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CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT:
REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Third United Nations Survey of Crime Trends,
Operations of Criminal Justice Systems and Crime Prevention Strategies

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The preliminary analysis of the combined data from the Second United Nations Survey of Crime Trends, Operations of Criminal Justice Systems and Crime Prevention Strategies (A/CONF.121/18) (1975-1980) and the Third Survey (1980-1986) suggests the following trends:

(a) There is a general increase in total recorded crime and in most categories of recorded crime in both periods. The greater increase is in the latter period: 23 per cent in the total number of reported crimes compared with 11 per cent in the former period;

(b) The sharpest increase in recorded crime in both periods is in drug-related crimes and robbery;

(c) The ways in which countries filter cases out of the criminal justice process differ greatly. One way is differentiation by gender. Detected offenders in all countries are predominantly male, and women are filtered out disproportionately early in the process. Juveniles are not filtered out to the same extent, although there appears to be a recent reduction in the use of custody for juvenile males;

(d) The use of custodial sanctions has increased, but proportionately with the increase in crime. Countries differ greatly in their use, both when custodial sanctions are considered in relation to population figures and in relation to recorded crime;

(e) The average length of time in custody before trial has remained consistent;

(f) The police service remains overwhelmingly the part of the criminal justice system that employs the most personnel and thus takes the greater share of the resources available to the whole system;

(g) There is a trend towards the responsibility for the implementation of community-based crime prevention programmes being shared between the State and the community.

2. Each of the observations above relates to those countries that provided comparable data on a particular observation. The set of countries covered is, therefore, different for each observation.

INTRODUCTION

3. The Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1984/48 requested the Secretary-General to continue to conduct quinquennial surveys of crime trends, operations of criminal justice systems and crime prevention strategies. Two surveys have been carried out: the results of the First Survey were reported by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session and of the Second Survey to the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (see annex II, figure I).*

*These surveys covered the periods 1970-1975 and 1975-1980, respectively. See "Crime prevention and control: report of the Secretary-General" (A/32/199); and "New dimensions of criminality and crime prevention in the context of development: challenges for the future: Second United Nations Survey of Crime Trends, Operations of Criminal Justice Systems and Crime Prevention Strategies - report prepared by the Secretariat" (A/CONF.121/18).

In pursuance of the request of the Council, the preliminary results of the Third Survey are submitted to the Eighth Congress for its consideration.

4. In its resolution 1990/18, the Council, recognizing the need to continue the work on United Nations criminal justice statistics, requested the Secretary-General to convene a meeting, during the Eighth Congress, to consider the revision of the survey questionnaire, and invited Governments to include in their national delegations persons suited to that task. The Council invited the United Nations regional and interregional institutes, in co-operation with the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs and the Statistical Office of the United Nations Secretariat, to review the preparation of the questionnaire, and the analysis and publication of the results. The Council recommended that the Fourth Survey should cover the period 1987-1990 and that subsequent surveys should be carried out at two-year and ultimately one-year intervals in order to allow the reporting procedures of Member States to become standard practice.

5. The present report provides a substantive basis for discussion of the collection and analysis of crime data at the national, regional and global levels. Many issues are presented in the form of questions for further research, in the hope of encouraging the adoption by the Eighth Congress of policy-oriented recommendations on the future areas of work outlined in resolution 1990/18.

6. The present report is an interim one because of several factors. First, at the time of its preparation replies were still arriving. Out of a total of 95 replies - the highest ever number of countries and territories reporting (see figure I) - 78 responses were analysed.*

*Data submitted by the following countries and territories have been included in the present report, subject to its availability and relevance to particular items: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bermuda, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Cayman Islands, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Gibraltar, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saint Helena, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (covering also the separate replies of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales), United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe. After the completion of the interim analysis, the following 17 additional replies were received: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Bahrain, Burundi, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Kiribati, Lesotho, Madagascar, Pakistan, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Senegal, Seychelles, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and United Republic of Tanzania.

Furthermore, replies (some of which were received late) from the following countries that participated in the Second Survey were analysed for the present report: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Fiji, Finland,

7. Secondly, all the replies have to be checked for possible errors, and there are gaps that it may be possible to fill later. As this process is still underway, examples are given rather than a definite evaluation of the data.

8. Thirdly, it is hoped that the Eighth Congress will provide guidance for a refinement of the analysis, which, it is envisaged, will be issued later as a technical publication. The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1990/18, decided that the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control should review the results of the periodical surveys for their inclusion in regular United Nations publications on the state of crime and justice in the world. Despite its preliminary nature, the present report underlines the need for strengthening the research and policy-making capacity of the United Nations in comparative criminal justice statistics, thus improving its ability to assist Member States to establish a more reliable information base.

9. The present report is primarily of an interregional nature; more detailed regional analyses have been submitted to the Eighth Congress as background documents by the regional institutes.* Together these reports provide a basis for discussion of issues of concern to scholars and practitioners in the interest of a more informed management of criminal justice.

I. MAKING COMPARISONS: A WORD OF CAUTION

10. The First Congress held at Geneva, in 1955, stressed that, through co-operation between researchers from different countries, it might be possible to develop a highly promising new field of comparative criminology, based on research employing standard definitions and techniques. 1/ United Nations work in this area has generated useful experience, and is summarized as follows:

(continued) France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kiribati, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Romania, Saint Lucia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (covering also the separate replies of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales), United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

*See Helsinki Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations, Criminal Justice Systems in Europe and North America: Report of the Ad Hoc Expert Group on a Cross-National Study of Trends in Crime and Information Sources on Criminal Justice and Crime Prevention in Europe and North America, HEUNI Publication No. 17 (1990); United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders and Australian Institute of Criminology, Crime and Justice in the Asia and the Pacific: A Report on the Third United Nations Survey of Crime Trends, Operations of Criminal Justice Systems and Crime Prevention Strategies, 1980-1986 (Tokyo and Canberra, 1990); and the document being submitted to the Congress by the United Nations Latin American Institute on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

(a) Comparisons between countries, even those with similar social and economic arrangements, should be undertaken with circumspection. Care is necessary to reduce the risks of misinterpreting the larger volume of data being reported by a growing number of countries. Member States are increasingly recognizing the importance of comparative work for cross-national purposes, but require reassurance that the data reported will not be used for any international numerical "ranking"; 2/

(b) High rates of recorded crime in certain countries may reflect high "real" rates of crime, but they may also reflect efficient and thorough systems for reporting and recording crime. Lower rates of crime in certain countries may reflect less criminal activity than in others, or a lower reporting rate because of less public confidence in the criminal justice system. While criminal statistics are official accounts of each country's patterns and dynamics of crime, and as such are of intrinsic value, they probably provide as much information on organizational arrangements as on the extent of crime;

(c) Long-term and short-term analyses of crime trends yield different information, and studies during 20, 40 and 60 or more years may reveal other patterns from those found in a 5- or 10-year span. Variations over shorter periods may be significant and reflect small, but not negligible, changes. The United Nations surveys are important primarily as a means for building up a data base, affording an overview of crime trends for gradually longer periods. Analysis of shorter periods will, however, remain essential for policy-making and the testing of various hypotheses;

(d) As noted in the report on the First Survey (see A/32/199), crime cannot be measured against its opposite, which is law-abiding behaviour. Unrecorded crime (the dark figure problem) presents a further difficulty: a number of offences are rarely reported,* particularly "victimless" crimes, such as the abuse of illicit drugs. White-collar crimes and corruption are reported only sporadically, especially as many countries do not have a distinct legal category to cover such crimes. Thus, the types of crime that feature most in the present report are mainly violence and theft, but these are not necessarily the most serious or damaging crimes. Additional measurement techniques (studies in victimization, self-reported delinquency and the impact of crime) should complement the information on the size and forms of crime. Special attention is needed to classify and record new forms of crime in a way that facilitates their being counted;

(e) Countries differ in the way they classify and categorize crime, and the categories of acts recorded also differ. Comparisons within countries over time may reveal trends that are common in several countries or groups of

*In a recent international victimization study covering 14 developed countries, it was found that, on average, less than half of the cases of personal theft were reported to the police. See Jan J. M. van Dijk, Pat Mayhew, Martin Killias, Experiences of crime across the world: key findings from the 1989 International Crime Survey, Research and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Justice (Deventer, the Netherlands, Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers, 1990). See, also, US Department of Justice, "The prevalence of crime", Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin (1981), p. 1, in which the statistical indicator of victimization ("Households touched by crime") was discussed. According to the findings of the Bulletin, about one third of the households in the United States were affected by crime, mostly theft, in 1980.

countries. Each country should, therefore, be compared first with itself over time, and then common factors among countries discerned later. For instance, the analysis of data of both the First Survey and the Second Survey revealed significant differences between developed and developing countries, considered as separate categories. That analytical distinction has been retained in the present report. These considerations illustrate the point that any international ranking of criminality is probably invalid, and cannot be derived from these, or any other known, data;

(f) The descriptions of systems that the countries provided in their replies were qualified by details of national arrangements. Any presentation of data that took total account of all such qualifications would be difficult to understand, and so selected data have been presented at a general level;

(g) The United Nations data have been validated in external research publications. In one study ^{3/} in which these data were compared with other sets of data derived from statistics of the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), the World Health Organization (WHO) and a private source named the "Comparative Crime Data File", it was found that, although for country-by-country estimates the four data sets differed to some degree, they were statistically similar for cross-sectional and longitudinal descriptive studies. Also, when used in cross-national analysis, they yielded similar results;

(h) Problems common to the Second Survey and the Third Survey arose in the collection of data for 1980. Data from the same country submitted for the two surveys often differed, sometimes considerably, in respect of the same year. In some cases there are reasons why data in respect of a given year change over time; for instance, in the case of homicide, where deaths may be reclassified retrospectively. But such revisions apply only to statistically small categories of crime, whereas the differences were sometimes so great that the most likely explanation could only be an error in the data. If surveys were conducted at shorter intervals, perhaps with fewer questions, there might be fewer errors. In addition, the reporting procedure used by the national offices could be improved by being made routine, with standardized recording procedures.

11. In view of these limitations, this present report contains only some of the data provided, focusing on examples that may illustrate particular changes during the reporting period. The inadequacy of some of the data is a reminder that caution is necessary in their interpretation.

II. CHANGES IN RECORDED CRIME, 1975-1986

12. The structure of crime differs for the two reporting periods (1975-1980 and 1980-1986), in part perhaps because the countries that provided data were not exactly the same. A breakdown of all recorded and reported crimes is given in annex I, table 1 showing, for every 100 crimes, the average incidence by specific type of crime in the two reporting periods. The percentages are global averages calculated from the data provided by those countries that reported. The national levels of each type of crime may be very different, however. Some of the differences between the tables may derive from changes in the reporting countries.

13. The overall upward trend in total recorded crime during the years 1975-1980 was followed by a more universal rise during the period 1980-1986. The rate of total recorded crime per capita of population varies markedly by

country, tending to be higher in North America and Western Europe, although such variations could, to a significant extent, be a function of public and administrative reporting practices. It would be difficult otherwise, for instance, to explain why, in 1980, Austria had approximately seven crimes recorded for every one in Switzerland. 4/ Such conclusions reinforce the view that surveys are more profitably examined for changes over time than for differences between countries at any one time.

14. The following data are illustrated in figures II-V: the reported changes in national crime rates per 100,000 population for 1975-1980 (figure II); the average percentage change in the reported crime rate for 1975-1980 (figure III); the reported changes in national crime rates per 100,000 population for 1980-1985 (figure IV) and the average percentage change in the reported crime rate for 1980-1985 (figure V). As demonstrated in figure II, of a total of 54 replies that made a comparison for 1975-1980 possible, the rate of recorded crime per capita increased in 34 countries and decreased in 20. The average change is expressed as a 10 per cent rise during the period. In the comparison for 1980-1985 (figure IV), the overall trend was that of a consistent increase. Of the 48 replies for which a comparison could be made, 39 countries experienced an increase and 9 a decrease. The countries that reported a decrease were developing countries. The average overall change was a 23 per cent rise in national crime rates. During one or both of the two periods, there was an increase for all offences except non-intentional homicide and bribery. For most of the other offences, the increase during 1980-1985 was higher than that during 1975-1980. In sum, there was an increase in recorded crime of almost all types, and a sharper increase in the 1980-1985 period.

15. The two types of crime that showed marked increases in both periods were drug-related crimes and robbery (figure VI). The rate of increase in drug crime was the steepest of any type of crime during both periods; except for kidnapping, which starts from such a small statistical base that even a few extra cases may result in a large rate of increase. As the category of drug-related offences starts from a much larger base, that percentage change is much more significant. There are, however, countries that experienced a reduction in certain crimes even at the time of the sharpest increases elsewhere. For instance, Canada (substantially) and Sri Lanka (marginally) recorded reduced rates of drug-related crimes during a period of significant growth in other countries; and Argentina, Canada, Fiji and Honduras experienced a similar reduction in respect of rates of robbery. The factors behind such a decrease would form an appropriate area for further research.

16. The exception to this trend towards an increase is the small decrease in reported non-intentional homicide in both the 1975-1980 and 1980-1985 periods. Intentional homicide increased slowly during 1975-1985, particularly in developing countries (see figures VII and VIII).

17. The incidence of theft, which traditionally contributes most to the overall pattern and rate of crime in any country, is demonstrated in figure IX. These data, disaggregated for developing and developed countries, show that, as for the two previous survey periods, more theft is reported for the developed countries.

18. Intentional homicide rates are reportedly higher in developing countries,* whereas developed countries have, in turn, greater theft rates. This suggests

*On account of the small number of countries that provided data for this comparison, this observation can only be tentative.

that the material goods more widely available in developed countries offer more opportunities to steal, but also more protection to human life. In developing countries, where material goods are scarce, lethal interpersonal conflicts may be more frequently motivated by an intention to gain access to scarce resources than is the case in developed countries. However, other interpretations are possible. Therefore, in the envisaged technical publication of the Third Survey, particular attention will be given to exploring alternative interpretations in order to provide possible explanations of comparative crime trends, as they relate to social and economic changes.

III. CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESSES

19. The data on recorded crime cannot be taken as an accurate record of the amount of criminal behaviour in any society. They are as likely to be an indicator of the level of resources and efficiency of the police as of public behaviour. They may even reflect the levels of public confidence in the law enforcement apparatus. Trends in recorded crime data within the same country can be assumed to show, to some extent, changes in patterns of behaviour, although the data will be affected by any contemporary changes in the behaviour of the system, such as recording practices or legislative changes. 5/

20. Reported crime rates, however, certainly have one function that is not subject to qualification; namely, as an indicator of the workload of the criminal justice system. The number of crimes reported is the main criterion against which the demands on the criminal justice system can be measured (except in respect of police activities not involving criminal matters, which are often considerable).

A. Recording of alleged offenders

21. One way in which recorded crime rates can be used as a factor in establishing the working patterns of police agencies is to compare them with the rates of people suspected, apprehended or prosecuted.*

22. The large difference between countries in the ratio of persons apprehended to the level of crime recorded is shown in tables 2 and 3, but it is not possible, perhaps for reasons of incomplete data, to classify these countries by other criteria. The differences do, however, tend to diminish when the ratios of people apprehended to crime recorded and of people prosecuted to crime recorded are compared. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate one of the most important functions of the surveys at their present stage of development: to generate hypotheses for further research.

23. Differences in operational practices may arise from different levels of resources, or from different attitudes to defining an act as a crime. For instance, the transition from suspicion to certainty that a person is an offender is gradual, and the cut-off point where the classification is made, or changed, is determined locally. Factors as varied as insurance policies and attitudes to civil rights may lie behind the policies followed in different countries. 6/ It is not possible to conclude simply from these data that

*One of the changes introduced for the Third Survey was that of using the term "suspected" instead of "apprehended", as there was evidence that the latter term was not easily interpreted by all jurisdictions.

high apprehension to crime ratios are intrinsically good or bad. The explanation and evaluation require further research that would provide a basis for an international discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of different practices of classification and recording. Until that is done, cross-national comparisons can be only tentative.

B. Attrition rate

24. One characteristic of criminal justice systems that is of increasing interest for a cross-national comparison of how systems operate is that of the process of attrition by which cases are terminated. A few countries, especially in Eastern Europe, provided data that make it possible to observe that process in terms of prorated figures giving such an attrition rate. Other countries provided data that will make it possible to record the process in percentage terms.

25. The officially recorded crime rate of a country is largely a result of its approach to data recording and the rationale for that approach. That may be one explanation for the fact that Eastern European countries* had much lower attrition rates than those of other developed countries, and approximately similar to those that could be calculated for some developing countries. For instance, the number of suspects per 100,000 population reported for Poland in 1980 was 677, and the number convicted was 467. The figures for the Federal Republic of Germany were 2,313 and 1,190, respectively. Thus, Poland had a much lower initial rate of suspects recorded; but most of those suspected were convicted. The Federal Republic of Germany had a much higher rate of suspects (though not dissimilar to that of other developed countries), of whom more than half were filtered out.

26. Another issue that can be illustrated by means of the attrition rate is that of the differential treatment of particular categories of suspects and offenders. The questionnaire requested data on the different stages of processing by type of crime, sex and age, as defined by the adult/juvenile ratio.

27. The data show that, on the whole, the further into the criminal justice process a case proceeds, the more likely it is that men will be retained, and women not. That is, the attrition process differentiates in favour of women. For instance, in 1980, in Canada, 6 men were classified as "suspected", 8 were prosecuted and 12 imprisoned for every woman so classified. In Japan, in 1985, 5 men were "suspected", but 15 convicted for every woman so classified. In no country did the number of women at any stage of the criminal justice process exceed the number of men. Furthermore, in most countries the ratio of imprisoned men to imprisoned women was more than double the male/female ratio at the conviction stage.

28. When the figures for the Second Survey and the Third Survey are contrasted, it seems that, increasingly, proportionately more men to women are being retained at the later stages of the criminal justice process. In 1975, 17 countries showed a ratio of more men to women, and 9 a ratio of more women to men, at the later stages of the process. By 1985, allowing for some differences in the countries reporting, there were 25 countries with a higher ratio of men, and 4 with a higher ratio of women, at the later stages of the process.

*The countries were: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia.

An independent variable that may have a major impact on these figures is the type of offence. A much more complete data base would be required to test that possibility.*

29. A similar analysis can be made in respect of the adult/juvenile ratio for males (see table 4). The dichotomy is a less simple one than the male/female ratio, for several reasons. Some institutions for juveniles are classified as being not within the penal system, although the régime may be only slightly different. Also, the classification procedure may not be contingent upon the finding of guilt. Whether or not for reasons deriving from these factors, or because practices vary greatly between countries, the patterns are less clear than with the gender distinction. Some countries showed a higher proportion of juveniles at the conviction stage than at the prosecution stage. For instance, Argentina reported 19 per cent of convicted males as being juveniles, but only 11 per cent of prosecuted males as being juveniles; England and Wales both reported 31 per cent of convicted males as being juveniles and 20 per cent of prosecuted males as being juveniles. Canada reported 18 per cent of prosecuted males as being juveniles, but only 2 per cent of the male prison population as being juveniles. Poland reported 25 per cent of convicted males as being juveniles and 9 per cent of prosecuted males as being juveniles.

30. As there are three main categories to be counted in the operations of the criminal justice system, namely, events, people and decisions, the examination of the criminal justice process inevitably raises a methodological question that applies whenever transactional statistics are the subject of study, namely, the unit of count. This problem may be particularly acute in analysing group crimes (e.g. organized criminal activities). Consequently, it should be re-emphasized that the observations above should be treated as elements for generating hypotheses for subsequent more refined analyses.

C. Imprisonment and changes in the prison population

31. In countries that have abolished the death penalty, the most severe sanction is usually long-term incarceration. Changes in the use of incarceration over time are, therefore, an important factor in criminal justice policy. Statistics of imprisonment often provide only some of the relevant data as prisons are not the only places where liberty is restricted. There is a range of institutions holding both adults and juveniles in which those who are confined are not counted as being imprisoned. The range of other forms of the restriction of liberty qualifies the meaning of statistics on imprisonment.

32. If it is intended to give the number of people in prison so as to discover changes in practice, prison statistics must be related to other variables, such as the general population, or counts of convictions or crimes. The general population count disguises differences in the criminal potential of different age groups, namely, most crime is committed by young people. The conviction count takes no account of the clearance rate, or of the cautioning and prosecution policy. There is thus no single correct technique of standardization for prison statistics, but a range of possibilities, each with advantages and disadvantages.

*The subject has been discussed in Satyanshu K. Mukherjee and Jocelyne A. Scutt, eds., Women and Crime (Sydney, Australian Institute of Criminology in association with George Allen and Unwin, 1981).

33. Two techniques of standardization are used to record the changes in the prison population: the prison population per capita of population and the prison population per crime committed. Table 5 presents data for the former and table 6 for the latter.

34. The prison population has not risen at the same pace as crime, although in most countries a higher proportion of the population was imprisoned in 1986 than was the case in 1975. The fact that the increase in the total number of recorded crimes is greater than the increase in the rate of imprisonment can perhaps be explained by the general criminological finding that changes in the recording of offences are more clearly visible in respect of less serious crimes. As the degree of seriousness is usually the prime determinant in reporting, the level of reporting of serious crime is already probably very high. It is unlikely, therefore, that the prison population will rise as steeply as the rates of recorded crime, although the increase in drug-related offences, possession or trafficking may change this observation.

35. Countries vary in their use of imprisonment. Some reported high levels of imprisonment when compared with the number of recorded crimes or with the population, while in other countries, the levels were high in relation to one of these comparators. The existence of different patterns in the data suggests that some countries have prison populations that can be explained by the number of recorded crimes while for others the explanation is the hidden variable of crime seriousness.

36. Countries differ in the proportion of their citizens who may, at current rates of imprisonment, be imprisoned at some time in their lives. The prevalence of imprisonment is the measure of the extent to which the population experiences imprisonment under sentence. Quite complex methods and good data are required to calculate prevalence statistics, 7/ which may help to clarify the patterns revealed by the Second Survey and the Third Survey.* These statistics suggest, for instance, that the probability of an adult experiencing imprisonment in his or her lifetime ranges between 3.2 per cent and 5.1 per cent for males in different jurisdictions in the United States of America and 6-7 per cent for males in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

37. Prevalence statistics could have an important role as a more refined research method of assessing the real impact of criminal policies upon offenders. The inclusion in the questionnaire for the Fourth Survey of a question on the possible existence and use of prevalence statistics in national criminal justice research may stimulate interest in developing them. Results obtained by a more widespread use of prevalence statistics could help to verify or refine traditional opinions about high and low imprisonment rates in various countries and show more accurately the degrees of punitiveness of criminal justice systems. 8/

38. In assessing the profile of a prison population, it is necessary to consider, in addition to the number of those imprisoned, the average length of time served, and whether it is before or after trial. Table 7 shows the

*See, also, András Szabo, "A Bűnözés Kihívása és a Kriminológia Válaszai (the challenge of crime and the responses of criminology)", Társadalomkutatás, 1988, vol. 3, pp. 5-31. According to the estimates made by Szabo, 40-49 per cent of the male population in Hungary would be sentenced at some point during their lives.

percentage of the prison population that is detained under sentence. The percentage varies substantially between countries and perhaps represents the imprisonment of suspected but unsentenced offenders who may not have been prosecuted, although the differences may at least, in part, be attributable to differences in the point at which a prisoner is counted as sentenced. In some countries that is the date of sentence itself, and in others, it is the day that the classification changes when it has ceased to be possible to appeal against the sentence.

39. The data for the average time spent in prison awaiting trial are set out as table 8. Between 1982 and 1986, this time increased in nine countries and decreased in four. On a country-by-country basis, the most important factor to be observed is that of national stability; the differences over the period are small.

D. Resources of the criminal justice system

40. The results of the First Survey and the Second Survey suggested a considerable difference in staffing of criminal justice agencies in developing and developed countries. ^{9/} Proportionately more police staff were employed in developing countries; however, proportionately fewer judges were employed in developed countries. The comparisons of the Second Survey and the Third Survey reinforce this finding (see figure X), but differences in the countries replying to the two surveys preclude strict comparability.

41. Table 9 shows the distribution of resources in the administration of criminal justice. These figures, although they cover only a few countries, demonstrate the very large proportion of the total resources consumed by the police, and figure X shows that this allocation is even more accentuated in developing countries.

42. Financial investments in crime control appear moderate in developed countries, compared with the entire annual budget of a Government. Current estimates suggest that developed countries spend an average of 2 or 3 per cent of their budgets on crime control, compared with 9 per cent or up to 14 per cent in developing countries. ^{10/} If these percentages are representative, national Governments seem to spend a total of approximately 300 billion United States dollars a year on criminal justice. Large though that figure is, it is less than the estimated total revenues generated by illicit drug trafficking throughout the world.

IV. CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES

43. Countries were invited to report on changes in crime prevention planning and strategies* during the period 1980-1986, and to provide explanations for those changes; the questions referred specifically to the types of crime prevention activities reported in the Second Survey.

44. Fifteen developing and 20 developed countries provided information on this subject. Countries were asked to estimate quantitatively, on a scale from very rarely to very frequently, the extent to which specific strategies

*The "Inventory of comprehensive crime prevention strategies and policies: note by the Secretary-General" (A/CONF.144/9) also covers crime prevention planning and strategies.

were used. However, the essentially descriptive nature of issues related to crime prevention makes it difficult to evaluate them in a manner comparable to the analysis of statistical trends in crime, although there are methodologies specific to the crime prevention field. 11/

45. The questionnaire requested information on indirect and direct strategies. Indirect strategies, such as providing job opportunities or upgrading communities through subsidies, were identified as aimed primarily at improving the quality of life in general and, secondly, at deterring previous and potential offenders or influencing the community. Direct strategies or preventive measures of a more technical or mechanical nature tend to reduce opportunities for committing a criminal act. Some preventive activities share the characteristics of both categories, for instance, by providing opportunities for constructive leisure-time activities.

46. Direct strategies are increasingly used, especially in developing countries. Developing and developed countries use a wide range of preventive methods, although their frequency, intensity and range are probably much greater in developed countries.

47. Publicity campaigns, police advisory services and attempts to reduce opportunities by affecting the environmental conditions that facilitate crime, appear to be the most preferred direct strategies. 12/ Community involvement and integrated activities seem to be very important. Attempts to bring the police closer to the public are increasingly emphasized in many countries, thus gaining the assistance of the community in crime prevention. Mixed bodies in which police officers and community representatives act together have the same objectives. Community prevention schemes are usually placed under the control of local authorities. The indirect strategies most preferred are constructive leisure-time activities, welfare and financial assistance. Programmes in residential areas aimed at improving the security of tenants, and visits to correctional institutions, were recorded only rarely as a means of crime prevention.

A. Indirect strategies

Providing proper education

48. Some countries mentioned placing children under the care of social welfare authorities in particular circumstances, to ensure their proper upbringing and education. Two thirds of the countries considered foster families an appropriate means of care for children at risk or for those who had already been in trouble and took measures systematically to extend the foster-family system. Some developed countries mentioned the existence of specialist agencies and national social programmes or of special child protection legislation.

Welfare and financial assistance

49. Many countries reported the use of welfare and financial assistance; some reported them as being a component part of a general crime prevention policy focusing on youth protection and welfare, others reported the existence of special schemes for youth welfare. A third category of countries reported that welfare and financial assistance were being supplied to families according to the criterion of poverty, irrespective of possible additional criteria directly related to crime.

Providing constructive leisure-time activities

50. The widespread strategy of providing constructive leisure-time activities was the second most frequently cited. Only six countries reported that they did not use this strategy or applied it only experimentally. A few developing countries regarded such programmes as part of the organization of leisure time for adolescents in general, without subcategorizing them as delinquent and non-delinquent. In other developing countries, leisure time was arranged by the police or agencies of the criminal justice system. In contrast, developed countries reported a variety of activities organized by State agencies other than those of the criminal justice system. Private and local projects sponsored by the State were very common; whereas such activities were largely decentralized in developing countries. Some European countries attributed an important role to official youth organizations.

Providing job opportunities

51. Many countries reported the provision of job opportunities for the unemployed as a deliberate policy of crime prevention. Some reported the existence of programmes for rehabilitating criminals by employing them in private business. Others reported a reliance on general employment programmes and policies, sometimes combined with education and training, but not directly linked to crime prevention. One country stated that there was no sound evidence that unemployment and crime were linked.

52. Two developing and 12 developed countries described special programmes by social and private contributors of vocational training for unemployed or disadvantaged youth. Some considered crime prevention as one of the formal objectives. Mixed programmes with integrated efforts by the police, local authorities and local business circles seemed to be increasing. Six countries also mentioned their general anti-unemployment policy, especially in relation to adolescents, regardless of the criminal context.

53. Countries were asked whether specialists in crime prevention participated in decisions to create, maintain or design job opportunities for the unemployed. Most countries reported no such participation; the decision on whether such specialists participated usually rested with politicians and the administrators of the criminal justice system. Furthermore, the analysis of the results was complicated by the fact that countries interpreted the term "specialist" in different ways. Sixteen countries reported the use of counselling in general but only a few reported specific forms.

Upgrading communities

54. Most countries mentioned the upgrading of the living standards of communities as a component of national policy, or welfare actions aimed against poverty, or other social activities. Five developed countries reported central or local projects being carried out specifically for crime prevention purposes.

Crisis intervention

55. Most of the countries mentioned crisis intervention as a strategy of crime prevention. Six mentioned various forms usually regulated by legislative acts, centred on the State and local levels, both civic and private. Most of the others stated that crisis intervention was either part of a general social policy, for the protection of children and adolescents, or part of experimental schemes to prevent alcoholism and drug abuse.

B. Direct strategies

Opportunity reduction

56. Many countries employ architectural techniques in the planning of space and design of buildings to reduce opportunities for the commission of crimes, but with significant variations. Some countries interpreted the term "opportunity reduction" to mean co-operation between the police and local authorities, for instance with regard to the provision of better lighting in neighbourhoods, while several countries reported complex initiatives, for instance, the concept of "defensible space". Important innovations had been made by involving specialized scientists or institutes, which had created new national security norms for buildings and shopping centres and other technical solutions.

57. Many developing countries reported the use of physical obstructions against theft, including technical security systems like safe locks in houses and electronic alarm systems in cars. Some developed countries mentioned campaigns by the crime prevention departments of the police to inform the public of the systems available. Thirteen other developed countries reported the existence of complex projects, both centrally and locally oriented, or expressed their interest in security devices. Techniques using technical security systems, sometimes called "target hardening" strategies, were reported with the same frequency as was the use of architectural techniques.

58. The use of individual identifying marks on valuable items was reported primarily by developed countries. This precaution was often accompanied by advertising campaigns by insurance companies, public relations activities by the police, or the installation of electronic alarm systems in shops and other public establishments.

Preventive patrolling

59. The use of preventive patrolling was reported by almost all the countries; some used only patrols by foot or bicycle, while others reported more complex activities, including the decentralization of parts of the police, or special schemes. Many countries reported the existence of programmes to maintain or improve contacts between residents and their local police stations so as to improve co-operation in crime prevention, such as Neighbourhood Watch and solidarity committees. Eleven countries mentioned new arrangements by special police departments for community co-operation or the creation of specially trained police officers, for example Parish Constables, special Intervention Forces, Juvenile Guidance Counsellors and Social Constables.

60. The supervision of public transport was a preventive measure frequently employed, using specialized police groups and increased patrolling, both on transport vehicles and in stations. The use of audio-visual methods, such as monitors at railway stations, had proved highly effective. The introduction of special unarmed volunteer services in two countries was said to be a successful recent innovation.

Citizen crime prevention associations

61. Most countries mentioned citizen crime prevention associations. Eight developing countries and most developed countries reported various institutionalized forms of citizen participation, such as Mutual Aid Societies, Police Friends Associations, committees for preventing crime and protecting children or private guard and police services, while others reported the existence of

experiments at a local level. For example, one country reported that a social crime prevention section and road safety section was attached to every police station. Some Eastern European countries reported large-scale, centralized preventive actions supported by volunteer citizens policing and patrolling a given area. Other developed countries mentioned the existence of private and social organizations co-operating with the police in crime prevention in general or in particular fields such as those involving children, adolescents or women.

Consulting services by the police

62. The provision of a crime prevention and security consulting service by the police was very common, and was reported by all but four of the countries. Most emphasized "popularizing" activities such as exhibitions, public lectures, self-defence courses, technical instruction on security systems and special demonstrations on various occasions such as public holidays. Several reported the creation of highly specialized crime prevention and security services within the police to maintain continuous contact with certain communities.

Publicity campaigns

63. Almost all the countries reported the use of publicity campaigns, mostly through the mass media. Some mentioned public case-studies and specially produced leaflets or periodicals. One country reported the holding of a National Crime Prevention Week as a main nation-wide event with diverse activities, including the presentation of a special award recognizing outstanding contributions to crime prevention by individuals and organizations. A few other countries mentioned the use of competitions between residential areas in respect of security for tenants.

Visits to prisoners

64. The promotion of visits for psychological deterrence to prisoners in correctional institutions seems to have increased slightly. Six countries mentioned specific actions, mainly private initiatives by church volunteers, national folk groups, student penitentiary movements, or high-school students.

C. Other types of crime prevention strategies

65. Countries were asked to provide information on other types of crime prevention activities and on new approaches that had been introduced between 1980 and 1986. The methods reported were generally improved versions of those used before 1980.

66. The replies from all the countries can be classified into four categories. Specific national examples are given, rather than generalized summaries, as they illustrate more clearly the variety of the responses. The examples given were as follows:

(a) Indirect strategies, aimed mainly at organizing protection for juveniles, were cited as follows:

- (i) A national programme to control and prevent the sexual abuse of children, combining criminal law with social and educational instruments (Canada);
- (ii) Useful and Productive Schemes for pre-delinquent juveniles (Peru);

- (iii) A Day Care Service for the children of working mothers and a Parent-Effectiveness Service providing training for foster parents and child caretakers (the Philippines);
- (iv) Special school programmes on crime prevention (Singapore);
- (v) A multi-functional National Youth Centre, supported by the Japanese Government, providing various activities for youth (Sri Lanka);

(b) Organizations or committees and other co-ordinating or planning staff for crime prevention at the national or local level that had been created or strengthened were cited as follows:

- (i) The National Prevention Council and the New Technical Committee for Crime Prevention and their local branches (Costa Rica);
- (ii) Several types of crime prevention councils for the research and development of central and local policies or projects, and the attraction of community support (Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom (England and Wales) and USSR);
- (iii) A five-year national policy scheme entitled "Society and Crime", carried out at the national and local level and accompanied and supervised by various disciplines (the Netherlands);
- (iv) Crime Prevention Panels and Social Groups (United Kingdom (Scotland));

(c) Direct strategies to create or improve neighbourhood security methods or community co-operation with the police were reported by many respondents (including Australia, Bermuda, Malaysia, New Zealand, Poland and the United Kingdom (Scotland));

(d) Direct strategies related to police activities in the field of technical security, such as publicity campaigns popularizing knowledge of crime prevention, providing better equipment for the police, were cited as follows:

- (i) Campaigns against fraud in the banking system and educating proprietors of different premises in the use of devices against theft, including alarm-systems for shops (Bermuda);
- (ii) Teaching crime prevention as a subject in school (Botswana);
- (iii) The use of Crime Prevention Vans and Recreational Vehicles at exhibitions, parades and community fairs and door-to-door canvassing campaigns in targeting specific areas of crime (Canada);
- (iv) Special programmes to popularize the knowledge of crime prevention or penal proceedings (Czechoslovakia and France).

67. Reduction in the use of custody, and its replacement by other penal measures, and changes in legal proceedings pertaining to "deformalizing" criminal procedures, especially in juvenile cases, were often mentioned. Closer co-operation between criminal justice systems, especially prisons, and society, was also frequently emphasized.

D. Inter-sectoral and international co-operation in crime prevention

68. Many developing countries mentioned the need for technical and financial assistance, including the training of staff in crime prevention by the United Nations.

69. Both developing and developed countries attached primary importance to the exchange of experiences through conferences and seminars, as well as to the exchange of experts, publications and statistical data.* Some countries stressed the need for regional exchanges of countries sharing a similar cultural and social background. Many called for the standardization and exchange of data from police records and statistics, and emphasized the importance of automated information systems linking countries.

70. Most crime prevention strategies still seem to be primarily associated with the criminal justice system, and operate within its framework. The direct strategies, which receive more emphasis, are closely connected to police activities, whereas the more indirect ones are mostly within the competence of non-police bodies like civic organizations and State institutions. It is difficult to determine progress and changes in the area of crime prevention in relation to social or State policies and the degree of co-ordination or integration between them. There are, however, positive indicators, such as the creation of nation-wide programmes within institutional frameworks aimed at organizing or improving the co-ordination and integration of direct and indirect approaches on a large scale. They increasingly include non-police factors, particularly the involvement of local communities and the use of volunteers and caretakers. There are indications that governmental agencies do not consider crime prevention as their exclusive responsibility any more. National policies increasingly tend to make room for inter-agency co-operation and local policies and activities; more responsibility is left to society itself as the reduction of the level of crime is best undertaken by the community as a whole.

71. The growing interest in international collaboration is coupled with the changing view on the traditional obligations and expectations of the State vis-à-vis its citizens as well as other States. Citizens are much more inclined to respond to State policies "to take legitimate crime prevention efforts into their own hands". Citizens may even perceive that the State, equipped with its law-enforcement apparatus, should limit its functions and delegate part of them to local communities as part of a "shared responsibility". A society of small communities is thus gradually emerging as a source and means of crime prevention. This trend was clearly discernible in some of the reporting countries, although its historical and political background may vary in different countries. The Eighth Congress may wish to relate these observations to the draft decision entitled "Prevention of urban crime" that the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its eleventh session, decided to recommend that the Economic and Social Council transmit to the Congress 13/ and to the "Inventory of comprehensive crime prevention measures" (A/CONF.144/9), both of which emphasize the growing role of the community in crime prevention.

*A publication covering this issue in Western Europe is: Irvin Waller, Current Trends in European Crime Prevention: Implications for Canada (Ottawa, Department of Justice, 1989).

72. With such an expanded international dimension, which is most prominent in Europe, the increased role of local communities nationally will ultimately have an impact on co-operation between countries in crime prevention. The exchange of new experiences internationally may lead to the erosion of the traditionally central role of States in such exchanges, with the agreement of those States. Consequently, the dynamics and forms of co-operation of Member States in the area of crime prevention may change from country-to-country-oriented perspectives and activities into more intercommunity-oriented policies, promoted by the States themselves.

V. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

73. The data and its analysis indicate that there is a basis for a comparison of countries' experiences not only in relation to the extent and patterns of the crime problem, but also the national response to it. This perspective provides a basis for questions on how each country evaluates the success or shortcomings of its system, and how countries may learn from each other.

74. The global crime picture is not an encouraging one. There is an overall increase in the crime rate, as well as an unresolved problem of the inter-relationship between higher and lower crime rates in the context of socio-economic development. The future may look even less encouraging as some projections seem to indicate (see figure XI). Assuming that the rate of population growth will not change dramatically, the projected crime rate may still increase considerably. The crime rate at the turn of the century may be four times higher than that it was in 1975 (see figure XI). A faster rate of population growth may lead to even more crime in the year 2000 and after. Other, non-demographic variables may influence the crime picture as well.

75. The Second Survey and the Third Survey have demonstrated that many countries find it difficult to provide the minimum sets of data required for monitoring the criminal justice process overall. It was agreed at the meeting of experts* that guided the construction of the questionnaire for the Second Survey that the first task would be to survey which data could be provided by countries. An overview of the responses was contained in the report (A/CONF.121/18) of the Secretariat to the Seventh Congress. The conclusions of the Second Survey suggested that the majority of the countries could not easily provide complete sets of data and some could not provide even the most basic statistics. Although the Third Survey showed some improvement, there are still several problems facing those responsible for the management of the criminal justice system.

76. It may, therefore, be opportune for the Eighth Congress to discuss ways in which the collection and analysis of crime data could be improved both nationally and internationally. The questionnaire was transmitted through two communication channels simultaneously: the Statistical Office of the Secretariat in New York and the United Nations Office at Vienna, both of which also sent follow-up notes to Member States. Representatives of Governments attending the regional preparatory meetings for the Eighth Congress, members of the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control and selected national correspondents were requested to co-operate in obtaining the replies. Resident representatives of the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations

*Ad Hoc Meeting of Experts on the Implementation of the Second United Nations Survey of World Crime Trends and Crime Prevention Strategies, held at Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, 5-8 October 1981.

regional and interregional institutes for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders were also involved.

77. All these efforts increased the number of replies, but could not secure data of consistently high quality. Many countries in the African and Arab regions were not able to contribute at all. Several countries (Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) replied for the first time. The manual completed after the Seventh Congress by the United Nations Secretariat, 14/ which may improve the quality of replies for future surveys, is one instrument towards establishing the system of criminal justice statistics that is required to attain a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis of cross-national trends. The increasing use of computer-based information technology should make the improvements that are required increasingly feasible.

78. Training courses, special funding for criminal statistics projects and a more focused and active exchange of interregional and cross-regional experiences could all be elements of an effective strategy for the improved collection and analysis of data, both nationally and internationally.

79. Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/18 gave a fresh impetus to the improvement of cross-national criminal justice statistics and related data. The Eighth Congress may wish to discuss and delineate in detail a global strategy that would form a firm basis for the analysis and discussion of national and international criminal justice policy.

Notes

1/ First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: report prepared by the Secretariat (United Nations publication, Sales No. 1956.IV.4), annex I, sect. E, annex, subsect. F, pp. 81-82.

2/ See, for example, Carol B. Kalish, "World crime rates: a statistical analysis", CJ International (University of Illinois at Chicago), vol. 6, No. 1 (January-February 1990), p. 9; see, also, Brunon Holyst, "Evaluation of Criminal Statistics System", Eurocriminology (Polish Scientific Publishers), vol. 2 (1988), pp. 129-138.

3/ Richard R. Bennett and James P. Lynch, "Does a difference make a difference? Comparing cross-national crime indicators", Criminology, vol. 28, No. 1 (1990), pp. 153-181.

4/ See F. Balvig, "The snow white image: the hidden reality of crime in Switzerland", K. Leander (translator), Scandinavian Studies in Criminology (Norwegian University Press), vol. 9 (1988).

5/ See George F. Cole, Stanislaw J. Frankowski and Marc G. Gertz, Major Criminal Justice Systems: A Comparative Survey, 2nd ed. (Newbury Park, California, Sage Publications, 1987).

6/ See Jacek R. Kubiak, "Internal and external factors influencing the operations of criminal justice systems of Socialist European Countries", Review of Socialist Law, 13 (1987), pp. 5-59.

7/ See Patrick A. Langan and Lawrence A. Greenfeld, The Prevalence of Imprisonment (US Department of Justice), Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report (July 1985); L. Harvey and K. Pease, "The lifetime prevalence of custodial sentences", British Journal of Criminology 1987/7, pp. 222-248; David F. Greenberg, Mathematical Criminology (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1979); Jerzy Jasinski, "The punitiveness of criminal justice system (a cross-national perspective)", The Polish Sociological Bulletin, No. 1 (1976), pp. 43-51; and "Punitywosc systemów karnych (Kontynuacje) (Punitiveness of criminal justice systems (continuation))", Panstwo i Prawo (Warsaw), 6 (1984), pp. 52-67.

8/ See Imprisonment in Four Countries (US Department of Justice), Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report (February 1987). See, also, Soumyo D. Moitra, "Crimes and Punishments: A Comparative Study of Temporal Variations", Criminological Research Reports (Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Penal Law), vol. 28 (1987).

9/ "Second United Nations survey of crime trends, operations of criminal justice systems and crime prevention strategies" (A/CONF.121/18), chap. I, sect. E, paras. 41-43 and figure VIII.

10/ See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1990, Supplement No. 10 (E/1990/31/Add.1), chap. II, sect. A, para. 14.

11/ See, for example, Eckart Kùhlhorn and B. Svensson, "Crime Prevention" (The National Swedish Council for Crime Prevention), Report No. 9 (1982); Steven P. Lab, Crime Prevention: Approaches, Practices and Evaluations (Cincinnati, Ohio, Anderson Publishing Co., 1988); Paul J. Lavrakas and Susan F. Bennett, A Process and Impact Evaluation of the 1983-86 Neighborhood Anti-Crime Self-Help Program: Summary Report, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1989 (mimeographed); and Hernando Gomez Buendia, ed., Urban Crime: Global Trends and Policies (Tokyo, United Nations University, 1989).

12/ See US Department of Justice, Crime Prevention Perspectives and Practices, discussion papers prepared for the Ad hoc Working Group on the International Exchange of Crime Prevention Information, 1989.

13/ Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1990, Supplement No. 10 (E/1990/31), chap. I, sect. C, decision 11/102.

14/ "Manual for the Development of Criminal Justice Statistics", Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 43 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.XVII.16).

Annex I

TABLES

Table 1. Structure of crime

Type of crime	Percentage of total	
	1975-1980	1980-1986
Theft	72	63
Assault	12	18
Robbery	5	6
Drug crimes	3	6
Fraud, including embezzlement	3	4
Intentional homicide	1	1
Non-intentional homicide	1	1
Rape	1	a/
Bribery	1	a/
Kidnapping	a/	a/

a/ Less than 1 per cent.

Table 2. Ratio of total number of persons apprehended to total number of crimes recorded (1975-1980)

Country	Persons apprehended to crimes recorded		
	1975 a/	1980 a/	1980 b/
Austria	45	42	37
Bahamas	33	27	-
Canada	34	-	-
Chile	34	17	-
Colombia	48	39	-
Finland	-	72	30
France	-	26	26
Germany, Federal Republic of	38	37	37
India	47	60	49
Japan	30	29	29
Netherlands	32	29	29
New Zealand	-	41	41
Norway	13	11	9
Philippines	11	-	-
Poland	80	78	78
Suriname	16	19	-
Sweden	13	11	11
United Kingdom (Scotland) a/	10	6	3
United States	71	73	72
Yugoslavia	74	73	-

Note: See paragraph 10(h) for an explanation of the meaning of the data.

a/ Data taken from the Second Survey.

b/ Data on total number of persons apprehended taken from the Second Survey; data on total number of crimes recorded taken from the Third Survey.

Table 3. Ratio of total number of persons suspected or prosecuted to total number of crimes recorded (1980-1986) a/

Country/territory	Persons suspected to crimes recorded		Persons prosecuted to crimes recorded	
	1980	1985	1982	1986
Antigua and Barbuda	-	20	-	18
Australia	-	26	-	-
Austria	-	-	90	78
Bahamas	-	-	-	-
Belgium	-	-	-	18
Bermuda	26	44	-	-
Botswana	-	81	-	-
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	96	88	85	64
Canada	25	23	-	-
China	-	-	-	47
Fiji	-	56	-	-
Finland	-	-	63	51
France	26	26	-	-
Germany, Federal Republic of	37	31	48	50
Gibraltar	46	36	-	-
Hungary	56	52	-	35
India	-	-	83	-
Italy	-	33	-	23
Jamaica	55	58	-	-
Japan	29	27	35	36
Malawi	39	39	-	-
Malaysia	20	23	-	-
New Zealand	41	36	-	-
Norway	7	7	-	-
Peru	41	90	-	-
Poland	71	57	-	-
Portugal	-	61	-	-
Singapore	42	39	-	-
Sweden	10	9	-	-
Trinidad and Tobago	29	30	1	1
United States	78	96	-	-
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	87	83	11	8

a/ Data taken from the Third Survey.

Table 4. Males suspected/apprehended, prosecuted, convicted and imprisoned who were juveniles (1985)
(Percentage)

Country	Suspected/apprehended	Prosecuted	Convicted	Imprisoned
Argentina	23	14	15	1
Canada	19	26	..	2
Hungary	11	10	10	..
Netherlands	18	15	8	..
New Zealand	24	5	5	5
Poland	10	19	6	..
Singapore	8	8	3	..

Table 5. Reported prison population per 100,000 inhabitants (1975-1985)

Country	1975	1980	1985
Belgium	69	59	27
Finland	118	102	75
France	49	85	41
Germany, Federal Republic of	84	94	80
Italy	53	53	27
Poland	271	269	204
Sri Lanka	81	74	82
United Kingdom	80	89	77

Table 6. Reported prison population per 100,000 crimes (1975-1985)

Country	1975	1980	1985
Finland	2 628	2 454	562
France	1 361	1 738	617
Germany, Federal Republic of	1 767	1 521	1 148
Greece	1 549	1 061	814
Italy	1 548	1 565	1 138
Kuwait	3 435	4 122	80 436
Poland	27 060	28 318	13 942
Sri Lanka	13 882	17 718	22 724

Table 7. Prison population detained under sentence (1982-1986)
(Percentage)

Country/territory	1982	1986
Argentina	54	43
Australia	87	85
Austria	92	74
Bangladesh	17	27
Belgium	39	42
Bermuda	80	78
Brunei Darussalam	71	84
Bulgaria	87	86
Canada	87	86
Chile	42	45
Cyprus	87	75
Denmark	71	74
Finland	83	82
France	49	49
Germany, Federal Republic of	71	76
Gibraltar	94	86
Greece	67	72
Hungary	70	67
Italy	27	35
Japan	83	83
Kuwait	75	67
Malaysia	59	59
Netherlands	57	59
New Zealand	93	89
Norway	71	75
Peru	23	32
Poland	68	73
Qatar	61	52
Republic of Korea	58	49
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	48	48
Singapore	93	91
South Africa	83	75
Sweden	83	84
Trinidad and Tobago	52	45
United Kingdom	80	79
United States	69	80
Vanuatu	33	20

Table 8. Average time spent in prison awaiting trial (1982-1986)
(Weeks)

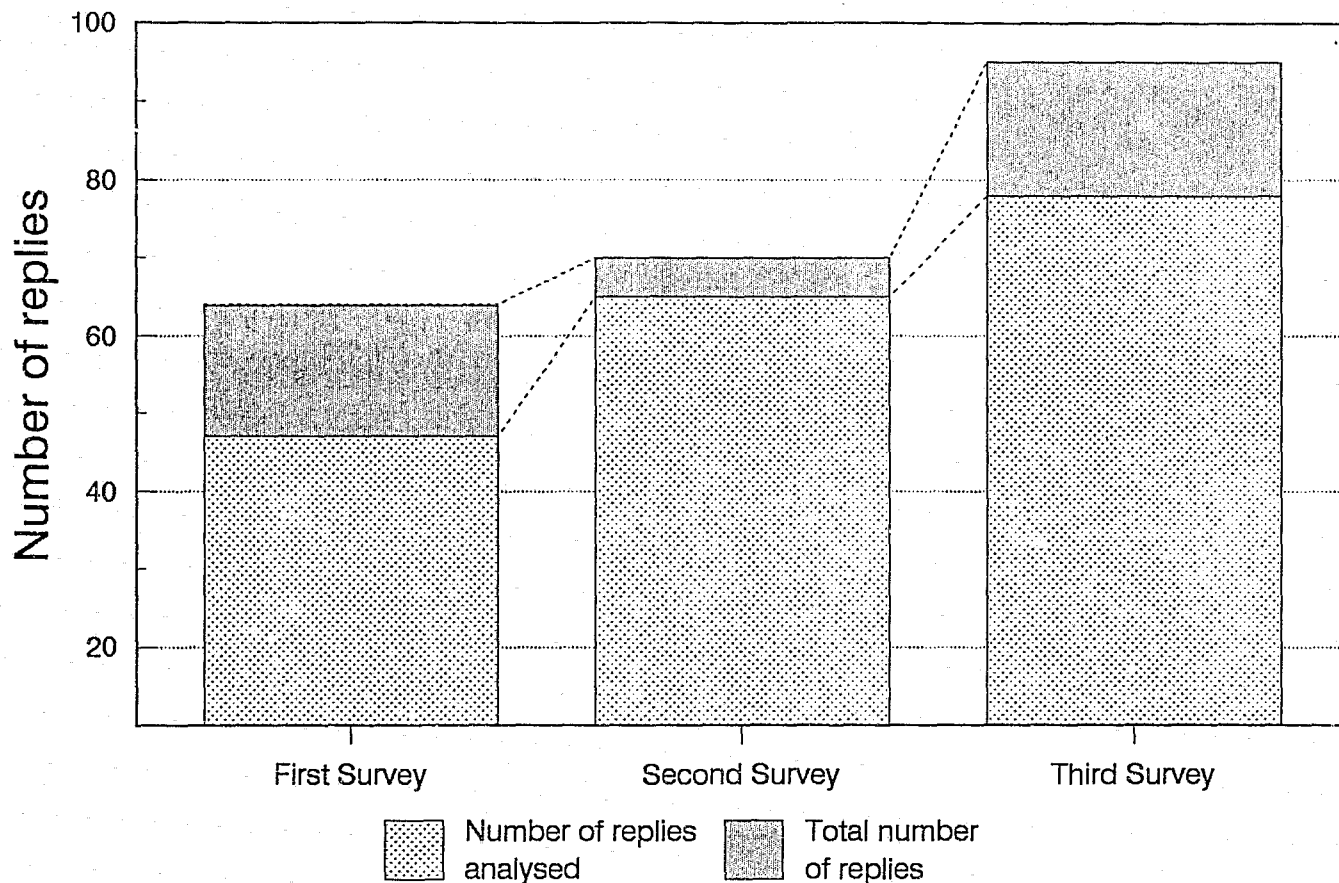
Country/territory	1982	1986
Austria	12	11
Bangladesh	12	13
Bermuda	4	10
Botswana	3	3
Canada	2	1
Costa Rica	8	6
Czechoslovakia	12	7
Finland	9	9
France	3	4
Germany, Federal Republic of	14	15
Italy	10	18
Japan	9	9
New Zealand	3	3
Peru	-	52
Saint Lucia	11	23
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	12	12
Suriname	16	25
United Kingdom	10	11

Table 9. Spending on police, prosecution services, courts, prisons and non-custodial services as a percentage of total spending on the criminal justice system (1986)

Country	Police	Prosecution	Courts	Prisons	Non-custodial
Antigua and Barbuda	9	0	0	1	0
Australia	7	0	0	2	0
Finland	6	1	2	2	0
Japan	8	0	1	1	0
Norway	7	0	1	2	0
Spain	9	0	0	1	0

Note: A zero does not mean that no expense was incurred in that country, but that either the number was less than 1 per cent or the budget was included in that of another agency.

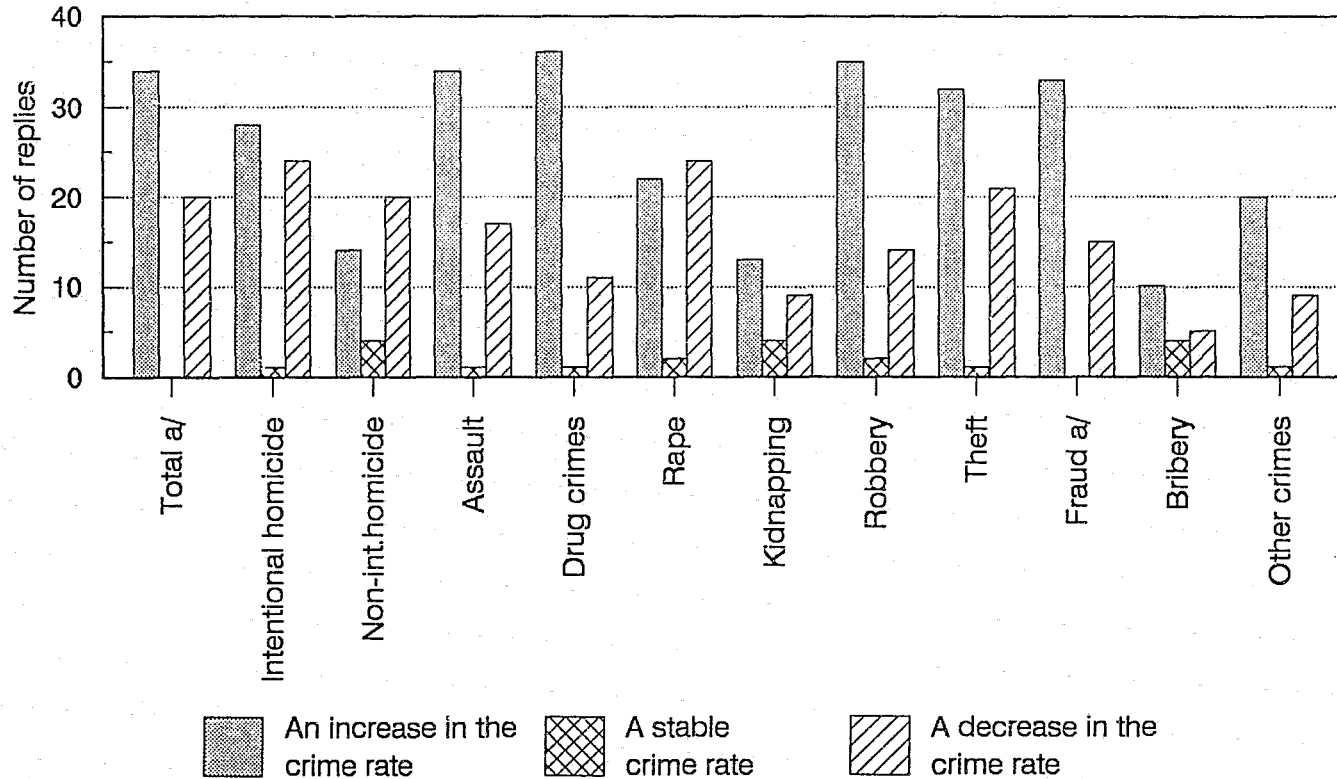
Figure I. Replies to the United Nations surveys of crime trends



Annex II
FIGURES

Note: For the First Survey (see A/32/199), 64 replies were received and 47 analysed.
For the Second Survey (see A/CONF.121/18), 70 replies were received and 65 analysed.
For the Third Survey, 95 replies were received and 78 analysed.

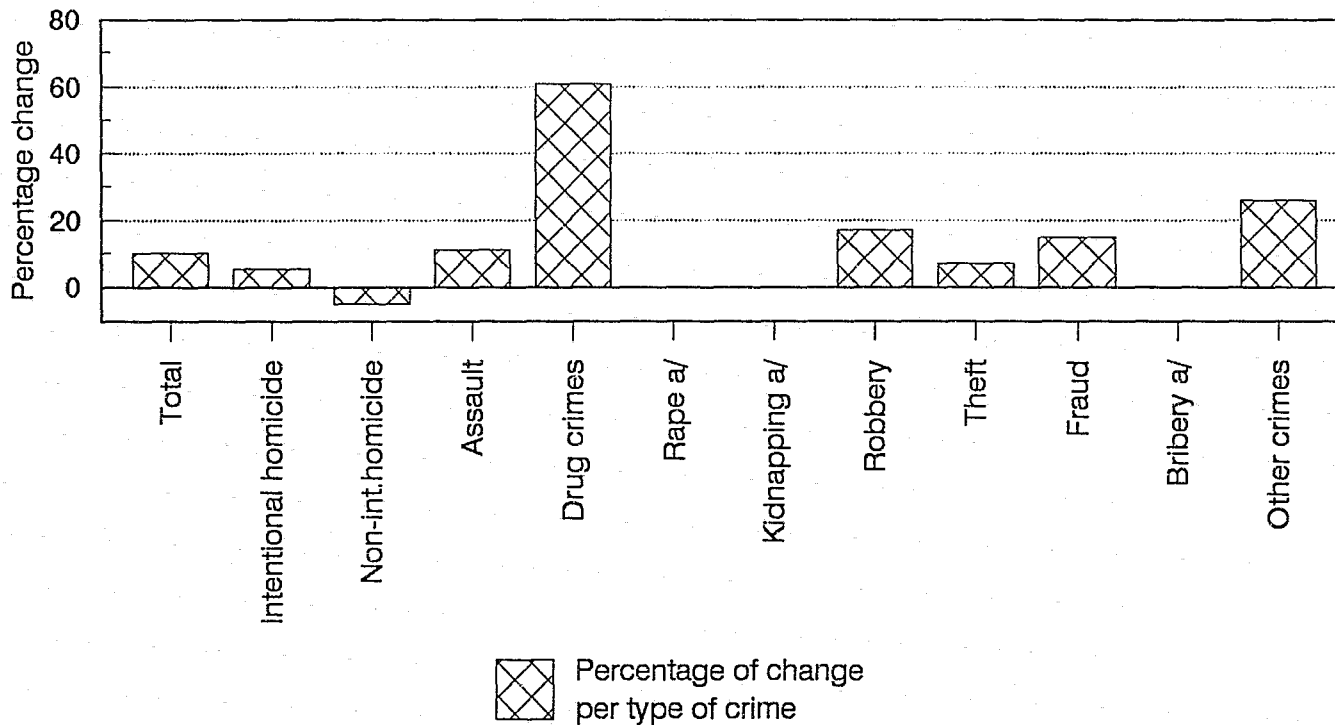
Figure II. Reported changes in national crime rates per 100,000 population (1975-1980)



Note: Based on 54 replies.

a/ As no country reported a stable crime rate, no middle bar is shown.

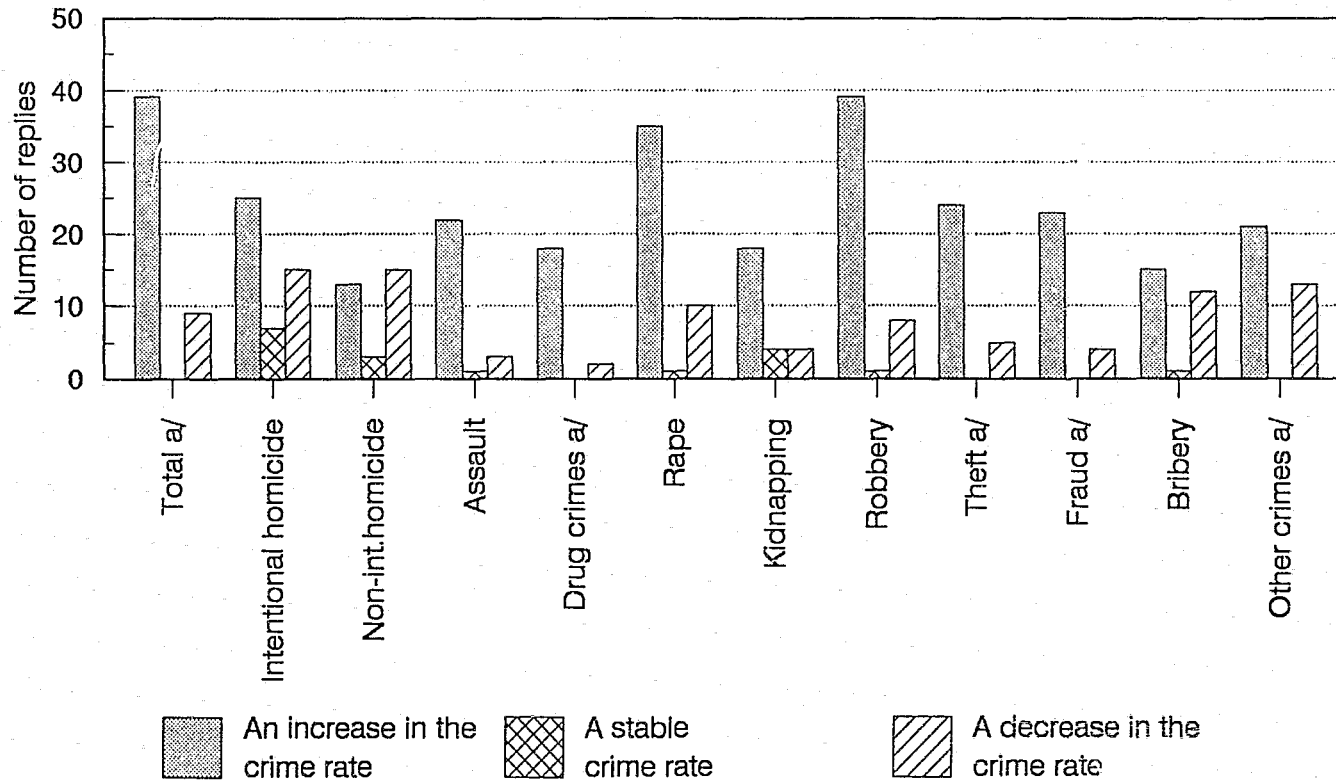
Figure III. Average percentage change in reported crime rate (1975-1980)



Note: Based on 54 replies.

a/ No bar means no reported change in the crime rate.

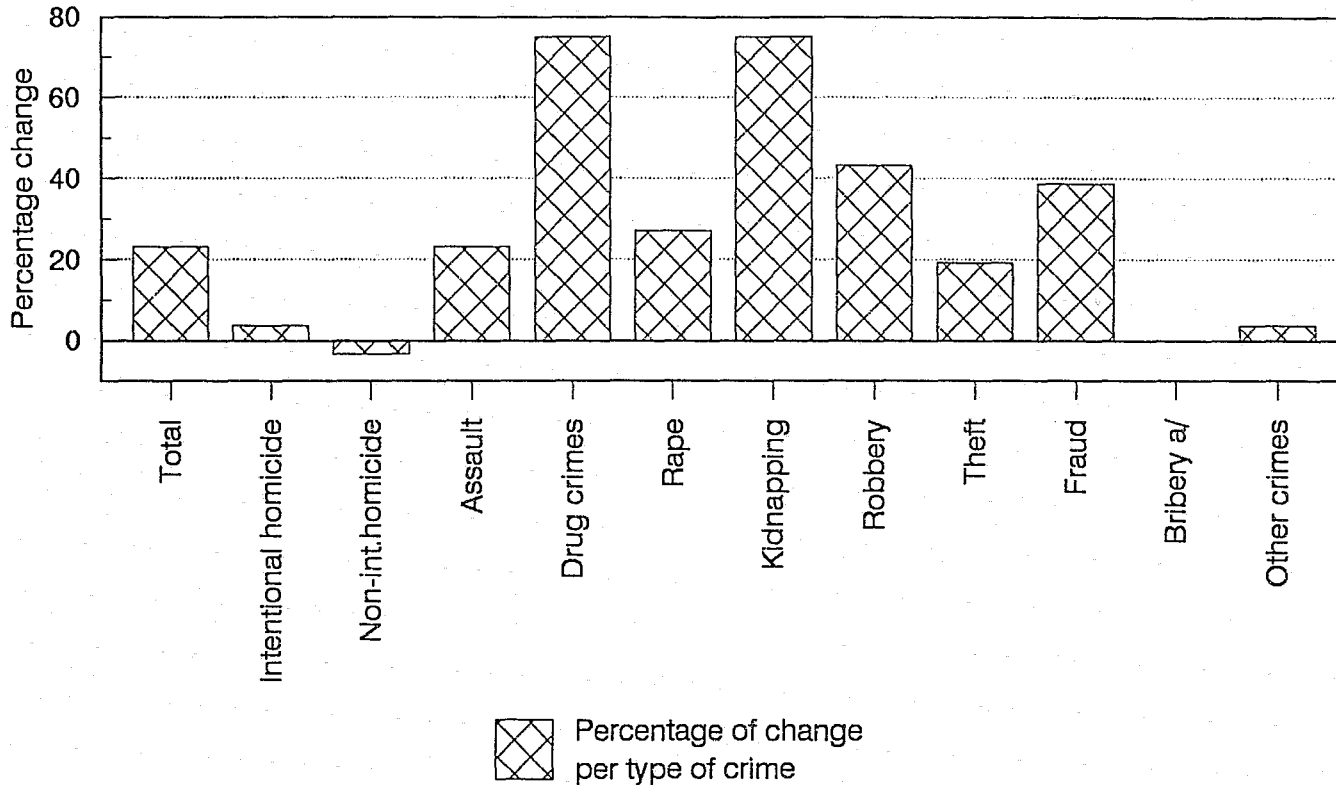
Figure IV. Reported changes in national crime rates per 100,000 population (1980-1985)



Note: Based on 48 replies.

a/ No middle bar means no change in the crime rate.

Figure V. Average percentage change in reported crime rate (1980-1985)

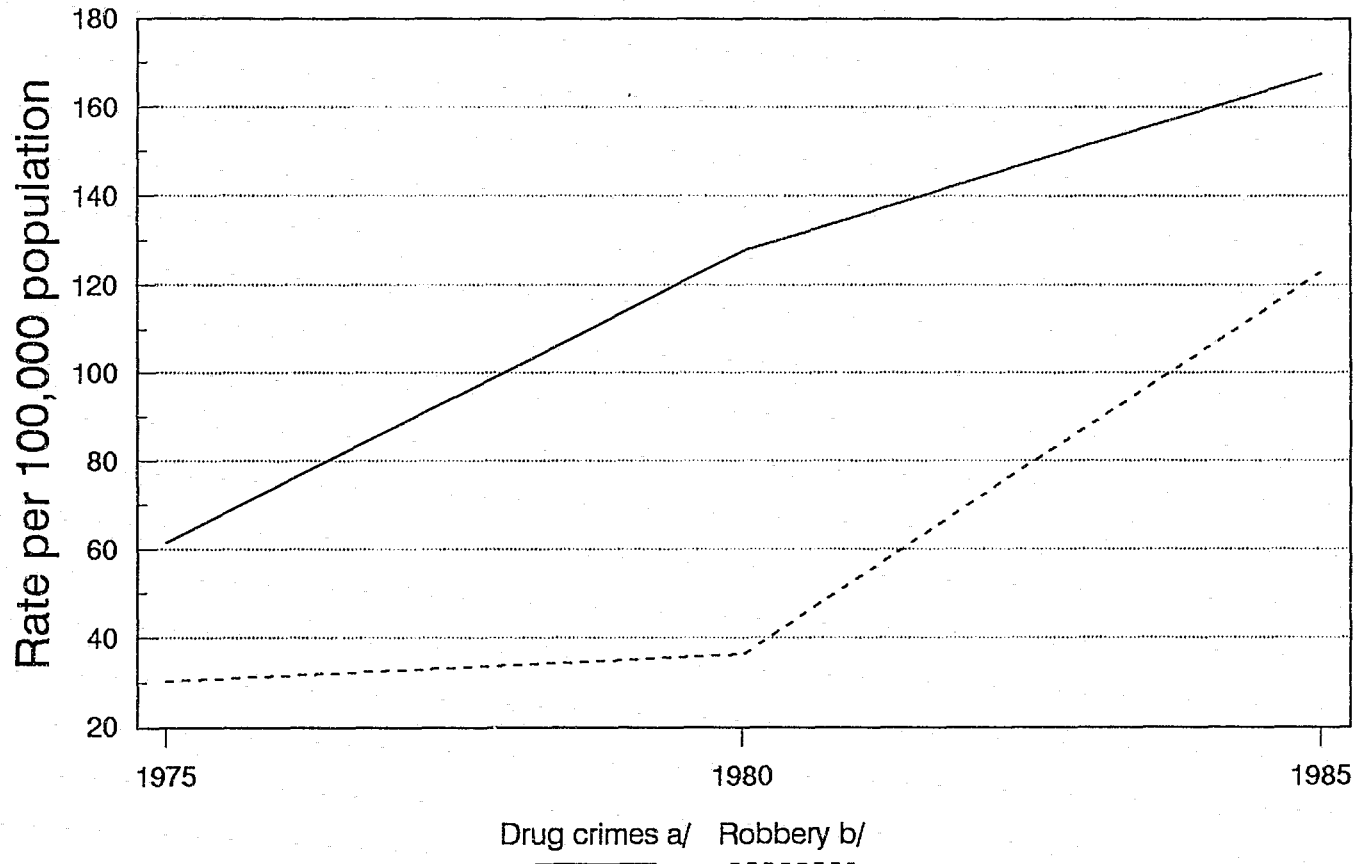


Notes: Based on 48 replies.

Because this figure shows the percentage change, small changes in the total number of reported cases of a statistically rare crime, e.g. kidnapping and rape, result in large percentage changes; whereas large changes in the rate of a statistically common crime, above all theft, result in only moderate percentage changes.

a/ No bar means no reported change in the crime rate.

● Figure VI. Increase in drug crimes and robbery
per 100,000 population (1975-1985)

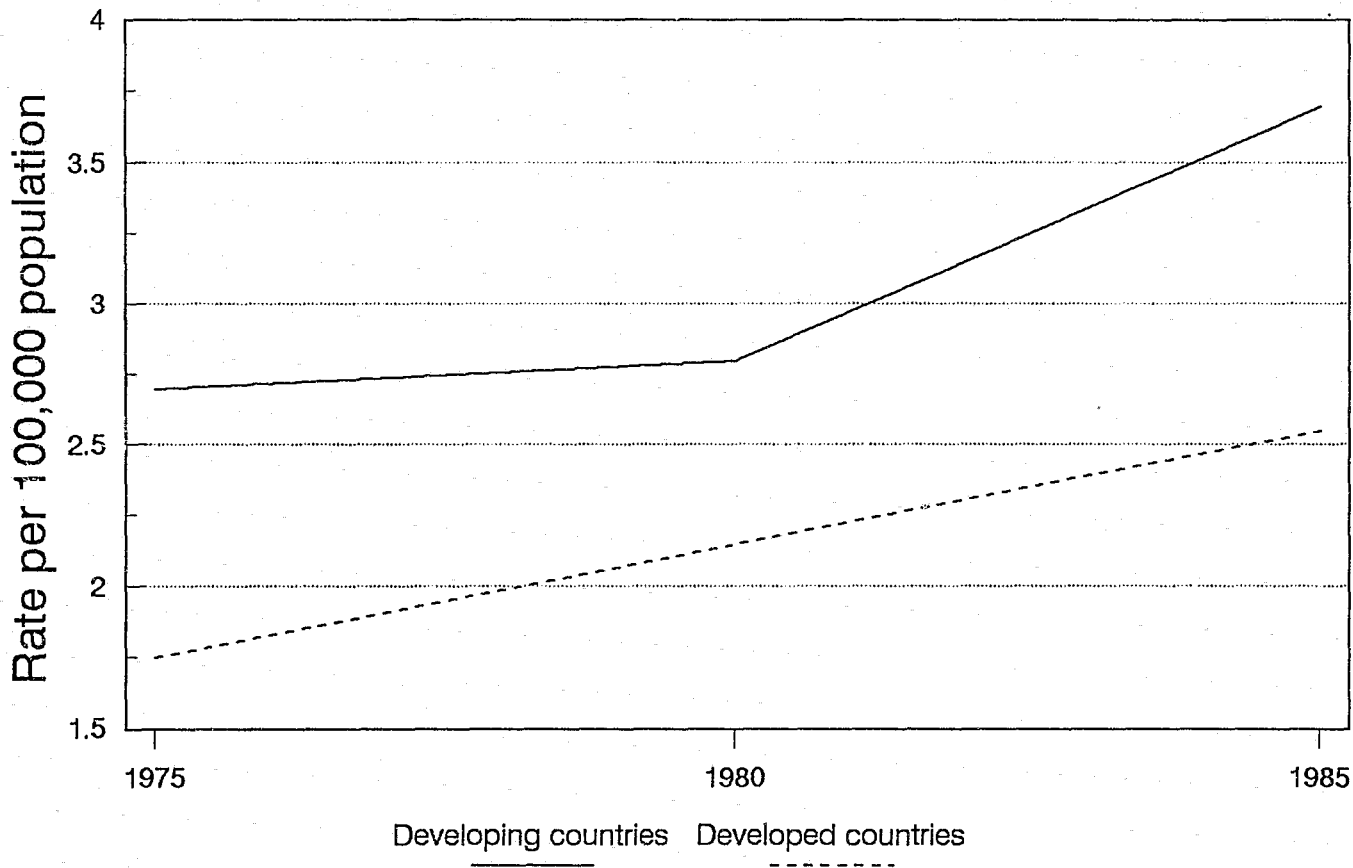


Notes:

a/ Based on the replies of 12 countries (Australia, Austria, Denmark, Fiji, Germany, Federal Republic of, Kuwait, New Zealand, Norway, Qatar, Singapore, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

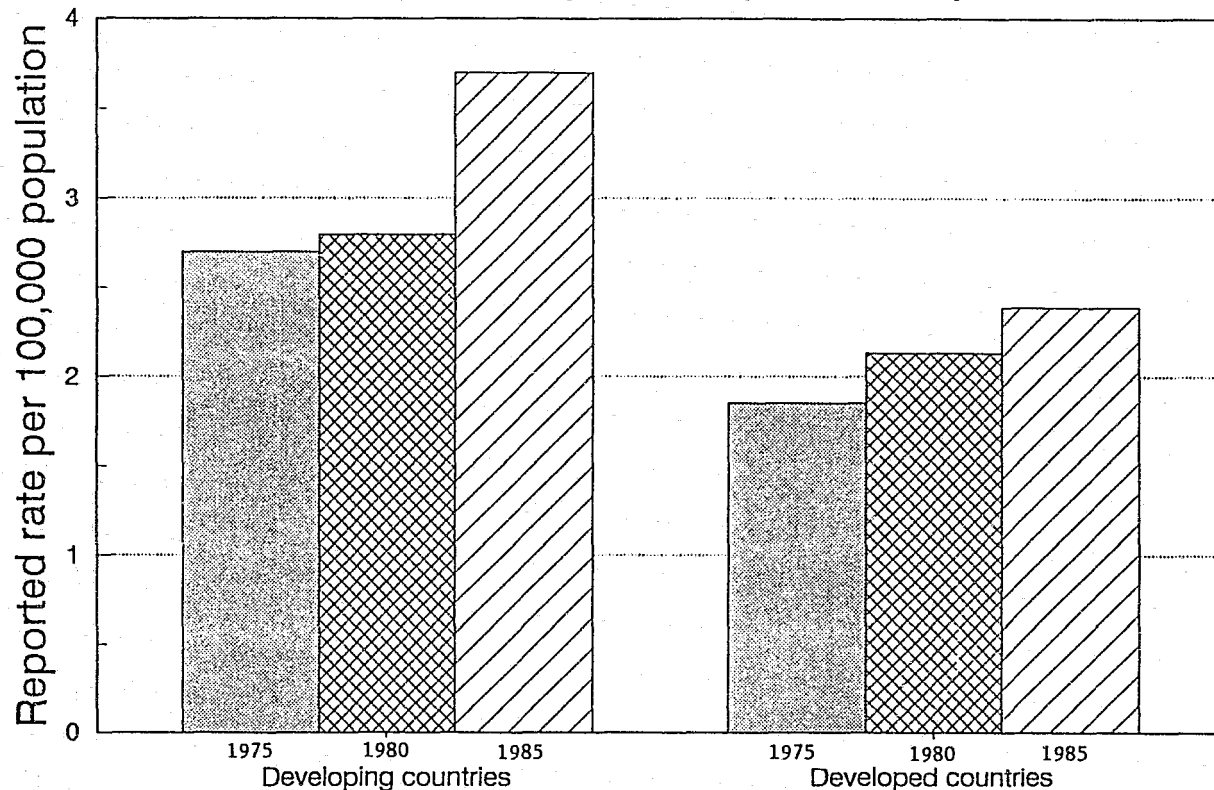
b/ Based on the replies of 10 countries (Australia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Kuwait, New Zealand, Poland, Qatar).

Figure VII. Increase in intentional homicide
per 100,000 population (1975-1985)



Note: Based on the replies of six developing countries (Fiji, Kuwait, Nepal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka) and nine developed countries (Australia, Canada, Denmark, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Figure VIII. Rate of intentional homicide per 100,000 population (1975-1985)

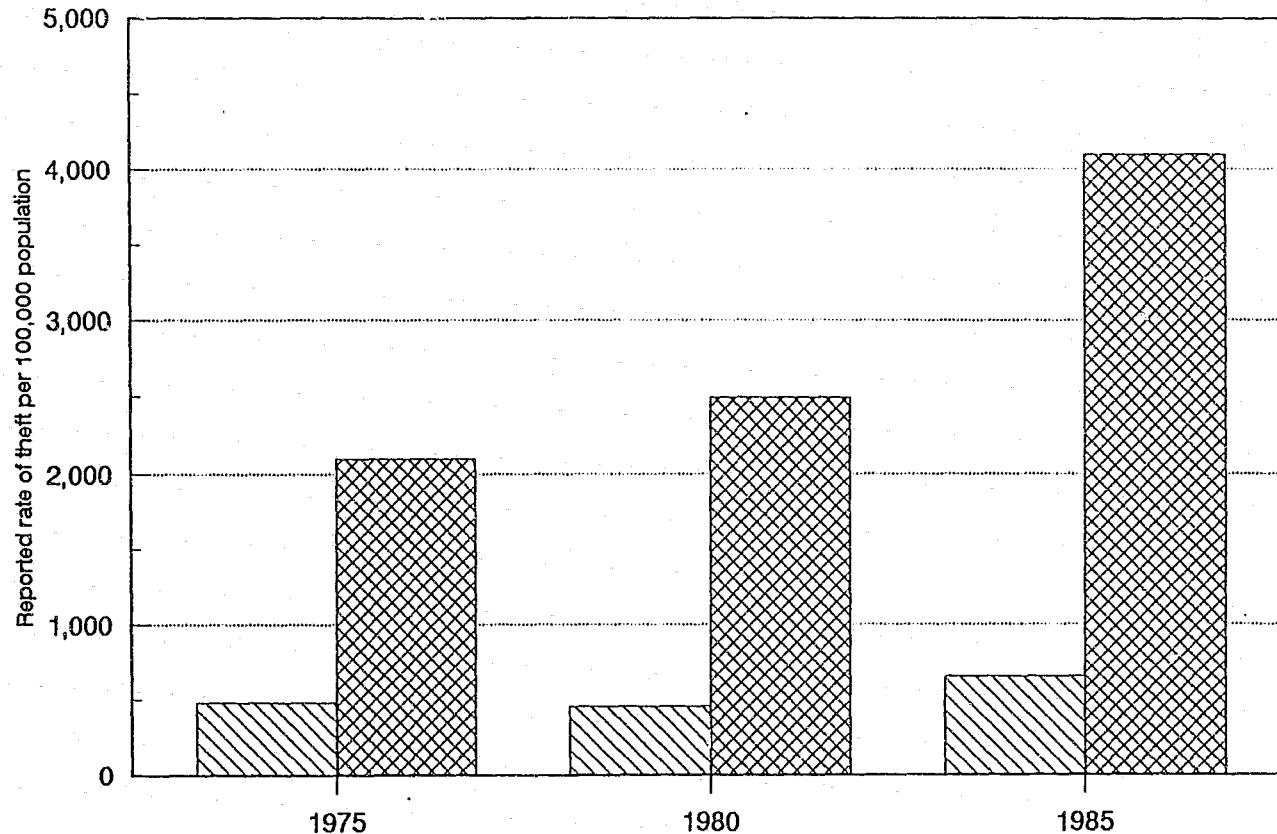


Note: Developing country data for 1975, 1980 and 1985 are based on the replies of six countries (Fiji, Kuwait, Nepal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka).

Developed country data for 1975 are based on the replies of nine countries (Australia, Canada, Denmark, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Developed country data for 1980 and 1985 are based on the replies of 10 countries (Australia, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Figure IX. Rate of theft per 100,000 population
(1975-1985)



Note: The data for 1975 and 1980 are based on the replies of 10 developing countries (Argentina, Bangladesh, Fiji, Kuwait, Nepal, Pakistan, Qatar, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Suriname) and 11 developed countries (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

The data for 1985 are based on the replies of four developing countries (Kuwait, Qatar, Singapore, Sri Lanka) and five developed countries (Canada, Finland, Norway, Poland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Figure X. Criminal justice personnel per 100,000 population

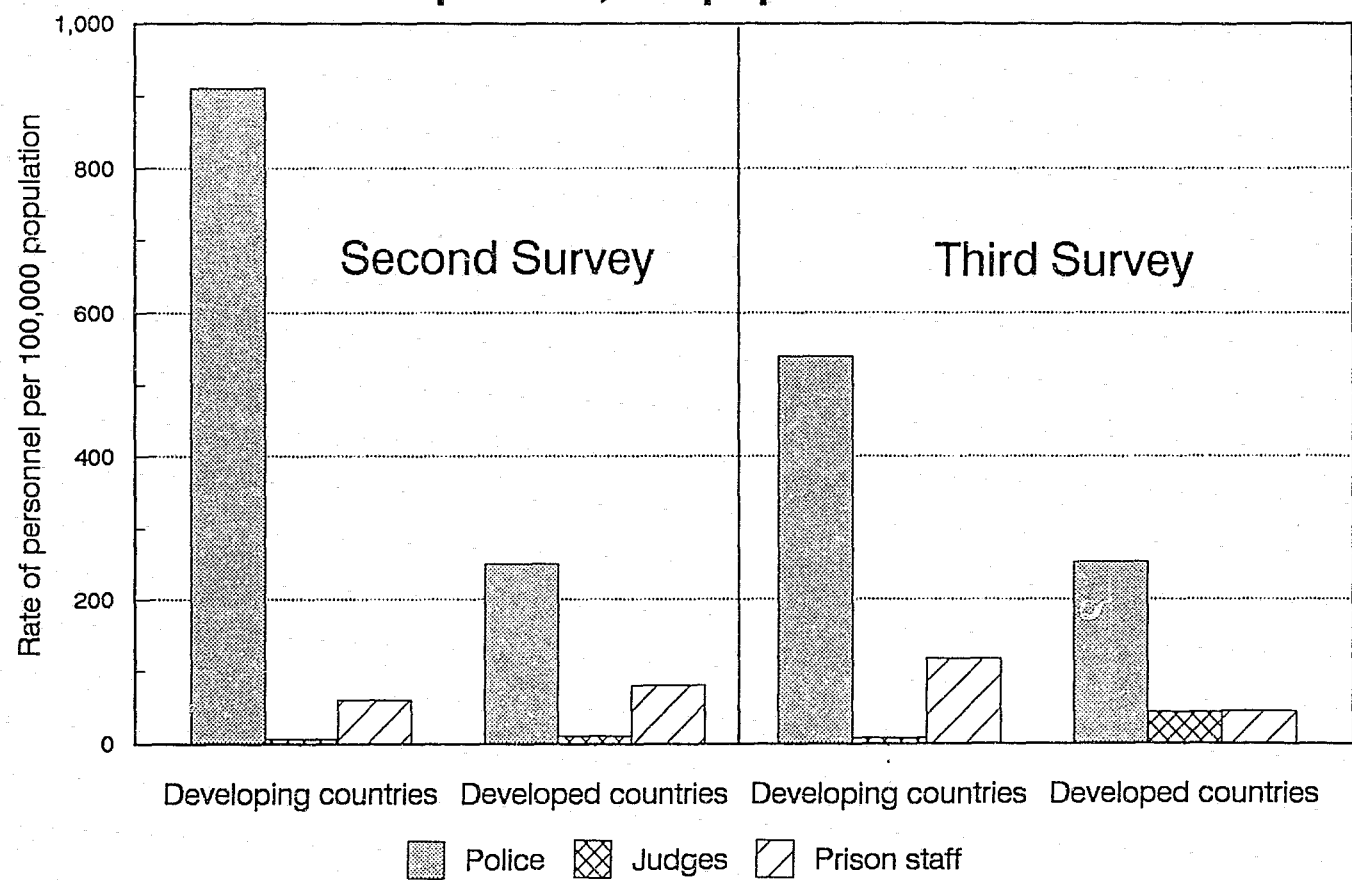
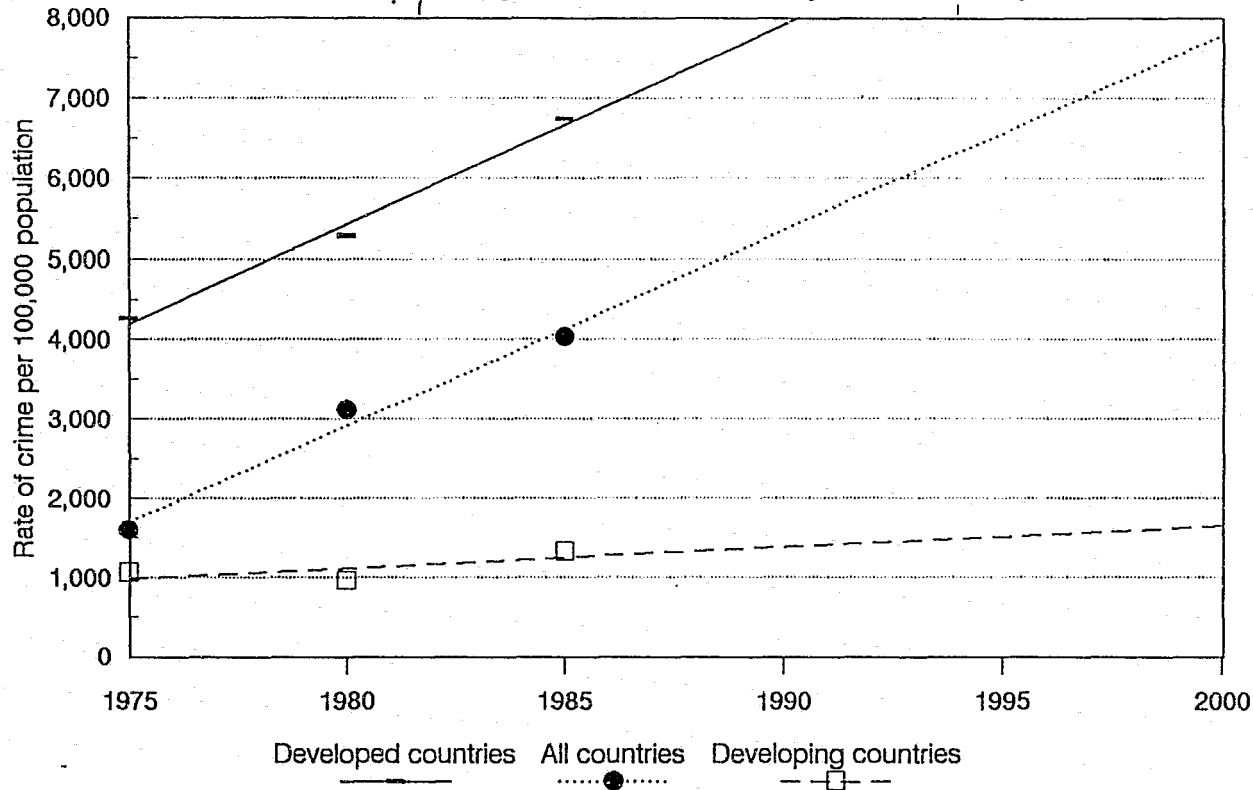


Figure XI. Total crime rate per 100,000 population: projected number (1975-2000)



Note: The data are based on the replies of 12 developing countries (Fiji, Honduras, India, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay) and 14 developed countries (Austria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

These projections were calculated using a least squares regression. This technique establishes an average rate of change by calculating the line that has minimum differences between itself and the recorded plots above and below it.