal violence. Research on intimate partner homicide demonstrates the value of linking criminal career, contextual factors, and police-record data to understand lethal violence more precisely than aggregate counts allow (Chopin et al., 2024).

An integrated homicide dataset would allow Indonesian criminology to move beyond descriptive counts. It would make it possible to calculate homicide rates per 100,000 population, compare territorial risk more accurately, link homicide with socio-economic indicators, and examine whether certain forms of homicide cluster in particular regions. It would also allow legal scholars to connect statistical patterns with court decisions and sentencing outcomes. Such integration is essential because homicide is both a criminological and legal phenomenon. It begins as lethal violence, but it becomes legally meaningful through investigation, prosecution, proof, conviction, and punishment. Advances in spatio-temporal crime prediction show that richer data structures can improve the identification of crime concentrations, although they also require careful interpretation and do not substitute for legal analysis (Cesario et al., 2024).

Podes data could play an important role in that future infrastructure. Because Podes records village-level information, including aspects of local security and social disorder, it can help bridge the gap between macro-level crime statistics and local conflict conditions. If homicide data were linked with Podes indicators of mass fighting, community conflict, or local disorder, ecological criminology could move from interpretive reading to stronger empirical testing. Such a design would allow researchers to ask whether provinces with higher homicide visibility also contain more villages with conflict indicators or weaker local mechanisms of dispute resolution. Recent research on duration-weighted neighbourhood effects confirms that exposure to neighbourhood disadvantage over time may matter for violent behaviour, which strengthens the need for longitudinal and spatially sensitive Indonesian datasets (Bellair et al., 2024).

Court decisions are equally important. BPS data can show where homicide is recorded, but court decisions can show how homicide is legally narrated (Kadir, 2026a). They reveal motive, evidentiary reasoning, victim-offender relationship, judicial interpretation, aggravating and mitigating factors, and sentencing logic. Combining statistical data with court analysis would be especially valuable for Indonesian legal scholarship, which is already strong in doctrinal and case-based analysis. The next step is to connect that strength with empirical homicide mapping. Time-series work on homicide and other adverse health outcomes also supports a broader research infrastructure in which homicide is studied alongside wider social indicators rather than treated as an isolated fatal event (van Breen & Liem, 2024).

The present article therefore functions as a foundational mapping study. It does not claim to provide a full explanation of homicide in Indonesia. It identifies the national movement and territorial visibility of recorded homicide, then interprets that pattern through ecological criminology. Its contribution lies in opening a more systematic research agenda. Indonesian homicide studies should no longer rely only on spectacular cases, doctrinal provisions, or national totals. They should develop territorial mapping, population-adjusted rates, socio-economic modelling, conflict indicators, and case-

level legal analysis. Studies of intimate partner homicide inequities further show why demographic, social, and institutional variables should be integrated into homicide datasets rather than treated as peripheral background information (Rowh et al., 2025).

The need for integration also applies to inequality and interpersonal violence. Homicide is a legal event, but its territorial distribution may overlap with broader social inequalities, life expectancy gaps, and differential exposure to violence. Research on interpersonal violence in London neighbourhoods illustrates how economic inequality and life expectancy can be connected with violence patterns at the neighbourhood scale (McLaughlin & Pound, 2025). For Indonesia, such a line of inquiry would require BPS homicide data to be connected with socioeconomic indicators, health measures, police records, and judicial outcomes. That integration would allow future research to move from descriptive territorial visibility toward a more complete explanation of lethal violence as a social, legal, and spatial phenomenon.

CONCLUSION

This article has examined recorded homicide in Indonesia through descriptive ecological criminological mapping based on BPS crime statistics. The available data show that recorded homicide declined slightly from 1,129 incidents in 2023 to 1,106 incidents in 2024. The Podes-based territorial data show that the percentage of villages or urban villages with homicide incidents in 2024 ranged from 0.18 percent to 1.87 percent, with DKI Jakarta, Papua Selatan, and Papua Tengah occupying the highest positions, while Aceh, Kalimantan Utara, and Bali occupied the lowest positions. Police-region data on crimes against life provide a supporting comparison, with Jawa Timur, Sumatera Utara, and Papua recording the highest burdens of fatal or death-related offences. These patterns confirm that recorded homicide cannot be adequately read through national aggregates alone. However, the figures must be interpreted carefully. Podes data measure territorial visibility across villages or urban villages, while police-region data on crimes against life include both homicide and negligence resulting in death. They are therefore not interchangeable measures.

The criminological value of this article lies in showing that homicide in Indonesia should not be studied only through individual cases, sensational incidents, or doctrinal analysis of murder provisions. Recorded homicide also deserves to be read as a territorial phenomenon, although the present data do not allow causal claims about poverty, inequality, unemployment, social disorganization, or guardianship. BPS figures are strong enough to support descriptive ecological mapping, but not strong enough to explain motive, victim-offender relationship, weapon use, domestic context, local conflict background, or judicial outcome. The article therefore offers a limited but necessary contribution: it establishes a foundation for Indonesian homicide studies based on official statistical data while clarifying the limits of such data. Future research should calculate homicide rates per 100,000 population, align police-region data with administrative provinces, integrate Podes indicators with socio-economic variables, and combine BPS statistics with police case records, court decisions, forensic data, and media-based homicide datasets so that Indonesian homicide research can move from descriptive territorial mapping toward a fuller explanation of lethal violence and its social conditions.

REFERENCES

Bellair, P. E., McNulty, T. L., & Carlson, D. L. (2024). The Significance of Duration Weighted Neighborhood Effects for Violent Behavior and Explanation of Ethnoracial Differences. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-024-09588-1

Cesario, E., Lindia, P., & Vinci, A. (2024). Multi-density crime predictor: an approach to forecast criminal activities in multi-density crime hotspots. *Journal of Big Data*, *11*(1), 75. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40537-024-00935-4

Cho, S., Lee, Y. H., & Harper, S. B. (2021). Testing the Systemic Model of Social Disorganization Theory in South Korean Neighborhoods: A Latent Class Growth Analysis Approach to Specifying Pathways to Homicide. *Homicide Studies*, *25*(2), 139–163. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767920941564

Chopin, J., Guay, J.-P., Fortin, F., Paquette, S., Péloquin, O., & Chartrand, E. (2024). Earlier or Later? A Survival Analysis of Criminal Career and Contextual Factors Associated With Intimate Partner

Homicide in Canada. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *64*(6), 1362–1384. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azae023

Daly, M. (2023). Inequality, grievances, and the variability in homicide rates. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, *44*(3), 296–304. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2023.01.005

Densley, J. A., & Peterson, J. K. (2025). Murder in a time of crisis: a qualitative exploration of the 2020 homicide spike through offender interviews. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, *48*(5), 618–627. https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2024.2426502

Finch, B. K., Thomas, K., Beck, A. N., Burghart, D. B., Klinger, D., & Johnson, R. R. (2022). Assessing Data Completeness, Quality, and Representativeness of Justifiable Homicides in the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports: A Research Note. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *38*(1), 267–293. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-021-09493-x

Gobaud, A. N., Mehranbod, C. A., Dong, B., Dodington, J., & Morrison, C. N. (2022). Absolute versus relative socioeconomic disadvantage and homicide: a spatial ecological case–control study of US zip codes. *Injury Epidemiology*, *9*(1), 7. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40621-022-00371-z

Groeneveld, G., & Breetzke, G. D. (2022). The vagaries of variables: Towards a standardised approach for variable selection in spatial crime research. *Methodological Innovations*, *15*(2), 152–162. https://doi.org/10.1177/20597991221091513

Holt, K. (2024). Editorial Introduction to Homicide Studies Special Issue: Critical Perspectives on Homicide. *Homicide Studies*, *28*(3), 247–250. https://doi.org/10.1177/10887679241246991

Inlow, A. R. (2020). Does Land Use Matter? Understanding Homicide Counts Beyond the Effects of Social Disorganization. *Homicide Studies*, *24*(4), 311–332. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767919884672

Kadir, Z. K. (2025). Kejahatan Berbasis Identitas Digital: Menggagas Kebijakan Kriminal untuk Dunia Metaverse. *Jurnal Litigasi Amsir*, *12*(2), 124–137.

Kadir, Z. K. (2026a). Narrative Closure in Honor killing Cases: How Judgments Stabilise Meaning, Eliminate Ambiguity, and Produce Sentencing Certainty. *Punggawa Law Review*, *1*(1), 1–10.

Kadir, Z. K. (2026b). Neurocriminology and the Next Generation of Criminological Theory: Integration, Limits, and Ethical Risks. *Punggawa Global Research: Jurnal Multidisiplin*, *1*(1), 1–8.

Kadir, Z. K. (2026c). Siri' Killing vis-à-vis Honor Killing: Menimbang Batas Universal dan Kekhasan Lokal Pembunuhan Demi Kehormatan. *Jurnal Sains Student Research*, *4*(2), 226–242.

Kadir, Z. K. (2026d). Siri'Killing dalam Masyarakat Bugis-Makassar: Konstruksi, Pola Pembunuhan, dan Respons Hukum Pidana. *MUTIARA: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Indonesia*, *4*(2), 158–172.

Kadir, Z. K., & Mappaselleng, N. F. (2025). Reformasi Konsep Heat of Passion: Menuju Pembatasan Provokasi dalam Mengurangi Pertanggungjawaban Pidana Pembunuhan. *Justitiable-Jurnal Hukum*, *8*(1), 119–136. https://doi.org/10.56071/justitiable.v8i1.1293

Krüsselmann, K., Aarten, P., Granath, S., Kivivuori, J., Markwalder, N., Suonpää, K., Thomsen, A. H., Walser, S., & Liem, M. (2023). Firearm Homicides in Europe: A Comparison with Non-Firearm Homicides in Five European Countries. *Global Crime*, *24*(2), 145–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/17440572.2023.2211513

Linning, S. J., Bowers, K., & Eck, J. E. (2024). Crime radiation theory: the co-production of crime patterns through opportunity creation and exploitation. *Crime Science*, *13*(1), 32. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-024-00234-6

Linning, S. J., Olaghere, A., & Eck, J. E. (2022). Say NOPE to social disorganization criminology: the importance of creators in neighborhood social control. *Crime Science*, *11*(1), 5. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-022-00167-y

Manwaring, J. (2024). Homicide: Losing Control. *The Cambridge Law Journal*, 83–2.

McLaughlin, J. L., & Pound, N. (2025). Economic Inequality, Life Expectancy, and Interpersonal Violence in London Neighborhoods. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *40*(13–14), 3231–3250. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605241271379

McWilliams, E. R., & Hunter, B. A. (2021). The Impact of Criminal Record Stigma on Quality of Life: A Test of Theoretical Pathways. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *67*(1–2), 89–102. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12454

Mohammadi, A., Bergquist, R., Fathi, G., Pishgar, E., de Melo, S. N., Sharifi, A., & Kiani, B. (2022). Homicide rates are spatially associated with built environment and socio-economic factors: a

study in the neighbourhoods of Toronto, Canada. *BMC Public Health*, *22*(1), 1482. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-13807-4

Nivette, A., & Peres, M. F. T. (2022). Social Disorganization and Urban Homicide Rates: A Spatial-Temporal Analysis in São Paulo, Brazil 2000 to 2015. *Homicide Studies*, *26*(3), 219–243. https://doi.org/10.1177/10887679211010883

Riascos Villegas, Á. J., Ñungo, J. S., Gómez Tobón, L., Dulce Rubio, M., & Gómez, F. (2023). Modelling underreported spatio-temporal crime events. *PLOS ONE*, *18*(7), e0287776. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0287776

Rowh, A., Zhang, X., Nguyen, B., & Jack, S. (2025). Inequities in Intimate Partner Homicide: Social Determinants of Health Mediate Racial/Ethnic Disparities. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *68*(3), 555–562. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2024.11.021

Silva, C. F. A. da, de Melo, S. N., Vaughan, A. D., Santos, A. M. dos, & de Almeida Junior, P. M. (2024). The Influence of Racial Minorities and Ethnic Heterogeneity in the Estimation of Homicide Rates in the Northeast Region of Brazil: Implications for Social Disorganization Theory in the Global South. *Homicide Studies*, *28*(4), 487–514. https://doi.org/10.1177/10887679221128006

van Breen, J., & Liem, M. (2024). When it rains it pours? A time-series approach to the relationship between homicide and other adverse health phenomena. *Journal of Public Health*, *32*(9), 1691–1696. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10389-023-01929-x

Zhang, B. (2025). Exploring Situational Triggers of Intimate Partner Femicide within the Ecological Framework: Evidence from Married Females in China. *Victims & Offenders*, *20*(3), 441–469. https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2024.2410343