



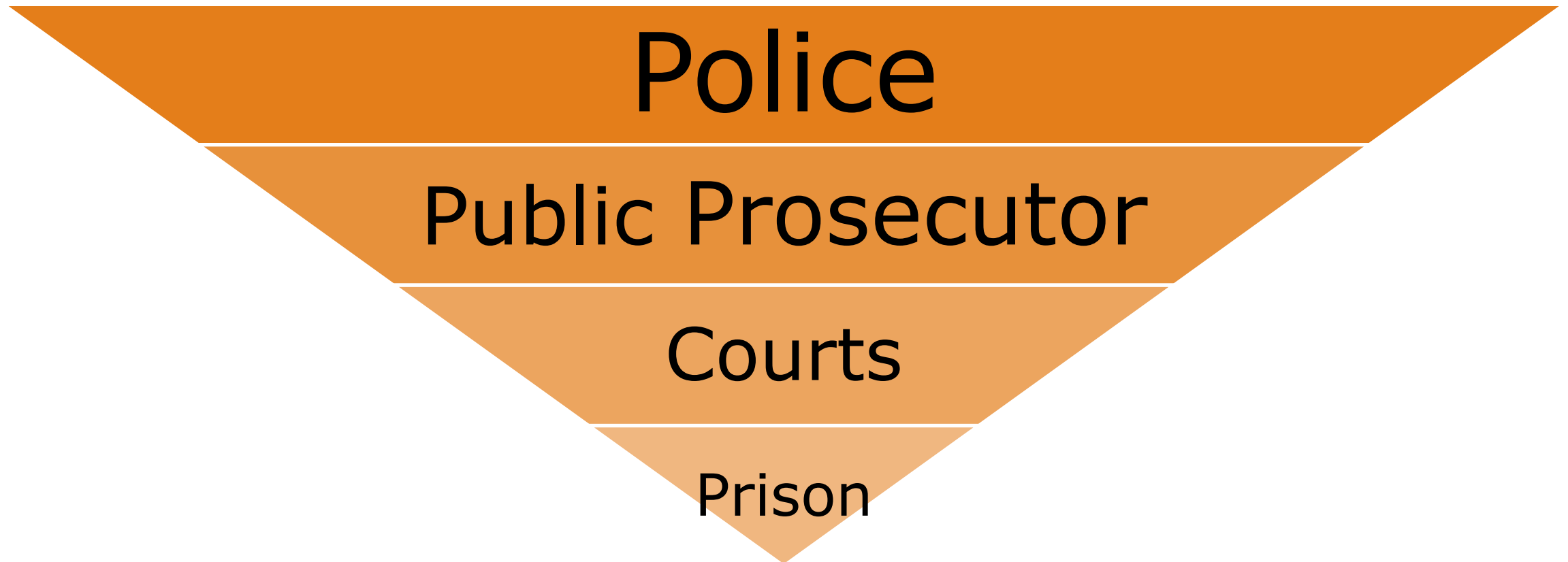
# Correlation between crime rates and imprisonment

Debora Moolenaar

24 April 2019

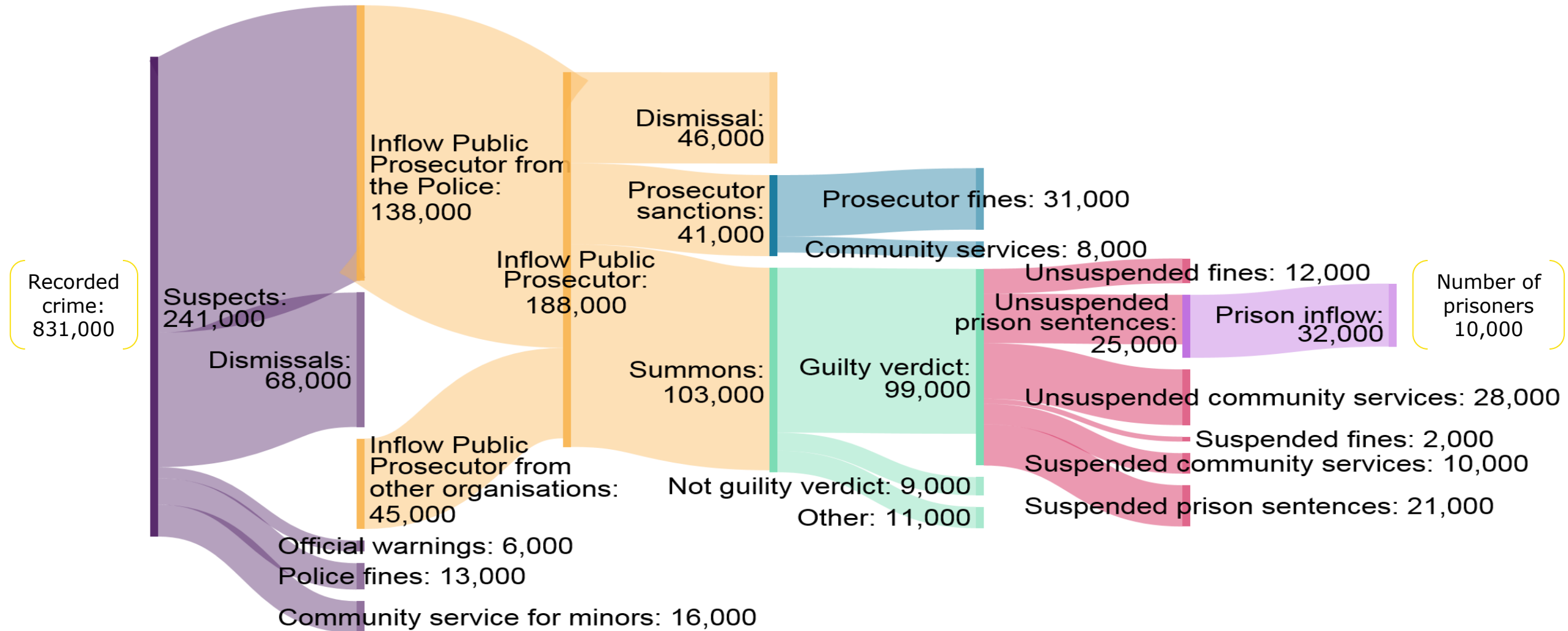


# The criminal justice system





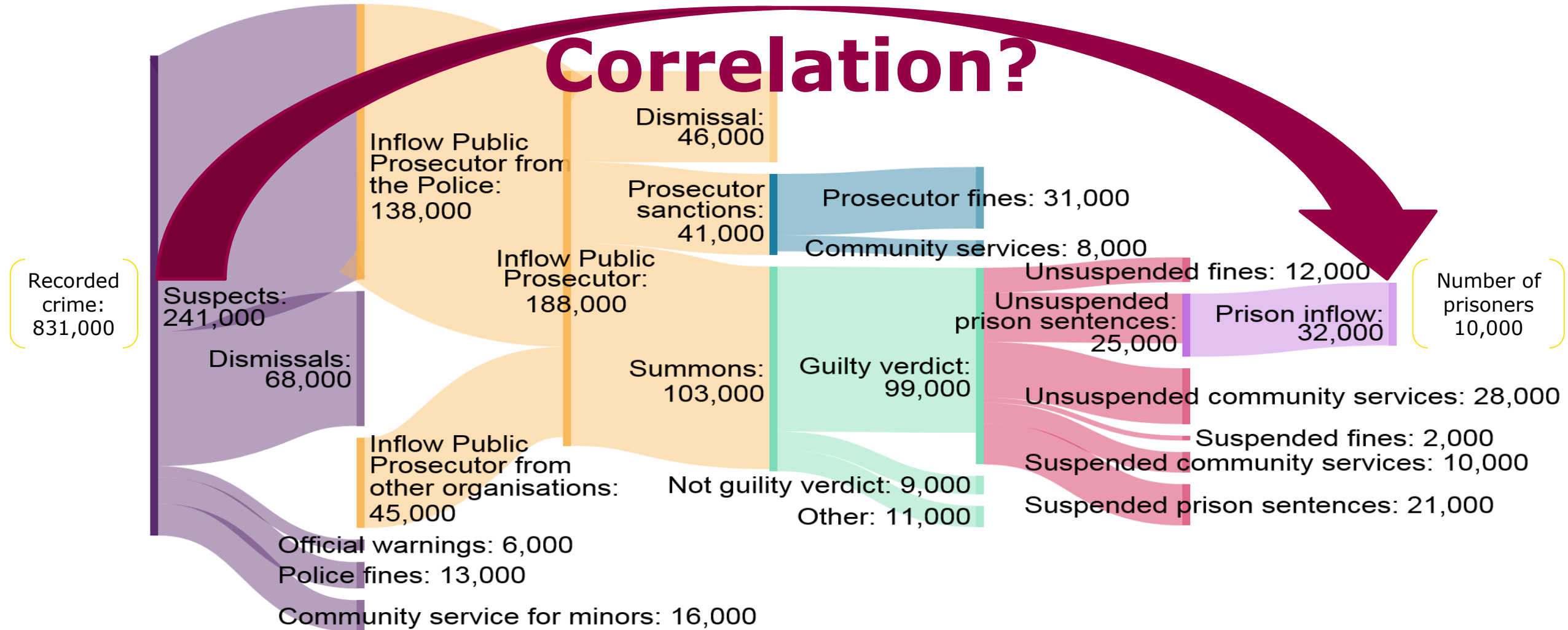
# The Dutch criminal justice system in numbers: 2017





# The Dutch criminal justice system in numbers: 2017

## Correlation?





# Correlation between crime rates and imprisonment?

- > Intuitively: YES
  - Prisoners do not fall out of the sky
  
- > Empirically: ???
  - Counting units
    - Large difference between number of crimes and number of people in prison
    - We imprison people not crimes, so why look at crimes, crime rate/clear up rate at all?
    - Number of prisoners (at any given date): In the Netherlands prison sentences are relatively short, so on average 1 prison bed is occupied by 3 to 4 people within one year.
    - In recorded crime figures no distinction can be made between adult and juvenile criminals, until the case is solved.
    - Recorded crime may include crimes committed by organisations.
  - Looking at suspects instead of crimes, there is still a large difference between the number of suspects and the number of people going to prison.
  - A lot happens between police and prison: alternative sanctions, dismissals, not guilty verdicts, etc.
  - Unless you know and understand what happens between the police-stage and the prison-stage, finding correlations will be difficult.
  - Time period matters
  - There may be time lags (postponed execution) or time leads (remand custody)
  - Average sentence length is an important factor



# The problem of remand custody

## > Simple example:

- 4 people (A, B, C and D) convicted to a 2-year prison sentence
  - B, C and D in pre-trial detention
    - B: remand custody < sentence
    - C: remand custody = sentence
    - D: remand custody > sentence

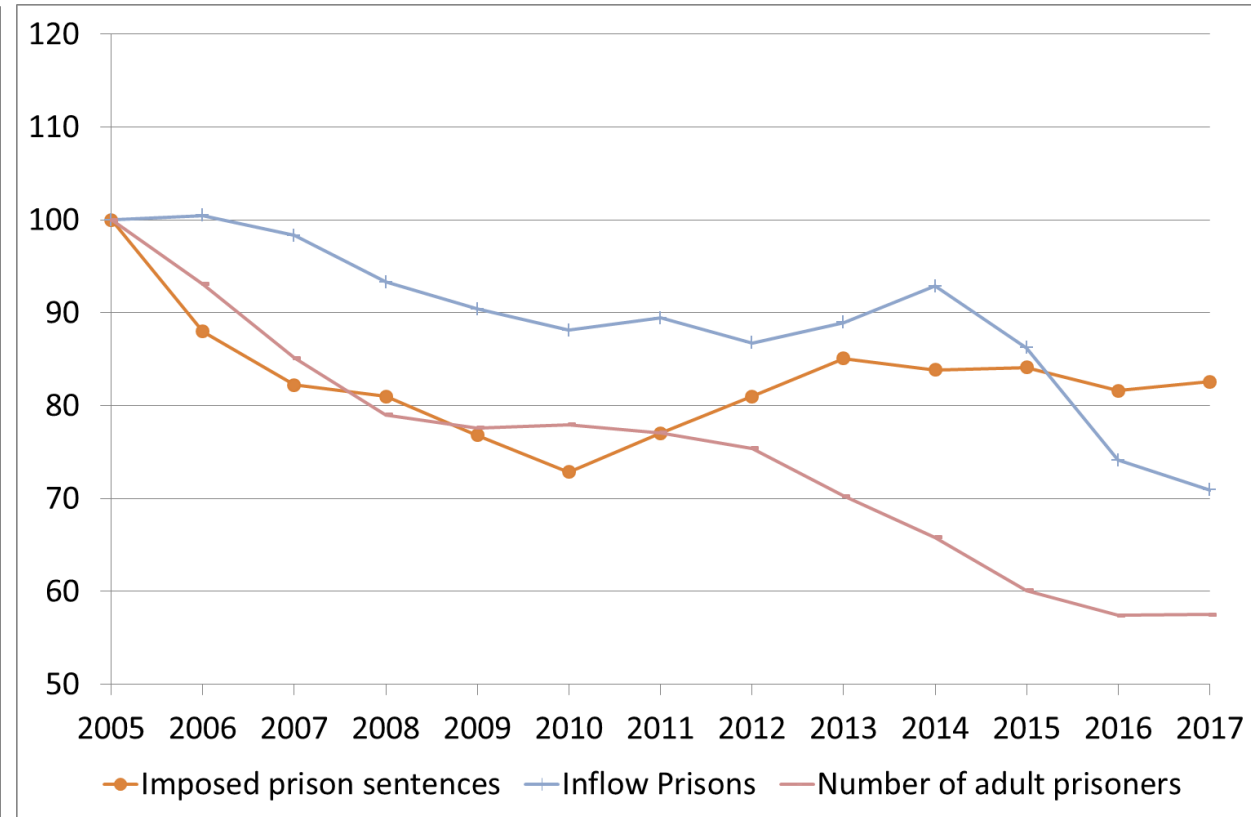
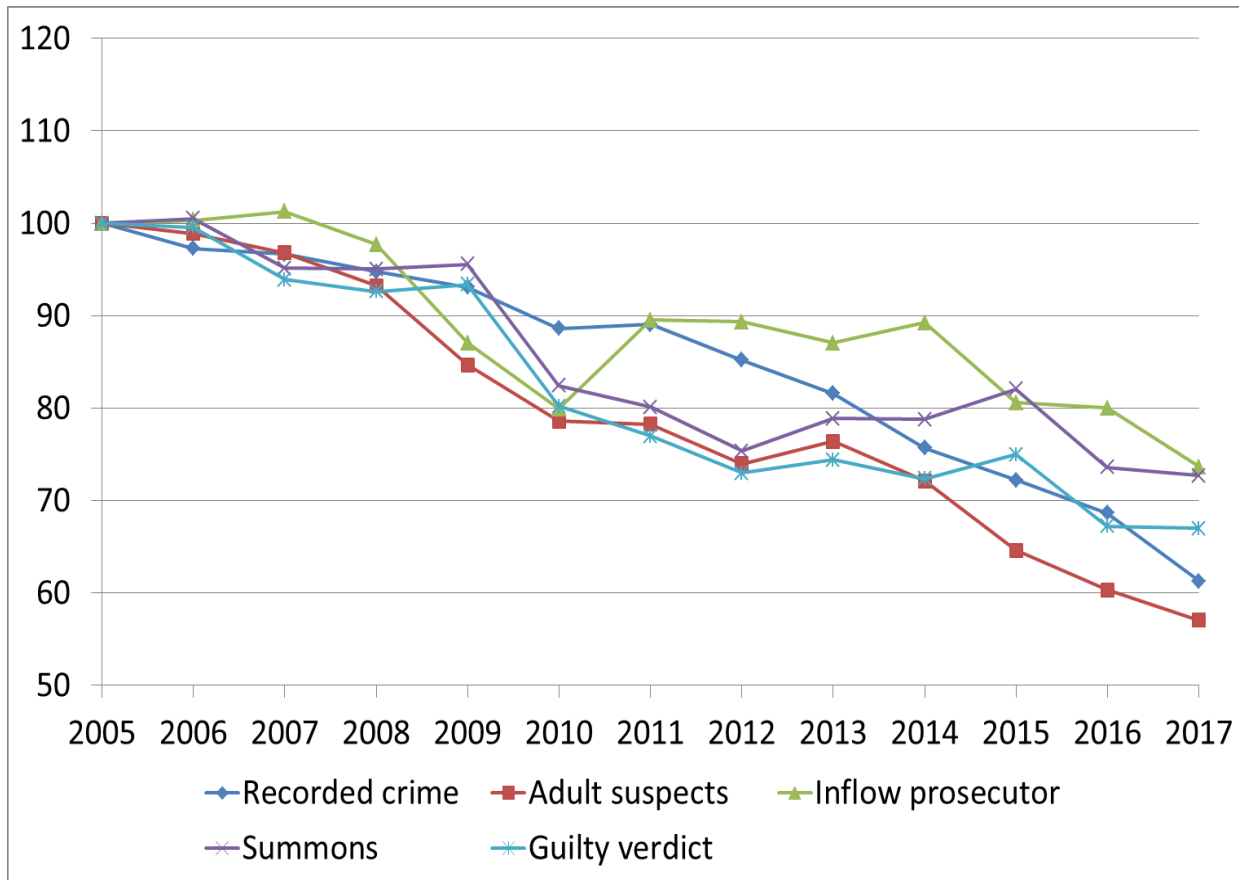
|                    | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4    | Year 5    | Total time in prison |
|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| <b>A</b>           |        |        |        | Convicted | Convicted | 2 years              |
| <b>B</b>           |        |        | Remand | Convicted |           | 2 years              |
| <b>C</b>           |        | Remand | Remand |           |           | 2 years              |
| <b>D</b>           | Remand | Remand | Remand |           |           | 3 years              |
| <b>Total cells</b> | 1      | 2      | 3      | 2         | 1         |                      |

## - Problems

- Timeshift
- The remand overtime will usually not show up in any official statistic
- Difficult to predict because there are few leading indicators



# Developments in the Dutch criminal justice system





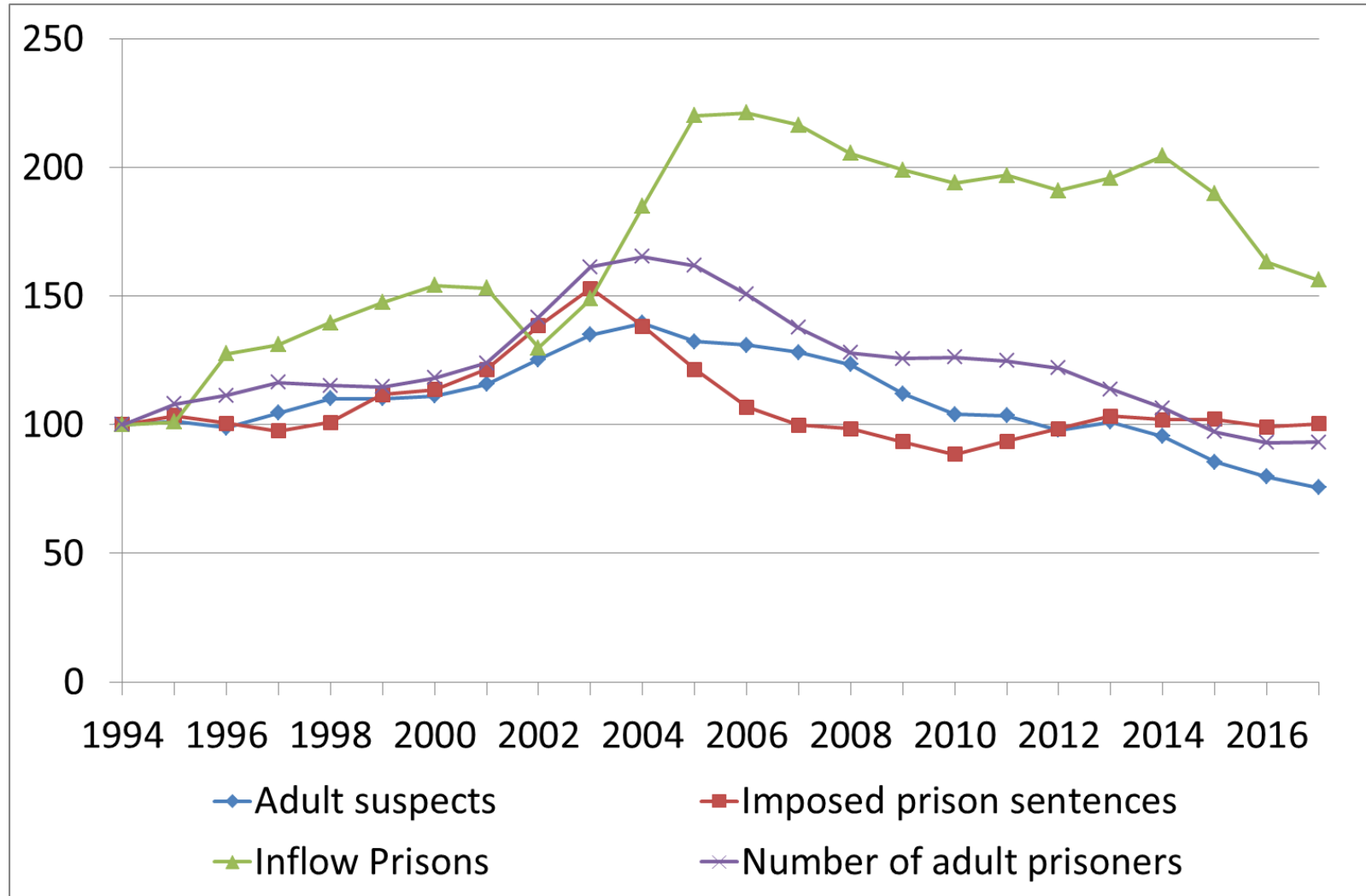
# Correlation between adult suspects and...

|                                  | 1994-2017 | 2005-2017 |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Imposed prison sentences, adults | 0.62      | 0.36      |
| Inflow prisons, adults           | 0.25      | 0.91      |
| Number of adult prisoners        | 0.93      | 0.95      |





# Suspects versus imprisonment 1994-2017

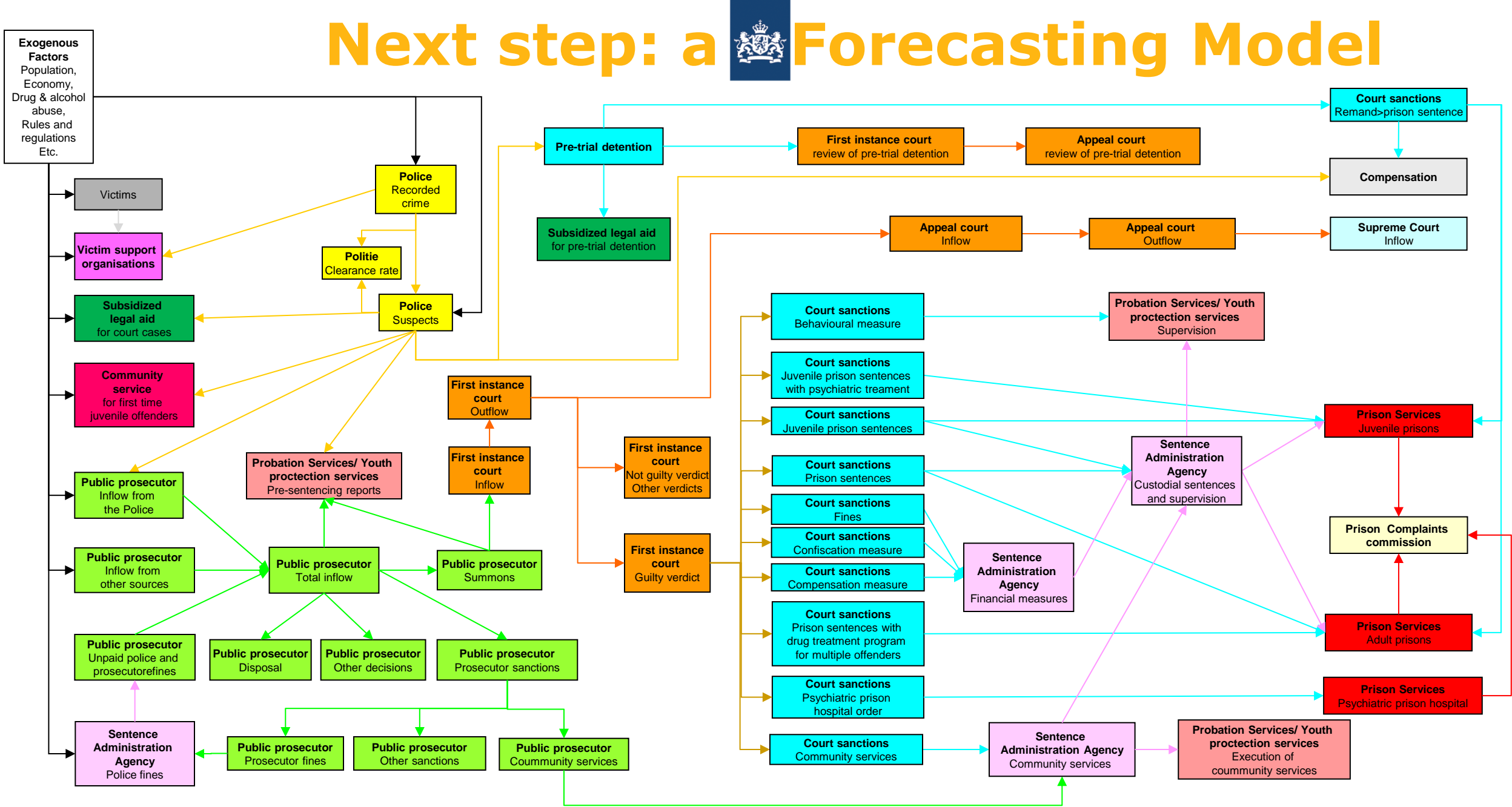




# Alternative approach

- > Divide the criminal justice system into smaller adjoining segments:
  - Correlation between Police and Public Prosecutor
  - Correlation between Public prosecutor and Court verdicts
  - Correlation between Court verdicts and Prison sentences
  - Correlation between Prison sentences and Number of Prisoners
  - Correlation between Prison sentences and Community services
  - Etc.
- > Make a distinction between types of crime
- > Advantages
  - Allow for time lags
  - More detail, more accuracy

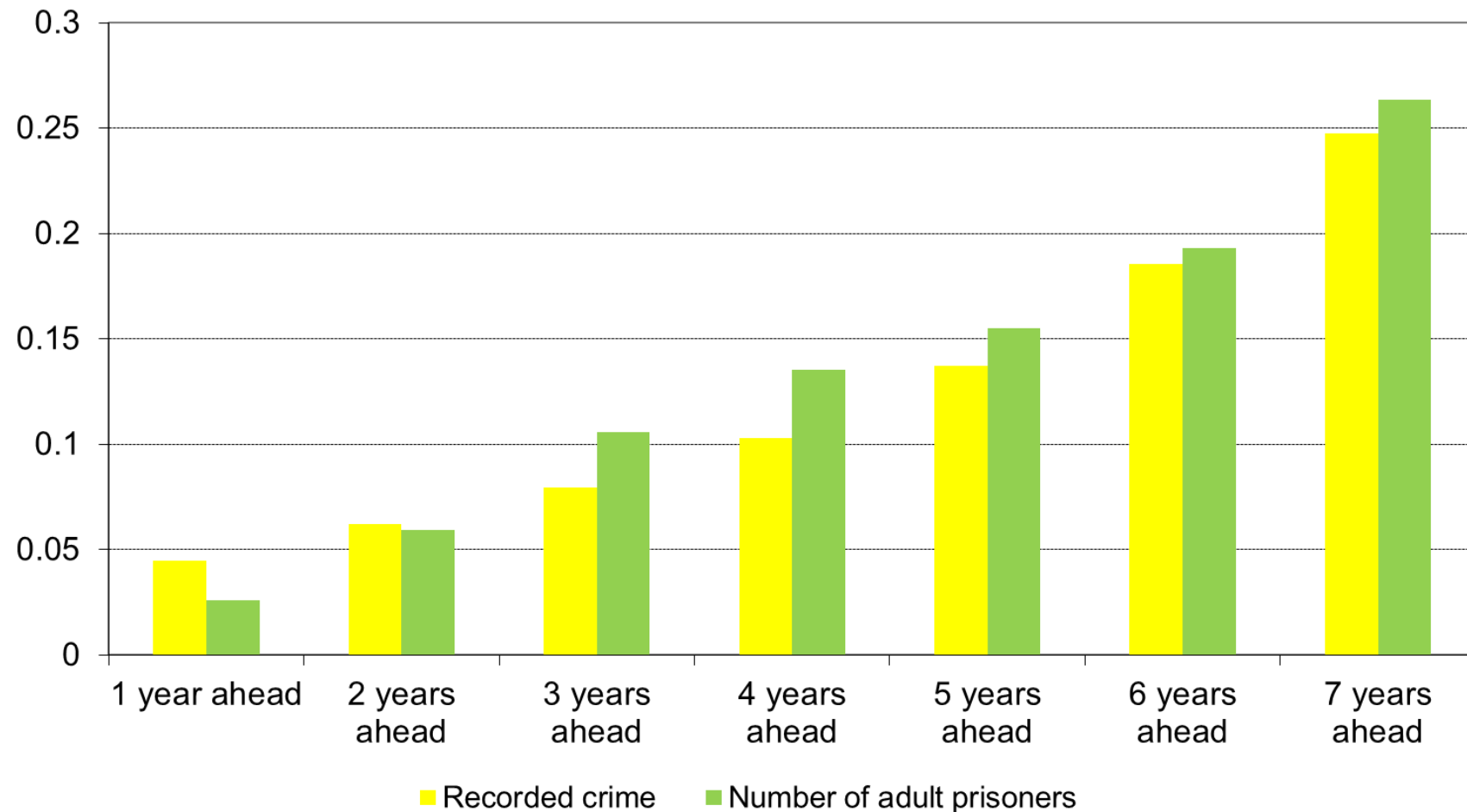
# Next step: a Forecasting Model





# Forecast errors for adult prisons, by years ahead

Mean absolute percentage forecast error



# Correlation between adult suspects and imposed prison sentences



|   | 1994-2017 | 2005-2017 |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Total   | 0.62      | 0.36      |
| Threats and assaults  | 0.81      | 0.59      |
| Sexual offences   | 0.65      | 0.54      |
| Robbery   | 0.88      | 0.87      |
| Other violent crimes (homicide, human trafficking, taking hostages, etc.) | -0.20     | 0.16      |
| Simple theft  | 0.15      | 0.11      |
| Aggravated theft  | 0.85      | 0.17      |
| Other property crime  | 0.82      | 0.79      |
| Criminal damages and crimes against the public order/authorities          | 0.71      | 0.60      |
| Driving under the influence   | -0.01     | 0.17      |
| Other motoring offences   | -0.50     | -0.42     |
| Hard drugs  | 0.75      | 0.98      |
| Soft drugs  | 0.77      | 0.04      |
| Crimes against economic/environmental regulations                         | 0.19      | 0.53      |
| Other crime   | -0.50     | -0.60     |



# Distinction by crime type: conclusion

- > Distinguishing by crime type improves the correlations
  - Correlations for simple theft, drunk driving, other traffic offences and economic crimes are low because prison sentences are rarely imposed for these type of crimes
  - Correlations for other violent crime is also suprisingly low.  
Two possible causes:
    - Time shift: severe crimes may take a longer to investigate, prosecute, convict. (In fact, for 2005-2017 the correlation between imposed prison sentences and the number of suspects in the previous year is 0.39 instead of 0.20)
    - Shift between crime categories.  
For example, if attempted homicide is difficult to prove the suspect may eventually only be convicted for assault.



# Overcrowding versus Undercrowding (1)

- > SPACE Indicator of prison density (section 18 White Paper):

$$\frac{\textit{Number of prisoners}}{\textit{Number of available spaces}}$$

- Imminent prison overcrowding if this indicator is above 90% (section 20)
- > Shortcomings:
  - In case of waiting lists or temporary releases, this indicator is always 100% or less
    - The problem of overcrowding remains invisible to politicians/policy makers
  - For policy makers/politicians the optimal value is 100% (and not 90%), because...
    - No overcrowding, so no human rights issues
    - No undercrowding, so no money is wasted on empty cells

(For example: in the Netherlands the average cost of an occupied cell is €265 and of an empty cell is €87 per day)



# Overcrowding versus Undercrowding (2)

## > Solutions

- Include waiting lists/temporary releases in indicator

*Number of prisoners + waiting list + temporary releases*

*Number of available spaces*

- In 2002 research by Prof. Bomhoff suggested a margin of 13.8% for Dutch Prisons
  - So an average prison density of 86.2%.
    - → difficult to justify to politicians and financial people