



# Juristat

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics



Statistics Canada – Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE Vol. 17 no. 3

## JUSTICE SPENDING IN CANADA

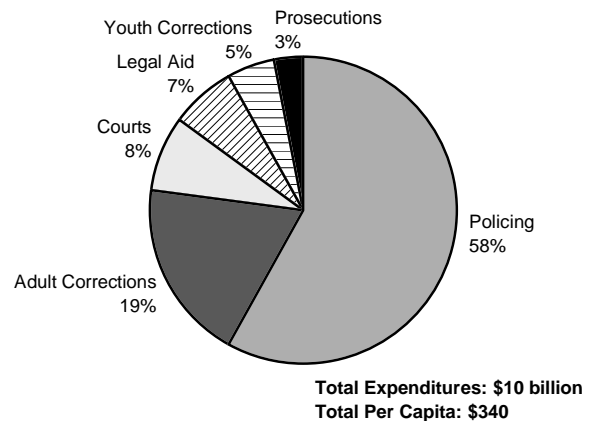
*Integration and Analysis Program*

### Highlights

- Police, courts, and corrections accounted for 3 cents of every dollar spent in 1994/95. This share is low, relative to that spent on education (12 cents), health (13 cents), and social services (24 cents).
- Government spending on police, courts, corrections, legal aid, and criminal prosecutions approached \$10 billion in 1994/95, or \$340 for every person in Canada.
- Over half of this amount paid for policing (58%), and about one-fifth (19%) for adult corrections. The remainder was spent on courts (8%), legal aid (7%), youth corrections (5%), and prosecutions (3%).
- Since 1988/89, total expenditures have increased by 13% on an inflation-adjusted basis. Most of this increase occurred before 1990-91: spending grew by only 4% between 1990/91 and 1994/95, reflecting the 1990-92 slowdown in the economy. In 1994/95, the per capita bill (adjusted for inflation) was slightly lower than it was in 1990/91.
- In the jurisdictions, per capita spending in 1994/95 was generally the same or slightly higher than that reported four years earlier. There are four notable exceptions: constant dollar per capita costs were somewhat lower in Quebec, Alberta, and Yukon relative to 1990/91 levels, and moderately higher in British Columbia.
- While per capita spending on police, adult corrections and courts has been relatively stable since the early nineties, spending on other justice services has increased. Since 1990/91, constant dollar per capita spending on youth corrections and, notably, legal aid has risen.

Figure 1

### Government spending on justice services, Canada, 1994/95



Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics



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United States: US\$12.00 per issue,  
US\$108.00 annually  
Other Countries: US\$14.00 per  
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January 1997  
ISSN 0715-271X

Published by authority of the  
Minister responsible for Statistics  
Canada.

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## Introduction

Fiscal restraint is one of the biggest challenges facing Canadian governments in the nineties. The justice sector is no exception. Like all publicly-funded agencies, those that provide justice services are searching for innovative ways to respond to the challenge of balancing citizens' expectations with fiscal restraint.

A number of efficiency initiatives have already been implemented within the justice sector. For example, out-of-court settlements are being encouraged through the availability of civil mediation services and alternative dispute resolution. Cost-savings may also be achieved through prevention. In the past, the justice system has focused almost exclusively on responding to crimes already committed, rather than tackling what are believed to be contributing factors. Today, there is more focus on community-based crime prevention strategies, which are integrated with education, health and social services. This approach, taken by many jurisdictions, supports the perception that there is a connection between social conditions and criminal justice.

This *Juristat* answers questions about the relative cost of justice services within the context of total government spending, and examines changes in spending patterns over time. In addition, financial profiles are provided for six major justice services: policing, courts, adult corrections, youth corrections, legal aid, and prosecutions. Some of the initiatives underway to give taxpayers more efficient and effective services are also discussed.

## Trends in Total Government Spending

Spending levels for justice services are comparable to those for the environment, recreation, and culture (see *Financial Management System*). In 1994/95, spending on police, courts, and correctional services - the most costly components of the formal justice system - accounted for about 3 cents of every dollar spent. This share is low, relative to that spent on education (12 cents), health (13 cents), and social services<sup>1</sup> (24 cents).

Since the early 1970s, the share of government spending on justice and health services has been relatively consistent, while the proportions spent on education and social services have shifted. Governments are allocating a smaller share of the tax dollar to education relative to the early 1970s, and a much larger share to social services (Figure 2).

### Per capita spending down in the nineties

Total government expenditures have levelled off in recent years, after more than two decades of steady growth. Average annual constant dollar per capita increases of 5% in the seventies and 2% in the eighties, have been followed by decreases in the first half of the nineties (Figure 3) (see *So, what does a "1996" dollar buy?*). These decreases reflect the 1990-92 slowdown in the Canadian economy (SC, 1996a).

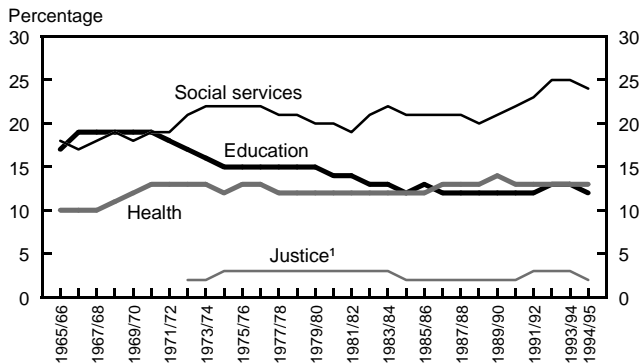
Historically, justice sector spending follows a similar pattern. For example, growth was most pronounced in the seventies. During that decade, constant dollar per capita spending on police, courts, and corrections rose by an average of 9% annually, outpacing the growth experienced by the health, education, and social service sectors.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, the rate of growth in justice spending was considerably lower in the eighties: less than 1% in each year, on average. Unlike the previous two decades, three of the four sectors experienced reductions in constant dollar spending during the first half of the nineties.

<sup>1</sup> Social services includes the following: social security, labour force plans, family allowances, veterans benefits, social welfare, tax credits and rebates, and other social services.

<sup>2</sup> Based on data reported for 1972/73 to 1979/80.

Figure 2

**Spending on selected services as a proportion of total government spending, Canada**

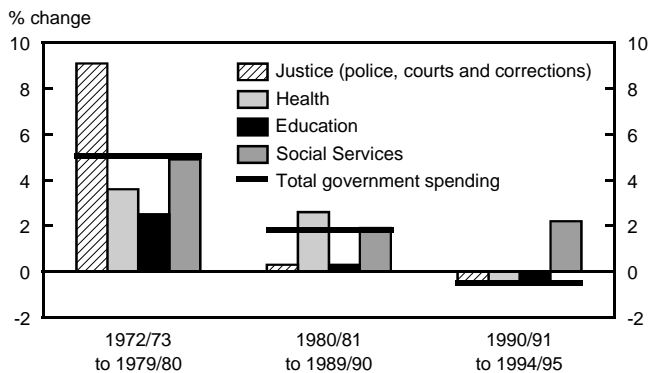


<sup>1</sup> Justice category includes: police, courts and corrections. Data are not available for these categories prior to 1972/73.

Source: Statistics Canada, Public Institutions Division, Financial Management System

Figure 3

**Average annual percent change in per capita spending on selected services, constant (1986) dollars, Canada**



Source: Statistics Canada, Public Institutions Division, Financial Management System

Slight annual decreases in per capita spending were reported for each of the justice, health and education sectors, while per capita spending on social services grew by 2%.

**Recognizing inter-sector linkages**

Since social service expenditures account for such a large share of total government spending (24% in 1994/95), escalating costs over the years have placed a heavy burden on the public purse. Proposals to control costs by reforming Canada's social safety net are highly relevant to the justice sector's focus on social

conditions as an approach to preventing crime. This is particularly so, given increases in the number of low-income families and persistently high levels of youth unemployment (SC, 1996a). Trends such as these illustrate the importance of designing government services from an integrated perspective where inter-sector linkages are evident. As noted earlier, many of the services provided by non-justice agencies – such as social services – can be viewed as demand-reduction programs from a criminal justice perspective (see *Crime prevention through social development ...*). For example, crime prevention programs aimed at pre-adolescents can be expected to reduce the risk of criminal involvement when these children enter their teenage years.

**Crime prevention through social development ...**

Crime prevention programs have achieved success in reducing crime (National Crime Prevention Council, 1996). Although Canadian studies are scant, American studies show that investing in crime prevention through social development pays. For example, the Perry Pre-school Program (Michigan) reduced crime among youth and adults, while promoting higher success rates in school, higher rates of employment, higher earnings, and less reliance on social assistance. In this case, a \$5,000 investment in early childhood education yielded an estimated \$28,000 return in dividends to society (National Crime Prevention Council, 1996).

**So, what does a "1986" dollar buy?**

The Consumer Price Index is used to calculate constant dollars over a base year (1986=100). For every \$100 spent on justice services in 1986, \$129 was spent in 1994/95. The reader is cautioned that monetary growth does not necessarily imply growth in level of service. For example, employment costs are important determinants of justice expenditures, and therefore, expenditure growth is closely linked to changes in salaries, wages, and benefits.

**Financial Management System**

Statistics Canada's Financial Management System (FMS), maintained by Public Institutions Division, provides time series data on government spending from 1965/66 to 1994/95. This system standardises the presentation of government financial information that is reported across the country, and employs a consolidation process. In consolidation, government is treated as a single entity, embracing all local, provincial, and federal levels. This process eliminates inter-governmental transfers so that an accurate measure of total government spending can be obtained.

Spending on three broad justice services are monitored by the FMS under activities related to the protection of persons and property: policing, courts of law, and corrections and rehabilitation. It should be noted that these categories are not directly compatible with those of the justice surveys administered by the CCJS, but serve as useful indicators within the broad context of total government spending. CCJS data are obtained directly from focal points for each justice service, while FMS data are gathered from each jurisdiction's audited financial statements.

## Focus on Justice Spending

Government spending on police, courts, corrections, legal aid, and prosecutions approached \$10 billion in 1994/95 (Table 1). This represents a 13% constant dollar increase since 1988/89.<sup>3</sup> Most of this increase occurred before 1990/91: spending grew by only 4% between 1990/91 and 1994/95, reflecting the 1990-92 slowdown in the economy (Table 1). On a per capita basis, the justice bill in 1994/95 was slightly lower than it was at the beginning of the decade.

It is important to note that some justice services provided by government are not included in this estimate (see *About the data ...*). For this reason, the \$10 billion figure does not reflect all government spending. For example, capital costs such as prison construction are generally excluded. Similarly, expenditures on justice policy, information, and research, and on the funding of direct services provided by non-government organizations are not included. Compensation to crime victims is another exclusion. Provincial victim compensation boards report that costs awarded to victims were in the order of \$90 million in 1992/93.<sup>4</sup>

### Bill totals at least \$340 per person

Overall, the services surveyed cost \$340 per capita in 1994/95 (Table 1). Spending on policing accounted for the largest share of the justice dollar (58%). Adult corrections ranked second (19%), followed by courts (8%), legal aid (7%), youth corrections (5%), and prosecutions (3%).

About 120,000 people were employed in five of the six service areas (Table 2).<sup>5</sup> Since 1992/93, when government entered a period of recession, personnel counts have declined in most sectors (by 2% overall). Most notably, headquarter staff in the adult corrections sector were reduced in number by 28% between 1992/93 and 1994/95.

### The federal share

The cost of providing justice services is shared among the federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal governments. Overall, the federal government funded just over one-quarter of total service costs in 1994/95, ranging from 16% for criminal prosecutions to 48% for adult corrections (Table 3). On an inflation-adjusted basis, per capita federal spending was somewhat higher in 1994/95 than in 1990/91.<sup>3</sup>

Since 1990/91, the federal share of total spending on policing and courts have increased (by 3 and 2 percentage points respectively), while the proportions for youth corrections and legal aid have decreased (by 6 and 10 percentage points respectively). In the case of adult corrections, the federal share has remained relatively stable over the five-year period.

<sup>3</sup> Prosecution service costs are not available prior to 1994/95, and are therefore excluded from this calculation.

<sup>4</sup> This information was provided by provincial victim compensation boards.

<sup>5</sup> Personnel data are not available for the youth corrections sector.

## Spending levels in the provinces

In the provinces, 1994/95 per capita spending on police, corrections, courts and legal aid ranged from \$230 in New Brunswick to \$308 in Ontario (Table 4). Constant dollar spending levels were either the same or slightly higher than those reported in 1990/91, except in Quebec, Alberta, and Yukon, where they were somewhat lower; conversely, in British Columbia they were moderately higher.

In Quebec, where decreases were most pronounced, lower policing costs resulted in lower overall costs in 1994/95 (Table 5). Unlike most other jurisdictions, costs rose for all services in British Columbia, but most notably in the adult corrections and legal aid areas.

### About the data ...

The CCJS collects resource and expenditure data on five justice services: policing, courts, adult corrections, legal aid, and prosecutions. In the case of youth corrections, estimates on spending are available from Justice Canada.

Police expenditures include actual operating expenditures that are paid from police force budgets, such as salaries and wages, purchases and leases of motor vehicles, and other operating costs. Revenues, recoveries and capital expenditures (with the exception of motor vehicle purchases and leases) are excluded. All police agencies are covered with the exception of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Ports Canada, the Canadian Railway and Military Police. Personnel involved in the enforcement of specific statutes in the areas of income tax, customs and excise, immigration, fisheries and wildlife are also excluded.

Court expenditures include all operating expenditures (salaries and benefits) for judges and support staff in Youth Court, the Supreme Court, the Tax Court, Federal/Provincial/Territorial Courts, and the Office of the Commissioner of the Federal Judicial Affairs and Judicial Council. Excluded are maintenance enforcement that falls outside the authority of local court services, native court-worker programs, prisoner escort services and computer-related costs in some jurisdictions.

Adult correctional expenditures include operating expenditures for federal and provincial correctional facilities (salaries and benefits for custodial and non-custodial staff), community supervision (community service orders, bail supervision, restitution), headquarters, and parole boards (federal and provincial).

Youth correctional expenditures include youth alternative measures, custodial services, probation supervision, judicial interim release supervision, medical and psychological reports, post-adjudication detention, pre-disposition reports, review boards and screening services. Excluded are those costs related to pre-trial detention and the adjudication of young offenders for provincial offences. Estimated figures are provided.

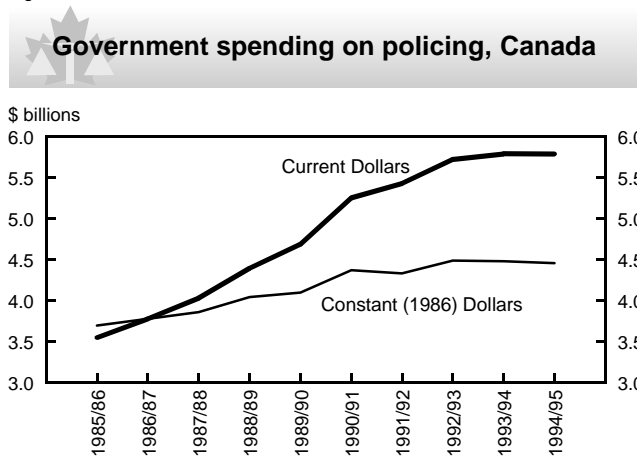
Legal aid expenditures include criminal, civil (proceedings related to divorce, separation, maintenance, custody and access, child protection) central administrative expenditures (salaries and benefits), private and staff lawyer costs, and the cost of community law clinics.

Prosecution expenditures include all operating expenditures (salaries and benefits) for full-time and contract lawyers, appointed by the Attorney Generals, who conduct the prosecution of criminal cases on behalf of the Crown. All direct support staff costs are also included.

### Policing bill highest

Governments spent a total of \$5.8 billion on policing in 1994/95, representing an outlay of \$198 for every person in Canada (Table 1). Constant dollar expenditures have increased 18% between 1985/86 and 1990/91 (Figure 4). More recently, however, spending has levelled off. Since the early nineties, average annual increases of less than 1% have been reported. It is noteworthy that this reduced rate of growth coincides with a general decrease in police-reported crime; crime rates decreased for the fourth consecutive year in 1995 (Hendrick, 1996).

Figure 4



Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

Among the provinces, per capita spending on police services is generally highest in central Canada, followed by western Canada, then eastern Canada. Costs ranged from \$134 per person in Prince Edward Island, to \$194 in Ontario in 1994/95 (Table 5). Constant dollar per capita costs in 1994/95 were generally the same or slightly higher compared with those reported in 1990/91 with one notable exception. In Quebec, the 1994/95 per capita cost for policing was 13% lower than the 1990/91 figure.

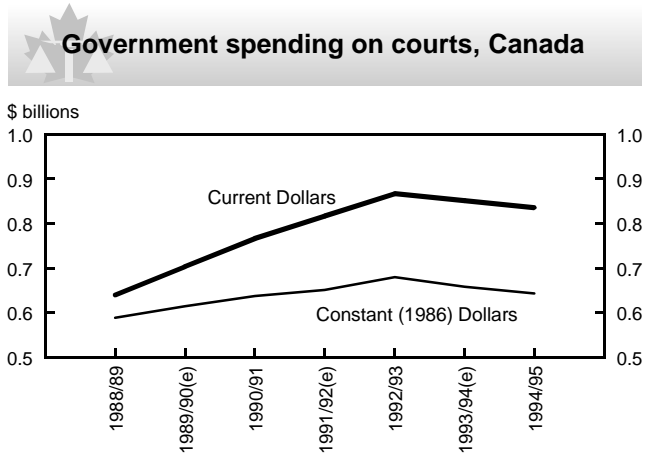
#### Contract policing

Municipal governments pay for the largest share of policing costs (55% or \$3.2 billion in 1994/95), followed by provincial governments (24% or \$1.4 billion), and the federal government (21% or \$1.2 billion). Policing contracts - in place since the 1930s - offer centralised services which may help reduce administrative costs. In 1994/95, RCMP contract policing accounted for 16% of total spending on police services by provincial, municipal, and territorial governments. An additional 20% was paid to provincial forces to police mainly rural areas. The remaining 64% was paid by municipalities having their own police services.

### Court spending down

The administration of family, civil and criminal courts cost governments \$835 million in 1994/95, or \$29 dollars for every person in Canada (Table 1). On an inflation-adjusted basis, total spending was 9% higher than the amount reported in 1988/89, when national data were first collected (Figure 5). However, since 1992/93, constant dollar spending dropped 5%.

Figure 5



(e) denotes estimated values

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

Among those provinces reporting complete data, per capita spending ranged from \$24 in Ontario to \$36 in British Columbia (Table 5). With the exception of Ontario and Alberta, constant dollar per capita costs among the jurisdictions were either the same or higher than those reported in 1990/91.

#### Reducing costs through diversion

Recent initiatives aimed at diverting cases from the formal court process are expected to reduce caseloads and costs. Alternative measures programs as well as restorative justice are designed to divert cases from the traditional court process; other initiatives, for example, mediation, family group conferencing and sentencing circles also have the effect of by-passing formal court proceedings. The proclamation of Bill C-41 (1996) has encouraged this development.

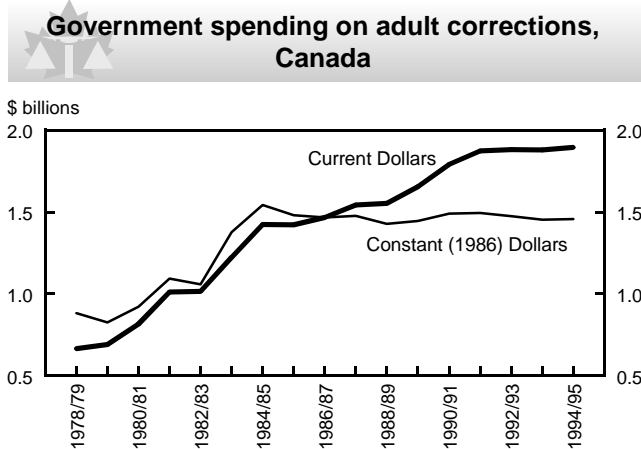
Pre-charge and pre-court screening are other approaches to containing court costs. For example, Ontario introduced a new case management approach in 1993, termed the Investment Strategy. This initiative emphasizes Crown disclosure of all information relevant to a criminal case, vigorous charge screening, and pre-trial resolution. The aim is to resolve or narrow issues prior to trial, thereby reducing the time spent in court or diverting relatively minor cases from the trial process.

Court diversion is also practiced on the civil side. For example, family mediation programs and pre-trial hearing programs are used to divert cases from the formal court process. Mediation processes are also being used more and more in the civil law area (e.g., labour law and small claims actions).

### Spending on adult corrections levels off

Governments spent \$1.9 billion on correctional services for adults in 1994/95, or \$65 for every person in Canada (Table 1). Constant dollar expenditures increased by 68% between 1978/79 and 1985/86, or by an average of 7% in each year (Figure 6). More recently, however, growth has been relatively flat. Since 1986/87, average annual decreases of less than 1% have been reported.

Figure 6



Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

### Federal and provincial corrections

In 1994/95, the federal share of total adult correctional operating costs (\$913 million) neared one-half (48%). Most of this money funded custodial services for offenders sentenced to two years or more in prison (75%). The remainder paid for community supervision services (7%), the National Parole Board (3%), and headquarters and regional office costs (15%). Provincial and territorial governments allocated a somewhat larger share of expenditures to custodial services (83% in 1994/95).

Among the provinces, per capita spending on adult corrections ranged from \$22 in New Brunswick to \$48 in Saskatchewan (Table 5). With the exception of Alberta, per capita spending in 1994/95 was higher than that reported four years earlier. Newfoundland, Saskatchewan and British Columbia reported the largest constant dollar increases. In British Columbia, where increases were most pronounced, the demand for services also rose substantially. The number of offenders in custody increased by 34%; the number for those under some form of community supervision rose at a comparable rate (Foran, 1996).

Unlike the other jurisdictions, the 1994/95 per capita cost of adult corrections in Alberta is comparable to the 1990/91 figure. This is due, in part, to government initiatives designed to reduce spending. In 1993/94, incentive pay to inmates was cancelled, and in 1994/95, salaries were cut by 5% province-wide (Foran, 1996).

### Controlling prison costs

Although inmate counts have been rising, the cost of keeping offenders behind bars has been declining (Foran, 1996). For example, the average cost of housing a federal inmate was \$121 per day in 1994/95, down by 18% since 1990/91 on an inflation-adjusted basis. Over the same period, the average daily inmate count rose by 24%. Similarly, the average per diem inmate cost at the provincial/territorial level (\$107 in 1994/95) decreased 11% between 1990/91 and 1994/95. Over the same period, the average daily inmate count rose by 11%.

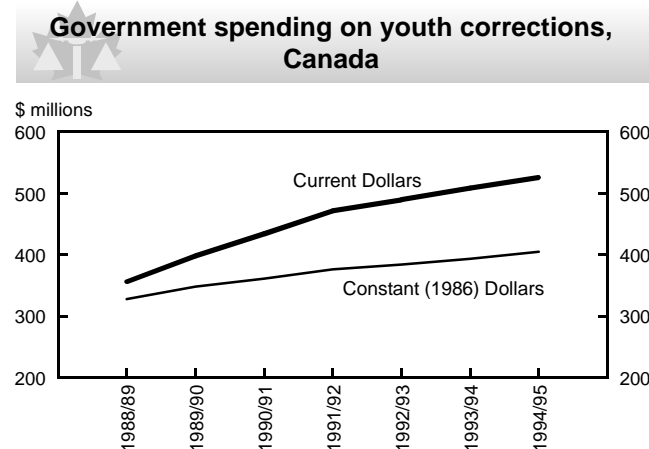
One of the factors that has enabled the federal government to contain prison costs is the use of "double-bunking." Today, about one-quarter of the cells originally built for one inmate are shared by two inmates. Although figures are not available, the provinces also use "double-bunking" to control costs.

### Spending on youth corrections up

In 1994/95, spending on youth custody and community services was estimated at \$526 million, or \$18 on a per capita basis (Table 1). Since data were first reported in 1988/89, total expenditures have climbed by 23% on an inflation-adjusted basis (4% each year on average) (Figure 7). This growth coincides with an overall increase of 26% in the average daily inmate count. Average month-end probation counts have also risen (by 30%) since data were first collected in 1990/91 (St. Amand and Greenberg, 1996).

Among the provinces, 1994/95 expenditures ranged from \$12 per person in Quebec and Alberta, to \$36 in Prince Edward

Figure 7



Source: Justice Canada

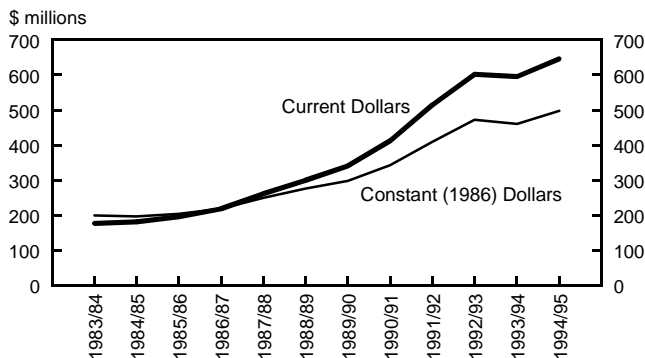
Island (Table 5). While spending has been rising at the national level, this trend is not common to all jurisdictions. In fact, seven jurisdictions reported decreases in spending, including - most notably - Yukon.

**Legal aid expenditures out-pace those in other sectors**

Canada's legal aid plans spent \$646 million in 1994/95, or \$22 on a per capita basis (Table 1). Inflation-adjusted expenditures have risen 149% since 1983/84 (or by 9% on an average annual basis). However, growth was strongest in the late eighties and early nineties (Figure 8): total spending almost doubled between 1988/89 and 1994/95. Some of the factors that contributed to escalating costs include: a rising number of court-directed cases, increases in fees paid to private lawyers, and more eligible clients resulting from the 1990-92 slowdown in the economy. Since 1988/89, applications for legal aid services have increased by 29% (CCJS, 1996b).

Figure 8

**Government spending on legal aid, Canada**

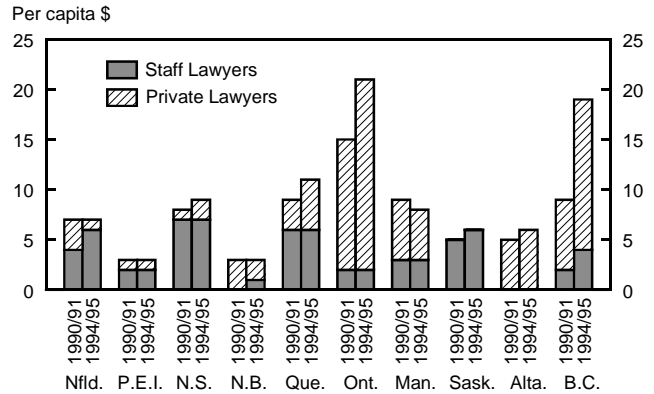


Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

In 1994/95, among the provinces, per capita spending on legal aid ranged from \$4 in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick to \$32 in Ontario (Table 5). These wide-ranging costs reflect, in part, differences in service delivery systems and the range of services provided by the legal aid plans. Increases in spending have been most pronounced in Ontario and British Columbia. Per capita expenditures on services provided by private lawyers have grown considerably in these two provinces since 1990/91 (Figure 9). However, recent efforts to contain costs are expected to result in decreased spending levels in subsequent years.

Figure 9

**Per capita spending on direct legal aid services 1990/1991 and 1994/1995 (constant 1986 dollars)**



Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

**Cost of prosecutions lowest**

In 1994/95, government spending on prosecutions totalled \$258 million - 40% of the amount spent on legal aid. This represented a cost of \$9 for every person in Canada.

Among the provinces, per capita costs ranged from \$5 in Prince Edward Island and Quebec, to \$13 in British Columbia (Table 5). Cost differences reflect, in part, variations in the range of services provided across the country. For example, differences in "out-of-court" responsibilities, the range of services offered to victims, and the extent to which prosecutors are involved in the charging process, can result in substantially different spending levels.

**Summary**

Like many publicly-funded services, the cost of justice services has levelled off in recent years: at \$340 for every person in Canada. In 1994/95, the justice bill was slightly lower than it was four years earlier. However, while total spending has been relatively constant, the costs associated with specific justice services have varied. In the case of youth corrections and, most notably, legal aid, expenditures have risen. In contrast, the bills for policing, courts, and corrections - the most costly of justice services - have been relatively stable. Even so, all sectors are searching for more cost-effective ways to provide services during this period of fiscal restraint (see *Some recent cost-saving measures and Modernizing justice services*).

### **Some recent cost-saving measures**

#### **Policing**

- use of special constables rather than police officers to escort prisoners
- increased use of volunteers for security functions not requiring a gun
- creation of regional police forces to service urban and suburban areas

#### **Courts**

- pre-court screening to reduce "in-court" time
- measures to divert cases from the formal court process
- increased use of video conferencing to reduce transportation and court costs
- streamlining operations among court levels to reduce administrative costs

#### **Corrections**

- legislative amendments (Bill C-37, 1985 and Bill C-41, 1996) may result in increased use of community-based alternatives to imprisonment
- double-bunking adult inmates
- contract agreements between federal and provincial governments to share facilities
- electronic monitoring of non-violent adult offenders
- reductions in the number of custodial staff through the use of video-surveillance
- privatizing some functions (e.g., food services)

#### **Legal Aid**

- increased use of user fees
- reduced coverage for some legal matters

#### **System-wide**

- increased emphasis on crime prevention
- integrated case management systems
- streamlining services

### **Modernizing justice services**

Some jurisdictions have begun to change the way they do business. For example, the streamlining of criminal, civil and family law processes is expected to reduce duplication of information and effort. In addition, integrated case management systems are envisioned whereby all agencies with a stake in justice services will have a mechanism for sharing information. Re-designed systems, intended to facilitate the sharing of information among all participants in the justice process, are expected to reduce the costs associated with collecting and managing data. Furthermore, the "integration" concept extends beyond the justice system itself. For example, information on an offender's health status and social support needs would also be available. Fundamental changes such as these are expected to result in more cost-effective and client-focused service delivery systems.

#### **A recent example...**

The government of New Brunswick has embarked upon a unique initiative that is expected to transform the province's administration of justice, and ultimately, reduce crime and related costs. Over the next few years, the province plans to develop the technology to support the streamlining of criminal, civil and family law services, enhance inter-agency co-operation, and implement new management practices and support services. A private-public partnership approach is being taken to fund this venture, estimated to cost \$60 million. Development costs will be covered by a private sector partner. The province will re-pay this money over a 12 year period out of anticipated cost savings.

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Table 1


**Spending on Justice Services, Current and Constant (1986) Dollars, Canada**

Current Dollars														
Service Category	1988/89 (\$'000's)		1989/90 (\$'000's)		1990/91 (\$'000's)		1991/92 (\$'000's)		1992/93 (\$'000's)		1993/94 (\$'000's)		1994/95 (\$'000's)	
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
<b>Police</b>	<b>4,389,414</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>4,684,760</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>5,248,530</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>5,426,887</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>5,716,833</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>5,790,165</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>5,783,656</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>Courts</b>	<b>639,891</b>	<b>24</b>	..	..	<b>766,334</b>	<b>28</b>	..	..	<b>867,006</b>	<b>30</b>	..	..	<b>835,404</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Adult Corrections</b>	<b>1,477,721</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>1,653,785</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>1,791,705</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>1,872,371</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>1,879,819</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>1,878,892</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>1,893,530</b>	<b>65</b>
Custodial	1,161,074		1,299,375		1,385,470		1,461,721		1,444,059		1,475,167		1,498,142	
Community	140,154		153,351		169,108		177,685		187,530		187,905		192,020	
Headquarters	152,445		178,483		204,423		203,013		216,151		181,779		171,049	
Parole Board	24,048		28,067		30,704		29,953		32,079		34,042		203,368	
<b>Youth Corrections</b>	<b>355,926</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>397,785</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>433,691</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>471,211</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>489,078</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>507,960</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>525,545</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Legal Aid</b>	<b>300,312</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>341,388</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>412,072</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>513,953</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>602,128</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>594,939</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>646,433</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Prosecutions</b>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	<b>257,855</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Total<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>7,163,264</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>7,780,831(e)</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>8,652,332</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>9,101,107(e)</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>9,554,864</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>9,623,161(e)</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>9,942,423</b>	<b>340</b>
Constant (1986) Dollars														
<b>Police</b>	<b>4,038,099</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>4,095,070</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>4,366,498</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>4,327,661</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>4,483,791</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>4,478,085</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>4,452,391</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>Courts</b>	<b>588,676</b>	<b>22</b>	..	..	<b>637,549</b>	<b>23</b>	..	..	<b>680,005</b>	<b>24</b>	..	..	<b>643,113</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Adult Corrections</b>	<b>1,359,448</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>1,445,616</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>1,490,603</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>1,493,119</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>1,474,368</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>1,453,126</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>1,457,683</b>	<b>50</b>
Custodial	1,068,145		1,135,817		1,152,637		1,165,647		1,132,595		1,140,887		1,153,304	
Community	128,936		134,048		140,689		141,695		147,082		145,325		147,821	
Headquarters	140,243		156,017		170,069		161,892		169,530		140,587		131,677	
Parole Board	22,123		24,534		25,544		23,886		25,160		26,328		156,557	
<b>Youth Corrections</b>	<b>327,439</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>347,714</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>360,808</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>375,766</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>383,591</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>392,854</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>404,577</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Legal Aid</b>	<b>276,276</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>298,416</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>342,822</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>409,851</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>472,257</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>460,123</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>497,639</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Prosecutions</b>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	<b>198,503</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Total<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>6,589,938</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>6,801,425(e)</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>7,198,280</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>7,257,661(e)</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>7,494,012</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>7,442,505(e)</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>7,653,906</b>	<b>262</b>
												<b>Minus Prosecutions</b>	<b>7,455,403</b>	<b>255</b>

<sup>1</sup> In order to allow for annual comparisons, court expenditures for 1989/90, 1991/92 and 1993/94 are estimated, based on the average between the reporting years immediately preceding and following the reference period. These estimates are included in the total. Note that prosecution expenditures are included in the total for 1994/95 only.

.. denotes not available

(e) estimated values

**Sources:** Police Personnel and Expenditures. *Statistics Canada - Cat.No. 85-002 Vol. 16 No.1*  
 Courts Resources, Personnel and Expenditures Survey, (1988/89, 1990/91, 1992/93, 1994/95).  
 Adult Correctional Services in Canada (1988/89 -1994/95). *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85-211*.  
 Legal Aid in Canada: Resource and Caseload Statistics, 1994/95. *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85F0015XPB*.  
 Prosecutions Resources, Personnel and Expenditures Survey, 1994/95 *Statistics Canada -Cat. No. 85-402-XPF*.  
 Young Offenders Cost-Sharing Agreements, Total Shareable Costs, Justice Canada, 1994/95.

**Population:** Per capita figures are based on July 1st population estimates. Population. *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 91-002 (Vol.8 No.3)*.

Table 2


**Personnel Counts by Justice Service, Canada**

Service Category	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95
<b>Police</b>	<b>72,719</b>	<b>73,759</b>	<b>75,293</b>	<b>76,214</b>	<b>77,051</b>	<b>76,857</b>	<b>75,351</b>
Officers	53,312	54,233	56,034	56,774	56,992	56,901	55,859
Civilians	19,407	19,526	19,259	19,440	20,059	19,956	19,492
<b>Courts</b>	<b>11,751</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>11,888</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>12,101</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>11,954</b>
<b>Adult Corrections</b>	<b>26,570</b>	<b>26,271</b>	<b>26,924</b>	<b>28,557</b>	<b>28,327</b>	<b>26,840</b>	<b>27,103</b>
Custodial	21,517	20,913	21,261	22,823	22,608	21,725	22,099
Non-custodial	2,844	2,967	3,313	3,449	3,333	3,087	3,154
Headquarters	1,822	1,971	1,930	1,864	1,932	1,559	1,394
Parole Boards	387	420	420	421	454	469	456
<b>Youth Corrections</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>
<b>Legal Aid</b>	<b>2,433</b>	<b>2,294</b>	<b>2,406</b>	<b>2,598</b>	<b>2,746</b>	<b>2,903</b>	<b>3,028</b>
<b>Prosecutions</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>3,198</b>
<b>Total <sup>1</sup></b>	<b>113,473</b>	<b>114,144</b>	<b>116,511</b>	<b>119,364</b>	<b>120,225</b>	<b>118,628</b>	<b>120,634</b>
						<b>Minus Prosecutions</b>	<b>117,436</b>

<sup>1</sup> In order to allow for annual comparisons, court personnel counts for 1989/90, 1991/92 and 1993/94 are estimated, based on the average between the reporting years immediately preceding and following the reference period. These estimates are included in the total. Note that prosecution personnel counts are included in the total for 1994/95 only.

.. denotes not available

**Sources:** Police Personnel and Expenditures, 1994. *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85-002 Vol. 16 No. 1*  
 Courts Resources, Personnel and Expenditures Survey, (1988/89, 1990/91, 1992/93, 1994/95). *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85-211*.  
 Adult Correctional Services in Canada (1988/89 - 1994/95). *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85-211*.  
 Legal Aid in Canada: Resource and Caseload Statistics, 1994/95 *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85F0015XPB*.  
 Prosecutions Resources, Personnel and Expenditures Survey, 1994/95. *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 85-402-XPB*.  
 Young Offenders Cost-Sharing Agreements, Total Shareable Costs, Justice Canada, 1994/95.

Table 3

**Federal Spending on Justice Services, Canada**

Service Category	1990/91	Federal Share %	Federal Per Capita Cost		1994/95	Federal Share %	Federal Per Capita Cost	
	Total Government Expenditure <sup>1</sup>		Current Dollars	Constant (1986) Dollars	Total Government Expenditure <sup>1</sup>		Current Dollars	Constant (1986) Dollars
	(\$,000's)				(\$,000's)			
<b>Police</b>	5,248,530	18	33	28	5,783,656	21	42	33
<b>Courts</b>	766,334	28	8	6	835,404	30	9	7
<b>Adult Corrections</b>	1,791,705	48	31	26	1,893,530	48	31	24
<b>Youth Corrections</b>	433,691	36	6	5	525,545	30	5	4
<b>Legal Aid<sup>2</sup></b>	412,072	37	5	5	646,433	27	6	5
<b>Prosecutions</b>	..	..	..	..	257,855	16	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,652,332</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>9,942,423</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>74</b>
			<b>Minus Prosecutions</b>		<b>9,684,568</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>72</b>

<sup>1</sup> Includes justice expenditures by all levels of government: municipal, provincial/territorial, and federal.

<sup>2</sup> Federal Share includes contributions for criminal and civil legal aid. Note that federal contributions for civil legal aid in Prince Edward Island and Alberta are not available and therefore, are excluded from the federal share shown for legal aid.

.. denotes not available

**Sources:** Police Personnel and Expenditures, 1994. *Statistics Canada* - Cat.No.85-002 Vol. 16 No.1

Courts Resources, Personnel and Expenditures Survey, (1990/91 and 1994/95).

Adult Correctional Services in Canada, 1994/95. *Statistics Canada* - Cat. No.85-211.

Legal Aid in Canada: Resource and Caseload Statistics, 1994/95. *Statistics Canada* - Cat. No.85F0015XPB.

Prosecutions Resources, Personnel and Expenditures Survey, 1994/95. *Statistics Canada* -Cat. No.85-402-XPB.

Young Offenders Cost-Sharing Agreements, Total Shareable Costs, *Justice Canada*, (1990/91 and 1994/95).

Table 4

**Justice Expenditures in the Provinces and Territories, Current and Constant (1986) Per Capita Dollars<sup>1</sup>**

Jurisdiction	1990/91 Per capita \$		1994/95 Per capita \$		% change since 1990/91 Constant \$
	Current \$	Constant \$	Current \$	Constant \$	
Newfoundland	230	192	258	205	7
Prince Edward Island	219	181	236	187	3
Nova Scotia <sup>2</sup>	219	184	244	192	4
New Brunswick	205	170	230	180	6
Quebec <sup>3</sup>	265	220	264	206	-6
Ontario	287	236	308	243	3
Manitoba	252	210	271	215	2
Saskatchewan	262	218	296	235	8
Alberta	242	202	250	198	-2
British Columbia	241	202	295	233	16
Yukon <sup>4</sup>	1,028	854	1,084	836	-2
Northwest Territories <sup>4</sup>	1,146	953	1,250	964	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>-1</b>

<sup>1</sup> Includes the cost of police, courts, adult and youth corrections, and legal aid. Prosecution expenditures are excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Excluded are municipal courts estimated to represent 15% of the caseload.

<sup>3</sup> Excluded are municipal courts estimated to represent 20% of the caseload.

<sup>4</sup> Per capita costs are higher in the Yukon and Northwest Territories due to the high cost of delivering services in remote and sparsely populated areas.

**Population:** Per Capita figures are based on July 1st population estimates. Population. *Statistics Canada* - Cat. No.91-002 (Vol.8 No.3).

Table 5

**Spending on Selected Justice Services in the Provinces and Territories, Current and Constant (1986)  
Per Capita Dollars**

	1990/91											
	Police <sup>1</sup>		Courts <sup>2</sup>		Adult Corrections <sup>3</sup>		Youth Corrections <sup>4</sup>		Legal Aid		Prosecutions <sup>5</sup>	
	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$
Newfoundland	143	119	26	22	30	25	23	19	8	7	..	..
Prince Edward Island	120	99	22	19	34	28	39	32	4	3	..	..
Nova Scotia	134	112	32	27 <sup>6</sup>	25	22	17	14	11	9	..	..
New Brunswick	141	117	24	20	22	18	14	12	4	3	..	..
Quebec	200	166	20	16 <sup>7</sup>	22	19	10	8	13	11	..	..
Ontario	178	148	26	21	43	34	19	16	21	17	..	..
Manitoba	167	139	24	20	35	29	13	11	13	11	..	..
Saskatchewan	172	143	24	20	42	35	17	14	7	6	..	..
Alberta	157	131	29	24	36	30	12	10	8	7	..	..
British Columbia	153	127	31	26	28	24	16	14	13	11	..	..
Yukon <sup>8</sup>	588	489	93	77	190	158	124	103	33	27	..	..
Northwest Territories <sup>8</sup>	617	513	106	88	189	157	156	130	78	65	..	..
<b>Total</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	..	..

	1994/95											
	Police <sup>1</sup>		Courts <sup>2</sup>		Adult Corrections <sup>3</sup>		Youth Corrections <sup>4</sup>		Legal Aid		Prosecutions <sup>5</sup>	
	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$	Current Per Capita \$	Constant Per Capita \$
Newfoundland	157	121	30	23	34	32	27	21	10	8	7	6
Prince Edward Island	134	103	29	22	33	31	36	28	4	3	5	4
Nova Scotia	154	119	35	27 <sup>6</sup>	26	24	17	13	12	9	8	7
New Brunswick	159	122	30	23	22	20	15	12	4	3	6	5
Quebec	189	145	22	17 <sup>7</sup>	24	22	12	9	16	13	5	4
Ontario	194	149	24	18	37	35	21	16	32	25	7	6
Manitoba	182	140	27	21	35	33	13	10	13	10	6	5
Saskatchewan	188	145	31	24	48	44	21	16	8	7	6	5
Alberta	169	130	28	22	32	30	12	9	9	7	7	5
British Columbia	173	133	36	28	38	35	20	16	28	21	13	10
Yukon <sup>8</sup>	610	470	114	88	236	183	87	67	37	28	..	..
Northwest Territories <sup>8</sup>	660	508	137	106	216	167	152	117	85	66	..	..
<b>Total</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

<sup>1</sup> Excluded are RCMP headquarter and training academy costs. These costs totaled \$352 million in 1990/91 and \$412 million in 1994/95.

<sup>2</sup> Included are expenditures for federally appointed and paid judges. These costs amounted to \$153 million in 1990/91 and \$196 million in 1994/95. Excluded are Federal court expenditures which totaled \$57 million in 1990/91 and \$59 million in 1994/95.

<sup>3</sup> Excluded are federal corrections. These costs totaled \$950 million in 1990/91 and \$1,063 million in 1994/95.

<sup>4</sup> Excluded are non-shareable costs on pre-trial detention (remands and lock-ups) and the adjudication of young offenders for provincial offences.

<sup>5</sup> Excluded are federal prosecutions. This cost totaled \$42 million in 1994/95.

<sup>6</sup> Excluded are municipal courts estimated to represent 15% of the caseload.

<sup>7</sup> Excluded are municipal courts estimated to represent 20% of the caseload.

<sup>8</sup> Per Capita costs are higher in the Yukon and Northwest Territories because of the high cost of delivering services in remote and sparsely populated areas.

**Population:** Per Capita figures are based on July 1st population estimates. Population. *Statistics Canada - Cat. No. 91-002 (Vol.8 No.3).*

## Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics

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