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THE PROFILE OF INDIVIDUALS ACCUSED OF NON-ROAD RELATED CRIMES AND OFFENCES IN 2009 AND 2010 ON THE TERRITORY OF PARISIAN POLICE HEADQUARTERS ¹

Statistical use of data extracted from an operational database allowing for the identification and study of individuals accused of 5 or more different offences ² over a 2 year period in Paris and in three regions of the suburbs close to Paris

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The structure of statistics databases on recorded crime is the main constraint on their use «for general information purposes» ³. The issue of the reliability of the collection of data regarding the activity of recording offences and how this is processed by the criminal police is not the first issue to be tackled. This comes only after that of the issue of the level of detail of information collected.

According to the national supervisory body on crime and punishment (the ONDRP), the obsolete structure of the data recording tool the *état* 4001, the tool used for recording non-road related crimes and offences used by both the police and *gendarmeries* causes delays not only for statistical analysis but also for analysis which could be carried out for operational objectives.

When the police or *gendarmeries* record the contents of a court process, the majority of information gathered regarding how the offences took place, or regarding the profile of the victims or individuals accused ⁴ does not contribute to the *état* 4001 data recording tool but databases used by investigation services for carrying out legal harmonization.

- (1) Paris, Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne areas.
- (2) Which did not take place on the same date.
- (3) Law n°51-711 7 June 1951 regarding the obligation, coordination and confidentiality regarding statistics.
- (4) See definition in the methodological chapter of the article «Developments regarding notions of people accused of crimes and the action of accusing individuals-Presentation of data retrieval - about «multiple accused» and statistical methods for studying their profile.)

These databases, such as the STIC (system for processing of information about recorded offences) by the national police, were not designed for providing numbered data. This situation should evolve in the years to come as new data collection tools have already been deployed in *gendarmerie* areas and are also being deployed in police areas.

In 2011, while the modernisation process being carried out has not yet shown its initial effects, the advisory board of the ONDRP submitted its recommendations for « a local study [...] regarding individuals who over a one year period were accused several times of non-road related crimes and offences. In particular, it would be used for determining their profile as well as the type of offences of which they were accused on different occasions. » (Annual Report November 2011).

This project is part of the ONRDP studies on the profile of individuals accused of crimes based on the police and *gendarmerie* operational database⁵. It is a question of trying to show, based on specific statistics retrieval, what a veritable database on recorded crime is capable of providing, in a field in which the *état 4001* tool only gave access to counting.

The population of individuals is made up of people against whom police or *gendarmes* have gathered «evidence which leads people to think that [they have] committed or attempted to commit one or several offences».

This definition does not correspond to a legal status, as the decision to accuse an individual of a crime is taken by the police or a *gendarmerie* before the transmission of the court proceedings to the public prosecutor's office. According to the choice made by the public prosecutor in terms of the opportunity for prosecution, an individual accused of a crime is not necessarily taken through the legal system.

It is not always possible to find out what happens to individuals accused of a crime because there is no administrative tool and therefore no statistical tool either, allowing for the monitoring of their path through the system after the transmission of legal proceedings written up by the police or the *gendarmerie*. The applications being deployed should eventually allow for this kind of monitoring.

In the meantime, up until this new process has been launched, searching for those previously questioned by police or *gendarmeries* is nowadays carried out by consulting those previously accused of offences, without necessarily knowing if the latter then went through legal proceedings, then onto a conviction or any other kind of legal judgement.

Consulting the background of individuals having been accused allows us to understand the number of times they appear in the operational databases of police and *gendarmeries*.

According to the ONDRP, individuals accused of crimes tend to have the same characteristics in statistical terms (distribution expressed in percentages according to gender, age or nationality) as the perpetrators of crimes. However, in statistics alone this is not representative of perpetrators due to the impact of the activity of resolving crimes.

There is no means of checking whether this activity allows for establishing whether individuals accused of crimes have the same characteristics as perpetrators of crime. However, provided that this statistics research is carried out in a similar way, we can suppose that structural variations measured over time and space or between different offences provide the estimation of structural variations in the population of perpetrators.

Given these conditions, the population of those accused would have a «relative representativeness», and in any case higher than the numbers of individuals defined after the accusation, «individuals prosecuted» or «convicted (See the chapter entitled «Développements sur»/ (Developments regarding).

Taking into account this point of view, we can consider that analysis of the profile of individuals having been accused several times can contribute to understanding that of an individual who has been a perpetrator of crime several times.

•••(5) http://www.inhesj.fr/sites/default/files/ga29_0.pdf

In the current study, this initiative has been made possible by carrying out data retrieval led by Paris administration services and in particular thanks to the DRPJ⁶ documentation service. The ONDRP advisory board would like to acknowledge the contribution of these different organisations and their contribution to the November 2011 recommendations.

The sample that the ONDRP made up is based on data which allowed for new statistics processing on individuals accused, starting with the association between a person defined by his/her gender, age and nationality and the other offences of which they were accused over a given period of time and in a given area.

However, it is important to insist on the limits of interpretation of the data used. They related to two years, 2009 and 2010 over 4 areas (*Paris, the Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne*) and out of a part of those accused, there were some accused of five or more different offences⁷. Therefore we can consider that the advantage of the study is less quantitative than qualitative. The profiles of those accused several times of crimes are worth more in terms of the representation of their frequency in the sample rather than the wide range of situations that they take into account.

This kind of project triggers mixed feelings. We can legitimately be enthusiastic about the idea of presenting and distributing data which has never been seen before regarding those accused of several offences. However, at the same time, we can consider it to be a shame that this kind of analysis is not possible across all different kinds of individuals accused. Let's hope that this article is a precursor for studies which future statistics databases will allow us to lead across a much wider field.

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••••(6) The DRPJ is the regional head of the Paris criminal police.
(7) Not having taken place on the same data.
(8) The national institute of statistics and economic studies.

Main lessons

Based on the statistics data retrieval carried out by the Paris police headquarters⁹, the National supervisory body on crime and punishment (the ONDRP) made up a sample of 1.508 individuals having been accused of crimes¹⁰ several times for non-road related crimes and offences having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris or in one of the three regions of the surrounding suburb areas around Paris (Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne).

It must be remembered that, by definition, an individual accused of a crime is considered so if the police consider that there are serious pieces of evidence or concordant evidence which proves that the person has participated, whether as a perpetrator or accomplice, in committing an offence. The stage of accusation is situated upstream from any legal decision, in that it relates to the opportunity for legal proceedings or to that of culpability.

The data extracted by the Paris police headquarters provide statistics on people accused of five or more offences or having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris, in the Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis or Val-de-Marne areas (See «Data retrieval for studying repeated accusations of crime» in the chapter «Developments regarding»).

This data has never been seen before as it allows for the identification of all people from the sample and the type and number of offences of which they have been accused. This data field is not restricted over time or in terms of its range but more in the overall number of individuals accused due to the threshold of five offences which was applied.

The computing tools were not designed to associate with each person accused of a crime the offences of which they were accused, and therefore it is necessary to proceed to specific data retrieval in order to reach this objective. Rebuilding the record of individuals accused of at least five offences of which they had already been accused has already required significant investment. The author of this

article acknowledges the services of the Paris police headquarters which contributed to it.

As a result, the sample studied in the current article is not intended to provide reference statistics on people accused of several crimes. It does not allow for making comparisons with data retrieved from the état 4001 data recording tool due to the fact that its means of counting those accused of crimes per court process is incompatible («action of accusing of crimes»¹¹) and not per offence.

On the other hand, for the first time, it is possible to analyse the characteristics of a sample of people having the specificity having been accused of five or more offences having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris or in one of the adjoining regions.

In order to ensure that the offence of which people are accused are linked to distinct events, only those having taken place on different dates serve as a means counting the number of individuals accused of crimes. As soon as a person is accused of two or more offences having taken place on the same day, we can identify amongst them an offence considered a main offence according to methodology presented in «Development regarding...» and based on a scale of seriousness in the legal sense of the term.

Thus the sample of individuals accused several times for which the profile is the subject of the current article is made up of people who have been accused of five or more main offences and which took place in 2009 or in 2010 in Paris, or in the Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis or Val-de-Marne area. For every «multi accused individual», there are therefore at least five different dates throughout 2009 or 2010 including one or several offences of which they have been accused of by Parisian police administration services.

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For the first time, the ONDRP has been able to use the statistical data relating to different offences for which a sample of individuals were questioned (see the definition below).

This data relates to 1.508 individuals who, in total, were accused of 11.784 main offences in the category «non-road related crimes and offences» having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris or in the close Parisian suburbs (See «Development regarding» chapter).

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For the first time, the national supervisory body on crime and punishment has been able to use statistics data on different offences of which a sample of people were accused (see below definition).

This data related to 1.508 people who, in total, were accused of 11.784 main offences of the type infractions principales de type «crimes et délits non routiers» ayant eu lieu en 2009 ou 2010 à Paris ou dans la petite couronne (Voir «Développements sur»).

Each person from the sample was accused of five or more main offences over a 2 year period, that is for offences having taken place over five or more different days during this period. The large number of people of individuals accused is measured by the number of main offences and the number of offences of which people were accused, as in some cases, several offences dating from the same day can be linked to the same event.

The characteristics of people appearing in the sample are not representative of individuals accused of several crimes as they related to a limited field. **On the other hand, the ONDRP considers that the typology of those accused of crimes which the sample allowed to make up provides profiles illustrating the diversity of existing cases.**

••••(9) <http://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/La-prefecture-de-police/Presentation-de-la-prefecture-de-police>

(10) See in the methodological chapter of the present article, development of notions of «individuals accused» and «the action of complaints» and a detailed description of the constitution of the sample studied.

(11) See «Individuals accused of crimes according to the état 4001 data recording tool, a population with double counting» in «Developments regarding»..

Almost half of the sample, 811 out of 1.508, that is 53,8%, were accused of 5 or 6 main offences taking place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris, in the Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne areas. They were accused of 4.331 main offences, that is less than 37% of those from the sample.

Around 18% of people from the sample, that is 270 of them were accused of 10 main offences over a 2 year period¹². This sixth of the sample contributes to more than a third of main offences, 4.139 out of 11.784, that is 35,1%.

More than half of the sample is made up of people who were aged under 18 at the time of the first offence of which they were accused in 2009 or 2010. Out of 806 individuals aged under 18 from the sample, that is 53,4% of them, there are 320 individuals aged 16 or 17 years old when the first offence (21,2%), 424 of them aged 13 to 15 years old (28,1%) and 62 of them were aged under 13 years old (4,1%).

It thus appears that over 32% of individuals from the sample were aged over 15 years old at the time of their first offence of which they were accused in 2009 or 2010. Out of these 486 people aged under 16 years old, there were 259, that is 53,3% which over 2 year of the period of study were accused of 7 or more main offences, out of which about a hundred, that is 21,4%, for 10 or more main offences.

One quarter of people from the sample aged 18 to 25 years old on the date of the first main offence. Almost 63% of them, that is 237 people out of 377, were accused of 5 or 6 main offences over a 2 year period.

While the number of those accused of 10 or more main offences is no higher than 17%, we can see that 64 individuals aged 18 to 25 years old were accused of over 1.000 main offences over a 2 year period, that is on average 16,3 offences per person. For comparison purposes, the average figure is at 14,6 main offences for those aged under

18 having been accused of 10 or more offences over a 2 year period.

Amongst the 352 people aged over 25 years old when they committed their first main offence, representing around 21% of the sample, around fifty individuals accumulating a large number of individuals accused of crimes, that is over 16 on average over a 2 year period. Those having been accused of five or six main offences were no less numerous (57,8%) within this age category.

The number of women within this sample of people accused of five or more main offences in 2009 or 2010 in Paris or in its close suburbs varies almost to the same or double between those over 18 and those under 18 and almost doubles between those aged over 18 and under 18: the figure sits at 8,5%, that is 60 women aged over 18, 642 men aged over 18 and doubles to 16,2%, that is 131 women aged over 18 and 675 men aged under 18.

In total, the sample includes 191 women accused of crimes, out of which 117 were aged over 15 years old at the time of their first main offence, that is 61,3% of them.

Out of the 1.317 men in the sample, the number of those aged under 16 years old was at less 30%.

Almost 95% of women in the sample were aged 15 at most at the time of their first main offence of which they were accused over the two year period studied recorded as foreigners: 111 out of 117 in this case.

This number is below 25% out of the men aged under 16 years old in this sample. Amongst these 369 individuals, there were 88 foreign males and 281 French male nationals.

Out with the 40 people who were accused of fewer than five main offences when we take out «violations of laws for foreigners» from the analysis¹³, the sample includes 450 foreigners and 1.018 French nationals according to the data on nationalities gathered

during the recording of those accused of crimes.

The number of female foreigners aged under 16 years old presented in the sample create a significant inequality regarding the number of women within the populations of those accused defined by nationality: is higher than 32% for foreigners accused of crimes (147 women out of 450) whereas it does not go beyond 5% for French nationals (42 women out of 1.018).

From this we can conclude that more than three quarters of women from the sample, out with violation of laws for foreigners, are foreign. This number is below 24% for men.

Out of the 11.784 main offences in the category «non-road related crimes and offences» from the sample, almost 7.500 were **property crimes** (theft, or destruction or damage), that is 63,3% amongst them.

In particular, a fifth (20,2%) of the sample of main offences were made up of 2.378 **cases of simple theft** having taken place in Paris, in the Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis or Val-de-Marne areas in 2009 and 2010.

The number of three other types of cases of theft is higher than 10% of the sample: **cases of theft linked to motor vehicles** (14,4%, 1.700 main offences), cases of **violent theft without weapons** (11,3%, 1.334 main offences) and **burglaries** (10,1%, 1.196 main offences).

Outwith property crimes, people from the sample were accused of 1.842 **offences revealed by security services**, that is 15,6% of main offences considered (out of which there were 909 accused of violations of drugs laws, that is 7,7%), 1.368 cases of **deliberate physical attacks not including theft** (11,6%), 379 **cases of fraud or economic or financial offences** (3,2%) and 731 **other non-road related crimes and offences** (6,2%).

This average distribution of figures varies very significantly according to the age, gender and nationality of those accused of crimes.

•••(12) In the rest of this document, to facilitate reading of this article, there will be no further reminders that this study focusses on non-road related offences having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris and in the three areas of the close Paris suburbs.

(13) For further details on the reasons why violations of laws for foreigners are excluded, see the chapter «Developments regarding...».

For example, for those accused of crimes aged under 16 who were foreigners from the sample, that is 88 men and 111 women, more than 90% of main offences of which they were accused were **property crimes**.

Out of 789 main offences, men aged under 16 years old who were foreigners from the sample were accused of 360 cases of **simple theft** (45,6%), of 180 cases of **violent theft without weapons** (22,8%) and of 161 **burglaries** (20,4%).

Cases of **simple theft** represent 73% of main offences of which foreign women aged under 16 years old from the sample were accused of 634 cases of **simple theft relating to 868 main offences**).

Out of the 281 French men aged under 16 years old from the sample, 23,8% of the 2.283 main offences of which they were accused were cases of **theft linked to motor vehicles** (543 main offences), 17,9% of **deliberate physical attacks not including theft** (409 main offences), 15,2% of **cases of violent theft without weapons** (346 main offences) and 14,6% of offences revealed by security services (333 main offences out of which there were 169 cases of **solliciting**)

For this age category, the case of French women accused of crimes can be tackled specifically as the sample does not include a high enough number of them (6 people having been accused of 39 main offences over a 2 year period).

Looking at a more aggregated scale, we can see that the number of cases of **property crimes** amongst the main offences of the sample, is higher for those aged under 18 in comparison to the number of those aged over 18, 68,5% and 57,2%, for women (70,4%) in comparison to the number of men (62,3%) and, for foreigners (75,6% not including violations of laws for foreigners) in comparison to French nationals (58,6% not including violations of laws for foreigners).

The number of cases of **deliberate physical attacks not including theft** au within the main offences of the sample for those aged under 18, that is 13, 3% (852 main offences), is higher than the

number of those aged over 18 (9,6%, 516 main offences).

On the other hand, the number is lower for women (1,6%, 24 main offences) in comparison to that of men (13%, 1.344 main offences) and for foreigners (5,5% not including violations of laws for foreigners, 209 main offences in comparison to the number of French nationals (14,8%, 1.159 main offences).

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The profile of individuals accused as it is defined by age, gender and nationality criteria allows us to observe several structural inequalities between different categories of the population of the sample. The ONDRP has tried to find out if it could understand them by relying on the notion of the case and path of individuals accused of crimes. The latter would be characterised by the series of main offences specific to each person in the sample.

In order to try to present an overview of the paths of these individuals, the ONDRP proceeded to a multidimensional analysis allowing us to establish the type of people according to the number and nature of main offences for which they were accused of in 2009 or 2010 in Paris and in its surrounding suburbs.

The result of this analysis is a distribution of people from the sample in nine categories designating the offence or those offences which characterise them. For each of the profiles of the paths of those accused of crimes several time, we can describe aged, gender and nationality of people accused.

Those in the titles of the nationality categories have been determined by taking into account the composition of the sample (See the example of the group « Romanian nationalities or nationals from the Balkan areas of Europe¹⁴). In order to do this, we have divided foreign individuals according to geographical and statistical considerations (See «Developments regarding»).

One of the major advantages of this new approach, and never included before in the work of the ONDRP, is that it allows us to reverse the point of view between profiles of people and profiles of offences. In the previous passage, we divide the population according to gender, age

and the nationality of those accused of crimes, then we study the distribution of offences (number and type of offences) according to the characteristic of people. The classification carried out allows for taking the analysis of the profile of offences, as a starting point, without taking into account demographic characteristics of those accused of offences first of all. The profiles of people finally serve only to illustrate the profiles of offences.

The 11.784 main offences having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris, in the Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis or Val-de-Marne area, of which the 1.508 people of the sample were accused, allowed the ONDRP to define 9 profiles or «typical paths» of those accused of several crimes.

The simplest profiles which are the most simple to describe are linked to a unique element of terminology for main offences¹⁵ which served to design typology. They are considered as «specialised» as over two thirds of main offences of which the people of these categories were accused are of the same nature. Four of the five profiles this defined bring together at most around fifty individuals accused of crimes.

Specialised profile «Theft linked to motor vehicles»: 51 people from the sample were accused of 953 main offences out of which 902 were cases of theft linked to motor vehicles, that is 94,6% of them. Each person in this category has been on average accused of 17,7 cases of theft linked to motor vehicles as a main offence.

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

51 men (100%)
24 individuals aged under 18 (47,1%),
23 people aged 18 to 25 years old (45,1%)
45 French nationals (88,2%)

It must be reminded that these main offences took place on different dates throughout 2009 or 2010.

A second specialised profile bring together fewer than 20 people from

••••(14) Albania, Bulgaria or the republic of ex-Yugoslavia (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia,...).

(15) «Burglaries», «Theft linked to motor vehicles», «Cases of simple theft», «Violent theft without weapons», «Other property crimes», «Deliberate physical attacks», «Fraud and financial and economic offences », «Offences revealed by security services» et «Other non-road related crimes and offences».

the sample, also registered an average number of more than 17 main offences of the same nature of which people were accused.

Specialised profile «Burglaries» 19 people from the sample were accused of 405 main offences out of which 334 burglaries, that is 82,5% of them (17,6 main offences in the category «burglaries» on average per person).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

18 men (94,7%)
6 people aged 18 to 25 years old (31,6%), 12 people aged over 25 years old (63,2%)
7 French nationals (36,8%), 5 people from Romania and from the Balkan areas of Europe (26,3%),
4 people from North Africa (21,1%)

Once again specialised in the offence type, property crimes, the third profile is different from the previous ones in terms of its size, with over 240 individuals accused of crimes, and in terms of an average number of main offences which is a lot lower.

Specialised profile «Cases of simple theft»: 242 people from the sample were accused of 2.022 main offences out of which there were 1.487 cases of simple theft, that is 73,5% of them (6,1 main offences from the category «cases of simple theft» on average per person).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

135 men (55,8%) and 107 women (44,2%)
134 people aged under 16 years old (55,4%), 61 people aged over 25 years old (25,2%)
152 Romanian nationals or people from Balkan areas of Europe (62,8%)

The 2 other specialised profiles do not relate to main offences which are property crimes. In each group, there were no more than 40 people in the sample.

Specialised profile «Fraud»: 39 people from the sample were accused of 323 main offences out of which 256 were

case of fraud or financial and economic offences, that is 79,3% of them. (6,6 main offences of the type «fraud and economic and financial offences» on average per person).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

27 men (69,2%) and 12 women (30,8%)
27 people aged over 25 years old (69,2%)
26 French nationals (66,6%)

Specialised profiles «Solliciting»: 32 people from the sample were individuals accused of 242 main offences out of which 165 were cases of solliciting, that is 69,8% of them (5,3 main offences in the category type «solliciting» on average per person).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

23 women (71,9%)
11 people aged 18 to 25 years old (34,4%)
19 people aged over 25 years old (59,4%)
13 French nationals (40,6%),
12 Chinese nationals (37,5%)

The four other categories of individuals accused of several crimes which are part of the typology developed by the ONDRP are described as «diverse profiles» as it is necessary to accumulate three to four types of offences to go over the threshold of 5 main offences over a 2 year period which served to make up the sample.

For two of these categories, the threshold was surpassed only by combining main offences in the category «property crimes».

Diversified profile «Cases of theft without violence»: 386 people from the sample were accused of 2.727 main offences out of which there were 834 cases of violent theft without weapons (30,6%), 499 burglaries (18,3%), 391 cases of simple theft (14,3%) and 375 cases of theft linked to motor vehicles (13,8%).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

349 men (90,4%)
156 people aged under 16 years old (40,4%), 87 people aged 16 to 17 years old (22,5%)
275 French nationals (71,2%),
62 Romanian nationals or people from the Balkan areas of Europe (16,1%)

Diversified profile «Cases of theft, destruction and damage»: 117 people from the sample were accused of 834 main offences out of which 639 were property crimes (76,6%). For half of these, there were «other property crimes» (428 main offences, 51, and 3% of those from the category). They include cases of theft with weapons and especially «destruction, damage» (68,5%).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

117 men (100%)
55 people aged under 18 (47%)
62 people aged over 18 (53%)
103 French nationals (88%)

For the two other categories, less than half of main offences of which people were accused were property crimes. They can be defined by adding other types of offences.

Diversified profile «Violations of drugs laws, theft-solliciting»: 332 people from the sample were accused of 2.166 main offences out of which 657 were cases of violations of drugs laws (30,3%), 289 cases of solliciting (13,3%), 185 cases of simple theft (8,5%) or 176 cases of theft linked to motor vehicles (8,1%).

Characteristics of those accused of crimes:

326 men (98,2%)
132 individuals aged under 18 (39,8%)
200 individuals aged over 18 (60,2%)
241 French nationals (72,6%), 39 individuals from North African countries (11,7%)

Diversified profile «Physical violence, threats, theft»: 290 people from the sample were accused of 2.112 main offences out of which 584 were cases of physical violence not including theft (27,4%), 248 threats (11,7%), 225 cases of violent theft without weapons (10,7%) or 205 cases of simple theft (9,7%).

Characteristics of individuals accused of crimes:

285 men (98,3%)

101 people aged under 16 years old (34, 8%), 89 people aged 16 to 17 years old (30,7%)

253 French nationals (87,2%)

The classification of people accused of five or more main offences having taken place in 2009 or 2010 in Paris or in one of the three adjoining regions allows us to reveal the diversity of different cases according to the way in which offences accumulate, between specialised profiles, or even highly specialised profiles and those which are a lot more diverse.

One of the typical cases which was defined was the specialised profile «cases of simple theft», which included 107 of the 191 women in the sample, that is 56% of them, 134 of the 486 individuals aged under 16 (27,6%) and

152 of the 232 people of Romanian nationality or coming from Balkan areas of Europe (65,5%). Such concentration on a specific profile partly explains inequalities observed at the level of the overall accused in the sample. This lends support to the idea of classification based on offences

It also revealed the dominant role of theft in these profiles, as a central element in specialised profiles of those accused of several crimes or as a recurring element across a number of very different cases.

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