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Abstract | Twenty-five years has passed since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC). This paper examines the trends and characteristics of Indigenous deaths in custody since 1991–92, using data obtained through the National Deaths in Custody Program (NDICP).

NDICP data show Indigenous people are now less likely than non-Indigenous people to die in prison custody, largely due to a decrease in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners from 1999–2000 to 2005–06.

Coinciding with this decrease in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners is a decrease in the hanging death rate of Indigenous prisoners.

Monitoring trends and characteristics of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous deaths in custody supports the development of proactive strategies addressing this important issue.

Indigenous deaths in custody: 25 years since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody

Alexandra Gannoni and Samantha Bricknell

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC) was established in 1987 in response to growing concern over the deaths of Indigenous people in custody. The RCIADIC (1991) found Indigenous people were no more likely than non-Indigenous people to die in custody but were considerably more likely to be arrested and imprisoned. The RCIADIC (1991) recommended an ongoing program be established by the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) to monitor Indigenous and non-Indigenous deaths in prison, police custody and youth detention. In response, the National Deaths in Custody Program (NDICP) commenced in 1992. Since then, the NDICP has collected comprehensive data on the extent and nature of all deaths in custody in Australia.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a picture of trends and characteristics of Indigenous deaths in prison and police custody in the 25 years since the RCIADIC. A key focus is to describe the circumstances of Indigenous deaths in custody and how these compare with those reported by the RCIADIC and over time.

What is a death in custody?

The final report of the RCIADIC outlined the types of deaths that would require notification to the NDICP (recommendation 41, RCIADIC 1991). They are:

- a death, wherever occurring, of a person who is in prison custody, police custody or youth detention;
- a death, wherever occurring, of a person whose death is caused or contributed to by traumatic injuries sustained, or by lack of proper care, while in such custody or detention;
- a death, wherever occurring, of a person who dies, or is fatally injured, in the process of police or prison officers attempting to detain that person; or
- a death, wherever occurring, of a person attempting to escape from prison, police custody or youth detention.

Deaths in police custody are further divided into two categories:

- category 1: deaths in institutional settings (eg police stations, police vehicles, or in hospitals, following transfer from an institution) and other deaths in police operations where officers were in *close* contact with the deceased (eg most raids and shootings by police).
- category 2: other deaths in custody-related police operations where officers were *not* in close contact with the deceased (eg most sieges, pursuits).

Methodology

Data used in this study were extracted from the NDICP database. The information held in the NDICP database is derived from two main sources: data provided by state and territory police and corrective service agencies; and coronial records (eg autopsy, toxicology and finding reports) obtained via the National Coronial Information System. For more detail on the NDICP and its methodology, see Ticehurst, Napier and Bricknell (2018).

Data were drawn from deaths occurring in prison and police custody across Australia between financial years 1991–92 and 2015–16. Excluded from the analysis are the small number of youth detention deaths recorded during the reference period (n=10) and five cases in which Indigenous status was not recorded. A total of 2,044 deaths in custody were included in the analysis.

Table 1 shows the breakdown of deaths in custody by jurisdiction, custodial authority and Indigenous status. It should be noted that custody populations vary greatly across the jurisdictions, which affects the number and distribution of deaths recorded.

Table 1: Deaths in custody by jurisdiction, custodial authority and Indigenous status, 1991–92 to 2015–16

	Prison				Police				Total			
	Indigenous (n)	Non-Indigenous (n)	Total (n)	Proportion (%) Indigenous	Indigenous (n)	Non-Indigenous (n)	Total (n)	Proportion (%) Indigenous	Indigenous (n)	Non-Indigenous (n)	Total (n)	Proportion (%) Indigenous
NSW	67	410	477	14	26	213	239	11	93	623	716	13
Vic	10	185	195	5	6	131	137	4	16	316	332	5
Qld	57	188	245	23	18	102	120	15	75	290	365	21
WA	58	123	181	32	45	60	105	43	103	183	286	36
SA	18	101	119	15	14	48	62	23	32	149	181	18
Tas	3	35	38	8	2	13	15	13	5	48	53	9
ACT	2	6	8	25	0	9	9	0	2	15	17	12
NT	32	8	40	80	35	17	52	67	67	25	92	73
Cth	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0
Total	247	1,056	1,303	19	146	595	741	20	393	1,651	2,044	19

Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]

Indigenous deaths in prison custody

There were 247 Indigenous deaths in prison custody over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period, accounting for 19 percent of all prison deaths (n=1,303; Table 1). Between 1991–92 and 2015–16, the number and proportion of Indigenous prison deaths fluctuated (range: 11% to 30% each year), while the number and proportion of Indigenous people in the prison population increased (from 14% to 27%; ABS 2000–2016). Since 2003–04, the proportion of Indigenous deaths in prison custody has been smaller than the relative proportion of prisoners.

Figure 1 shows prison death rates by Indigenous status. While there has been some variation, the death rate of Indigenous prisoners decreased overall by 85 percent from 1999–2000 to 2005–06 (from 0.34 to 0.05 per 100). Over the same period, the death rate of non-Indigenous prisoners decreased overall by 54 percent (from 0.28 to 0.13 per 100). Death rates of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous prisoners were notably lower in the second half of the reference period (2003–04 to 2015–16), compared with the first half (1991–92 to 2002–03).

The decrease in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners was proportionately greater than the decrease for non-Indigenous prisoners. This resulted in a widening in the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous prison death rates. For example, between 1991–92 and 2002–03, the average death rate of non-Indigenous prisoners was 1.1 times the Indigenous rate, increasing to 1.6 between 2003–04 and 2015–16. More recently, there has been a narrowing in this gap, largely due to an increase in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners (up 63% since 2013–14). Despite this, the death rate of Indigenous prisoners has been lower than that of non-Indigenous prisoners since 2003–04.

Figure 1: Deaths in prison custody by Indigenous status, 1991–92 to 2015–16 (rate per 100 relevant prisoners)



Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]; rates calculated using ABS (2000–2016) prison population estimates

Legal status

Seventy-three percent (n=181) of Indigenous prison deaths between 1991–92 and 2015–16 involved sentenced prisoners, and 27 percent (n=66) involved unsentenced prisoners (Table A1). These proportions were relatively similar for non-Indigenous prison deaths (69% vs 31%).

Death rates by Indigenous status and legal status were calculated using available prison population data for the period 2004–05 to 2015–16 (ABS 2005–2016). Despite considerable variation, from 2004–05 to 2015–16, the death rate of Indigenous unsentenced prisoners decreased overall, from 0.26 to 0.16 per 100, while the death rate of non-Indigenous unsentenced prisoners decreased overall, from 0.37 to 0.17 per 100. On the other hand, from 2004–05 to 2015–16, the death rate of Indigenous sentenced prisoners increased slightly overall, from 0.11 to 0.19 per 100. The death rate of non-Indigenous sentenced prisoners also increased overall, from 0.11 to 0.25 per 100.

Since 2011–12, the death rate of Indigenous unsentenced prisoners has been lower than that of Indigenous sentenced prisoners. In comparison, the death rate of non-Indigenous unsentenced prisoners has generally been higher than that of non-Indigenous sentenced prisoners, with a narrowing in this gap in recent years.

Demographic characteristics

Male prison deaths consistently outnumbered female prison deaths over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period—96 percent (n=236) of all Indigenous deaths and 96 percent (n=1,018) of all non-Indigenous deaths (Table A1). The over-representation of males in prison deaths is representative of the gender composition of the wider prison population (ABS 2000–2016).

The age profile of Indigenous prison deaths was younger than non-Indigenous prison deaths. This reflects, in part, the younger age profile of Indigenous prisoners, compared with non-Indigenous prisoners (ABS 2000–2016). Over the period 1991–92 to 2015–16, the mean age at death for Indigenous prisoners was 37.8 years, compared with 45.3 years for non-Indigenous prisoners (Table A1). Eighty-nine percent of deaths among Indigenous prisoners occurred before the age of 55, compared with 69 percent of deaths among non-Indigenous prisoners. Almost one in five (18%; n=45) Indigenous deaths involved a prisoner less than 25 years of age.

The mean age at death for Indigenous prisoners increased over the 25-year period, from 27.3 years in 1991–92 to 42.7 years in 2015–16. The mean age at death for non-Indigenous prisoners also increased, from 36.6 years in 1991–92 to 58.6 years in 2015–16. Increases in age at death for prisoners appear indicative of the ageing prisoner population (ABS 2000–2016; Baidawi et al. 2011).

Cause of death

The majority of Indigenous prison deaths from 1991–92 to 2015–16 were due to natural causes (58%; n=140), followed by hanging (32%; n=78; Table A1). Twelve deaths (5%) were due to drugs and/or alcohol and nine (4%) were due to external trauma. For each year from 1991–92 to 2002–03, the leading cause of death among Indigenous prisoners was either natural causes or hanging. For each year from 2003–04 to 2015–16, deaths due to natural causes surpassed hanging deaths. This pattern was similar for non-Indigenous prison deaths.

Deaths from natural causes

Figure 2 shows natural death rates in prison custody by Indigenous status. Between 2003–04 and 2015–16, the natural death rate of Indigenous prisoners varied between 0.08 and 0.15 per 100 each year. The average natural death rate of Indigenous prisoners was 1.5 times the non-Indigenous rate between 1991–92 and 2002–03. From 2003–04 to 2015–16, the pattern reversed, with the average natural death rate of non-Indigenous prisoners 1.4 times the Indigenous rate.

Figure 2: Natural deaths in prison custody by Indigenous status, 1991–92 to 2015–16 (rate per 100 relevant prisoners)



Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]; rates calculated using ABS (2000–2016) prison population estimates

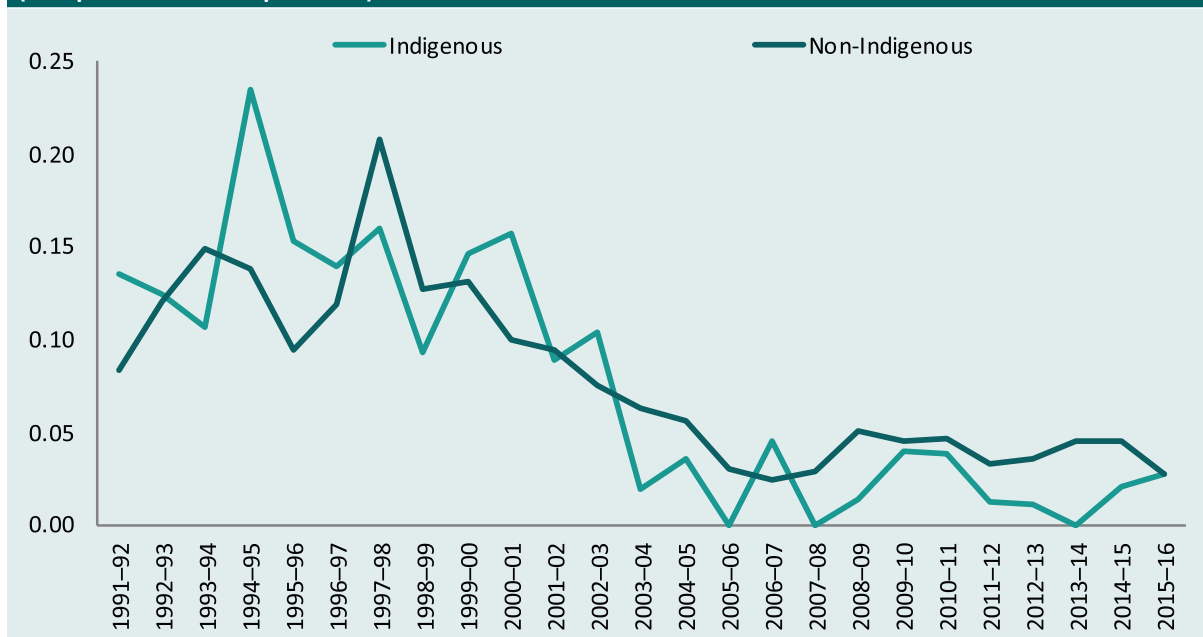
Hanging deaths

As shown in Figure 3, hanging death rates among Indigenous and non-Indigenous prisoners present a very different picture. From 2000–01 to 2005–06, the hanging death rate of Indigenous prisoners dropped from 0.16 per 100 to zero deaths. The hanging rate of non-Indigenous prisoners also decreased during this time, from 0.10 to 0.03 per 100. From 2005–06, the hanging death rate for Indigenous and non-Indigenous prisoners remained at 0.05 or less per 100.

Hanging death rates decreased substantially among Indigenous prisoners, which resulted in changes to the rate ratio of Indigenous hanging death rates. For example, from 1991–92 to 2002–03, the average hanging death rate of Indigenous prisoners was 1.2 times the non-Indigenous rate, while from 2003–04 to 2015–16, the average hanging death rate of non-Indigenous prisoners was two times the Indigenous rate.

Indigenous hanging death rates by legal status were calculated using available prison population data for the period 2002–03 to 2015–16 (ABS 2003–2016). Despite considerable variation, from 2002–03 to 2015–16, the hanging death rate of Indigenous unsentenced prisoners decreased overall by 93 percent (from 0.41 to 0.03 per 100). Hanging death rates of Indigenous sentenced prisoners followed a more stable pattern over the period 2002–03 to 2015–16 (range: 0.06 to 0.00 each year). Since 2011–12, the hanging death rate of Indigenous sentenced prisoners has been similar to that of Indigenous unsentenced prisoners.

Figure 3: Hanging deaths in prison custody by Indigenous status, 1991–92 to 2015–16 (rate per 100 relevant prisoners)



Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]; rates calculated using ABS (2000–2016) prison population estimates

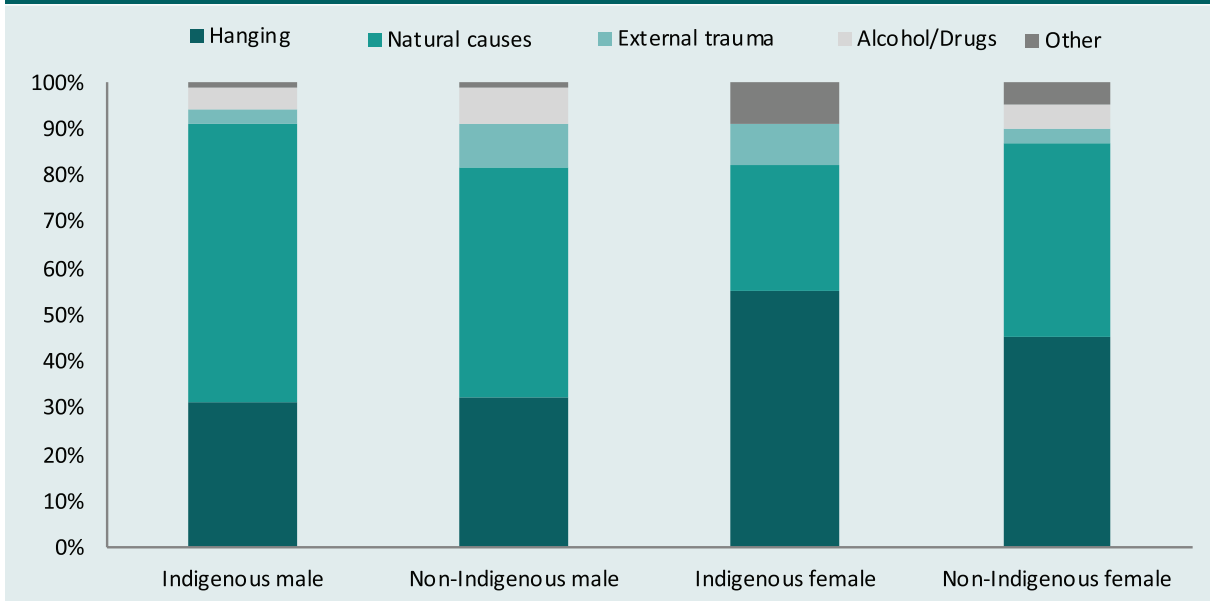
Cause of death by gender

Figure 4 shows the cause of prison death by Indigenous status and gender for the period 1991–92 to 2015–16. Similar proportions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous male deaths were caused by hanging—31 percent (n=72) and 32 percent (n=327) respectively. However, a larger proportion of Indigenous than non-Indigenous male deaths resulted from natural causes—59 percent (n=137) and 49 percent (n=494) respectively. Where the natural cause of death was recorded, Indigenous male deaths were more likely than non-Indigenous male deaths to be due to heart disease (56%; n=74 vs 37%; n=175), but less likely to be due to cancer (16%; n=21 vs 27%; n=128).

A larger proportion of Indigenous female deaths over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period were due to hanging (55%; n=6 vs 44%; n=17 for non-Indigenous), while a larger proportion of non-Indigenous female deaths were due to natural causes (42%; n=16 vs 27%; n=3 for Indigenous; Figure 4). These differences, however, may only be apparent due to the small numbers of female prisoner deaths.

When comparing these findings with the wider prison population, data obtained from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW 2015) National Prisoner Health Data Collection indicate that, in 2015, just over half (51%) of prison entrants ever diagnosed with cardiovascular disease (eg heart disease, stroke, heart failure) reported still having cardiovascular disease, with Indigenous entrants most likely to still have the disease (7 out of 10). A small proportion of prison entrants (3%) were affected by cancer, with non-Indigenous entrants more likely than Indigenous entrants to have ever been told they had cancer (4% and 1% respectively).

Figure 4: Deaths in prison custody by cause of death, Indigenous status and gender, 1991–92 to 2015–16 (%)



Notes: Excludes 10 cases where cause of death was not recorded. External trauma includes head injuries and gunshot wounds

Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]

Cause of death by age

The leading cause of Indigenous deaths in prison custody varied depending on age. Over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period, hanging was the leading cause of death among those aged less than 25, accounting for 76 percent (n=34) of such deaths. Among those aged 25 to 39 years, natural causes was the leading cause of death (48%; n=51), followed by hanging (36%; n=38). The majority of deaths among prisoners aged 40 to 54 years (83%; n=57) and those aged 55 years and over (96%; n=26) were from natural causes.

Manner of death

While the *cause of death* refers to the medical cause of the death, the *manner of death* refers to the accountability of the death or how the death came about. For example, if a person dies from natural causes (eg heart attack), the manner of death is also natural causes. If a person dies from other causes of death (eg external/multiple trauma), the manner of death is recorded as one of the following: self-inflicted, justifiable homicide, unlawful homicide, or accidental.

The manner of death in 58 percent (n=140) of Indigenous prison deaths was natural causes, equal to the 58 percent of Indigenous prison deaths *attributable* to natural causes (Table A1). A further 35 percent of deaths (n=86) were self-inflicted. Eight deaths (3%) were accidental, six (2%) were classified as an unlawful homicide, and one (<1%) was a justifiable homicide. For each year from 1991–92 to 2001–02, the leading manner of death was either natural causes or self-inflicted. For each year from 2002–03 to 2015–16, deaths from natural causes surpassed self-inflicted deaths as the leading manner of death. This pattern was similar for non-Indigenous prison deaths.

Self-inflicted deaths

Nearly all self-inflicted deaths among Indigenous prisoners over the period 1991–92 to 2015–16 were due to hanging (90%; n=77). Four were due to external/multiple trauma (5%) and three were due to drugs and/or alcohol (3%). Therefore, trends in self-inflicted deaths largely parallel trends in hanging deaths as described above. Almost half of Indigenous self-inflicted deaths (47%; n=40) during the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period were of persons who had previously attempted suicide, and almost one in three (30%; n=26) were of persons who had been identified as being at risk of self-harm or suicide.

The self-inflicted death rate of Indigenous prisoners decreased from 0.16 per 100 in 2000–01 to zero deaths in 2005–06. Over the same period, the self-inflicted death rate of non-Indigenous prisoners also decreased, from 0.11 to 0.05 per 100. The average self-inflicted death rate of Indigenous prisoners between 1991–92 and 2002–03 was 1.1 times the non-Indigenous rate, while from 2003–04 to 2015–16 the average self-inflicted death rate of non-Indigenous prisoners was 2.4 times the Indigenous rate.

Indigenous deaths in police custody

It should be noted that it is not currently possible to calculate rates of death in police custody, due to the absence of reliable data on the number of people placed in police custody each year and the number of people who come into contact with police in custody-related operations.

There were 146 Indigenous deaths in police custody over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period, accounting for 20 percent of the total police custody deaths (n=741; Table 1). The number of Indigenous deaths in police custody each year was relatively small, with no clear trend over the reference period. The largest number (n=11) of Indigenous deaths occurred in 2002–03 and 2004–05, and the lowest (n=1) in 2013–14.

Just over half (56%; n=82) of Indigenous deaths in police custody during the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period were classified as category 2 deaths—that is, deaths in which officers were *not* in close contact with the deceased (Table A2). The remaining 44 percent (n=64) were classified as category 1—that is, deaths in which officers *were* in close contact with the deceased. A similar proportion of non-Indigenous deaths in police custody were classified as close and non-close contact deaths (44%; n=262 and 56%; n=333 respectively).

Demographic characteristics

Male deaths in police custody generally outnumbered female deaths in police custody over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period, with male deaths comprising 86 percent (n=125) of all Indigenous and 95 percent (n=563) of all non-Indigenous deaths (Table A2). While police custody population figures are not available, this gender ratio is likely representative of the gender composition of the arrestee population.

The age profile of Indigenous deaths in police custody was younger than non-Indigenous deaths. Indigenous deaths in police custody most commonly involved those aged less than 25 years (40%; n=59), followed by those aged 25–39 years (38%; n=55; Table A2). Non-Indigenous deaths in police custody most commonly involved those aged 25–39 years (43%; n=256). The mean age at death for Indigenous persons in police custody was 29.9 years, compared with 34.6 years for non-Indigenous persons in police custody.

Cause of death

Over half (51%; n=74) of Indigenous deaths in police custody over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period resulted from external/multiple trauma (Table A2), the majority of which were due to injuries sustained during motor vehicle pursuits (MVPs; 62%; n=46). Deaths resulting from MVPs accounted for almost one third (32%; n=46) of Indigenous deaths in police custody during the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period. This proportion was similar for non-Indigenous deaths in police custody (30%; n=176).

The next most common cause of Indigenous deaths in police custody over the period 1991–92 to 2015–16 was natural causes (21%; n=30; Table A2). Most of these were due to heart disease or related cardiac ailments (73%; n=22), as was the case for deaths in prison custody. A small number of deaths were due to stroke (13%; n=4), respiratory conditions (7%; n=2) and epilepsy (3%; n=1). Indigenous deaths from natural causes most commonly occurred among those aged 25–39 (43%; n=13) and 40–54 (37%; n=11). A higher proportion of Indigenous compared with non-Indigenous deaths in police custody resulted from natural causes (21%; n=30 vs 8%; n=47).

Less than 10 percent of Indigenous deaths in police custody over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period were due to hanging (9%; n=13). No Indigenous hanging deaths have occurred since 2008–09. Non-Indigenous hanging deaths decreased, from 20 during the first half of the reference period (1991–92 to 2002–03) to nine during the second half (2003–04 to 2015–16). Similarly, no non-Indigenous hanging deaths have occurred since 2009–10.

The number of Indigenous deaths resulting from gunshot wounds was low over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period (range: 0–2 per year). Of the total 13 Indigenous deaths resulting from gunshot wounds, eight (62%) were police shootings and five (38%) were self-inflicted. Nine percent of Indigenous deaths in police custody were caused by gunshot wounds, compared with 35 percent of non-Indigenous deaths.

Manner of death

Almost half (47%; n=68) of Indigenous deaths in police custody over the 1991–92 to 2015–16 period were accidental (Table A2), 57 percent (n=39) of which were due to MVPs and 19 percent (n=13) to some other type of pursuit (eg foot pursuit). The next most common manner of death was natural causes (21%; n=31), followed by self-inflicted deaths (19%; n=28). Less than 10 percent were due to justifiable homicide (7%; n=10) and unlawful homicide (5%; n=8).

Conclusion

In 1991, the RCIADIC concluded Indigenous people were no more likely to die in custody than non-Indigenous people but were significantly more likely to be arrested and imprisoned. The same remains true today.

Indigenous people are now less likely than non-Indigenous people to die in custody, largely due to a decrease in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners from 1999–2000 to 2005–06. Since 2003–04, non-Indigenous people have been, on average, 1.6 times more likely to die in prison custody than Indigenous people. More recently, there has been a narrowing in this gap, largely due to an increase in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners from 2013–14. Yet the death rate of Indigenous prisoners has been consistently lower than that of non-Indigenous prisoners since 2003–04. Coinciding with the overall decrease in the death rate of Indigenous prisoners is the decrease in the hanging death rate of Indigenous prisoners, falling below the natural death rate from 2002–03. Since 2003–04, the hanging death rate of Indigenous prisoners has been lower or the same as that of non-Indigenous prisoners. In contrast, the natural death rate of Indigenous prisoners has remained relatively stable across the years. The mean age at death for Indigenous prisoners has been increasing over the years yet remains lower than that of non-Indigenous prisoners. Based on available prison population data from 2004–05 to 2015–16, the death rate of Indigenous unsentenced prisoners decreased overall, while the death rate of Indigenous sentenced prisoners increased slightly.

While less can be said about the trends for Indigenous deaths in police custody (due to the relatively small number of Indigenous deaths in police custody each year) and rates cannot currently be calculated, some clear patterns have emerged. Between 1991–92 and 2015–16, 146 Indigenous deaths in police custody occurred, representing 20 percent of all deaths in police custody. One in every two (47%) Indigenous deaths in police custody were classified as an accident, followed by deaths from natural causes (21%) and self-inflicted deaths (19%). One in two accidental deaths were due to MVPs and one in five were due to some other type of pursuit. The number of Indigenous hanging deaths in police custody was relatively small, with no Indigenous hanging deaths occurring since 2008–09. The number of Indigenous deaths resulting from gunshot wounds was also relatively small, and notably smaller proportionately than non-Indigenous deaths in police custody. As with prison deaths, the age profile of Indigenous deaths in police custody was younger than that of non-Indigenous deaths in police custody.

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Appendix

Table A1: Deaths in prison custody by Indigenous status, 1991–92 to 2015–16						
	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Legal status						
Sentenced	181	73	724	69	905	70
Unsentenced	66	27	330	31	396	30
Gender						
Male	236	96	1,018	96	1,254	96
Female	11	4	38	4	49	4
Age group (years)						
Under 25	45	18	126	12	171	13
25–39	106	43	342	32	448	34
40–54	69	28	262	25	331	25
55+	27	11	326	31	353	27
Min/max	17/81		17/94		17/94	
Mean (median)	37.8 (36)		45.3 (43)		43.8 (41)	
Cause of death						
Hanging	78	32	344	33	422	33
Natural causes	140	58	510	49	650	50
External trauma	9	4	97	9	106	8
Alcohol/drugs	12	5	84	8	96	7
Other	4	2	15	1	19	1
Manner of death						
Self-inflicted	86	35	401	38	487	38
Natural causes	140	58	510	49	650	50
Unlawful homicide	6	2	58	6	64	5
Justifiable homicide	1	<1	4	<1	5	<1
Accident	8	3	68	7	76	6
Other	2	1	5	<1	7	1

Notes: External trauma includes head injury and gunshot wounds. Excludes cases with missing data.

Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]

Table A2: Deaths in police custody by Indigenous status, 1991–92 to 2015–16						
	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Category of death						
Category 1	64	44	262	44	326	44
Category 2	82	56	333	56	415	56
Gender						
Male	125	86	563	95	688	93
Female	21	14	32	5	53	7
Age group (years)						
Under 25	59	40	150	25	209	28
25–39	55	38	256	43	311	42
40–54	27	18	142	24	169	23
55+	5	3	46	8	51	7
Min/max	12/69		13/80		12/80	
Mean (median)	29.9 (28)		34.6 (32)		33.7 (32)	
Cause of death						
Hanging	13	9	29	5	42	6
Natural causes	30	21	47	8	77	10
Gunshot	13	9	207	35	220	30
External trauma	74	51	237	40	311	42
Alcohol/drugs	6	4	43	7	49	7
Other	10	7	28	5	38	5
Manner of death						
Self-inflicted	28	19	199	34	227	31
Natural causes	31	21	47	8	78	11
Unlawful homicide	8	5	6	1	14	2
Justifiable homicide	10	7	110	19	120	16
Accident	68	47	218	37	286	39
Other	1	1	11	2	12	2

Notes: External trauma includes head injury. Excludes cases with missing data. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: AIC NDICP 1991–92 to 2015–16 [computer file]

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