

CENTRE FOR CRIME PREVENTION

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Research Note 3

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Sentencing for prolific criminals – the underuse of prison

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New data obtained from Centre for Crime Prevention reveals the number of offences prolific criminals commit while still avoiding prison, and the chance of criminals avoiding prison despite a string of previous offences.

173,000 repeat offenders avoided prison in 2012, of which 150,000 had been caught for at least two prior offences, 112,000 for at least five and 125,000 for at least ten.

Each time they face the courts, the typical repeat offender is very unlikely to go to prison. 70% of those charged with their tenth offence avoided prison – as did 56% who committed between 80 and 99 previous offences. Only those with previous offences numbering in the hundreds are more likely than not to go to prison.

The key findings of the report are:

- **28,997** offenders found guilty of a crime in 2012 avoided prison despite **25** or more previous offences.
- Each time a repeat offender is convicted, their chance of avoiding prison is at least **50%** - until they have committed at least **100** offences. To have less than a **40%** chance of avoiding prison they must commit at least **300** offences.
- Over **110,000** criminals caught for at least **6** offences are benefiting from soft sentencing:
 - **111,783** criminals found guilty of a crime in 2012 avoided prison despite **5** or more previous offences.
 - **88,967** criminals avoided prison despite **8** or more previous offences.
 - **55,683** criminals avoided prison despite **15** or more previous offences.
- The majority of the country's most prolific criminals avoided prison despite their previous offences often numbering in the triple figures.
 - **5,692** offenders found guilty of a crime in 2012 avoided prison despite **50** or more previous offences.

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- **1,474** avoided prison after **75** or more previous offences.
 - **523** avoided prison after **100** or more previous offences.
 - **198** avoided prison after **150** or more previous offences.
 - **65** avoided prison after **200** or more previous offences.
 - **26** avoided prison after **250** or more previous offences.
 - **8** avoided prison after **300** or more previous offences.
- Contrary to claims that women are treated more harshly by the courts, male criminals with either one or two previous convictions or cautions are **more than twice as likely** as women criminals to go to prison. Male criminals are also:
 - **93%** more likely to go to prison after **8** previous offences;
 - **34%** more likely to go to prison after **30 - 39** previous offences; and
 - **9%** more likely to go to prison after **50 - 59** previous offences.
 - The areas of the country with the highest percentage of criminals avoiding prison are:

	Criminal justice area	Percentage of all persons sentenced who avoided prison (2012)	Persons who avoided prison (2012)
1	Northumbria	96.0	46,647
2	Warwickshire	95.5	11,279
3	Lincolnshire	94.7	14,911
4	Dyfed-Powys	94.4	9,556
5	Wiltshire	94.2	8,762
6	Suffolk	94.1	14,100
7	Dorset	93.8	11,453
8	Surrey	93.8	16,500
9	Hertfordshire	93.6	20,983
10	Bedfordshire	93.4	13,940

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- The areas of the country with the greatest number of criminals avoiding prison are:

	Criminal justice area	Persons sentenced who avoided prison (2012)	Percentage who avoided prison (2012)
1	London	200,215	91.3
2	Greater Manchester	65,299	91.2
3	West Midlands	53,579	88.8
4	Northumbria	46,647	96.0
5	West Yorkshire	44,826	91.6
6	South Wales	37,753	91.6
7	Lancashire	37,558	92.7
8	Merseyside	35,166	92.5
9	Thames Valley	34,626	92.4
10	Hampshire	30,830	92.2

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Prolific offenders avoiding prison

The Centre for Crime Prevention has previously established that the number of serious, repeat offenders avoiding prison each year outnumbers the prison population.²

New data obtained from Centre for Crime Prevention now reveals the number of offences prolific criminals commit while still avoiding prison and the chance of criminals avoiding prison despite a string of previous offences.

In all, there were a quarter of a million cases of repeat offenders appearing before the courts, with 173,000 (69%) avoiding prison. Of those who avoided prison, 150,000 had been caught for at least two prior offences, 112,000 for at least five and 125,000 for at least ten.

Among the more prolific offenders, almost 56,000 who avoided prison had committed at least 15 previous offences. 40,000 had committed at least 20 and 29,000 had committed at least 25.

More than 10,000 avoided prison despite at least 40 previous offences and more than 3,000 avoided prison despite at least 60 previous offences. 1,500 had committed 75 or more previous offences and still avoided prison. More than 500 had committed 100 or more previous offences without going to prison, with 198 avoiding prison despite at least 150 previous offences. 65 avoided prison despite 200 or more previous offences, 26 avoided prison despite at least 250 previous offences and 8 people avoided prison despite 300 or more previous offences.

Table 1: Total number of repeat offenders and number who avoided a prison sentence (2012)¹

No. of previous convictions or cautions	No. of offenders	Non-custodial sentence
1+	249,911	173,085
2+	222,153	150,458
3+	202,245	134,491
4+	186,343	122,086
5+	172,804	111,783
6+	161,322	103,249
7+	151,022	95,803
8+	141,517	88,967
9+	132,920	82,921
10+	124,979	77,378
12+	110,773	67,596
15+	92,630	55,683
20+	68,491	40,368
25+	50,048	28,997
30+	36,225	20,798
40+	18,900	10,625
50+	10,291	5,692
60+	5,973	3,256
75+	2,732	1,474
80+	2,209	1,160
100+	1,064	523
120+	660	332
150+	359	198
200+	131	65
250+	65	26
300+	28	8

¹ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

² *The Sentencing Gap – punishment for serious, repeat offenders* (2013), Centre for Crime Prevention, at <http://www.centreforcrimeprevention.com/2013/01/new-centre-for-crime-prevention-report.html>

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What are prolific offenders' chances of avoiding prison?

Each time they face the courts, the typical repeat offender is very unlikely to go to prison. 82% of those caught for one previous offence escaped a custodial sentence, a number that declines slowly as offenders rack up more previous convictions. 70% of those charged with their tenth offence avoided prison - along with 59% for 30 to 39 previous offences and 56% for 80 to 99. Only in the triple figures – those with previous offences numbering in the hundreds - does the share avoiding prison fall below 50%.

Table 2: Percentage of repeat offenders avoiding a prison sentence³

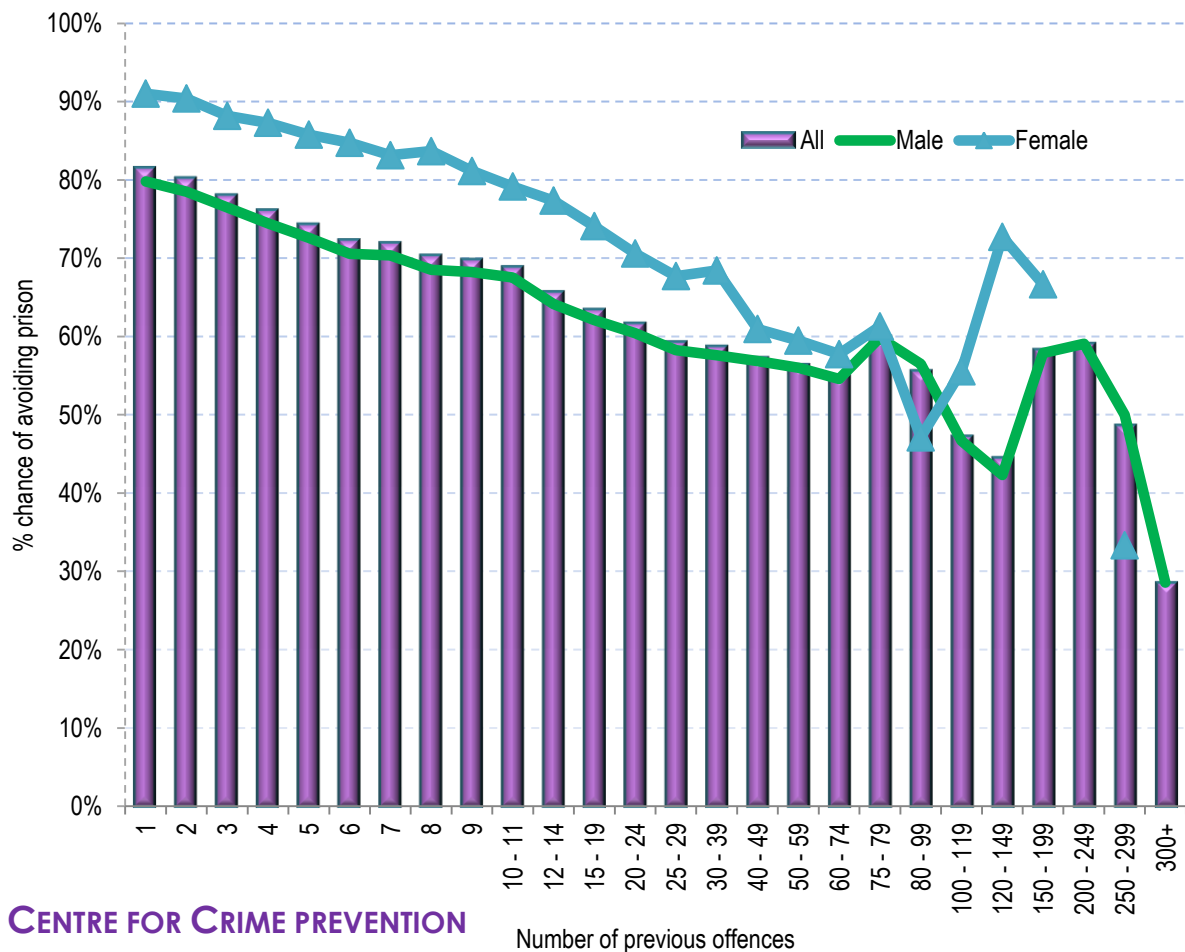
No. of previous convictions or cautions	No. of offenders	Non-custodial sentence	Non-custodial sentence (%)
1	27,758	22,627	82%
2	19,908	15,967	80%
3	15,902	12,405	78%
4	13,539	10,303	76%
5	11,482	8,534	74%
6	10,300	7,446	72%
7	9,505	6,836	72%
8	8,597	6,046	70%
9	7,941	5,543	70%
10 - 11	14,206	9,782	69%
12 - 14	18,143	11,913	66%
15 - 19	24,139	15,315	63%
20 - 24	18,443	11,371	62%
25 - 29	13,823	8,199	59%
30 - 39	17,325	10,173	59%
40 - 49	8,609	4,933	57%
50 - 59	4,318	2,436	56%
60 - 74	3,241	1,782	55%
75 - 79	523	314	60%
80 - 99	1,145	637	56%
100 - 119	404	191	47%
120 - 149	301	134	45%
150 - 199	228	133	58%
200 - 249	66	39	59%
250 - 299	37	18	49%
300+	28	8	29%
	249,911	173,085	

³ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

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Sentencing is determined by factors other than the number of previous convictions or cautions. Nonetheless, these figures do allow an estimate of the chance a repeat offender will avoid prison know nothing about them other than their sex and the number of previous offences. The graph below shows these probabilities for male, female and all offenders. They are enormously favourable odds for the repeat offender.

Graph 1: Repeat offenders' chances of avoiding a prison sentence⁴



All but the most prolific repeat offenders are likely to avoid prison each time they are charged with an offence. Noticeably, the male line is almost identical to the overall chances – reflecting the fact that 88% of repeat offenders were male.

⁴ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

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Sentencing for male and female prolific offenders

The above graph also shows that female repeat offenders are much more likely than males with the same number of previous offences to avoid prison.⁵ The table below shows the percentage of female and male repeat offenders who received a prison sentence.

With 9% of females and 20% of males going to prison when caught for a second offence, male second-time offenders are 125% more likely to receive a custodial sentence.

Men with eight previous convictions are 93% more likely to receive a custodial sentence.

Men are 34% more likely to go to prison after being caught for 30 - 39 previous offences; and 9% more likely to go to prison after being caught for 50 - 59 previous offences.

On their own these figures are far from proof of sexism against men. Male repeat offenders with the same number of previous offences may simply be much more likely to commit more serious offences. But they do tend to undermine claims that women criminals are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system - for example,

Table 3: Percentage of female and male repeat offenders receiving a custodial sentence⁶

No. of previous convictions or cautions	% (female)	% (male)	% greater likelihood of a male receiving a prison sentence than a female
1	9%	20%	125%
2	10%	22%	124%
3	12%	24%	99%
4	13%	26%	101%
5	14%	27%	93%
6	15%	29%	93%
7	17%	30%	76%
8	16%	31%	93%
9	19%	32%	68%
10 - 11	21%	32%	56%
12 - 14	23%	36%	58%
15 - 19	26%	38%	46%
20 - 24	29%	40%	35%
25 - 29	32%	42%	29%
30 - 39	32%	42%	34%
40 - 49	39%	43%	10%
50 - 59	41%	44%	9%
60 - 74	42%	45%	8%
75 - 79	39%	40%	4%
80 - 99	53%	44%	-18%
100 - 119	44%	53%	20%
120 - 149	27%	58%	112%
150 - 199	33%	42%	26%
200 - 249	N/A	41%	N/A
250 - 299	67%	50%	-25%
300+	N/A	71%	N/A

⁵ This is true for every number of previous offences, with the exceptions of women with 80-100 and 250-299 offences. This may reflect a small sample size. 104 women had committed 80-100 previous offences, of which 49 avoided prison. 3 women committed 250-299 previous offences and 1 of them avoided prison. See Tables 6 & 7 in the Appendix for the full numbers.

⁶ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

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the economist and former prisoner Vicky Pryce's suggestion that the criminal justice and prison system "does a great disservice to British women"⁷, with many women prisoners "given custodial sentences for offences that a man may have been given a suspended sentence or a caution for instead".⁸

In fact, female repeat offenders are even more likely to avoid prison. This is certainly a disservice – to women and men alike who are victims of crimes committed by repeat offenders. The proper response to the figures is use custodial sentences for all prolific criminals of both sexes, protecting male and female potential victims alike.

Not all crime is reported or solved – estimating the actual number of previous offences

Dramatic as they are, all the figures above are certainly underestimates of the problem – not all crime is reported, and not all reported crime is solved.

Of the 8.9 million crimes estimated by the Crime Survey for England and Wales in 2012⁹, only 3.7 million (41%) were reported to the police.¹⁰ Of crimes reported to police in 2012/13, 29% resulted in an offender being found guilty (a typical annual figure).¹¹

This means only 12% of all crimes appear as previous offences or convictions – implying that, for example, the 103,249 criminals who avoided prison despite 6 or more previous convictions had committed an estimated 50 or more previous offences, and that the 28,997 criminals who avoided prison despite 25 or more previous convictions had committed an estimated 209 or more previous offences.

Table 4 below estimates the number of actual offences committed.

⁷ *Prisonomics: Behind bars in Britain's failing prison (2013)*, Vicky Pryce, Biteback, Kindle Location 3704. For the author's review of Pryce's book, see <http://www.centreforcrimeprevention.com/2013/12/vicky-pryce-and-necessity-of-tougher.html#more>

⁸ *Ibid*, Kindle Location 277

⁹ *Bulletin Tables – Crime in England and Wales, Year Ending December 2012*, Table A1 Trends in CSEW incidents of Trends in CSEW incidents of crime from 1981 to year ending December 2012, with percentage change and statistical significance of change, Office for National Statistics, 25 April 2013, at <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/crime-stats/crime-statistics/period-ending-december-2012/rft-crime-statistics--bulletin-tables.xls>

¹⁰ *Bulletin Tables – Crime in England and Wales, Year Ending December 2012*, Table A4 Police recorded crime by offence, 2002/03 to 2011/12 and percentage change between the year ending December 2011 and year ending December 2012, Office for National Statistics, 25 April 2013, at <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/crime-stats/crime-statistics/period-ending-december-2012/rft-crime-statistics--bulletin-tables.xls>

¹¹ *Crimes detected in England and Wales 2012/13: Data tables*, 'Table 2a, Offences detected by offence group and method, 2012/13', Ministry of Justice, 18 July 2013, at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/223786/hosb0213-tabs ods

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Table 4: Estimated number of actual offences of prolific offenders (2012)¹²

No. of previous convictions or cautions	Estimated number of actual previous offences	No. of offenders	No. receiving a non-custodial sentence
1+	8+	249,911	173,085
2+	17+	222,153	150,458
3+	25+	202,245	134,491
4+	33+	186,343	122,086
5+	42+	172,804	111,783
6+	50+	161,322	103,249
7+	58+	151,022	95,803
8+	67+	141,517	88,967
9+	75+	132,920	82,921
10+	84+	124,979	77,378
12+	100+	110,773	67,596
15+	125+	92,630	55,683
20+	167+	68,491	40,368
25+	209+	50,048	28,997
30+	251+	36,225	20,798
40+	334+	18,900	10,625
50+	418+	10,291	5,692
60+	501+	5,973	3,256
75+	627+	2,732	1,474
80+	668+	2,209	1,160
100+	835+	1,064	523
120+	1,002+	660	332
150+	1,253+	359	198
200+	1,671+	131	65
250+	2,088+	65	26
300+	2,506+	28	8

¹² Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

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Recommendations

Criminals with a proven track record of offending and reoffending should not be given the benefit of the doubt time and again. Community punishments, fines and suspended sentences should be reserved for first time, minor offenders, not prolific criminals. Criminal justice systems from California and New Zealand have prevented and deterred crime through 'three strikes and you're out rules' – but in Britain, we lack even '300 strikes and you're out'.

1. The government should consider an automatic minimum sentence of four years for anyone convicted after a certain number of previous offences

In practice, this would mean criminals serving at least a two year sentence. This would provide absolute protection for the public for the two-year duration – and criminals who serve at least two years have lower re-offending rates than criminals on short prison sentences or community sentences.¹³

It is impossible to incarcerate many more repeat and prolific offenders merely through sending even fewer first-time offenders to prison. The latest figures show that only 10% of first-time offenders go to prison as it is¹⁴ (even though 12% of all first-time offenders were found guilty of violent or sexual crimes).¹⁵

This 10% of first-time offenders who did go to prison is just 7,323 criminals - less than 9% of prisoners - while more than 47% of prisoners had at least 15 previous convictions or cautions.¹⁶

The problem is there are far more repeat offenders in England and Wales than prison places.¹⁷ This makes it mathematically impossible for judges to protect the public. More prison places is the only way to fill this gap.

¹³ The unrivalled reoffending rates for longer prison sentences is in spite of those receiving tougher sentences usually being the most hardened criminals. For comparative reoffending rates, see *The failure of revolving door community sentencing*, Centre for Crime Prevention, at <http://www.centreforcrimeprevention.com/2013/02/new-report-reveals-failure-of-revolving.html>

¹⁴ *Criminal Justice Statistics Quarterly – June 2013*, Offending histories tables – June 2013, 'Table Q7.5 - Offenders sentenced for indictable offences, by previous criminal history and sentence received, 12 months ending June 2003 to 12 months ending June 2013', Ministry of Justice, 21 November 2013, at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/260145/offending-histories-tables-0613.xls

¹⁵ 8,409 (12%) of the 72,502 first time offenders were found guilty of violence against the person, robbery or sexual offences. *Criminal Justice Statistics Quarterly – June 2013*, Offending histories tables – June 2013, 'Table Q7(i) - Offenders sentenced by offence group and previous criminal history, 12 months ending June 2003 to 12 months ending June 2013', Ministry of Justice, 21 November 2013, at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/260145/offending-histories-tables-0613.xls

¹⁶ *Criminal Justice Statistics Quarterly – June 2013*, Offending histories tables – June 2013, 'Table Q7.5 - Offenders sentenced for indictable offences, by previous criminal history and sentence received, 12 months ending June 2003 to 12 months ending June 2013', Ministry of Justice, 21 November 2013, at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/260145/offending-histories-tables-0613.xls

¹⁷ See also *The Sentencing Gap – punishment for serious, repeat offenders* (2013), Centre for Crime Prevention, at <http://www.centreforcrimeprevention.com/2013/01/new-centre-for-crime-prevention-report.html>

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2. The government should build the prison capacity necessary to protect the public from prolific offenders

Estimates of the cost of necessary additional prison capacity vary, but even the highest estimates are much lower than the cost of crime, which the former Treasury economist Mike Denham estimates at £60 to £80 billion per annum.

Denham argues that as the Home Office estimates approximately 100,000 of the most hardcore, repeat offenders commit half of all crimes, with only 20% of them in prison at any one time, building enough capacity for the remaining 80,000 would save the economy between £30 billion and £40 billion per annum. The cost of this and of employing the necessary staff would be £3.6 billion per annum.¹⁸ The crime expert David Green argues that the cost of additional prison places is lower than the savings to the NHS and courts alone of the crime thereby prevented.¹⁹

Even these favourable estimates assume the alternative to prison is spending nothing, but of course other penalties also require expenditure to be enforced. Accounting for how much money can be saved by avoiding the waste of taxpayers' money on failing community sentences improves the figure further.²⁰ The economist Vicky Pryce estimates that the Ministry of Justice could save £100 million a year for every 10,000 prisoners serving a six month sentence that it diverts to community sentences.²¹ This suggests diverting an extra 80,000 repeat offenders from community sentences to at least some prison time could cost as little as £800 million extra per annum – or 0.11% of UK public spending (£720 billion²²).

¹⁸ *Burning Our Money (2013)*, Mike Denham, Chapter 9: Criminal Injustice, Biteback, Kindle Location 2626

¹⁹ 'The Potential Consequences of Kenneth Clarke's Crime Policy', David Green, Civitas, 30 June 2010, at <http://www.civitas.org.uk/press/pressCrimeJune2010.htm>

²⁰ For evidence of the failure of community sentences, see *The failure of revolving door community sentencing*, Centre for Crime Prevention, at <http://www.centreforcrimeprevention.com/2013/02/new-report-reveals-failure-of-revolving.html> and also 'Ken Clarke is wrong about prison – just ask his department', Alasdair Palmer, Daily Telegraph, 3 July 2010, at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/7870440/Ken-Clarke-is-wrong-about-prison-just-ask-his-department.html>

²¹ *Prisonomics: Behind bars in Britain's failing prison (2013)*, Vicky Pryce, Biteback, Kindle Locations 3100 - 3109

²² Budget 2013, HM Treasury, March 2013, at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/221885/budget2013_complete.pdf, p.6

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Appendix

Table 5: Criminals who avoid prison by police force area²³

Criminal justice area	Percentage of all persons sentenced who avoided prison (2012)	Persons who avoided prison (2012)
Northumbria	96.0	46,647
Warwickshire	95.5	11,279
Lincolnshire	94.7	14,911
Dyfed-Powys	94.4	9,556
Wiltshire	94.2	8,762
Suffolk	94.1	14,100
Dorset	93.8	11,453
Surrey	93.8	16,500
Hertfordshire	93.6	20,983
Bedfordshire	93.4	13,940
North Yorkshire	93.2	12,931
Norfolk	93.0	15,220
Sussex	92.7	24,040
Lancashire	92.7	37,558
Cleveland	92.6	15,701
Merseyside	92.5	35,166
Devon and Cornwall	92.5	21,265
Thames Valley	92.4	34,626
Gwent	92.4	14,284
Kent	92.3	29,909
West Mercia	92.3	18,708
Hampshire	92.2	30,830
Durham	92.2	11,571
Essex	92.1	26,917
Staffordshire	92.1	21,526
Humberside	92.1	22,256
Leicestershire	92.1	17,653
Cumbria	92.1	10,478
Avon and Somerset	91.7	26,917
West Yorkshire	91.6	44,826
South Wales	91.6	37,753
Gloucestershire	91.5	7,030
Cambridgeshire	91.5	13,918
South Yorkshire	91.3	28,242
London	91.3	200,215
Greater Manchester	91.2	65,299
Nottinghamshire	91.1	23,753
Cheshire	90.9	17,349
North Wales	89.7	12,195
West Midlands	88.8	53,579
Derbyshire	88.7	14,917
Northamptonshire	88.0	10,442

²³ Data taken from *Criminal Justice Statistics - Quarterly December 2012 - sentencing*, 'Table A5.50 Persons sentenced by criminal justice area, percentage sentenced to immediate custody and average custodial sentence length, 2002 to 2012', Ministry of Justice, at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/203849/5-sentencing-tables-dec12.xls

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Table 6: Total number of repeat offenders and number who avoided a prison sentence bracketed by number of offences - All offenders, Female and Male (2012)²⁴

No. of previous convictions or cautions	No. of offenders	Custody	Non-custody	Custody (female)	Non-custody (female)	Custody (male)	Non-custody (male)
1	27,758	5,131	22,627	380	3,856	4,751	18,771
2	19,908	3,941	15,967	276	2,602	3,665	13,365
3	15,902	3,497	12,405	245	1,829	3,252	10,576
4	13,539	3,236	10,303	221	1,520	3,015	8,783
5	11,482	2,948	8,534	212	1,280	2,736	7,254
6	10,300	2,854	7,446	193	1,072	2,661	6,374
7	9,505	2,669	6,836	194	958	2,475	5,878
8	8,597	2,551	6,046	168	861	2,383	5,185
9	7,941	2,398	5,543	182	783	2,216	4,760
10 - 11	14,206	4,424	9,782	340	1,292	4,084	8,490
12 - 14	18,143	6,230	11,913	474	1,620	5,756	10,293
15 - 19	24,139	8,824	15,315	698	1,997	8,126	13,318
20 - 24	18,443	7,072	11,371	649	1,559	6,423	9,812
25 - 29	13,823	5,624	8,199	501	1,051	5,123	7,148
30 - 39	17,325	7,152	10,173	559	1,212	6,593	8,961
40 - 49	8,609	3,676	4,933	349	545	3,327	4,388
50 - 59	4,318	1,882	2,436	203	298	1,679	2,138
60 - 74	3,241	1,459	1,782	180	246	1,279	1,536
75 - 79	523	209	314	24	38	185	276
80 - 99	1,145	508	637	55	49	453	588
100 - 119	404	213	191	12	15	201	176
120 - 149	301	167	134	6	16	161	118
150 - 199	228	95	133	4	8	91	125
200 - 249	66	27	39	0	0	27	39
250 - 299	37	19	18	2	1	17	17
300+	28	20	8	0	0	20	8
	249,911	76,826	173,085	6,127	24,708	70,699	148,377

²⁴ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

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Table 7: Total number of repeat offenders and number who avoided a prison sentence - All offenders, Female and Male (2012)²⁵

No. of previous convictions or cautions	No. of offenders	Custody	Non-custody	Custody (female)	Non-custody (female)	Custody (male)	Non-custody (male)
1+	249,911	76,826	173,085	6,127	24,708	70,699	148,377
2+	222,153	71,695	150,458	5,747	20,852	65,948	129,606
3+	202,245	67,754	134,491	5,471	18,250	62,283	116,241
4+	186,343	64,257	122,086	5,226	16,421	59,031	105,665
5+	172,804	61,021	111,783	5,005	14,901	56,016	96,882
6+	161,322	58,073	103,249	4,793	13,621	53,280	89,628
7+	151,022	55,219	95,803	4,600	12,549	50,619	83,254
8+	141,517	52,550	88,967	4,406	11,591	48,144	77,376
9+	132,920	49,999	82,921	4,238	10,730	45,761	72,191
10+	124,979	47,601	77,378	4,056	9,947	43,545	67,431
12+	110,773	43,177	67,596	3,716	8,655	39,461	58,941
15+	92,630	36,947	55,683	3,242	7,035	33,705	48,648
20+	68,491	28,123	40,368	2,544	5,038	25,579	35,330
25+	50,048	21,051	28,997	1,895	3,479	19,156	25,518
30+	36,225	15,427	20,798	1,394	2,428	14,033	18,370
40+	18,900	8,275	10,625	835	1,216	7,440	9,409
50+	10,291	4,599	5,692	486	671	4,113	5,021
60+	5,973	2,717	3,256	283	373	2,434	2,883
75+	2,732	1,258	1,474	103	127	1,155	1,347
80+	2,209	1,049	1,160	79	89	970	1,071
100+	1,064	541	523	24	40	517	483
120+	660	328	332	12	25	316	307
150+	359	161	198	6	9	155	189
200+	131	66	65	2	1	64	64
250+	65	39	26	2	1	37	25
300+	28	20	8	0	0	20	8

²⁵ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013

CENTRE FOR CRIME PREVENTION

Table 8: Estimated number of actual previous offences and percentage of repeat offenders avoiding a prison sentence²⁶

No. of previous convictions or cautions	Estimated number of actual previous offences	No. of offenders	Non-custodial sentence	Non-custodial sentence (%)
1	8	27,758	22,627	82%
2	17	19,908	15,967	80%
3	25	15,902	12,405	78%
4	33	13,539	10,303	76%
5	42	11,482	8,534	74%
6	50	10,300	7,446	72%
7	58	9,505	6,836	72%
8	67	8,597	6,046	70%
9	75	7,941	5,543	70%
10 - 11	84	14,206	9,782	69%
12 - 14	100	18,143	11,913	66%
15 - 19	125	24,139	15,315	63%
20 - 24	167	18,443	11,371	62%
25 - 29	209	13,823	8,199	59%
30 - 39	251	17,325	10,173	59%
40 - 49	334	8,609	4,933	57%
50 - 59	418	4,318	2,436	56%
60 - 74	501	3,241	1,782	55%
75 - 79	627	523	314	60%
80 - 99	668	1,145	637	56%
100 - 119	835	404	191	47%
120 - 149	1,002	301	134	45%
150 - 199	1,253	228	133	58%
200 - 249	1,671	66	39	59%
250 - 299	2,088	37	18	49%
300+	2,506	28	8	29%
		249,911	173,085	

²⁶ Data taken from Freedom of Information request 86701 to the Ministry of Justice, 6 December 2013