

Scottish Crime, Punishment and Justice Cost Trends in Comparative Context



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1 Overview

The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research (SCCJR) has been requested by Audit Scotland to provide information on Scottish crime and punishment trends in a comparative context, showing high level trends over the decade 2000-2010. The research focuses on Scotland, for which we have detailed information and familiarity, and compares it to high level data on Scotland's neighbours (England and Wales and similarly sized neighbours of Ireland, Denmark, Finland and Norway); Europe more generally; and in some cases where appropriate information exists, globally.

This comparison addresses has three specific areas of comparison, namely trends in: (1) crime, (2) punishment, and (3) costs of criminal justice.

It is important here that comparing criminal justice trends brings along certain limits. This has to do with the fact international comparative criminological analyses of statistics harbour innate problems because of the issue how nations differ in criminal justice structures and organisation, legal definitions and concepts, and the collection and presentation of their statistics (Harrendorf, Heiskanen, and Malby, 2010; Aebi et al., 2010: 20). In addition, data even from single countries has limitations particularly in that most sources are often not designed for statistical analysis but are intended as administrative data; the well known limits of analysing administrative data include uncertainty about accuracy and changing practices among the many people recording information over time. The sources cited in this document typically contain their own discussion of the limits of particular datasets and the reader is referred to these for further consideration.

Crime statistics presented here draw on two kinds of information: police records of crime and surveys of victimisation. The former are the official records of crime activity, but it is widely accepted these miss out a substantial amount of actual crime happening, by anywhere from a factor of three to ten. However, it is crime known to the police which provides the workload for other parts of the criminal justice system and so are a useful tool. Victimisation surveys sample a given population about experiences of victimisation and thus pick up offending that is not detected by police and so generally report more crime, though the two sources can be compared to assess consistent trends of increases or decreases in particular forms of offending.

For comparison of punishment we tend to focus on use of imprisonment. This is common practice (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006) though we recognise this is a 'highly imperfect... and unsatisfactory [yet] often the best available [statistic]' (ibid.: 5). To capture a more comprehensive picture of national of 'punitivity', we also have sought to include data on use of non-custodial punishments.

Information on the costs of criminal justice, in Scotland and elsewhere, is scant. There have been intermittent reports, official and otherwise, on the costs of criminal justice systems, and

we include these where available. This data tends not to be very current, though it offers a context in which to consider the relative spend of different parts of the system.

Lastly, we have included a concluding comment on the overall picture of criminal justice and its cost developed by the statistics and set these in a wider socio-political context.

Please feel free to follow up with questions or comments to:
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2 Crime Trends

2.1 Data Sources

Scottish data mainly comes from [Recorded Crime in Scotland](#), the official statistical publication of crime recorded and cleared up by the eight Scottish police forces, with 2009-10 being the latest year available for analysis; there is also some reference to the [Scottish Crime and Justice Survey](#), a victimisation survey. The main sources of data for international comparison of police recorded crime are [European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics](#), the [International Statistics on Crime and Justice](#) (as analysed in Harrendorf et al. 2010) and [EUROSTAT – Crime and Criminal Justice](#) (analysed in Tavares and Thomas 2010). The main victimisation survey data internationally comes from the [International Crime and Victimization Survey](#) (analysed alongside EU crime survey data in Van Dijk et al. 2010). *Figures for this section are in Annex A.*

2.2 Scotland¹

2.2.1 As in most parts of Europe and the U.S. police records of total crime in Scotland began trending downwards since the mid to late 1990s. In Scotland, recorded Crimes stabilized during most of the 2000s but have been falling steadily for the past few years to 338,000 in 2009-10 from a high of 438,000 in 2004-05.² The recent decrease has been led by large falls in property and theft (known as ‘dishonesty’) crime, the category which also contains the largest absolute number of offences. All categories of violent crime, have also declined (particularly robbery).³

2.2.2 Against this there have been increases over the decade in reported crimes of indecency (i.e. sexual crimes, including rape, attempted rape and indecent assault), fire raising, vandalism, crimes against public justice and drugs crimes. Some of these categories are small in number and in the case of rape recorded levels are particularly sensitive to changes in policing practice as opposed to actual incidence. The rise in crimes against public justice (up 44%) and drugs crimes (up 23%) are

¹ In Scotland, records are divided into two main categories: Crimes and Offences. The former includes five groups: violence, sexual, property, fire-raising & vandalism etc. and ‘other’ crimes (which contains drugs, weapons, and crimes against public justice). The latter group includes miscellaneous offences (containing common assault, drunkenness, breach of the peace and ‘other’ offences) and motor vehicle offences.

Where relevant the major types will be referred to in capital letters as Crimes or Offences; otherwise, as is common in plain English, crimes and offences are used interchangeably to refer to illegal behaviour.

² Offences, as opposed to crimes, show an increase through the mid-2000s, which is partly attributable to the introduction of new systems of recording minor crime. Id.

³ The category of ‘serious assault’, which has gone down overall contains specific crimes of murder and culpable homicide. Homicide in 2009-10 had fallen to its lowest level in a decade ([Homicide in Scotland 2009-10](#)).

particularly notable because they account for not insignificant amounts of total recorded crime in Scotland (8% and 12% of the crimes total, respectively).

- 2.2.3 The overall category of Offences, in contrast to Crimes, shows increases in recorded incidents, driven mainly by a rise in 'other' miscellaneous offences (+198%), and to a lesser extent a rise in minor assaults (+34%).⁴ Recorded instances of motor offences, the other main group of the offence category has declined overall, but not by much, showing in general stability throughout the period.
- 2.2.4 Tracking some signal offences (serious assault, common assault, housebreaking, shoplifting, drugs and weapons possession)⁵, which are both common and frequently show up at other points of the criminal justice process, reveals three patterns of change common to almost all other kinds of crimes and offences during the decade 2000-2010. Housebreaking shows a pattern of steady decline falling consistently over the decade from nearly 50,000 incidents in 2000-01 to less than half this in 2009-10. The second pattern, in common with the trajectory of most other recorded crimes and offences, involves rising incidents peaking in the middle of the decade (but still generally lower than the peaks of the late 1980s/early 1990s), after which there have been gradual declines; this applies to drugs crimes, weapons possession, serious assault and common assault. Finally, a less pervasive pattern has been stability across the decade; this applies to shoplifting.
- 2.2.5 The Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS, formerly the Scottish Crime and Victimization Survey or SCVS) gathers information on experiences of crime, and provides complementary information to police recorded statistics. The SCJS/SCVS shows a similar overall trend of decline in crime as well as decreases for important sub-types including many types of theft, robbery and assault between the 2009-10 survey and the 2008-09 survey; in contrast to the police statistics showing a slight one-year decline in housebreaking, however, the SCJS reported an increase.⁶

2.3 Comparative Context

- 2.3.1 Scotland and its neighbours experienced a rise in recorded crimes in the period between the 1970s and 1990s. The increase was rapid and substantial in the case of Scotland, England and Wales and Denmark, but more gradual in Finland, Ireland and

⁴ In addition, the introduction of a new crime reporting standard in 2004-05 deliberately allowed police to record more minor offending and so increases in Offences is partly attributable to this change.

⁵ What is referred to here as 'common assault' is alternately listed in different statistical bulletins and over time as 'simple assault', 'minor assault' and 'common assault'; we use the latter term throughout for consistency. What is referred to as weapons possession here is a plain language description of the crime of 'handling an offensive weapon'.

⁶ See Section 2.4 of the analysis of the [Scottish Crime and Justice Survey \(2009-10\)](#).

- Norway. Scotland's trend of recorded crime is most similar to Denmark, as both show rises until 1994 and steady decline afterwards.
- 2.3.2 Overall, from 1998 to 2008, there has been an overall decline in recorded crime in Europe.⁷ From 1999 till 2002 there was a clear rise in police recorded crime, after which a rapid decline developed. From 2005 till 2008, in general, police recorded crime in the EU declined. Violent crime and burglary in Europe in general declined, a trend generally mirrored by the Scottish data.⁸
- 2.3.3 Although it has a reputation for high crime, Scotland does not stand out particularly for its recorded crime rates compared to other European countries. Its recorded homicide rate (incidents per 100,000 population) for the period 2006 to 2008 was 2.14, lower than Finland which had a rate of 2.34, and only slightly higher than Ireland at 2.00. England and Wales's rate is lower at 1.35.⁹
- 2.3.4 The analysis of the 2004-5 International Crime and Victimization Survey (also including the EU Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS) reported that '[a]lmost 16% of the population of the 30 participating countries has been a victim of any crime in 2004. The four countries with the highest overall prevalence victimisation rates in 2004 are Ireland, England & Wales, New Zealand and Iceland....Countries with victimisation levels just under the mean include Norway, Poland, Bulgaria, Scotland, Germany, Luxembourg and Finland.'¹⁰ Survey respondents in Scotland being victims of assault at just above the average rate for all countries surveyed (3.8% vs. an average of 3.1%), which was markedly below victimisation levels found in England and Wales (5.8%).¹¹

⁷ Tavares and Thomas (2010).

⁸ Id. Note in Scotland, residential burglary is referred to as 'housebreaking' and non-residential burglary is 'theft from a lockfast place'.

⁹ C. Tavares and G. Thomas (2010), [Eurostat Bulletin, Crime and Criminal Justice 2010](#), p. 7.

¹⁰ Van Dijk et al. (2010), pp. 42-44.

¹¹ Id. p. 81.

3 Punishment trends

1.1 Data Sources

Scottish data comes mainly from [Prison Statistics Scotland](#), with 2009-10 being the latest period analysed. In addition, community sentences data for Scotland comes from [Criminal Justice Social Work Statistics](#); [Criminal Proceedings in Scottish Courts](#) provides information about sentence length and conviction levels. The [European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics](#) also has information on imprisonment and community sanctions, while the [World Prison Brief](#) is an authoritative online source for international imprisonment statistics. *Figures for this section are in Annex B.*

3.2 Scotland

- 3.2.1 Again, like most parts of Europe and the U.S., as well as Australia and New Zealand, the Scottish prison population has grown significantly and steadily since the mid to late 1990s. Unlike rates of recorded crime, however, prison growth, measured in terms of the average daily population (ADP) over the year, has continued unabated through the 2000s reaching a peak of nearly 8,000 by 2009-10. Since 1990, the Scottish prison population has increased 69%.
- 3.2.2 Prison receptions, which measure the annual flow into prisons, show a different trend, rising to a peak of 43,502 in 2006-07 and since falling to 36,528 in 2009-10.¹²
- 3.2.3 The fact that fewer people were entering prison between 2006 and 2010 (decreasing receptions) but the prison population nevertheless grew (increasing ADP) through 2009-10 is an important issue requiring investigation. One explanation is that though fewer people go to prison, they stay for longer. This is borne out by data showing sentence lengths for the signal offences listed above (as well as life sentences) have been getting longer, and in the case of weapons possession, much longer (more than doubling).¹³ A second potential explanation lies in the shifting composition of the prison population where those in prison on remand make up an increasing proportion of the total population. More people on remand may, though this requires evidence to state with confidence, mean more people are likely to get prison sentences as a sanction.

¹²Scottish Government statisticians emphasise that 'prison receptions' are not the same things as 'number of people' entering prison because there are some circumstances where a person may be double counted or under counted (refer to notes to the Scottish Prison Statistics 2009-10, for example). Nevertheless this is the closest measure of prison admissions and is used by the Government itself as a basis for making its prison projections.

¹³Table 10(c), Criminal Proceedings in Scottish Courts, 2009-10.

- 3.2.4 Categories of offences for which prison receptions have been rising faster than average match up in most cases with increases in recorded crimes in these areas. However, prison admissions have generally increased to a greater extent than recorded crimes have. So, for instance, while records of crimes against public justice increased 44% between 2000 and 2010, receptions into prison for this crime increased by 156%. Moreover, falls in crime categories are not matched by proportionate falls in prison receptions: police reported 50% fewer housebreakings over the decade, but prison receptions for people convicted of this crime fell by only 38%. Receptions for shoplifting, a crime which has remained stable over the decade, increased 41% during this time. And while recorded instances of weapons possession fell by 13%, receptions increased by 99% over the decade – likely reflecting the policy prominence given to knife crime. As the Scottish Prison Commission noted, whether crime falls, increases or remains stable the prison population has continued to rise.¹⁴
- 3.2.5 Community-based sanctions, often treated as alternatives to prison, have been expanding at the same time the prison population has been rising. In addition, a number of new community-based sentences have been introduced (DTTOs, SAOs) over the course of the decade, adding to overall penal capacity.
- 3.2.6 Probation orders increased 16% from 7,605 in 2000-01 to 8,838 in 2009-10. Community Service Orders (CSOs) increased 44% from 4,454 in 2000-01 to 6,429 in 2009-10. Like the prison population, the most rapid period of growth in community sentences was in the first six years of the decade.
- 3.2.7 In addition to an increase in the number of probation orders has been an increase over the decade of the number of conditions attached to these orders. Between 2008 and 2010, there has been growth in the particular conditions such as medical/psychiatric/psychological treatment, alcohol treatment, drug treatment, domestic abuse programmes (threefold) and electronic monitoring (doubled).

3.3 Comparative Context

- 3.3.1 The 2009 imprisonment rate in Scotland (158 prisoners per 100,000 total population) was amongst the highest in Europe, especially when compared to the rates in neighbouring small countries around the same time: Ireland (93), Denmark (71), Finland (60) and Norway (71). England and Wales (156) continues to have a similar imprisonment rate to Scotland, but the underlying composition of their prison population and drivers of growth are different. For example, expansion of indeterminate sentences south of the border has meant a significant growth in the

¹⁴ P. 18.

number of very long term sentences, whereas in Scotland remand and shorter sentences have been more important for understanding growth.¹⁵

- 3.3.2 The [European Sourcebook](#) reported that in 2006 Scotland had a total of 1,312 criminal sanctions and measures for adults per 100,000 population, of which 17.8% consisted of custody.¹⁶ For England and Wales these numbers are 2,455 (all criminal sanctions) - 6.8% custodies; Ireland (unknown); Denmark 3,193 (total) - 5.9% custodies; Finland 4,158 (total) – 5.1% custodies; and Norway (unknown).
- 3.3.3 Compared to neighbouring countries, Scotland had the lowest total sanction rate, but the highest rate of custody (as a proportion of all sanctions used). Finland on the other hand has the highest total sanction rate yet the lowest rate of custody (87.5% of sanctions were made up of fines). Closer to home, England and Wales had a higher total sanction rate than Scotland, yet imposed almost three times fewer custodies on adults. Thus among all the sanctions available to it, Scotland makes the most use of prison than similar neighbouring jurisdictions.¹⁷

¹⁵Ministry of Justice (2009) The Story of the Prison Population in England and Wales; Prison Statistics Scottish Prison Population Projections (2008).

¹⁶European Sourcebook on Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (2010), Table 3.2.3.1, p. 216.

¹⁷Id.

4 Criminal Justice Costs

4.1 Data Sources

Data for Scotland comes mostly from [Costs and Equalities and the Scottish Criminal Justice System \(2008\)](#), [Costs, Sentencing Profiles and the Scottish Criminal Justice System \(2001\)](#), and the Financial Memorandum from the [Stage 2 deliberations of the Criminal Justice \(Scotland\) Licensing Bill](#) and [Financial Memorandum for the Criminal Justice and Licensing \(Scotland\) Bill \[As Introduced\]](#). International cost data comes from a study by [Shaw et al. \(2003\)](#) and [Farrell and Clark \(2004\)](#) which both analysed costs of criminal justice reported in the Seventh United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems for 1998-2000, and are the most recent published attempts to capture costs of criminal justice globally that we could find. The UN surveys provide information about workload on criminal justice around the world (under '[criminal justice resources](#)') and is a useful source of information. *Figures for this section are in Annex C.*

4.2 Scotland

System Costs

- 4.2.1 The most recent overview and comparison of Scottish criminal justice expenditure uses data from 2004-5 and 2005-06. This data indicate that Scottish Criminal Justice agencies' total expenditure was £1,732,547,000 in 2005-06 and £1,650,780,000 the year before.¹⁸
- 4.2.2 Between 1999-2000 (total expenditure: £1,131,001,999) and 2005-06 there was an increase of 53.19% in the criminal justice agencies' total costs.
- 4.2.3 The largest expenses in 2005-06 were in 1) the Police (£1,039,000,000); 2) Scottish Prison Service (£350,200,000); and, 3) Criminal Legal Assistance (£103,200,000).
- 4.2.4 Expenditures increased in general between 2004-05 and 2005-06; the relatively strongest increase was observed in Criminal Justice Social Work of roughly 15.2%. Between those years Criminal Legal Assistance expenditure dropped by approximately 4.6%, and so did spending on Secure Accommodation for Children by 9.6%.

¹⁸ Police, prison service, legal assistance, Crown Office & procurator fiscal service, criminal justice social work, injuries compensation authority, court service, district courts and secure accommodation for children.

Unit Costs

- 4.2.5 We could find no data systematically evaluating the cost of a given sentence in Scotland. Prison sentence information can be roughly derived from the annual cost of the prison service divided by different lengths of time. We refer to the calculation in the Financial Memorandums to the original and [Stage 2 deliberations of the Criminal Justice \(Scotland\) Licensing Bill](#) which used the Scottish Prison Service's 2008-09 annual report, and useful for having also estimated the cost of a community service order.
- 4.2.6 Based on an annual cost per prisoner of £44,447, a 9 month prison sentence (keeping in mind that for short-term sentences a person is actually in custody for half that time, or 135 days) incurs a prison cost of around £16,500. A 6 month sentence (where actual time in prison is 90 days) costs nearly £11,000.
- 4.2.7 Rough costs for community-based orders are taken from the original [Financial Memorandum for the Criminal Justice and Licensing \(Scotland\) Bill \[As Introduced\]](#) (paragraphs 676-682) using data from 2007-08:
- *Standard Probation Order* (CJA budget of £10,754,169 with 8,751 orders made): £1,229 per order¹⁹
 - *Community Service Order* (CJA budget of £13,543,144 with 6,202 orders made): £2,184 per order²⁰
 - *Supervised Attendance Order* (CJA budget of £3,374,589 with 4,438 orders made): £760 per order

¹⁹ This is the basic cost of an order without additional conditions and so should be treated as a **minimum** estimate.

²⁰ The Memorandum notes at paragraph 682: 'The unit cost figure for Community Service Orders does not take account of those instances of where unpaid work is undertaken as a condition of a probation order. 3,053 such requirements were imposed in 2007-08. If account is taken of the latter the unit cost of delivering community service/unpaid work decreases to £1,463.'

4.3 Comparative Context²¹

- 4.3.1 Globally, 56% of all criminal justice expenditures was on police, 29% on courts and 15% went to prosecution services.
- 4.3.2 An international comparison of expenditures on policing as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) indicates, on average, almost 1% of GDP is spent on policing by nations around the world.
- 4.3.3 European countries in general spend less than the global average. Scotland spent about £776 million on policing in 2000, which is approximately 0.69% of the Scottish GDP in 2000 of £112 billion.
- 4.3.4 At 0.69% of GDP Scotland is well below Jamaica (approx. 2.00%), close to but still under Ireland (approx. 0.98%), the Netherlands (approx. 0.72%), and the world average (approx. 0.96%).
- 4.3.5 Scotland spent a bit more than the USA (approx. 0.63% of GDP), New Zealand (approx. 0.61%) and Australia (approx. 0.61%). Finland (approx. 0.52%), Denmark (approx. 0.47%) and Norway (approx. 0.39%) spent even less on policing in 2000.
- 4.3.6 Scotland's higher proportionate spending on police is also reflected in the higher levels of policing it maintains compared to other countries in Europe, and in particular its neighbours. In 2006, the data contained in the [11th UN survey](#) of crime trends and operations showed Scotland reported 317 police per 100,000 population, which is higher compared to: England and Wales (263), Ireland (303), Denmark, Finland (158), Norway (161), Denmark (198), U.S. (224), Canada (191), New Zealand (187) and Australia (243) (in 2007).
- 4.3.7 Prison expenditures as a percentage of GDP in Scotland compared to other countries in 1997 was relatively high (at 0.24%), along with Ireland and England and Wales.

²¹ This discussion relies on the data analysis in [Shaw et al. \(2003\)](#), p. 58. To compare its findings to Scotland, we separately calculated Scottish policing costs using the figures in Sentencing Profiles and the Scottish Criminal Justice System, 1999 (2001), which also contained data on 2000, and the Scottish GDP for the same year. See also, Farrell and Clark (2004).

5 Conclusion

The statistical evidence shows the absence of a simple relationship between crime and punishment. Over the past 20 years total crime, and particular crime categories, have risen, fallen and stabilised during which criminal sanctions (both imprisonment and community-based sentences) have increased steadily and significantly. While the trend of decreases in recorded crime as well as growing prison populations is taking place across Europe, for both crime and imprisonment Scotland has started from a higher place.

Delving into the data, we can see that there is *some* relationship between recorded crime and use of prison. For example, crime and offence numbers peaked in police records in 2004-05, and two years later receptions of those sentenced to prison peaked and now have begun to fall. However, this relationship may have less to do with changes in empirical phenomena such as the level of violence experienced in communities than practices internal to the criminal justice system. This is evidenced by weapons offences where there is little statistical evidence that there is more knife possession in the population (and where there are fewer recorded instances by police), but a policy debate which has considered mandatory minimum sentences for this crime as well as changes to bail which have resulted in remand for those charged with this offence have led to real increases in the prison population.

The limited and dated cost data available suggests, and the difficulty of cross-national comparisons should be kept in mind here, that Scotland is similar to other nations in that criminal justice spending is dominated by police services (and prison), but it appears to invest proportionately more than other countries. Scotland ranks high among Europe and especially among its small nation neighbours for the level of its investment in criminal justice and in the 'punitivity' of its criminal justice system. We have high rates of imprisonment and at the same time are expanding use of community sentences. Community sanctions appear in this context to have the function of expanding overall penal capacity rather than providing an alternative to reduced use of prison. These features of Scottish criminal justice are worth further examination particularly in light of statistically evidenced arguments that increases in criminal justice investment go hand in hand with disinvestment from social welfare systems (Downes and Hansen 2006).

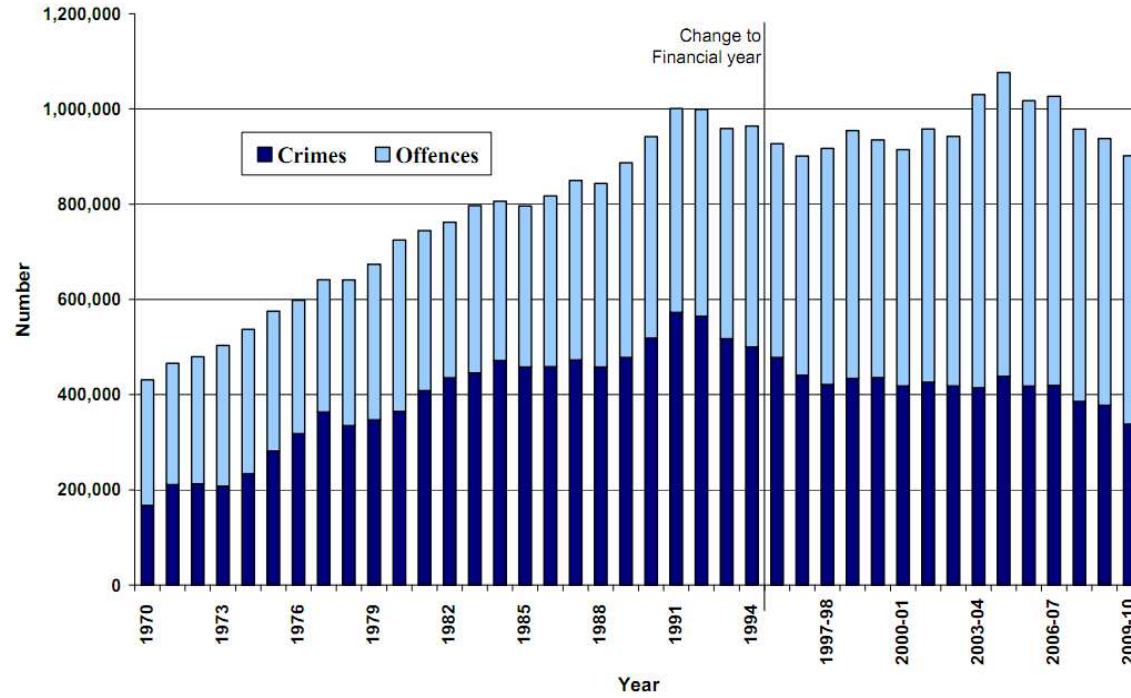
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Annex A CRIME TRENDS

I: The level of overall recorded Crime in Scotland has fallen to levels comparable to the 1970s, while Offences have been rising, partly due to changes in recording practices that mean more minor offending is officially recognised. (Source: Recorded Crime Scotland, 2009-10)



II: Scotland divides offending into two categories: Crimes and Offences, which roughly map onto more and less serious offending.

(Source: Recorded Crime Scotland, 2009-10)

Table 1 Crimes recorded by the police, Scotland, 2000-01 to 2009-10

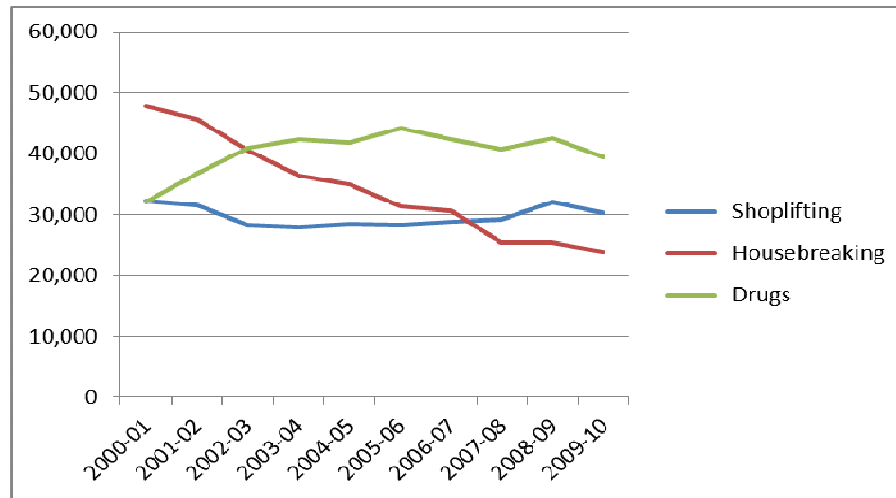
Crime group	Number & Percentage										
	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	% change 08-09 to 09-10
Total crimes	418,494	426,188	418,281	414,215	438,122	417,785	419,257	385,509	377,433	338,028	-10
Non-sexual crimes of violence	14,812	15,653	16,074	15,187	14,728	13,726	14,099	12,874	12,612	11,201	-11
Serious assault etc ¹	6,892	7,546	7,593	7,514	7,768	7,151	7,504	6,853	6,606	5,700	-14
Robbery	4,293	4,592	4,636	4,161	3,736	3,553	3,578	3,064	2,963	2,496	-16
Other	3,627	3,515	3,845	3,512	3,224	3,022	3,017	2,957	3,043	3,005	-1
Crimes of indecency	5,727	5,994	6,623	6,786	7,324	6,558	6,726	6,552	6,331	6,458	2
Rape & Attempted Rape	690	788	924	1,037	1,109	1,161	1,123	1,053	963	996	3
Indecent Assault	1,034	1,249	1,354	1,436	1,497	1,508	1,664	1,666	1,640	1,685	3
Lewd and indecent behaviour	2,356	2,404	2,770	2,693	2,786	2,651	2,555	2,567	2,402	2,444	2
Other	1,647	1,553	1,575	1,720	1,932	1,238	1,384	1,266	1,326	1,333	1
Crimes of dishonesty	253,295	242,878	224,785	211,004	210,365	187,798	183,760	166,718	167,812	153,256	-9
Housebreaking ²	47,729	45,515	40,586	36,432	34,959	31,319	30,580	25,443	25,496	23,774	-7
Theft by opening a lockfast place (OLP)	10,606	8,200	7,766	7,405	7,849	8,263	7,422	6,378	6,952	5,074	-27
Theft from a motor vehicle by (OLP)	32,001	32,659	30,361	26,839	20,403	16,453	16,060	15,217	13,649	10,173	-25
Theft of a motor vehicle	25,555	23,146	20,881	17,604	15,633	14,041	15,000	12,105	11,551	9,304	-19
Shoplifting	32,264	31,570	28,299	27,948	28,534	28,247	28,750	29,186	32,048	30,332	-5
Other theft	76,649	75,951	73,214	72,488	77,586	72,128	70,241	64,645	64,384	61,008	-5
Fraud	20,043	17,395	15,828	15,277	18,307	11,074	9,332	8,409	8,316	8,283	0
Other	8,448	8,442	7,850	7,011	7,094	6,273	6,375	5,335	5,416	5,308	-2
Fire-raising, vandalism etc	85,781	94,944	97,598	103,732	128,566	127,889	129,734	118,025	109,430	93,443	-15
Fire-raising	2,403	2,910	3,767	4,163	4,698	4,856	4,976	4,635	4,651	4,244	-9
Vandalism etc	83,378	92,034	93,831	99,569	123,868	123,033	124,758	113,390	104,779	89,199	-15
Other crimes	58,879	66,719	73,201	77,506	77,139	81,814	84,938	81,340	81,248	73,670	-9
Crimes against public justice	18,637	20,820	22,744	25,756	25,616	27,668	32,052	31,353	29,493	26,885	-9
Handling an offensive weapon	8,070	9,039	9,362	9,278	9,545	9,628	10,110	8,989	8,980	7,042	-22
Drugs	32,081	36,750	40,938	42,275	41,823	44,247	42,422	40,746	42,509	39,408	-7
Other	91	110	157	197	155	271	354	252	266	335	26

1. Includes murder, attempted murder, culpable homicide and serious assault. See note 7.5.

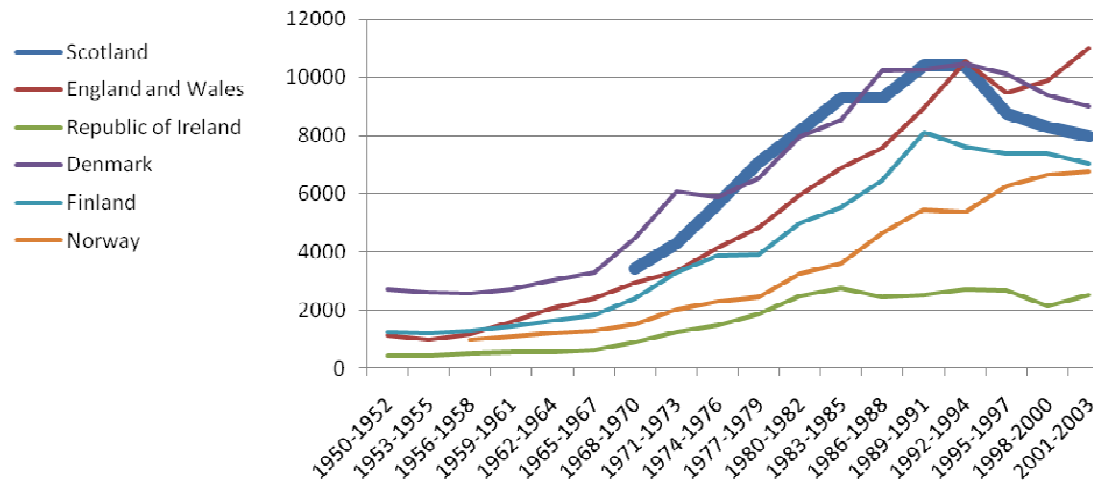
Table 2 Offences recorded by the police, Scotland, 2000-01 to 2009-10

Offence group	Number & Percentage										
	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	% change 08-09 to 09-10
Total offences	496,071	531,956	524,122	615,876	638,564	599,888	607,406	572,068	560,291	563,735	1
Miscellaneous offences	154,856	163,497	169,563	180,963	214,302	219,491	232,373	224,256	226,821	231,040	2
Minor Assault ¹	54,057	55,392	54,956	57,355	73,711	72,281	78,167	73,523	74,130	72,212	-3
Breach of the peace	70,197	72,734	74,690	77,883	89,920	89,615	93,387	90,301	91,198	85,239	-7
Drunkenness	7,789	7,764	7,279	7,534	7,234	6,984	6,664	6,702	6,045	5,722	-5
Other	22,813	27,607	32,638	38,191	43,437	50,611	54,155	53,730	55,448	67,867	22
Motor vehicle offences	341,215	368,459	354,559	434,913	424,262	380,397	375,033	347,812	333,470	332,695	0
Dangerous and careless driving	12,019	12,183	12,680	12,036	13,062	12,956	13,601	12,964	11,519	11,073	-4
Drunk driving	10,758	11,476	11,838	11,571	11,061	11,257	11,704	10,697	9,800	8,504	-13
Speeding	113,904	126,760	117,167	199,213	210,120	167,724	162,929	137,206	117,256	113,523	-3
Unlawful use of vehicle	84,351	94,587	99,518	99,526	76,676	75,120	73,058	73,655	68,554	63,259	-8
Vehicle defect offences	46,845	45,512	46,466	37,194	27,022	23,932	21,170	22,328	25,603	26,666	4
Other	73,338	77,941	66,890	75,373	86,321	89,408	92,571	90,962	100,738	109,670	9

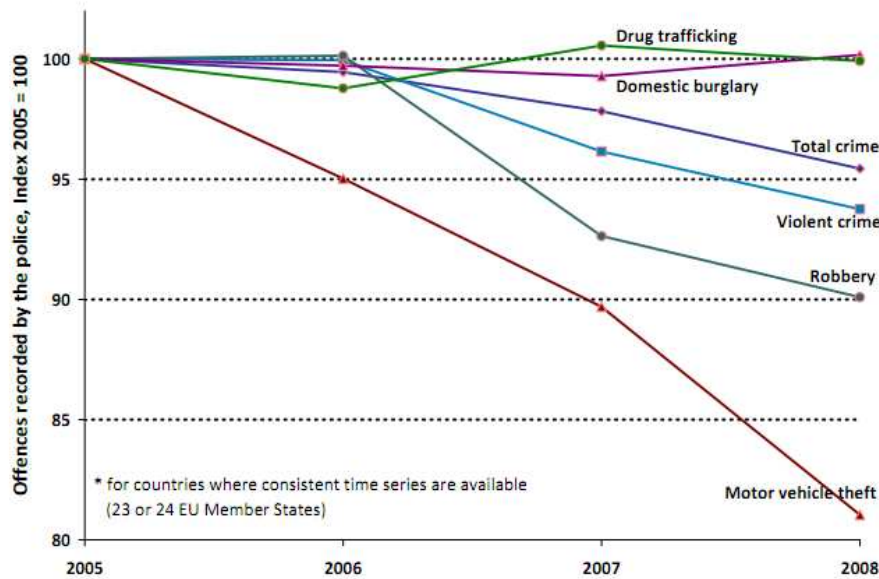
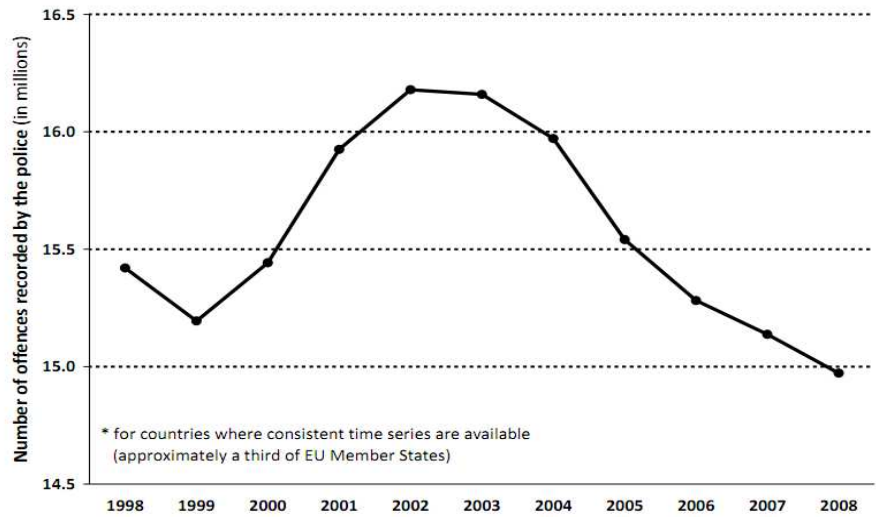
III: Three trends for recorded crimes in Scotland: stability over the course of the decade, uninterrupted decline and, for most offences, rising to the middle of the decade and then falling. (Source: Based on data from Recorded Crime Scotland, 2009-10)



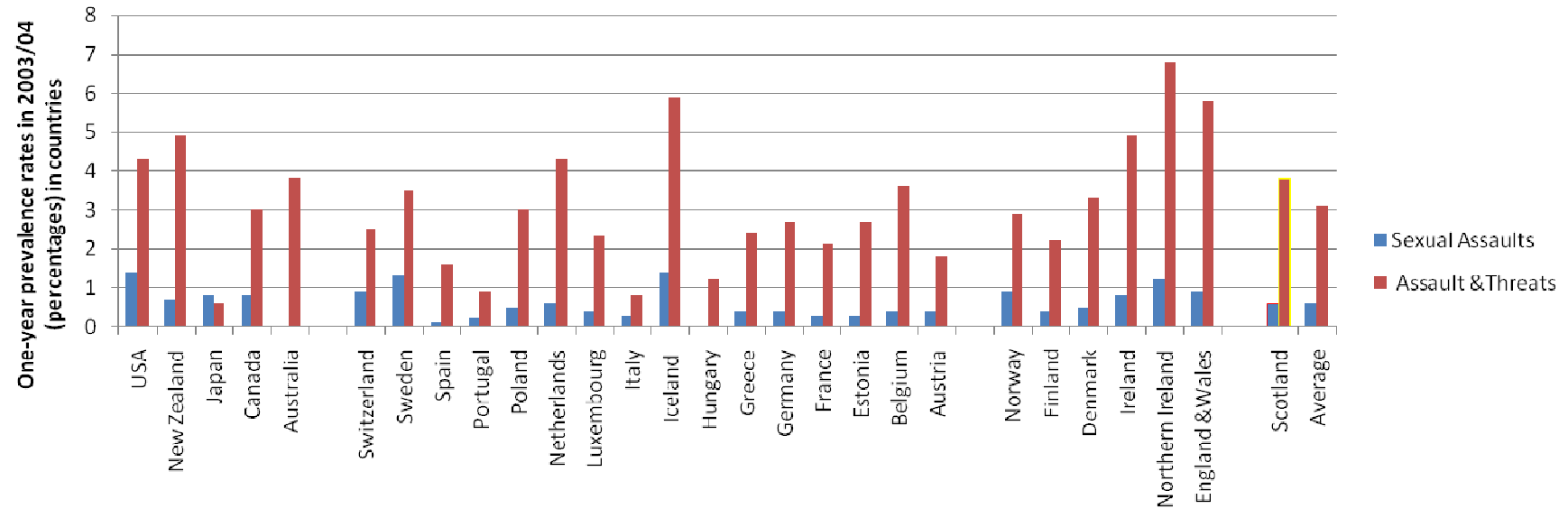
IV: The trajectory of Scotland’s recorded crime trend has been similar to that of its neighbours, but it has started from a higher base than most others. (Source: Based on data in Van der Heide and Eggen, 2006: 573-574)



V: Overall EU nations have reported declining total rates of crimes and offences, though there is variation among specific crimes. (Source: *Tavares and Thomas, 2010*)

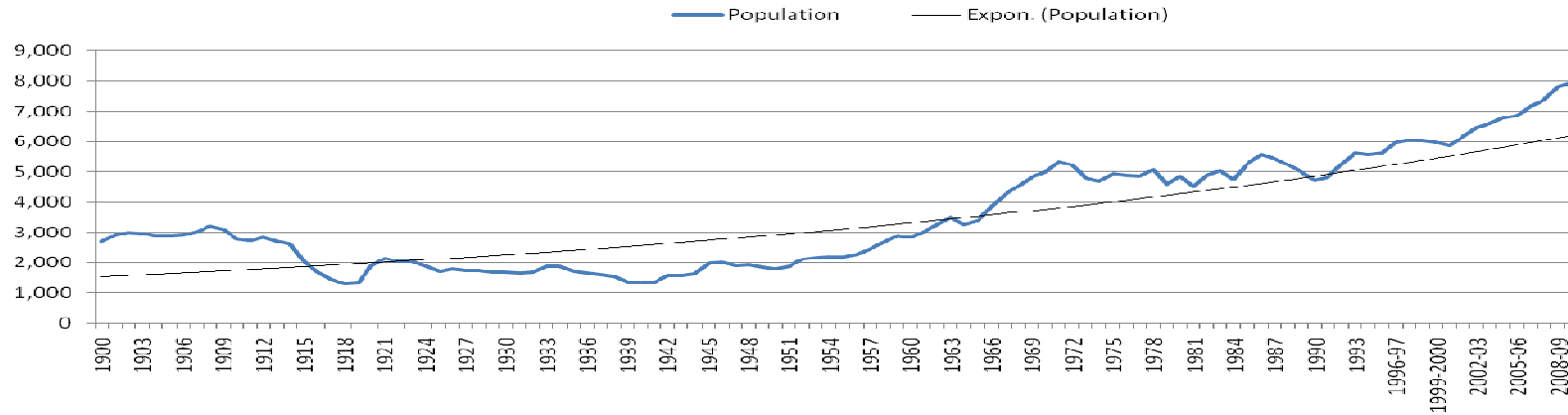


VI: Scotland does not stand out as having particularly high rates of criminal victimization compared to other countries in Europe or globally. (Source: based on *Van Dijk, Van Kesteren and Smit, 2007: 78*)

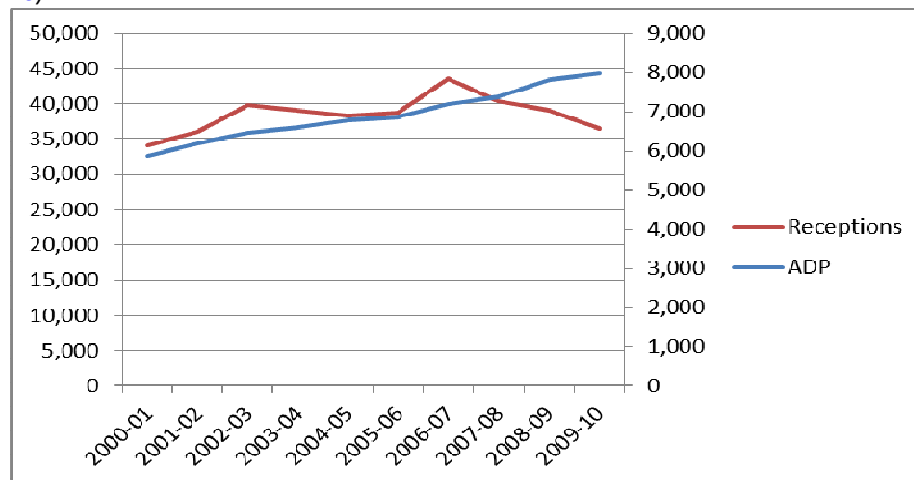


Annex B PUNISHMENT TRENDS

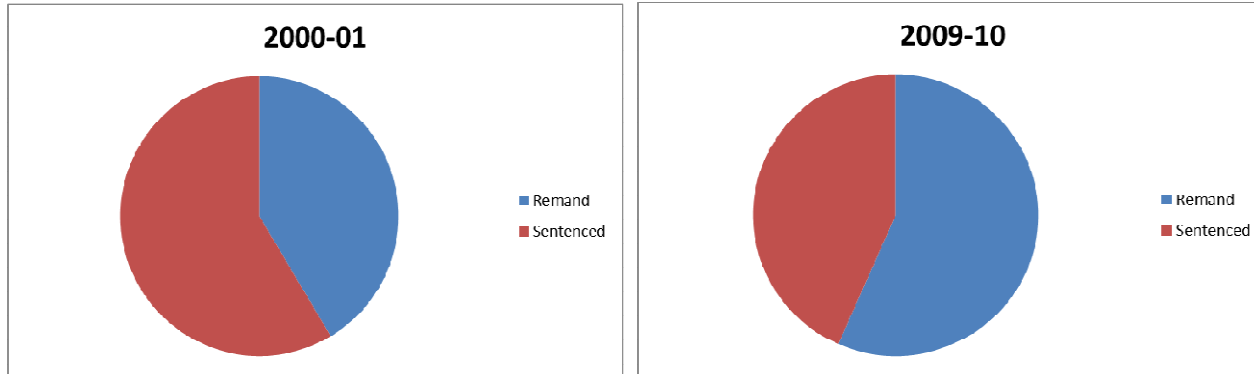
I: The Scottish prison population has been expanding steadily and rapidly for many years. (Source based on *Prison Statistics Scotland, 2009-10*)



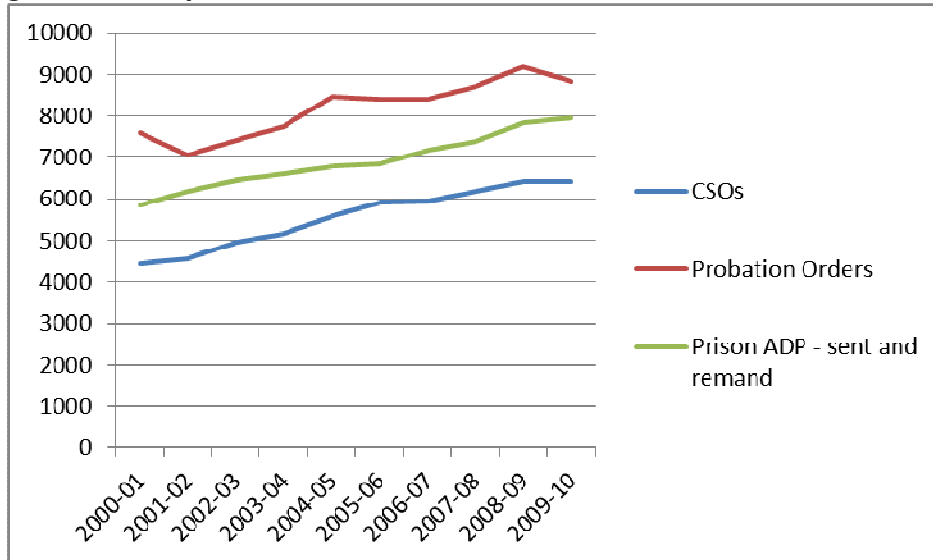
II: The average daily population of prison continues to grow despite falling prison receptions. (Source: based on *Prison Statistics Scotland, 2009-10*)



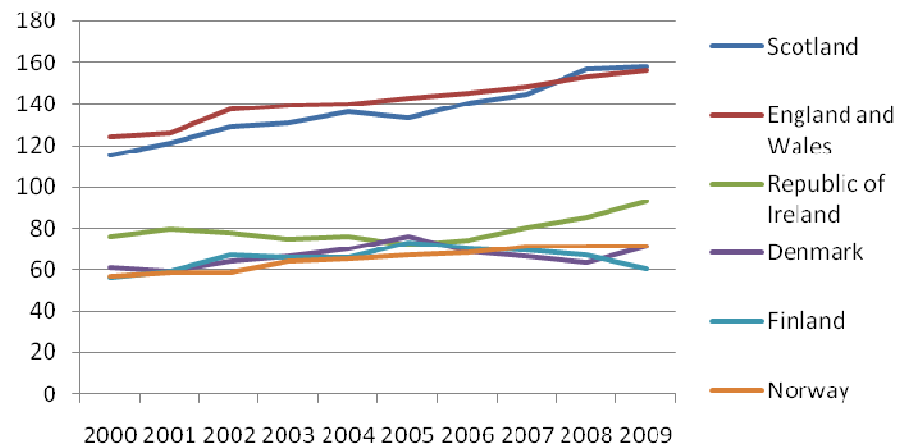
III: Receptions into prison of people on remand now outnumber receptions of people sentenced to prison. (Source: based on [Prison Statistics Scotland, 2009-10](#))



IV: Greater use of community sentences has not led to less use of prison; populations on both community and prison sentences have grown steadily over the decade. (Source: based on [Prison Statistics Scotland, 2009-10](#), and [Criminal Justice Social Work Statistics, 2009-10](#))



V: Scottish imprisonment trends are similar to other countries, but its base rate tends to be higher. (Imprisonment rates per 100.000 people 2000-2009; source: based on [De Heer-de Lang and Kalidien: 517](#) and [Prison Statistics Scotland: 2009-10](#))

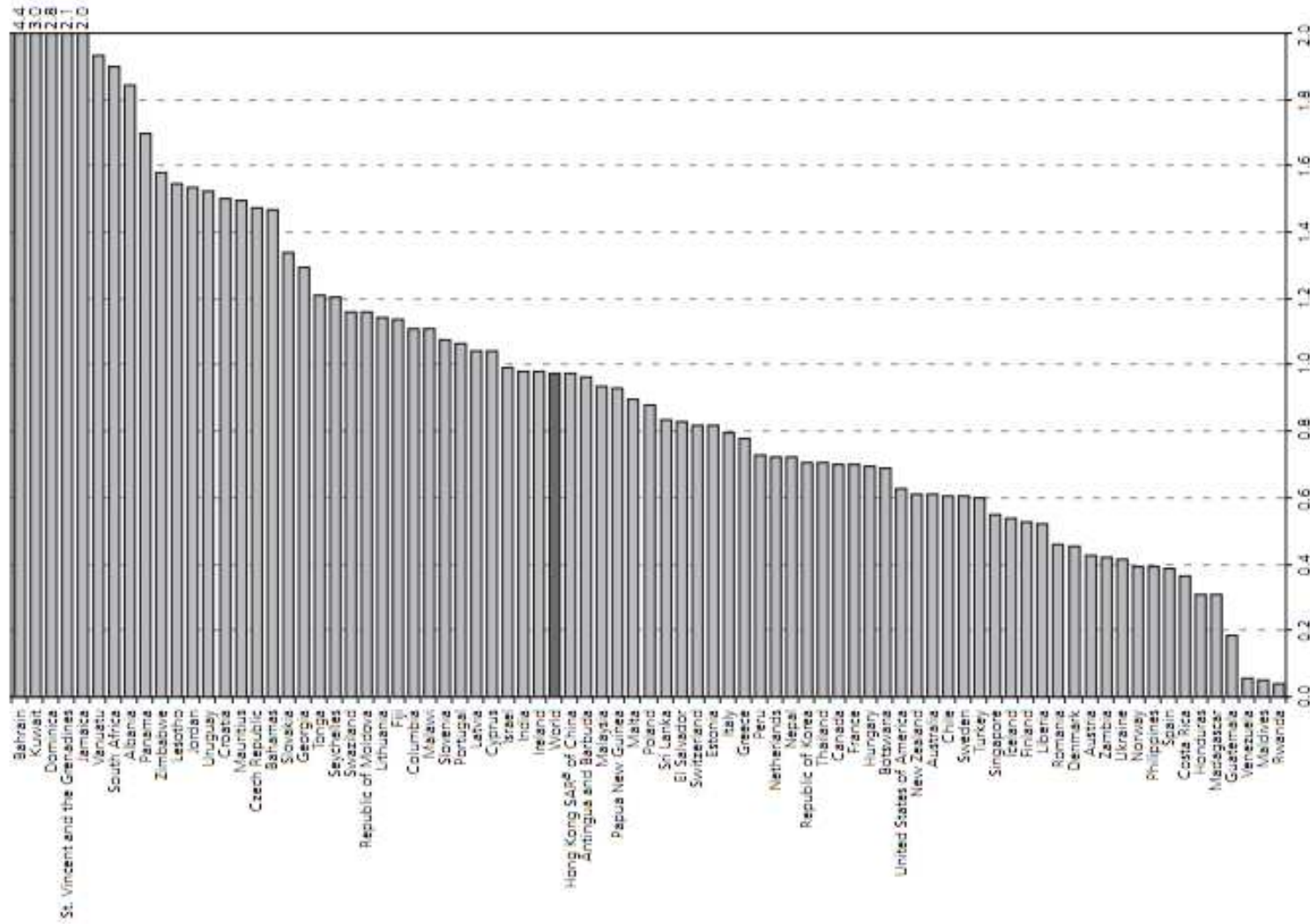


Annex C CRIMINAL JUSTICE COSTS

I: Police and Prison services account for the greatest expenditure in the Scottish criminal justice system. (Source: *Costs and Equalities and the Scottish Criminal Justice System, 2008: 4*):

Expenditure by Criminal Justice Agency			
Criminal Justice Agency	2004/05	2005/06	Increase in %
Police	£977,000,000	£1,039,000,000.00	6.345957
Scottish Prison Service	£343,200,000	£350,200,000	2.039627
Criminal Legal Assistance	£108,200,000	£103,200,000	-4.621072
Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service	£83,900,000	£87,600,000	4.410012
Criminal Justice Social Work	£74,400,000	£85,700,000	15.18817
Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority	£20,600,000	£21,100,000	2.427184
Scottish Court Service	£34,000,000	£36,100,000	6.176471
District Courts	£6,380,000	£6,847,000	7.319749
Secure Accommodation for Children	£3,100,000	£2,800,000	-9.677419
Total	£1,650,780,000.00	£1,732,547,000.00	4.953234

II: The average amount of GDP spent on policing globally is about 1%; European countries tend to spend much less than this. (Source: Shaw, Van Dijk and Rhombert, 2003: 58)



III: Prison Expenditure and GDP in selected countries 1997 (Source: Farrell and Clark, 2004: 17)

