

**Centre for Criminal Justice
Economics and Psychology**

University of York

**Young Adults in the Criminal Justice System:
Cost and Benefit Considerations**

Revised Version

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1 Headlines

Some of the key findings from our investigation are as follows:

1.1 Proportion of young adults offending:

a. 18-20 year olds:

% self-reporting offending	13.7
% convictions for indictable offences	14.3
% convictions for indictable + summary offences	10.2
% community sentences	17.6
% prison receptions	13.8

CCJEP estimate of proportion of offending by 18-20 year group 12-14%

b. 21-24 year olds:

% self-reporting offending	10.6
% community sentences	20.0
% prison receptions	21.1

CCJEP estimate of proportion of offending by 21-24 year group 15-18%

CCJEP estimate of proportion of offending by 18-24 year group 27-32%

1.2 Costs of young adult crime

Total economic and social costs of crime (2000)	£ 60,000 m.
% attributable to 18-24 group	27-32%

estimated costs of crime attributable to 18-24 group £ 16,200-19,200 m.

includes costs of sanctions:

finer enforcement			£ 34m.
imprisonment	£ 2,300m.	@35%	£ 805m.
community punishments	£ 815m	@37.6%	£ 306m.

estimated costs of sanctions used on 18-24 group £1,145 m.

1.3 Potential benefits of young adult crime reduction

a. Delay of onset:

estimated saving from delaying until post-25 the onset of offending amongst young adults could be around a quarter of total offending

b. Bringing forward the age of desistance:

estimated saving from bringing forward into young adulthood the age at which individuals stop offending could be substantial

2 Introduction

Crime is costly to the economy but so too are measures to prevent or reduce it. This applies to the Young Adult group just as to the economy at large.

The potential benefits from a more effective response to offending by Young Adults can be split into various types, principally:

- benefits to young adult prospective offenders enabled to follow a more constructive and engaged life path
- benefits to the Government from reduced spending on the Criminal Justice System and
- benefits to households and the private sector from reduced victimisation rates, reduced fear of crime and lower spending on crime prevention as offending falls.

There is wide variation in estimates as to the scale of the total costs of crime. In the late 90's the Association of British Insurers (1998) put the figure at over £ 35 billion and a year later the Audit Commission (1999) put it at £ 50 billion. The most authoritative effort to embrace the various categories and to estimate the economic and social costs of offending is that of Brand & Price (2000) whose Home Office Study put the total at about £60 billion. About one fifth of this total is represented by public spending on the criminal justice system, the remainder being met by victims of crime, business and other parts of government such as the health services. The Home Office work has been updated recently by Dubourg et al (2005).

These cost of crime estimates can, in principle, be used as a basis for estimating and monetising the benefits of crime prevention and crime reduction. In practice it is not quite so straightforward because the cost generating processes are opaque and often indirect.

The costs of putting more resources into reducing crime committed by Young Adults are also open to a degree of uncertainty. At one level it is obvious: a programme aimed at the Young Adult group in particular costs what is spent on it. But there are complications:

- much of the spending may be aimed more generally at a theme (such as burglary or gun crime reduction) than at offenders belonging to a particular age group
- there may be a sharp difference between average and marginal cost: a police force will be needed whatever and a reduction in offending by one group, albeit a significant one such as young adults, may not reduce costs pro rata
- the offending by a particular group may be influenced by many factors and spending programmes and it may be difficult for evaluators to attribute either costs or benefits reliably to one cause rather than another
- some crime reduction measures depend on an accumulation of activity over a number of years and measuring the scale of this investment may require arbitrary assumptions to be made
- a great deal of offending goes unreported and/or undetected and thus even identifying where crime reduction has occurred can be problematic.

The net result is that modelling the costs and benefits of interventions or programmes remains a somewhat hazardous affair, requiring the making of many simplifying assumptions. This leaves estimates of the value of investment in reducing offending by young adults open to challenge. In what follows we make the best

estimates we can in the time available. We try to make the methodology employed as transparent as possible so that the estimates are replicable more easily and so that alternative assumptions can be explored.

3. Estimating the Cost of Young Adult Crime

A natural starting point for estimating the **value of reducing crime** by the Young Adult group is a review of the **total costs of crime** currently committed by this age group. The total costs can be estimated by either:

- estimating the proportion of offending attributable to young adults and calculating from the total economic and social costs of crime the element attributable to this age group
- estimating the number of offences of each type committed by the 18-24 age group, multiplying in each case by the unit cost of the various offence types and then summing across offence types.

3.1 Volume of offending

It is not possible to estimate with great reliability the proportion of crime that is committed by those in the 18-20 age group. The high rates of under-recording and under-detection, referred to in the previous section, mean that many offences and offenders are never identified. So long as this is the case it will remain impossible to know for sure the distribution of offending by each age group. A further complication is that while statistical data are comparatively abundant for the 18-20 age group they are less commonly available for either the 21-24 age group or for the 18-24 group. Since, by and large, offending and conviction rates are falling as individuals reach the age of 21 there is a tendency to aggregate individuals aged 21 and over. Nevertheless there are some data sources, particularly in the field of offender corrections, from which estimates of offending rates can be made for the 18-24 group. The most commonly used approaches to making estimates of offending rates for any age group are:

- the use of self-reported offending rates from surveys
- the use of published data on conviction rates.

We review each source briefly.

(a) **Self-report surveys** A number of surveys of the general population contain data on self-reported rates of offending by young people¹. The one we rely on here is the 2003 Crime and Justice Survey (Budd et al, 2005) which gives data on the proportion of a large sample self-reporting involvement in offending². These data are reported by age band with the result that they can be used to estimate the proportion of offending carried out by individuals in different age brackets.

In Table A1 below we report estimates made from the C&JS data of the proportion of offending attributable to the 18-25 age group. The procedure we have followed is outlined in the Appendix. The main drawback of this data source for current purposes is that we have had to club together data for the

¹ For younger offenders the MORI survey conducted annually for the Youth Justice Board is a useful source for young people 17 and under: Youth Justice Board (2004). Another source on 7-16 year olds is the Youth Lifestyles Survey (YLS) conducted as part of the National Evaluation of the On Track programme: Armstrong et al (2005). An earlier version of YLS was conducted in 1998/99 based on a sample of 4,848 young people aged 12-30: Campbell & Harrington (2000); Flood-Page et al (2000).

² The total sample comprised around 12,000 individuals aged from 10 to 65. Of the sample of 9,726 for whom age-specific offending rates are available there were 4,676 males (of whom 878 were aged 18-25) and 5,050 females (of whom 927 were aged 18-25): Budd (2005) p. v and Table A3.4.

18-19 and 20-25 age bands, resulting in a band of 18-25 year olds which is just a bit wider than the 18-24 age group with whom this report is primarily concerned.

On the basis of this approach our estimate is that the 18-25 age group is responsible for 22.6% of all offending. Within the 18-25 age band we can disaggregate further and estimate that approximately 9.04% of offending is done by the 18-19 year olds and 13.56% is done by the older section of the group, namely the 20-25 year olds. The drug offending we have dealt with separately because the costing procedure is different for that group, as discussed below.

(b) **Sentencing data** An alternative to self-report data is the use of sentencing data indicating the proportion of convictions for which the Young Adult age group is responsible. From Table A2 it can be calculated that 14.3% (45,137 out of 315,775) of convictions for indictable offences involve the 18-20 group. The proportion is somewhat lower when taking account of all offences (indictable plus summary)³. For this wider category the proportion represented by the 18-20 year age band is 10.2% of all persons sentenced in 2004 (156,399 out of 1,536,826): see Table A4. Comparable data are not readily available in the case of the 21-24 age group.

By using the Offender Management Caseload Statistics on receptions into prisons it is possible both to include the 21-24 year old group and also to get a breakdown by offence type: Home Office (2005a-c). Following this approach it emerges that the 18-24 age group were responsible in 2003 for 35% of receptions into prison under sentence: see Table A3. For certain types of offences, particularly sexual offences, the proportion was lower (14%) for this young adult group than for other groups. For other offence types, particularly robbery, the group was responsible for a higher proportion (45%) of total prison receptions.

In Table A4 we concentrate on the 18-20 year old group within the young adults category. As we have shown already this Table suggests that the 18-20 group accounts for around 10% of the number of persons sentenced in total. Since, as we have already shown, this group is relatively over-represented amongst the more serious (indictable) offence category it is perhaps not surprising to find in Table A4 that the custody rate (the proportion of offenders being given custody) is higher for the 18-20 group (9.4% of those sentenced) than it is for all persons sentenced (6.9%).

Table A5 contains comparable data for the age distribution of community penalties imposed. It shows that overall young adults accounted for 37.6% of the 120,000 or so orders per annum. This average masks some variation across the types of orders available to courts. The 18-20 group accounted for only a small proportion of DTTOs whilst the 18-24 group accounted for 44% of Community Punishment Orders.

How good a guide these various proportions might be to the proportion of underlying offending cannot be established definitively. However, the proportions derived from the various sources seem to paint a reasonably consistent picture. In Table 1 we summarise the estimates from different sources referred to above.

³ The main reason for this is that the 25+ age group is responsible for a large number of summary motoring offences.

Table 1 Share of young adults in offending

		Age group	% of all ages
Self-report	Offences	18-19	9.1%
Self-report	Offences	20-25	13.6%
Convictions	Indictable	18-20	14.3%
Convictions	Summary + indictable	18-20	10.2%
Prison	Receptions	18-20	13.8%
Prison	Receptions	21-24	21.1%
Community penalties	Number of orders	18-20	17.6%
Community penalties	Number of orders	21-24	20.0%

The two main points that emerge are:

- The self-report data put the proportion of offending for which young adults are responsible at around 9.1% for the 18-19 group as compared with 10.2% of all convictions and 14.3% for indictable offences for the wider ranging 18-20 age group⁴. Our best estimate is that the 18-20 group accounts for somewhere in the region of 12-14% of all offences.
- The convictions data, particularly the number of prison receptions, put the proportion of offending by the 21-24 group at 21.1%, namely about 50% more than the corresponding figure for the 18-20 group. This is higher than the share suggested by the self-report data and reflects the over-representation of this group in more serious categories of indictable offences such as violence and robbery. Our best estimate is that the 21-24 group accounts for somewhere in the region of 15-18% of total offending.

Taking these two findings together would suggest that:

Key Finding **The proportion of all offending attributable to the young adult (18-24 year) age group is in the range 26-32%.**

An alternative estimate of the volume of offending by this age group could be derived by interpolation from information about (a) the distribution of total convictions by age group and (b) the distribution of total convictions by offence type. Our view, however, is that this might be a more unreliable approach since some age groups seem to have a higher propensity to commit some offences and a lower propensity to commit others than would be predicted on the basis of convictions for all offences. As a result we do not pursue this approach any further.

⁴ Given that the 18-20 group will contain roughly 50% more members than the 18-19 group, the 9.1% from the self-report survey might be roughly equivalent to 13.6% for those aged 18-20. We note also that the Crime and Justice Survey suggests that under 18's claim responsibility for just over 60% of offending. This seems on the high side and may have the effect of artificially lowering the proportions accounted for by the young adult and adult groups.

3.2 Cost of offending

In section 2 we referred to some of the best-known estimates of the economic and social costs of crime, concluding that the most appropriate was the Home Office one of Brand & Price (2000). At the crudest level their total of about £60 billion could be split between young adults and other groups on the basis of our estimates of the proportion of offending for the young adult group. This would give a figure in the range £ 16.2 – 19.2 billion.

Key finding As a first approximation the estimated cost of crime by young adults is of the order of £ 16,200 – 19,200 m.

The alternative is to use a more disaggregated approach that attempts to split out the various different types of offending (and their costs) and to compile an aggregate total from these components. If using the self-report data from the C&JS, for example, we know that the proportion measured there excludes various categories covered in the total cost calculations namely homicide, sexual offences, drug offences, fraud and forgery and technological offences. Making adjustments for these components brings the total cost of crime down to around £ 36.980 b. Using the proportion of offences (28-33%) estimated to be attributable to the young adult age group leaves us with an estimate in the range £ 10.3 – 12.2 b. This total includes all the various types of costs associated with crime including insurance and prevention costs, victim costs and criminal justice system costs.

To this total has to be added the cost of the various excluded items, particularly drug offences. As is seen from Table A1 the C&JS survey results suggest that the 18-25 group is responsible for over half of the individuals selling drugs, including the hard drug category. The economic and social costs of drug misuse are known to be substantial, including as they do the costs of addiction treatment. Care is needed here, however, to avoid double-counting. The additional crime induced as a result of drug misuse is already included in the Brand & Price data, so the costs of this additional crime cannot be included for present purposes even though they are a perfectly legitimate item to include in estimates of the cost of drug misuse. Obvious sources of data on the costs of drug misuse include the study by Godfrey et al (2002) and findings from the National Treatment Outcome Research Study (NTORS) summarised in Gossop (2005). Of the estimated total costs of drug misuse of £10-18 billion per annum only 6% are accounted for by direct treatment costs. A large part of the total is accounted for by the costs of crime committed by drug misusers. The fact that, according to the C&JS survey, over half of drug dealing is done by young adults clearly indicates that this group is contributing significant economic and social costs. As a crude approximation it would be possible to assign a cost of something less than a billion pounds to the drug selling by young adults. If we take the central estimate of the cost of drug misuse to be of the order of £14 b. (of which 10% are non-crime costs) then the non-crime costs of drug selling would amount to about £1.4 billion. If we attribute 50% of this sum to the young adult group on the grounds that just over half of the individuals in the C&JS survey are in the 18-25 age band then we would get non-crime costs of about £0.7 billion. This sum could legitimately be added to the £10.3-12.2 billion crime costs to give a total cost of crime for the young adult group of £11-13 billion. However running additional exercises of this kind for fraud and

forgery offences, sexual offences and so may not be very helpful since it is very time-consuming and involves making assumptions that may be quite unreliable.

4. Costs of sanctions

We look next in greater detail at the cost of sanctions used against young adult offenders. The costs of sanctions are not only an important component of the total economic and social cost of crimes but also represent a key policy variable. By varying the type and/or intensity of sanctions available and/or the guidelines given to sentencers (or even the availability of capacity for delivering particular types of punishment) it is possible to vary expenditure on sanctions. For example imposing community punishments on offenders who might otherwise be fined increases the cost of sanctions, whilst imprisonment would raise costs further still. In order to isolate the relative and absolute cost of the principal types of sanction we consider each briefly in turn.

4.1 Costs of enforcing fines

The costs of enforcing fines in practice are not known with certainty. The inputs going into the activity are spread across Magistrates' Courts at large. Each court is involved in a variety of activities, making it difficult to identify the costs of a single activity such as enforcement. One way forward is to estimate the average cost of enforcement by dividing (an estimate of) the total spending on enforcement by the total number of fines imposed.

Chapman et al (2002) estimated the costs of enforcement to be about one third of the amount of fines imposed in the courts they sampled. In the 12 months to March 2001, the magistrates' courts imposed fines totalling £385m. Assuming that approximately one third of this amount went on enforcement would give total enforcement costs for that year of the order of £128m. Of the 1.42 million people convicted in the year to March 2002 some 69% were fined, giving a total of about 980,000 fines to be collected. The average expenditure on enforcement can thus be estimated as £131 per fine imposed.

However this average includes a great number of fines imposed for summary motoring offences. It is quite likely that on average these motoring fines are cheaper to collect than the fines imposed for more serious, indictable offences. In recognition of this we have increased our estimate of the average cost of fine enforcement to £150. Of course we don't know whether this figure is appropriate for Young Adults as a group. Relative to the rest of the population it is quite likely that they are more mobile and change jobs more frequently, two factors that could make it more costly to collect fine revenue from this group. But it is not feasible at this stage to explore this complication in greater depth.

In very broad terms we would estimate the number of offenders in the 18-20 age bracket who were fined to be around 100,000 in 2004 since the total number fined was about 1,034,000 and we have estimated that about 10% are in the 18-20 age group. This would give total fine enforcement costs of the order of £15m for this group. For the 21-25 age group we would expect the proportion of all fines imposed to be perhaps 25% higher than for the 18-21 group. This would suggest total a figure of roughly £18.75 m. Summing across the two groups would give total fines enforcement costs for the 18-24 group of around £34 m.

4.2 Costs of community penalties

Deriving a reliable estimate of the cost of imposing a community penalty is a bit hazardous since different kinds of orders can be made and the attribution of probation service costs between the service's various activities is not easy. One possibility would be to multiply the cost per offender of £3,000 per community penalty⁵ by the number of offenders given a community sentence. However there are quite good data on the age profile of those sentenced to community penalties which can be used as the basis for an alternative measure. From Table A5 we calculate that in 2003 the 18-24 age group accounted for 37.6% of community sentences. From Table A6 it can be seen that the total cost of running the Probation Service was around £m.815 in 2003-04. As a first approximation we might assume, therefore, that something of the order of 37.6%, and thus £ 306.2m, went on the 18-24 year age group⁶.

4.3 Costs of imprisonment

There are two important sub-groups of costs of imprisonment. The first is the more obvious Exchequer cost of running prisons. There is a second category that is more difficult to estimate but that may be of particular significance for reviewing a range of policy options for tackling young adult offending. This second type of costs is the opportunity cost of the production possibilities lost to the economy as a result of having individuals locked away. We look briefly at each type of loss in turn.

Costs to the Exchequer

In order to make estimates of the proportion of total prison costs attributable to the age group we need to know something about the average length of sentence as well as about the number of offenders imprisoned. The evidence from Table A8 is that the profile of sentence length for the Young Adult group differs little from the profile for all prisoner receptions. The proportions imprisoned for the shorter periods (up to 3 months, 3-6 months, 6-12 months and 12 months exactly) are the same for the two groups (27%, 30%, 9% and 5% respectively). Since these terms account for over 70% of receptions it is probably reasonable to attribute 35% of the total running costs of prisons to the 18-24 age group of offenders.

The total cost of running prisons in England and Wales amounted to £2.301 billion in 2003-04; see Table A6. Attributing 35% of the total to the 18-24 age group puts the group's share of total cost at £0.803 billion in 2002-03. Spreading this total over the 32,189 young people in question⁷ gives an average cost per young adult imprisoned of £24,948. This refers just to the cost to the public sector of keeping them in prison. There are further costs to be taken into account.

Non-Exchequer Costs

There is a loss of production from imprisoning offenders who might otherwise be employed. This loss may be split into 3 elements:

⁵ This is the figure that was used as an average in the Strategic Review of 2000.

⁶ This implicitly assumes little variation in the costs of administering the different orders. Given that a higher proportion of orders for the 18-24 age group involve CPOs and CPROs this assumption may bias the imputed share of total spending.

⁷ This is the number of young adults imprisoned in 2003: see Table A3.

- a. output lost while an offender is in prison
- b. a reduction in the offender's future lifetime stream of earnings, since serving a term in prison may damage an individual's reputation in the labour market
- c. a round of employment-related adjustment costs, such as search costs and possibly re-training costs, following an individual's discharge from prison.

From literature on reconviction and resettlement it is well established that reconstructing (or constructing) a productive, engaged lifestyle is for many offenders a difficult project that often fails. Discrimination against ex-offenders is common in many markets. In markets for credit, rented accommodation and employment a prison record is likely to act as a negative reputational signal. This means that discharged prisoners will likely face a higher probability of unemployment and lack of accommodation than ex-offenders in general and, a fortiori, their non-convicted contemporaries. Given that many of them are disadvantaged in terms of labour market skills and are disproportionately likely to have substance misuse issues, the prospect for many offenders leaving prison is bleak even for those who are genuinely committed to the idea of a non-offending lifestyle.

Young adults as a group appear particularly prone to these difficulties. From Table A9 it can be seen that the likelihood of reconviction for discharged prisoners in this age group is significantly higher than it is for other groups. Two thirds (67%) of young male offenders who have been to prison are reconvicted within two years of release compared with 59% for males as a whole and 58% for all male plus female offenders. Of the group of young males who are reconvicted, 40% go back to prison. Some indication of the cost implications of this high reconviction probability can be seen in Table A10. Taking the number of young adults imprisoned in 2003 it shows that the costs of re-imprisonment for re-convictions within two years of discharge are likely to be around £130 million.

In a significant proportion of cases this cycle of reconviction becomes a chronic pattern and results in 'career criminals' who spend a good part of their life in prison. Breaking into this circle and finding ways of persuading offenders into a more constructive pathway clearly offers potentially very high returns. The scale of these potential gains has been highlighted by Mark Cohen in the US who estimates that preventing a single juvenile from becoming delinquent and becoming involved in a life of drug use and crime can have an economic value in the range of \$1.7-2.3 million when the various imprisonment, offending and other costs are taken into account: Cohen (1998).

Imprisonment deprives society of the value of the goods and services a person would have produced had they not been in prison. It is known that many prisoners have only modest educational and vocational qualifications. An indication of the relationship between education and imprisonment is that amongst groups with lower educational attainment the conviction rate, although not necessarily the imprisonment rate, is higher. Table A11 documents findings from Wave 6 of the British Cohort Study (ESDS, 2000) as an example. This shows that a disproportionately high proportion of individuals with a court conviction by the age of thirty have little or nothing by way of formal qualifications. For those with 5 or more passes at GCE or the GCSE equivalent the proportion who have been convicted by age 30 is 7.5% compared with a proportion of 17.3% of those with no passes and 12.5% for those with a few passes. The explanation of this link is complex. Lack of education reduces earning opportunities which in turn probably makes individuals more likely to offend. But there may also be psychological reasons for a correlation between poor educational attainment and offending such as poor anticipation of the consequences of actions or a

high degree of impatience. Cognitive behaviour programmes for offenders recognize and seek to address some of these issues.

In order to make an estimate of the opportunity losses from imprisonment we need to make some assumptions (and educated guesses) about the educational profile of young offenders who are imprisoned. Table A12 sets out data from the Labour Force Survey 2003 (ONS, 2003) showing the average weekly wage rate for those in the 16-24 age group and also the likelihood of their being employed. The product of these two gives the expected or average earning of individuals at each age and this can be used as a proxy for the value of production loss per week while offenders are in prison. For a 21 year old offender, for example, the production loss is of the order of £75 per week on average. Over an average sentence of 8 months this would amount to around £2,549. This adds approximately 10% to the Exchequer cost of imprisoning a young adult.

This average does of course hide large variations across offenders and probably overstates losses to the extent that courts might be less likely to impose custodial sentences on young adults who are in gainful employment. One irony, of course, is that because offenders on average have fewer qualifications than others the opportunity cost in the short term of imprisoning them is lower than it would be if they were better qualified.

Although we have managed to make a very crude estimate of the output lost by imprisonment we have not been able to estimate the impact on future earnings or the re-engagement or resettlement costs following a young adult's release from prison. Both these amounts would likely be significant and we would recommend that further research be done on estimating their size.

Key finding **The Exchequer costs of sanctions imposed on young adults are in the region of £ 1,145 m.**

5. Offending and other criminogenic factors

In the context of estimating the opportunity cost of imprisonment we have demonstrated that education plays an important role in influencing the likelihood that an individual will offend. Another significant feature to emerge from the Labour Force Survey is that there is a significant wage premium (of the order of 18%) for those with 5 or more GCSEs at grades A*-C. This quite likely exacerbates the link between educational attainment and offending as observed earlier. It serves to increase the possible pay-off from interventions that succeed in raising educational attainment by prospective offenders or in improving the job-market appeal of those who have left education with few qualifications.

But it is well-established that there are a number of other factors that contribute positively to the offending propensity and many of them are of particular importance from a young adult perspective. The main contributors, recognised in measures of reconviction likelihood such as the OGRS or OASYS systems used by probation and prison services, are: substance issues (drugs and alcohol), employment, finances, accommodation and family.

Substance misuse

A high proportion of persons arrested test positively for recent drug use. Around 65% of persons arrested test positive for one or more of six illicit drugs, including around 35% testing positive for opiates or cocaine use: Holloway et al (2004). The same study reports that, amongst arrestees reporting use of heroin,

cocaine or crack over the previous 12 months, median reported illegal income had a median value of £14,875. This in turn implies substantial offending by this arrest group. The prevalence of drug misuse at local level is associated with higher property crime rates, with greater fear of crime and with greater incidence of anti-social behaviour. The result is a high cost burden for victims of the offending and for the taxpayer whose contributions pay for the criminal justice system costs.

There were estimated to be around one third of a million problem users of Class A drugs in the year 2000 for England and Wales. On the basis of the arrest and conviction rates for this group Godfrey et al (2002) estimated the costs imposed on the Criminal Justice System, to be perhaps £2.5 billion in 2000. The study does not disaggregate the costs by age group of drug users but it would seem likely that young adults would figure quite prominently in it. Some idea of the significance of the young adult group in the total can be derived from Table 12 which shows that problems with drug use first developed for a significant proportion of problem drug users between the ages of 18 and 24.

From a (small) study of persistent offenders Bowles & Kara (2004) found, as illustrated in Fig 1, that drug use was the most important single influence associated with continued offending. Amongst young adult offenders in general the relative strength of this influence may be different. But there is other evidence to suggest that drug use is significantly linked to offending risk. Based on data from the British Cohort Study (ESDS, 2000) of a cohort born in 1970 Table A11 indicates that two thirds of the sub-set of the cohort who admit to a drug problem at age 30 have a court conviction compared with only 13% of the remainder who say they do not have a drug problem. The picture is similar, but not quite as stark, in the case of alcohol problems. Of those who say they do have a problem 54% have a court conviction compared with 13% of those who do not have a problem.

Treatment of substance misuse issues is likely to be a key part of efforts to reduce offending and re-offending by young adults.

Accommodation and Offending

Two notable things emerge from Fig. A1 about the accommodation problems confronting persistent offenders on discharge from prison. The first is that it is a significant barrier for many of them. The other is that it was the area where intervention via an intensive resettlement programme brought about the greatest improvement. Again we can use evidence from the British Cohort Study to explore the relationship between accommodation status and court convictions. In Table A15 it can be seen that the two largest sub-groups either lived in houses they had bought with a mortgage or rented property. The proportion with convictions was twice as high amongst the renting group (20%) as amongst the owner occupiers (10%).

From a resettlement perspective (following discharge from prison), however, the question is actually somewhat different. The key issue is whether and how easily accommodation can be found. Offenders seeking to regularise their life outside are inclined to slip back into their 'bad old ways' more quickly if they cannot find accommodation away from their friends from previously who may still be living in chaotic conditions and still offending. For hard-pressed public authorities giving priority to the recently released can be costly and unpopular. Provision of accommodation itself may be insufficient to deter a resumption of offending, particularly if substance misuse problems are not addressed and unemployment persists. The York Persistent Offenders Project, based on an intensive programme of support and drug testing, was successful in reducing reconviction rates. It was expensive, because it involved several full-time staff

including a police officer and a probation worker, but we estimated that it offered a positive rate of return on public investment resources by dint of the reduction in the costs of the crimes committed by programme participants relative to an unsupported comparison group: Bowles & Kara (2004). It is not clear whether the return would have been as high had it been aimed at a less difficult group.

Various initiatives have been launched in England and Wales recently aimed at identifying, convicting and rehabilitating repeat offenders who are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime. The Halliday Report (Home Office, 2001) pursues the idea of 'resettlement', referring to the provision of help to offenders with welfare problems in an effort to reduce re-offending. This theme is pursued also in the report of the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) which estimated the cost of re-offending by ex-prisoners to be at least £11 billion per year. Earlier research such as May (1999) and Raynor et al (2000) had established statistically significant relationships between reconviction following a community sentence and various problems such as drug use, accommodation and relationship difficulties.

Employment and Offending

Table A16 presents evidence from the British Cohort Study suggesting that among those who are unemployed the proportion who have a conviction is nearly three times as high (at 34%) as it is for those who are currently employed (12%). This is not sufficient to say anything about the direction of causation but it does establish a significant link between (current) employment status and conviction history. The Table also disaggregates by whether individuals have ever slept rough. Although a much higher proportion of the rough sleepers has a conviction the difference between the employed and unemployed is smaller for them.

6. Desistance and delaying the onset of offending

There can be little doubt that many young adults are making critical decisions as to whether to start offending or, if they have already offended, whether to continue or stop. Offenders differ in the age at which they are first and last convicted. To get an idea of the relative sizes of groups starting and stopping offending while young adults we review some evidence from the Offenders Index data available on-line via the National Data Archive at Essex University⁸.

Figure A2 illustrates the distribution of ages at which individuals from a cohort born in 1968 were first convicted. For males, who are much more likely to be convicted than females, the peak age of onset is 15. By the age of 18 it is about a third lower than it was at 15 and it continues to fall steadily. Even quite significant reductions in the number of individuals who first start offending as young adults would have a comparatively small impact on the size of the whole pool of offenders since a comparatively high proportion already have a conviction by age 18.

Figure A3, in somewhat similar vein, demonstrates that the later starters are also likely to make fewer subsequent court appearances than their contemporaries with a first conviction at a younger age. These findings are in line with evidence from an earlier, 1953 cohort.

6.1 Onset delay

⁸ The data are accessible via SN 3935 -Offenders Index Cohort Data, 1953-1997 at the National Data Archive:/www.data-archive.ac.uk

One possible policy objective is to delay the onset of offending. The likely benefit of a successful move of this kind would come not only from the immediate reduction in offences committed but also from a reduction in the average number of offences offenders commit over their lifetime, since those who start later have a lower likelihood of reconviction.

A convenient way of modelling this is to consider separately the 18-20 year and 21-24 year age groups. We explore the implication of assuming that those who would have been first convicted while in the 18-20 year band are no longer convicted until they reach the 21-24 band. Correspondingly we assume that for those in the 21-24 band a first conviction is postponed until they reach age 25 at the earliest.

We assume also for simplicity that subsequent convictions will follow the pattern of the age group the ‘movers’ join. Thus a male aged 18-20 at first conviction (who would normally go on to appear a further 2.40 times)⁹ becomes a male first convicted at age 21-24, who would normally go on to appear a further 2.03 times in the future. A male first convicted in the 21-24 age band, meanwhile, joins the group first convicted when 25 or over. The latter group on average reappear 1.43 times as compared with 2.03 times, with a resulting reduction in future offending. will normally go on to appear a further 0.5 times. Table A17 documents these ‘appearance multipliers’.

A further simplifying assumption we make is that the average number of offences at each court appearance or conviction is the same for all offender age groups but differs with gender. These averages are 4.34 offences per appearance for males and 2.11 for females.

The product of the ‘appearance multiplier’ (the expected number of future appearances) and the ‘offences per appearance multiplier’ gives the expected number of offences for which an individual will be convicted in the future. We refer to this product as the ‘offence multiplier’. These ‘offence multipliers’ are documented in Table A18.

Our estimates of the benefits from delayed offending onset are derived by looking at the hypothesized change in the age distribution of the age at first conviction and inferring the expected change in the total number of offences expected as a result. By comparing the pre- and post-intervention numbers of offences an estimate can be made of the (relative or absolute) reduction in the total number of offences committed. These estimates are documented in Table 2. The left half of the Table shows the number of appearances (up to age of 40) by the cohort broken down by the age band offenders belonged to when first convicted. This distribution is used to estimate total offences committed. In the right half of the Table we show the estimated reduction attributable to delaying offending onset from the 18-20 years old range to the 21-24 years old range and also from shifting the onset from the 21-24 year range to the 25 and over band.

Table 2 Estimated Reduction in Convictions Due to Delaying the Onset of Criminal Careers

Gender:	Total Appearances by age band at onset				Total	Reduction in offences due to delay in the onset of criminal career			
	up to 17 years	18-20 years	21-24 years	25 years or over		from 18-20 to 21-24*	Share of total convictns	from 21-24 to 25 or over **	Share of total convictns
Male	6,053	1,626	1,060	995	9,734	7,057	16.70%	4,600	10.89%

⁹ Again based on evidence from the 1953 cohort

Female	384	228	186	392	1,190	481	19.16%	392	15.63%
Total	6,437	1,854	1,246	1,387	10,924	7,538	16.97%	4,993	11.41%

Notes: *) Total appearances * average offences per appearance for age group 18-20

**) Total appearances * average offences per appearance for age group 21-24

The implication of the findings reported in Table 2 is that substantial savings might be enabled by bringing about the delay in onset. In the case of the 18-20 age group the saving would be about 17% of total offending while for the 21-24 age band the comparable figure would be around 11%.

Key finding: We estimate that by delaying the age of onset of offending by about 3 years for young adults it might be possible to reduce overall offending by around a quarter.

6.2 Accelerating age at desistance

Analysts have become increasingly interested in the age at which individuals stop offending as well as when they start. Using evidence drawn from the 1953 cohort of the Offenders Index Fig A4 illustrates the distribution for males and females of the age of offenders at the time of their last conviction. It shows male desistance¹⁰ peaking at around 18 and then falling, quickly for one year and thereafter more slowly. Desistance amongst females follows a smoother profile, with less variation into the twenties.

Bringing forward the mean age of desistance would clearly reduce the costs of crime. Around 2,500 of the total sample of 11,400 desist sometime in the 18-21 age range and a further 1,500 approximately between the ages of 22 and 24. A further 5,000 or so desist above the age of 25. Amongst these groups will be some who started offending early and have had prolific offending careers.

To estimate the benefits of bringing forward the age of desistance we use a similar approach to the one applied in the previous section for onset delay. Table A19 documents the number of appearances made by offenders desisting in each of the age bands in which we are interested. Using these numbers in conjunction with the average number of offences per appearance enables the total number of offences at issue to be estimated, as in Table A20. Table 3 documents our estimates of the scale of reduction in offending that might be brought about by inducing desistance to occur at an earlier stage. We have not investigated the implication of the 18-20 age group desisting prior to the age of 18, since such a move would be brought about by intervention with offenders aged under 18.

Table 3 Simulated Offence Savings from Accelerated Desistance

Gender:	Reduction in offences with various rates of acceleration of desistance age*
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¹⁰ Since the dataset we are using here only runs up to age 40 we are not strictly observing desistance because there is always the possibility that offenders might resume offending after 40. In effect, we are ignoring post-40 events. Strictly, therefore, our estimates of offences saved should be made in relation to offending by the under-40's. To keep our model simple we have ignored this complication.

	from 21-24 to 18- 20	Share of convns	25% from 25 or more to 21- 24	Share of convns	50% from 25 or more to 21- 24	Share of convns	100% from 25 or more to 21-24	Share of convns
Male	5,538	9.2%	7,086	16.8%	14,172	33.6%	28,345	67.1%
Female	420	18.7%	317	12.6%	633	25.2%	1,266	50.4%
Total	5,958	10.2%	7,403	16.3%	14,805	32.6%	29,611	65.3%

*) Number of appearances * average offences per appearance

The model allows for the whole of the 21-24 year group to desist when in the 18-20 year age band. The impact on the overall amount of offending by the under 40s is estimated in the first two columns of Table 3. The impact is about 10% of offences. When it comes to encouraging young adults in the 21-24 band to desist the potential savings come from offending that would have occurred once they reach the over 25 band. The ‘target’ in a way is wider here because desistance ages potentially cover a wide range. In order to deal with this issue we allow for a variety of penetration rates for desistance acceleration. The extreme case is that we are completely successful in persuading all offenders in the 21-24 age band never to re-offend. However this seems a rather extreme assumption so we look also at the implications of assuming that smaller proportions (50% or 25%) desist when 21-24 rather than when they are over 25. As is evident from Table 3, and as a little thought will confirm, the prospect of persuading offenders to desist while they are still young adults can potentially have a substantial impact on overall offending. On the assumption that it might be possible to persuade 25% of those who would have desisted after the age of 25 to bring forward their desistance age to the 21-24 bracket the impact on offending we estimate to be around 16%. Added to the 10% estimated saving from the younger segment of young adults this would give a total of around a quarter of offending as a potential saving.

Key Finding We estimate that by bringing forward the age of desistance of the 21-24 year age group into the 18-20 range it might be possible to prevent about 10% of offending by the under-40’s. We estimate also that by bringing forward into the young adult age range some or all of the desistance of the 25-40 year group a substantial further reduction in offender might be enabled.

7. Concluding remarks

We have collected together for this review evidence from a number of statistical sources on offending by young adults. In some cases we have been able to make estimates of the potential scale of crime reduction benefits. The methodology we have used is a bit crude and we have not sought to explore the likely impact of particular interventions with young adults. Nevertheless we think there are some important implications that emerge, namely:

- Existing models, methods and statistical sources do not make it very easy to focus on the young adult group

- There is clearly significant scope for generating benefits on a substantial scale from successful intervention with the young adult group
- The area in general seems to be less well charted than closely related areas such as youth offending and would, we argue, be a valuable target for further research.

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Tables

Table A1 Share of offending attributable to 18-25 group

Offence type	Implied number of offences									18-25 group' share
	Age group									
	10-11	12-13	14-15	16-17	18-19	20-25	26-35	36-45	46-65	
Burglary	0.00	2.14	5.02	5.81	1.44	3.98	0.00	1.37	0.00	0.274
Theft of a motor vehicle	1.75	1.43	6.90	9.68	6.24	6.63	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.394
Attempted theft of a motor vehicle	0.00	1.43	2.51	5.16	2.40	2.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.357
Theft from a vehicle (outside)	2.92	9.27	7.52	4.52	1.92	0.00	1.34	0.00	2.64	0.064
Theft from a vehicle (inside)	1.17	0.71	4.39	2.58	3.36	2.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.404
Attempted theft from a vehicle	0.58	4.28	3.14	1.94	0.00	1.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.118
Theft from person	0.00	6.42	7.52	3.23	0.00	2.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.134
Theft from work	0.00	2.14	2.51	26.45	36.48	83.48	58.83	38.42	42.29	0.413
Theft from school	19.27	49.20	55.80	56.76	11.04	2.65	0.00	1.37	0.00	0.070
Theft from shop	6.42	26.38	30.72	10.97	6.72	10.60	6.69	2.74	5.29	0.163
Other theft	5.84	14.26	19.44	10.32	3.84	9.28	2.67	4.12	0.00	0.188
Damage to a motor vehicle	1.17	7.13	15.68	9.03	4.80	11.93	6.69	2.74	2.64	0.271
Other damage	3.50	19.96	24.45	30.96	8.64	9.28	6.69	1.37	0.00	0.171
Personal robbery	0.00	0.71	1.88	3.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
Commercial robbery	0.00	0.71	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.000
Assault with injury	35.04	72.01	99.69	107.07	51.84	60.95	32.09	23.32	13.22	0.228
Assault - no injury	32.12	75.58	106.59	78.05	36.00	54.33	34.76	19.21	21.14	0.197
Total	109.79	293.76	393.76	366.36	174.72	262.35	149.74	94.67	87.22	0.226
Sold Class A drugs	0.00	0.00	2.51	3.23	7.68	18.55	8.02	2.74	0.00	0.614
Sold other drugs	0.00	2.14	12.54	24.51	28.80	38.43	14.71	5.49	2.64	0.520
Any offence	83.51	164.70	203.15	205.76	116.64	204.05	124.34	83.69	81.93	0.253

Source: CCJEP estimates based on Table A3.1 of Budd et al (2005) derived by method outlined in Appendix below.

Table A2 Numbers Sentenced for Indictable Offences by age group, 2004

2004 Sentencing	
Males + females	
Juveniles (under 18)	
number sentenced	46,998
given custody	5,146
given fines	2,890
given community sentences	32,288
Other	6,674
average custodial sentence length (months)	8.15
Young adults (18-20)	
number sentenced	45,137
given custody	10,653
given fines	10,349
given community sentences	15,737
Other	8,398
average custodial sentence length (months)	6.60
Adults (21 and over)	
number sentenced	223,640
given custody	64,061
given fines	50,814
given community sentences	62,925
Other	45,840
average custodial sentence length (months)	9.07
All persons	
number sentenced	315,775
given custody	79,860
given fines	64,053
given community sentences	110,950
Other	60,912
average custodial sentence length (months)	8.58
18-20 years as % of all persons	
number sentenced	14.3%
given custody	13.4%
given fines	16.2%
given community sentences	14.2%
Other	13.8%

Notes:

Source: adapted from Tables 1 and 2 of Sentencing Statistics Quarterly Brief, National Offender Management Service, 2005
Includes sentences imposed by both Magistrates' Courts and the Crown Court

Table A3 Young adults sentenced to imprisonment by offence type

Receptions into prison establishments under sentence by age and offence

Offence group

	All ages	15-17	18-24	25 & over	18-24 as proportion
MALES AND FEMALES	92,245	4,918	32,189	55,138	0.349
Violence against the person	13,724	863	5,091	7,770	0.371
Sexual offences	2,350	58	335	1,957	0.143
Robbery	4,368	713	1,980	1,675	0.453
Burglary	9,191	715	3,510	4,966	0.382
Theft and handling	21,335	934	7,151	13,250	0.335
Fraud and forgery	2,982	25	602	2,355	0.202
Drug offences	7,135	135	2,115	4,885	0.296
Motoring offences	15,802	588	5,810	9,404	0.368
Other offences	13,790	811	4,993	7,986	0.362
Offence not recorded	1,568	76	602	890	0.384

Source: Offender Management Caseload Statistics 2003, Table 7.14

Table A4: Custody and the 18-20 age group, 2004

	Number sentenced	Number given custody	Custody rate (%)
18-20 year olds	156,399	14,636	9.4%
All ages	1,536,826	106,322	6.9%
18-20 group as %	10.2%	13.8%	

Table A5 Persons supervised by the Probation Service by age and gender

2003	CRO	CPO	CPRO	DTTO	All Orders
Males & Females					
16-17	421	2,122	867	9	3,419
18-20	9,224	7,666	4,129	384	21,403
21-24	11,555	7,835	3,707	1,208	24,305
25-29	11,232	5,810	3,001	1,619	21,662
30-39	19,115	7,873	4,292	1,873	33,153
40-49	8,206	2,987	1,613	258	13,064
50-59	2,671	789	405	21	3,886
60 & over	612	122	40	0	774
All ages	63,036	35,204	18,054	5,372	121,666
18-24 as %	33.0%	44.0%	43.4%	29.6%	37.6%

Notes:

Source: Home Office (2005c): OCMS Table 4.4

Types of order:

CRO Community Rehabilitation Order

CPO Community Punishment Order

CPRO Community Punishment & Rehabilitation Order

DTTO Drug Treatment and Testing Order

Table A6 Public Expenditure by the Home Office, 2003-04

	£m.
Police (incl. Grants)	5,062
Other police-related	640
Probation	815
Prison	2,301
Other	<u>2,906</u>
Total	11,724

Source: Home Office Departmental Report 2004-05

Table A7 Projected Spending by Justice Departments 2004-05

Home Office	12,693
Department of Constitutional Affairs	
Total (04-05)	3,411
Law Officers' Departments (incl. CPS)	<u>610</u>
Total spending	16,714

Source: Spending on The Home Office, Constitutional Affairs and Law Officers' Departments taken from: *2004 Spending Review*, Tables 12.2-12.4

Table A8 Length of Imprisonment Terms for Young Adults

length of sentence	All persons (number)	Young adults (number)	All persons (as %)	Young adults (as %)
< 3months	25,128	3,566	27%	27%
< 6 months	27,730	3,925	30%	30%
<12 months	7,954	1,162	9%	9%
12 months	4,411	726	5%	5%
<18 months	6,146	1,057	7%	8%
< 36 months	10,300	1,689	11%	13%
< 48 months	2,523	353	3%	3%
48 months	1,748	221	2%	2%
< 60 months	2,297	252	2%	2%
< 10 years	2,996	240	3%	2%
< life	503	15	1%	0%
life	509	55	1%	0%
total	92,245	13,261	100%	100%

Source: Offender Management Caseload Statistics, 2003:
Table 7.15 Receptions into prison establishments under
sentence of immediate imprisonment

Note: Young adults for these purposes are aged 18-21

Table A9 Reconviction rates and sentences on reconviction

	Males 21-24	All males	All males + females
Number discharged	14,687	68,945	72,956
Number reconvicted *	9,905	40,372	42,408
% reconvicted within 2 years *	67	59	58
Sentence on reconviction (%): *			
Immediate custody	39	37	37
Suspended custody	1	1	0
Fine	26	27	26
Probation	12	13	13
Community Service Order	7	6	6
Combination Order	5	5	5
Other	11	12	14

* based on a sample of prisoners discharged in 1997

Source: OMCS 2003, Table 9.3

Table A10 Estimated cost of re-imprisonment

Estimated annual costs of re-imprisonment

	Males & Females 18-20	Males & Females 21-24	All males + females
Number imprisoned 2003	13,261	18,928	92,245
Estimated reconvictions (no.)	8,885	11,168	53,502
Estimated re-imprisoned (no.)	3,465	4,132	19,796
Average length (months)	6.6	8.0	8.58
Prisoner years	1,906	2,755	14,154
Expected cost of re-imprisonment (£m)	53.08	76.73	394.24

Sources: Reconvictions data based on Prisons Statistics, 2000

Prison cost average from Prison Service Annual Report 2005

Number imprisoned and average length from Sentencing Statistics 2004

Table A11 Cross-tabulation of Convictions and Educational Attainment

No. of GCE or GCSE passes at A*-C:	Been found guilty in court			
	no	yes	total	% convicted
None	4,499	943	5,442	17.3
1-4	1,966	280	2,246	12.5
5 or more	3,161	258	3,419	7.5
Total	9,626	1,481	11,107	13.3

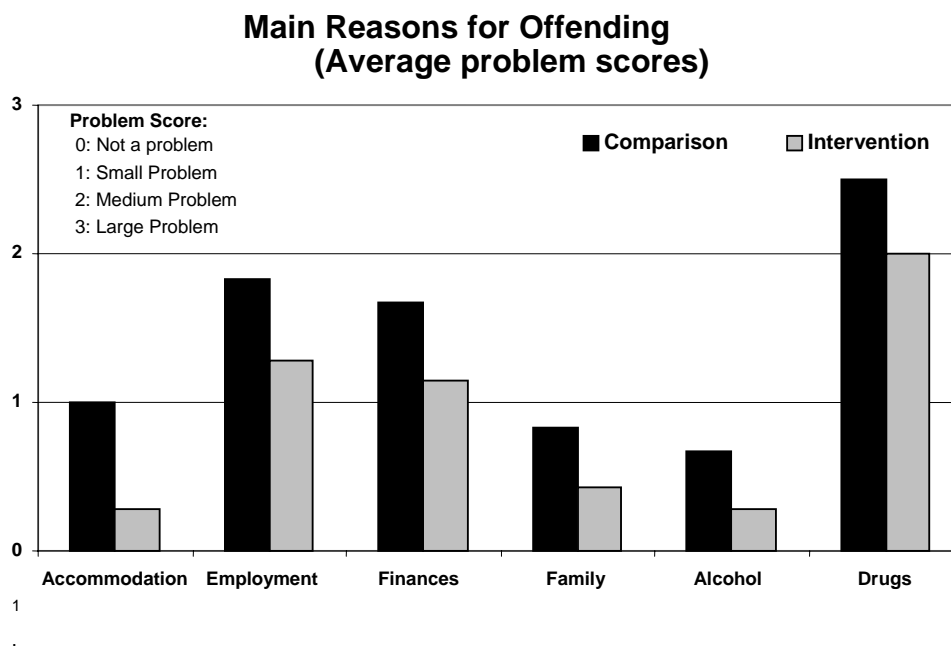
Source: Wave 6 of British Cohort Study: ESDS (2000)

Table A12 Earnings profile

	Age (in years)								
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Wage rate (£, pw)	34	106	156	196	214	234	211	293	285
Employment probability	.19	.23	.25	.31	.28	.32	.34	.35	.39
Expected earnings (£,pw)	7	24	39	61	60	75	72	84	111

Source: Labour Force Survey 2003 (ONS, 2003)

Figure A1 Reasons for offending of a persistent offender sample



Source: derived from a study of a Persistent Offender Project: Bowles & Kara (2004)

Table A13 Age of first experience of problems with drugs

		Age first experienced problems with drugs				Total
		Never	up to 17 yrs old	18-24 yrs old	25 or more	
No. of GCE or GCSE passes at grades A-C	None	5,444	37	62	24	5,567
	1-4	2,243	3	9	4	2,259
	5 or more	3,419	3	8	5	3,435
Total		11,106	43	79	33	11,261
		Age first experienced problems with alcohol				Total
		Never	up to 17 yrs old	18-24 yrs old	25 or more	
No. of GCSE or GCE at grades A-C	None	5,446	35	53	33	5,567
	1-4	2,234	4	6	15	2,259
	5 or more	3,409	3	16	7	3,435
Total		11,089	42	75	55	11,261

Source: Wave 6 of British Cohort Study: ESDS (2000)

Table A14 Substance misuse and offending

		Court conviction?			
		No	Yes	Total in sample	% convicted
Drugs	No	9,575	1,380	10,955	13
	Yes	51	101	152	66
Alcohol	No	9,550	1,392	10,942	13
	Yes	76	89	165	54
Total		9,626	1,481	11,107	13

Source: Wave 6 of British Cohort Study: ESDS (2000)

Table A15 Accommodation status and offending

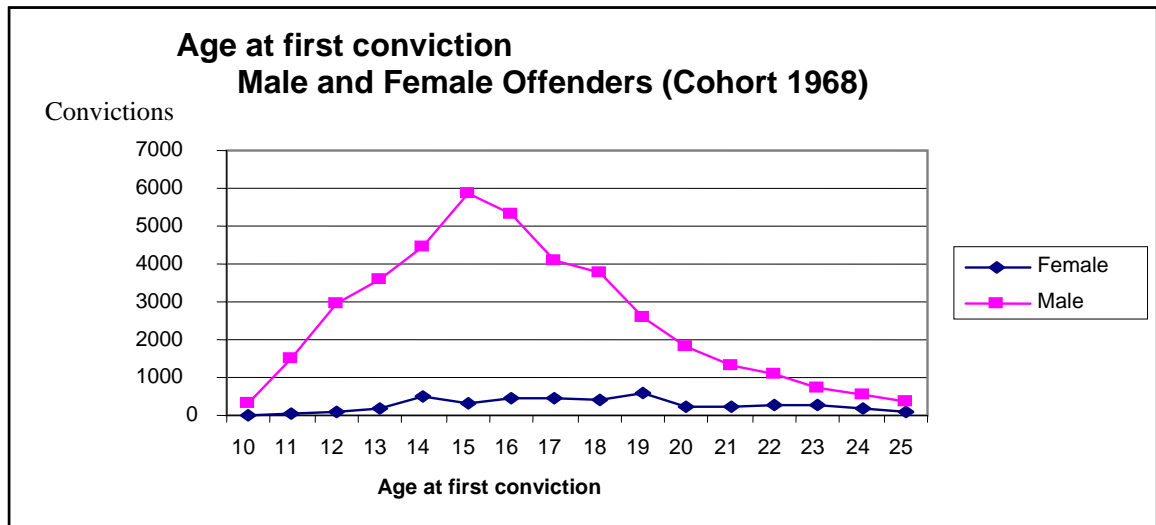
Current accommodation status:	Found guilty by court?			
	no	yes	total	% yes
Own – outright	412	61	473	13
Own – with mortgage	5,921	647	6,568	10
Shared ownership	58	5	63	8
Renting	2,323	592	2,915	20
Living rent-free	473	80	553	14
Squatting	0	1	1	
Other	374	66	440	15
Total	9,561	1,452	11,013	13

Source: Wave 6 of British Cohort Study: ESDS (2000)

Table A16 Unemployment, rough sleeping and convictions

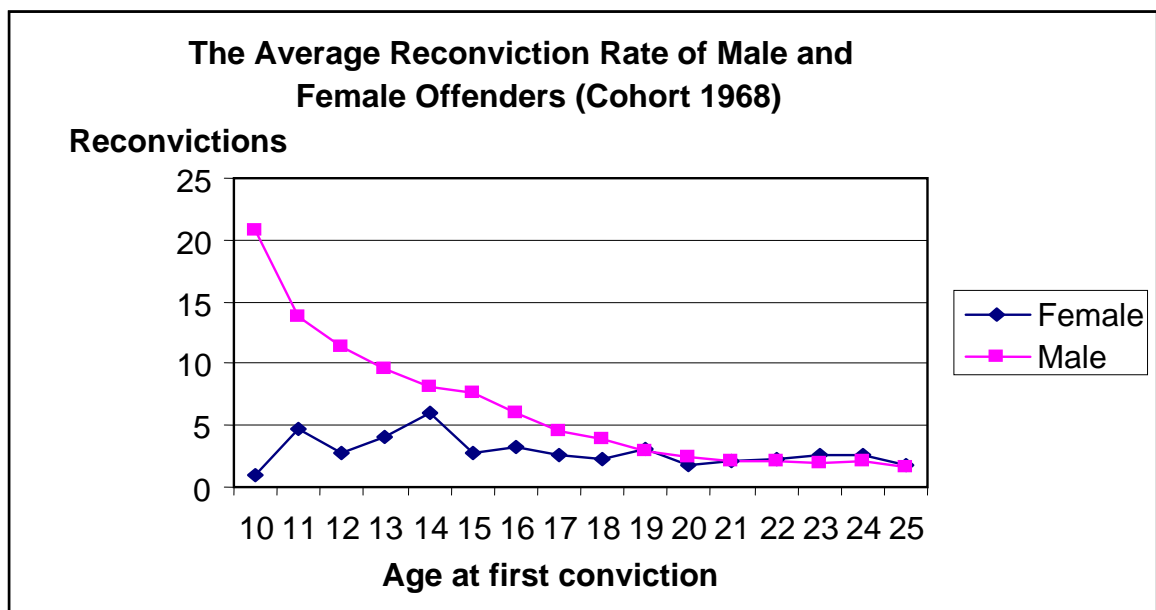
Has CM slept rough and/or squatted			Been found guilty by a court?		% found guilty
			No	Yes	
No	Is currently unemployed?	No	9,251	1,301	12
		Yes	224	117	34
	Total		9,475	1,418	13
Yes	Is currently unemployed?	No	30	37	55
		Yes	5	10	67
	Total		35	47	57

Figure A2: Age at First Conviction for Cohort 1968



Source: CCJEP based on data from Offender Index Data Cohort 1968

Figure A3: Average Number of Reconvictions by age of onset of offending: Cohort 1968



Source: CCJEP based on data from Offender Index Data Cohort 1968

Table A17 Appearance Multipliers for Cohort 1953 by Gender

Gender:	Appearance Multiplier for those first convicted at age:				
	up to 17	18-20	21-24	18-24	25 or over
Male	8.08	2.40	2.03	2.24	1.43
Female	4.27	1.57	1.37	1.47	1.40
Total	7.67	2.26	1.90	2.10	1.42

Note: Average number of subsequent appearances per offender

Table A18 Offence Multipliers for Cohort 1953 by Gender

Gender:	Offence Multiplier for those first convicted at age:				
	up to 17	18-20	21-24	18-24	25 or over
Male	35.11	10.43	8.84	9.74	6.20
Female	9.01	3.32	2.89	3.11	2.96
Total	30.11	8.85	7.44	8.23	5.57

Note: Average number of subsequent offences, given by product of number of appearances and average number of offences per appearance.

Fig. A4 Distribution of desistance age

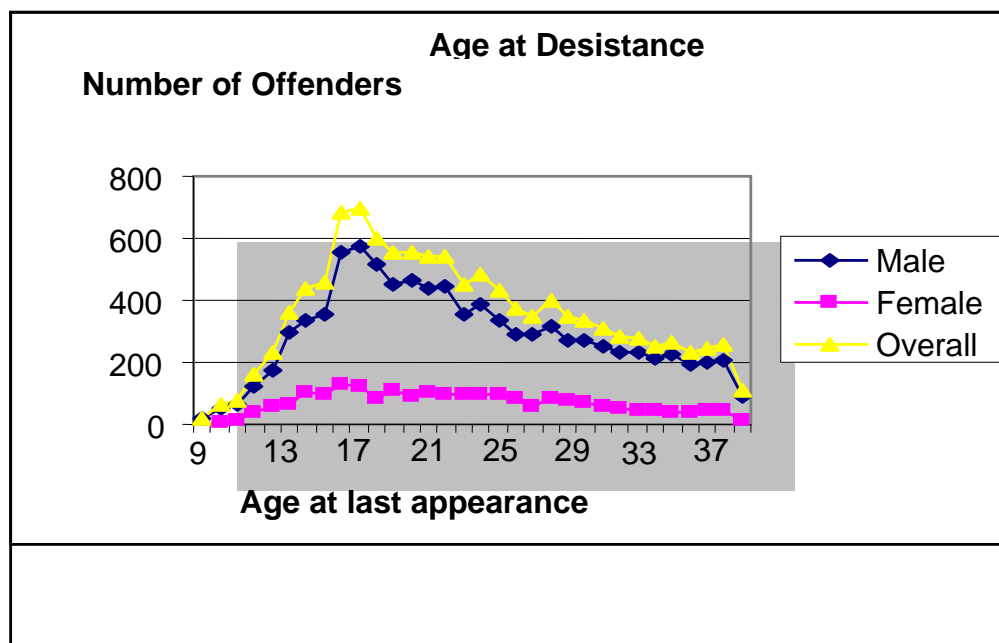


Table A19 Number of Appearances by the Last Appearance of Cohort 1953 by Gender

Gender:	Number of Appearances by the Last Appearance					Total Appearances
	up to 17	18-20	21-24	18-24	25 or more	
Male	897	1,030	1,276	2,306	6,531	9,734
Female	222	169	199	368	600	1,190
Total	1,119	1,199	1,475	2,674	7,131	10,924

Table A20 Number of Offences by the Last Appearance of Cohort 1953 by Gender

Gender:	Number of Offences Committed by the Last Appearance					Total Appearances
	up to 17	18-20	21-24	18-24	25 or more	
Male	3,897	4,475	5,544	10,019	28,375	42,291
Female	469	357	420	777	1,267	2,513
Total	4,366	4,832	5,964	10,796	29,642	44,804

Appendix

Estimation of the volume of offending by 18-25 age group

From the C&JS we took data on the proportion of individuals in each age band who self-reported offending. We then multiplied this proportion by the number of individuals in the age band who had been surveyed to get an estimate of the number of offenders in the sample of that age who had committed each type of offence. These numbers were summed across age bands to get an estimate of the number of offences of each type committed by the whole sample, as reported in Table 1 in the main text. We then computed the proportion of offences committed by all age groups that could be attributed to the 18-25 group, also reported as the final column of Table 1. This procedure assumes that the age distribution of the sample matches closely the age distribution of the population from which the sample was drawn.

Table A.1 Updated Estimates of the Costs of Crimes, 2003/04

Table 2.1: Estimated average costs of crimes against individuals and households in 2003/04 by crime type and by cost category

Offence category	Costs in anticipation of crime (£)		Costs as a consequence of crime (£)							Costs in response to crime (£)		Average Cost (£)
	Defensive Expenditure	Insurance Administration	Physical and Emotional Impact on Direct Victims	Value of Property Stolen	Property Damaged/ Destroyed	Property Recovered	Victim Services	Lost Output	Health Services	Criminal Justice System	2003 prices	
Violence against the person	1	1	5,472	-	-	-	9	1,648	1,347	1,928	10,407	
Homicide	145	229	860,380	-	-	-	2,102	451,110	770	144,239	1,458,975	
Wounding	1	1	4,554	-	-	-	7	1,166	1,348	1,775	8,852	
Serious wounding	1	1	4,554	-	-	-	7	1,166	1,348	14,345	21,422	
Other wounding	1	1	4,554	-	-	-	7	1,166	1,348	978	8,056	
Sexual offences	3	5	22,754	-	-	-	32	4,430	916	3,298	31,438	
Common assault	0	0	788	-	-	-	6	269	123	255	1,440	
Robbery	0	21	3,048	109	12	- 19	16	1,011	483	2,601	7,262	
Burglary in a dwelling	221	177	646	846	187	- 22	11	64	-	1,137	3,268	
Theft	59	52	192	281	69	- 36	1	10	-	217	844	
Theft - not vehicle	-	33	118	175	17	- 13	1	3	-	301	834	
Theft of vehicle	546	370	800	2,367	349	- 542	1	47	-	199	4,138	
Theft from vehicle	116	50	266	240	126	- 11	1	20	-	50	858	
Attempted vehicle theft	65	21	194	-	154	-	1	11	-	65	510	
Criminal damage	13	36	472	-	212	-	2	6	-	126	866	

From: Dubourg et al (2005)