

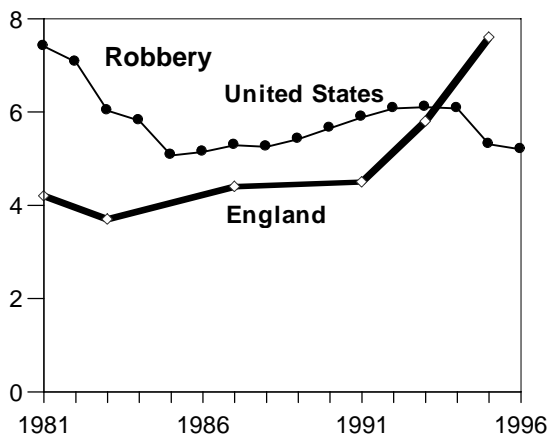


Bureau of Justice Statistics

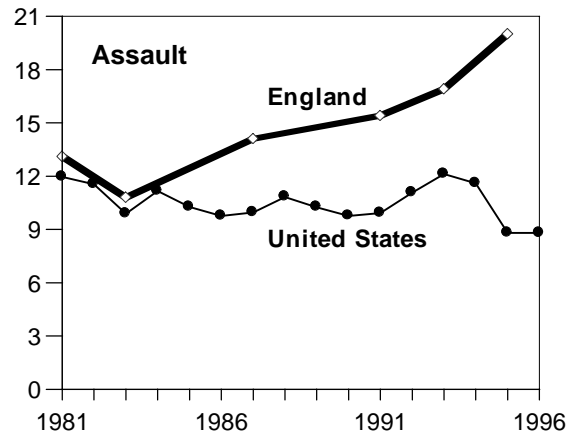
Crime and Justice in the United States and in England and Wales, 1981-96

In 1995 victim surveys, crime rates for robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft are higher in England (including Wales) than in the United States.

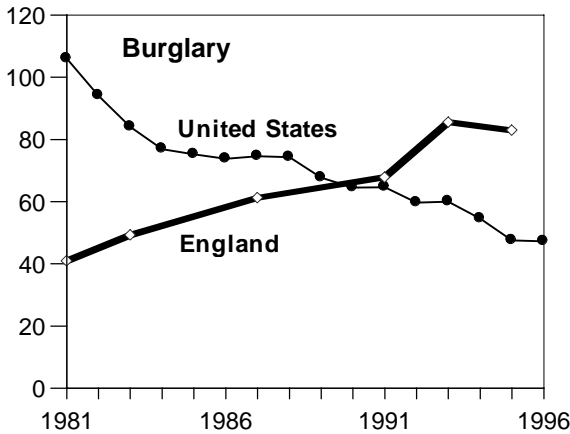
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population



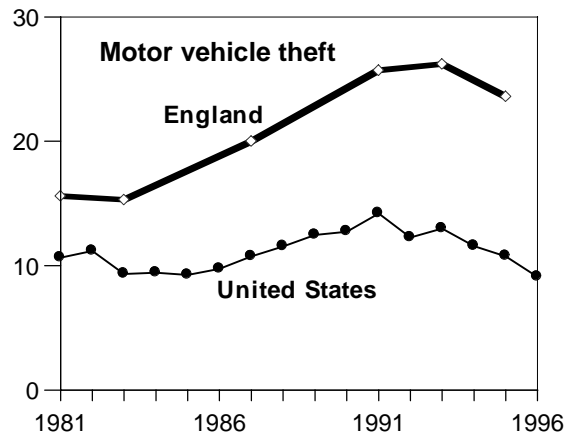
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population



Survey crime rate per 1,000 households



Survey crime rate per 1,000 households





Crime and Justice in the United States and in England and Wales, 1981-96

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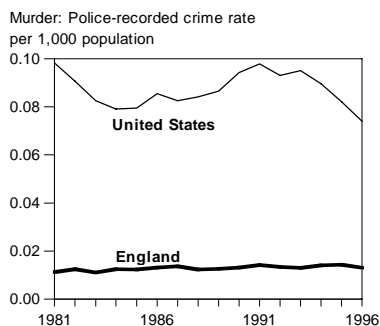
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Highlights

- Whether measured by surveys of crime victims or by police statistics, serious crime rates are not generally higher in the United States than England. (All references to England include Wales.) According to 1995 victim surveys — which measure robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft — crime rates are all higher in England than the United States (figures 1-4 of the report beginning on page 1). According to latest (1996) police statistics — which measure incidents reported to police of murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft — crime rates are higher in England for three crimes: assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft (figures 5-10). The 1996 crime rate for a fourth crime (robbery) would have been higher in England than the United States had English police recorded the same fraction of robberies that came to their attention as American police (figure 15).

- The major exception to the pattern of higher crime rates in England is the murder rate. The 1996 U.S. murder rate is vastly higher (nearly six times) than England's, although the difference between the two countries has narrowed over the past 16 years (below, and figure 5 of the report).



- Firearms are more often involved in violent crimes in the United States than in England. According to 1996 police statistics, firearms were used in 68% of U.S. murders but 7% of English murders, and 41% of U.S. robberies but 5% of English robberies.

- Since 1981, an offender's risk of being caught, convicted, and sentenced to incarceration has risen in the United States for all six measured crimes (murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft) but has fallen in England for all but murder (figures 43-48).

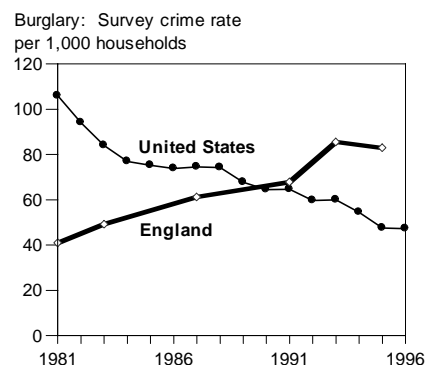
- U.S. crime rates — whether measured by surveys of crime victims or by police statistics — generally fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until around 1993, and then fell again (figures 1-10). For most U.S. crimes (survey estimated assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft; police-recorded murder, robbery, and burglary), the latest crime rates (1996) are the lowest recorded in the 16-year period from 1981 to 1996. By comparison, English crime rates as measured in both victim surveys and police statistics have all risen since 1981. For half of the measured English crime categories, the latest crime rates (1995 for rates from victim surveys; 1996 for rates from police statistics) are the highest recorded since 1981 (figures 1-10).

As a result of different crime trends in the two countries —

- the U.S. robbery rate as measured in the victim survey was nearly double England's in 1981, but in 1995 the English robbery rate was 1.4 times America's (figure 1)

- the English assault rate as measured in the victim survey was slightly higher than America's in 1981, but in 1995 the English assault rate was more than double America's (figure 2)

- the U.S. burglary rate as measured in the victim survey was more than double England's in 1981, but in 1995 the English burglary rate was nearly double America's (below, and figure 3 of the report)



- the English motor vehicle theft rate as measured in the victim survey was 1.5 times America's in 1981, but in 1995 the English rate for vehicle theft was more than double America's (figure 4)

- the U.S. murder rate as measured in police statistics was 8.7 times England's in 1981 but 5.7 times in 1996 (figure 5)

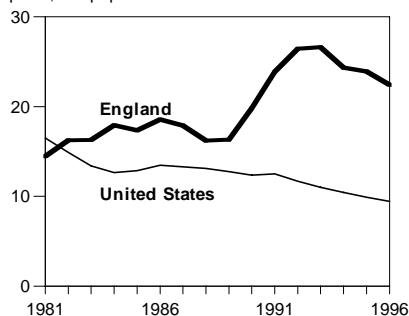
- the U.S. rape rate as measured in police statistics was 17 times England's in 1981 but 3 times in 1996 (figure 6)

- the U.S. robbery rate as measured in police statistics was 6 times England's in 1981 but 1.4 times in 1996 (figure 7)

- the U.S. assault rate as measured in police statistics was 1.5 times England's in 1981, but in 1996 the English assault rate was slightly higher than America's (figure 8)

- the U.S. burglary rate as measured in police statistics was slightly higher than England's in 1981, but in 1996 the English burglary rate was more than double America's (below, and figure 9 of the report)

Burglary: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population



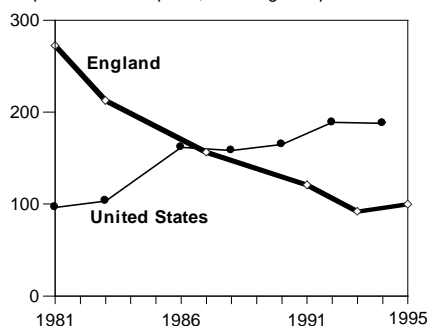
- the English motor vehicle theft rate as measured in police statistics went from 1.4 times America's in 1981 to nearly 2 times in 1996 (figure 10).

According to statistics on the criminal justice systems in the two countries (1994 in the United States; 1995 in England) —

- a person committing a serious crime in the United States (rape, robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft, but not murder) is generally more likely than one in England to be caught

and convicted (below, and figures 25-30 of the report)

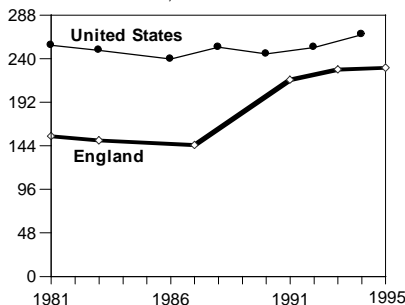
Rape convictions per 1,000 alleged rapists



- courts in the United States are generally more likely to sentence a convicted offender to incarceration (for robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft, but not murder or rape) than courts in England (figures 31-36)

- for all offenses (murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft), courts in the United States sentence convicted offenders to longer periods of incarceration than courts in England (below, and figures 49-54 of the report)

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted murderers, in months



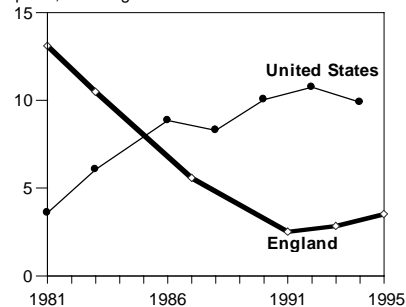
- for all offenses (murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft), the length of time in confinement before being released is longer for incarcerated offenders in the United States than in England (figures 55-60)

- the fraction of the sentence served before release is generally about the same in the United States and England (figures 61-66).

Since 1981 —

- an offender's risk of being caught, convicted, and incarcerated has been rising in the United States but falling in England (below, and figures 43-48 of the report)

Number of incarcerated motor vehicle thieves per 1,000 alleged vehicle thieves



- sentences for serious crime generally have not been getting longer in the United States, while in England sentences generally have been getting longer for violent crimes (figures 49-54)

- in general, the length of time in confinement before release has not been rising in the United States but it has been rising for violent crimes in England (murder, rape, and robbery) (figures 55-60)

- the fraction of the sentence served before release has not been showing any clear general trend in the United States, while in England the sentence fraction served has been staying fairly stable for murder, rape and robbery, but has been dropping for assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft (figures 61-66)

- the risk of criminal punishment has been rising in the United States and falling in England (figures 67-72).

Crime rates from victim surveys

Robbery: Survey crime rate per 1,000 population

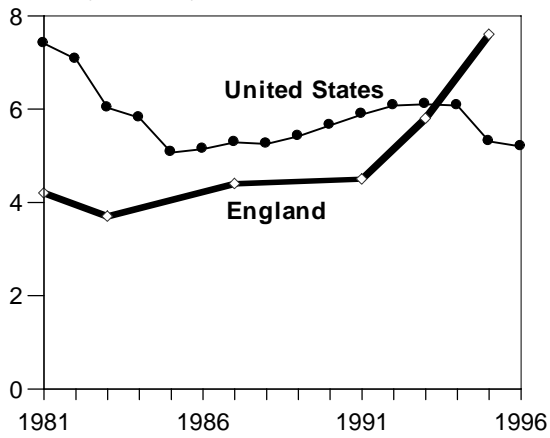


Figure 1

Assault: Survey crime rate per 1,000 population

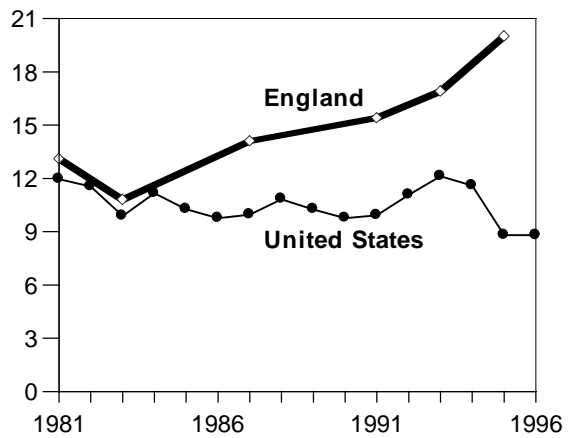


Figure 2

Burglary: Survey crime rate per 1,000 households

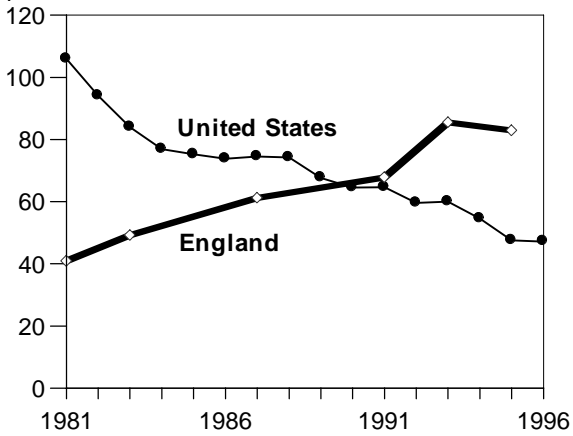


Figure 3

Motor vehicle theft: Survey crime rate per 1,000 households

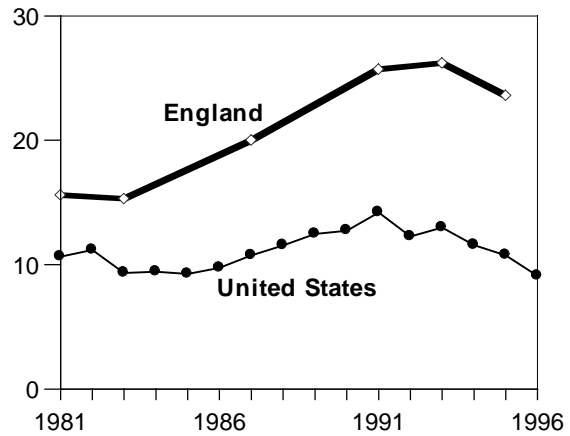


Figure 4

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

One of the best ways to determine the level of serious crime in a country is through crime victim surveys. In these surveys of the general public, samples of persons are asked whether they had been victimized by crime in the recent past. Interviewers ask about all crime, whether reported to police or not.

National crime victim surveys are conducted in both the United States and England (including Wales). In 1995 —

- survey-estimated *robberies* totaled 1.1 million in the United States and 313,000 in England
- survey-estimated *assaults* totaled 1.9 million in the United States and 823,000 in England
- survey-estimated *burglaries* totaled 4.8 million in the United States and 1.8 million in England
- survey-estimated *motor vehicle thefts* totaled 1.1 million in the United States and ½ million in England.

The higher volume of crime in the United States is due, at least in part, to the greater population size of the United States. A more meaningful comparison is between the crime *rates* of the two countries.

According to victim surveys, which country has higher crime rates?

- In 1995 (the latest year that could be compared), serious crime rates measured in victim surveys were all higher in England than in the United States (statistically significant at the 95% confidence level).

According to 1995 crime victim surveys, the —

- English *robbery* victimization rate was 1.4 times the U.S. rate (7.6 per 1,000 population versus 5.3) (figure 1)
- English *assault* victimization rate was 2.3 times the U.S. rate (20.0 versus 8.8) (figure 2)
- English *burglary* victimization rate was 1.7 times the U.S. rate (82.9 per 1,000 households versus 47.5) (figure 3)
- English *motor vehicle theft* victimization rate was 2.2 times the U.S. rate (23.6 versus 10.8) (figure 4).

According to national surveys of crime victims, is the crime rate increasing or decreasing in each country?

- U.S. crime rates as measured in victim surveys generally (robbery, assault, and motor vehicle theft) fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until around 1993, and then fell again (figures 1, 2, and 4). For survey estimated assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft, the latest U.S. rates (1996) are the lowest recorded in the 16-year period since 1981. By comparison, English crime rates as measured in victim surveys all rose. For robbery and assault, the latest English rates (1995) are the highest recorded since 1981 (figures 1-4).

Comparing 1981 crime rates from victim surveys to rates for 1995 (the latest year that U.S. and English surveys have in common), the rate of victimization from —

- *robbery* rose 81% in England (4.2 per 1,000 population rising to 7.6), but fell 28% in the United States (7.4 dropping to 5.3) (figure 1)
- *assault* rose 53% in England (13.1 rising to 20.0), but declined 27% in the United States (12.0 dropping to 8.8) (figure 2)
- *burglary* doubled in England (40.9 per 1,000 households rising to 82.9), but was cut in half in the United States (105.9 declining to 47.5) (figure 3)
- *motor vehicle theft* rose 51% in England (15.6 rising to 23.6), but stayed virtually unchanged in the United States (10.6 in 1981, 10.8 in 1995) (figure 4).

As a result of different crime trends in the two countries —

- the U.S. victim survey rate for *robbery* was nearly double England's in 1981, but in 1995 the English robbery survey rate was 1.4 times America's (figure 1)
- the English victim survey rate for *assault* was slightly higher than America's in 1981, but in 1995 the English assault survey rate was more than double America's (figure 2)
- the U.S. victim survey rate for *burglary* was more than double England's in 1981, but in 1995 the English burglary survey rate was nearly double America's (figure 3)
- the English victim survey rate for *motor vehicle theft* was 1.5 times America's in 1981, but in 1995 the English survey rate for vehicle theft was more than double America's (figure 4).

Crime rates from police records

Murder: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population

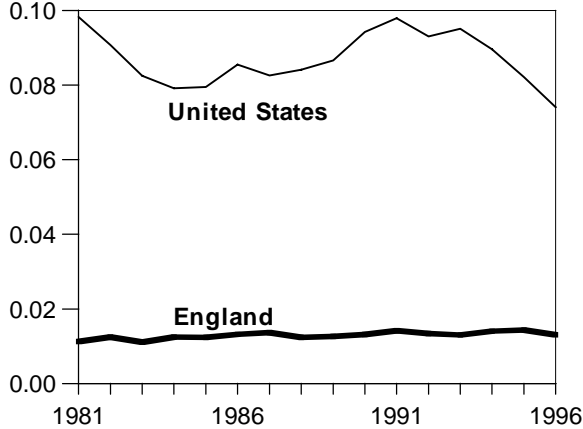


Figure 5

Rape: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population

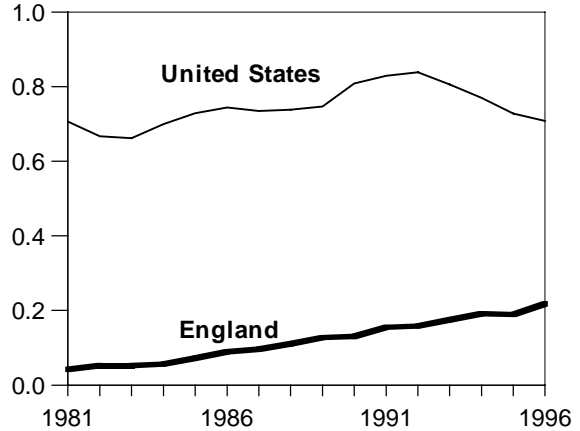


Figure 6

Robbery: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population

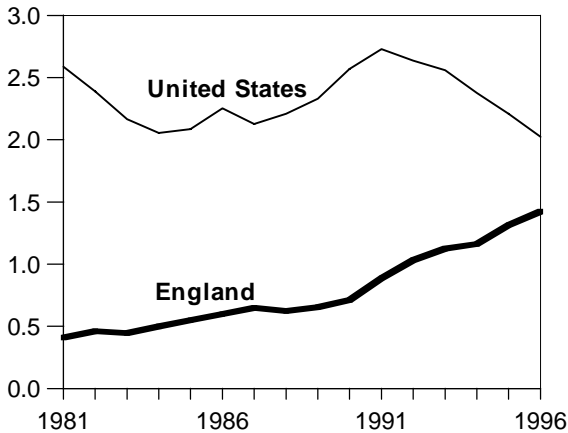


Figure 7

Assault: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population

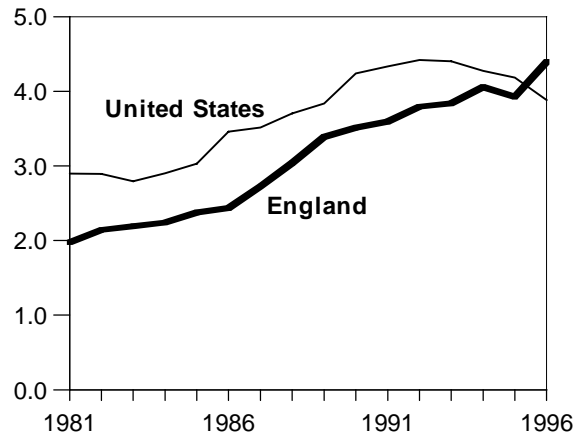


Figure 8

Burglary: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population

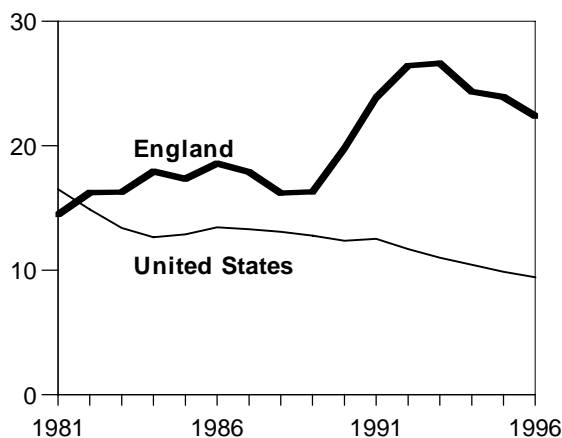


Figure 9

Motor vehicle theft: Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population

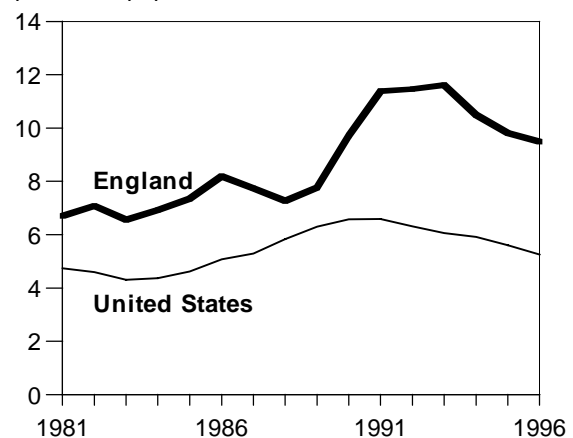


Figure 10

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Police in both the United States and England (including Wales) keep annual statistics on the volume of crime that comes to their attention. According to latest police statistics (1996) —

- police-recorded *murders* totaled 19,650 in the United States and 681 in England
- police-recorded *rapes* totaled 95,770 in the United States and 5,759 in England
- police-recorded *robberies* totaled 537,050 in the United States and 74,035 in England
- police-recorded *assaults* totaled 1,029,810 in the United States and 228,636 in England
- police-recorded *burglaries* totaled 2,501,500 in the United States and 1,164,583 in England
- police-recorded *motor vehicle thefts* totaled 1,395,200 in the United States and 493,489 in England.

The higher volume of crime recorded by the police in the United States is due, at least in part, to the larger population of the United States (265 million in 1996) as compared to that of England and Wales (52 million). A more meaningful comparison is between the crime *rates* of the two countries.

According to latest police statistics (1996), is the serious crime rate higher in the United States or England?

- In 1996, rates of murder, rape, and robbery recorded by the police were all higher in the United States than in England, while assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft rates were all higher in England than in the United States.

According to police statistics for 1996 —

- the U.S. *murder* rate was 5.7 times higher than England's (0.074 per 1,000 population versus 0.013) (figure 5)
- the U.S. *rape* rate was about 3 times higher than England's (0.71 per 1,000 female population versus 0.22) (figure 6)
- the U.S. *robbery* rate was 1.4 times higher than England's (2.0 versus 1.4) (figure 7)
- the English *assault* rate was 1.1 times higher than the U.S. rate (4.4 versus 3.9) (figure 8)
- the English *burglary* rate was 2.4 times higher than the U.S. rate (22.4 versus 9.4) (figure 9)
- the English *motor vehicle theft* rate was 1.8 times higher than the U.S. rate (9.5 versus 5.3) (figure 10).

According to police statistics, is the crime rate increasing or decreasing in each country?

- U.S. crime rates as measured in police statistics generally (all crimes except burglary) fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until around 1993, and then fell again (figures 5-10). For murder, robbery, and burglary recorded by the police, the latest U.S. rates (1996) are the lowest recorded in the 16-year period from 1981 to 1996. By comparison, crime rates as measured in English police statistics have all risen since 1981. For rape, robbery, and assault recorded by the police, the latest English rates (1996) are the highest recorded since 1981 (figures 6, 7, and 8).
- The major exception to the U.S. pattern is the steady decline in the burglary rate since 1981. The major exception to the English pattern is

downturns since 1993 in rates of burglary and motor vehicle theft.

According to police statistics —

- the English *murder* rate rose slightly after 1981 (0.011 per 1,000 population in 1981, 0.013 in 1996), while the U.S. rate fell in the early 1980's, increased thereafter until 1991, and then fell again, reaching a 16-year low in 1996 (0.098 in 1981, 0.074 in 1996) (figure 5)
- the English *rape* rate rose almost continuously after 1981, reaching a 16-year high in 1996 (0.04 per 1,000 female population in 1981, 0.22 in 1996), while the U.S. rate fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until 1992, and then fell again, returning in 1996 to its 1981 level (0.7) (figure 6)
- the English *robbery* rate rose fairly continuously since 1981, reaching a 16-year high in 1996 (0.4 in 1981, 1.4 in 1996), while the U.S. rate fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until 1991, and then fell again, reaching a 16-year low in 1996 (2.59 in 1981, 2.02 in 1996) (figure 7)
- the English *assault* rate rose fairly continuously since 1981, reaching a 16-year high in 1996 (2.0 in 1981, 4.4 in 1996), while the U.S. rate fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until 1992, and then fell again (2.9 in 1981, 3.9 in 1996) (figure 8)
- the English *burglary* rate generally rose from 1981 to 1993 and fell thereafter (14.5 in 1981, 22.4 in 1996), while the U.S. rate fell fairly continuously after 1981, reaching a 16-year low in 1996 (16.5 in 1981, 9.4 in 1996) (figure 9)
- the English *motor vehicle theft* rate generally rose from 1981 to 1993 and fell thereafter (6.7 in 1981, 9.5 in 1996), while the U.S. rate fell in the early 1980's, rose thereafter until 1991, and then fell again (4.7 in 1981, 5.3 in 1996) (figure 10).

As a result of different crime trends in the two countries —

- the police-recorded U.S. *murder* rate was 8.7 times England's in 1981 but 5.7 times in 1996 (figure 5)
- the police-recorded U.S. *rape* rate was 17 times England's in 1981 but 3 times in 1996 (figure 6)

- the police-recorded U.S. *robbery* rate was 6 times England's in 1981 but 1.4 times in 1996 (figure 7)

- the police-recorded U.S. *assault* rate was 1.5 times England's in 1981, but in 1996 the English assault rate was slightly higher than America's (figure 8)

- the police-recorded U.S. *burglary* rate was slightly higher than England's in 1981, but in 1996 the English burglary rate was more than double America's (figure 9)

- the police-recorded English *motor vehicle theft* rate went from 1.4 times America's in 1981 to nearly 2 times in 1996 (figure 10).

Reporting of crime to police

Robbery: Percent reported to police

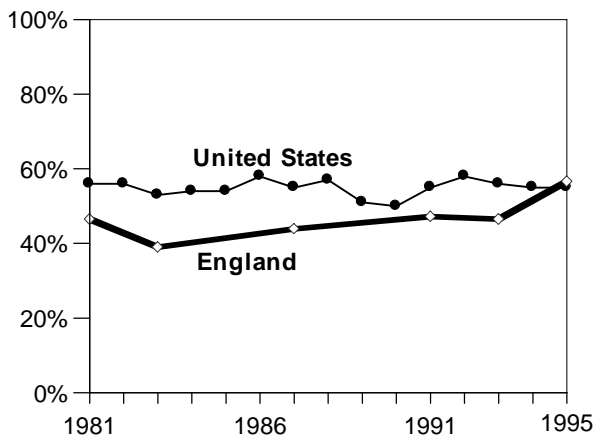


Figure 11

Assault: Percent reported to police

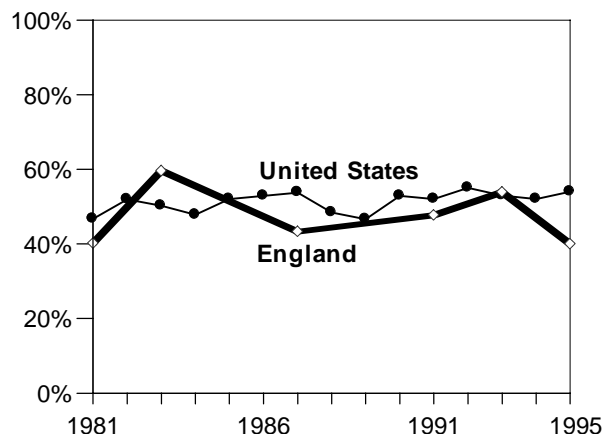


Figure 12

Burglary: Percent reported to police

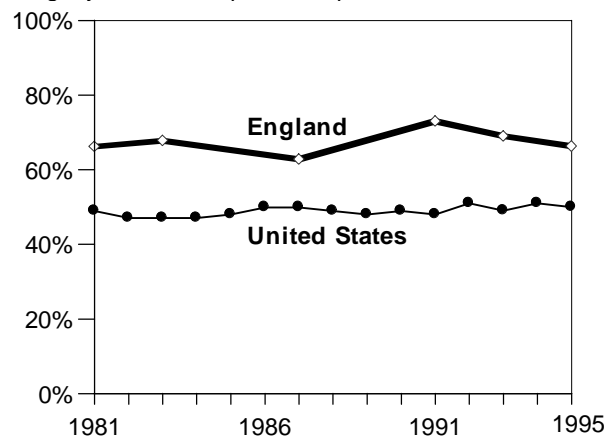


Figure 13

Motor vehicle theft: Percent reported to police

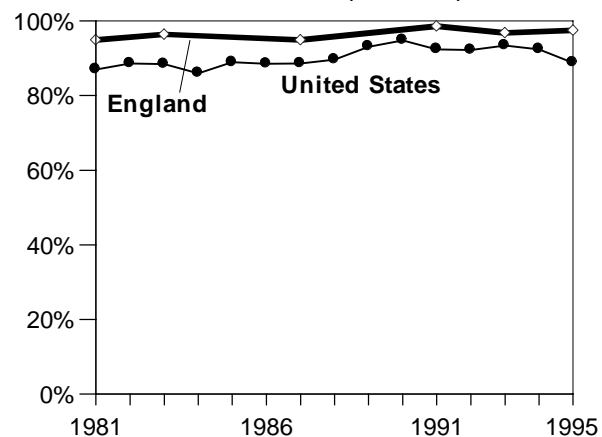


Figure 14

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Reporting of crime to police

The level of crime recorded in police statistics depends partly on how often victims report crime to police. Comparisons of police statistics between countries can be misleading if victims in one country call police more often than victims in another country.

Information on how often victims (and others) report crime to police is available from victim surveys. In these surveys, victims are asked whether the police were notified or otherwise became aware of the crime.

Is serious crime reported to police more often in the United States or England (including Wales)?

According to crime victims in 1995, the *percentage reported to the police* was —

- for *robbery* not significantly different between England (57% reported to the police) and the United States (55%) (figure 11)

- for *assault* significantly greater in the United States (54%) than in England (40%) (figure 12)

- for *burglary* significantly greater in England (66%) than in the United States (50%) (figure 13)

- for *motor vehicle theft* not significantly different between England (98%) and the United States (88%) (figure 14).

Historically (after 1981) —

- *robbery* is more often reported to the U.S. police than the English police (figure 11)

- *assault* is more often reported to the U.S. police than the English police, but the historical pattern for assault is less consistent than for other crimes (figure 12)

- *burglary* is more often reported to the English police than to the U.S. police (figure 13)

- *motor vehicle theft* is more often reported to the English police than to the U.S. police, although the difference is typically small (figure 14).

Are crimes being reported to police more often today than in the past?

- Reporting of crime to police is showing no clear trend in either England or the United States. A possible exception is English robbery, for which reporting to police has generally risen since 1983. In 1983, 39% of robberies were reported to police in England; in 1995, 57% were reported (figure 11).

Police recording of crime

Robbery: Percent recorded by police

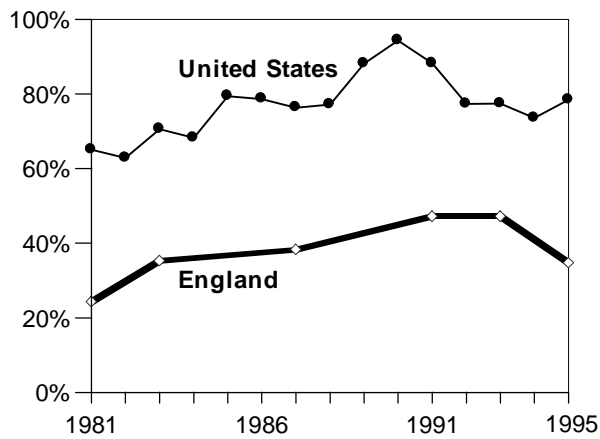


Figure 15

Assault: Percent recorded by police

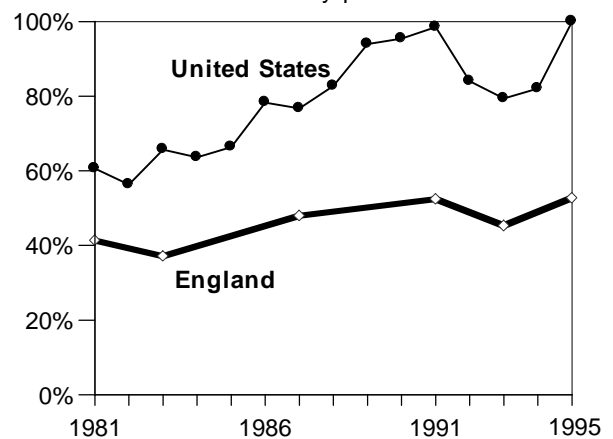


Figure 16

Burglary: Percent recorded by police

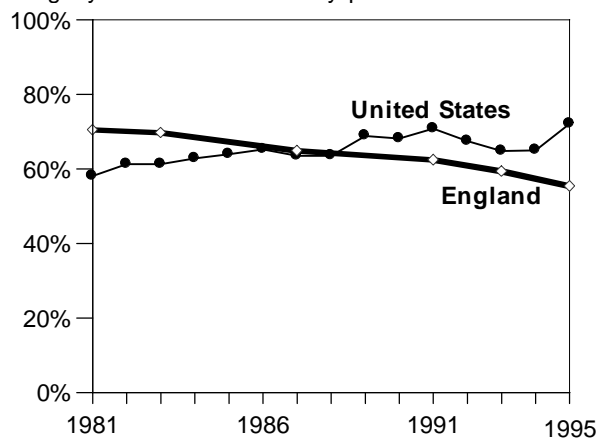


Figure 17

Motor vehicle theft: Percent recorded by police

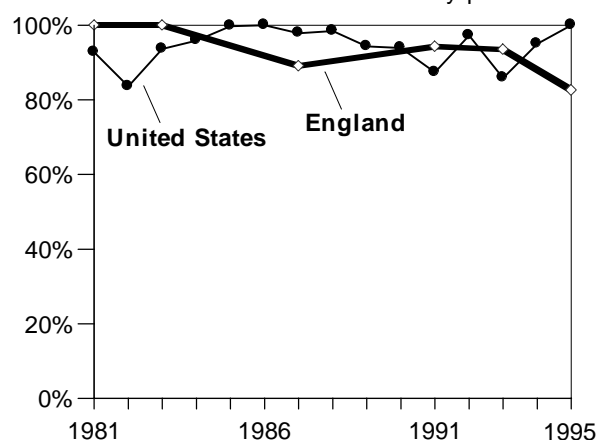


Figure 18

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

The level of crime recorded in police statistics depends not only on how often victims report crimes to police, but also on how often police record as crimes the incidents that are reported to them. Police do not always record as a crime every allegation that comes to them. Sometimes police find insufficient evidence that a crime has occurred. Alleged crimes go unrecorded because of poor record keeping. Police also weed out crimes they do not consider to be serious.

Comparison of the volume of crime that victims said they reported to police during the year with the volume that police actually recorded that year reveals how often police record as crimes those incidents that come to their attention.

Are police more likely to record crimes in the United States or England (including Wales)?

- Compared to police in England, police in the United States more often record as crimes those alleged offenses that are reported to them.

According to 1995 statistics, of all —

- *robberies* reported to police, 78% of U.S. robberies were recorded as robberies in police statistics, compared to 35% of English robberies (figure 15)

- *assaults* reported to police, virtually all U.S. assaults were recorded as assaults in police statistics, compared to 53% of English assaults (figure 16)

- *burglaries* reported to police, 72% of U.S. burglaries were officially recorded by police, compared to 55% of English burglaries (figure 17)

- *motor vehicle thefts* reported to police, virtually all U.S. vehicle thefts were officially recorded in police statistics, compared to 83% of English vehicle thefts (figure 18).

Are police today recording more of the violent crime that comes to their attention?

- A growing fraction of the violent crime reported to police is being officially recorded in both the United States and England.

From 1981 to 1995, the percentage of reported crimes that were officially recorded in police statistics —

- rose from 65% to 78% for U.S. *robberies*, and from 24% to 35% for English robberies (figure 15)

- rose from 61% to virtually 100% for U.S. *assaults*, and from 41% to 53% for English assaults (figure 16).

Are police today recording more of the property crime that comes to their attention?

- A growing fraction of the burglaries reported to police are being officially recorded in the United States. In England, the trend is in the opposite direction, with a progressively smaller percentage of property crimes being officially recorded since 1981.

From 1981 to 1995, the percentage of reported crimes that were officially counted in police statistics —

- rose from 58% to 72% for U.S. *burglaries*, but fell from 70% to 55% for English burglaries (figure 17)

- remained at around 95% for U.S. *motor vehicle thefts*, but fell from virtually 100% to 83% for English motor vehicle thefts (figure 18).

In both England and the United States, police are recording a growing fraction of the violent crimes (robberies and assaults) reported to them. U.S. police recorded 63% in 1981 and 93% in 1995. English police recorded 37%

in 1981 and 46% in 1995, bringing England in 1995 to about the level the United States was in 1973 (44%). What changes in policing might explain the trend in both countries toward more complete recording and more formal handling of violent crimes that come to police attention?

1. Police have become more professional.

2. Police operations have become more computerized.

3. Calls to police are increasingly being electronically recorded, creating an audit trail. Consequently, police are keeping closer track of responses to calls.

4. Police have become increasingly responsive to demands that domestic violence be handled more formally and be treated more seriously. In the United States, for example, a growing number of States now mandate arrests in all domestic assaults — misdemeanor as well as felony. In States where arrest is not mandatory, new laws now permit police to make probable cause arrests even when the police themselves have not witnessed the violence. Previous laws had required that the victim file a formal complaint when no police had witnessed the crime.

5. Society has perhaps become more litigious. In response to the growing threat of civil suit, police have adopted what might be called “defensive policing.” In defensive policing, the actions police take toward victims, witnesses, suspects, and the general public are closely managed by formal procedural rules established by police departments in part to protect police from suits. Among other things, the rules define situations in which police have a duty to act. Fewer decisions are left to police discretion.

Victim surveys versus police records

Is the violent crime rate higher in the United States or England?

- Crime rates are available from two different sources — from victim surveys and from police statistics — and sometimes the answer depends on which source is compared.

According to the latest comparable figures on violent crime (1995), victim surveys indicated higher violent crime rates in England (including Wales) than in the United States, while police statistics indicated the opposite:

- According to victim surveys, the 1995 *robbery* rate was higher in England than in the United States (7.6 versus 5.3) (figure 1), but according to police statistics the robbery rate was higher in the United States than in England (2.2 versus 1.3) (figure 7).

- According to victim surveys, the 1995 *assault* rate was much higher in England than in the United States (20.0 versus 8.8) (figure 2), but police statistics showed a slightly higher assault rate in the United States than in England (4.2 versus 3.9) (figure 8).

Why did 1995 police statistics indicate higher violent crime rates in the United States than in England, while 1995 victim surveys indicated higher violent crime rates in England than in the United States?

- If *robbery* were more often reported to police in the United States than in England, that might help to explain why the U.S. rate of robberies from police statistics is higher than England's. But robberies were *not* more often reported to the U.S. (55% reported) than to the English (57% reported) police (figure 11). However, U.S. police *did* more

often than the English police *record* robberies that came to their attention. Of all robberies reported to police in the United States in 1995, an estimated 78% were ultimately recorded as robberies in police statistics (figure 15). Of those reported to English police, a much smaller proportion — 35% — was officially recorded as robberies.

- The *assault* rate from police statistics is higher in the United States than in England for two reasons. One is that assaults in 1995 were more often *reported* to police in the United States (54%) than in England (40%) (figure 12). The other is that, compared to police in England, police in the United States *recorded* a higher proportion of assaults that came to their attention in 1995 (virtually all in the United States versus 53% in England) (figure 16).

In 1996 the rate of robbery recorded by police was higher in the United States (2.0 per 1,000 population) than in England (1.4 per 1,000 population) (figure 7). Is that because American police recorded a greater fraction of the robberies that were reported to them than English police?

As noted above, in 1995 American police recorded 78% of all robberies reported to them, while English police recorded 35% (figure 15). In other words, American police were about twice as likely as English police to record a robbery coming to their

attention in 1995. Assuming the same was true for rates of robbery recorded by police in 1996, the English rate is not directly comparable to the American rate because American police recorded a greater fraction than English police of the robberies reported to them. Had English police recorded the same fraction of robberies that were reported to them as had American police, the English robbery rate would have been 2.8 per 1,000 population, exceeding the American rate of 2.0 robberies per 1,000.

Is the property crime rate higher in the United States or England?

Both victim surveys and police statistics for 1995 indicated higher property crime rates in England than in the United States.

- For the property offense of *burglary*, the rate from victim surveys was higher in England than in the United States (82.9 per 1,000 households versus 47.5) (figure 3), and the rate from police statistics was also higher in England than in the United States (23.9 per 1,000 population versus 9.9) (figure 9).

- For the property offense of *motor vehicle theft*, the rate from victim surveys was higher in England than in the United States (23.6 per 1,000 households versus 10.8) (figure 4), and the rate from police statistics was also higher in England than in the United States (9.8 per 1,000 population versus 5.6) (figure 10).

Are trends in crime rates derived from victim surveys similar to trends in police-recorded crime rates in both countries?

• In England (including Wales), 1981-1995 crime trends calculated from police statistics corresponded closely to 1981-1995 crime trends obtained from victim surveys. By contrast, in the United States for the period 1981 to 1996, the correspondence was less close.

Trends in police-recorded crime rates can be compared to trends in survey rates for robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft.

In England from 1981 to 1995 —

• the rise in the police-recorded *robbery* rate corresponded closely to the

rise in the robbery rate as estimated from victim surveys ($r = + .91$) (table 1)

• the rise in the police-recorded *assault* rate corresponded closely to the rise in the survey assault rate ($r = + .88$) (table 1)

• the rise in the police-recorded *burglary* rate corresponded closely to the rise in the survey-estimated burglary rate ($r = + .95$) (table 1)

• the rise in the police-recorded *vehicle theft* rate corresponded closely to the rise in the vehicle theft rate as documented in victim surveys ($r = + .98$) (table 1).

In the United States from 1981 to 1996 —

• the rise in the police-recorded *robbery* rate corresponded fairly well to the rise

documented in victim surveys ($r = + .56$) (table 1)

• changes in the police-recorded *assault* rate did not correspond at all to changes in the assault rate as estimated from victim surveys ($r = - .15$) (table 1)

• a striking correspondence existed between the drop in the police-recorded *burglary* rate and the drop in the survey-estimated burglary rate ($r = + .97$) (table 1)

• changes in the police-recorded *vehicle theft* rate corresponded closely to vehicle theft rate changes documented in victim surveys ($r = + .86$) (table 1).

Table 1. Correlation between trends in crime rates as measured by data from police records and victim surveys in the United States and England, from 1981 to 1995/96

	Police recorded rate of —						Victim survey estimated rate of —			
	Murder	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Motor vehicle theft	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Motor vehicle theft
Police-recorded rate of —										
Murder	X	.565*	.968**	.337	.352	.493	.653**	.539*	.246	.770**
Rape	.725**	X	.688**	.849**	-.354	.874**	-.134	.083	-.511*	.771**
Robbery	.687**	.964**	X	.488	.185	.619*	.558*	.414	.064	.825**
Assault	.691**	.988**	.929**	X	-.692**	.916**	-.255	-.145	-.807**	.705**
Burglary	.715**	.829**	.851**	.812**	X	-.419	.540*	.418	.969**	-.081
Motor vehicle theft	.726**	.828**	.786**	.832**	.955**	X	-.183	-.078	-.588*	.861**
Victim survey estimated rate of —										
Robbery	.624	.811*	.912*	.780	.677	.536	X	.700**	.601*	.207
Assault	.787	.905*	.952**	.880*	.784	.708	.953**	X	.474	.249
Burglary	.752	.968**	.965**	.967**	.951**	.852*	.809	.862*	X	-.227
Motor vehicle theft	.816*	.944**	.860*	.955**	.965**	.982**	.597	.771	.899*	X

Unshaded = correlations between U.S. crime rate trends
 Shaded = correlations between English crime rate trends

Note: For rape, rates are per 1,000 female population; for all other crimes, rates are per 1,000 population or per 1,000 households. The table shows Pearson correlation coefficients. U.S. correlations are all based on 16 years of data spanning the period 1981 to 1996. English correlations between two police-recorded crime rates are based on 16 years of data spanning the period 1981 to 1996; correlations between two victim-survey crime rates, 6 years of data spanning the period 1981 to 1995; correlations between a victim-survey crime rate and a police-recorded crime rate, 6 years of data spanning the period 1981 to 1995.
 *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
 **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Convictions per 1,000 population

Murder conviction rate per 1,000 population

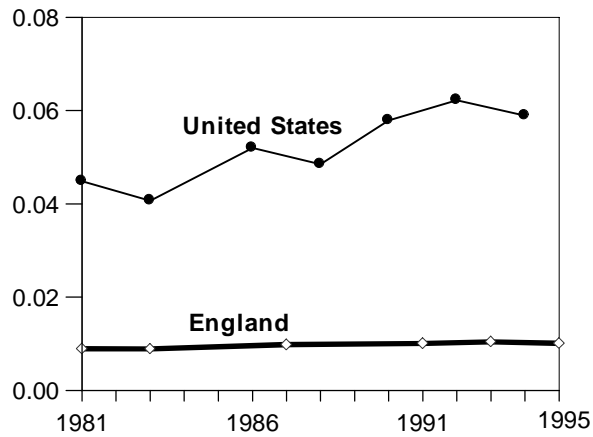


Figure 19

Rape conviction rate per 1,000 male population

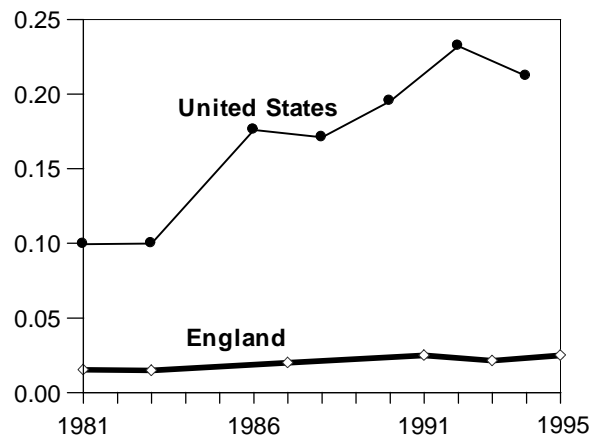


Figure 20

Robbery conviction rate per 1,000 population

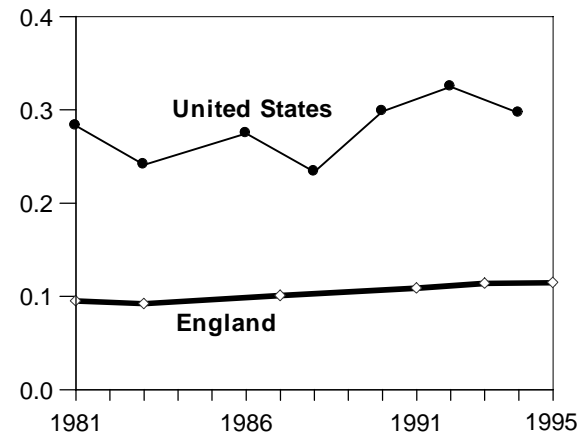


Figure 21

Assault conviction rate per 1,000 population

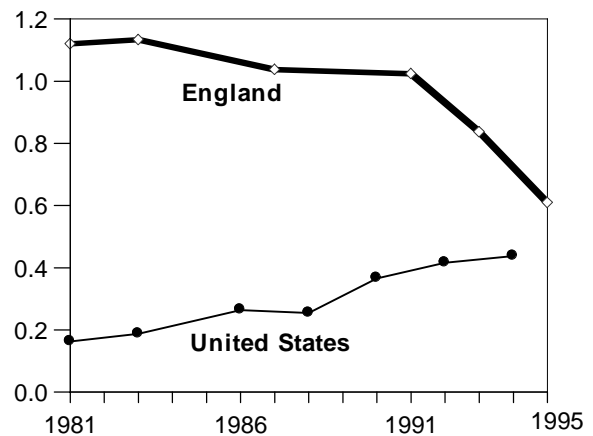


Figure 22

Burglary conviction rate per 1,000 population

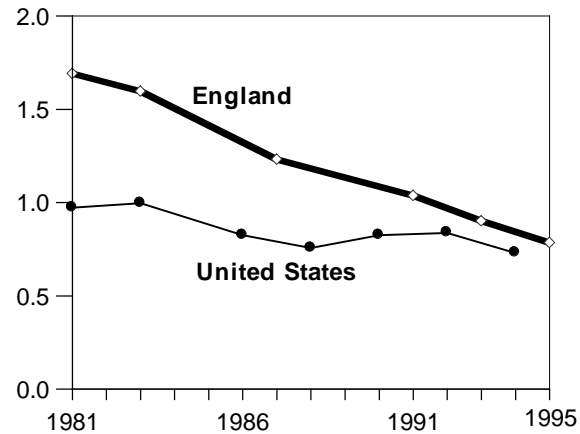


Figure 23

Motor vehicle theft conviction rate per 1,000 population

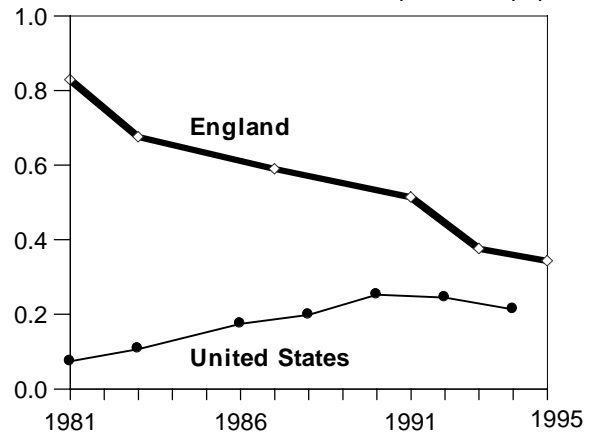


Figure 24

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Depending on the circumstances, a person charged in the United States with a serious crime can be prosecuted in a State court, a Federal court, or a juvenile court. Likewise in England (including Wales), depending on the circumstances, the case can go to the Crown Court, a magistrate court, or a juvenile court (a specialized magistrate court).

U.S. Federal courts treat persons 18 years of age and older as adults. In the vast majority of States, a defendant is considered an adult once he or she reaches the age of 18; in a small number of States, age 17 is the beginning of adulthood; in a few States it is age 16. In England, adulthood in the eyes of the law begins at age 18. Before 1992, it was age 17.

In both countries, a juvenile charged with or previously found delinquent of a serious crime can be prosecuted in the adult court rather than the juvenile court. In America, State and Federal laws define special circumstances in which adult prosecution of a juvenile is automatic (for example, a juvenile charged with murder, rape, or armed robbery), and circumstances in which such prosecution is at the discretion of either the juvenile court or the prosecutor. English law requires that all juveniles charged with homicide be prosecuted in the Crown Court (the adult court) rather than the juvenile court (called the youth court in England). If the crime is not a homicide but is one that is punishable by at least 14 years confinement for an adult (for example, household burglary), or the crime is carried out with an adult accomplice, the English juvenile court, at its discretion, can commit the juvenile for trial in the Crown Court. Commitment for trial in the Crown Court is distinguished from commitment for sentencing in the Crown Court. When a juvenile is convicted in the English juvenile court but the magistrate

believes the juvenile deserves a longer sentence than the maximum that the juvenile court can impose (12 months), the juvenile can be committed to the Crown Court for sentencing. In such a case the maximum sentence the Crown Court can impose is 2 years.

The total number of convictions (juvenile and adult combined) in the United States is not directly comparable to the English total because the U.S. population is far larger than the English population. Naturally the United States has more convictions: it has roughly five times more people than England. A more meaningful comparison is between conviction *rates* per 1,000 population, a measure that takes into account the difference in population size.

The U.S. conviction rate per 1,000 population is higher than England's for murder, rape, and robbery. Is that because the United States has higher rates of victimization from murder, rape, and robbery? Or because the criminal justice system in the United States is more likely than the English system to catch and convict murderers, rapists, and robbers?

- The higher U.S. conviction rate for *murder* is explained entirely by the higher U.S. murder rate. According to the most recent statistics on crime (1996) and the justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the U.S. murder rate is nearly six times the English murder rate (figure 5). Correspondingly, the U.S. murder conviction rate per 1,000 population is nearly six times England's (.059 versus .010) (figure 19).

- The higher U.S. conviction rate for *rape* is attributable both to the higher U.S. police-recorded rape rate and to a United States criminal justice system that catches and convicts rapists at a higher rate than England's system.

According to the most recent statistics on crime (1996) and the justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the U.S. police-recorded rape rate is three times England's (figure 5), but the U.S. rape conviction rate is over eight times England's (.212 versus .025) (figure 20), indicating that a rape in the United States is more likely to lead to conviction than one in England.

- The higher U.S. conviction rate for *robbery* cannot be attributed to a higher U.S. robbery victimization rate since, according to the latest figures, the U.S. robbery victimization rate is lower than England's. Instead the reason for the higher U.S. robbery conviction rate is that the English criminal justice system is less likely than America's to catch and convict robbers. According to the most recent statistics on robbery victimization (1995) and the criminal justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English robbery victimization rate is 1.4 times the U.S. rate (figure 1), but the U.S. robbery conviction rate is nearly 3 times England's (.30 versus .11) (figure 21), indicating that a robbery in the United States is more likely to lead to conviction than one in England.

The English conviction rate per 1,000 population is higher than the U.S. conviction rate for assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Is that because England has higher rates of victimization from assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft? Or because the criminal justice system in England is more likely than the U.S. system to catch and convict assaulters, burglars, and motor vehicle thieves?

- The higher English conviction rate for *assault* is attributable to a higher English assault victimization rate, not

to different performance by the English justice system. According to the most recent statistics on assault victimization (1995), the English assault victimization rate is 2.3 times the U.S. rate (figure 2). However, according to the most recent conviction statistics (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English assault conviction rate is 1.4 times the U.S. assault conviction rate (.61 versus .44) (figure 22), indicating that an assault in England is *less* likely to lead to conviction than one in the United States.

- The higher English conviction rate for *burglary* is attributable to a higher English crime rate for burglary, not to different performance by the English justice system. According to the most recent statistics on burglary victimization (1995), the English burglary victimization rate is 1.8 times the U.S. rate (figure 3). However, according to the most recent conviction statistics (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English burglary conviction rate is 1.1 times the U.S. burglary conviction rate (.78 versus .73) (figure 23), indicating that a burglary in England is *less* likely to lead to conviction than one in the United States.

- The higher English conviction rate for *motor vehicle theft* is attributable to a higher English crime rate for motor vehicle theft, not to different performance by the English justice system. According to the most recent statistics on motor vehicle theft victimization (1995), the English motor vehicle theft victimization rate is 2.2 times the U.S. rate (figure 4). However, according to the most recent conviction statistics (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English motor vehicle theft conviction rate is 1.6 times the U.S. conviction rate (.34 versus .21)

(figure 24), indicating that a motor vehicle theft in England is *less* likely to lead to conviction than one in the United States.

Have conviction rates per 1,000 population been rising or falling in each country?

From 1981 to the latest year of conviction data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

- The U.S. *murder* conviction rate rose steeply (.045 in 1981 rising to .059 in 1994), while the English rate rose modestly (.009 in 1981 rising to .010 in 1995) (figure 19). Unlike the rise in the U.S. conviction rate, the rise in the English conviction rate is linked to an increase in the country's murder rate.

- The U.S. *rape* conviction rate rose sharply (.099 in 1981 rising to .212 in 1995), while the English rate rose comparatively modestly (.015 in 1981 rising to .025 in 1995) (figure 20). Unlike the rise in the U.S. conviction rate, the rise in the English conviction rate could partly be explained by an increase in the country's rape rate, although the increase in the English rape rate (more than 5 times) was far higher than the modest increase in the rape conviction rate.

- Both the U.S. (.28 in 1981 rising to .30 in 1994) and the English (.10 in 1981 rising to .11 in 1995) *robbery* conviction rates increased slightly (figure 21). The U.S. conviction rate modestly rose while the robbery victimization rate fell. In England, by contrast, the conviction rate rose modestly while the robbery victimization rate soared.

- The U.S. *assault* conviction rate rose sharply (.16 in 1981 rising to .44 in 1994), while the English rate fell sharply (1.12 in 1981 falling to .61 in 1995) (figure 22). The rise in the U.S. conviction rate was accompanied by a decline in the assault victimization rate. By contrast, the decline in the English conviction rate was accompanied by a steep rise in the assault victimization rate.

- Both the U.S. (.97 in 1981 falling to .73 in 1994) and the English (1.69 in 1981 falling to .78 in 1995) *burglary* conviction rates fell, and the English rate fell more than the U.S. rate (figure 23). The falling English rate was accompanied by a steep rise in the burglary victimization rate. The falling U.S. conviction rate was accompanied by a steep decline in the burglary victimization rate. However, the conviction rate decline was less steep than the victimization rate decline, indicating that the risk of burglary conviction was actually rising in the United States during the period.

- The U.S. *motor vehicle theft* conviction rate rose sharply (.07 in 1981 rising to .21 in 1994), while the English rate fell sharply (.83 in 1981 falling to .34 in 1995) (figure 24). The rising U.S. conviction rate was accompanied by a stable victimization rate for vehicle theft. By contrast, the falling English conviction rate was accompanied by a rising victimization rate for vehicle theft.

Convictions per 1,000 offenders

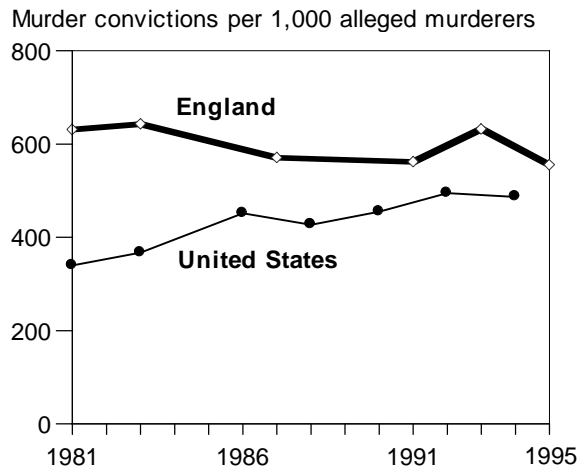


Figure 25

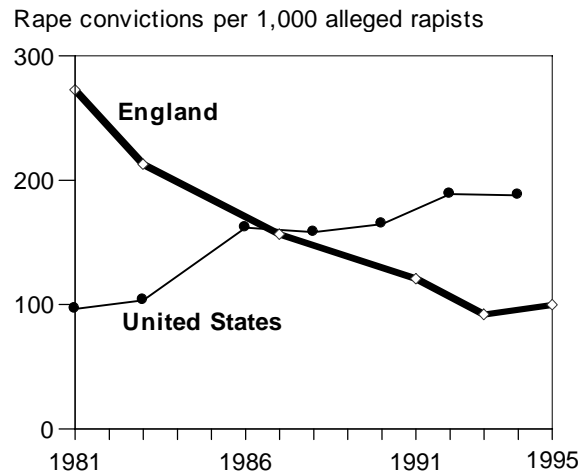


Figure 26

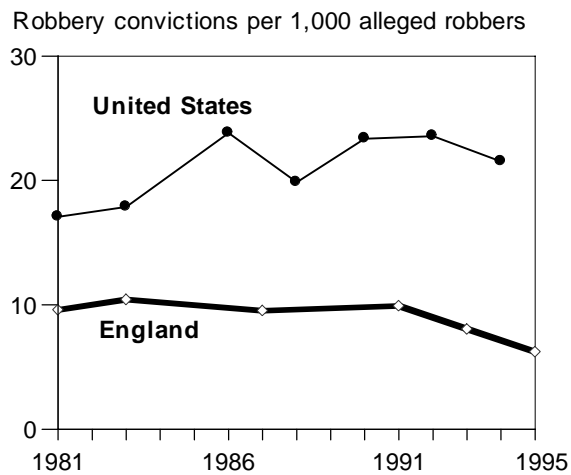


Figure 27

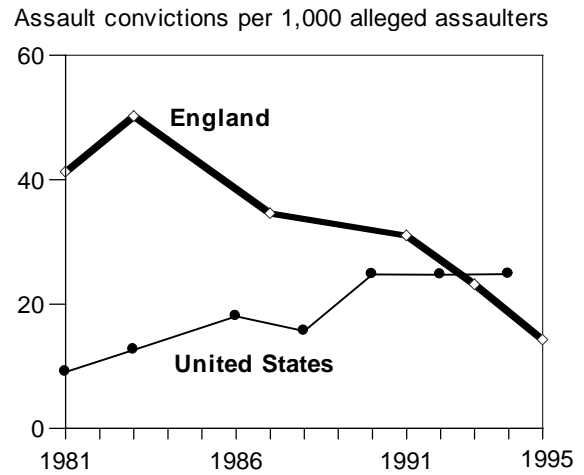


Figure 28

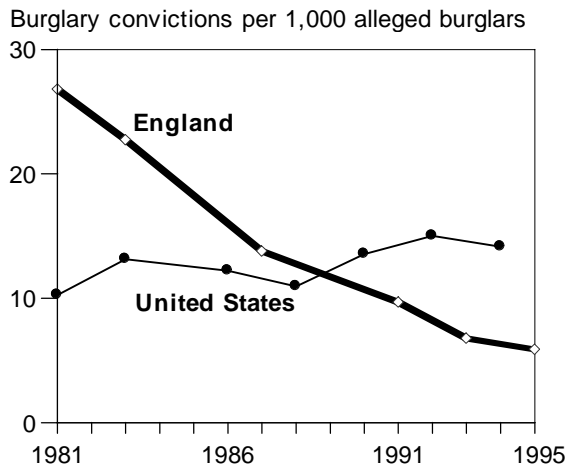


Figure 29

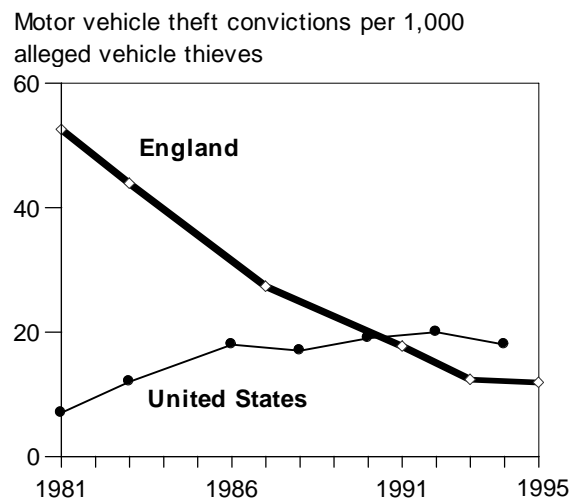


Figure 30

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Convictions per 1,000 offenders

Is a person committing a crime in the United States more likely or less likely to be caught and convicted than one committing a crime in England?

According to latest conviction figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

- with the exception of murder, a person committing a crime in the United States is more likely to be caught and convicted than one committing crime in England (including Wales).

The number of persons convicted in 1994 of —

- *murder* for every 1,000 alleged murderers was 487 in the United States and 555 in England, indicating that a murderer's risk of conviction is slightly greater in England than in the United States (figure 25)
- *rape* for every 1,000 alleged rapists was 188 in the United States and 100 in England, indicating that a rapist's risk of conviction in the United States is nearly double that in England (figure 26)
- *robbery* for every 1,000 alleged robbers was 22 in the United States and 6 in England, indicating that a robber's risk of conviction in the United States is nearly four times that in England (figure 27)
- *assault* for every 1,000 alleged assaulters was 25 in the United States and 14 in England, indicating that an assaulter's risk of conviction in the United States is nearly double that in England (figure 28)
- *burglary* for every 1,000 alleged burglars was 14 in the United States and 6 in England, indicating that a burglar's risk of conviction in the United States is more than double that in England (figure 29)

• *motor vehicle theft* for every 1,000 alleged vehicle thieves was 18 in the United States and 12 in England, indicating that a vehicle thief's risk of conviction is 50% greater in the United States than in England (figure 30).

Is an offender's risk of being caught and convicted rising or falling in each country?

- An offender's risk of being caught and convicted is rising in the United States but falling in England.

From 1981 to the latest year of conviction data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the number of persons convicted of —

- *murder* per 1,000 alleged murderers has risen 43% in the United States (340 in 1981 rising to 487 in 1994) but fallen 12% in England (631 in 1981 falling to 555 in 1995) (figure 25)
- *rape* per 1,000 alleged rapists has risen 94% in the United States (97 in 1981 rising to 188 in 1994) but fallen 63% in England (272 in 1981 falling to 100 in 1995) (figure 26)
- *robbery* per 1,000 alleged robbers has risen 29% in the United States (17 in 1981 rising to 22 in 1994) but fallen 40% in England (10 in 1981 falling to 6 in 1995) (figure 27)
- *assault* per 1,000 alleged assaulters has nearly tripled in the United States (9 in 1981 rising to 25 in 1994) but fallen 66% in England (41 in 1981 falling to 14 in 1995) (figure 28)
- *burglary* per 1,000 alleged burglars has risen 40% in the United States (10 in 1981 rising to 14 in 1994) but fallen 78% in England (27 in 1981 falling to 6 in 1995) (figure 29)
- *motor vehicle theft* per 1,000 alleged vehicle thieves has more than doubled in the United States (7 in 1981 rising to

18 in 1994) but fallen 77% in England (53 in 1981 falling to 12 in 1995) (figure 30).

Are persons committing a crime unlikely to be caught and convicted in both countries?

In both countries, persons committing a crime are unlikely to be caught and convicted. The major exception is murder.

According to latest statistics (derived from figures 25-30 covering 1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the likelihood of conviction was about —

- 50% for *murder* in both countries
- 20% for *rape* in the United States and 10% in England
- 2% for *robbery* in the United States and less than 1% in England
- 2% for *assault* in the United States and 1% in England
- 1% for *burglary* in the United States and less than 1% in England
- 2% for *motor vehicle theft* in the United States and 1% in England.

However, these estimates must be interpreted cautiously. For example, the rape conviction likelihood is inflated because it is based on the number of convictions divided *not* by the total number of rapes but by just the number recorded by police.

In other respects, all of these estimates (including rape) are conservative because, to be precise, the data used to calculate them estimate the likelihood of an *offense* leading to conviction, not the likelihood of an *offender* being convicted sooner or later. To estimate the likelihood of an *offender* being convicted, the number of *different* persons convicted is divided by the

number of *different persons* committing the crime. But in available data, persons who are convicted more than once or who commit crime more than once during the year are counted over and over again.

Such overcounting is particularly prevalent in the data on the number of persons committing crime because the typical offender commits more than one crime over the course of a year (the typical violent offender commits from 2 to 4 violent crimes per year and the typical property offender commits from 5 to 10 per year according to Blumstein and others, 1986, page 4).

Some adjustment can be made for their overcounting. For example, if the typical robber in the United States commits 4 robberies per year, the likelihood that a person committing robbery will be convicted of robbery during the year is nearly 8%, not 2%.

At first glance that might seem like a small difference but a 1 in 12 chance of conviction (the equivalent of 8%) is considerably greater than a 1 in 50 chance (the equivalent of 2%). Furthermore it should be stressed that, despite the adjustment, the 8% is still conservative because it is the probability that a robber will be convicted *just* of robbery during the year. Obviously the likelihood that a robber will be convicted of robbery *or* some other offense during the year is greater than just the probability that he will be convicted of robbery. How much greater is not known but for two reasons it is probably substantial.

One reason has to do with the practice, common both in England and the United States, of downgrading offenses. Because of downgrading, when persons are convicted of a crime, the crime they are convicted of is often less serious than the one for which they were originally arrested and charged (in the United States, downgrading occurs

in 40% of violent crime convictions and 25% of nonviolent convictions according to Reaves, 1998, tables 26 and 27).

The other reason is related to the fact that persons who commit a crime typically commit more than one a year. Importantly the crimes they commit typically differ from one another. For example, a man committing a robbery one day may commit a burglary the next. While he might not be caught for the robbery, he might be caught and convicted for the burglary. Consequently his chance of conviction is greater than just the chance he takes of being convicted of the robbery.

Over periods longer than a year, the probability of an offender being convicted can be quite high. For example, Farrington (1989, pages 339-423) found that 58% of English males who admitted to committing burglary were eventually caught and convicted of burglary at least once before reaching age 33.

Percent sentenced to incarceration

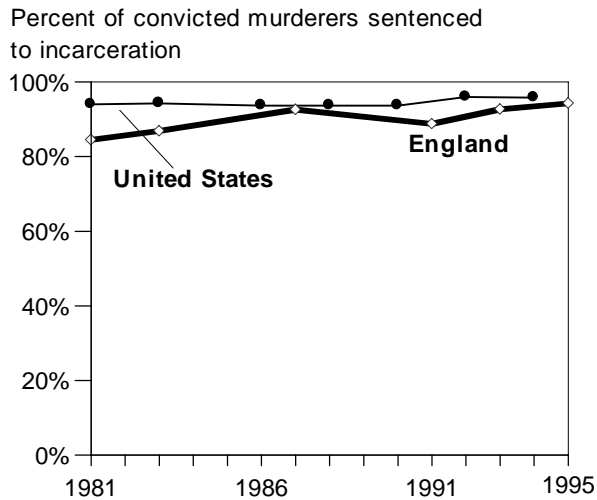


Figure 31

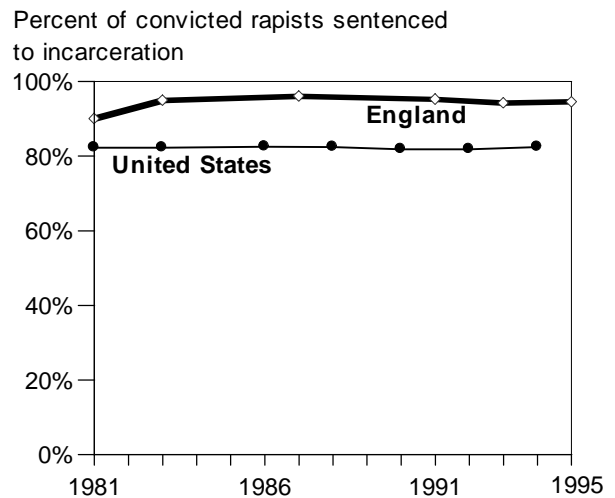


Figure 32

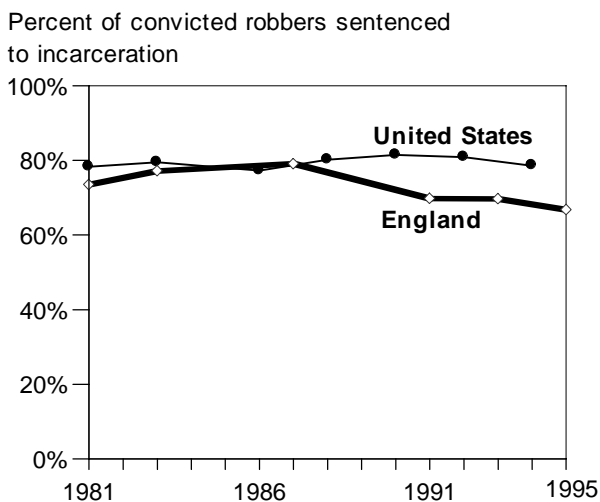


Figure 33

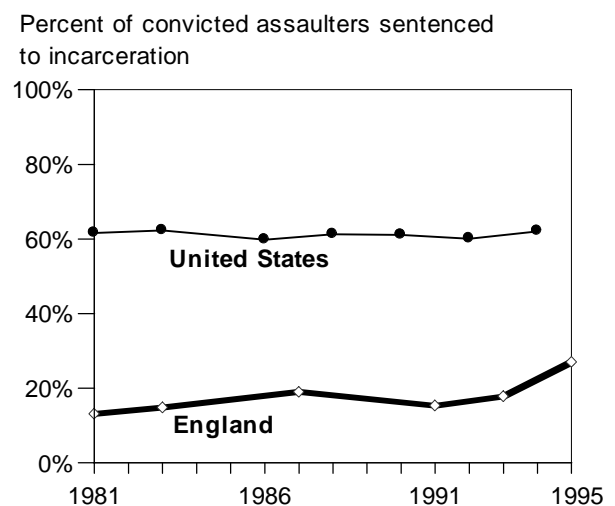


Figure 34

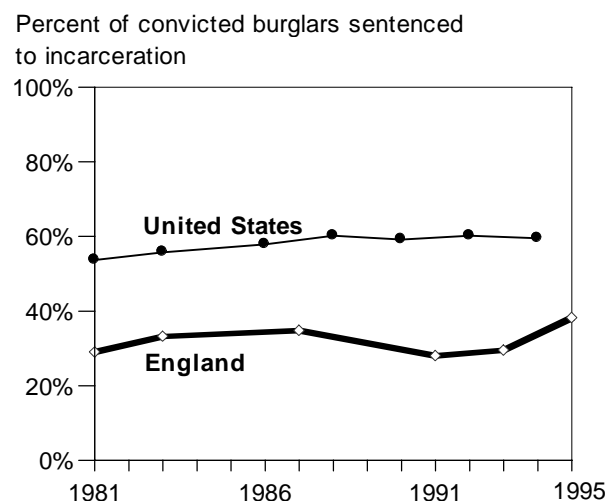


Figure 35

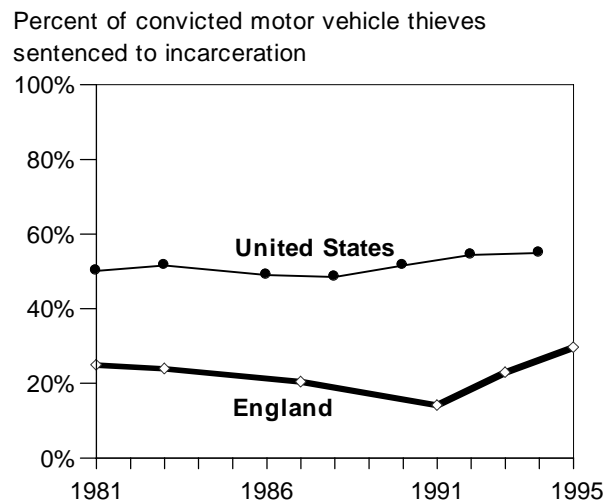


Figure 36

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

In the United States, various types of institutions are used to incarcerate persons convicted of crime. There are State prisons and local jails for adults convicted in State courts; Federal prisons for persons convicted in Federal courts; and various types of residential institutions (for example, training schools) for juveniles found delinquent in juvenile courts.

In England (including Wales), adults are incarcerated in either prisons (for persons ages 21 and over) or young offender institutions (for persons ages 15-20). Juveniles in England are incarcerated in two types of facilities: those that are exclusively for juveniles (secure accommodation for juveniles), and those for persons under age 21 (young offender institutions). Unlike the United States, where juveniles and adults are kept in separate institutions, English young offender institutions confine juveniles and adults together.

This report focuses only on incarceration, but there are many other sentences that offenders receive in both countries, such as probation, community service, and fines.

Are courts in the two countries equally likely to sentence a convicted offender to incarceration?

- Courts in the United States are more likely to sentence an offender to incarceration than courts in England. Two exceptions are offenders convicted of murder or rape.

According to the latest court figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

- 96% of convicted U.S. *murderers* and a nearly identical percentage of English murderers (94%) were sentenced to incarceration (figure 31)
- 82% of convicted U.S. *rapists* were sentenced to incarceration, which is less than the 95% of English rapists (figure 32)
- 79% of convicted U.S. *robbers* and 67% of English robbers were sentenced to incarceration (figure 33)
- 62% of convicted U.S. *assaulters* and 27% of English assaulters were sentenced to incarceration (figure 34)
- 60% convicted U.S. *burglars* and 38% of English burglars were sentenced to incarceration (figure 35)
- 55% of convicted U.S. *motor vehicle thieves* and 30% of English motor vehicle thieves were sentenced to incarceration (figure 36).

Are courts in both countries sentencing relatively more convicted offenders to incarceration today than in the past?

- In the United States, the percentage of convicted offenders receiving an incarceration sentence has been fairly stable since 1981. In England, the percentage has been less stable but has shown no long-term trend.

However, since 1991 the percentage receiving an incarceration sentence has been rising in England for murder, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft.

From 1981 to the latest year of sentencing data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the percentage of convicted offenders receiving an incarceration sentence has been —

- staying at about 95% for U.S. *murder* while increasing to 94% for English murders (up from 85% in 1981 and up from 89% in 1991) (figure 31)
- staying at about 82% for U.S. *rape* and staying at about 95% for English rape (figure 32)
- staying at about 80% for U.S. *robbery* while falling somewhat to 67% for English robbery (down from 74% in 1981 and 79% in 1987) (figure 33)
- staying at about 60% for U.S. *assault* while rising to 27% for English assault (up from 13% in 1981 and up from 15% in 1991) (figure 34)
- rising slightly to 60% for U.S. *burglary* (up from 54% in 1981) and rising to 38% for English burglary (up from 29% in 1981 and up from 28% in 1991) (figure 35)
- staying at about 50% for U.S. *motor vehicle theft* and rising to 30% for English vehicle theft (up from 25% in 1981 and up from 14% in 1991) (figure 36).

Incarcerations per 1,000 population

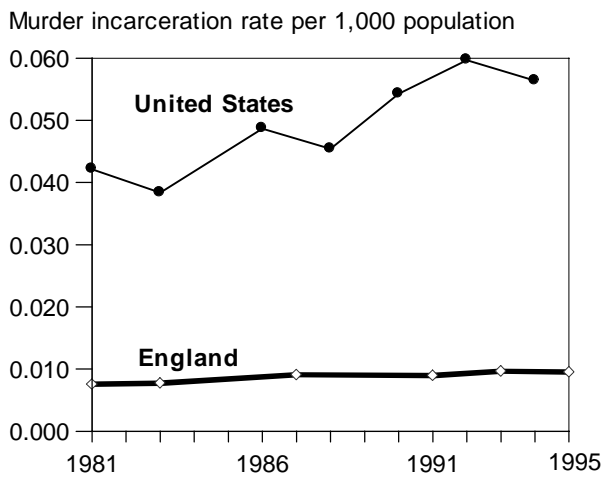


Figure 37

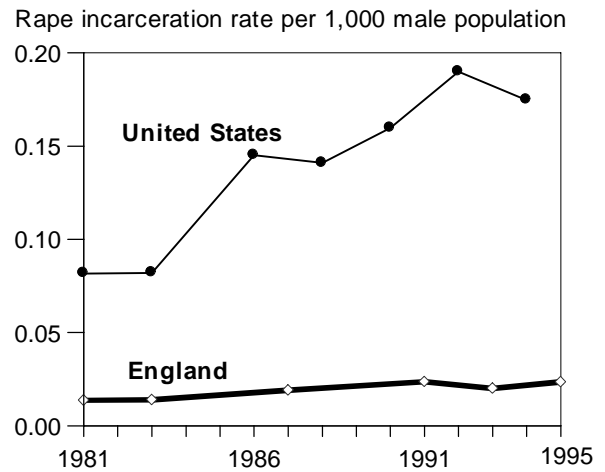


Figure 38

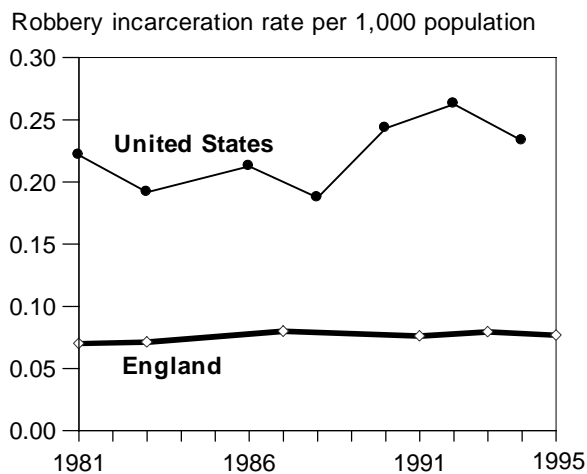


Figure 39

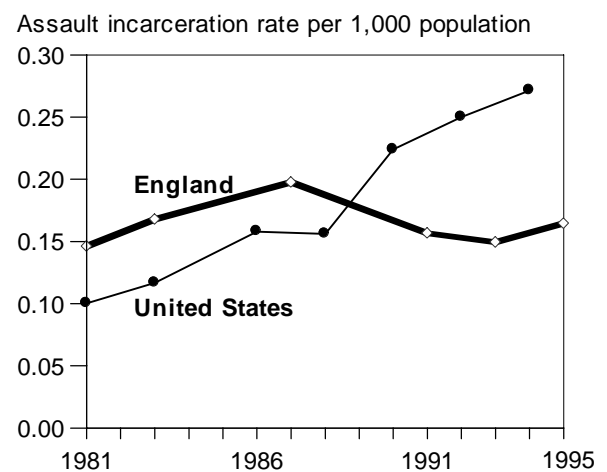


Figure 40

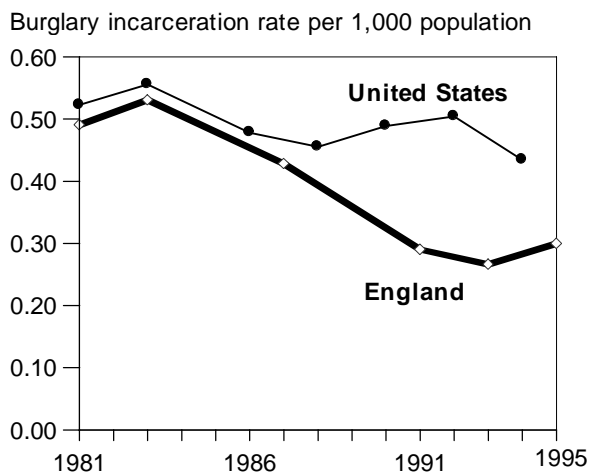


Figure 41

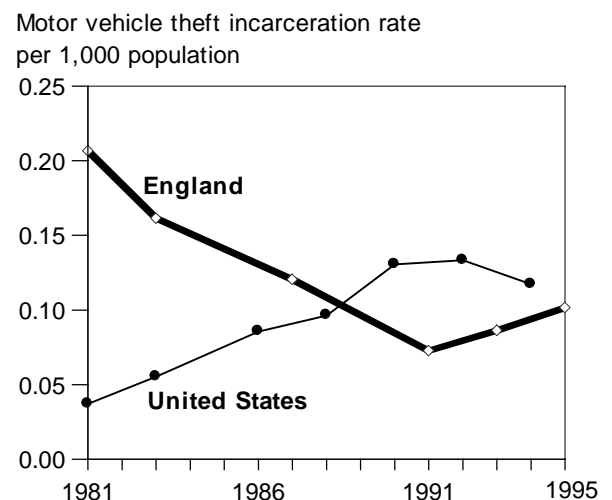


Figure 42

The total number of convicted offenders (juvenile and adult combined) sentenced to incarceration in the United States is not directly comparable to the English total because of the vast difference in the number of people that live in the two countries. Naturally the United States incarcerates more people than England (including Wales): far more people live in the United States. A more meaningful comparison is between incarceration *rates* per 1,000 population, a measure that takes into account the difference in population size.

The U.S. incarceration rate per 1,000 population is higher than England's incarceration rate. Is that because the United States has higher crime rates? Or because the criminal justice system in the United States is more likely than the English system to catch and convict criminals? Or because convicted criminals in the United States are more likely to be incarcerated?

- The higher U.S. incarceration rate for *murder* is explained entirely by the higher U.S. murder rate. According to the most recent statistics on the murder rate (1996) and the justice system response (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the U.S. murder rate is nearly six times the English murder rate (figure 5). Correspondingly, the U.S. murder incarceration rate per 1,000 population is nearly six times England's (.056 versus .010) (figure 37).

- The higher U.S. incarceration rate for *rape* is attributable both to the higher U.S. police-recorded rape rate and to a United States criminal justice system that is more likely than England's to catch and convict rapists. According to the most recent statistics on crime (1996) and the justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the U.S. police-recorded rape rate is three times England's (figure 6), but the U.S.

rape incarceration rate is seven times England's (.175 versus .024) (figure 38), indicating that a rape in the United States is more likely to lead to incarceration than one in England. However, the higher U.S. incarceration rate for rape is not a function of a higher probability of an incarceration sentence being imposed following a conviction.

- The higher U.S. incarceration rate for *robbery* cannot be attributed to a higher U.S. robbery victimization rate since, according to the latest figures, the U.S. robbery victimization rate is lower than England's. Instead the reason for the higher U.S. robbery incarceration rate is that the United States criminal justice system is more likely than England's to catch, convict, and incarcerate robbers. According to the most recent statistics on crime (1995) and the criminal justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English robbery victimization rate is 1.4 times the U.S. rate (figure 1), but the U.S. robbery incarceration rate is 3 times England's (.23 versus .08) (figure 39), indicating that a robbery in the United States is more likely to lead to incarceration than one in England. This is largely because a robbery in the United States is more likely to lead to a conviction.

- The higher U.S. incarceration rate for *assault* cannot be attributed to a higher U.S. assault victimization rate since, according to latest figures, the U.S. assault victimization rate is lower than England's. Instead the higher U.S. assault incarceration rate is due to the higher rate at which the United States justice system catches, convicts, and incarcerates assaulters. According to the most recent statistics on crime (1995) and the criminal justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English assault victimization rate is 2.3 times the U.S. rate (figure 2), but the U.S. assault incarceration rate is 1.7 times England's (.27 versus .16) (figure 40), indicating that an assault in the United States is more

likely to lead to incarceration than one in England.

- The higher U.S. incarceration rate for *burglary* cannot be attributed to a higher U.S. burglary victimization rate since, according to latest figures, the U.S. burglary victimization rate is lower than England's. Instead the higher U.S. burglary incarceration rate is attributable to the higher rate at which the United States justice system catches, convicts, and incarcerates burglars. According to the most recent statistics on crime (1995) and the criminal justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English burglary victimization rate is 1.7 times the U.S. rate (figure 3), yet the U.S. burglary incarceration rate is 1.4 times England's (.43 versus .30) (figure 41), indicating that a burglary in the United States is more likely to lead to incarceration than one in England.

- The higher U.S. incarceration rate for *motor vehicle theft* cannot be attributed to a higher U.S. vehicle theft victimization rate since, according to latest figures, the U.S. vehicle theft victimization rate is lower than England's. Instead the higher U.S. burglary incarceration rate is attributable to the higher rate at which the United States justice system catches, convicts, and incarcerates vehicle thieves. According to the most recent statistics on crime (1995) and the criminal justice system (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the English motor vehicle theft victimization rate is 2.2 times the U.S. rate (figure 4), yet the U.S. vehicle theft incarceration rate is 1.2 times England's (.12 versus .10) (figure 42), indicating that a motor vehicle theft in the United States is more likely to lead to incarceration than one in England.

Have incarceration rates per 1,000 population been rising or falling in both countries?

• With the exception of the burglary incarceration rate, incarceration rates per 1,000 population have been rising in the United States. In England, incarceration rates per 1,000 population have been rising slightly for murder, rape and robbery; showing no clear trend for assault; and declining sharply for burglary and motor vehicle theft. However, the sharp decline for burglary and motor vehicle theft appears to have ended in the early 1990's.

From 1981 to the latest year of incarceration data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

• Both the U.S. *murder* incarceration rate (.042 per 1,000 population in 1981 rising to .056 in 1994) and the English rate rose (.008 in 1981 rising to .010 in 1995) (figure 37). Unlike the rise in the U.S. incarceration rate, the rise in the English incarceration rate occurred because of an increase in the country's murder rate.

• The U.S. *rape* incarceration rate rose sharply (.082 per 1,000 male population in 1981 rising to .175 in 1994), while the English rate rose comparatively modestly (.014 in 1981 rising to .024 in 1995) (figure 38). Unlike the rise in the U.S. incarceration rate, the rise in the English incarceration rate occurred partly because of a marked increase in the country's rape rate.

The contrast between the modest increase in the incarceration rate and the marked increase in the crime rate indicated that the risk of incarceration following a rape in England was decreasing.

• Both the U.S. (.22 in 1981 rising to .23 in 1994) and the English (.07 in 1981 rising to .08 in 1995) *robbery* incarceration rates rose slightly (figure 39). Unlike the rise in the U.S. incarceration rate, the slight rise in the English incarceration rate was accompanied by a soaring robbery victimization rate. The contrast between the slight increase in the incarceration rate and the marked increase in the crime rate indicated that the risk of incarceration following a robbery in England was decreasing.

• The U.S. *assault* incarceration rate rose sharply (.10 in 1981 rising to .27 in 1994), while the English rate rose slightly (.15 in 1981 rising to .16 in 1995) (figure 40). Unlike the rise in the U.S. incarceration rate, the slight rise in the English incarceration rate was accompanied by a steep rise in the assault victimization rate. However, the rise in the English incarceration rate (figure 40) was far less steep than the rise in the English assault rate (figure 2), indicating that risk of incarceration for English assault was falling during the period.

• Both the U.S. (.52 in 1981 falling to .43 in 1994) and the English (.49 in 1981 falling to .30 in 1995) *burglary* incarceration rates fell, with the English rate falling more than the U.S. rate (figure 41). The falling English incarceration rate was accompanied by a steep rise in the burglary victimization rate, indicating that the risk of incarceration after a burglary was falling in England. The falling U.S. incarceration rate was accompanied by a falling burglary victimization rate. However, the incarceration rate decline was less steep than the victimization rate decline, indicating that the risk of incarceration for burglary was actually rising in the United States during the period.

• The U.S. *motor vehicle theft* incarceration rate rose sharply (.04 in 1981 rising to .12 in 1994), while the English rate fell sharply (.21 in 1981 falling to .10 in 1995) (figure 42). The rising U.S. incarceration rate was accompanied by no clear trend in the victimization rate for vehicle theft. By contrast, the falling English incarceration rate was accompanied by a rising victimization rate for vehicle theft. Therefore, the risk of incarceration after a motor vehicle theft was decreasing in England and increasing in the United States.

Incarcerations per 1,000 offenders

Number of incarcerated murderers per 1,000 alleged murderers

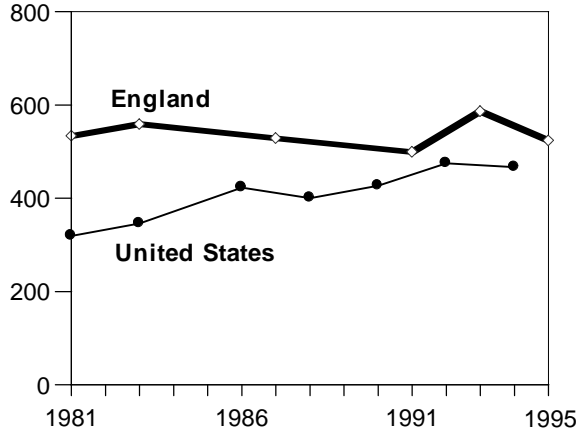


Figure 43

Number of incarcerated rapists per 1,000 alleged rapists

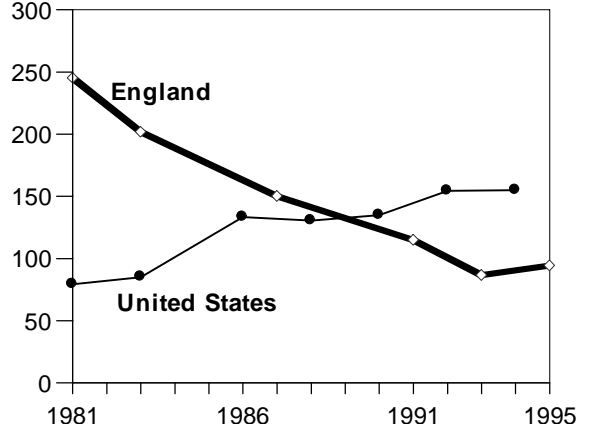


Figure 44

Number of incarcerated robbers per 1,000 alleged robbers

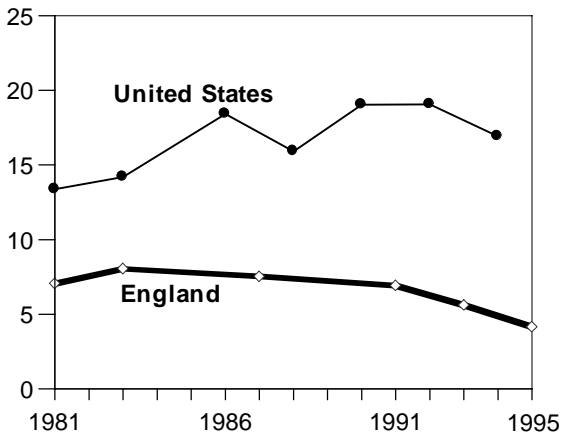


Figure 45

Number of incarcerated assaulters per 1,000 alleged assaulters

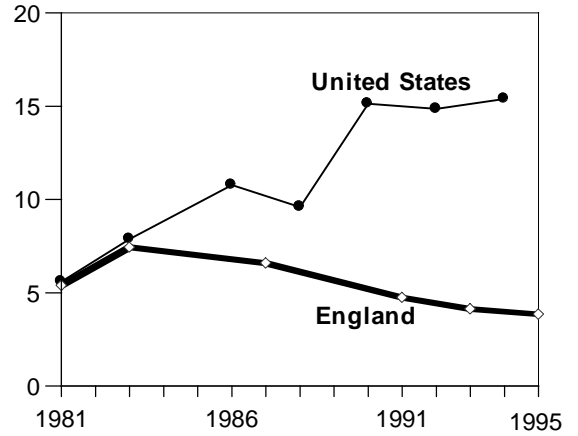


Figure 46

Number of incarcerated burglars per 1,000 alleged burglars

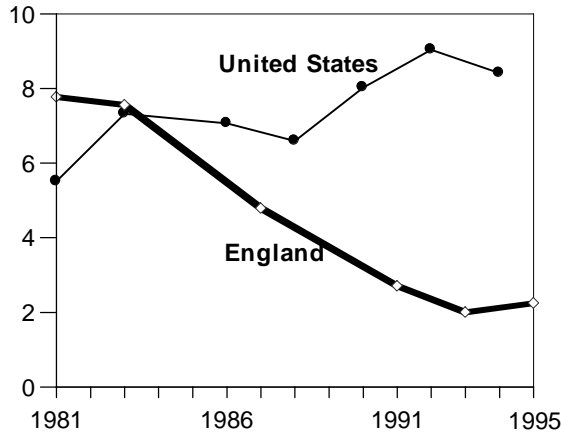


Figure 47

Number of incarcerated motor vehicle thieves per 1,000 alleged vehicle thieves

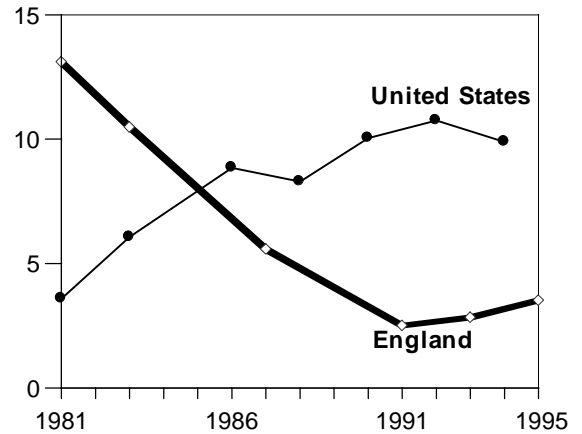


Figure 48

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Are persons committing a serious crime equally likely in the two countries to be caught, convicted, and incarcerated?

• A person committing a serious crime in the United States is *more* likely to be caught, convicted, and incarcerated than one committing a crime in England (including Wales). The sole exception is murder.

According to the latest available figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the number of persons incarcerated for —

• *murder* for every 1,000 alleged murderers was 466 in the United States and 523 in England, indicating that a murderer's risk of incarceration is 12% greater in England than in the United States (figure 43)

• *rape* for every 1,000 alleged rapists was 155 in the United States and 94 in England, indicating that a rapist's risk of incarceration is 65% greater in the United States than in England (figure 44)

• *robbery* for every 1,000 alleged robbers was 17 in the United States and 4 in England, indicating that a robber's risk of incarceration in the United States is more than four times that in England (figure 45)

• *assault* for every 1,000 alleged assaulters was 15 in the United States and 4 in England, indicating that an assaulter's risk of incarceration in the United States is nearly four times that in England (figure 46)

• *burglary* for every 1,000 alleged burglars was 8 in the United States and 2 in England, indicating that a burglar's risk of incarceration in the United States is four times that in England (figure 47)

• *motor vehicle theft* for every 1,000 alleged vehicle thieves was 10 in the United States and 4 in England, indicating that a vehicle thief's risk of incarceration in the United States is more than double that in England (figure 48).

Is an offender's risk of being caught, convicted, and incarcerated rising in each country?

• The risk of incarceration is rising for persons committing crime in the United States but falling for those committing crime in England. The one exception is murderers in England. Their risk of being caught, convicted, and incarcerated has remained essentially unchanged since 1981.

Since 1981, the number of persons incarcerated for —

• *murder* per 1,000 alleged murderers has risen 46% in the United States (319 in 1981 rising to 466 in 1994) but fallen 2% in England (533 in 1981 falling to 523 in 1995) (figure 43)

• *rape* per 1,000 alleged rapists has risen 96% in the United States (79 in 1981 rising to 155 in 1994) but fallen 62% in England (245 in 1981 falling to 94 in 1995) (figure 44)

• *robbery* per 1,000 alleged robbers has risen 31% in the United States (13 in 1981 rising to 17 in 1994) but fallen 41% in England (7.1 in 1981 falling to 4.2 in 1995) (figure 45)

• *assault* per 1,000 alleged assaulters has nearly tripled in the United States (5.6 in 1981 rising to 15.4 in 1994) but fallen 30% in England (5.4 in 1981 falling to 3.8 in 1995) (figure 46)

• *burglary* per 1,000 alleged burglars has risen 53% in the United States (5.5 in 1981 rising to 8.4 in 1994) but fallen 72% in England (7.8 in 1981 falling to 2.2 in 1995) (figure 47)

• *motor vehicle theft* per 1,000 alleged vehicle thieves has nearly tripled in the United States (3.6 in 1981 rising to 9.9 in 1994) but fallen 73% in England (13.1 in 1981 falling to 3.5 in 1995) (figure 48).

Incarceration sentence length

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted murderers, in months

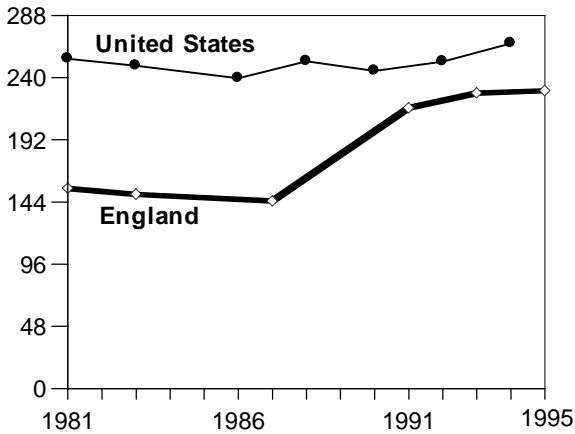


Figure 49

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted rapists, in months

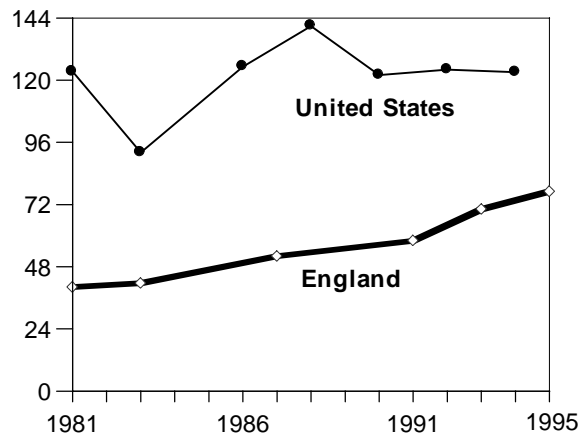


Figure 50

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted robbers, in months

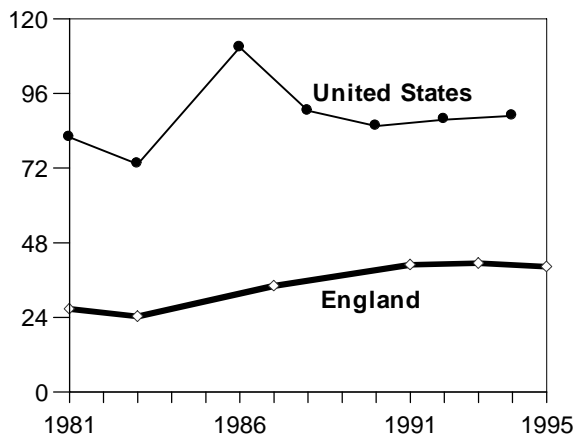


Figure 51

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted assaulters, in months

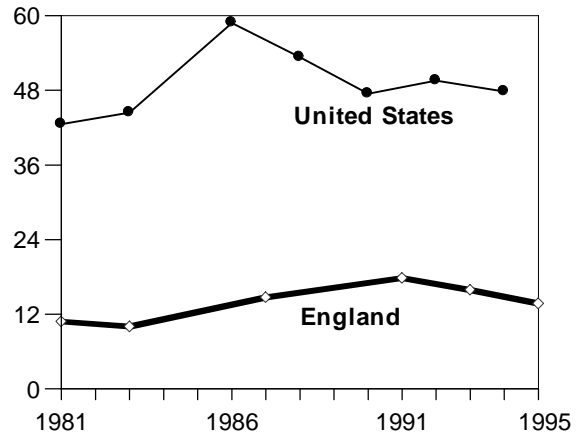


Figure 52

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted burglars, in months

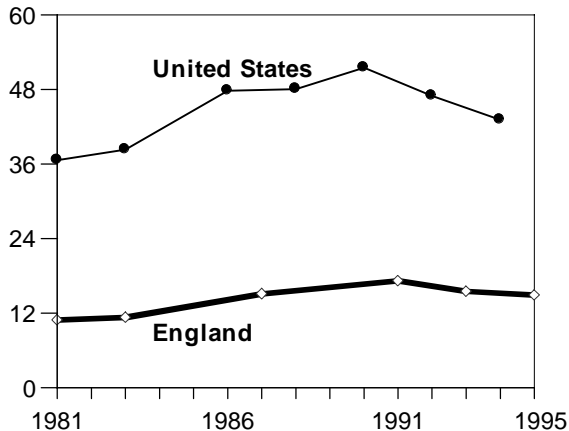


Figure 53

Average incarceration sentence imposed on convicted motor vehicle thieves, in months

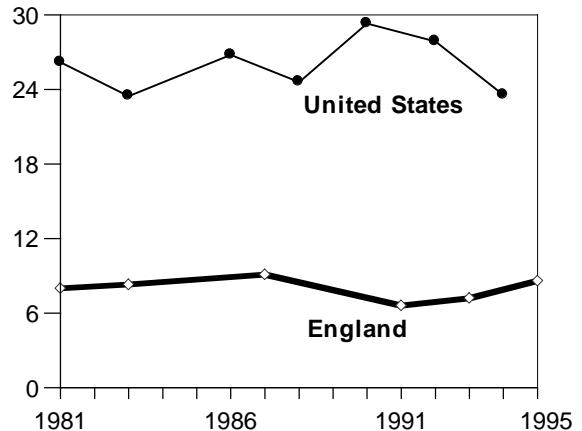


Figure 54

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

In the United States, incarceration sentence lengths are either determinate or indeterminate. In imposing an indeterminate sentence, the judge sets the maximum length of time the offender can be confined before being released. A parole board decides when an adult offender with an indeterminate sentence is released; a juvenile court judge or an authorized State agency decides the release date for a juvenile offender with an indeterminate sentence. In most States, sentences imposed in adult courts and juvenile courts are indeterminate. Before 1987, sentences imposed in Federal courts were also indeterminate.

An adult sentence of "10 to 20 years" is an example of an indeterminate sentence. What makes the sentence indeterminate is the fact that, at the time of sentencing, the offender cannot know how long he or she will serve before being released because the offender cannot know when the parole board will grant release. All that is known is a specified time range.

By contrast, a determinate sentence has no time range: it is a single maximum period of time, such as "20 years." The length of time that the offender with a determinate sentence will serve is whatever maximum term was imposed, less whatever number of days or months was deducted from the sentence for good behavior or special achievements.

Before 1992 the English sentencing system was largely indeterminate. Except for sentences under 10½ months, all sentences were indeterminate. That changed in 1992, when a more determinate sentencing system was adopted. Today, as in 1992, the only sentences that are indeterminate are those that are at least 4 years long.

In the United States the maximum juvenile sentence is typically "until age 18" or "until age 21." In England, before

1992 the maximum was 1 year. In 1992 the maximum was set at 1 year for juveniles sentenced in the juvenile court and 2 years for those sentenced as juveniles in the Crown Court.

Unlike the United States, England does not have the death penalty. Both countries have life sentences, but there is a difference. In the United States, "life without the possibility of parole" and "life with the possibility of parole" are sentencing options available in most States. By contrast, life *with* the possibility of parole is the only type of life sentence available in English courts.

Which courts — those in the United States or those in England — impose longer incarceration sentences?

- Incarceration sentences are longer in the United States than in England (including Wales).

According to latest figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) incarceration sentences, on average, were —

- 3 years longer for *murder* in the United States than in England (266 months in the United States versus 230 in England) (figure 49)

- nearly 4 years longer for *rape* in the United States than in England (123 months in the United States versus 77 in England) (figure 50)

- 4 years longer for *robbery* in the United States than in England (89 months in the United States versus 40 in England) (figure 51)

- nearly 3 years longer for *assault* in the United States than in England (48 months in the United States versus 14 in England) (figure 52)

- over 2 years longer for *burglary* in the United States than in England (43

months in the United States versus 15 in England) (figure 53)

- over 1 year longer for *motor vehicle theft* in the United States than in England (24 months in the United States versus about 9 in England) (figure 54).

Are sentences getting longer in both countries?

- Of the six crimes investigated, sentence lengths are getting longer for only one crime in the United States: murder. In England, sentences are getting longer for three crimes: murder, rape, and robbery.

From 1981 to the latest year of sentencing data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

- U.S. incarceration sentences lengthened by 11 months for *murder* (average of 255 months in 1981 rising to 266 in 1994); English sentences lengthened by 6 years (155 months in 1981 rising to 230 in 1995) (figure 49)

- U.S. incarceration sentence lengths for *rape* showed no clear trend, while English rape sentences lengthened by 3 years (average of 40 months in 1981 rising to 77 months in 1994) (figure 50)

- U.S. incarceration sentence lengths for *robbery* showed no clear trend, while English robbery sentences lengthened by 1 year (average of 27 months in 1981 rising to 40 months in 1994) (figure 51)

- Both U.S. and English incarceration sentence lengths for *assault* showed no clear trend (figure 52)

- Both U.S. and English incarceration sentence lengths for *burglary* showed no clear trend (figure 53)

- Both U.S. and English incarceration sentence lengths for *motor vehicle theft* showed no clear trend (figure 54).

Time served

Incarcerated murderers: average time served, in months

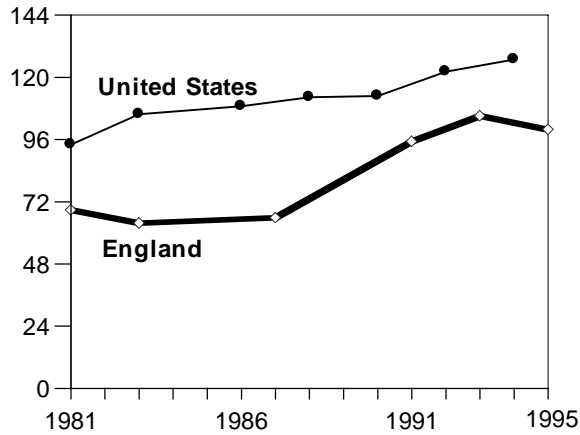


Figure 55

Incarcerated rapists: average time served, in months

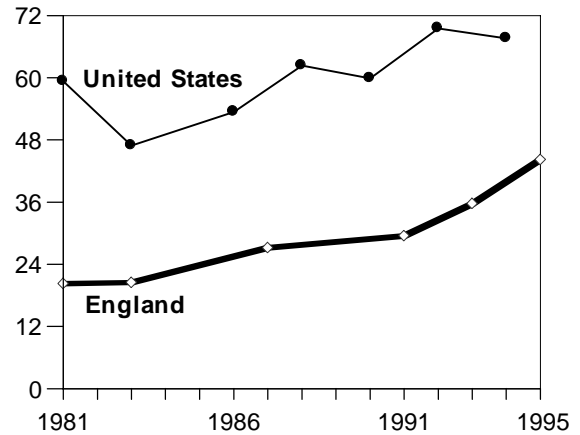


Figure 56

Incarcerated robbers: average time served, in months

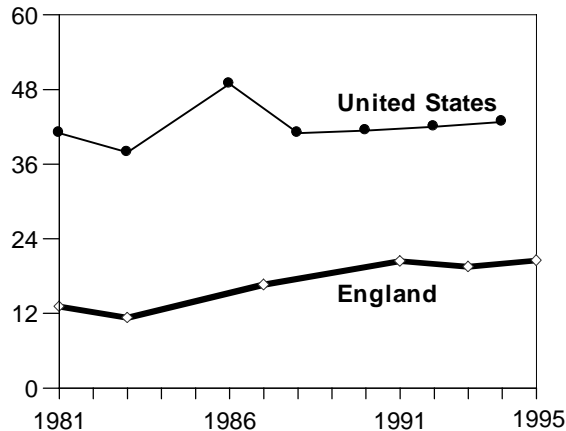


Figure 57

Incarcerated assaulters: average time served, in months

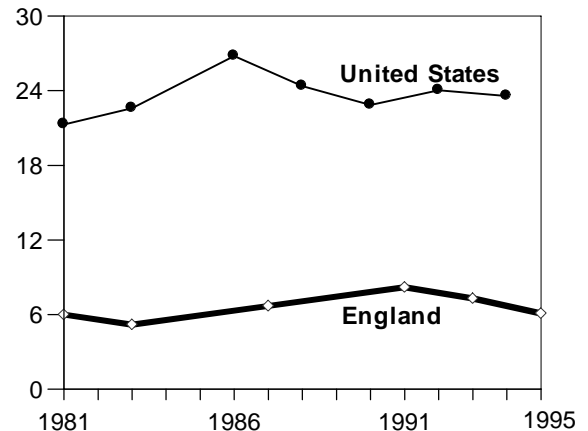


Figure 58

Incarcerated burglars: average time served, in months

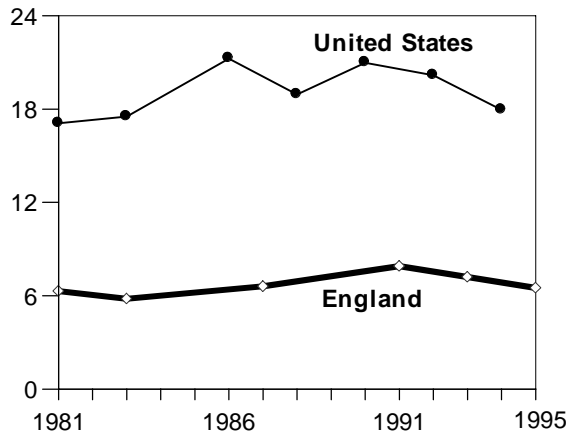


Figure 59

Incarcerated motor vehicle thieves: average time served, in months

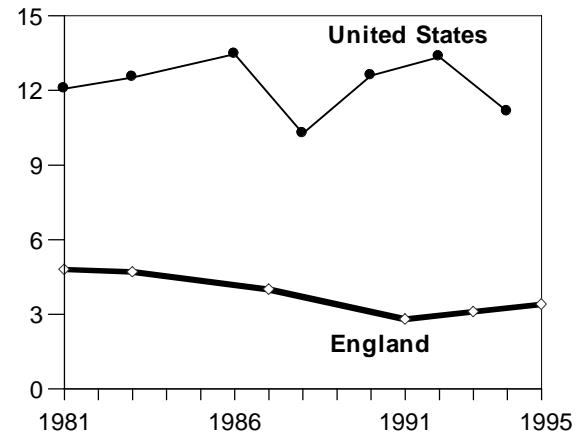


Figure 60

In both the United States and England (including Wales), virtually all convicted offenders sentenced to incarceration are eventually released. The amount of time they serve before release is almost always shorter than the sentence that the court imposed. There are two major reasons. Good behavior while in confinement earns incarcerated offenders early release in both countries. Also, parole boards in England and in most States give offenders a chance to demonstrate their readiness to return to society by releasing them early and placing them on parole. During the time they are on parole, they must stay out of trouble and follow the rules of their parole. Otherwise they can be returned to confinement to complete their sentence.

Prior to 1992 in England, parole boards had jurisdiction over inmates with sentences of 10½ months or more. Such inmates were eligible for parole after serving one-third of their sentence (or a minimum of 6 months) and had to be released from confinement once they had served two-thirds. Those with sentences under 10½ months were automatically released after serving two-thirds of their term unless they misbehaved in prison and lost remission. Beginning in 1992, all English inmates, regardless of sentence length, were required to serve a minimum of one-half of their sentence. Once they serve half, those with sentences under four years are automatically released and those with sentences of four years or more become eligible for parole.

Parole regulations in the United States vary from State to State, between Federal and State parole, between State and local jurisdictions and over time. Consequently, they cannot be simply described. Some States and the Federal Government abolished parole, replacing it with a system in which the inmate can reduce the period in confinement through good behavior, but requiring some minimum

percentage of the sentence be served (for example, 85% of Federal sentences over one year). Most States have parole boards with jurisdiction over persons with sentences of a year or more. The point at which an inmate becomes eligible for parole depends on numerous factors (for example, sentence length, type of felony), and the factors vary from State to State.

"Time served" is the amount of time that incarcerated offenders spend in confinement before being released. Is time served in confinement before release equally long in the two countries?

• Time served is greater in the United States than in England, mostly because courts impose longer sentences in the United States than in England.

According to latest available figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) time served, on average, was —

- longer for *murder* in the United States (10½ years) than in England (8 1/4 years) (figure 55)
- longer for *rape* in the United States (5½ years) than in England (nearly 4 years) (figure 56)
- longer for *robbery* in the United States (3½ years) than in England (nearly 2 years) (figure 57)
- longer for *assault* in the United States (2 years) than in England (6 months) (figure 58)
- longer for *burglary* in the United States (1½ years) than in England (6 months) (figure 59)
- longer for *motor vehicle theft* in the United States (just under 1 year) than in England (3 months) (figure 60).

Is time served getting longer in both countries?

• Of the six crimes investigated, time served is getting longer for two crimes in the United States (murder and rape) and three crimes in England (murder, rape, robbery).

From 1981 to the latest year of data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

- time served for *murder* rose nearly 3 years in both the United States (94 months in 1981 rising to 127 in 1994) and England (69 months in 1981 rising to 100 in 1995), reflecting increases over the period in the lengths of murder sentences imposed (figure 55)
- time served for *rape* rose 8 months in the United States (59 months in 1981 rising to just over 67 in 1994) despite the fact that sentence lengths for rape had not increased; while time served for rape rose 2 years in England (20 months in 1981 rising to 44 in 1995), reflecting an increase in the length of rape sentences imposed (figure 56)
- time served for *robbery* was trendless in the United States; while time served for robbery rose over 7 months in England (13 months in 1981 rising to just over 20 in 1995), reflecting an increase in the length of robbery sentences imposed (figure 57)
- time served for *assault* was trendless in both the United States and England (figure 58)
- time served for *burglary* was trendless in both the United States and England (figure 59)
- time served for *motor vehicle theft* was trendless in the United States but decreased in England (figure 60).

Percent of sentence served

Incarcerated murderers: Percent of sentence served

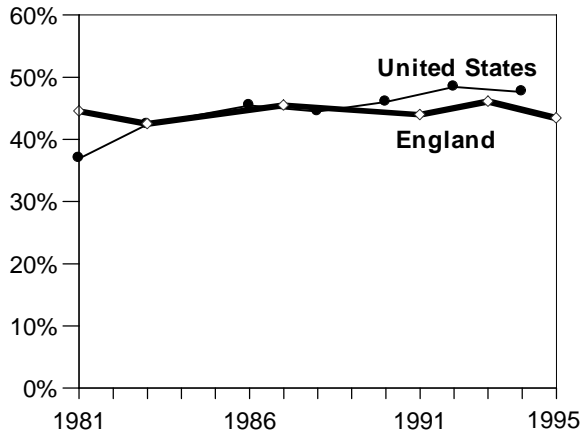


Figure 61

Incarcerated rapists: Percent of sentence served

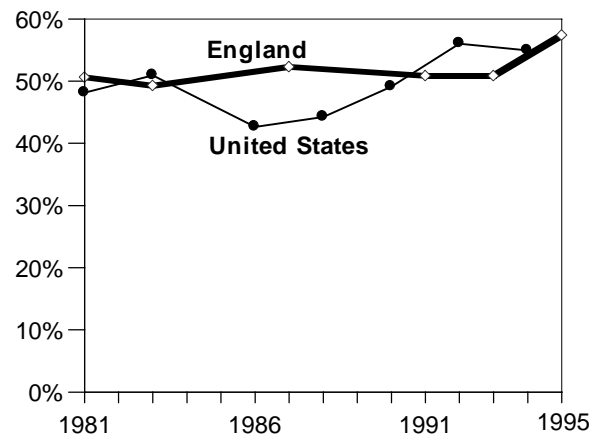


Figure 62

Incarcerated robbers: Percent of sentence served

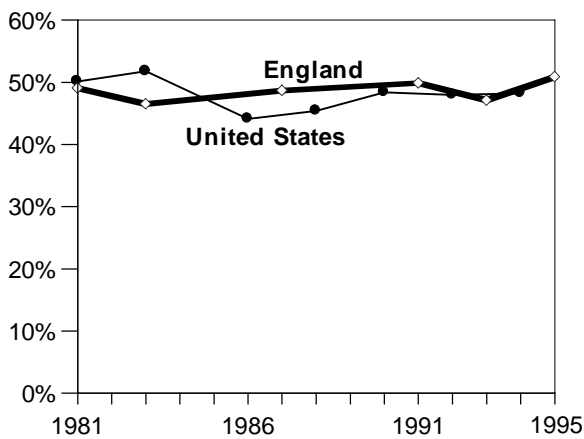


Figure 63

Incarcerated assaulters: Percent of sentence served

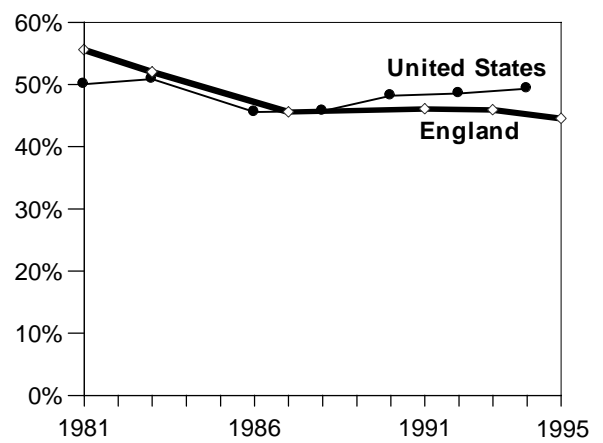


Figure 64

Incarcerated burglars: Percent of sentence served

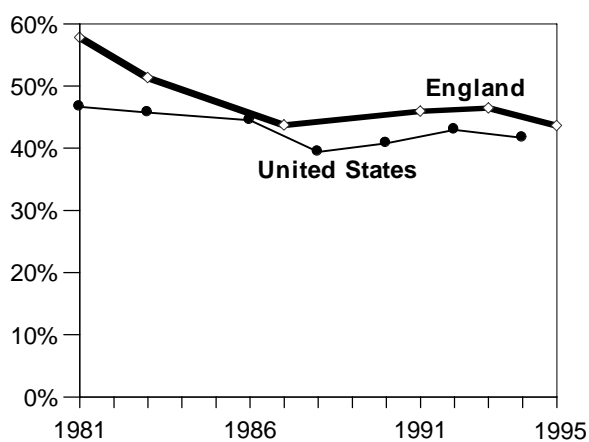


Figure 65

Incarcerated vehicle thieves: Percent of sentence served

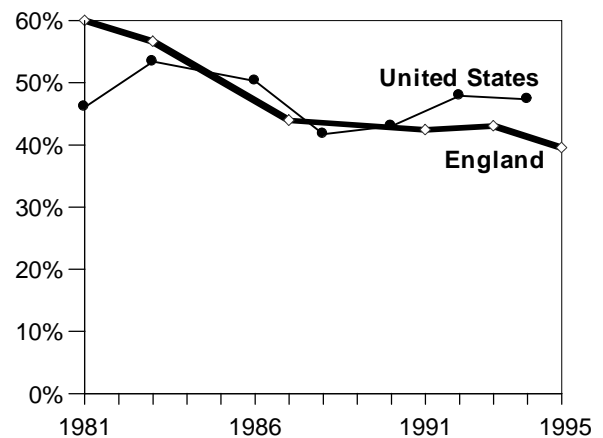


Figure 66

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Is the fraction of the sentence served in confinement before release about the same in the two countries?

- The fraction of the sentence that is served before release is generally about the same in the United States and England (including Wales).

According to latest figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), on average, the fraction of the sentence that was served before incarcerated offenders were released was —

- about the same in the United States (48%) and England (43%) for *murder* (figure 61)
- about the same in the United States (55%) and England (57%) for *rape* (figure 62)
- about the same in the United States (48%) and England (51%) for *robbery* (figure 63)
- about the same in the United States (49%) and England (45%) for *assault* (figure 64)

- about the same in the United States (42%) and England (44%) for *burglary* (figure 65)

- slightly higher in the United States (47%) than in England (40%) for *motor vehicle theft* (figure 66).

Is the fraction of the sentence served before release rising in both countries?

- Since 1981 in England, the fraction served has generally stayed constant or fallen. In the United States, the fraction served generally dropped through around the mid-1980's and has risen since then.
- Since 1981, the sentence fraction served has stayed fairly constant for English murderers (45% in 1981 and 43% in 1995), while the U.S. fraction has risen fairly consistently (37% in 1981 rising to 48% in 1994) (figure 61).
- Since 1981, the fraction of the sentence served has stayed at around 50% for English rapists, while the U.S. fraction fell to 43% in 1986 and has generally risen since then, reaching 55% in 1994 (figure 62).

- Since 1981, the fraction of the sentence served has stayed at around 49% for English robbers, while the U.S. fraction fell to 44% in 1986 and has generally risen since then, reaching 48% in 1994 (figure 63).

- Since 1981, the fraction of the sentence served by assaulters has generally fallen in England (56% in 1981 falling to 45% in 1995), while the U.S. fraction fell to 46% in 1986 and has generally risen since then, reaching 49% in 1994 (figure 64).

- Since 1981, the fraction of the sentence served by burglars has generally fallen in England (58% in 1981 falling to 44% in 1995) and the United States (47% in 1981 falling to 42% in 1994) (figure 65).

- Since 1981, the fraction of the sentence served by motor vehicle thieves has generally fallen in England (60% in 1981 falling to 40% in 1995), while the fraction served in the United States generally fell through the late 1980's (46% in 1981 falling to 42% in 1988) and has generally risen since then (47% in 1994) (figure 66).

Days at risk of serving

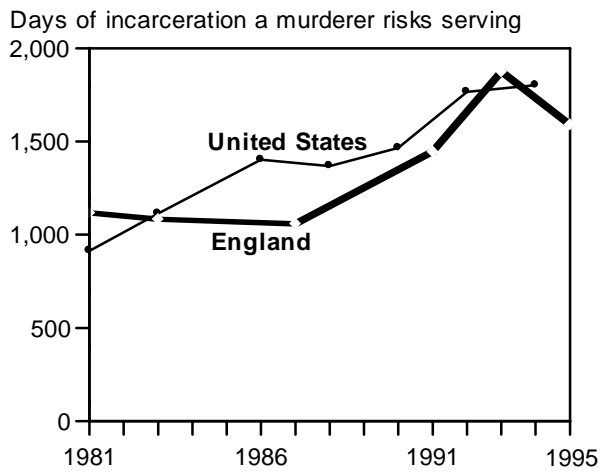


Figure 67

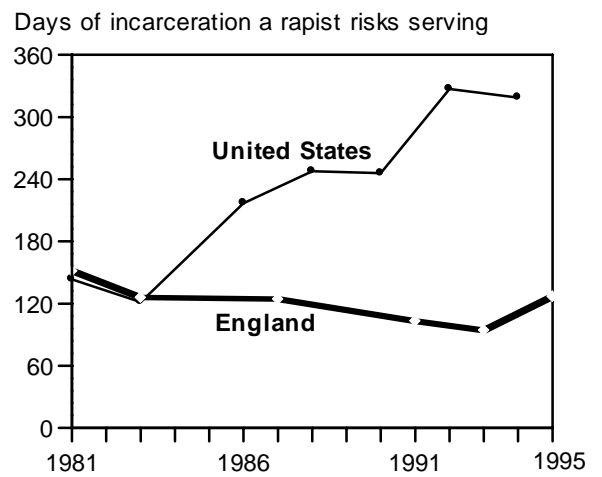


Figure 68

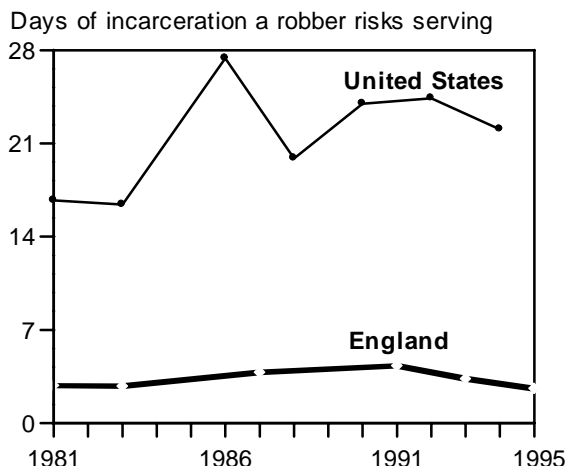


Figure 69

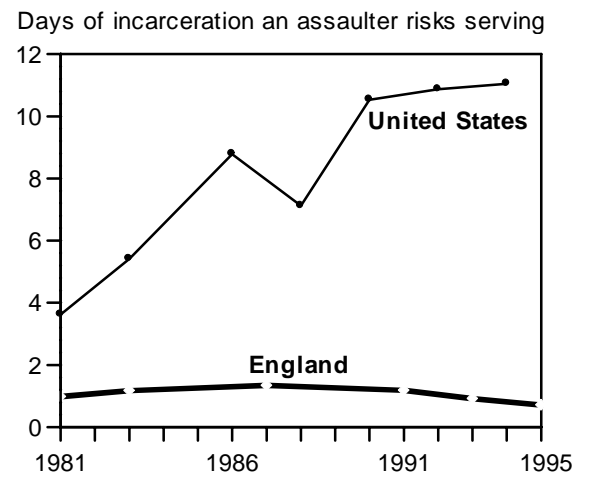


Figure 70

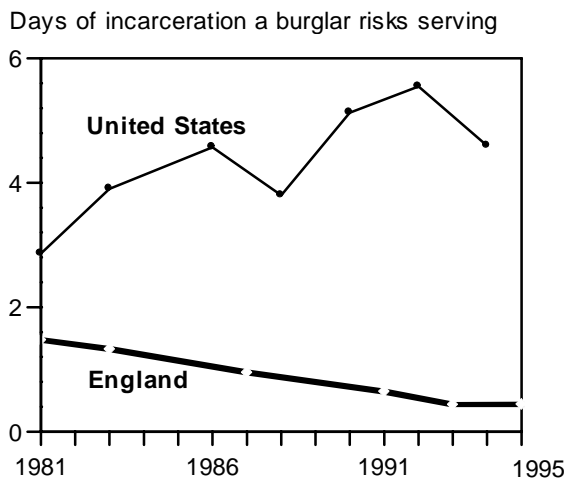


Figure 71

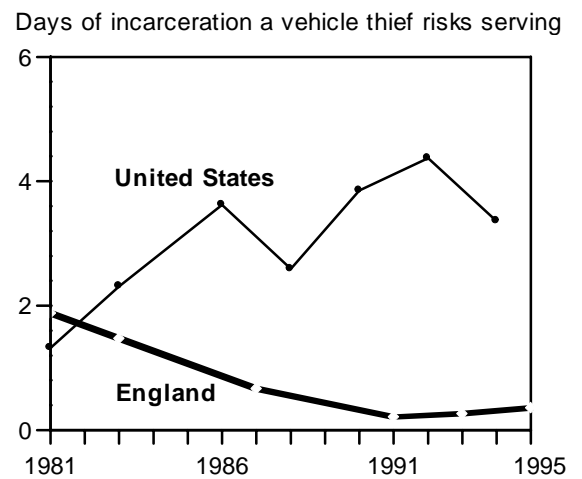


Figure 72

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

The risk of punishment an offender runs for committing a particular crime depends both on how long those who are caught typically serve for committing such a crime, and on the likelihood of being caught, convicted, and incarcerated. The two are combined in a single measure of risk called "the number of days (or months or years) of incarceration an offender risks serving."

By this measure, is the risk of punishment the same in the two countries?

• By this measure, the risk of punishment is generally greater in the United States than in England (including Wales).

According to the latest figures (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England) —

- a person committing *murder* risked nearly 5 years of incarceration in the United States versus a little over 4 years in England (figure 67)
- a person committing *rape* risked 11 months of incarceration in the United States versus 4 months in England (figure 68)
- a person committing *robbery* risked 22 days of incarceration in the United States versus 3 days in England (figure 69)

- a person committing *assault* risked 11 days of incarceration in the United States versus 1 day in England (figure 70)
- a person committing *burglary* risked 5 days of incarceration in the United States versus less than 1 day in England (figure 71)
- a person committing *motor vehicle theft* risked 3 days of incarceration in the United States versus less than 1 day in England (figure 72).

Is the risk of punishment rising or falling in both countries?

• The risk of punishment is generally rising in the United States and falling in England.

From 1981 to the latest year of available data (1994 in the United States, 1995 in England), the risk of punishment for committing —

- *murder* rose 2.4 years in the United States (914 days in 1981 rising to 1,802 in 1994) and rose 1.3 years in England (1,117 days in 1981 rising to 1,590 in 1995) (figure 67)

• *rape* rose 6 months in the United States (143 days in 1981 rising to 319 in 1994) and fell 24 days in England (151 days in 1981 falling to 127 in 1995) (figure 68)

• *robbery* rose 5 days in the United States (17 days in 1981 rising to 22 in 1994) and stayed constant in England (2.8 days in 1981 and 2.6 in 1995) (figure 69)

• *assault* rose 7 days in the United States (4 days in 1981 rising to 11 in 1994) and fell in England (1 day in 1981 falling to .7 in 1995) (figure 70)

• *burglary* rose 2 days in the United States (3 days in 1981 rising to 5 in 1994) and fell by 1 day in England (1.5 days in 1981 falling to .4 in 1995) (figure 71)

• *motor vehicle theft* rose 2 days in the United States (1 day in 1981 rising to 3 in 1994) and fell by more than 1 day in England (1.9 days in 1981 falling to .4 in 1995) (figure 72).

Justice system's impact on crime

Is there a connection between trends in legal punishment and trends in crime in the two countries?

The two countries differ greatly in how their justice systems responded to crime throughout the 1980's and continuing into the 1990's. For example, during that time an offender's risk of conviction rose in the United States but fell in England (including Wales). Such differences in punishment trends might help explain why crime trends since 1981 differed between the two countries. In theory, raising the risk or severity of punishment might lead to crime decreases, and lowering the risk or severity of punishment might lead to crime increases.

To investigate these possibilities, correlations were computed between punishment trends and crime trends in the two countries. Negative correlations (for example, a falling conviction rate and a rising crime rate) were interpreted as possible support for the theory. Correlations dealt with two separate types of punishment trends: trends in the *risk* of punishment, and trends in the *severity* of punishment. Two measures of punishment risk are the conviction rate (defined as the number of convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders) and the incarceration rate (defined as the number of incarcerations per 1,000 alleged offenders). Four measures of punishment severity are the percent of convicted offenders sentenced to incarceration, sentence length, time served, and percent of sentence served. A fifth is "days of incarceration at risk of serving," although this measure actually combines elements of both risk and severity.

U.S. trends were based on data for seven points in time (1981, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994); English trends were based on six (1981, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1993, and 1995).

Detecting a statistically significant relationship between crime and punishment trends is difficult when trends are based on so few points in time. Consequently, statistical significance was not given more weight than other criteria for evaluating results. Other criteria used were strength and direction of correlations between punishment trends and crime trends, and consistency of correlations across offense categories.

Major findings were:

- Negative correlations in England between trends in punishment *risk* and crime trends offer the strongest support for the theory that links falling risk of punishment to rising crime (table 2). Specifically, since 1981 the conviction rate fell in England, and English crime rates (both police-recorded crime rates and crime rates from victim surveys) rose (figures 1-10 and figures 25-30). Likewise, the incarceration rate fell, and English crime rates (both police-recorded rates and victim survey rates) rose (figures 1-10 and figures 43-48).
- In England, correlations between punishment *severity* and crime trends were mixed (table 2). Roughly half were positive and half were negative. The major exception was motor vehicle theft: correlations were fairly consistently strong and negative between trends in punishment severity (however measured) for motor vehicle theft and trends in the rate of vehicle theft (however measured) (figures 4, 10, 36, 54, 60, 66, and 72). Specifically, the percent of convicted motor vehicle thieves sentenced to incarceration, their average sentence length, their average time served, the percent of sentence they served, and the number of days of incarceration they were at risk of serving all fell since 1981. At the same time, the motor vehicle theft rate, as measured in both victim

surveys and police statistics, generally rose.

- In the United States, correlations between punishment *risk* and crime trends were mixed (table 2). About half were positive and half were negative. Moreover, negative correlations were often low. Furthermore, correlations between trends in punishment risk and trends in crime were predominantly negative when crime trends were measured with victim surveys but predominantly positive when measured with police statistics. In short, trends in punishment risk had an inconsistent relationship with trends in crime in the United States. The major exception is burglary, where there were consistent negative correlations: the risk of punishment (whether measured by the conviction rate or the incarceration rate) rose, and the burglary rate (whether measured in victim surveys or police statistics) fell (figures 3, 9, 29, and 48).
- In the United States, correlations between punishment *severity* and crime trends were mixed (table 2). Approximately half were positive and half were negative. Moreover, in instances where there were negative correlations, they were often weak. Furthermore, unlike results from England, correlations between punishment severity and *survey* crime rates often had a different sign than correlations between severity and *police-recorded* rates for the same crime. In short, trends in punishment severity had an inconsistent relationship with trends in crime in the United States. The major exception is burglary, where there were consistent negative correlations: for most measures of severity (percent of convicted offenders sentenced to incarceration; sentence length imposed; time served), increases in severity of punishment for burglary were associated with decreases in the burglary rate regardless of whether the burglary rate was

Table 2. Correlations between 1981-1994 trends in U.S. crime rates and U.S. trends in legal punishment; and correlations between 1981-1995 trends in English crime rates and English trends in legal punishment

	Correlation between crime rate trends and trends in —						
	Risk of punishment			Severity of punishment			
	Conviction rate: convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders	Incarceration rate: incarcerations per 1,000 alleged offenders	Percent of convicted offenders sentenced to incarceration	Average incarceration sentence imposed	Average time served	Percent of sentence served	Days of incarceration at risk of serving
United States' crime rate							
Police-recorded rate of —							
Murder	-.031	-.015	.178	.206	-.162	-.252	-.040
Rape	.844*	.835*	-.573	.487	.776*	.389	.865*
Robbery	.215	.288	.370	-.153	-.045	.207	.169
Assault	.950**	.957**	-.347	.267	.277	-.299	.935**
Burglary	-.835*	-.841*	-.830*	-.518	-.334	.632	-.789*
Motor vehicle theft	.774*	.791*	.389	.544	-.100	-.784	.729
Victim survey estimated rate of —							
Robbery	-.606	-.595	-.111	-.581	-.440	.696	-.612
Assault	-.146	-.132	.267	-.421	-.449	.319	-.178
Burglary	-.826*	-.880**	-.899**	-.680	-.524	.687	-.874*
Motor vehicle theft	.546	.583	.409	.518	-.208	-.790	.517
England's crime rate							
Police-recorded rate of —							
Murder	-.907*	-.483	.782	.641	.638	.241	.482
Rape	-.953**	-.968**	.434	.969*	.933**	.613	-.699
Robbery	-.868*	-.852*	-.811	.896*	.897*	.437	.030
Assault	-.901*	-.684	.654	.775	.614	-.866*	-.475
Burglary	-.934**	-.956**	-.019	.815*	.711	-.686	-.967**
Motor vehicle theft	-.883*	-.899*	-.331	-.672	-.974**	-.792	-.890*
Victim survey estimated rate of —							
Robbery	-.981**	-.964**	-.775	.681	.712	.533	-.317
Assault	-.995**	-.790	.826*	.544	.379	-.724	-.713
Burglary	-.970**	-.964**	.258	.759	.522	-.788	-.982**
Motor vehicle theft	-.943**	-.951**	-.301	-.533	-.987**	-.888*	-.951**

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

measured using victim surveys or police statistics (figures 3, 9, 35, 53, and 59).

To summarize, notable consistencies and notable inconsistencies both characterized results relating punishment trends to crime trends. Notably consistent was the close association in England, across the different crime types, between falling risk of punishment (however measured) and rising crime rates (however measured). Notable inconsistent results were those between England and the United States; between trends in punishment risk versus trends in punishment severity; between police statistics and victim surveys; between different measures of punishment severity; and between different offenses. The major exception

was burglary, where trends were fairly consistent irrespective of country, source of crime-rate data, or type of punishment trend.

Possible explanations for the inconsistencies are:

- Victim surveys may provide a more reliable measure of crime trends than police statistics. If so, that may explain inconsistencies between victim surveys and police statistics.
- Changes in the risk of punishment are widely thought to have a greater impact on crime rates than changes in punishment severity. If so, that may explain why punishment risk trends and crime trends were more consistently associated with one another than were

punishment severity trends and crime trends.

- Most U.S. crime rates fell in the early 1980's, increased until the early 1990's, and then fell again. Yet linear correlation was used to analyze these nonlinear trends. Perhaps nonlinear correlation would show a closer association between punishment trends and crime trends in the United States.
- The fact that all trends were based on a small number of points in time (seven in the United States, six in England) suggests a more general explanation for inconsistencies. That number of data points may be adequate for documenting a relationship between punishment trends and crime trends only if major changes occur in

Justice system's impact on crime

punishment trends during the study period in *both* countries, which was not the case here. English conviction rates, for example, declined sharply during the study period. The increase in U.S. conviction rates was modest by comparison. Consequently, the negative correlations between rising U.S. conviction rates and falling crime rates were relatively modest for most crime rates derived from victim surveys, whereas the negative correlations between falling English conviction rates and rising English crime rates were uniformly strong. The implication is that punishment trends and crime trends should not always be expected to have the same relationship in two countries over any period of time.

- Some crimes (such as burglary) are more rationally motivated than others (assault, for example). Consequently,

in comparison with other crimes, those that are committed by more rationally motivated offenders — by persons who, for example, plan their crime and weigh their chances of being caught — are probably more influenced by increases or decreases in the likelihood or severity of punishment. The implication is that punishment trends and crime trends should not always be expected to have the same relationship irrespective of type of crime.

- A positive correlation between punishment and crime trends was interpreted as possible evidence that increasing punitiveness does not reduce crime. Such an interpretation may not always be justified. For example, if the crime rate rose over some period of time but was kept from soaring by increasingly punitive policies over that period, it would be a mistake to interpret the observed positive

correlation between punishment and crime trends as evidence that increasing punitiveness had no crime reduction benefit. Perhaps some of the inconsistent findings described above stem from misinterpreting positive correlations. By the same token, perhaps some of the inconsistencies stem from misinterpreting negative correlations. Interpreting a negative correlation as possible evidence that increasing punitiveness reduces crime may not always be justified. For example, crime rates can fall for reasons having nothing to do with increasing punitiveness. To illustrate, demographic changes in the age and race composition of the U.S. population might explain 41% of the drop in the U.S. murder rate from 1981 to 1996; 47% of the drop in the police-recorded U.S. robbery rate; and 19% of the drop in the police-recorded U.S. burglary rate.

Justice system changes

Probability: United States murder

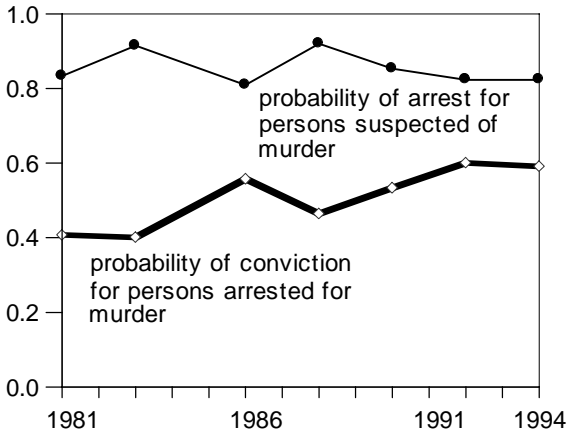


Figure 73

Probability: United States rape

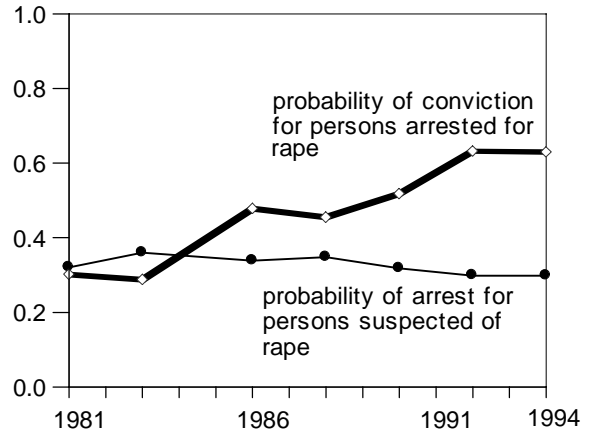


Figure 74

Probability: United States robbery

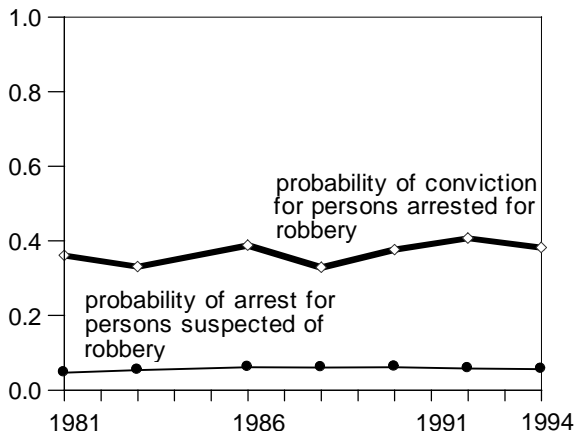


Figure 75

Probability: United States assault

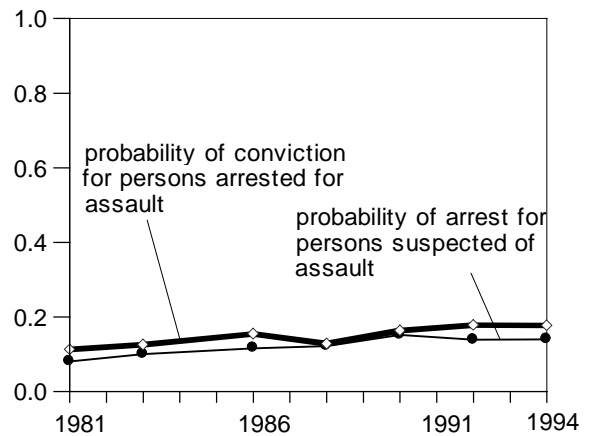


Figure 76

Probability: United States burglary

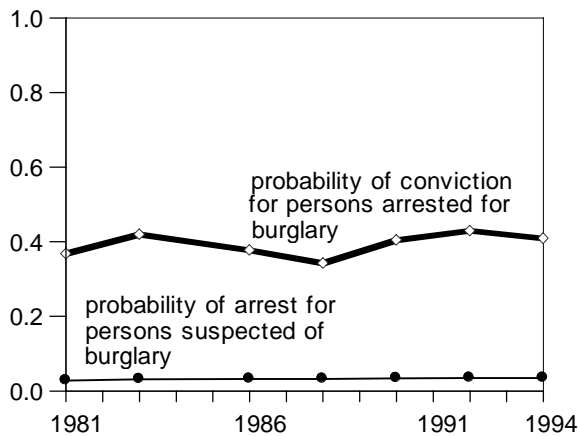


Figure 77

Probability: United States motor vehicle theft

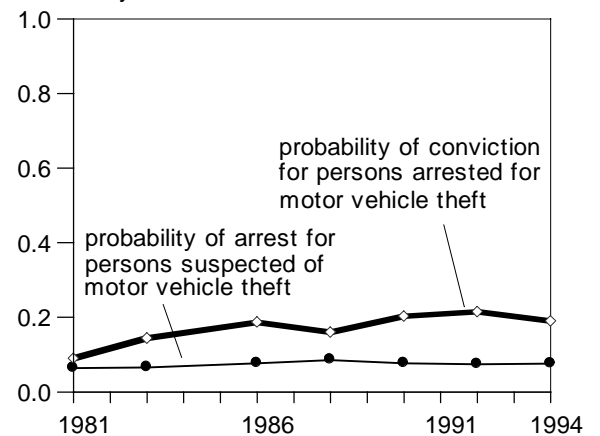


Figure 78

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

Reasons for divergent trends in legal punishment in England (including Wales) and the United States

Changes in the likelihood of conviction and incarceration can be explained more convincingly than changes in crime rates. The English decreases in the probability of conviction were caused by —

- the increasing use of recorded cautions and unrecorded warnings for detected offenders (Home Office, 1985, 1990b; Farrington, 1992)
- the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, which increased procedural safeguards for accused persons (Irving and MacKenzie, 1989)
- the introduction of the Crown Prosecution Service in 1986, with lawyers replacing police officers as prosecutors, leading to an increasing tendency to drop cases rather than prosecute them (Home Office, 1993, table 6.2).

There were also measures affecting specific offenses. For example, from 1993 onwards, the police were increasingly likely to charge assault offenders with "common assault" rather than "wounding."

There were two main reasons why the time served and sentence length for homicide increased in England:

- Murder convictions (carrying a mandatory life sentence) increased, whereas manslaughter convictions fell. For example, in 1981, 126 offenders were convicted for murder and 262 for manslaughter, whereas in 1995, 214 offenders were convicted for murder and 241 for manslaughter.

- The average time served by life-sentence prisoners increased, from 126 months in 1981 to 163 months in 1995.

The English decreases in the probability of incarceration in 1987-91 were caused by —

- pronouncements by the Home Office (roughly equivalent to the U.S. Department of Justice) encouraging judges and magistrates to avoid sending offenders to prison as far as possible, especially for non-violent offenses such as burglary and vehicle theft (Home Office, 1988, 1990a)
- the downgrading of the offense of unauthorized taking of a motor vehicle to a non-indictable offense (in the Criminal Justice Act 1988), which encouraged judges to treat it as a relatively trivial offense and to use non-custodial penalties.

As has been noted (Wilson, 1997), up to and including the Criminal Justice Act 1991 (which greatly restricted the ability of sentencers to pass custodial sentences), Home Office policy makers were primarily concerned with reducing the prison population.

In contrast, in America during the 1980's and continuing into the 1990's, growing emphasis was placed on retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation as major goals of the justice system. One way the change revealed itself was a rising risk of conviction for persons committing crime. Reasons varied across crime categories but, in general, the rise in risk of conviction occurred both because police made more arrests relative to the number of persons committing crime, and prosecutors obtained more convictions relative to the number of persons being arrested (figures 73-78). (These same trends cannot be investigated for England because there are no nationwide English data on arrests.)

Another change was in prison release policies. Since around 1986 growth has occurred in the fraction of the sentence that prisoners served before they were released, especially for violent offenders (figures 61-66). For example, the U.S. Congress passed legislation requiring that Federal prisoners with sentences longer than 1 year serve at least 85% of their sentence (McDonald and Carlson, 1992, page 8).

In England, Home Office policy changed in 1993. Judges and magistrates were encouraged to make more use of custodial sentences, and new laws were introduced to facilitate this. For example, the Criminal Justice Act 1993 repealed the provision in the Criminal Justice Act 1991 that barred judges from imposing longer sentences for persons with previous convictions. Another repealed provision had barred judges from punishing more severely a person who had harmed two or more victims than a person who had harmed one.

These new English policies were popular with the general public. For example, in one 1993 survey, 88% thought that too lenient court sentences caused crime and 86% thought that prison sentences should be imposed to make criminals suffer (Kirby and Cusick, 1993).

There are many possible explanations for changes in crime rates over time. However, many of the relevant factors — such as the trend toward single parent families, the aging of the population, and routine activities — vary similarly over time in America and England (Farrington and Langan, 1992). Hence, they cannot explain divergent crime trends between the two countries.

Racial disparities in incarceration

In the United States, the incarceration rate of blacks is six times the incarceration rate of whites. Is racial disparity markedly worse in the United States than in England?

- Racial disparity is no worse in the United States than in England (including Wales).

In the United States in 1991—

- of the 160.8 million white adults, approximately 636,000 were incarcerated in a local jail, a State prison, or a Federal prison on any given day, or 396 per 100,000 population

- of the 20.6 million black adults, about 528,000 were incarcerated, or 2,563 per 100,000 population

- of the 5.6 million adults of other races, roughly 36,000 were incarcerated, or 643 per 100,000 population.

In England in 1991 —

- of the 36.7 million white adults, approximately 37,600 were incarcerated on any given day, or 102 per 100,000 population

- of the roughly three-quarter million black adults, about 5,000 were incarcerated, or 667 per 100,000 population

- of the 1.2 million adults of other races, an estimated 2,800 were incarcerated, or 233 per 100,000 population.

In 1991 —

- the black incarceration rate was approximately six times the white incarceration rate in both England and the United States

- the incarceration rate for persons of other races was roughly two times the white incarceration rate in both England and the United States.

Methodology

In this report, "England" includes both England and Wales.

A central aim of the report was to track similar cases in both countries for the same years across the major stages of the criminal justice system: from commission of an offense, to reporting to police, to conviction and sentencing and, lastly, to release from confinement. However, neither country has annual national data tracking individual offenders by some unique identifier. For many years since 1981, aggregate national data are available on the major stages (for example, crimes committed, persons convicted, persons sentenced to custody). These separate counts do not arise from tracking the same individuals across stages, but they permit reasonably accurate estimates of the flow of offenders from one stage to the next.

Arrest statistics comparing England and the United States are not included in the report because England does not have nationwide arrest data. Statistics on "larceny" are not included because the United States does not have nationwide conviction and sentencing data on larceny and because the report's focus is on serious crimes.

For this report, numbers and probabilities were calculated for 7 years in the United States (1981, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992 and 1994) and for 6 years in England (1981, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1993 and 1995). The year 1981 was selected as the starting point for comparing the two countries because cross-country comparisons of crime victim surveys were critical for the study and 1981 was the first year covered in the national English crime victim survey (Hough and Mayhew, 1983). The U.S. years of 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994 were selected because complete national information on convictions and sentencing (Federal plus State plus juvenile) — which is crucial for comparing justice systems

across countries — is largely available only for these years. Though complete U.S. information was not available for 1981 and 1983, availability of English victimization data and English justice system data for these years made 1981 and 1983 ideal for comparison purposes. Consequently, procedures were devised for estimating 1981 and 1983 convictions and sentences in the United States.

Significance tests

Certain differences discussed in this report were tested for statistical significance at the 95% confidence level: U.S.-England differences in victimization rates from national crime surveys (all were significant); and U.S.-England differences in percent reported to police (significant differences are noted elsewhere). The only other places where significance tests were run are in tables 1 and 2.

Comparability

There are three problems of comparability: between the United States and England, over time, and between victim survey and criminal justice data. It is easier to specify legal definitions of offenses in England because laws apply nationally, whereas in the United States laws differ from State to State. However, legal definitions of burglary, robbery, motor vehicle theft (including unauthorized taking of motor vehicles), and murder (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter in the United States; murder, manslaughter and infanticide in England) seem quite comparable in both countries. In both, attempts are included with completed crimes in police data, except for murder.

Attempted murder is a separate legal category in England, but it is included in aggravated assault in the United States. While U.S. assault figures shown in this report include attempted murder, English figures do not.

However, because the number of police-recorded attempted murders and the number of convictions for attempted murder are rare compared to "woundings," adding attempted murders to the English assault figures would not have made a significant difference in results. For example, in 1996, police recorded 674 attempted murders and 174,583 wounding offenses, and courts convicted 56 persons of attempted murder and 28,348 of wounding.

Between 1981 and 1995, the legal definitions of murder, robbery, and burglary did not change substantially in England or the United States, and the legal definition of motor vehicle theft did not change in the United States. In England, unauthorized taking of a motor vehicle was downgraded from an indictable (more serious) to a summary (less serious) offense in the Criminal Justice Act 1988 (which went into effect on October 12, 1988). Also, a new offense of aggravated vehicle taking was created by the Aggravated Vehicle Taking Act 1991 (which went into effect on April 1, 1992). Hence, for comparability with earlier years, English motor vehicle theft in 1995 comprised four legal categories: theft of a motor vehicle (indictable), unauthorized taking of a motor vehicle (summary), and aggravated vehicle taking (indictable and summary).

Rape is a more problematic offense. In England in 1981, rape had to involve a male offender and a female victim, and required penetration of the vagina by the penis. Husbands could not be convicted of raping their wives. No male under age 14 could be convicted of rape, but female offenders were included in the rape statistics if they aided and abetted rape. However, the minimum age for a rape conviction was decreased from 14 to 10 — the minimum age of conviction for other offenses — in the Sexual Offenses (Amendment) Act 1993 (which went

into effect on September 20, 1993). The definition of English rape was changed in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (which went into effect on November 1, 1994) to include male victims, spouse victims, and anal intercourse. In the United States forcible rape statutes now may include male or female offenders, male or female victims, spouse victims, anal intercourse, and other sexual acts. However, it is likely that the great majority of rape offenses in England and the United States are comparable, involving male offenders, female victims, and vaginal intercourse. Consensual sex with minors is placed in a different legal category in both countries.

Assault poses the greatest problem of comparability between the United States and England. In England, the national victim survey (and the police-recorded figures) distinguishes between the indictable offense of wounding (causing actual or grievous bodily harm) and the summary offense of common assault. Wounding occurs if the victim receives some kind of cut or wound, where the skin or a bone is broken, or medical attention is needed, whereas common assault occurs if the victim is punched, kicked or jostled, with negligible or no injury. Minor bruising or a black eye count as negligible injury. Attempted assaults are not counted as wounding in the British victim survey. In the United States, the national victim survey (and the police-recorded figures) distinguishes between the index

offense of aggravated assault and the non-index offense of simple assault. An aggravated assault occurs if the victim suffers knife, stab, or gun wounds, broken bones, or teeth knocked out, if the victim is knocked unconscious, or if any weapon is used. A simple assault occurs if the victim receives cuts, scratches, bruises, a swelling, or a black eye, or if no weapon is used.

The U.S. category of aggravated assault is not exactly comparable to the English category of wounding because of all the assaults without injury in the U.S. category. On the other hand, the U.S. category of aggravated assault completed with injury is significantly narrower than the English category of wounding, since the English category includes assaults causing cuts, scratches, or severe bruising, which would be counted as simple assaults in the United States. Despite problems of noncomparability, there seemed little alternative but to compare wounding in England with aggravated assault in the United States. The legal definitions of both offenses did not change between 1981 and 1995, so changes over time should be reliable. Ideally, it would be desirable in both countries to code the severity of injuries, so that similar assaults could be compared.

In both countries, efforts have been made to ensure that crime definitions in the national victim survey are comparable to those in official (police) statistics,

but some differences are inevitable. For example, the U.S. crime victim survey does not include crimes against organizations or against persons under 12, and the English crime victim survey does not include crimes against organizations or against persons under 16. However, when estimating the fraction of victim-reported offenses that were recorded by police, adjustments were made to the police statistics to make them comparable to victim survey estimates.

While crime definitions were reasonably comparable between England and the United States, characteristics of the crimes differed between the two countries. For example, according to 1996 police statistics, firearms were used in 7% of English murders (Home Office, 1997, table 3.2) but 68% of U.S. murders (FBI, 1997, table 2.9). Likewise, according to 1996 police statistics on robbery, 41% of U.S. robberies (FBI, 1997, page 29) but 5% of English robberies (Home Office, 1997, table A4.5, page 65) involved a firearm. Furthermore, according to latest victim survey statistics (1995 in England; 1996 in the United States), 28% of U.S. robberies involved a firearm compared to 4% of English robberies. How other characteristics differed between U.S. crimes and English crimes was not investigated because of limited available data.

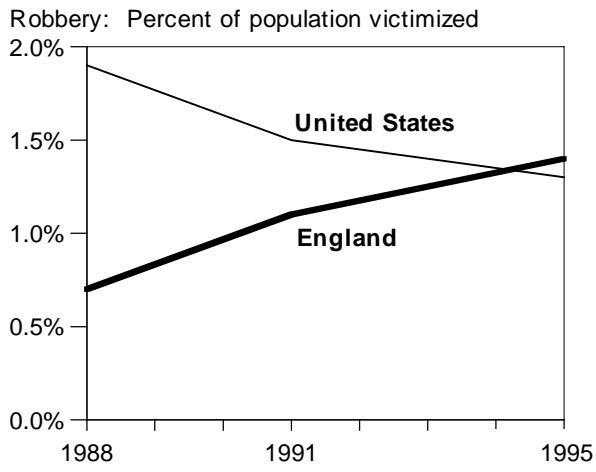


Figure 79

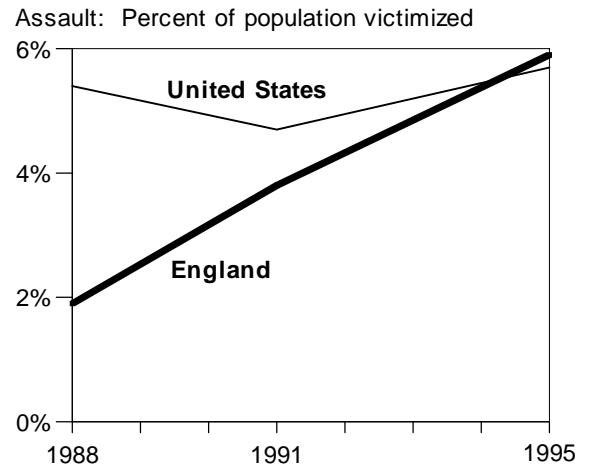


Figure 80

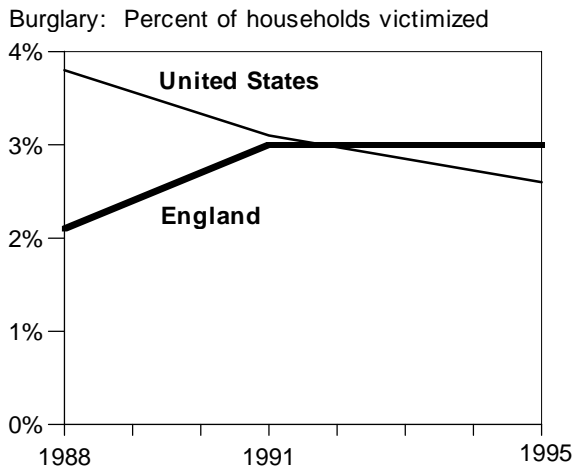


Figure 81



Figure 82

For additional information on these graphs, see the section labeled *Notes on figures 1-82*.

England (including Wales) has higher crime rates than the United States according to 1995 national crime victimization surveys. Are English crime rates higher than U.S. crime rates according to 1995 international crime victimization surveys?

Earlier in the report, U.S. and English crime rates were compared based on data compiled from national crime victimization surveys in the two countries. English crime rates for 1995 were found to be higher than U.S. crime rates for all four crime categories compared (robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft) (figures 1-4). However, the two national crime victimization surveys (called the "British Crime Survey" in England and the "National Crime Victimization Survey" in the United States) were not specifically designed to be comparable to one another. For example, in the British Crime Survey, sampled respondents are asked about victimizations that occurred over a 12-month period; in the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey they are asked about crimes over a 6-month reference period. Also, the British Crime Survey does not use bounded interviews (a technique for minimizing the tendency of respondents to unintentionally inflate the number of victimizations that occurred in the reference period by mentioning crimes that occurred before the reference period) whereas the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey does use bounded interviews.

In view of such design differences between the two surveys, it is reasonable to ask whether England's higher 1995 survey crime rates might merely reflect counting differences rather than real differences in criminal victimization. One reason for doubting that possibility is that the design differences do not all operate to make England's crime problem appear worse than America's. For example, two counting

differences are England's 12-month reference period (versus America's 6) and England's unbounded interviews (versus America's bounded ones). While England's unbounded interviews do artificially make England crime rates look worse than America's, England's 12-month reference period operates in the other direction, artificially making America's crime situation look worse than England's. That is because people have an easier time remembering crimes that occurred during the last 6 months than the last 12.

The question of whether England's higher 1995 survey crime rates are possibly attributable to different data collection procedures is perhaps best answered by comparing crime rates from victimization surveys that are more nearly identical in design. Such surveys exist. They are called the *international* crime victimization surveys and are completely distinct from the *national* crime victimization surveys. Three international crime victimization surveys have been conducted in England (including Wales) and the United States: one covering crimes committed in 1988, one covering those committed in 1991, and one covering those in 1995 (Mayhew and van Dijk, 1997, page 34 and table 1 of appendix 4). Nearly the same years (1987, 1991, and 1995) were surveyed in the two countries' *national* crime victimization surveys.

International surveys have a major shortcoming not present in national surveys: their small samples and low response rates. However, the major strength of the international crime victimization surveys is that they were specifically designed for international comparisons. Design differences that hinder comparisons between the national surveys are not present in the international surveys. Consequently, if results from international surveys agree with results from national surveys, confidence is enhanced that

findings from the national surveys are not merely a reflection of their major weaknesses for international comparisons.

Turning now to the international crime victimization surveys, results largely parallel those from the national surveys in three respects:

First, the international survey (figures 79-82) and the national survey (figures 1-4) both indicated that England had a higher 1995 victimization rate than the United States for each type of crime (robbery, assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft).

Second, the national and the international surveys also showed some similarities in trends since around 1987. According to both, England did *not* have generally higher victimization rates than the United States in the late 1980's, but by 1995 England's rates had all risen to levels exceeding those in America.

Third, the country that had the higher victimization rate according to the national survey was typically the country that had the higher rate according to the international survey. For example, both surveys agree that the robbery rate during the late 1980's was higher in the United States than in England; the 1991 U.S. robbery rate was higher than the English rate; and the 1995 English robbery rate was higher than the U.S. rate. More generally, of the 12 comparisons that could be made (the 3 for robbery plus 3 for assault, 3 for burglary, and 3 for auto theft), 8 agreed on which country had the higher victimization rate. There was perfect agreement for robbery and mostly agreement for burglary and auto theft, although mostly disagreement for assault.

Sources of American data

American survey offenses

The number of victim-survey offenses, comparable household and population figures (numbers of persons aged 12 or over), and the probability of reporting to the police were obtained from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). For example, the NCVS estimated that there were 5,482,720 household burglaries in 1994 and that 51% of them were reported to the police (BJS, 1997, tables 1 and 91). Since there were an estimated 100,807,650 households in 1994, the survey burglary rate was 54.4 per 1,000 households; about one in every 18 households was burglarized in 1994 (disregarding repeat victims).

The NCVS was redesigned in 1992 to encourage more complete recall of crimes, especially those committed by intimates or family members (see Perkins and others, 1996, Appendix II). More detailed screening questions were used, with more explicit specification of different kinds of acts. To assess the effect of the redesign, half of the 1992 interviews were carried out with the old questionnaire format, and half were carried out with the new questionnaire format. It was concluded that the redesign led to an increase of about 20% in the estimated number of burglaries and of about 24% in the estimated number of aggravated assaults, but had no significant effect on the estimated number of robberies or motor vehicle thefts, as revealed by victims (Rand, Lynch, and Cantor, 1997). The redesign had a much greater effect on the estimated number of rapes (up 157%); however, victim-survey rapes are not included in this report, because there is no comparable victim-survey estimate of rape for England.

The redesign affected not only estimates of the frequency of aggravated assault and burglary, but also estimates of the "percent reported to police" for these two crimes. Under

the old questionnaire format, 62% of aggravated assaults were reported to police in 1992, versus 55% under the new format. For burglary, 54% were reported under the old; 51% under the new. In both cases, percent reported to police declined, possibly because the biggest effect of the redesign was to stimulate recall of less serious forms of these two crimes. Being less serious forms, they are less likely to be reported to police.

As a result of the redesign, NCVS estimates (both frequency and percent reported to police) of aggravated assault and burglary for 1992 and beyond are not comparable to pre-1992 estimates. Consequently, pre-1992 NCVS estimates of frequency and "percent reported to police" for aggravated assault and burglary (but not for robberies or motor vehicle thefts) were back-adjusted to make the pre-1992 figures comparable to post-1991 figures. For example, every pre-1992 burglary estimate was increased by 20%. Similar adjustments were made to the numbers of offenses reported to the police.

For comparability with the BCS, only completed motor vehicle thefts in the NCVS were counted. All burglaries, robberies, and aggravated assaults were counted.

The average number of offenders per offense provides the link between offenses and offenders. This was obtained from three sources. For robbery, rape, and aggravated assault, the figures were estimated from the table routinely published in the NCVS (for example, BJS, 1992a, table 70). For burglary and vehicle theft, the figures were estimated from unpublished NCVS data. The homicide figures were estimated from the FBI's Supplemental Homicide Reports. Since the average number of offenders per offense was often based on small numbers but could greatly affect probability estimates, the average figure over

all years (1981-94) was used in all calculations. This was 1.4 for burglary, 1.5 for motor vehicle theft, 1.8 for robbery, 1.5 for aggravated assault, 1.2 for rape, and 1.15 for homicide.

American police-recorded offenses

The numbers of police-recorded crimes were obtained from the 1995 UCR (FBI, 1996, table 1) and the 1996 UCR (FBI, 1997, table 1), which show the latest estimates of the numbers of index crimes committed in each year from 1981 to 1996. The UCR figures for forcible rape are restricted to female victims. The latest estimates of the resident population in each year were obtained from the Bureau of the Census (1996, table 14). For example, there were 2,712,800 burglaries of all kinds in 1994. Since the resident population was estimated to be 260,341,000 in 1994, the police-recorded burglary rate was 10.4 burglaries per 1,000 persons.

The numbers of police-recorded offenses that were comparable to survey offenses were estimated in various ways. For burglary, the estimated proportion of residential as opposed to non-residential burglaries was used (for example, FBI, 1995, table 23). Since this was close to two-thirds in every year, its average value in 1981-94 of .67 was used for each year's calculations. Thus, in 1994, the number of comparable police-recorded burglaries was estimated to be 1,817,576 (2,712,800 x .67). For aggravated assault, the police-recorded figure was reduced by 5% to take account of the estimated proportion of assaults on victims under age 12 (estimated from 1993 NIBRS data by Jarvis, 1994) and hence excluded from NCVS.

For robbery, the estimated proportion of offenses with personal victims was used (for example, FBI, 1995, table 23). On average in 1981-94, 78% of

robberies were against persons (street, residential, miscellaneous) rather than businesses (banks, gas stations, convenience stores, commercial); this fraction was used for each year's calculations. The number of robberies was further reduced by 2% to take account of the estimated proportion of robbery victims under age 12 (Jarvis, 1994). It was then increased by 11% to convert the number of incidents to the number of victimizations, because the UCR counts robbery incidents while the NCVS counts robbery victimizations (that is, one victim = one offense). The regular table in the NCVS (for example, BJS, 1992a, table 56) shows an average ratio of victims to incidents of 1.11 in 1981-94.

For motor vehicle theft, it was assumed that the proportion of completed offenses in the UCR figures was the same as in offenses reported to the police by victims. For example, according to the NCVS in 1990 (BJS, 1992a, table 101), 94.8% of completed vehicle thefts were reported to the police; 42.5% of attempted vehicle thefts were also reported to the police. It was determined that 78.7% of reported vehicle thefts were completed as opposed to attempted. Over all years, the average was 80%, and there was no sign of a trend in these percentages, so this figure was used in all cases. Applying 80% to the number of police-recorded vehicle thefts (1,635,900) yielded an estimate of 1,308,720 police-recorded completed thefts in 1990. This figure was further reduced by 17% (to 1,086,238) to take account of the proportion of vehicle thefts involving business as opposed to personal victims (Biderman and Lynch, 1991).

The number of police-recorded offenses that were comparable to survey offenses makes it possible to estimate the probability of a survey offense being recorded by the police. For example, for burglary in 1994, comparing 5,482,720 survey offenses to

1,817,576 comparable recorded offenses yields the estimate that the police were recording 33% of all burglaries.

It is similarly possible to estimate the probability that a survey offense reported to the police would be recorded by the police. For burglary in 1994, comparing 2,796,187 offenses (5,482,720 x .51) reported to the police with 1,817,576 comparable recorded offenses yields the estimate that the police were recording 65% of offenses reported to them. This probability was slightly greater than 1 for vehicle theft in 1986, presumably reflecting the fact that the estimated number of vehicle thefts varies within a confidence interval and that almost all that are reported to the police are recorded by the police. All probabilities estimated as greater than 1.0 were set to 1.

American convictions

In the United States, the total number of convictions is the sum of State convictions plus Federal convictions plus juvenile convictions. For example, for burglary in 1994, there were an estimated 161,975 convictions (98,109 State; 146 Federal; 63,720 juvenile). The conviction rate per 1,000 population was calculated by dividing this by the resident population of persons aged 10 or over (since few persons under 10 are convicted); this was 221,890,000 in 1994 (Bureau of the Census, 1996, table 14). Hence the conviction rate for burglary in 1994 was 0.73 per 1,000 population; disregarding repeat offenders, about one in every 1,400 persons was convicted of burglary.

Federal convictions 1981-1994

Data on Federal convictions were obtained from the BJS Federal Justice Statistics Program (FJSP) (for 1981-1988: BJS, 1992b, 1993, table 9) (for 1990: Langan, Perkins and Chaiken, 1994) (for 1992: Langan, 1996) (for 1994: Langan and Brown, 1997b).

State convictions 1986-1994

State court convictions were obtained from the National Judicial Reporting Program (NJRP) (for 1986: Langan, 1989) (for 1988: Langan and Dawson, 1990) (for 1990: Langan, Perkins and Chaiken, 1994) (for 1992: Langan, 1996) (for 1994: Langan and Brown, 1997b). Motor vehicle theft was not shown separately in 1986 and 1988, so it was estimated as 18% of larceny convictions, since 18% of larceny convictions in 1990-94 were for motor vehicle theft. The number of rape convictions in 1986 was estimated using the 1988 figure because the figure from the 1986 NJRP survey was thought to be unreliable. The rape convictions include female offenders, but consistently 99% of convicted offenders were male (Langan, 1989; Langan and Dawson, 1990; Langan and Dawson, 1993; Langan and Graziadei, 1995; Langan and Brown, 1997a).

State convictions 1981 and 1983

Since the NJRP only began in 1986, it was necessary to back-estimate the number of convictions in State courts in 1981 and 1983. Previously (Farrington, Langan, and Wikström, 1994), this was achieved by assuming that the change in the number of adults convicted for a particular crime was the same as the change in the number of adults arrested for that crime. However, an estimation method based on prison admissions proved to be more defensible empirically.

In choosing between different estimation methods, the main criterion was how well they reproduced known changes in the number of convictions in State courts in 1988-94. The first NJRP survey, in 1986 (Langan, 1989), was based on a random sample of 100 counties, whereas all subsequent NJRP surveys have been based on a random sample of 300 counties. Hence, it was thought that changes in convictions in 1988-94 would be more reliable than changes in convictions in 1986-94. In 1988, a total of 218,096 persons were convicted in state courts of murder/nonnegligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary or motor vehicle theft (Langan and Dawson, 1990, table 1); the corresponding figure in 1994 was 262,435, an increase of 20% (Langan and Brown, 1997a, table 1).

The number of adults (age 18 or over) arrested for these six offenses, according to the UCR, was 965,462 in 1988 and 993,121 in 1994, an increase of 3% (FBI, 1989, 1995). However, the number of new admissions to State prisons (new court commitments plus violators returned with new sentences) for these six offenses was 123,706 in 1988 (obtained by applying the 1988 offense distribution of new court commitments to the 1988 total number of new admissions) and 144,940 in 1994 (obtained by applying the 1994 offense distribution of new court commitments to the 1994 total number of new admissions), an increase of 17% (Perkins and Gilliard, 1992, table 1-5; BJS, 1991, tables 5.10a and 5.16; Brown and others, 1996, tables 5.10a and 5.16; BJS, 1994, table 1-5). Hence, the increase in the number of new admissions to State prisons corresponded closely to the increase in the number of convictions in State courts; the number of new admissions was 57% of the number of convictions in 1988 and 55% in 1994. Also, the number of new admissions to State prisons according to State prison

records (as compiled through the National Corrections Reporting Program and National Prisoner Statistics) was similar to the number of persons sentenced to prison according to State court records (as compiled in the NJRP), which was 125,471 in 1988 and 152,378 in 1994, an increase of 21% (Langan and Dawson, 1990; Langan and Brown, 1997a).

The numbers of new admissions to State prisons (new court commitments plus violators returned with new sentences) for 1981 and 1983 were obtained by applying the offense distribution of new court commitments (Greenfeld and Minor-Harper, 1984, table 3; Beck and Hester, 1986, table 3) to the total number of new admissions to State prisons (BJS, 1983; BJS, 1986). For example, there were 164,857 new admissions in 1981, 27.2% of which were for burglary, leading to an estimate of 44,841 burglars admitted. Since the corresponding figure for 1988 was 49,539, about 10.5% more burglars were admitted in 1988 than in 1981. Since the number of convictions for burglary in State courts in 1988 was 101,050, it was estimated that the corresponding number of convictions in 1981 was 91,467. All estimates of convictions in State courts in 1981 and 1983 were similarly based on changes in numbers of sentenced persons admitted to State prisons.

Estimates of juvenile convictions 1986-94

The number of juvenile convictions was defined as the number of petitioned juvenile court cases resulting in an adjudication for which the juvenile received a disposition other than transfer/waiver (to the adult court) or dismissal/release. (Transferred cases were excluded because they would appear in State conviction figures.) Two types of data were used to estimate the number of juvenile convictions

by offense: the nationwide number of referrals to juvenile court, by offense; and the percentage of referrals that resulted in conviction. The source for the first was the annual publication *Juvenile Court Statistics* (JCS). The source for the second was a database maintained by the National Center for Juvenile Justice (Snyder, 1995; Butts, 1996). Multiplying the number of juvenile court referrals by the percentage that resulted in conviction gives the number of juvenile convictions. For example, there were an estimated 141,600 burglary cases in 1994 (Butts et al., 1996, table 1), of which 45% (Butts, 1996) were adjudicated and received placement, probation or another disposition (not including transfer or dismissal), leading to an estimated 63,720 juvenile burglary convictions.

Estimates of juvenile convictions for 1981 and 1983

Data on the fractions of cases adjudicated and receiving various dispositions were not available before 1985. Previously (Farrington, Langan and Wikström, 1994), the numbers of juvenile convictions in 1981 were estimated from the numbers of delinquency cases in 1981 (Snyder, Finnegan and Hutzler, 1983, table 2), assuming that the fractions were the same as in 1986. However, the present estimates were based on the correspondence between juvenile arrests (under 18) as a percentage of *all* arrests, and juvenile convictions as a percentage of *all* convictions. For example, for burglary in 1986-94, the fraction of arrests involving juveniles (34%) was consistently about 9 percentage points lower than the fraction of convictions that were in the juvenile court (43%). Since the fraction of burglary arrests involving juveniles was 43% in 1981 (FBI, 1982, table 31), it was assumed that the fraction of burglary convictions that were in the juvenile court in 1981 was 52%. Since

the total number of State and Federal convictions for burglary in 1981 was 91,606, the estimated number of juvenile convictions was 99,240 (91,606 x 52/48).

Linking the number of convictions to the total number of alleged offenders

The average number of offenders per offense provides the link between offenses and offenders. Since there were an estimated 5,482,720 residential burglaries in 1994, and an average of 1.4 offenders per offense (the average from 1981 through 1994), there were about 7,675,808 offenders (not necessarily different persons) at risk of conviction for residential burglary. Since residential burglaries comprise 67% of all burglaries, it was estimated that there were about 11,456,430 offenders at risk of conviction for burglaries of all types. Dividing this by the number of persons convicted (161,975) yields the estimate that there were 71 offenders per conviction, or that the average burglar could commit about 71 burglaries per one conviction for burglary. The corresponding probability of conviction for each burglary offender was .014, or 14 convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders.

The calculations for rape and homicide were based only on police-recorded offenses. For example, for rape in 1994, there were 102,220 recorded offenses and 1.2 offenders per offense (1.2 was the 1981-1994 NCVS average), yielding an estimated 122,664 offenders at risk of conviction for rape. Dividing this by the number of persons convicted of rape (23,047) yields the estimate that there were about 5 offenders per conviction, that the probability of an offender being convicted was .19, or that there were 188 convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders.

American probability of incarceration

In the United States, the total number of incarceration sentences is the sum of State plus Federal plus juvenile sentences. For example, for burglary in 1994, 96,369 offenders were sentenced to incarceration (73,582 State; 131 Federal; 22,656 juvenile). The population incarceration rate per 1,000 population was calculated by dividing this by the resident population of persons aged 10 or over (221,890,000 in 1994). Hence, the incarceration rate for burglary in 1994 was 0.43 persons incarcerated per 1,000 population; about 1 in every 2,300 persons was sentenced to incarceration for burglary.

The probability of incarceration following a conviction was calculated by dividing the number of persons sentenced to incarceration by the number of persons convicted. For burglary in 1994, this was .59 (96,369/161,975). The probability of an offender receiving a custodial sentence was calculated by multiplying the probability of an offender being convicted (0.014) by the probability of a conviction being followed by incarceration (0.59). For burglary in 1994, this was .008 (.014 x 0.59) corresponding to 8 in every 1,000 alleged burglars receiving a custodial sentence.

Federal incarceration sentences 1981-94

Data on Federal sentences were obtained from the BJS Federal Justice Statistics Program (for 1981 and 1983; 1982 figures are used from BJS, 1993) (for 1986 and 1988: BJS, 1996) (for 1990: Langan, Perkins and Chaiken, 1994) (for 1992: Langan, 1996) (for 1994: Langan and Brown, 1997b).

State incarceration sentences 1986-94

Data on State incarceration sentences were obtained from the BJS National

Judicial Reporting Program (for 1986: Langan, 1989) (for 1988: Langan and Dawson, 1990) (for 1990: Langan, Perkins and Chaiken, 1994) (for 1992: Langan, 1996) (for 1994: Langan and Brown, 1997b). Note, however, that no 1988 NJRP data exist for motor vehicle theft. For 1988 motor vehicle theft, percentages receiving prison and jail used 1988 larceny figures.

State incarceration sentences 1981-83

State courts in the United States impose two types of incarceration sentences: prison and jail. For the years in which NJRP data were not available (1981 and 1983), it was necessary to estimate the percentage of convicted persons receiving prison and the percentage receiving jail. The year with NJRP data closest to 1981 and 1983 is 1986, but 1986 NJRP data are less reliable than 1988 NJRP data because the former was based on a sample of 100 counties whereas the latter was based on 300 counties. Therefore, 1981 and 1983 percentages used 1988 percentages. Prison and jail percentages have been stable over the years. Therefore, using 1988 figures for 1981 and 1983 seemed acceptable. Applying 1988 prison and jail percentages to estimated 1981 and 1983 convictions gave the estimated number of persons sentenced to incarceration those years. Note, however, that no 1988 NJRP data exist for motor vehicle theft. For motor vehicle theft in 1981 and 1983, the percentages receiving prison and jail used 1988 larceny figures. Such percentages do not differ much between larceny and motor vehicle theft, according to NJRP data for years in which the two could be compared.

Juvenile incarceration sentences 1986-94

As the term was used here, convicted juveniles were juveniles who were petitioned to the juvenile court where

they were then adjudicated and finally disposed of through placement, probation, or another disposition (not including transfer or dismissal). The number of juvenile convictions multiplied by the percentage that received placement gives the number of juveniles sentenced to incarceration. Percentages receiving different dispositions were obtained from a database maintained by the National Center for Juvenile Justice (Snyder, 1995; Butts, 1996). For example, for burglary in 1994, 36% of convicted juveniles were given a placement.

Juvenile incarceration sentences 1981 and 1983

Data on the percentage of convicted juveniles sentenced to incarceration (defined as placement) do not go back before 1985. Estimates, by offense, were taken from the average percentage from 1986 to 1994.

American sentence length, time served, and days at risk of serving

Average sentence length was estimated by combining State, Federal, and juvenile figures. For example, for burglary in 1994, the average prison sentence length was 69 months in State courts (51,998 offenders) and 60 months in Federal courts (116 offenders). The average jail sentence length was 7 months in State courts (21,584 offenders) and 9 months in Federal courts (15 offenders). The average juvenile confinement sentence was 18 months (22,656 offenders). The weighted average of all these figures was 43 months.

Similarly, average time served was estimated by combining the State, Federal, and juvenile figures. For example, burglars sentenced to State prison in 1994 would be expected to serve 39% of their sentence, assuming they would serve the same percentage of their sentence that State prisoners

released in 1994 served, a figure that includes time served in jail. Burglars sentenced to jail in State courts in 1994 would be expected to serve 50% of their sentence (the figure that was used for jail sentences for all offenses and for all years, since no national data exist on percentage of jail sentence served). Incarcerated Federal burglars would be expected to serve 85% of their prison sentence and 100% of their jail sentence (since Federal law requires that 100% of Federal jail sentences and a minimum of 85% of Federal prison sentences be served). Juvenile burglars sentenced to incarceration would be expected to serve 50% of their sentence (the figure that was used for juvenile incarceration sentences for all offenses and for all years, since no national data exist on percentage of juvenile incarceration sentence served). Using the preceding figures on incarceration sentences, the overall percentage of time served for burglary was 42%. Consequently, the average time served for burglary in 1994 was estimated to be 18 months (since 42% of 43 months — the overall average incarceration sentence for burglary — is 18 months).

"Days of incarceration an offender risks serving" was obtained by multiplying the probability of conviction given an offense by the probability of incarceration given conviction and by the average number of days served per incarceration sentence. Thus, for burglary in 1994, this was 4.6 days ($.014 \times .59 \times 548 \text{ days} = 4.6 \text{ days}$ when unrounded figures are used).

Federal estimates of incarceration sentence length and time served

This report calls Federal sentences of 1 year or less "jail," and Federal sentences over a year "prison." The distinction between Federal prison and jail sentences is important for estimating time served for persons sentenced in 1988 and beyond because a Federal

law, which took effect in 1987, set different release policies for prison and jail sentences. Data on Federal sentence lengths were from the FJSP (for 1986-1988: BJS, 1993) (for 1990: Langan, Perkins and Chaiken, 1994) (for 1992: Langan, 1996) (for 1994: Langan and Brown, 1997b). For 1981 and 1983, sentence lengths given for 1982 were used (BJS, 1993).

The average time served for prison sentences given in Federal courts before 1987 was estimated from McDonald and Carlson's (1992) report showing that violent offenders served 54% of their sentences and property offenders served 66%.

For 1988-94 the fraction of time served for prison sentences was assumed to be 85%, since this fraction, set by a Federal law that took effect in 1987, is the minimum time that must be served. The average time served for jail sentences given in Federal court was assumed to be 100% for 1988-94, since the same Federal law required all jail sentences to be served in full. For Federal defendants sentenced from 1990 to 1994, the percentage of their incarceration sentence that they were expected to serve was estimated by taking a weighted average of the number expected to serve 85% (that is, the number sentenced to Federal prison) and the number expected to serve 100% (that is, the number sentenced to jail). For example, Federal courts in 1994 sentenced 116 burglars to prison and 15 to jail. The 116 were expected to serve 85% of their prison sentence, and the 15 were expected to serve 100% of their jail sentence. The weighted average for the 131 incarcerated burglars is 87%, the percentage of Federal incarceration sentences that burglars were expected to serve. Because data were not available, the preceding method could not be used to estimate the percentage of incarceration sentences that Federal defendants sentenced in 1988 were

expected to serve. For 1988, the percentage was estimated as the average from 1990 to 1994.

State estimates of incarceration sentence length and time served 1981-1983

For 1981 State prison sentences, estimates used 1982 averages from the National Corrections Reporting Program (Minor-Harper and Greenfeld, 1985). The 1982 report was used because the 1981 report (Greenfeld and Minor-Harper, 1984) only provided median sentence lengths, not means. For 1983 prison sentences, estimates were from the 1983 National Corrections Reporting Program (Beck and Hester, 1986). The murder/nonnegligent manslaughter figures for 1981 and 1983 were weighted averages of murder (.67) and manslaughter (.33), reflecting the relative frequencies of these cases among State prison admissions. Average lengths of jail sentences given in State courts in 1981 and 1983 were assumed to be the same as NJRP published figures for 1988 (Langan and Dawson, 1990). Average jail sentence lengths for motor vehicle theft in 1981 and 1983 used 1988 sentences for larceny.

Data from the National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP) were the source for 1981 and 1983 estimates of percentage of sentence served before release. For 1981, percentages were from 1981 NCRP data. Published 1981 figures on percentage of sentence served (Greenfeld and Minor-Harper, 1984) were adjusted upward to correct for the fact that they included time in prison before release but not credited jail time. For the murder adjustment, 5 percentage points were added; for rape, 6; robbery, 6; assault, 9; burglary, 8; motor vehicle theft, 11. The basis for the adjustment was results of an analysis of 1992-1994 NCRP data. For 1983, percentages used 1984 NCRP data on time served

(Minor-Harper and Innes, 1987, table 4). This report was used because it provides time served in prison *and* jail for persons released from prison.

State estimates of incarceration sentence length and time served 1986-1994

With few exceptions, estimates of incarceration (prison and jail) sentence length from 1986 to 1994 are from the BJS National Judicial Reporting Program (for 1986: Langan, 1989) (for 1988: Langan and Dawson, 1990) (for 1990: Langan, Perkins and Chaiken, 1994) (for 1992: Langan, 1996) (for 1994: Langan and Brown, 1997b). For 1986 and 1988, jail sentences for motor vehicle theft use published larceny figures. For 1986 and 1988, the average lengths of prison sentences for motor vehicle theft are from the National Corrections Reporting Program (for 1986: Perkins, 1992) (for 1988: Perkins and Gilliard, 1992).

The average time served for prison sentences given in State courts was estimated using NCRP data on average sentence length and average time served (time served in prison plus credited jail time) for first releases from State prison. Time served divided by sentence length gives percentage of sentence served. In the case of burglary in 1994, 5 months jail time was added to the average 23 months prison time served by released prisoners, making an average 28 months served, or 39% of the average sentence (28/72). This fraction of the sentence was then applied to the average 69 month prison sentence given in State courts for burglary in 1994 (Langan and Brown, 1997a, table 3) to produce an expected time to be served of 27 months.

Time-served percentages for State prison sentences were from the National Corrections Reporting Program for all years (for 1994: Langan and Brown,

1997b) (for 1992: Langan, 1996). For 1990, time-served percentages were computed by summing time served in prison before release (Perkins, 1993) plus time served in jail (based on the approximate 1992-1994 average of 10 months for murder; 6 months for all other offenses), and dividing by the maximum sentence length (table 2-7). For 1988, the steps were the same as in 1990 but the data source was different (Perkins and Gilliard, 1992, table 2-7). For 1986, the steps were the same as in 1988 but the data source was different (Perkins, 1992, table 2-6).

The average time served for jail sentences given in State courts is not known, but it was assumed to be half the sentence length (as was found in California by Petersilia, Turner and Peterson, 1986, page 13).

Juvenile estimates of incarceration sentence length and time served

There is no published source of national data on sentence length and time served by juveniles for different offenses. The only nationally representative survey of youth in long-term State juvenile institutions was carried out in 1987. This reported that the average time currently served by these inmates was 7.2 months for violent offenders and 5.0 months for nonviolent offenders (Beck, Kline and Greenfeld, 1988, table 5). Assuming that youth were surveyed at a random point in their sentences, the total time served would be 14.4 months for violent offenders and 10.0 months for nonviolent offenders. These estimates are not too dissimilar from the total length of stay figures published by the National Juvenile Corrections System Reporting Program, based on information from State juvenile correctional agencies: 385 days for person offenses and 250 days for property offenses (DeComo and others, 1995, table 4-15).

Offense-specific data were obtained from the National Juvenile Corrections System Reporting Program (Cohen, 1997). These data show the average lengths of stay for juveniles released in 1991 from State juvenile institutions: homicide 839 days, rape 655 days, robbery 386 days, aggravated assault 389 days, burglary 265 days, and motor vehicle theft 229 days. How much time these juveniles spent in aftercare supervision following their release is unknown, but their overall sentence length can be thought of as their time in confinement plus their time in aftercare. Assuming that their length of time in confinement equals their length of time in aftercare, the average juvenile sentence for murder in 1991 was 1,678 days (2 x 839); for rape, 1,310 days (2 x 655); for robbery, 772 days (2 x 386); for assault, 778 days (2 x 389); for burglary, 530 days (2 x 265); for motor vehicle theft, 458 days (2 x 229). For juveniles, therefore, their time-served percentage would be 50% of their sentence.

The preceding 1991 figures on juvenile sentence length, time served, and percentage of time served, were used in all years. The justification for using the 50% figure was results of an informal survey of four States, which indicated that the time spent in aftercare was roughly comparable to the time spent in confinement.

More adequate figures, collected on an annual basis, are clearly needed both on length of time in juvenile confinement and on length of stay in aftercare.

American homicide

Special procedures were used to estimate murder sentence lengths and time served for homicide (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter) because of the large number of life sentences. Similar allowances were not made for other offenses, because of their infrequency. For example, in 1994,

whereas 23.7% of homicide cases in State courts were given life sentences, this was true of 1.6% of rapes, 0.9% of robberies, 0.2% of aggravated assaults, 0.2% of burglaries, and a negligible fraction of motor vehicle thefts (Langan and Brown, 1997a, page 3).

Death sentences were treated as equivalent to life sentences because the majority of offenders given death sentences ultimately are resentenced to life imprisonment.

According to unpublished NCRP tabulations, the average time served in State prison by released homicide cases serving life sentences was 152 months in 1990, 151 months in 1992, and 146 months in 1994. Interestingly, lifers who died in prison had served almost exactly the same time as lifers who were released (137 as opposed to 146 months in 1994). To this prison-time served was added the average time served in jail (10 months) by homicide offenders. The average total time served in 1990-94 (160 months) was used as the estimated time served in 1981-88. The average effective sentence length was estimated on the basis of the fraction of time served by homicide cases with non-life sentences. For example, this was 47% in 1994 (Langan and Brown, 1997a, table 4). Hence, the effective length of a life sentence in State court for homicide in 1994 was considered to be 332 months (156/.47).

A Federal law (the Sentencing Reform Act 1984) that went into effect in November 1987 specified that all Federal life sentences must be served in full, with no parole. In 1994, 9% of sentences in Federal court for homicide were life sentences (Sabol, 1997), and this percentage was used for all previous years. The average age of homicide offenders receiving life sentences is about 30, and about half are white and half are black. At age 30, a white male can expect to live 44.7

more years, and a black male 38.2 more (Bureau of the Census, 1994, table 116). Hence, it was assumed that the average sentence length and time served in 1988-94 for homicide offenders in Federal court receiving life sentences was about 40 years (480 months). The average sentence length and time served for 1981-86 were estimated from the State court figures.

The average sentence length and average time served for homicide were estimated by combining the State, Federal, and juvenile figures. For example, in 1994, the average prison sentence length was 332 months for lifers in State courts (2,846 sentenced to life and 276 sentenced to death), 269 months for non-lifers in State courts (8,285 offenders), 480 months for lifers in Federal courts (14 offenders), and 153 months for non-lifers in Federal courts (127 offenders). The average jail sentence length was 7 months in State courts (240 offenders) and 8 months in Federal courts (5 offenders). The average juvenile confinement sentence was 56 months (720 offenders). The weighted average of all these figures was 266 months. Similarly, the average time served by homicide cases in 1994 was estimated to be 127 months, and the percentage of time served was 48%.

An American offender's probability of arrest, and an arrested offender's probability of conviction

An offender's probability of arrest was calculated by dividing the number of persons allegedly committing a crime by the number arrested for that crime. The number of persons allegedly committing a crime was calculated by multiplying the number of crimes committed by the average number of persons committing the crime. For robbery, assault, burglary, and motor vehicle theft, the number of persons allegedly committing a crime was obtained from the NCVS; for murder, from the FBI's

Supplemental Homicide Reports; for the number of rapes, from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports; for the average number of rapists, from the NCVS.

The probability of an arrest resulting in a conviction was calculated by dividing the number convicted by the number arrested. The number arrested was obtained from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports; the number convicted, from sources described previously.

Racial disparities in American incarceration rates

The 1991 estimates of racial disparities were calculated from national survey data on adults incarcerated in State and Federal prisons in 1991 and in local jails in 1989 (Lynch and others, 1994). To obtain estimates of the number of adults of each race that was

incarcerated in 1991, the incarceration population (Lynch and others, 1994, page 3) was multiplied by the racial distribution of the incarceration population (Lynch and others, 1994, table 11). To estimate race-specific incarceration rates per 100,000 population, each race's incarcerated population was divided by its general population size.

Sources of English data

English survey offenses

In England the number of victim-survey offenses, comparable population figures (number of households and number of persons aged 16 or over), and the probability of reporting to the police were obtained from the British Crime Survey or "BCS" (Mirrlees-Black, Mayhew and Percy, 1996; Mayhew, 1996). The figures used in the report are the latest estimates for all years, taking account of the 1991 Census. For example, the BCS estimated that there were 1,754,057 household burglaries in 1995, and that 66% of them were reported to the police (Mirrlees-Black, Mayhew and Percy, 1996, table 2.3). Since there were an estimated 21,159,000 households in 1995, the survey burglary rate was 82.9 per 1,000 households; disregarding repeat victims, about one in every 12 households was burglarized in 1994.

Necessarily, BCS survey crime rates for robbery and serious assault (wounding) are per 1,000 population aged 16 or over, whereas comparable NCVS estimates are per 1,000 population aged 12 or over. Motor vehicle theft figures refer to completed thefts only. Other population estimates came from the Office for National Statistics (1996); again, figures used in this report are the latest estimates for all years.

The main change in the BCS over the years was the addition of a new screening question for domestic violence ("Has any member of your household deliberately hit you with their fists or with a weapon of any sort or kicked you or used force or violence in any other way?") and a new victim form in 1993. This caused an increase in the number of victim-survey offenses of serious assault. Mayhew (1997) and Percy (1998) provided serious assault estimates with and without the new domestic violence screening question: 691,633 (without) and 761,205 (with)

in 1993; 823,344 (without) and 860,395 (with) in 1995. For comparability with 1981-91, the "without" figures are used in these analyses.

For burglary, vehicle theft, robbery, and serious assault, the average number of offenders per offense was provided from the BCS by Mirrlees-Black (1996). For homicide, this was obtained from the annual Criminal Statistics (for example, Home Office, 1996a, page 73). As with the American calculations, the average over all years was used in estimating probabilities. This was 1.8 for burglary, 2.1 for motor vehicle theft, 2.4 for robbery, 2.0 for serious assault, and 1.1 for homicide. For rape, the only national data on the number of offenders per offense seems to be that published by Grace, Lloyd and Smith (1992) for offenses committed in 1985. They reported that, for police-recorded offenses, there were 1.1 offenders per rape offense. This figure was used in all calculations.

English police-recorded offenses

The numbers of police-recorded offenses were obtained from the annual Criminal Statistics (for example, Home Office, 1996a, tables 2.15 - 2.18). The number of police-recorded offenses refers to the number initially recorded by the police in each offense category in each year, irrespective of later court proceedings. Assault comprised section 5 wounding (mainly causing grievous bodily harm) and section 8 wounding (mainly causing actual bodily harm). Vehicle theft comprised theft or unauthorized taking of motor vehicles and aggravated vehicle taking. Only rape of a female was counted. To illustrate rate calculations, there were 1,239,484 burglaries of all kinds in 1995. Since the resident population was estimated to be 51,820,000 in 1995, the police-recorded burglary rate was 23.9 burglaries per 1000 persons.

The numbers of police-recorded offenses that were comparable to survey offenses were provided by Mayhew (1996). The estimation procedures were explained by Mayhew, Maung and Mirrlees-Black (1993, pages 163-167). For example, the 643,645 police-recorded burglaries in a dwelling (including aggravated burglaries) in 1995 were considered to be comparable to the BCS burglaries. The other main adjustments were to exclude thefts of commercial vehicles, attempted vehicle thefts, and victims under 16. However, robberies of business property were counted in the BCS.

As before, dividing the number of comparable police-recorded offenses by the number of survey offenses yields the probability of a survey offense being recorded by the police. For burglary in 1995, this was .37 (643,645/1,754,057). Similarly, the probability of a reported burglary being recorded by the police in 1995 was .55 (643,645/1,162,940). The fact that the probability of a reported offense being recorded was greater than 1 for vehicle theft in 1981 and 1983 is probably a function of the confidence interval around the number of reported offenses and the fact that almost all of the reported offenses would have been recorded. The probability was set to 1.

English convictions

The number of persons convicted for each offense was obtained from the annual Supplementary Criminal Statistics (for example, Home Office, 1996b, tables S1.1A and S2.1A). It is necessary to add convictions in Crown Courts and Magistrates' Courts. In some cases, it was also necessary to add different offense categories (murder, manslaughter, infanticide, and manslaughter due to diminished responsibility for homicide; section 5 and 8 woundings for assault; theft of a motor vehicle, unauthorized taking, and indictable and summary aggravated

vehicle taking for vehicle theft). As already explained, the rape convictions for 1995 included male and female victims and male and female offenders. The Supplementary Criminal Statistics showed that 556 of the 569 convicted offenders were male. Ayres (1997) further specified that 547 of the 556 male offenders had female victims.

As an example, 35,346 persons were convicted for burglary in 1995. Since there were an estimated 45,031,000 persons aged 10 or older in 1995 (Office for National Statistics, 1996), the conviction rate for burglary was 0.78 per 1000 population at risk. Since there were an estimated 1,754,057 household burglaries in 1995 and an estimated 1.8 offenders per offense, there were about 3,157,303 offenders (not necessarily different persons) who could in theory have been convicted for household burglary. Since household burglaries comprised about 52% of all recorded burglaries in 1995, there were about 6,080,100 offenders at risk of conviction for burglaries of all types. Dividing this by the number of persons convicted (35,346) yields the estimate that there were 172 offenders per conviction, or that the probability of conviction for each burglary offender was .0058 in 1995 (5.8 convictions per 1,000 offenders). As before, the calculations for rape and homicide were based only on police-recorded offenses.

English probability of incarceration

The number of persons sentenced to incarceration for each offense was obtained from the Supplementary Criminal Statistics (for example, Home Office, 1996b, tables S1.1A and S2.1A). As before, it was necessary to add Crown Courts and Magistrates' Courts and different offense categories. It was also necessary to add different types of custodial sentences (in 1995: imprisonment, detention in a young offender institution, secure hospital

order, and detention under section 53 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933; in 1981: imprisonment, borstal (reformatory), detention center, secure hospital order, detention under section 53 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933).

As an example, 13,497 offenders were given custodial sentences for burglary in 1995, or 38% of all convicted burglary offenders. The incarceration rate for burglary in 1995 was 0.30 per 1000 persons aged 10 or over. As before, the probability of an offender receiving a custodial sentence was calculated by multiplying the probability of an offender being convicted by the probability of a conviction being followed by incarceration. For burglary in 1995, this was .0022, corresponding to one in every 450 burglars receiving a custodial sentence (2.2 per 1,000 offenders).

English sentence length, time served, and days at risk of serving

Offense-specific data on average sentence length and average time served in prison by released prisoners (including juveniles) were supplied by Burns (1996). Figures are for offenders released in 1982, 1984, 1988, 1991, 1993, and 1995. Initially, it was thought that the following year was the most relevant (for example, because most robbers sentenced to incarceration in 1981 were released in 1982). However, 1992 data were not available at the time of the last analysis (Farrington, Langan and Wikström, 1994), so 1991 data were used, and hence 1993 and 1995 data were used subsequently.

Offense-specific data on average sentence length were published for the first time in the 1995 Supplementary Criminal Statistics (Home Office, 1996b, tables S1.4, S1.5, S2.5 and S2.6), but these figures were not used in this report (in the interests of comparability with earlier years).

The offense categories of prisoners are slightly different from those used in the Criminal Statistics, but "assault" and "wounding" in the prison data are approximately equivalent to the two "wounding" categories in the Criminal Statistics, and "taking and driving away" in the prison data covers at least 95% of those sentenced to incarceration for vehicle theft in the Criminal Statistics (Barclay, 1993). The average sentence length and average time served for assault were weighted combinations of the assault and wounding categories (weighted by the number of released offenders).

As an example, the average sentence length for burglary in 1995 was 14.9 months, and the average time served was 6.5 months, or 44% of the sentence. The average number of days served per conviction was 76 (.382 x 6.5 x 365.25/12). The average number of days served per burglar was 0.44 (76 x .0058).

There are no English national data routinely published on time served in incarceration before conviction. However, the report of the Carlisle committee (1988, page 147), based on 1987 releasees, estimated that about 10% of a prisoner's sentence was spent on remand before sentencing. The English figures on time served have not been adjusted to take this time into account.

English homicide

As in the United States, special estimation procedures were used for homicide because of the large number of life sentences. In England, a life sentence (or an equivalent indeterminate sentence for a juvenile) is mandatory for murder. In 1995, 214 life sentences (including indeterminate section 53 orders for juveniles) were given for murder, 12 life sentences were given for manslaughter, and 182 non-life prison sentences (including

section 53 orders) were given for manslaughter (Home Office, 1996b, tables S2.1A, S2.5 and S2.6). There were also 21 secure hospital orders for homicide. Apart from these, 55% (226/408) of the custodial sentences for homicide in 1995 were life sentences.

In 1995, the average time served by homicide offenders first released from life sentences was 13.6 years or 163 months (Burns, 1996). In concordance with the American estimates, the effective length of life sentences was estimated on the basis of the fraction of time served by homicide cases with non-life sentences. For non-life homicide offenders released in 1995, the average sentence length was 48.4 months and the average time served was 21.0 months, or 43% of the sentence (Burns, 1996). Hence, the effective length of a life sentence for homicide in 1995 was considered to be 376 months (163/.43).

The average sentence length and average time served for homicide were weighted averages of life and non-life sentences. For example, in 1995, the average sentence length was 226×376 (life sentences) + 182×48.4 (non-life sentences), divided by 408, which came to 230 months.

Racial disparities in English incarceration rates

Racial disparities were calculated from 1991 national survey data on adults incarcerated in Prison Service facilities. To obtain estimates of the number of adults of each race who were incarcerated in 1991, the incarceration population (Lynch and others, 1994, page 3) was multiplied by the racial distribution of the incarceration population (Lynch and others, 1994, table 11). To estimate race-specific incarceration rates per 100,000 population, each race's incarcerated population was divided by its general population size (Lynch and others, 1994, table 11 note).

Prior research

This research is a continuation of two previous projects. The first analysis (Farrington and Langan, 1992) linked up national-level data in the United States and England to estimate numbers flowing through the criminal justice system at each stage, from crimes committed to crimes reported to the police, crimes recorded by the police, offenders convicted, offenders sentenced to incarceration, average sentence length, and average time served. The numbers were estimated for 1981 and 1986 in the United States, and for 1981 and 1987 in England. The second report (Farrington, Langan and Wikström, 1994) extended the previous analyses to between 1981 and 1991 for England and between 1981 and 1990 for the United States. It also presented national estimates for the six serious offenses for Sweden in 1981 and 1991. The methods of estimation used in the present report are generally much simpler than those used in previous reports. For example, instead of using the fraction of burglaries that were residential in each year (as before), the present report uses the average fraction over all years (.67) for every year's calculation, because this fraction did not change over the years.

Notes on figures 1-82

Notes on figures 1-4: National surveys of crime victimization provided the data for the graphics. U.S. surveys involve interviews with persons age 12 or older; English surveys, age 16 or older. The first U.S. survey was done for the year 1973; the first English survey, 1981. U.S. surveys are done every year but less often in England. Only the U.S. survey estimates rape victimization. In the graphics, robbery was defined in both countries as non-commercial robbery; assault was defined as aggravated assault in the U.S., and wounding in England; burglary was defined in both countries as residential burglary (excluding commercial burglary); motor vehicle theft was defined in both countries as completed non-commercial motor vehicle theft (excluding unsuccessful attempts and excluding thefts of commercial vehicles). Note that pre-1992 U.S. estimates for assault and burglary were adjusted to make them comparable to later year estimates.

Notes on figures 5-10: Crimes that were officially recorded in police statistics provided the data for the graphics. Victims of all ages are counted in police statistics. For these graphics, murder was defined as murder or nonnegligent manslaughter in the United States, and murder/manslaughter or infanticide in England; rape was defined in both countries as forcible penetration of a female; robbery was defined in both countries as all types of robbery (both residential and commercial robberies); assault was defined as aggravated assault in the United States, and wounding in England; burglary was defined in both countries as all types of burglary (both residential and commercial); motor vehicle theft was defined in both countries as all thefts of motor vehicles (both residential and commercial, both completed and attempted).

Notes on figures 11-14: In the national crime victimization surveys (described in *Notes on figures 1-4*), victims are asked whether the crime committed against them was reported or became known to police. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 1-4*. Note that pre-1992 U.S. estimates for assault and burglary were adjusted to make them comparable to later year estimates.

Notes on figures 15-18: To make police data comparable to data from victim surveys, crimes were eliminated from police data that were outside the scope of the specific crimes investigated in victim surveys (such as those against persons under 12 in the United States and under 16 in England). The number of serious crimes recorded by police during the year (based on estimates from police recorded crime data, adjusted to exclude crimes that are outside the scope of victim surveys) divided by the number reported to police that year (based on crime victimization surveys) gives the "Percent recorded by police." Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 1-4*.

Notes on figures 19-24: Data compiled by courts nationwide (State, Federal and juvenile courts in the United States; juvenile and adult courts in England) formed the basis for the conviction rate, defined for all offenses except rape as the number of persons convicted during the year per 1,000 population age 10 or older. (Age 10 is the minimum conviction age in England. No U.S. minimum exists, but rarely do juvenile court referrals involve children under age 10 (25,000 out of 1.5 million cases in 1994 according to Loeber and Farrington, 1998, page 24.)) For rape, the conviction rate is the number of convictions per 1,000 male population (ages 10 or older), since rape is almost exclusively a crime committed by males. In the United States, convicted juveniles were

defined as adjudicated delinquents, excluding those dismissed or transferred to adult court. (Transferred juveniles who were convicted as adults in adult court were included in State court cases.) Since 1986, national conviction data in the United States have been compiled every 2 years. National conviction data in England are compiled annually. However, for comparability, English convictions are shown for years in which crime victim surveys were conducted. U.S. convictions are shown for all years in which national data exist or were estimated. Convictions for vehicle theft in the United States are conservatively estimated. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 25-30: Conviction data compiled by courts nationwide (courts are identified in *Notes on figures 19-24*) were used in estimates of the number of convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders. For all crimes except murder and rape, the number of convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders was obtained by dividing the number of juveniles and adults convicted of the specified crime during the year (based on court conviction data) by the number of persons committing the crime (and therefore at risk of being convicted) that year (based on estimates from crime victim surveys, adjusted to include crimes — such as those against persons under 12 in the United States and under 16 in England — outside the scope of the surveys). The number of persons at risk of conviction is not the same as the number of survey crimes, because each crime can be committed by more than one person. The number of persons at risk of being convicted was estimated by multiplying the number of survey crimes by the average number of offenders per offense. For murder and rape, the number of convictions per 1,000 alleged offenders was obtained by dividing the number of

juveniles and adults convicted of murder or rape in the year (based on court conviction data) by the police-recorded number that year of juveniles and adults "allegedly" committing murder (alleged number of murderers = number of police-recorded murders multiplied by the average number of murderers per murder according to police data) or rape (alleged number of rapists = number of police-recorded rapes multiplied by the average number of rapists per rape). More details on the conviction data for the graphics is given in *Notes on figures 19-24*. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 31-36: Data compiled by courts nationwide (courts are identified in *Notes on figures 19-24*) formed the basis for estimates of the percentage of convicted offenders sentenced to incarceration. In the United States, place of incarceration includes State prisons and local jails for adults convicted in State courts; Federal prisons for persons convicted in Federal courts; residential institutions (for example, juvenile training schools) for juveniles convicted in juvenile courts. In England, place of confinement includes prisons, young offender institutions, and secure accommodation for juveniles. Juveniles in England are incarcerated in two types of facilities: those that are exclusively for juveniles (secure accommodation for juveniles), and those for persons under age 21 (young offender institutions). More details on the conviction data for the graphics is given in *Notes on figures 19-24*. Crime definitions are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 37-42: Sentencing data compiled by courts nationwide (courts are identified in *Notes on figures 19-24*) formed the basis for the incarceration rate, defined for all offenses except rape as the number of persons sentenced to incarceration during the year per 1,000 population (age 10 or

older). For rape, the incarceration rate is the number of convicted rapists sentenced to incarceration during the year per 1,000 *male* population (age 10 or older). Incarceration is defined in *Notes on figures 31-36*. More details on the conviction data for the graphics is given in *Notes on figures 19-24*. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 43-48: Sentencing data compiled by courts nationwide (courts are identified in *Notes on figures 19-24*) were used in estimates of the number of incarcerated persons per 1,000 alleged offenders. For all crimes *except murder and rape*, the number of incarcerated persons per 1,000 alleged offenders was obtained by dividing the number of juveniles and adults sentenced to incarceration for the specified crime during the year (based on court conviction data) by the number of persons committing the crime (and therefore at risk of being incarcerated) that year (based on estimates from crime victim surveys, adjusted to include crimes — such as those against persons under 12 in the United States and under 16 in England — outside the scope of the surveys). The number of persons at risk of incarceration is not the same as the number of survey crimes, because each crime can be committed by more than one person. The number of persons at risk of being incarcerated was estimated by multiplying the number of survey crimes by the average number of offenders per offense. For *murder and rape*, the number of incarcerations per 1,000 alleged offenders was obtained by dividing the number of juveniles and adults incarcerated for murder or rape in the year (based on court conviction data) by the police-recorded number that year of juveniles and adults "allegedly" committing murder (alleged number of murders = number of police-recorded murders multiplied by the average number of murderers per murder according to police homicide

data) or rape (alleged number of rapists = number of police-recorded rapes multiplied by the average number of rapists per rape according to victim survey data in the United States and police data in England). Incarceration is defined in *Notes on figures 31-36*. More details on the conviction and sentencing data for the graphics is given in *Notes on figures 19-24*. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 49-54: All figures pertain to "maximum" sentence length imposed. In England, sentence lengths were based on sentences imposed on released offenders by juvenile and adult courts nationwide. In the United States, adult sentence lengths were based on sentences imposed in the year by State and Federal courts nationwide, but juvenile sentence lengths were not based on sentences imposed by juvenile courts. Unlike juvenile courts in England, those in the United States generally do not impose sentences of a specified length; instead, sentences are of an indeterminate length. Nevertheless a way was devised to specify juvenile sentence lengths in the United States. U.S. juvenile sentence lengths were estimated as the sum of length of time in confinement plus length of time in aftercare. Assuming that length of time in aftercare (a measure that is largely unavailable in the United States) equals length of time in confinement (a measure that *is* somewhat available), doubling the confinement length provides an estimate of juvenile sentence length (see the methodology section for the justification for this assumption). In the United States, juvenile sentence lengths were therefore derived from available multi-state data on time served by juveniles before release from incarceration. Incarceration is defined in *Notes on figures 31-36*. More details on the conviction and sentencing data for the graphics is given in *Notes on figures 19-24*. In both countries, sentence lengths for murder

included life sentences. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 55-60: "Time served" is based on correctional institution data on persons released nationwide from incarceration during the year. Incarceration is defined in *Notes on figures 31-36*. Fragmentary data on "time served" had to be assembled to form national estimates of time served in the United States. National data on "time served" were specially calculated in England (for offenders released from prisons or young offender institutions) for years in which crime victim surveys were conducted. For the sake of consistency, "time served" in the United States is shown for years covered in previous graphics. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 61-66: National data on released offenders show what percentage of their total sentence they had served before being released. These data form the primary basis for the "Percent of sentence served" in the graphics. "Percent of sentence served" is the percentage served among offenders (juvenile and adult) released from incarceration in the year. Incarceration is defined in *Notes on figures 31-36*. "Percent of sentence served" was obtained by dividing "time served" by "sentence imposed." Fragmentary

data on "percent of sentence served" had to be assembled to form national estimates of "percent of sentence served" in the United States. National data on sentence length and time served were specially calculated in England for years in which crime victim surveys were conducted. For the sake of consistency, "percent of sentence served" in the United States is shown for years covered in previous graphics. In both countries, "percent of sentence served" for murder included life sentences. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 67-72: "Days of incarceration an offender risks serving" were obtained by multiplying the probability of conviction given an offense (*Notes on figures 25-30*) by the probability of incarceration given conviction (*Notes on figures 31-36*) and by the average number of days served per incarceration sentence (*Notes on figures 55-60*). Incarceration is defined in *Notes on figures 31-36*. Fragmentary data on "time served" had to be assembled to form national estimates of "Days of incarceration an offender risks serving" in the United States. National data on "time served" were specially calculated in England for years in which crime victim surveys were conducted. "Days of incarceration an offender risks serving" in

England is shown for years in which crime victim surveys were conducted. "Days of incarceration an offender risks serving" in the United States is shown for years covered in previous graphics. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Notes on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 73-78: All figures pertain exclusively to the United States. Probability of arrest for persons suspected of committing a crime was obtained by dividing the nationally estimated total number of persons (all ages) arrested (based on FBI arrest data) by the nationally estimated total number of persons (all ages) allegedly committing crime that year (see *Notes on figures 25-30*). Probability of conviction for persons arrested was obtained by dividing the nationally estimated total number of persons convicted (see *Notes on figures 19-24*) by the nationally estimated total number of persons (all ages) arrested. Crime definitions for the graphics are given in *Note on figures 5-10*.

Notes on figures 79-82: In these graphs, assault includes threats; burglary does not include attempts; and auto theft excludes thefts of motorcycles.

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Appendix 1

Appendix table 1. Data for graphs on page 2

Year	Figure 1 Robbery		Figure 2 Assault	
	United States	England	United States	England
1981	7.4	4.2	12.0	13.1
1982	7.1		11.5	
1983	6.0	3.7	9.9	10.8
1984	5.8		11.2	
1985	5.1		10.3	
1986	5.1		9.8	
1987	5.3	4.4	10	14.1
1988	5.3		10.8	
1989	5.4		10.3	
1990	5.7		9.8	
1991	5.9	4.5	9.9	15.4
1992	6.1		11.1	
1993	6.1	5.8	12.1	16.9
1994	6.1		11.6	
1995	5.3	7.6	8.8	20.0
1996	5.2		8.8	

Year	Figure 3 Burglary		Figure 4 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England
1981	105.9	40.9	10.6	15.6
1982	94.1		11.2	
1983	84.0	49.2	9.3	15.3
1984	76.9		9.4	
1985	75.2		9.2	
1986	73.8		9.7	
1987	74.6	61.2	10.7	20.0
1988	74.3		11.6	
1989	67.7		12.5	
1990	64.5		12.7	
1991	64.6	67.8	14.2	25.7
1992	58.6		12.0	
1993	59.9	85.5	13	26.2
1994	54.4		11.6	
1995	47.5	82.9	10.8	23.6
1996	47.2		9.1	

Appendix table 2. Data for graphs on page 4

Year	Figure 5 Murder		Figure 6 Rape		Figure 7 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	0.0983	0.0113	0.7059	0.0419	2.5875	0.4086
1982	0.0907	0.0125	0.6671	0.0525	2.3890	0.4603
1983	0.0825	0.0111	0.6614	0.0523	2.1650	0.4452
1984	0.0791	0.0125	0.6993	0.0561	2.0538	0.4997
1985	0.0795	0.0124	0.7283	0.0719	2.0854	0.5494
1986	0.0855	0.0132	0.7439	0.0890	2.2515	0.5985
1987	0.0826	0.0137	0.7340	0.0959	2.1270	0.6485
1988	0.0841	0.0124	0.7378	0.1105	2.2089	0.6227
1989	0.0866	0.0126	0.7464	0.1275	2.3297	0.6544
1990	0.0942	0.0132	0.8086	0.1304	2.5703	0.7115
1991	0.0979	0.0142	0.8288	0.1550	2.7272	0.8869
1992	0.0931	0.0134	0.8383	0.1582	2.6363	1.0315
1993	0.0951	0.0130	0.8060	0.1749	2.5585	1.1245
1994	0.0896	0.0141	0.7699	0.1912	2.3775	1.1625
1995	0.0822	0.0144	0.7273	0.1890	2.2095	1.3137
1996	0.0741	0.0131	0.7079	0.2177	2.0244	1.4235

Year	Figure 8 Assault		Figure 9 Burglary		Figure 10 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	2.8973	1.9749	16.4947	14.4736	4.7472	6.7009
1982	2.8915	2.1422	14.8881	16.2334	4.5885	7.0794
1983	2.7921	2.1936	13.3767	16.2706	4.3076	6.5558
1984	2.9021	2.2411	12.6373	17.9266	4.3708	6.9224
1985	3.0294	2.3762	12.8730	17.3371	4.6197	7.3498
1986	3.4608	2.4349	13.4455	18.5722	5.0776	8.1946
1987	3.5131	2.7252	13.2958	17.8872	5.2946	7.7418
1988	3.7025	3.0396	13.0920	16.1981	5.8294	7.2635
1989	3.8338	3.3894	12.7627	16.2976	6.3036	7.7627
1990	4.2413	3.5126	12.3594	19.7919	6.5775	9.7151
1991	4.3332	3.5940	12.5198	23.8643	6.5894	11.3875
1992	4.4181	3.7923	11.6821	26.4304	6.3148	11.4643
1993	4.4032	3.8388	10.9915	26.6254	6.0607	11.6161
1994	4.2759	4.0568	10.4202	24.3444	5.9126	10.4947
1995	4.1833	3.9263	9.8761	23.9190	5.6048	9.8118
1996	3.8819	4.3960	9.4295	22.3915	5.2593	9.4883

Appendix table 3. Data for graphs on page 8

Year	Figure 11 Robbery		Figure 12 Assault	
	United States	England	United States	England
1981	56.0	46.5	46.7	40.2
1982	56.0		52.0	
1983	53.0	39.0	50.2	59.6
1984	54.0		47.8	
1985	54.0		52.0	
1986	58.0		52.9	
1987	55.0	43.9	53.8	43.3
1988	57.0		48.4	
1989	51.0		46.6	
1990	50.0		52.9	
1991	55.0	47.2	52.0	47.7
1992	58.0		55.0	
1993	56.0	46.5	53.0	53.9
1994	55.0		52.0	
1995	55.0	56.6	54.0	40.0

Year	Figure 13 Burglary		Figure 14 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England
1981	49.0	66.2	87.0	94.9
1982	47.0		88.6	
1983	47.0	67.8	88.4	96.4
1984	47.0		86.0	
1985	48.0		88.9	
1986	49.9		88.5	
1987	49.9	62.8	88.6	94.9
1988	49.0		89.6	
1989	48.0		93.1	
1990	49.0		94.8	
1991	48.0	73.0	92.4	98.6
1992	51.0		92.2	
1993	49.0	69.0	93.4	96.8
1994	51.0		92.4	
1995	50.0	66.3	88.8	97.5

Appendix table 4. Data for graphs on page 10

Year	Figure 15 Robbery		Figure 16 Assault	
	United States	England	United States	England
1981	65.1	24.3	60.6	41.3
1982	62.8		56.3	
1983	70.6	35.2	65.7	37.1
1984	68.2		63.6	
1985	79.4		66.4	
1986	78.7		78.3	
1987	76.4	38.3	76.7	48.0
1988	77.1		82.7	
1989	88.1		93.9	
1990	94.4		95.4	
1991	88.2	47.2	98.5	52.4
1992	77.4		84.0	
1993	77.4	47.2	79.4	45.3
1994	73.5		82.1	
1995	78.4	34.7	100.0	52.7

Year	Figure 17 Burglary		Figure 18 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England
1981	58.1	70.4	92.8	100.0
1982	61.2		83.6	
1983	61.3	69.7	93.6	100.0
1984	62.8		95.9	
1985	63.9		99.8	
1986	65.2		100.0	
1987	63.5	64.9	97.9	89.1
1988	63.5		98.5	
1989	68.9		94.3	
1990	68.1		93.9	
1991	70.8	62.4	87.3	94.3
1992	67.5		97.3	
1993	64.8	59.4	85.9	93.5
1994	65.0		95.0	
1995	72.1	55.3	100.0	82.6

Appendix table 5. Data for graphs on page 14

Year	Figure 19 Murder		Figure 20 Rape		Figure 21 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	0.0448	0.0089	0.0994	0.0153	0.2829	0.0951
1982						
1983	0.0407	0.0089	0.0999	0.0148	0.2412	0.0922
1984						
1985						
1986	0.0520		0.1760		0.2747	
1987		0.0098		0.0200		0.1009
1988	0.0485		0.1709		0.2337	
1989						
1990	0.0579		0.1953		0.2984	
1991		0.0101		0.0249		0.1089
1992	0.0622		0.2321		0.3247	
1993		0.0104		0.0213		0.1140
1994	0.0589		0.2120		0.2967	
1995		0.0101		0.0249		0.1147

Year	Figure 22 Assault		Figure 23 Burglary		Figure 24 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	0.1626	1.1201	0.9725	1.6916	0.0738	0.8286
1982						
1983	0.1872	1.1334	0.9966	1.5966	0.1071	0.6755
1984						
1985						
1986	0.2641		0.8256		0.1746	
1987		1.0374		1.2312		0.5897
1988	0.2544		0.7563		0.1985	
1989						
1990	0.3663		0.8253		0.2528	
1991		1.0240		1.0370		0.5138
1992	0.4157		0.8376		0.2450	
1993		0.8371		0.9011		0.3760
1994	0.4374		0.7300		0.2135	
1995		0.6095		0.7849		0.3432

Appendix table 6. Data for graphs on page 18

Year	Figure 25 Murder		Figure 26 Rape		Figure 27 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	340	631	97	272	17	10
1982						
1983	367	643	104	213	18	10
1984						
1985						
1986	451		162		24	
1987		571		156		10
1988	427		158		20	
1989						
1990	455		165		23	
1991		562		121		10
1992	495		189		24	
1993		632		92		8
1994	487		188		22	
1995		555		100		6

Year	Figure 28 Assault		Figure 29 Burglary		Figure 30 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	9	41	10	27	7	53
1982						
1983	13	50	13	23	12	44
1984						
1985						
1986	18		12		18	
1987		35		14		27
1988	16		11		17	
1989						
1990	25		14		19	
1991		31		10		18
1992	25		15		20	
1993		23		7		12
1994	25		14		18	
1995		14		6		12

Appendix table 7. Data for graphs on page 22

Year	Figure 31 Murder		Figure 32 Rape		Figure 33 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	94.0	84.5	82.2	90.0	78.3	73.5
1982						
1983	94.3	86.9	82.2	94.9	79.5	77.2
1984						
1985						
1986	93.7		82.5		77.3	
1987		92.6		96.0		79.1
1988	93.7		82.4		80.2	
1989						
1990	93.7		81.8		81.5	
1991		88.8		95.2		69.8
1992	96.0		81.8		80.9	
1993		92.7		94.2		69.7
1994	95.8		82.4		78.6	
1995		94.3		94.5		66.8

Year	Figure 34 Assault		Figure 35 Burglary		Figure 36 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	61.6	13.1	53.7	29.0	50.1	24.9
1982						
1983	62.3	14.8	55.8	33.2	51.6	23.9
1984						
1985						
1986	59.8		57.9		49.0	
1987		19		34.8		20.4
1988	61.3		60.2		48.5	
1989						
1990	61.1		59.2		51.6	
1991		15.3		28.0		14.1
1992	60.1		60.2		54.4	
1993		17.8		29.5		22.9
1994	62.1		59.5		54.9	
1995		27.0		38.2		29.6

Appendix table 8. Data for graphs on page 24

Year	Figure 37 Murder		Figure 38 Rape		Figure 39 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	0.0422	0.0076	0.0817	0.0137	0.2215	0.0700
1982						
1983	0.0384	0.0077	0.0821	0.0140	0.1917	0.0712
1984						
1985						
1986	0.0487		0.1451		0.2125	
1987		0.0091		0.0192		0.0798
1988	0.0454		0.1409		0.1873	
1989						
1990	0.0543		0.1597		0.2432	
1991		0.0090		0.0237		0.0761
1992	0.0597		0.1899		0.2626	
1993		0.0097		0.0201		0.0794
1994	0.0564		0.1748		0.2332	
1995		0.0095		0.0236		0.0767

Year	Figure 40 Assault		Figure 41 Burglary		Figure 42 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	0.1001	0.1463	0.5224	0.4906	0.0370	0.2066
1982						
1983	0.1167	0.1679	0.5558	0.5306	0.0553	0.1614
1984						
1985						
1986	0.1580		0.4782		0.0856	
1987		0.1976		0.4281		0.1204
1988	0.1560		0.4552		0.0963	
1989						
1990	0.2238		0.4889		0.1305	
1991		0.1566		0.2901		0.0726
1992	0.2499		0.5041		0.1333	
1993		0.1494		0.2663		0.0862
1994	0.2714		0.4343		0.1172	
1995		0.1646		0.2997		0.1015

Appendix table 9. Data for graphs on page 28

Year	Figure 43 Murder		Figure 44 Rape		Figure 45 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	319	533	79	245	13	7
1982						
1983	346	559	85	202	14	8
1984						
1985						
1986	423		133		18	
1987		529		150		8
1988	400		130		16	
1989						
1990	427		135		19	
1991		499		115		7
1992	475		154		19	
1993		586		87		6
1994	466		155		17	
1995		523		94		4

Year	Figure 46 Assault		Figure 47 Burglary		Figure 48 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	5.59	5.38	5.51	7.77	3.59	13.1
1982						
1983	7.87	7.43	7.32	7.56	6.06	10.48
1984						
1985						
1986	10.77		7.07		8.85	
1987		6.58		4.79		5.58
1988	9.6		6.59		8.29	
1989						
1990	15.14		8.03		10.04	
1991		4.74		2.71		2.5
1992	14.85		9.03		10.75	
1993		4.13		2		2.83
1994	15.39		8.41		9.89	
1995		3.84		2.24		3.52

Appendix table 10. Data for graphs on page 30

Year	Figure 49 Murder		Figure 50 Rape		Figure 51 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	254.6	154.5	123.2	40.1	81.9	26.7
1982						
1983	249.2	149.9	92.1	41.6	73.3	24.3
1984						
1985						
1986	239.5		125.2		110.8	
1987		144.7		52.0		34.1
1988	252.5		140.9		90.4	
1989						
1990	245.2		121.9		85.5	
1991		216.6		58.0		40.9
1992	252.3		124.0		87.6	
1993		228.0		70.2		41.4
1994	266.4		123.0		88.8	
1995		229.9		77.0		40.3

Year	Figure 52 Assault		Figure 53 Burglary		Figure 54 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	42.5	10.8	36.6	10.9	26.2	8.0
1982						
1983	44.4	10.0	38.3	11.3	23.5	8.3
1984						
1985						
1986	58.8		47.8		26.8	
1987		14.7		15.1		9.1
1988	53.3		48.0		24.6	
1989						
1990	47.4		51.5		29.3	
1991		17.8		17.2		6.6
1992	49.5		46.9		27.9	
1993		15.9		15.5		7.2
1994	47.8		43.1		23.5	
1995		13.7		14.9		8.6

Appendix table 11. Data for graphs on page 32

Year	Figure 55 Murder		Figure 56 Rape		Figure 57 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	94.0	68.8	59.3	20.3	41.0	13.1
1982						
1983	105.7	63.7	46.9	20.5	37.9	11.3
1984						
1985						
1986	108.9		53.4		48.9	
1987		65.8		27.2		16.6
1988	112.3		62.4		41.0	
1989						
1990	112.8		59.9		41.4	
1991		95.2		29.5		20.4
1992	122.2		69.5		42.0	
1993		105.1		35.7		19.5
1994	126.9		67.6		42.8	
1995		99.8		44.2		20.5

Year	Figure 58 Assault		Figure 59 Burglary		Figure 60 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	21.3	6.0	17.1	6.3	12.1	4.8
1982						
1983	22.6	5.2	17.5	5.8	12.5	4.7
1984						
1985						
1986	26.8		21.3		13.5	
1987		6.7		6.6		4.0
1988	24.4		18.9		10.3	
1989						
1990	22.9		21.0		12.6	
1991		8.2		7.9		2.8
1992	24.0		20.2		13.3	
1993		7.3		7.2		3.1
1994	23.6		18.0		11.1	
1995		6.1		6.5		3.4

Appendix table 12. Data for graphs on page 34

Year	Figure 61 Murder		Figure 62 Rape		Figure 63 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	36.9	44.5	48.1	50.6	50.1	49.1
1982						
1983	42.4	42.5	51.0	49.3	51.8	46.5
1984						
1985						
1986	45.4		42.7		44.1	
1987		45.5		52.3		48.7
1988	44.5		44.3		45.4	
1989						
1990	46.0		49.1		48.4	
1991		44.0		50.9		49.9
1992	48.4		56.1		48.0	
1993		46.1		50.9		47.1
1994	47.6		54.9		48.2	
1995		43.4		57.4		50.9

Year	Figure 64 Assault		Figure 65 Burglary		Figure 66 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	50.1	55.6	46.7	57.8	46.1	60.0
1982						
1983	50.9	52.0	45.7	51.3	53.4	56.6
1984						
1985						
1986	45.5		44.5		50.3	
1987		45.6		43.7		44.0
1988	45.7		39.4		41.7	
1989						
1990	48.2		40.8		43.0	
1991		46.1		45.9		42.4
1992	48.5		43.0		47.9	
1993		45.9		46.5		43.1
1994	49.3		41.7		47.4	
1995		44.5		43.6		39.5

Appendix table 13. Data for graphs on page 36

Year	Figure 67 Murder		Figure 68 Rape		Figure 69 Robbery	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	913.98	1,117.03	143.33	151.47	16.70	2.81
1982						
1983	1,114.12	1,083.20	121.52	125.87	16.40	2.77
1984						
1985						
1986	1,401.37		216.90		27.38	
1987		1,058.56		124.27		3.80
1988	1,368.38		247.53		19.88	
1989						
1990	1,464.87		245.66		23.97	
1991		1,446.10		103.12		4.30
1992	1,765.72		326.98		24.37	
1993		1,875.12		94.07		3.33
1994	1,801.56		318.74		22.05	
1995		1,590.19		126.82		2.59

Year	Figure 70 Assault		Figure 71 Burglary		Figure 72 Motor vehicle theft	
	United States	England	United States	England	United States	England
1981	3.62	0.98	2.86	1.47	1.32	1.88
1982						
1983	5.41	1.18	3.90	1.33	2.31	1.47
1984						
1985						
1986	8.78		4.57		3.62	
1987		1.34		0.95		0.67
1988	7.12		3.80		2.59	
1989						
1990	10.53		5.13		3.85	
1991		1.18		0.64		0.21
1992	10.87		5.55		4.37	
1993		0.92		0.43		0.26
1994	11.05		4.60		3.36	
1995		0.71		0.44		0.36

Appendix table 14. Data for graphs on page 42

Year	Figure 73 U.S. murder		Figure 74 U.S. rape		Figure 75 U.S. robbery	
	Probability of:		Probability of:		Probability of:	
	an offender being arrested	an arrested offender being convicted	an offender being arrested	an arrested offender being convicted	an offender being arrested	an arrested offender being convicted
1981	0.834	0.407	0.320	0.301	0.047	0.361
1982						
1983	0.915	0.401	0.360	0.288	0.054	0.331
1984						
1985						
1986	0.810	0.558	0.338	0.478	0.061	0.388
1987						
1988	0.920	0.464	0.348	0.455	0.060	0.329
1989						
1990	0.853	0.534	0.318	0.518	0.062	0.376
1991						
1992	0.824	0.601	0.299	0.632	0.058	0.407
1993						
1994	0.824	0.591	0.298	0.630	0.056	0.382

Year	Figure 76 U.S. assault		Figure 77 U.S. burglary		Figure 78 U.S. motor vehicle theft	
	Probability of:		Probability of:		Probability of:	
	an offender being arrested	an arrested offender being convicted	an offender being arrested	an arrested offender being convicted	an offender being arrested	an arrested offender being convicted
1981	0.081	0.113	0.028	0.368	0.064	0.090
1982						
1983	0.101	0.126	0.031	0.420	0.066	0.144
1984						
1985						
1986	0.116	0.155	0.032	0.377	0.077	0.187
1987						
1988	0.122	0.128	0.032	0.342	0.086	0.160
1989						
1990	0.152	0.163	0.034	0.404	0.077	0.203
1991						
1992	0.139	0.178	0.035	0.429	0.074	0.215
1993						
1994	0.140	0.177	0.035	0.409	0.076	0.190

Appendix table 15. Data for graphs on page 48

Year	Figure 79 Robbery		Figure 80 Assault	
	United States	England	United States	England
1988	1.9	0.7	5.4	1.9
1989				
1990				
1991	1.5	1.1	4.7	3.8
1992				
1993				
1994				
1995	1.3	1.4	5.7	5.9

Year	Figure 81 Burglary		Figure 82 Auto theft	
	United States	England	United States	England
1988	3.8	2.1	2.1	1.9
1989				
1990				
1991	3.1	3.0	2.6	3.7
1992				
1993				
1994				
1995	2.6	3.0	1.9	2.5

Appendix 2

Appendix table 16.

U.S. murder	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of police-recorded offenses	22,520	21,010	19,310	18,690
Population (in thousands)	229,146	231,534	233,981	236,158
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0983	0.0907	0.0825	0.0791
Number of offenders per offense	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15
Offender population	25,898	24,162	22,207	21,494
Number of offenders convicted	8,797		8,150	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	196,239		200,354	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.0448		0.0407	
Number of offenders per conviction	2.9		2.7	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.340		0.367	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	340		367	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	8,272		7,688	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.042		0.038	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	94.0%		94.3%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.319		0.346	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	319.4		346.2	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	254.6		249.2	
Time served before being released (in months)	94.0		105.7	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	36.9%		42.4%	
Number of days served per offender	914.0		1,114.1	
Number of months served per offender	30.0		36.6	
Number of persons arrested	21,590		20,310	
U.S. murder	1985	1986	1987	1988
Number of police-recorded offenses	18,980	20,610	20,100	20,680
Population (in thousands)	238,740	241,077	243,400	245,807
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0795	0.0855	0.0826	0.0841
Number of offenders per offense	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15
Offender population	21,827	23,702	23,115	23,782
Number of offenders convicted		10,699		10,164
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		205,878		209,661
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.0520		0.0485
Number of offenders per conviction		2.2		2.3
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.451		0.427
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		451		427
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		10,024		9,522
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.049		0.045
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		93.7%		93.7%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.423		0.400
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		422.9		400.4
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		239.5		252.5
Time served before being released (in months)		108.9		112.3
Percent of incarceration sentence served		45.4%		44.5%
Number of days served per offender		1401.4		1368.4
Number of months served per offender		46.0		45.0
Number of persons arrested		19,190		21,890

Appendix table 17.

U.S. murder	1989	1990	1991	1992
Number of police-recorded offenses	21,500	23,440	24,700	23,760
Population (in thousands)	248,239	248,710	252,177	255,082
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0866	0.0942	0.0979	0.0931
Number of offenders per offense	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15
Offender population	24,725	26,956	28,405	27,324
Number of offenders convicted		12,270		13,522
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		211,919		217,291
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.0579		0.0622
Number of offenders per conviction		2.2		2.0
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.455		0.495
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		455		495
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		11,501		12,974
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.054		0.060
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		93.7%		96.0%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.427		0.475
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		426.7		474.8
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		245.2		252.3
Time served before being released (in months)		112.8		122.2
Percent of incarceration sentence served		46.0%		48.4%
Number of days served per offender		1,464.9		1,765.7
Number of months served per offender		48.1		58.0
Number of persons arrested		22,990		22,510

U.S. murder	1993	1994	1995	1996
Number of police-recorded offenses	24,530	23,330	21,600	19,650
Population (in thousands)	257,908	260,341	262,755	265,284
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0951	0.0896	0.0822	0.0741
Number of offenders per offense	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15
Offender population	28,210	26,830	24,840	22,598
Number of offenders convicted		13,068		
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		221,890		226,557
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.0589		
Number of offenders per conviction		2.1		
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.487		
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		487		
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		12,513		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.056		
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		95.8%		
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.466		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		466.4		
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		266.4		
Time served before being released (in months)		126.9		
Percent of incarceration sentence served		47.6%		
Number of days served per offender		1801.6		
Number of months served per offender		59.2		
Number of persons arrested		22,100		

Appendix table 18.

U.S. rape	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of police-recorded offenses	82,500	78,770	78,920	84,230
Female population (in thousands)	116,864	118,082	119,330	120,441
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.7059	0.6671	0.6614	0.6993
Number of offenders per offense	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Offender population	99,000	94,524	94,704	101,076
Number of offenders convicted	9,559		9,804	
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	96,157		98,173	
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older	0.0994		0.0999	
Number of offenders per conviction	10.4		9.7	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.097		0.104	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	97		104	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	7,857		8,059	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older	0.082		0.082	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	82.2%		82.2%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.079		0.085	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	79.4		85.1	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	123.2		92.1	
Time served before being released (in months)	59.3		46.9	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	48.1%		51.0%	
Number of days served per offender	143.3		121.5	
Number of months served per offender	4.7		4.0	
Number of persons arrested	31,710		34,080	
U.S. rape	1985	1986	1987	1988
Number of police-recorded offenses	88,670	91,460	91,110	92,490
Female population (in thousands)	121,757	122,949	124,134	125,362
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.7283	0.7439	0.7340	0.7378
Number of offenders per offense	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Offender population	106,404	109,752	109,332	110,988
Number of offenders convicted		17,754		17,558
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		100,880		102,734
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older		0.1760		0.1709
Number of offenders per conviction		6.2		6.3
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.162		0.158
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		162		158
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		14,640		14,476
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older		0.145		0.141
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		82.5%		82.4%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.133		0.130
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		133.4		130.4
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		125.2		140.9
Time served before being released (in months)		53.4		62.4
Percent of incarceration sentence served		42.7%		44.3%
Number of days served per offender		216.9		247.5
Number of months served per offender		7.1		8.1
Number of persons arrested		37,140		38,610

Appendix table 19.

U.S. rape	1989	1990	1991	1992
Number of police-recorded offenses	94,500	102,560	106,590	109,060
Female population (in thousands)	126,602	126,842	128,610	130,092
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.7464	0.8086	0.8288	0.8383
Number of offenders per offense	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Offender population	113,400	123,072	127,908	130,872
Number of offenders convicted		20,277		24,711
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		103,840		106,473
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older		0.1953		0.2321
Number of offenders per conviction		6.1		5.3
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.165		0.189
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		165		189
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		16,586		20,215
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older		0.160		0.190
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		81.8%		81.8%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.135		0.154
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		134.8		154.5
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		121.9		124.0
Time served before being released (in months)		59.9		69.5
Percent of incarceration sentence served		49.1%		56.1%
Number of days served per offender		245.7		327.0
Number of months served per offender		8.1		10.7
Number of persons arrested		39,160		39,100
U.S. rape	1993	1994	1995	1996
Number of police-recorded offenses	106,010	102,220	97,460	95,770
Female population (in thousands)	131,533	132,774	134,005	135,295
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.8060	0.7699	0.7273	0.7079
Number of offenders per offense	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Offender population	127,212	122,664	116,952	114,924
Number of offenders convicted		23,047		
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		108,726		111,013
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older		0.2120		
Number of offenders per conviction		5.3		
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.188		
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		188		
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		19,000		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older		0.175		
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		82.4%		
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.155		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		154.9		
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		123.0		
Time served before being released (in months)		67.6		
Percent of incarceration sentence served		54.9%		
Number of days served per offender		318.7		
Number of months served per offender		10.5		
Number of persons arrested		36,610		

Appendix table 20.

U.S. robbery	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses	1,380,800	1,333,700	1,149,170	1,116,680
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	186,336	188,497	190,504	191,962
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	7.41	7.08	6.03	5.82
Number of offenders per offense	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Percent of offenses reported to police	56.0%	56.0%	53.0%	54.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	773,248	746,872	609,060	603,007
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	503,075	469,322	429,817	411,523
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.364	0.352	0.374	0.369
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	65.1%	62.8%	70.6%	68.2%
Number of police-recorded offenses	592,910	553,130	506,570	485,010
Population (in thousands)	229,146	231,534	233,981	236,158
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	2.587	2.389	2.165	2.054
Number of offenders convicted	55,517		48,334	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	196,239		200,354	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.283		0.241	
Offender population	3,251,491		2,706,052	
Number of offenders per conviction	58.6		56.0	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.017		0.018	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	17		18	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	43,471		38,412	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.222		0.192	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	78.3%		79.5%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.013		0.014	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	13.4		14.2	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	81.9		73.3	
Time served before being released (in months)	41.0		37.9	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	50.1%		51.8%	
Number of days served per offender	16.7		16.4	
Number of persons arrested	153,890		146,170	
U.S. robbery	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses	984,810	1,009,160	1,045,960	1,048,000
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	194,097	196,160	197,727	199,412
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	5.07	5.14	5.29	5.26
Number of offenders per offense	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Percent of offenses reported to police	54.0%	58.0%	55.0%	57.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	531,797	585,313	575,278	597,360
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	422,435	460,540	439,260	460,701
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.429	0.456	0.420	0.440
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	79.4%	78.7%	76.4%	77.1%
Number of police-recorded offenses	497,870	542,780	517,700	542,970
Population (in thousands)	238,740	241,077	243,400	245,807
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	2.085	2.251	2.127	2.209
Number of offenders convicted		56,563		48,996
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		205,878		209,661
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.275		0.234
Offender population		2,376,358		2,467,818
Number of offenders per conviction		42.0		50.4
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.024		0.020
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		24		20
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		43,742		39,273
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.212		0.187
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		77.3%		80.2%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.018		0.016
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		18.4		15.9
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		110.8		90.4
Time served before being released (in months)		48.9		41.0
Percent of incarceration sentence served		44.1%		45.4%
Number of days served per offender		27.4		19.9
Number of persons arrested		145,800		149,100

Appendix table 21.

U.S. robbery	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses	1,091,830	1,149,710	1,203,020	1,271,830
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	201,376	203,274	204,280	209,353
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	5.42	5.66	5.89	6.08
Number of offenders per offense	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Percent of offenses reported to police	51.0%	50.0%	55.0%	58.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	556,833	574,855	661,661	737,661
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	490,704	542,410	583,528	570,589
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.449	0.472	0.485	0.449
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	88.1%	94.4%	88.2%	77.4%
Number of police-recorded offenses	578,330	639,270	687,730	672,480
Population (in thousands)	248,239	248,710	252,177	255,082
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	2.330	2.570	2.727	2.636
Number of offenders convicted		63,230		70,560
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		211,919		217,292
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.298		0.325
Offender population		2,707,323		2,994,890
Number of offenders per conviction		42.8		42.4
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.023		0.024
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		23		24
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		51,536		57,059
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.243		0.263
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		81.5%		80.9%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.019		0.019
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		19.0		19.1
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		85.5		87.6
Time served before being released (in months)		41.4		42.0
Percent of incarceration sentence served		48.4%		48.0%
Number of days served per offender		24.0		24.4
Number of persons arrested		167,990		173,310
U.S. robbery	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses	1,291,020	1,298,750	1,141,820	1,134,000
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	211,525	213,747	215,081	217,234
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	6.10	6.08	5.31	5.22
Number of offenders per offense	1.8	1.8	1.8	
Percent of offenses reported to police	56.0%	55.0%	55.0%	
Number of offenses reported to police	722,971	714,313	628,001	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	559,889	525,169	492,587	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.434	0.404	0.431	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	77.4%	73.5%	78.4%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	659,870	618,950	580,550	537,050
Population (in thousands)	257,908	260,341	262,755	265,284
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	2.559	2.377	2.209	2.024
Number of offenders convicted		65,829		
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		221,890		226,557
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.297		
Offender population		3,058,281		
Number of offenders per conviction		46.5		
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.022		
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		22		
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		51,734		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.233		
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		78.6%		
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.017		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		16.9		
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		88.8		
Time served before being released (in months)		42.8		
Percent of incarceration sentence served		48.2%		
Number of days served per offender		22.1		
Number of persons arrested		172,290		

Appendix table 22.

U.S. assault	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses	2,226,792	2,175,332	1,881,464	2,141,852
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	186,336	188,497	190,504	191,962
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	11.95	11.54	9.88	11.16
Number of offenders per offense	1.5		1.5	
Percent of offenses reported to police	46.7%	52.0%	50.2%	47.8%
Number of offenses reported to police	1,040,193	1,130,356	944,668	1,023,138
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	630,705	636,006	620,626	651,083
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.283	0.292	0.330	0.304
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	60.6%	56.3%	65.7%	63.6%
Number of police-recorded offenses	663,900	669,480	653,290	685,350
Population (in thousands)	229,146	231,534	233,981	236,158
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	2.897	2.891	2.792	2.902
Number of offenders convicted	31,907		37,514	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	196,239		200,354	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.163		0.187	
Offender population	3,515,987		2,970,733	
Number of offenders per conviction	110.2		79.2	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.009		0.013	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	9		13	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	19,649		23,385	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.100		0.117	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	61.6%		62.3%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.006		0.008	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	5.6		7.9	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	42.5		44.4	
Time served before being released (in months)	21.3		22.6	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	50.1%		50.9%	
Number of days served per offender	3.6		5.4	
Number of persons arrested	283,270		298,830	
U.S. assault	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses	1,990,411	1,913,159	1,968,450	2,159,311
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	194,097	196,160	197,727	199,412
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	10.25	9.75	9.96	10.83
Number of offenders per offense		1.5		1.5
Percent of offenses reported to police	52.0%	52.9%	53.8%	48.4%
Number of offenses reported to police	1,035,055	1,012,034	1,058,929	1,045,446
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	687,088	792,604	812,336	864,586
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.345	0.414	0.413	0.400
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	66.4%	78.3%	76.7%	82.7%
Number of police-recorded offenses	723,250	834,320	855,090	910,090
Population (in thousands)	238,740	241,077	243,400	245,807
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	3.029	3.461	3.513	3.702
Number of offenders convicted		54,374		53,332
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		205,878		209,661
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.264		0.254
Offender population		3,020,777		3,409,439
Number of offenders per conviction		55.6		63.9
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.018		0.016
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		18		16
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		32,533		32,715
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.158		0.156
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		59.8%		61.3%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.011		0.010
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		10.8		9.6
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		58.8		53.3
Time served before being released (in months)		26.8		24.4
Percent of incarceration sentence served		45.5%		45.7%
Number of days served per offender		8.8		7.1
Number of persons arrested		351,770		416,300

Appendix table 23.

U.S. assault	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses	2,064,240	1,984,831	2,026,644	2,316,690
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	201,376	203,274	204,280	209,353
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	10.25	9.76	9.92	11.07
Number of offenders per offense		1.5		1.5
Percent of offenses reported to police	46.6%	52.9%	52.0%	55.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	962,400	1,049,948	1,053,898	1,274,180
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	904,125	1,002,117	1,038,103	1,070,622
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.438	0.505	0.512	0.462
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	93.9%	95.4%	98.5%	84.0%
Number of police-recorded offenses	951,710	1,054,860	1,092,740	1,126,970
Population (in thousands)	248,239	248,710	252,177	255,082
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	3.834	4.241	4.333	4.418
Number of offenders convicted		77,617		90,318
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		211,919		217,292
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.366		0.416
Offender population		3,133,943		3,657,932
Number of offenders per conviction		40.4		40.5
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.025		0.025
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		25		25
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		47,438		54,311
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.224		0.250
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		61.1%		60.1%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.015		0.015
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		15.1		14.8
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		47.4		49.5
Time served before being released (in months)		22.9		24.0
Percent of incarceration sentence served		48.2%		48.5%
Number of days served per offender		10.5		10.9
Number of persons arrested		475,330		507,210
U.S. assault	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses	2,562,860	2,478,150	1,891,770	1,910,000
Population ages 12 or older (in thousands)	211,525	213,747	215,081	217,234
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 12 or older	12.12	11.59	8.80	8.79
Number of offenders per offense		1.5		
Percent of offenses reported to police	53.0%	52.0%	54.0%	
Number of offenses reported to police	1,358,316	1,288,638	1,021,556	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	1,078,830	1,057,521	1,044,221	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.421	0.427	0.552	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	79.4%	82.1%	100.0%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,135,610	1,113,180	1,099,180	1,029,810
Population (in thousands)	257,908	260,341	262,755	265,284
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	4.403	4.276	4.183	3.882
Number of offenders convicted		97,046		
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		221,890		226,557
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.437		
Offender population		3,912,868		
Number of offenders per conviction		40.3		
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.025		
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		25		
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		60,225		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.271		
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		62.1%		
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.015		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		15.4		
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		47.8		
Time served before being released (in months)		23.6		
Percent of incarceration sentence served		49.3%		
Number of days served per offender		11.0		
Number of persons arrested		547,760		

Appendix table 24.

U.S. burglary	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses	8,908,656	8,017,789	7,277,754	6,771,302
Number of households (in thousands)	84,095	85,211	86,635	88,039
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	105.94	94.09	84.00	76.91
Number of offenders per offense	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
Percent of offenses reported to police	49.0%	47.0%	47.0%	47.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	4,361,549	3,771,456	3,423,354	3,185,126
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	2,532,399	2,309,557	2,097,033	1,999,548
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.284	0.288	0.288	0.295
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	58.1%	61.2%	61.3%	62.8%
Number of police-recorded offenses	3,779,700	3,447,100	3,129,900	2,984,400
Population (in thousands)	229,146	231,534	233,981	236,158
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	16.495	14.888	13.377	12.637
Number of offenders convicted	190,846		199,679	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	196,239		200,354	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.973		0.997	
Offender population	18,615,102		15,207,247	
Number of offenders per conviction	97.5		76.2	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.010		0.013	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	10		13	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	102,525		111,355	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.522		0.556	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	53.7%		55.8%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.006		0.007	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	5.5		7.3	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	36.6		38.3	
Time served before being released (in months)	17.1		17.5	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	46.7%		45.7%	
Number of days served per offender	2.9		3.9	
Number of persons arrested	518,900		475,800	
U.S. burglary	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses	6,713,318	6,667,932	6,845,469	6,932,145
Number of households (in thousands)	89,263	90,395	91,823	93,362
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	75.21	73.76	74.55	74.25
Number of offenders per offense	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
Percent of offenses reported to police	48.0%	49.9%	49.9%	49.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	3,222,297	3,328,533	3,417,157	3,393,878
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	2,059,111	2,171,738	2,168,254	2,156,127
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.307	0.326	0.317	0.311
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	63.9%	65.2%	63.5%	63.5%
Number of police-recorded offenses	3,073,300	3,241,400	3,236,200	3,218,100
Population (in thousands)	238,740	241,077	243,400	245,807
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	12.873	13.445	13.296	13.092
Number of offenders convicted		169,976		158,570
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		205,878		209,661
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.826		0.756
Offender population		13,932,992		14,485,079
Number of offenders per conviction		82.0		91.3
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.012		0.011
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		12		11
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		98,454		95,447
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.478		0.455
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		57.9%		60.2%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.007		0.007
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		7.1		6.6
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		47.8		48.0
Time served before being released (in months)		21.3		18.9
Percent of incarceration sentence served		44.5%		39.4%
Number of days served per offender		4.6		3.8
Number of persons arrested		450,600		463,400

Appendix table 25.

U.S. burglary	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses	6,422,782	6,177,299	6,223,891	5,802,761
Number of households (in thousands)	94,899	95,763	96,282	99,046
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	67.68	64.51	64.64	58.59
Number of offenders per offense	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
Percent of offenses reported to police	48.0%	49.0%	48.0%	51.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	3,082,844	3,024,316	2,987,379	2,959,408
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	2,122,694	2,059,513	2,115,324	1,996,533
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.330	0.333	0.340	0.344
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	68.9%	68.1%	70.8%	67.5%
Number of police-recorded offenses	3,168,200	3,073,900	3,157,200	2,979,900
Population (in thousands)	248,239	248,710	252,177	255,082
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	12.763	12.359	12.520	11.682
Number of offenders convicted		174,890		181,997
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		211,919		217,292
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.825		0.838
Offender population		12,907,789		12,125,172
Number of offenders per conviction		73.8		66.6
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.014		0.015
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		14		15
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		103,603		109,536
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.489		0.504
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		59.2%		60.2%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.008		0.009
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		8.0		9.0
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		51.5		46.9
Time served before being released (in months)		21.0		20.2
Percent of incarceration sentence served		40.8%		43.0%
Number of days served per offender		5.1		5.5
Number of persons arrested		432,600		424,000
U.S. burglary	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses	5,984,004	5,482,720	4,825,670	4,845,000
Number of households (in thousands)	99,926	100,808	101,505	102,697
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	59.88	54.39	47.54	47.18
Number of offenders per offense	1.4	1.4	1.4	
Percent of offenses reported to police	49.0%	51.0%	50.0%	
Number of offenses reported to police	2,932,162	2,796,187	2,412,835	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	1,899,316	1,817,576	1,738,650	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.317	0.332	0.360	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	64.8%	65.0%	72.1%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	2,834,800	2,712,800	2,595,000	2,501,500
Population (in thousands)	257,908	260,341	262,755	265,284
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	10.992	10.420	9.876	9.430
Number of offenders convicted		161,975		
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		221,890		226,557
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.730		
Offender population		11,456,430		
Number of offenders per conviction		70.7		
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.014		
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		14		
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		96,369		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.434		
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		59.5%		
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.008		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		8.4		
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		43.1		
Time served before being released (in months)		18.0		
Percent of incarceration sentence served		41.7%		
Number of days served per offender		4.6		
Number of persons arrested		396,100		



Appendix table 26.

U.S. motor vehicle theft	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses (completed)	894,639	952,433	808,716	830,985
Number of households (in thousands)	84,095	85,211	86,635	88,039
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	10.64	11.18	9.33	9.44
Number of offenders per offense	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Percent of offenses reported to police	87.0%	88.6%	88.4%	86.0%
Number of offenses reported to police	778,336	843,856	714,905	714,647
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	722,299	705,434	669,246	685,381
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.807	0.741	0.828	0.825
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	92.8%	83.6%	93.6%	95.9%
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,087,800	1,062,400	1,007,900	1,032,200
Population (in thousands)	229,146	231,534	233,981	236,158
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	4.747	4.589	4.308	4.371
Number of offenders convicted	14,489		21,465	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	196,239		200,354	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.074		0.107	
Offender population	2,021,022		1,826,918	
Number of offenders per conviction	139.5		85.1	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.007		0.012	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	7		12	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	7,254		11,073	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.037		0.055	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	50.1%		51.6%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.004		0.006	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	3.6		6.1	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	26.2		23.5	
Time served before being released (in months)	12.1		12.5	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	46.1%		53.4%	
Number of days served per offender	1.3		2.3	
Number of persons arrested	129,200		119,400	
U.S. motor vehicle theft	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses (completed)	825,614	881,310	986,812	1,078,489
Number of households (in thousands)	89,263	90,395	91,823	93,362
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	9.25	9.75	10.75	11.55
Number of offenders per offense	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Percent of offenses reported to police	88.9%	88.5%	88.6%	89.6%
Number of offenses reported to police	733,971	779,959	874,315	966,326
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	732,326	812,802	855,697	951,446
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.887	0.922	0.867	0.882
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	99.8%	100.0%	97.9%	98.5%
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,102,900	1,224,100	1,288,700	1,432,900
Population (in thousands)	238,740	241,077	243,400	245,807
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	4.620	5.078	5.295	5.829
Number of offenders convicted		35,947		41,623
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		205,878		209,661
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.175		0.199
Offender population		1,990,910		2,436,345
Number of offenders per conviction		55.4		58.5
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.018		0.017
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		18		17
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		17,619		20,190
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.086		0.096
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		49.0%		48.5%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.009		0.008
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		8.8		8.3
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		26.8		24.6
Time served before being released (in months)		13.5		10.3
Percent of incarceration sentence served		50.3%		41.7%
Number of days served per offender		3.6		2.6
Number of persons arrested		153,600		208,400

**Appendix table 27.**

U.S. motor vehicle theft	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses (completed)	1,183,078	1,219,880	1,367,268	1,192,470
Number of households (in thousands)	94,899	95,763	96,282	99,046
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	12.47	12.74	14.20	12.04
Number of offenders per offense	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Percent of offenses reported to police	93.1%	94.8%	92.4%	92.2%
Number of offenses reported to police	1,101,446	1,156,447	1,263,355	1,099,457
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	1,039,027	1,086,238	1,103,369	1,069,571
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.878	0.890	0.807	0.897
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	94.3%	93.9%	87.3%	97.3%
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,564,800	1,635,900	1,661,700	1,610,800
Population (in thousands)	248,239	248,710	252,177	255,082
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	6.304	6.578	6.589	6.315
Number of offenders convicted		53,575		53,245
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		211,919		217,292
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.253		0.245
Offender population		2,755,754		2,693,832
Number of offenders per conviction		51.4		50.6
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.19		0.20
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		19		20
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		27,656		28,962
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.131		0.133
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		51.6%		54.4%
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.010		0.011
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		10.0		10.8
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		29.3		27.9
Time served before being released (in months)		12.6		13.3
Percent of incarceration sentence served		43.0%		47.9%
Number of days served per offender		3.8		4.4
Number of persons arrested		211,300		197,600
U.S. motor vehicle theft	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses (completed)	1,293,958	1,164,035	1,091,521	938,000
Number of households (in thousands)	99,926	100,808	101,505	102,697
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	12.95	11.55	10.75	9.13
Number of offenders per offense	1.5	1.5	1.5	
Percent of offenses reported to police	93.4%	92.4%	88.8%	
Number of offenses reported to police	1,208,557	1,075,569	969,271	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	1,037,898	1,022,095	977,873	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.802	0.878	0.896	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	85.9%	95.0%	100.0%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,563,100	1,539,300	1,472,700	1,395,200
Population (in thousands)	257,908	260,341	262,755	265,284
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	6.061	5.913	5.605	5.259
Number of offenders convicted		47,377		
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)		221,890		226,557
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.214		
Offender population		2,629,598		
Number of offenders per conviction		55.5		
Probability of an offender being convicted		0.18		
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders		18		
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration		26,006		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older		0.117		
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated		54.9%		
Probability of an offender being incarcerated		0.010		
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders		9.9		
Incarceration sentence length (in months)		23.5		
Time served before being released (in months)		11.1		
Percent of incarceration sentence served		47.4%		
Number of days served per offender		3.4		
Number of persons arrested		200,200		

Appendix table 28.

English murder	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of police-recorded offenses	559	618	550	621
Population (in thousands)	49,634	49,613	49,681	49,810
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0113	0.0125	0.0111	0.0125
Number of offenders per offense	1.1		1.1	
Offender population	615		605	
Number of offenders convicted	388		389	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	43,432		43,637	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.0089		0.0089	
Number of offenders per conviction	1.6		1.6	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.631		0.643	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	631		643	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	328		338	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.008		0.008	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	84.5%		86.9%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.533		0.559	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	533.4		558.7	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	154.5		149.9	
Time served before being released (in months)	68.8		63.7	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	44.5%		42.5%	
Number of days served per offender	1117.0		1,083.2	
Number of months served per offender	36.7		35.6	
English murder	1985	1986	1987	1988
Number of police-recorded offenses	618	661	688	624
Population (in thousands)	49,991	50,162	50,321	50,487
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0124	0.0132	0.0137	0.0124
Number of offenders per offense			1.1	
Offender population			757	
Number of offenders convicted			432	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			43,996	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.0098	
Number of offenders per conviction			1.8	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.571	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			571	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			400	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.009	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			92.6%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.529	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			528.5	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			144.7	
Time served before being released (in months)			65.8	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			45.5%	
Number of days served per offender			1,058.6	
Number of months served per offender			34.8	

Appendix table 29.

English murder	1989	1990	1991	1992
Number of police-recorded offenses	641	669	725	687
Population (in thousands)	50,678	50,870	51,100	51,277
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0126	0.0132	0.0142	0.0134
Number of offenders per offense			1.1	
Offender population			798	
Number of offenders convicted			448	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			44,446	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.0101	
Number of offenders per conviction			1.8	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.562	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			562	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			398	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.009	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			88.8%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.499	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			499.1	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			216.6	
Time served before being released (in months)			95.2	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			44.0%	
Number of days served per offender			1,446.1	
Number of months served per offender			47.5	
English murder	1993	1994	1995	1996
Number of police-recorded offenses	670	726	745	681
Population (in thousands)	51,439	51,621	51,820	52,010
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.0130	0.0141	0.0144	0.0131
Number of offenders per offense	1.1		1.1	1.1
Offender population	737		820	749
Number of offenders convicted	466		455	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	44,690		45,031	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.0104		0.0101	
Number of offenders per conviction	1.6		1.8	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.632		0.555	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	632		555	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	432		429	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.010		0.010	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	92.7%		94.3%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.586		0.523	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	586.2		523.5	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	228.0		229.9	
Time served before being released (in months)	105.1		99.8	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	46.1%		43.4%	
Number of days served per offender	1,875.1		1,590.2	
Number of months served per offender	61.6		52.2	

Appendix table 30.

English rape	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,068	1,336	1,334	1,433
Female population (in thousands)	25,474	25,466	25,491	25,540
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.0419	0.0525	0.0523	0.0561
Number of offenders per offense	1.1		1.1	
Offender population	1,175		1,467	
Number of offenders convicted	320		312	
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	20,976		21,086	
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older	0.0153		0.0148	
Number of offenders per conviction	3.7		4.7	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.272		0.213	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	272		213	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	288		296	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older	0.014		0.014	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	90.0%		94.9%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.245		0.202	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	245.1		201.7	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	40.1		41.6	
Time served before being released (in months)	20.3		20.5	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	50.6%		49.3%	
Number of days served per offender	151.5		125.9	
Number of months served per offender	5.0		4.1	
English rape	1985	1986	1987	1988
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,842	2,288	2,471	2,855
Female population (in thousands)	25,621	25,706	25,775	25,846
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.0719	0.0890	0.0959	0.1105
Number of offenders per offense			1.1	
Offender population			2,718	
Number of offenders convicted			425	
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			21,299	
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older			0.0200	
Number of offenders per conviction			6.4	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.156	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			156	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			408	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older			0.019	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			96.0%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.150	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			150.1	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			52.0	
Time served before being released (in months)			27.2	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			52.3%	
Number of days served per offender			124.3	
Number of months served per offender			4.1	

Appendix table 31.

English rape	1989	1990	1991	1992
Number of police-recorded offenses	3,305	3,391	4,045	4,142
Female population (in thousands)	25,928	25,998	26,104	26,178
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.1275	0.1304	0.1550	0.1582
Number of offenders per offense			1.1	
Offender population			4,450	
Number of offenders convicted			537	
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			21,578	
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older			0.0249	
Number of offenders per conviction			8.3	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.121	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			121	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			511	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older			0.024	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			95.2%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.115	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			114.8	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			58.0	
Time served before being released (in months)			29.5	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			50.9%	
Number of days served per offender			103.1	
Number of months served per offender			3.4	
English rape	1993	1994	1995	1996
Number of police-recorded offenses	4,589	5,032	4,986	5,759
Female population (in thousands)	26,241	26,317	26,387	26,453
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 female population	0.1749	0.1912	0.1890	0.2177
Number of offenders per offense	1.1		1.1	1.1
Offender population	5,048		5,485	6,335
Number of offenders convicted	464		547	
Male population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	21,737		21,952	
Number convicted per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older	0.0213		0.0249	
Number of offenders per conviction	10.9		10.0	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.092		0.100	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	92		100	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	437		517	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 male population ages 10 or older	0.020		0.024	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	94.2%		94.5%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.087		0.094	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	86.6		94.3	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	70.2		77	
Time served before being released (in months)	35.7		44.2	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	50.9%		57.4%	
Number of days served per offender	94.1		126.8	
Number of months served per offender	3.1		4.2	

Appendix table 32.

English robbery	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses	162,641		144,948	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)	38,724		39,175	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older	4.20		3.70	
Number of offenders per offense	2.4		2.4	
Percent of offenses reported to police	46.5%		39.0%	
Number of offenses reported to police	75,628		56,530	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	18,361		19,926	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.113		0.137	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	24.3%		35.2%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	20,282	22,837	22,119	24,890
Population (in thousands)	49,634	49,613	49,681	49,810
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.409	0.460	0.445	0.500
Number of offenders convicted	4,132		4,024	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	43,432		43,637	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.095		0.092	
Offender population	431,177		386,161	
Number of offenders per conviction	104.4		96.0	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.010		0.010	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	10		10	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	3,039		3,106	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.070		0.071	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	73.5%		77.2%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.007		0.008	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	7.0		8.0	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	26.7		24.3	
Time served before being released (in months)	13.1		11.3	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	49.1%		46.5%	
Number of days served per offender	2.8		2.8	
English robbery	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses			176,920	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)			40,209	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older			4.40	
Number of offenders per offense			2.4	
Percent of offenses reported to police			43.9%	
Number of offenses reported to police			77,668	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			29,711	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.168	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			38.3%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	27,463	30,020	32,633	31,437
Population (in thousands)	49,991	50,162	50,321	50,487
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.549	0.598	0.648	0.623
Number of offenders convicted			4,439	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			43,996	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.101	
Offender population			466,367	
Number of offenders per conviction			105.1	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.010	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			10	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			3,512	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.080	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			79.1%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.008	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			7.5	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			34.1	
Time served before being released (in months)			16.6	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			48.7%	
Number of days served per offender			3.8	

Appendix table 33.

English robbery	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses			183,582	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)			40,796	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older			4.50	
Number of offenders per offense			2.4	
Percent of offenses reported to police			47.2%	
Number of offenses reported to police			86,651	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			40,877	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.223	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			47.2%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	33,163	36,195	45,323	52,894
Population (in thousands)	50,678	50,870	51,100	51,277
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	0.654	0.712	0.887	1.032
Number of offenders convicted			4,841	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			44,446	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.109	
Offender population			488,518	
Number of offenders per conviction			100.9	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.010	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			10	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			3,381	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.076	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			69.8%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.007	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			6.9	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			40.9	
Time served before being released (in months)			20.4	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			49.9%	
Number of days served per offender			4.3	
English robbery	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses	237,365		312,871	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)	40,925		41,167	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older	5.80		7.60	
Number of offenders per offense	2.4		2.4	
Percent of offenses reported to police	46.5%		56.6%	
Number of offenses reported to police	110,375		177,085	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	52,058		61,496	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.219		0.197	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	47.2%		34.7%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	57,845	60,007	68,074	74,035
Population (in thousands)	51,439	51,621	51,820	52,010
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	1.125	1.162	1.314	1.423
Number of offenders convicted	5,094		5,167	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	44,690		45,031	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.114		0.115	
Offender population	633,004		831,210	
Number of offenders per conviction	124.3		160.9	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.008		0.006	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	8		6	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	3,550		3,452	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.079		0.077	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	69.7%		66.8%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.006		0.004	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	5.6		4.2	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	41.4		40.3	
Time served before being released (in months)	19.5		20.5	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	47.1%		50.9%	
Number of days served per offender	3.3		2.6	

Appendix table 34.

English assault	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses	507,286		423,090	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)	38,724		39,175	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older	13.10		10.80	
Number of offenders per offense	2		2	
Percent of offenses reported to police	40.2%		59.6%	
Number of offenses reported to police	203,929		252,162	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	84,268		93,572	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.166		0.221	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	41.3%		37.1%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	98,021	106,279	108,980	111,628
Population (in thousands)	49,634	49,613	49,681	49,810
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	1.975	2.142	2.194	2.241
Number of offenders convicted	48,650		49,459	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	43,432		43,637	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	1.120		1.133	
Offender population	1,180,156		985,516	
Number of offenders per conviction	24.3		19.9	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.041		0.050	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	41		50	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	6,352		7,325	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.146		0.168	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	13.1%		14.8%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.005		0.007	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	5.4		7.4	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	10.8		10.0	
Time served before being released (in months)	6.0		5.2	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	55.6%		52.0%	
Number of days served per offender	1.0		1.2	
English assault	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses			566,947	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)			40,209	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older			14.10	
Number of offenders per offense			2	
Percent of offenses reported to police			43.3%	
Number of offenses reported to police			245,488	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			117,739	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.208	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			48.0%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	118,791	122,139	137,135	153,459
Population (in thousands)	49,991	50,162	50,321	50,487
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	2.376	2.435	2.725	3.040
Number of offenders convicted			45,640	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			43,996	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			1.037	
Offender population			1,320,689	
Number of offenders per conviction			28.9	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.035	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			35	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			8,694	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.198	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			19.0%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.007	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			6.6	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			14.7	
Time served before being released (in months)			6.7	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			45.6%	
Number of days served per offender			1.3	

Appendix table 35.

English assault	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses			628,258	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)			40,796	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older			15.40	
Number of offenders per offense			2	
Percent of offenses reported to police			47.7%	
Number of offenses reported to police			299,679	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			157,091	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.250	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			52.4%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	171,769	178,684	183,653	194,458
Population (in thousands)	50,678	50,870	51,100	51,277
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	3.389	3.513	3.594	3.792
Number of offenders convicted			45,513	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			44,446	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			1.024	
Offender population			1,468,976	
Number of offenders per conviction				
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.031	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			31	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			6,962	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.157	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			15.3%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.005	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			4.7	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			17.8	
Time served before being released (in months)			8.2	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			46.1%	
Number of days served per offender			1.2	
English assault	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses	691,633		823,344	
Population ages 16 or older (in thousands)	40,925		41,167	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 population ages 16 or older	16.90		20.00	
Number of offenders per offense	2		2	
Percent of offenses reported to police	53.9%		40.0%	
Number of offenses reported to police	372,790		329,338	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	168,789		173,633	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.244		0.211	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	45.3%		52.7%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	197,466	209,416	203,461	228,636
Population (in thousands)	51,439	51,621	51,820	52,010
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	3.839	4.057	3.926	4.396
Number of offenders convicted	37,412		27,446	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	44,690		45,031	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.837		0.609	
Offender population	1,618,281		1,929,569	
Number of offenders per conviction	43.3		70.3	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.023		0.014	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	23		14	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	6,677		7,411	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.149		0.165	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	17.8%		27.0%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.004		0.004	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	4.1		3.8	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	15.9		13.7	
Time served before being released (in months)	7.3		6.1	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	45.9%		44.5%	
Number of days served per offender	0.9		0.7	

Appendix table 36.

English burglary	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses	749,861		914,480	
Number of households (in thousands)	18,334		18,587	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	40.90		49.20	
Number of offenders per offense	1.8		1.8	
Percent of offenses reported to police	66.2%		67.8%	
Number of offenses reported to police	496,408		620,017	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	349,692		432,039	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.466		0.472	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	70.4%		69.7%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	718,381	805,389	808,341	892,923
Population (in thousands)	49,634	49,613	49,681	49,810
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	14.474	16.233	16.271	17.927
Number of offenders convicted	73,469		69,672	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	43,432		43,637	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	1.692		1.597	
Offender population	2,772,825		3,079,771	
Number of offenders per conviction	37.7		44.2	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.027		0.023	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	27		23	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	21,309		23,153	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.491		0.531	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	29.0%		33.2%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.008		0.008	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	7.8		7.6	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	10.9		11.3	
Time served before being released (in months)	6.3		5.8	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	57.8%		51.3%	
Number of days served per offender	1.5		1.3	
English burglary	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses			1,185,689	
Number of households (in thousands)			19,374	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households			61.20	
Number of offenders per offense			1.8	
Percent of offenses reported to police			62.8%	
Number of offenses reported to police			744,613	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			483,001	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.407	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			64.9%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	866,697	931,620	900,104	817,792
Population (in thousands)	49,991	50,162	50,321	50,487
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	17.337	18.572	17.887	16.198
Number of offenders convicted			54,170	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			43,996	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			1.231	
Offender population			3,977,296	
Number of offenders per conviction			73.4	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.014	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			14	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			18,835	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.428	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			34.8%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.005	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			4.8	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			15.1	
Time served before being released (in months)			6.6	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			43.7%	
Number of days served per offender			1.0	

Appendix table 37.

English burglary	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses			1,372,136	
Number of households (in thousands)			20,238	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households			67.80	
Number of offenders per offense			1.8	
Percent of offenses reported to police			73.0%	
Number of offenses reported to police			1,001,659	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			624,946	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.455	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			62.4%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	825,930	1,006,813	1,219,464	1,355,274
Population (in thousands)	50,678	50,870	51,100	51,277
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	16.298	19.792	23.864	26.43
Number of offenders convicted			46,089	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			44,446	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			1.037	
Offender population			4,819,435	
Number of offenders per conviction			104.6	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.010	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			10	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			12,894	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.290	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			28.0%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.003	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			2.7	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			17.2	
Time served before being released (in months)			7.9	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			45.9%	
Number of days served per offender			0.6	
English burglary	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses	1,775,664		1,754,057	
Number of households (in thousands)	20,768		21,159	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	85.50		82.90	
Number of offenders per offense	1.8		1.8	
Percent of offenses reported to police	69.0%		66.3%	
Number of offenses reported to police	1,225,208		1,162,940	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	727,276		643,645	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.410		0.367	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	59.4%		55.3%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	1,369,584	1,256,682	1,239,484	1,164,583
Population (in thousands)	51,439	51,621	51,820	52,010
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	26.625	24.344	23.919	22.392
Number of offenders convicted	40,272		35,346	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	44,690		45,031	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.901		0.785	
Offender population	6,018,977		6,080,100	
Number of offenders per conviction	149.5		172.0	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.007		0.006	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	7		6	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	11,899		13,497	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.266		0.3	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	29.5%		38.2%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.002		0.002	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	2.00		2.2	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	15.5		14.9	
Time served before being released (in months)	7.2		6.5	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	46.5%		43.6%	
Number of days served per offender	0.4		0.4	

Appendix table 38.

English motor vehicle theft	1981	1982	1983	1984
Victim survey offenses (completed)	286,010		284,381	
Number of households (in thousands)	18,334		18,587	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	15.60		15.30	
Number of offenders per offense	2.1		2.1	
Percent of offenses reported to police	94.9%		96.4%	
Number of offenses reported to police	271,423		274,143	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	286,186		283,995	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	1.000		0.999	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	100.0%		100.0%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	332,590	351,230	325,699	344,806
Population (in thousands)	49,634	49,613	49,681	49,810
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	6.701	7.079	6.556	6.922
Number of offenders convicted	35,988		29,478	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	43,432		43,637	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.829		0.676	
Offender population	698,009		684,898	
Number of offenders per conviction	19.4		23.2	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.053		0.044	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	53		44	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	8,971		7,042	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.207		0.161	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	24.9%		23.9%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.013		0.010	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	13.1		10.5	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	8.0		8.3	
Time served before being released (in months)	4.8		4.7	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	60.0%		56.6%	
Number of days served per offender	1.9		1.5	
English motor vehicle theft	1985	1986	1987	1988
Victim survey offenses (completed)			387,480	
Number of households (in thousands)			19,374	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households			20.00	
Number of offenders per offense			2.1	
Percent of offenses reported to police			94.9%	
Number of offenses reported to police			367,719	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			327,503	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.845	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			89.1%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	367,426	411,060	389,576	366,713
Population (in thousands)	49,991	50,162	50,321	50,487
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	7.350	8.195	7.742	7.264
Number of offenders convicted			25,946	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			43,996	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.590	
Offender population			967,933	
Number of offenders per conviction			37.3	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.027	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			27	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			5,296	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.120	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			20.4%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.006	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			5.6	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			9.1	
Time served before being released (in months)			4.0	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			44.0%	
Number of days served per offender			0.7	

Appendix table 39.

English motor vehicle theft	1989	1990	1991	1992
Victim survey offenses (completed)			520,117	
Number of households (in thousands)			20,238	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households			25.70	
Number of offenders per offense			2.1	
Percent of offenses reported to police			98.6%	
Number of offenses reported to police			512,835	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police			483,351	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police			0.929	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police			94.3%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	393,399	494,209	581,901	587,856
Population (in thousands)	50,678	50,870	51,100	51,277
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	7.763	9.715	11.387	11.464
Number of offenders convicted			22,837	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)			44,446	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.514	
Offender population			1,314,943	
Number of offenders per conviction			57.6	
Probability of an offender being convicted			0.018	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders			18	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration			3,228	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older			0.073	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated			14.1%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated			0.003	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders			2.5	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)			6.6	
Time served before being released (in months)			2.8	
Percent of incarceration sentence served			42.4%	
Number of days served per offender			0.2	
English motor vehicle theft	1993	1994	1995	1996
Victim survey offenses (completed)	544,122		499,346	
Number of households (in thousands)	20,768		21,159	
Survey crime rate per 1,000 households	26.20		23.60	
Number of offenders per offense	2.1		2.1	
Percent of offenses reported to police	96.8%		97.5%	
Number of offenses reported to police	526,710		486,862	
Number of comparable offenses recorded by police	492,217		402,289	
Probability of an offense being recorded by police	0.905		0.806	
Percent of reported offenses that were recorded by police	93.5%		82.6%	
Number of police-recorded offenses	597,519	541,749	508,450	493,489
Population (in thousands)	51,439	51,621	51,820	52,010
Police-recorded crime rate per 1,000 population	11.616	10.495	9.812	9.488
Number of offenders convicted	16,802		15,454	
Population ages 10 or older (in thousands)	44,690		45,031	
Number convicted per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.376		0.343	
Offender population	1,387,109		1,325,351	
Number of offenders per conviction	82.6		85.8	
Probability of an offender being convicted	0.012		0.012	
Number of convictions per 1,000 offenders	12		12	
Number of offenders sentenced to incarceration	3,854		4,571	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 population ages 10 or older	0.086		0.102	
Percent of convicted offenders who were incarcerated	22.9%		29.6%	
Probability of an offender being incarcerated	0.003		0.004	
Number incarcerated per 1,000 offenders	2.8		3.5	
Incarceration sentence length (in months)	7.2		8.6	
Time served before being released (in months)	3.1		3.4	
Percent of incarceration sentence served	43.1%		39.5%	
Number of days served per offender	0.3		0.4	