

THE COST OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

A Preliminary International Survey

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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of an exploratory international survey of expenditure on criminal justice. The survey is not concerned with testing any theoretical hypothesis by means of a pre-formulated methodology but rather with assembling and scrutinizing relevant data in an attempt to ascertain what proportion of government expenditure is devoted to the criminal justice sector in different countries.

Previous international research into criminal justice expenditure is minimal. While numerous investigations have been made of the costs of crime control in particular countries, ⁽¹⁾ only two international surveys have been undertaken to date, and one of these was never published.

In the mid 1960's the Council of Europe, on the recommendation of the First Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, undertook a survey of the costs of crime and the allocation of public funds to criminological research in Council of Europe member States. Results were examined by the Scientific Council and the European Committee on Crime Problems, and on instructions from the latter the summarised findings and evaluation were distributed to member governments only.

The only study of international crime control expenditure published to date was that made by Wickwar ⁽²⁾ under the aegis of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section. This survey, commissioned by the senior author of this study when he was Director of

Crime Prevention Programmes for the United Nations, identified crime prevention and control activities and their attendant costs in developing countries. Wickwar's survey was largely based on information extracted from national development plans available through the United Nations libraries and reference services, supplemented by budgetary and other official data.

Figures 1-3, based on Wickwar's data, present, in graphical form, recurrent expenditures on crime control as a proportion of total government operating expenses in the developing countries of Africa, Asia/Oceania and the Americas. It can be seen that these figures were derived from either national plans or budgets pertaining to the late 1960's or early 1970's. Although Wickwar did not consider in any detail crime control expenditures in the developed countries he tentatively concluded that poor countries with less crime often spent proportionately more than richer countries, and that for the developing countries the criminal justice sector has been an important sector in terms of national investment. ⁽³⁾

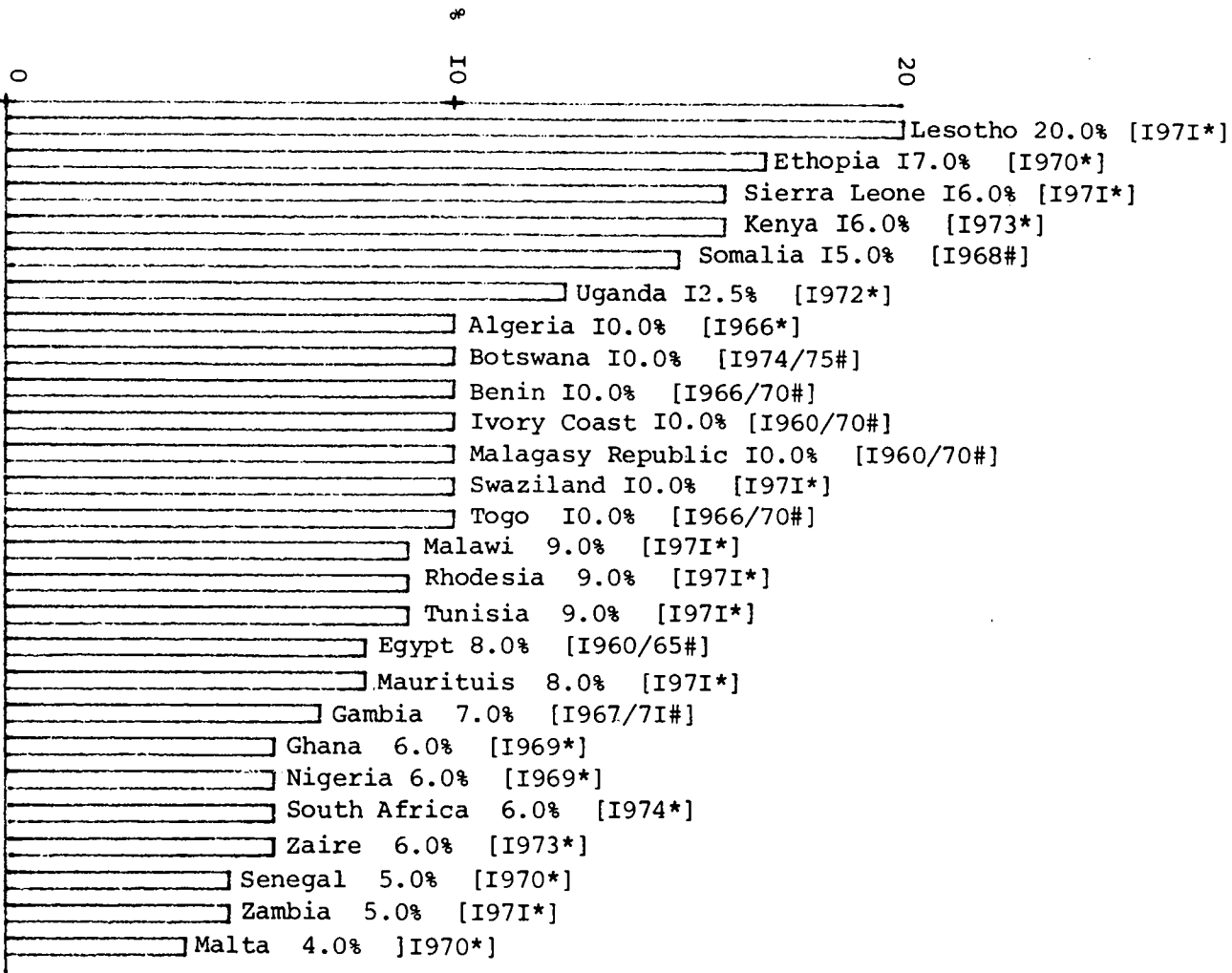


FIGURE 1

RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON CRIME CONTROL AS A
PROPORTION OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT OPERATING EXPENSES.

AFRICA

KEY

* Budget # Plan

SOURCE

Wickwar, H., The Place of Criminal Justice in Developmental Planning, Monograph No. 1 of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section, New York University Press, New York, 1977 : pp 106-107.

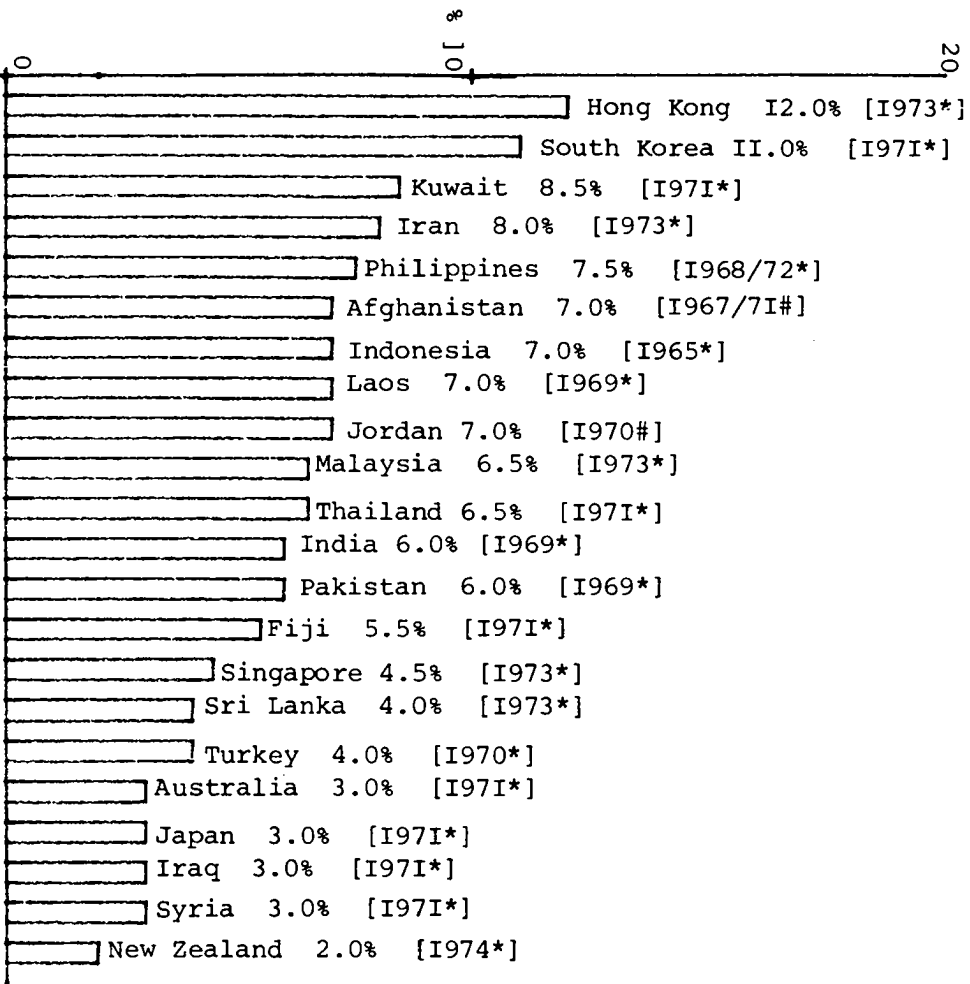


FIGURE 2

RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON CRIME CONTROL AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT OPERATING EXPENSES

ASIA AND OCEANIA

KEY

* Budget # Plan

SOURCE.

Wickwar, H., The Place of Criminal Justice in Developmental Planning, Monograph No. I of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section, New York University Press, New York, 1977 : pp 114-115 and 125.

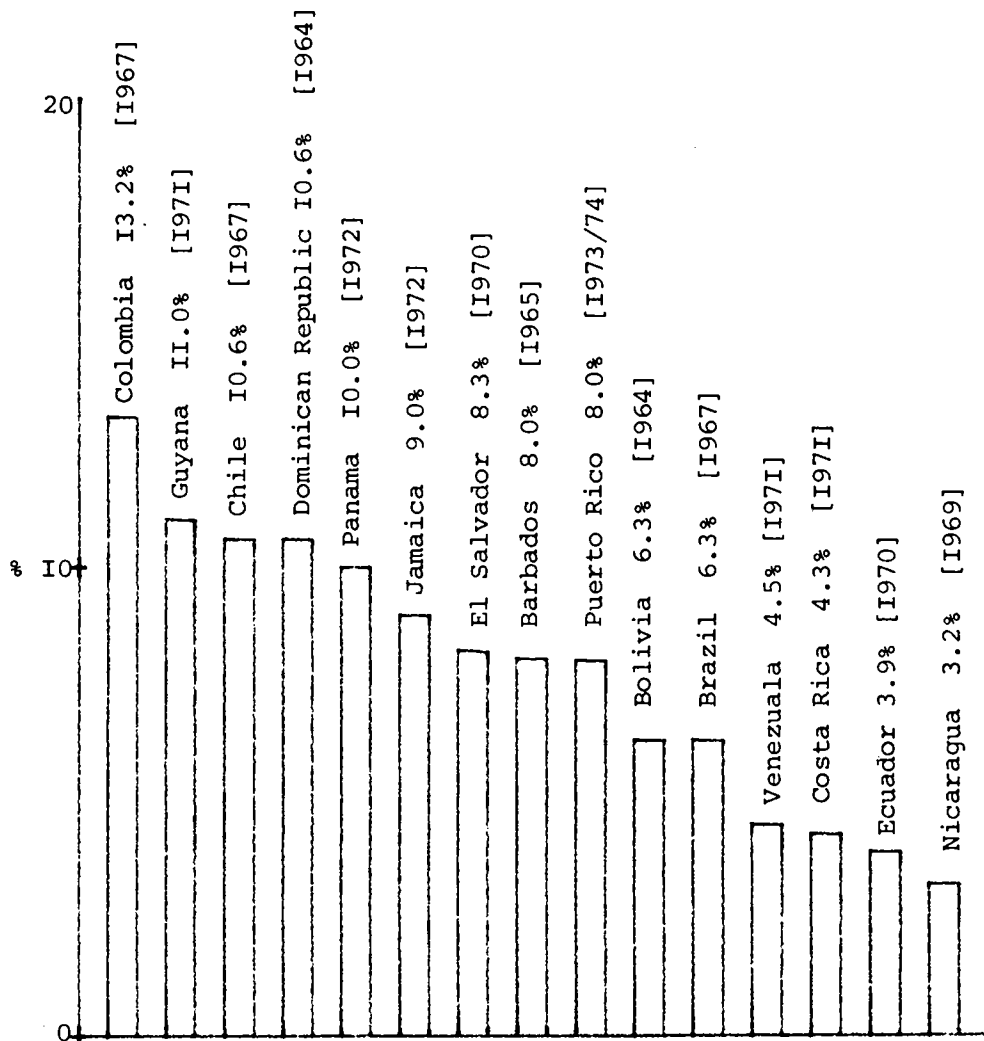


FIGURE 3

RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON CRIME CONTROL AS A
PROPORTION OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT OPERATING EXPENSES
AMERICAS

SOURCE

Wickwar, H., The Place of Criminal Justice in Developmental Planning, Monograph No. I of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section, New York University Press, New York, 1977 : pp 120-121

METHODOLOGY

The present study reflects the interest of the Australian Institute of Criminology in international criminological affairs. It is part of a broader study by the Institute of the costs of crime and is, in part, a response to Wickwar's plea for further comparative research into such costs. There is a link therefore with the earlier survey. However, the present study has not relied so much on published material and has attempted to involve countries in the supplying of original data. Using the Institute's unique position as an independent statutory authority for research in this field the attempt was made to develop information from the cordial relations existing between the Institute and the embassies in Canberra and abroad.

A brief questionnaire was forwarded to all embassies and High Commissions in Canberra, and to Australian embassies in overseas countries. This procedure in itself limited the extent to which the information gathering could go. Had it been too complicated or detailed it would have been impossible for the diplomatic corps to deal with and liaison with specialist staff or agencies would have taken more time than was available. The task was kept simple therefore and diplomatic staff were requested to provide the Institute with two main items of information: national expenditures related to criminal justice (e.g. police, courts, prisons) and expenditures for all government activities (i.e. total budgetary expenditure). It was requested that these figures be extracted from the most recent budget for the country in question, or that alternatively, a copy of the budget documents be forwarded.

With the generous co-operation of the foreign embassies in Canberra and the valuable assistance of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs through its embassies abroad, it was therefore possible to compile expenditure information which could be internationally instructive if not strictly comparable. As there is no standardized international

reporting of criminal justice expenditures and as the characteristics of criminal justice systems vary considerably between different countries, it was necessary to accept each country's definitions of criminal justice and to directly employ the given terminology in documenting responses.

Expenditure data for fifty (50) nations was obtained from this survey, although the quality and quantity of such data varied considerably. In some eighteen (18) cases the budgetary documents had to be referred for translation and analysis or the data supplied were considered inadequate, but the information supplied with respect to the remaining thirty-two (32) nations was deemed to be sufficiently accurate and meaningful for the purposes of this initial paper.

Selected characteristics of these thirty-two countries are given in Table 1, the country nomenclature employed being that used in the Statesman's Yearbook 1979/80.⁽⁴⁾ It can be seen that their population, size and level of economic development are diverse. While most of these countries are in Asia, Europe and Oceania, all five world regions are represented.

As it was not possible from this survey to obtain criminal justice expenditures for many countries, the authors scrutinised some secondary sources of budgetary statistics. The sources included international statistical yearbooks,⁽⁵⁾ national statistical yearbooks and other similar publications such as government economic surveys and financial reports. From such sources it was possible to identify some criminal justice expenditures for twenty-nine (29) countries, most of which are not included in the above-mentioned group of thirty-two countries. Expenditures derived from these sources are included within an appendix to this report, but are not referred to in the following discussion as they are considered to be rather notional and of unknown reliability.

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TABLE I

POPULATION, PER CAPITA GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AND

AREA OF SELECTED COUNTRIES

<u>Country</u>	Population (million) 1977	G.N.P. Per Capita (\$US) 1976	Area ('000 sq.km)
Mauritius	0.88 (2)	680	1.9
Cyprus	0.64 (1)	1,480	9.3
Gilbert Islands	0.05 (1)	n.a.	0.1
Thailand	45.00 (4)	380	514.0
Philippines	45.03 (4)	457 (3)	300.0
Papua New Guinea	2.96 (4)	531 (3)	462.8
Iran	34.00	2,200 (3)	1,648.0
Fiji	0.60	1,150	18.3
German Democratic Republic	16.80	4,220	108.2
Turkey	40.20	990	779.5
Israel	3.60 (4)	3,920	20.7
Malta	0.31	n.a.	0.2
New Zealand	3.13 (4)	4,250	268.7
Pakistan	75.60 (4)	170	803.9
Korea	36.40	864 (3)	98.4
Finland	4.75	6,251 (3)	305.5
Western Samoa	0.15	350	2.8
Norway	4.05 (4)	7,420	323.9
Denmark	5.10 (4)	7,599	43.1
Sweden	8.20 (2)	8,670	411.5
Belgium	9.80 (4)	7,048	30.5
United States of America	218.06 (4)	7,890	9,160.5
Canada	23.50 (4)	7,510	9,220.9
Indonesia	141.60 (2)	n.a.	1,903.6
Solomon Islands	0.20 (2)	n.a.	29.8
Italy	56.50 (4)	3,487 (3)	301.2
Irish Republic	3.22 (4)	2,970 (3)	68.9
Chile	10.66	1,050	741.8
Sri Lanka	13.94 (4)	200	65.6
Hungary	10.67 (4)	2,280	93.0
Republic of South Africa	26.00 (2)	1,340	1,140.5
Australia	14.07	5,877 (3)	7,682.3

Notes:

- (1) 1975
- (2) 1976
- (3) 1977
- (4) 1978
- n.a. Not Available

Source:

Paxton, J. (ed) The Statesman's Yearbook 1979/80
MacMillan, London, 1979.

EXPENDITURE DATA

Criminal justice expenditures for the thirty-two countries listed in Table 1 are presented in Table 2. For all these nations it was possible to obtain data for a twelve month period since 1975 and it can be seen that in most cases expenditures have been derived from very recent, or indeed current, budgets. (6)

Actual expenditures in the respective currencies, standardised to millions of the appropriate currency unit, are given, along with these amounts expressed as a percentage of total budget expenditure and as expenditure per head of population (again in the appropriate currency). As mentioned previously the criminal justice nomenclature employed is not capable of standardisation and thus the terminology for items of expenditure varies considerably.

Thus while some countries provide separate expenditures for police, courts or justice and prisons (e.g. Malta, Canada, Italy and Indonesia) others give only a total expenditure for all these criminal justice services (e.g. Norway). In other cases reference is made to a broad functional category of expenditure such as "public order and security" (e.g. Belgium). In some countries (e.g. Gilbert Islands, Western Samoa) combined expenditures only for police and prisons are available as these services are the responsibility of a single public authority, while in others (e.g. Papua New Guinea) this is the case with respect to prisons and justice. There are also those countries (e.g. Fiji, Turkey, Pakistan, U.S.A. and the Irish Republic) for which five or six items of criminal justice expenditure were identified from the information supplied.

TABLE 2

CRIMINAL JUSTICE EXPENDITURES OF SELECTED COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
Mauritius ⁽¹⁾	1977/78		(million rupees)		(rupees)
		1. Judicial	6.23	0.43	7.08
		2. Police ⁽²⁾	60.05	4.17	68.24
		3. Reform Institutions ⁽³⁾	0.74	0.05	0.84
		4. Prisons and Industrial Schools	8.08	0.56	9.18
	Items I-4	75.10	5.21	85.34	
Cyprus	1979		(million \pounds Cyprus)		(\pounds Cyp)
		1. Police	10.05	8.53	15.70
		2. Prisons and Reform School	0.59	0.50	0.92
		3. Judicial Department	0.62	0.53	0.97
		4. Legal Department	0.18	0.15	0.28
	Items I-4	11.44	9.71	17.87	
Gilbert Islands ⁽⁴⁾	1980 ⁽⁵⁾		(million \$ Aust.)		(\$ Aust.)
		1. Judiciary	0.15	1.16	3.00
		2. Police ⁽⁶⁾	0.61	4.66	12.20
		3. Office of the Attorney General	0.03	0.24	0.60
	Items I-3	0.79	6.06	15.80	

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million baht)		(baht)
Thailand	1979/80	I. Administration of Internal Security	40.70	0.04	0.90
		2. Police	5,068.30	4.65	112.63
		3. Prisons	465.30	0.43	10.34
		4. Justice	472.30	0.43	10.50
		Items I-4	6,046.60	5.55	134.37
			(million pesos)		(pesos)
Philippines	1980	I. Police ⁽⁷⁾	1,505.13	3.78	33.43
		2. Prisons and other Correctional Services ⁽⁸⁾	85.93	0.22	1.91
		3. Legal Aid and Office of Minister of Justice	73.54	0.18	1.63
		4. Courts	284.71	0.72	6.32
		Items I-4	1,949.31	4.90	43.29
			(million kina)		(kina)
Papua New Guinea	1980	I. Department of Justice and Legal Training Institute ⁽⁹⁾	13.69	2.38	4.63
		2. Department of Police	22.00	3.83	7.43
		Items I-2	35.69	6.21	12.06

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million rials)		(rials)
Iran	1979/80 (10)	1. Police Department	41,718.00	1.71	1,227.00
		2. Gendarmerie Department (II)	51,744.00	2.12	1,521.88
		3. Ministry of Justice and Prisoners' Protection	6,695.00	0.27	196.91
		Items I-3	100,157.00	4.10	2,945.79
			(million \$ Fiji)		(\$ Fiji)
Fiji	1980	1. Office of the Attorney General	0.51	0.18	0.85
		2. Royal Fiji Police	2.22	0.80	3.70
		3. Judicial	0.33	0.12	0.55
		4. Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions	0.03	0.01	0.05
		5. Prisons	0.69	0.25	1.15
		Items I-5	3.78	1.36	6.30
			(million marks)		(marks)
German Democratic Republic	1980	1. Public Security			
		2. Administration of Justice	3,683.00	2.37	219.23
		3. State Border Security			

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million lira)		(lira)
Turkey	1980	1. Courts ^(I2)	285.07	0.04	7.09
		2. Justice Ministry	13,488.41	1.78	335.53
		3. Ministry of Interior	4,767.19	0.63	118.59
		4. General Director of Security	19,670.29	2.60	489.31
		5. General Commander of Gendarmeria	15,608.91	2.06	388.28
		Items I-5	53,819.87	7.11	1,338.80
			(million ₪ Israeli)		(₪ Isr)
Israel	1978/79	1. Police	2,474.58	1.22	687.38
		2. Prisons	453.70	0.22	126.03
		3. Correctional Services	113.00	0.06	31.39
		4. Courts	180.00	0.09	50.00
		Items I-4	3,221.28	1.59	894.80
			(million \$ Maltese)		(\$ Malt)
Malta	1978/79	1. Police	2.62	2.76	8.45
		2. Prisons	0.09	0.09	0.29
		3. Courts	0.03	0.03	0.10
		Items I-3	2.74	2.88	8.84
			(million \$ N.Z.)		(\$ N.Z.)
New Zealand	1979/80 ^(I3)	1. Crown Law	0.79	0.01	0.25
		2. Justice ^(I4)	77.04	1.04	24.61
		3. Police	95.81	1.29	30.61
		Items I-3	173.64	2.34	55.47

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million rupees)	(rupees)	
Pakistan	1979/80	1. Justice and Law Courts	7.32	0.02	0.10
		2. Police and Civil Armed Forces	781.56	2.25	10.34
<u>A.</u> Federal Government		3. Jails and Detention Places	52.10	0.15	0.69
		4. Narcotics Control	5.36	0.02	0.07
		5. Law and Order Development Expenditure	30.99	0.09	0.41
		Items I-5	877.33	2.53	11.61
<u>B.</u> Provincial Government (16)		1. Administration of Justice	76.30	0.69	1.01
		2. Jails and Convict Settlements	77.90	0.71	1.03
		3. Police	714.20	6.48	9.45
		Items I-3	868.40	7.88	11.49
			(million won)	(won)	
Korea	1979/80	1. Police	215,025.00	3.08	5,907.28
		2. Correction and Detention	62,729.00	0.90	1,723.32
		3. Justice and Prosecution	19,030.00	0.27	522.80
		4. Judiciary and Constitutional Committee	31,467.00	0.45	864.48
		Items I-4	328,251.00	4.70	9,017.88

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million marks)	(marks)	
Finland	1978	I. Administration of Justice	78.60	0.20	16.55
		2. Police	643.60	1.70	135.49
		3. Prisons	259.00	0.70	54.50
		4. Courts and Prosecution	201.50	0.50	42.40
		Items I-4	1,182.70	3.10	248.95
			(million tala)	(tala)	
Western Samoa	1978 (I7)	I. Justice	0.34	1.84	2.25
		2. Police and Prisons	0.73	3.96	4.80
		3. Attorney-General	0.08	0.43	0.50
		Items I-3	1.15	6.23	7.60
			(million kroner)	(kroner)	
Norway	1977	I. Police	79.90	4.70	19.70
		2. Prisons			
		3. Courts			
			(million kroner)	(kroner)	
Denmark	1977/78	I. Administration of Justice	39.50	0.05	7.75
		2. Judicial and Police	1,650.80	1.90	323.69
		3. Criminal Welfare	375.70	0.43	73.60
		4. Other	63.90	0.07	12.50
		Items I-4	2,129.90	2.45	417.64

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million kroner)		(kroner)
Sweden	1979/80	1. Police	3,356.00	2.33	409.27
		2. Public Prosecutor	164.00	0.11	20.00
		3. Courts	907.00	0.63	110.61
		4. Penal Administration	933.00	0.65	113.78
		5. Other	406.00	0.28	49.57
		Items I-5	5,766.00	4.00	703.17
			(million francs)		(francs)
Belgium	1977	Public Order and Security	27,700.00	2.60	2,826.53
			(million \$ U.S.)		(\$ U.S.)
United States of America.	1975/76 (I8)	1. Police Protection	1,615.71	0.56	7.41
		2. Judicial	219.45	0.08	1.01
		3. Legal Services and Prosecution	149.40	0.05	0.69
		4. Public Defense	103.72	0.04	0.48
		5. Corrections	285.97	0.10	1.31
		6. Other	947.82	0.33	4.35
<u>A.</u> Federal Government		Items I-6	3,322.07	1.15	15.25
<u>B.</u> State Government		1. Public Protection	1,789.47	1.16	8.21
		2. Judicial	633.07	0.43	3.04
		3. Legal Services and Prosecution	253.59	0.17	1.16
		4. Public Defense	78.62	0.05	0.36
		5. Corrections	2,589.61	1.68	11.88
		6. Other	612.29	0.40	2.81
		Items I-6	5,986.65	3.89	27.45

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million \$ U.S.)		(\$ U.S.)
United States of America (cont.)	1975/76	1. Police Protection	7,723.59	8.09	35.4
		2. Judicial	1,633.65	1.71	7.4
<u>C.</u> Local Government		3. Legal Services and Prosecution	653.50	0.68	3.0
		4. Public Defense	157.36	0.16	0.7
		5. Corrections	1,678.88	1.75	7.7
		6. Other	221.33	0.23	1.0
		Items I-6	12,068.31	12.62	55.3
			(million \$ Canadian)		(\$ Canadian)
Canada		1. Courts of Law	55.56	0.12	2.3
		2. Correctional Services	300.14	0.65	12.7
<u>A.</u> Federal Government	1977/78	3. Police	556.01	1.21	23.6
		Items I-3	911.71	1.98	38.7
<u>B.</u> Provincial Government	1976/77	1. Courts of Law	253.74	0.65	10.8
		2. Correctional Services	309.36	0.79	13.1
		3. Police	378.46	0.97	16.1
		Items I-3	941.56	2.41	40.0
<u>C.</u> Local Government	1976	1. Police	825.38	4.46	35.1
		2. Courts of Law and Correctional Services	17.05	0.09	0.7
		Items I-2	842.43	4.55	35.8

TABLE 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
Indonesia	1979/80		(million rupiah)		(rupiah)
		1. Courts and Prosecution	19,614.00	0.25	138.52
		2. Corrective Services	25,726.00	0.33	181.68
		3. Police	189,134.00	2.42	1,335.69
		Items 1-3	234,474.00	3.00	1,655.89
Solomon Islands	1978		(million \$ S.I.)		(\$ S.I.)
		1. Police	1.13	6.95	5.65
		2. Prisons	0.12	0.74	0.60
		Items 1-2	1.25	7.69	6.25
Italy	1979		(million lire)		(lire)
		1. Police	869,128.83	1.10	15,382.81
		2. Prisons and Other Corrective Services	352,795.90	0.45	6,244.18
		3. Courts	297,452.31	0.38	5,264.64
		Items 1-3	1,519,377.04	1.93	26,891.63
Irish Republic	1980		(million £ Irish)		(£ Iri)
		1. Attorney General	1.76	0.06	0.55
		2. Director of Public Prosecutions	0.58	0.02	0.18
		3. Minister for Justice	7.11	0.24	2.21
		4. Garda Siochana	110.55	3.71	34.33
		5. Prisons	18.26	0.61	5.67
		6. Courts	4.72	0.16	1.46
		Items 1-6	142.98	4.80	44.41

TABLE 2 (contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million \$US)		(\$US)
Chile	1980	1. Judiciary	41.81	0.98	3.92
		2. Prisons	79.24	1.86	7.43
		3. Police	235.56	5.54	22.10
		4. Investigations	42.49	1.00	3.99
		Items I-4	398.90	9.38	37.44
			(million rupees)		(rupees)
Sri Lanka	1979	1. Police	259.00	1.34	18.58
		2. Prisons	56.88	0.29	4.08
		3. Courts	29.75	0.15	2.13
		Items I-3	345.63	1.78	24.79
			(million forints)		(forints)
Hungary	1979	1. Ministry of the Interior	6,650.00	1.62	623.24
		2. Ministry of Justice and Supreme Court	1,261.22	0.31	118.20
		3. Chief Prosecutor's Office	183.81	0.04	17.23
		4. Other	1,776.97	0.43	166.54
		Items I-4	9,872.00	2.40	925.21

TABLE 2 (contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD OF POPULATION
			(million rand)		(rand)
Republic of South Africa	1979/80	I. Justice	53.67	0.46	2.06
		2. Police	245.25	2.10	9.43
		3. Prisons	99.79	0.86	3.84
		Items I-3	398.71	3.42	15.33
			(million \$A)		(\$A)
Australia					
A. Federal Government	1976/77	I. Police	60.40	0.25	4.32
		2. Law Courts and Legal Services	45.80	0.19	3.27
		Items I-2	106.20	0.44	7.59
B. State Government	1976/77	I. Police	486.83	2.93	35.59
		2. Law Courts and Legal Services	94.66	0.57	6.92
		3. Correctional and Custodial Services	114.52	0.69	8.37
		Items I-3	696.01	4.19	50.88

NOTES.

- I. Includes the island of Rodrigues, formerly a dependency but now part of Mauritius.
2. The Mauritius police are also responsible for defence.
3. Including those for juveniles.
4. Includes the Gilbert Islands, Phoenix Islands, Lire Islands and Ocean Island (Banaba).
5. Estimated recurrent expenditures only.
6. The Gilbert Islands police are also responsible for prisons, immigration, fire protection and firearms licensing.
7. Includes National Bureau of Investigation, National Police Commission, Integrated National Police and Philippine Constabulary. The Philippine Constabulary now forms part of the armed forces.
8. Includes expenditures on probation services (p. 23.56 million).
9. Includes expenditures on corrective institutions (K7.63 million).
10. Current expenditures only; development fund expenditures excluded. Expenditures also exclude those on extra-official revolutionary law enforcement and security bodies, the local Komitehs and Pasdaran (revolutionary guards). These bodies are financed by clerical sources whose funds come from religious taxes and donations. No figures are available but these expenditures would probably be significant.
11. The Gendarmerie numbers about 74,000 and is responsible for internal security in rural areas.
12. Constitutional Court and High Court of Appeal.
13. Consolidated account expenditure.
14. Includes courts, penal institutions and probation services.
15. Expenditure met from revenue of the Federal Government.
16. Expenditure met from revenue of the Provincial Government.
17. Current expenditure only.
18. Expenditure excludes duplicative intergovernmental expenditure to avoid the artificial inflation which would result if an intergovernmental expenditure amount for one level of government is tabulated and then counted again when the recipient level of government(s) ultimately expend(s) that amount. Total general government expenditure includes general purpose expenditures only.

Unless otherwise noted the given expenditures refer to central government expenditure, both capital and recurrent, although this level of government may not necessarily be solely responsible, or indeed have primary responsibility, for the criminal justice system. Federal expenditure may include the whole or part of the expenditure by separate States, some of which may carry responsibility for implementing law and order.

Furthermore, the amounts identified are gross expenditures and thus exclude any income which may be derived from crime control practices (e.g. fines, sale of prison produce etc.). For those countries with both an ordinary and a development budget the appropriate expenditures have been combined and the percentage of total expenditure devoted to criminal justice computed from the combined ordinary and development budget totals.

It should be borne in mind that the expenditures for any given country are for the most recent year for which data is currently available. In particular countries there may be significant year-by-year fluctuations of criminal justice expenditure and/or changes in the proportion of total budgetary expenditure devoted to this sector, but it was beyond the scope of the present inquiry to consider patterns of expenditure over time.

Where two or more items of criminal justice expenditure have been given for a particular country, these have been summed, but such aggregate figures may, or may not, constitute "total" criminal justice expenditure. For particular countries the information supplied may exclude some relevant expenditures and thus the utmost caution must be taken in interpreting all these figures.

PATTERNS OF EXPENDITURE

Given all the above limitations and deficiencies it is still possible to make some tentative observations from the assembled data.

In most, if not all, countries surveyed quite large amounts of public finance are spent on criminal justice services. For example, the various levels of government in the United States of America spent approximately \$US 20 billion on criminal justice during 1975/76. Criminal justice expenditure in New Zealand during 1979/80 and in Denmark during 1977/78 was approximately \$NZ 175 million and K2,130 million respectively. In less developed nations such as Papua New Guinea and Turkey, amounts of almost K36 million and TL53,820 million respectively were allocated for criminal justice in the 1980 budgets.

The proportion of total budgetary expenditure devoted to criminal justice varies considerably among the countries surveyed. Cyprus (9.71 per cent), Turkey (7.11 per cent), Solomon Islands (6.25 per cent) and Western Samoa (6.23 per cent) are among the countries with comparatively high proportions of their total budgetary expenditure allocated to criminal justice services. Fiji (1.36 per cent), Israel (1.59 per cent), Italy (1.93 per cent) and New Zealand (2.34 per cent) are nations which have devoted a relatively small proportion of their total expenditure to crime control. Among all countries surveyed the average proportion of central government total budget expenditure allocated to criminal justice is approximately 4.0 per cent.

Among all countries with a breakdown of expenditures for specific criminal justice services (e.g. police, courts,

corrections) it is noteworthy that amounts spent on police exceed those for other services, in the case of some nations, many times over. In Korea, for example, W215 billion (3.08 per cent of total expenditure) was allocated to police in the 1979/80 budget compared to W63 billion (0.90 per cent) for corrections and W50 billion (0.72 per cent) for the administration of justice. Indonesia's budget for the same year allocated an amount for police (R189 billion) that was more than seven-fold that for corrective services (R26 billion) and more than nine-fold that for courts and prosecution (R20 billion). The Irish Republic's budget for 1980 includes expenditure on criminal justice totalling £1.143 million of which £1.111 million (78 per cent) is allocated to the Garda Siochana, or Irish police force.

While in all countries surveyed expenditures on police were greater than those on other criminal justice services, the latter also sometimes accounted for a significant share of total budgetary expenditure. In Papua New Guinea, for example, the 1980 budget allocates over K13 million to the Department of Justice, this representing 2.38 per cent of total expenditure. Korea's budget for 1979/80 includes an amount of W113 billion for corrections and justice which represents 1.62 per cent of all government expenditure. The judiciary of the Gilbert Islands was allocated \$A0.15 million in the 1980 budget which constitutes 1.16 per cent of the total budgetary outlay, while in 1980 the Ministry of Justice in Turkey was allocated TL13,488 million or 1.78 per cent of the total budget.

A brief comparison between patterns of expenditure in Australia and other countries is appropriate at this stage. In Australia, criminal justice services are principally the responsibility of State Governments. This presents some difficulties in making comparisons for, as mentioned previously, most figures collected in the present study refer to central or federal government expenditure.

Nevertheless, it can be seen that while the proportion of total federal government expenditure allocated to criminal justice services in Australia is less than that in all other countries surveyed, the proportion of total State government expenditure so allocated (4.19 per cent) is similar to the average allocation of central government in these countries. It is noteworthy that the federal governments of Canada and the U.S.A. spend a higher proportion of their total budgets on criminal justice than does this level of government in Australia, while in Australia, State governments collectively allocate a higher proportion of their budgets to law and order than do State governments in the U.S.A. and provincial governments in Canada.

By combining Federal and State government expenditures for Australia it was computed that approximately 2.0 per cent of combined total expenditure was allocated to criminal justice services in 1976/77. This is less than the proportion of Central government expenditure devoted to such services in most countries surveyed.

CONCLUSION

Comparing criminal justice expenditures in different countries, and indeed identifying such expenditures within particular countries, is a difficult task. It has been necessary in this preliminary survey to accept at face value the criminal justice expenditures which have been assembled. Obviously more research is needed to refine the admittedly limited data included in the present study and to extend the range of countries under consideration. With a greater quantity and higher quality of expenditure statistics it may be possible to explore relationships between investment on crime control and such factors as crime rates, population structure, urbanisation and economic development.

In the interim, however, it is believed that with the co-operation of the international diplomatic community, considerable progress can be made in identifying transnationally the magnitude of investment on criminal justice. As already stated the information assembled in the present study is at least instructive: and it provides a useful beginning to investigations in an area largely unexplored academically.

It has been shown that in the countries surveyed considerable amounts of public finance are devoted to criminal justice services, particularly police. The proportion of central government total budgetary expenditure allocated to the criminal justice sector varies from less than 2 per cent to more than 9 per cent among the countries surveyed, the mean being approximately 4.0 per cent. Expenditure on criminal justice by these countries can thus be considered to constitute a proportion of total budgetary outlay which is by no means negligible.

NOTES

- (1) For example, Fowler, C.M. The Cost of Crime, Conservative Political Centre, London, 1973; Kononewsky, A. The Costs of Criminal Justice : An Analysis, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 1976; Corry, T.M. "The Cost of Crime in South Africa", Crime, Punishment and Correction, 5, 3, 1976 : pp 7-27; Zeigers, J. "Analyse économique des dépenses publiques belges en matières repressive de 1950 á 1967," Revue de droit pénal et de criminologie, 51, 9, 1971 : pp 852-878; Robert P. and Bombet, J.P. "The Cost of Crime in France", Annals of International Criminology, 9, 2, 1970 : pp 599-655; United States President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report : Crime and its Impact - an Assessment, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967.
- (2) Wickwar, H. The Place of Criminal Justice in Developmental Planning, Monograph No 1 of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section, New York University Press, New York, 1977.
- (3) For further discussion of the relationship between crime and development see Clifford, W. Development and Crime, Barry Rose, Chichester, Sussex 1973; Planning Crime Prevention, D.D. Heath, Lexington Books, Lexington, Boston, 1976 and Plotting and Planning, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra (forthcoming).
- (4) Paxton, J. (ed) The Statesman's Yearbook 1979/80, (116th ed) MacMillan, London, 1979.
- (5) e.g. United Nations. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. Statistical Yearbook, United Nations, New York, (annual); Europa Yearbook 1979 - World Survey (2 Vols.), Europa Publications Ltd., London, 1979.

- (6) For the U.S.A., Canada and Australia it was not possible to obtain budgets for each state or province. As it was considered desirable to include these countries in the present study, use was made of other government publications containing expenditure figures:

U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Bureau of the Census. Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal Justice System 1976. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1978; Statistics Canada, Federal Government Finance 1977, Provincial Government Finance 1976, and Local Government Finance 1976, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, 1979; Australian Bureau of Statistics. Australian National Accounts - National Income and Expenditure 1978, A.B.S., Canberra, 1979; Public Authority Finance : State and Local Authorities 1978, A.B.S. Canberra, 1979 and unpublished tabulations.

A P P E N D I C E S

POPULATION PER CAPITA GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
AND AREA OF SELECTED COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	POPULATION (million) 1977	G.N.P. PER CAPITA (\$US) 1976	AREA ('000 sq. km)
Republic of South Africa	3.20 ⁽³⁾	1,340	1,140.5
Kenya	14.34	240	582.6
Zambia	5.14 ⁽³⁾	440	752.6
Somali Democratic Republic	3.20 ⁽³⁾	110	630.0
Sierra Leone	3.47 ⁽⁴⁾	200	73.3
United Republic of Tanzania	17.50 ⁽⁴⁾	180	n.a.
Ethiopia	30.18 ⁽⁴⁾	100	1,000.0
Lesotho	1.25 ⁽³⁾	170	30.3
Rhodesia	6.80	550	390.6
Nigeria	73.00 ⁽³⁾	380	923.7
Uganda	11.17 ⁽¹⁾	240	236.8
Brunei	0.16 ⁽³⁾	n.a.	5.8
Bangladesh	80.50	110	144.0
Japan	114.20	4,910	372.0
Malaysia	12.53	860	333.4
Portugal	8.75 ⁽²⁾	1,690	91.6
Spain	35.70 ⁽³⁾	2,920	504.8
Romania	21.65	1,450	237.5
Hungary	10.67 ⁽⁴⁾	2,280	93.0
Gibraltar	0.03	n.a.	n.a.
Netherlands	13.88	6,200	33.8
British Virgin Islands	0.01	n.a.	0.1
Colombia	26.50	630	1,138.9
Costa Rica	2.00 ⁽⁴⁾	1,040	51.1
Jamaica	2.11	1,357	10.9
Bermuda	0.06	n.a.	0.1
El Salvador	4.00 ⁽³⁾	490	21.3
Argentina	25.40 ⁽⁴⁾	1,550	2,808.6
Tonga	0.09 ⁽³⁾	n.a.	0.7

Notes:

(1) 1974

(4) 1978

(2) 1975

(3) 1976

n.a. Not Available

Source:

Paxton, J. (ed). The Statesman's Yearbook 1979/80
MacMillan, London, 1979

APPENDIX 2

CRIMINAL JUSTICE EXPENDITURES OF SELECTED COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	YEAR	ITEM	EXPENDITURE		
			TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD POPULATION
			(million rand)		(rand)
Republic of South Africa (1)	1976/77	1. Prisons	76.90	0.88	24.03
		2. Justice	42.50	0.49	13.28
		3. Police	191.90	2.21	59.97
		Items I-3	311.30	3.58	97.28
Kenya (2)	1978/79	Public Order and Safety	(million Kenya) 36.62	4.87	(Kenya) 2.55
Zambia (3)	1976/77	1. Police	(million kwacha) 27.40	3.94	(kwacha) 5.33
		2. Legal Affairs	4.30	0.61	0.84
		Items I-2	31.70	4.55	6.17
Somali Democratic Republic (4)	1978	Justice and Police	(million shillings) 177.90	16.07	(shillings) 55.59
Sierra Leone (5)	1977/78	Police and Justice	(million leone) 6.00	2.99	(leone) 1.73
United Republic of Tanzania (4)	1977/78	Law, Order and Defence	(million shillings) 1,418.30	14.48	(shillings) 81.05
Ethiopia (4)	1976/77	Internal Order and Justice	(million birr) 137.10	9.36	(birr) 4.54

APPENDIX 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	ITEM	EXPENDITURE		
			TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD POPULATION
Lesotho ⁽⁵⁾	1977/78	Internal Security and Justice	(million rand) 4.17	12.09	(rand) 3.34
Rhodesia ⁽⁵⁾	1978/79	Police	(million \$ Rhodesian) 72.75	12.09	(\$ Rhodesian) 10.70
Nigeria ⁽⁶⁾	1978/79 ⁽⁷⁾	1. Police	(million naira) 127.77	4.56	(naira) 1.75
		2. Judicial	2.62	0.09	0.04
		3. Justice	2.46	0.09	0.03
		Items I-3	132.85	4.74	1.82
Uganda ⁽⁵⁾	1978/79	1. Police	(million shillings) 166.20	2.28	(shilling) 14.88
		2. Prisons	182.50	2.51	16.34
		Items I-2	348.70	4.79	31.22
Brunei ⁽⁸⁾	1978	Police	(million \$ Brunei) 40.00	4.09	(\$ Brunei) 250.00
Bangladesh ⁽⁵⁾	1977/78 ⁽⁷⁾	Justice and Police	(million taka) 833.00	9.19	(taka) 10.35
Japan ⁽⁹⁾	1976/77	Justice, Police and Fire Protection	(million yen) 637,633.00	2.17	(yen) 5,583.48
Malaysia ⁽¹⁰⁾	1978	1. Police	(million \$ Malaysian) 700.00	5.69	(\$ Malays) 55.87
		2. Other Internal Security	187.00	1.52	14.92
		Items I-2	887.00	7.21	70.79

APPENDIX 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	EXPENDITURE			
		ITEM	TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD POPULATION
Portugal ⁽⁸⁾	1976	Justice	(million escudo) 794.40	0.64	(escudo) 90.79
Spain ⁽⁸⁾	1976	Justice	(million pesos) 13,418.00	1.71	(pesos) 375.85
Romania ⁽⁴⁾	1976	Administration and Justice	(million lei) 3,500.00	1.02	(lei) 161.66
Hungary ⁽¹¹⁾	1977	Public Order and Legal Security	(million forints) 8,329.00	2.28	(florints) 780.60
Gibraltar ⁽⁵⁾	1976/77	Justice, Law and Order	(million £ British) 1.08	5.56	(£ British) 36.00
Netherlands ⁽¹²⁾	1976	1. Police	(million florins) 2,077.00	2.25	(florins) 149.64
		2. Jurisdiction	355.00	0.38	25.58
		3. Prisons	448.00	0.49	32.28
		4. Child Protection	443.00	0.48	31.92
		5. Other	373.00	0.40	26.87
		Items 1-5	3,696.00	4.00	266.29

APPENDIX 2 (Contd)

COUNTRY	YEAR	ITEM	EXPENDITURE				
			TOTAL AMOUNT	% TOTAL BUDGET	AMOUNT PER HEAD POPULATION		
British Virgin Islands ⁽¹³⁾	1975		(million \$ U.S)		(\$ U.S)		
		I. Judicial	0.06	0.97	6.00		
		2. Police and Prisons	0.35	5.82	35.00		
		Items I-2	0.41	6.79	41.00		
Colombia ⁽⁵⁾	1976		(million pesos)		(pesos)		
		Police	2,993.40	6.94	112.96		
Costa Rica ⁽⁴⁾	1978		(million colones)		(colones)		
		Defence and Internal Security	189.20	4.09	94.60		
Jamaica ⁽⁴⁾	1978	Judicial and Legal	(million \$ Jamaican)	7.43	0.63	(\$ Jamaica)	7.43
Bermuda ⁽⁸⁾	1978/79		(million \$ Bermudan)		(\$ Bermudan)		
		I. Police	6.96	7.82	116.00		
		2. Prisons	3.24	3.64	54.00		
		Items I-2	10.20	11.46	170.00		
El Salvador ⁽⁴⁾	1978		(million colones)		(colones)		
		Defence and Internal Security	147.40	13.46	36.85		
Argentina ⁽⁴⁾	1978		(million pesos)		(pesos)		
		Internal Security	362.50	5.23	14.27		
Tonga ⁽¹⁴⁾	1977/78		(million \$ Tongan)		(\$ Tongan)		
		I. Justice	0.07	0.96	0.78		
		2. Police	0.48	6.28	5.33		
		3. Crown Law	0.02	0.28	0.22		
		Items I-3	0.57	7.52	6.33		

NOTES

- (1) South Africa Statistics 1978. Department of Statistics. Pretoria. 1978.
- (2) Economic Survey of the Republic of Kenya 1979, Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Affairs, Nairobi, 1979.
- (3) Monthly Digest of Statistics, February 1977, Central Statistical Office, Lusaka, 1977.
- (4) United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1978. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations New York, 1979.
- (5) Europa Yearbook 1979 - World Survey (2 Vols.), Europa Publications Ltd., London, 1979.
- (6) Legum, C. (ed). Africa Contemporary Record - Annual Survey and Documents 1977/1978, American Publishing Co., New York, 1979.
- (7) Recurrent expenditure only.
- (8) Paxton, J. (ed) The Statesman's Yearbook 1979/80 MacMillan, London, 1979.
- (9) Statistical Yearbook 1978, Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo, 1978.
- (10) Economic Report 1977/78, Ministry of Finance, Kuala Lumpur, 1977.
- (11) Statistical Yearbook 1977, Central Statistical Office, Budapest, 1979.
- (12) Statistical Yearbook 1978, Central Bureau of Statistics, The Hague, 1979.
- (13) Report for the Year 1975, H.M.S.O., London, 1976
- (14) Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure and the Development Estimates 1977/78, Government Printer, Nuku'alofa, 1977.