Scottish Crime, Punishment and Justice Cost Trends in Comparative Context

Dr Sarah Armstrong
sarah.armstrong@glasgow.ac.uk

Mr Yarin Eski
y.eski.1@research.gla.ac.uk
Contents

1 Overview 3

2 Crime Trends 5
   2.1 Data Sources 5
   2.2 Scotland 5
   2.3 Comparative Context 6

3 Punishment Trends 7
   3.1 Data Sources 7
   3.2 Scotland 7
   3.3 Comparative Context 9

4 Criminal Justice costs 11
   4.1 Data Sources 11
   4.2 Scotland 11
   4.3 Comparative Context 13

5 Conclusion 14

References 15
Annex A CRIME TRENDS 17
Annex B PUNISHMENT TRENDS 22
Annex C CRIMINAL JUSTICE COSTS 25

www.sccjr.ac.uk
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 ‘punitive’, 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:
sarah.armstrong@glasgow.ac.uk or y.eski.1@research.gla.ac.uk
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 Scotland

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. 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).\(^1\)

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.

\(^2\) 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.

\(^3\) 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%). 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), 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 Victimisation 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.

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. 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.

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.

2.3.4 The analysis of the 2004-5 International Crime and Victimisation 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.’ 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%).

---

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’.
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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{12}Scottish 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.

\textsuperscript{13}Table 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.\textsuperscript{15}

3.3.2 The \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{17}


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

\textsuperscript{17}Id.
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 order
- **Community Service Order** (CJA budget of £13,543,144 with 6,202 orders made): £2,184 per order
- **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 Context**

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).
References


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total crimes</td>
<td>418,494</td>
<td>426,188</td>
<td>418,281</td>
<td>414,215</td>
<td>438,122</td>
<td>417,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-sexual crimes of violence</td>
<td>14,812</td>
<td>15,653</td>
<td>15,074</td>
<td>15,187</td>
<td>14,728</td>
<td>13,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious assault etc</td>
<td>6,852</td>
<td>7,540</td>
<td>7,553</td>
<td>7,914</td>
<td>7,168</td>
<td>6,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>4,238</td>
<td>4,622</td>
<td>4,636</td>
<td>4,161</td>
<td>3,738</td>
<td>3,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3,627</td>
<td>3,515</td>
<td>3,845</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>3,224</td>
<td>3,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes of Indecency</td>
<td>5,727</td>
<td>5,594</td>
<td>6,523</td>
<td>6,786</td>
<td>7,324</td>
<td>6,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape &amp; Attempted Rape</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>1,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent Assault</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>1,249</td>
<td>1,334</td>
<td>1,436</td>
<td>1,497</td>
<td>1,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewd and indecent behaviour</td>
<td>2,358</td>
<td>2,404</td>
<td>2,770</td>
<td>2,593</td>
<td>2,766</td>
<td>2,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1,647</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>1,519</td>
<td>1,720</td>
<td>1,703</td>
<td>1,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes of dishonesty</td>
<td>253,295</td>
<td>242,878</td>
<td>224,785</td>
<td>211,004</td>
<td>210,365</td>
<td>187,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housebreaking</td>
<td>47,729</td>
<td>46,515</td>
<td>40,586</td>
<td>36,432</td>
<td>34,969</td>
<td>31,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft by opening a look box place (OLP)</td>
<td>15,008</td>
<td>15,008</td>
<td>7,766</td>
<td>7,405</td>
<td>7,548</td>
<td>6,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from a motor vehicle (OLP)</td>
<td>32,001</td>
<td>32,659</td>
<td>30,361</td>
<td>26,839</td>
<td>20,403</td>
<td>16,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of a motor vehicle</td>
<td>25,555</td>
<td>23,140</td>
<td>26,449</td>
<td>17,404</td>
<td>12,033</td>
<td>11,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>32,054</td>
<td>31,070</td>
<td>25,205</td>
<td>25,978</td>
<td>25,034</td>
<td>28,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other theft</td>
<td>76,001</td>
<td>78,951</td>
<td>73,714</td>
<td>72,458</td>
<td>77,998</td>
<td>72,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraud</td>
<td>20,043</td>
<td>17,359</td>
<td>15,828</td>
<td>15,277</td>
<td>15,574</td>
<td>15,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8,448</td>
<td>8,442</td>
<td>7,850</td>
<td>7,911</td>
<td>7,914</td>
<td>8,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire-raising, vandalism etc</td>
<td>85,781</td>
<td>94,944</td>
<td>97,598</td>
<td>103,732</td>
<td>128,566</td>
<td>127,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire-raising</td>
<td>2,403</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>3,767</td>
<td>4,163</td>
<td>4,688</td>
<td>4,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism etc</td>
<td>83,378</td>
<td>92,034</td>
<td>93,831</td>
<td>99,569</td>
<td>123,868</td>
<td>123,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other crimes</td>
<td>56,879</td>
<td>66,317</td>
<td>73,021</td>
<td>77,506</td>
<td>77,139</td>
<td>81,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes against public justice</td>
<td>16,637</td>
<td>20,580</td>
<td>22,742</td>
<td>25,757</td>
<td>26,616</td>
<td>27,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handling an offensive weapon</td>
<td>8,370</td>
<td>9,030</td>
<td>9,362</td>
<td>9,278</td>
<td>9,545</td>
<td>9,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>36,750</td>
<td>40,938</td>
<td>42,275</td>
<td>41,823</td>
<td>44,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence group</th>
<th>2009-01</th>
<th>2000-01</th>
<th>2002-03</th>
<th>2004-05</th>
<th>2005-06</th>
<th>Number &amp; Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total offences</td>
<td>496,071</td>
<td>531,956</td>
<td>542,122</td>
<td>515,676</td>
<td>536,564</td>
<td>599,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous offences</td>
<td>154,856</td>
<td>163,497</td>
<td>169,563</td>
<td>180,983</td>
<td>214,362</td>
<td>219,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor assault</td>
<td>5,057</td>
<td>5,392</td>
<td>5,956</td>
<td>7,055</td>
<td>7,311</td>
<td>7,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breach of the peace</td>
<td>70,167</td>
<td>72,734</td>
<td>74,680</td>
<td>77,685</td>
<td>89,520</td>
<td>86,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>7,789</td>
<td>7,764</td>
<td>7,279</td>
<td>7,634</td>
<td>7,234</td>
<td>6,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>22,813</td>
<td>27,607</td>
<td>32,638</td>
<td>38,191</td>
<td>43,437</td>
<td>50,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicle offences</td>
<td>341,215</td>
<td>368,489</td>
<td>354,569</td>
<td>343,013</td>
<td>342,262</td>
<td>380,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous and careless driving</td>
<td>12,019</td>
<td>12,183</td>
<td>12,680</td>
<td>12,630</td>
<td>12,062</td>
<td>13,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk driving</td>
<td>10,758</td>
<td>11,476</td>
<td>11,838</td>
<td>11,571</td>
<td>11,061</td>
<td>11,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speeding</td>
<td>113,904</td>
<td>128,760</td>
<td>117,187</td>
<td>119,213</td>
<td>210,120</td>
<td>167,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful use of vehicle</td>
<td>84,351</td>
<td>94,587</td>
<td>99,518</td>
<td>99,626</td>
<td>96,775</td>
<td>75,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle defect offences</td>
<td>40,845</td>
<td>45,512</td>
<td>46,456</td>
<td>37,194</td>
<td>37,222</td>
<td>23,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>73,358</td>
<td>77,941</td>
<td>68,890</td>
<td>75,373</td>
<td>86,321</td>
<td>89,408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

![Graph showing trends in recorded crimes in Scotland.]

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)

![Graph comparing recorded crime trends in Scotland, England and Wales, Republic of Ireland, Denmark, Finland, and Norway.]
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*)
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)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure by Criminal Justice Agency</th>
<th>2004/05</th>
<th>2005/06</th>
<th>Increase in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Justice Agency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>£977,000,000</td>
<td>£1,039,000,000.00</td>
<td>6.345957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Prison Service</td>
<td>£343,200,000</td>
<td>£350,200,000</td>
<td>2.039627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Legal Assistance</td>
<td>£108,200,000</td>
<td>£103,200,000</td>
<td>-4.621072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service</td>
<td>£83,900,000</td>
<td>£87,600,000</td>
<td>4.410012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Justice Social Work</td>
<td>£74,400,000</td>
<td>£85,700,000</td>
<td>15.18817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority</td>
<td>£20,600,000</td>
<td>£21,100,000</td>
<td>2.427184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Court Service</td>
<td>£34,000,000</td>
<td>£36,100,000</td>
<td>6.176471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Courts</td>
<td>£6,380,000</td>
<td>£6,847,000</td>
<td>7.319749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure Accommodation for Children</td>
<td>£3,100,000</td>
<td>£2,800,000</td>
<td>-9.677419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£1,650,780,000.00</td>
<td>£1,732,547,000.00</td>
<td>4.953234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Rhomberg, 2003: 58)