Measuring Crime in Australia

Introduction

4.1 This Chapter discusses how crime is measured in Australia and some issues associated with producing national crime statistics. It also considers the types of data that are used to make up such sources and explores some issues which need to be overcome to provide a more accurate picture of crime.

4.2 At the onset, it is important to note that the extent of crime will never be completely measured. Only crime that has been reported can be measured. Whether that be crime that is reported to the police by a victim of crime or by a concerned member of the community, or crime that is reported to a government agency, a community service, an insurance company or researchers - crime statistics will only reflect those incidents that have been reported.

4.3 Crime places a heavy burden on the Australian economy. The Australian Institute of Criminology recently estimated the total cost of crime in Australia to be almost $32 billion annually.¹ The cost of crime itself, in terms of the loss of property, loss of output, intangible losses, fraud, drugs, arson and medical costs is approximately $19 billion. Dealing with crime, including prevention and post-crime issues, administering the criminal justice system, maintaining private and

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¹ Ms Pat Mayhew, (with assistance from Ms Glenda Adkins), Counting the Costs of Crime in Australia, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice no. 247, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 2002.
home security, providing for victims and administering insurance adds another $12.75 billion.

4.4 Understanding how the extent of crime is measured will help in future estimations of the costs of crime and will assist in the evaluation of crime prevention and associated programs.

National crime statistics

4.5 Crime statistics seek to provide an indication of the levels of crime and victimisation within our community. Over time, these statistics can be used to show trends in the incidence of certain offences.

4.6 Generally, national crime statistics are derived from two sources:

- administrative data such as data from State and Territory police forces, courts, hospitals, community services and so on; and

- crime victimisation surveys.

4.7 Each of these data sources can provide a different picture of crime within our community. This is because data may be collected for different purposes, using different methodologies, and may also seek to capture different aspects of crime and victimisation.²

Administrative data

4.8 Administrative data refers to information recorded by agencies on their administrative systems. Police data is the most widely sourced administrative data used to produce crime statistics. It refers to those criminal offences that have been reported to or detected by police, and subsequently recorded by them.

4.9 Police data is useful for compiling crime statistics because it represents an official record of crime. All police forces collect information about crime in their respective States and Territories. In addition, given that police data is recorded once it has come to the attention of police, it is a source of up-to-date information that can be broken down by day, month, and year and so on. This also enables

police data to be used for comparative purposes and to track trends in the incidence of certain offences.

4.10 However, police data has a number of limitations. Firstly, police data only provides information on those criminal offences that have come to the attention of police. Not all crimes committed are detected by the police, or, necessarily, the victims.

4.11 Secondly, not all crimes committed are reported to the police. A number of factors impact on a person’s willingness to report crime to the police, including:

- attitudes about the potential effectiveness of police in handling matters;
- the people involved in an incident; and
- the possible implications for victims (including ‘payback’ and re-victimisation).

4.12 It has therefore been suggested that much more crime is actually committed than is reported to police. Indeed, a number of submissions to the Inquiry noted this to be the case, particularly with regard to domestic and family violence. It was acknowledged that the level of reporting is significantly lower for women and children who are victims of physical and sexual assault.3 The Committee has also been told that there is low level of reporting among minority groups such as gay communities.4 Similarly, in some Indigenous communities, issues may be dealt with internally through traditional means and accordingly it may be felt that the police do not need to be notified.5

4.13 Thirdly, not all crimes reported to police are actually recorded by police. Police discretion determines whether a crime is considered to have actually been committed and whether it warrants recording.

4.14 Ms Pat Mayhew, former consultant criminologist to the Australian Institute of Criminology, commented on the use of police discretion in recording crime:

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5 Ms Jenne Roberts, Transcript of Evidence, 12 June 2003, p. 1145.
police have an enormous amount of discretion, when a crime is reported to them, as to whether they record it and what they record it as. It is by no means the case – and very many studies have shown this – that virtually all reported crimes are recorded.6

4.15 If it is determined that a crime warrants recording, further discretion is used to determine the category of crime the offence is considered to fall under. This of course may differ according to individual police officers.

4.16 Finally, police data is limited to the particulars of information collected by police and the level and accuracy of detail recorded in respective systems. Administrative systems are designed and maintained to meet organisational needs, and the data collected on these systems may not fully accord with external research needs.

4.17 The Committee notes that there may be other influences impacting on the reliability of police data. Indeed, the Committee heard evidence in relation to the New South Wales Police that certain crime statistics had been deliberately falsified. Sergeant Mark Fenlon alleged that statistics concerning the use of knife search powers by police were being inflated within the Blacktown Local Area Command.7 Sergeant Fenlon had alleged that a number of police officers had knowingly created false and misleading reports relating to the use of knife search powers and, indeed had been carrying out knife searches unlawfully.8

4.18 According to Sergeant Fenlon, a cause for the inflated statistics may be senior officers advocating that statistical data be driven up to justify the effectiveness of the New South Wales Crimes Amendment (Police and Public Safety) Act 1998. This Act is the legislation that permits police officers to conduct searches for knives in certain circumstances.

4.19 Sergeant Fenlon reported the incident at the local area command to the New South Wales Ombudsman and further alleged that he thought the practice of inflating such statistics may be widespread across the New South Wales Police.9

4.20 The Ombudsman initiated an investigation by the New South Wales Police which he then reviewed. The investigation by a New South

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7 Sergeant Mark Fenlon, *Submission 127*.
8 *Exhibit 103*.
9 *Exhibit 103*. 
Wales Police Task Force found that knife search statistics had indeed been artificially over-inflated. However, this was considered to have been primarily the result of weaknesses in the COPS recording system, lack of training and lack of appropriate supervision. The Task Force’s finding that the statistics had been over-inflated was overturned by senior management of the New South Wales Police.10

4.21 The Ombudsman made a number of recommendations, including that appropriate management action be taken with regard to the individuals involved and that audits be carried out across other local area commands. Even though there was acknowledgement that deficiencies in the recording system mean that ‘incorrect recording of knife search statistics may be occurring state-wide’, New South Wales Police did not consider audits necessary, on the basis that changes to the recording system from 1 July 2003 would allow accurate reporting of searches.11 The Ombudsman found the New South Wales Police response as ‘a poor approach to managing a substantial risk’ and that it means that ‘there can be no confidence’ in present data for searches.12

4.22 In considering the reliability of crime statistics based on police data, this has serious implications. Sergeant Fenlon told the Committee that the Ombudsman’s Report has:

effectively rendered knife search and move-on data gathered by the police force in the last five years worthless. Data which has been utilised by the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, the government and the police force itself to formulate policy and direct policing resources has been found to be completely unreliable in all respects.13

4.23 In addition, according to Mr Treyvaud, President of the Cabramatta Chamber of Commerce, the New South Wales Police force use a crime index and, by selectively choosing limited categories of crime to report on, they have been able to provide a distorted picture of the true level of crime.14

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10 Exhibit 103.
11 Exhibit 103, p. 10.
12 Exhibit 103, pp. 11-12.
13 Sergeant Mark Fenlon, Transcript of Evidence, 7 November 2003, p. 1575.
14 Mr Ross Treyvaud, Submission 44, p.17. Assistant Commissioner Madden advised, however, that he was not aware of an operational crime index, Transcript of Evidence, 9 October 2002, p. 278.
Crime statistics based on police data may therefore fall well short of providing an accurate and comprehensive picture of the nature and extent of crime in Australia. Furthermore, police data may reveal more about the efficiency of police in recording reported crime than reflect any real change in crime levels. Despite such obvious shortcomings, it is this data that is the only data available to produce annual national crime statistics.

**Annual national crime statistics**

Australia’s national crime statistics collection is a relatively new data source. Since 1993, State and Territory police forces have provided the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) with their data to produce annual statistics on crime and victimisation. These statistics are compiled and published by the ABS in its *Recorded Crime series*.\(^{15}\)

One of the major problems with compiling national crime statistics using police data is associated with inconsistencies between data sets and a consequential lack of parity. Inconsistencies are mainly due to:

- Differences in States and Territory legislation; and
- Differences in administrative and recording practices between State and Territory police forces.

The ABS is currently undertaking research into differences between State and Territory recording of crime statistics in an effort to understand these differences and their impact on the collation of national crime statistics more fully. The research is expected to take two years to complete and is examining differences in five broad areas:

- what crime occurs;
- what crime is reported to police;
- what crime is recorded by police;
- how it is recorded by police; and
- how crime statistics are compiled from official police records.\(^{16}\)

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Recommendation 11

4.28 The Committee recommends that the Australian Federal Police, as a national body, assume a coordinating and leadership role in the process of establishing a consistent national police data collection method.

Crime victimisation surveys

4.29 As discussed above, one of the problems with police data is that, for a variety of reasons, crime may never be reported to police. Crime victimisation surveys provide a useful means of capturing this unreported crime and measuring crime in the community. Often these surveys tend to point to greater rates of crime and victimisation than are indicated by police data.\(^{17}\)

4.30 Crime victimisation surveys generally involve researchers asking members of the community about their experiences of criminal victimisation through face to face or telephone interviews or mail surveys. One of the advantages of crime victimisation surveys is that the methods employed often facilitate the collection of richer or more in-depth information about crime compared to that collected through the use of police data.

4.31 The ABS undertakes a national crime victimisation survey, the results of which are published in *Crime and Safety, Australia*.\(^{18}\) The survey is carried out at irregular intervals, with the most recent in 1998 and 2002.

4.32 While crime victimisation surveys tend to capture those offences not reported to police, one of the limitations of the surveys is the lack of frequency with which they are undertaken. Due to the resources involved in carrying out these surveys, they may be undertaken only once every few years, a factor which makes compiling regular or annual statistics problematic.

4.33 Further, crime victimisation surveys are based on a sample of the community only and are therefore subject to sampling errors.\(^{19}\)

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Other data and crime statistics

4.34 A range of government departments, agencies, organisations, universities and other groups collect data and statistics on crime and criminal behaviour. Generally, this data is specific to the interests of the particular organisation. For example, the Australian Crime Commission produces the Australian Illicit Drug Report; the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare conducts the National Drug Strategy Household Survey; and the Australian Institute of Criminology has research programs including Drug Use Monitoring in Australia, Homicide Monitoring and Deaths in Custody. The National Motor Vehicle Theft Reduction Council publishes statistics on car theft.20

4.35 The corporate and community sectors also collect information about crime. For example, insurance companies publish statistics on car theft and home burglaries, and social support services release information about sexual offences and incidences of domestic violence.21

4.36 The Committee also notes that many smaller jurisdictions and organisations collect and disseminate statistical evidence about crime in their local communities, which assists in examining and combating crime at that level.22

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20 Mr Raymond Carroll, Transcript of Evidence, 10 September 2002, p. 140.
21 The Committee received a number of submissions regarding sexual assault and domestic violence. For instance see National Council of Single Mothers and their Children Inc, Submission 21; Sisters Inside, Submission 52; Victorian Centres Against Sexual Assault Forum, Submission 54; Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre, Submission 59; Office of the Status of Women, Submission 88; Domestic Violence Advocacy Service, Submission 128. See also oral evidence from Ms Ada Conroy and Ms Elizabeth Olle, Transcript of Evidence, 9 September 2002, p. 55; Ms Marg D’Arcy, Transcript of Evidence, 10 September 2002, p. 85; Ms Jacinta Maloney, Transcript of Evidence, 10 September 2002, p. 109; Ms Virginia Geddes, Transcript of Evidence, 10 September 2002), p. 118; Ms Debbie Kilroy, Transcript of Evidence, 28 October 2003, p. 1544; Ms Jenne Roberts, Transcript of Evidence, 12 June 2003, p. 1142.
22 The Hon Bruce Baird MP, Submission 46; Local Government Association of NSW, Submission 57; Inverell Shire Council, Submission 61; City of Kalgoorlie-Boulder, Submission 62; Youth and Family Service (Logan City) Inc., Submission 75.1; Alcohol and Other Drugs Council of Australia, Submission 80; ACT Neighbourhood Watch Association, Submission 91; Queensland Government, Submission 100; South Australian Attorney-General’s Department, Submission 103; and NSW Police Force, Submission 139.
Recommendation 12

4.37 The Committee recommends that State and Territory police forces work with the Australian Bureau of Statistics and State and Territory justice departments to develop more consistent methods of recording and releasing statistical information to enable more effective research, program implementation and evaluation. This would also allow for the early identification of national, State and Territory crime trends.

CompStat

4.38 In relation to the difficulties associated with data collection in Australia, the Committee notes that the CompStat system used by the New York City Police Department (NYPD) may be a useful tool for Australian jurisdictions to consider. The Committee is aware that CompStat is perhaps more accurately considered a policing tool; however, its statistical basis is of relevance to this Chapter.

4.39 CompStat, an abbreviation of ‘computer’ or ‘comparison’ statistics, was introduced into the NYPD in 1994 by the then Commissioner, William Bratton and also former Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, to assist the NYPD to identify and respond to problem crime areas. The program has been described as:

A “strategic control system” developed to gather and disseminate information on the NYPD’s crime problems and to track efforts to deal with them … at the same time CompStat has become shorthand for the full range of strategic, problem-solving activity in the NYPD.\(^{23}\)

4.40 CompStat sought to address one of a number of administrative problems within the NYPD identified by Commissioner Bratton. The NYPD had lacked timely and accurate information about crime and public safety problems as they were emerging, little capacity to identity crime patterns, and difficulty tracking how its own resources were being used. Since middle managers were not in the habit of monitoring these processes, they served as a weak link in the chain of

internal accountability between the executive and street-level police employees.²⁴

4.41 CompStat uses data provided by local police to generate a city-wide map which illustrates where and when crime is occurring. It also provides information on a range of crime-related factors, such as the type of offences being committed, where offences are committed, the time of offences, and information about victims of crime and so on. The NYPD uses this information to target resources accordingly and to develop strategies for addressing crime in these areas.

4.42 CompStat is based on the sharing of accurate information and seeks to eliminate the traditional barriers that exist among officers within the NYPD, particularly between the executive and precinct and operational commanders. A key feature of the CompStat process is weekly crime control management meetings:

On a weekly basis, personnel from each of the Department's 76 Precincts, 9 Police Service Areas and 12 Transit Districts compile a statistical summary of the week's crime complaint, arrest and summons activity, as well as a written recapitulation of significant cases, crime patterns and police activities. This data, which includes the specific times and locations at which the crimes and enforcement activities took place, is forwarded to the Chief of Department's CompStat Unit where it is collated and loaded into a city-wide database. The data is analyzed by computer and a weekly CompStat Report is generated. The CompStat Report captures crime complaint and arrest activity at the precinct, patrol borough, and city-wide levels, and presents a concise summary of these and other important performance indicators. These data are presented on a week-to-date, prior 30 days and year-to-date basis, with comparisons to previous years' activity. Precinct commanders and members of the agency's top management can easily discern emerging and established crime trends as well as deviations and anomalies, and can easily make comparisons between commands. Each precinct is also ranked in each complaint and arrest category.²⁵


4.43 Through these weekly meetings, precinct and operational unit commanders and the executive are not only brought together to review the computer data, but to discuss ways to address crime in specific places. The meetings also provide commanders with an opportunity to identify and discuss specific crime problems and those strategies being adopted to tackle these problems.

4.44 CompStat has been described as:

perhaps the single most important organisational/administrative innovation in policing during the latter half of the 20th century.  

4.45 The dramatic reductions in crime in New York City have been attributed by many to the CompStat process, which has also been adopted – in full or in part - by other policing agencies across the United States of America.

4.46 The Committee considers that a system similar to CompStat could be put to effective use in Australia, especially in terms of crime mapping and resource allocation to crime ‘hotspots’. In order to introduce a system with similar capabilities, the involvement of a national organisation such as the Australian Federal Police or the Australian Crime Commission would be required.

4.47 The Committee recognises that such a role does not fall within the current bounds of responsibility of either of these organisations, however several factors make them attractive options.

4.48 Firstly, the intelligence-gathering capabilities of both organisations are paramount to such a system being implemented and the information disseminated in a timely fashion. Secondly, relating specifically to the Australian Crime Commission, is the fact that its Board is constituted of the eight State and Territory Police Commissioners, and also the heads of key Commonwealth agencies including the Commissioner of the Australian Federal Police, the Director-General of Security, the Chair of the Australian Securities and Investments Commission, the Chief Executive of the Australian Customs Service and the Secretary of the Attorney-General’s Department. Such a composition would make the Australian Crime Commission’s Board an appropriate body to adopt an effective oversight role.

Recommendation 13

4.49 The Committee recommends that either the Australian Crime Commission or the Australian Federal Police work with State and Territory police forces to establish a common data recording system such as that used by the New York Police Department. Such a system would work in the following way:

- Local police commands would process crime data within their command daily which would allow for more efficient allocation of resources.
- The data would be used to pinpoint crime trends and localities to allow resources to be dispatched to manage crime outbreaks.
- Daily crime data would be forwarded to either the Australian Crime Commission or Australian Federal Police which would then publish the data daily, thereby providing transparency.

Barriers to accurate crime reporting

4.50 Despite the apparently high level of research activity, there are a number of issues that are hindering a more complete understanding of crime in the community.

Central data collection

4.51 Mr Carlos Carcach, from the Australian Institute of Criminology, told the Committee:

the point is that there is a lot of research out there and there are a lot of beliefs – I would say misconceptions and myths. Here in Australia, we do not have enough evidence to support any of our findings or to explain what is going on.

… there is an important factor that lies also behind our lack of knowledge about crime, and it is data. Our crime statistics are limited, our access to crime data is limited – data collected by a central agency. However, institutions like the [Australian] Institute [of Criminology] as well as universities do not make those data available to research. Access to this type of information is very limited. We lack longitudinal studies. We
lack a good empirical base. I think this might be one of the outcomes that we would like to see from this inquiry – that is, trying to highlight the need for information.27

4.52 For Mr Carcach, making the data that agencies collect centrally available for other agencies would enable researchers to confirm or deny existing theories relating to key crime issues. This, in turn, would allow policy makers to make more informed decisions about programs and funding allocation.

**Recommendation 14**

4.53 The Committee recommends that data resulting from research be collected centrally and be made available to others (including agencies and individual researchers) for further research.

**Frequency of reporting**

4.54 Each State and Territory also monitors statistics at a state/territory level. For example, the Northern Territory Office of Crime Statistics informed the Committee that they now produce quarterly statistics.28 However, it is evident that these statistics are not reported frequently enough across jurisdictions to provide a quick and efficient response to crime trends.

4.55 The Committee notes that both the Australian Institute of Criminology and the ABS produce statistics on an annual basis, with interim reporting on various statistics through their respective publication series. Victoria Police, Queensland Police and the South Australian Government also produce annual state-based statistics29 as does the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.30

4.56 However, the Committee notes that most jurisdictions produce their statistics on a financial year reporting basis, with the result that data would be outdated for the purposes of operational response.

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Longitudinal research

4.57 The Committee was also informed that there is a need to fund and commit to long-term research projects rather than research projects that are more descriptive in nature or provide short-term political gain. A shift in resource allocation is needed by governments to fund longer-term research projects which seek to gain an understanding of the impact on crime as a result of projects conducted over longer periods of time. Mr Carlos Carcach noted:

> How we solve that problem of political long-termism – there is always much more attraction in trying to control and to invest in something that will generate some return in the next couple of years, and something where the return is 10 years off is often not very politically attractive. You get the investment in research, but you do not get the follow through into programs. In all those areas I think we should be shifting some resources from more descriptive kinds of research on crime to actual interventions in some areas – and evaluating whether those interventions have an effect on crime and youth suicide and a whole set of related problems.\(^{31}\)

Recommendation 15

4.58 Recognising the value of longitudinal research, the Committee recommends that funding be made available accordingly.

Evaluation

4.59 Another process that follows on from both the need for regular and consistent statistical reporting and taking longer term approaches is that of evaluation. The need to evaluate the effectiveness of projects is paramount to their ongoing success and also serves as an indication of amendments that need to be made to ensure long term success in crime reduction. The Committee also recognises that many current projects require an evaluation to continue funding arrangements.\(^{32}\)

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32 See for instance Canterbury City Council, *Submission 31*. 
4.60 Evidence provided to the Committee points to the fact that some evaluation of projects is being carried out,\textsuperscript{33} at the very least, some have been reviewed with recommendations implemented.\textsuperscript{34} There is also some evidence to suggest that because of a lack of funding, evaluation procedures are not being built in to existing programs as much of the funding is being directed at conducting programs.\textsuperscript{35}

4.61 Councillor Pat Morris of Gosnells City Council advised:

One of the great difficulties when money does become available—and this is certainly the case under the Safer WA program as well; that did provide communities like ours with an opportunity to test a lot of these initiatives—is that there is never any evaluation built into it at the end. These organisations need the money to run the programs. They are so busy running the programs that they should not be the ones to do the evaluations. When money is being made available to community groups, I think there is a responsibility for the state or the federal government to have a component of evaluation in that. If that were done, in a very short amount of time at the federal and the state level you could pick up immediately the programs of excellence, which could then be put into other communities.\textsuperscript{36}

4.62 The Committee views the evaluation of projects as an essential measure in the development of rigorous and effective crime prevention techniques. Evaluation not only allows program administrators to examine the strengths and weaknesses of their programs, but also gives other organisations an opportunity to assess the strategies that have worked or have failed for others, especially in the context of time and funding constraints.

\textbf{Recommendation 16}

4.63 The Committee recommends that compulsory evaluation procedures are built into requirements for crime prevention grant funding.

\textsuperscript{33} Mr Michael Keelty, \textit{Transcript of Evidence}, 21 June 2002, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{34} Victoria Police, \textit{Submission 73}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{35} Cr Pat Morris, \textit{Transcript of Evidence}, 1 July 2004, p. 1834.
\textsuperscript{36} Cr Pat Morris, \textit{Transcript of Evidence}, 1 July 2004, p. 1834.
Conclusion

4.64 This Chapter has examined the measurement of crime in Australia. It has explored the types of crime data available nationally and also the ways in which Federal and State jurisdictions, along with private and community organisations, record and measure crime. Finally, the Chapter has explored the barriers to the accurate reporting of crime, such as differing reporting periods between jurisdictions and a lack of inbuilt evaluation processes for some projects.

4.65 Given that figures show that crime costs the Australian economy approximately $32 billion annually, the number of weaknesses found are of significant concern.

Hon Bronwyn Bishop MP
Chairman