



Changes in crime recording practices

Standard Note: SN/SG/2607
Last updated: 31 October 2008
Author: Gavin Berman
Social and General Statistics

The purpose of this note is to explain the effect on the number of crimes recorded by the police of changes in recording practices – most notably the 1998 change to the counting and coverage rules and the 2002 implementation of the National Crime Recording Standard.

In addition this note summarises recommendations made in the two reviews of crime statistics published in 2006. A clarification of the counting rules regarding GBH was issued in April 2008 and this is also discussed.

More detailed information is available in the following reports:

- Recorded Crime Statistics, England and Wales, April 1998 to March 1999, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 18/99
- National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS): an analysis of the impact on recorded crime, Companion Volume to *Crime in England and Wales 2002/2003*

Part One: The national picture, Home Office On-line Report 31/03

Part Two: Impact on individual police forces, Home Office On-line Report 32/03

- Crime Statistics: An Independent Review, Carried out for the Secretary of State for the Home Department, November 2006.
- Crime Statistics: User Perspectives, Statistics Commission, September 2006
- Crime in England and Wales: Quarterly Update to June 2008 Statistical explanatory note on the principles for police recording of Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH)

Contents

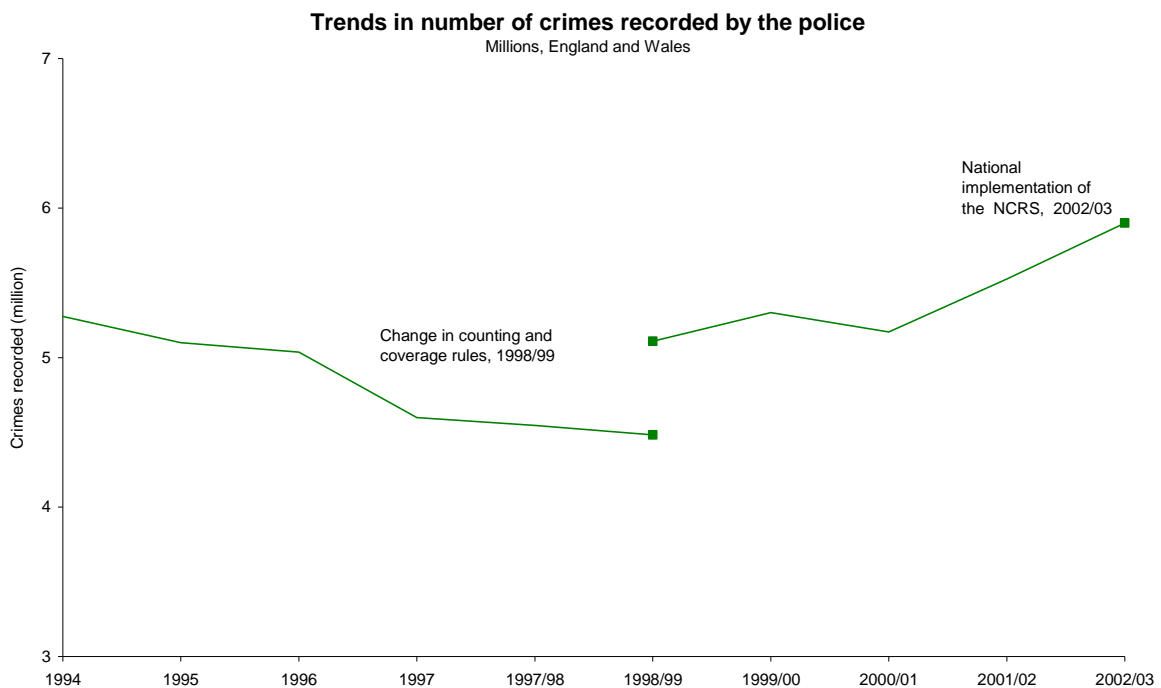
A.	Introduction	3
B.	The 1998 counting rule and coverage revisions	5
	1. Why change and what changed?	5
	2. Measuring the effect of change	5
C.	The National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS)	7
	1. The need for a recording standard	7
	2. The aims of the NCRS	7
	3. Estimating the effect of NCRS implementation	8
D.	Independent reviews of crime statistics	11
E.	April 2008 counting rules clarification	13

A. Introduction

Police recorded crime statistics are compiled using rules for coverage, classification and counting issued by the Home Office. Such rules and police recording practices are periodically reviewed to ensure consistency and to determine whether updates are necessary.

Changes to counting rules and coverage were recommended in a 1991 review, but were rejected by the then Conservative Government. This review was revisited by the new Labour administration after the 1997 General Election resulting in significant changes to the recorded crime counting rules and coverage. These changes took effect from 1 April 1998 and were generally accepted by both the media and the Opposition. From April 2002, the 43 police forces in England and Wales implemented the National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS).

The chart below shows the trends in the total number of crimes recorded by the police over this period of change in police crime recording practices.



For some years now members of the public have been sceptical as to whether the picture of crime painted by the official statistics accurately represents what they see and are told about the incidence of crime.

In January 2006 the then Home Secretary, Rt. Hon Charles Clarke MP, commissioned a cross-party review of crime statistics compilation and publication, in an attempt to increase public understanding of and trust in crime statistics.

The review, chaired by Professor Adrian Smith, was carried out by an independent group of opposition party nominees, leading statisticians and media representatives. *Crime Statistics: An Independent Review*¹ was published in November 2006. The Statistics Commission published a separate independent review in September 2006, *Crime Statistics: User Perspectives*.²

One of the issues raised by the reviews centred on the management of changes to statistical series.

Part of the recent problem with the credibility of the crime statistics has been a consequence of introducing significant changes first in the counting rules and then in the methodology of police recording practices (the NCRS). The consequences were unintended and, certainly at the time, there were good reasons for making both these changes. Regular change, particularly in police recorded crime, is to some extent inevitable. New legislation necessarily means adding to the counting rules and such changes are ongoing. However, when significant changes are made, a period of relative stability should be planned while they are absorbed. The problem is not change as such but whether required changes are well managed.³

This was again apparent when the quarterly crime statistics for the period to June 2008, released on 23 October 2008, showed a 22% increase in the number of 'most serious violence' offences recorded by the police. The Home Office stated that the majority of the increase was due to a clarification of the counting rules regarding GBH with intent, rather than a large increase in the number of offences recorded. This was questioned by many, including the Conservative Party spokesman.

The Shadow Home Secretary stressed that Labour's spin that violent crime is decreasing has been "fatally undermined" by figures that show a 22% increase in the most serious violent crime and a 28% increase in attempted murders with a knife.⁴

In the light of the concerns expressed in the media regarding this apparent increase in serious violent crime the UK Statistics Authority announced an extension to the scope of its previously announced report on barriers to trust in relation to crime statistics.

The Authority will now ask its Monitoring and Assessment Team to broaden the scope of that review to consider the lessons to be learned from the process underlying changes to recording practices and the associated media comment.⁵

The UK Statistics Authority is expected to publish this report before the end of March 2009.

¹ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs06/crime-statistics-independent-review-06.pdf>

² http://www.statscom.org.uk/uploads/files/reports/Crime_Statistics_Review-final.pdf

³ Para 2.60, *Crime Statistics: User Perspectives*, Statistics Commission

⁴ *Violent crime* increasing despite Labour spin, Conservative Party news release, October 23 2008

⁵ Crime statistics: recording serious crimes of violence, UK Statistics Authority, 29 October 2008

B. The 1998 counting rule and coverage revisions

1. Why change and what changed?

Before 1998 the counting rules were not sufficiently detailed and there was a lack of consistency in the general rules. There was little distinction between similar types of crimes and few examples available to illustrate how the rules should be implemented. This could result in the same offence being recorded as a different crime within and between police forces. Under the previous rules there was no policy on new and changing offence types which may have been introduced through new legislation.

From 1 April 1998 detailed rules were provided for each offence which contained greater guidance on crime recording. The coverage was also increased to include all indictable and triable-either-way offences, together with some very closely linked summary offences. For example, drug possession was included in the recorded crime figures for the first time in 1998.

Under the new counting rules, a greater emphasis was placed on recording one crime per victim. This was expected to lead to a large increase in the number of fraud and criminal damage crimes recorded by the police.

- Previously, if a credit card was stolen and used in five different shops, only one crime would be recorded. After the revision, five separate crimes would be recorded since there were five separate victims.
- Previously minor criminal damage (valued at £20 or under) was not counted for detection purposes and it is unlikely that they would have been recorded. The revised rules stated that all criminal damage, irrespective of value, should be recorded.

2. Measuring the effect of change

The Home Office hoped that each police force in England and Wales would provide two separate counts of recorded crime in 1998/99 under both the old and new rules (referred to as double counting). Eighteen police force areas undertook this preferred Home Office method. The remaining twenty-five police forces undertook an exercise designed by the Home Office to sample a proportion of the offences that forces thought would be most affected by the rule change. This sampling exercise was favoured by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) as they believed double counting would be too time consuming.

Table 1 shows that the adoption of the new rules had a significant effect on the number of crimes recorded in England and Wales. The number of crimes recorded under the new rules was 14% higher than the number recorded under the old rules.

The new rules had different effects on each offence group. Drug offences, violence against the person, and fraud and forgery offences were most affected by the change in counting and coverage rules. The effect on the number of criminal damage offences recorded was not as large as may have been expected considering the increase in coverage.

Table 1: Estimated national effect of April 1998 rule changes

Offence group	Effect of new rules by offence group
Violence against the person	118%
Sexual offences	4%
Robbery	1%
Burglary	0.1%
All theft & handling (inc. theft of and from vehicles)	3% 1%
Fraud and forgery	61%
Criminal damage	5%
Drug offences	538%
Other offences	52%
All offences	14%

Source: Home Office Statistical Bulletin 18/99

As well as affecting each offence group differently, the new rules had varying effects on each police force. Although recorded crimes in each force were higher under the new rules the magnitude of the effect varied. In some areas there was a limited effect (Cleveland 5%, Hertfordshire 7% & South Yorkshire 7%) while there was a much greater effect in other areas (Dyfed Powys 38%, Devon and Cornwall 25% & Gwent 24%).⁶ The reason for such wide variation is the differing composition of the offence groups within each police force area, together with differing interpretations of the previous rules.

Statistics for 1998/99 are available under both the old and new rule systems at offence level nationally, but only total crime figures are available for each police force area. Offence level data is only available for those eighteen forces that double counted.⁷ Where old and new rule data is available, it is possible to provide an estimated time series that overlaps 1998/99, although it should be noted that up to and including 1997 recorded crime statistics were counted by calendar rather than financial year.

⁶ Table A2, *Recorded Crime Statistics, Home Office Statistical Bulletin, 18/99*

⁷ Those forces that 'double counted' in 1998/99 are Avon & Somerset, Bedfordshire, Cheshire, Cleveland, Dorset, Essex, Greater Manchester, Hampshire, Humberside, City of London, Metropolitan, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, South Yorkshire, Warwickshire, West Yorkshire, North Wales and South Wales.

C. The National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS)

1. The need for a recording standard

There has been a wealth of literature published over the last 20 years that has scrutinised the process by which police forces record crimes. A summary of some major conclusions are reproduced over the page:⁸

- Police forces tend to hold separate records of incidents (allegations of crimes or calls for service from the public) from their records of crimes.
- There is considerable variation in the systems (administrative, computer, geographical, personnel etc.) which different police forces employ to record both incidents and crime.
- The process of deciding whether to record an incident as a crime is complex. There are a number of factors external to police forces that can impact on the likelihood of an incident being recorded as a crime. These include the type of offence, who is reporting it and the means of reporting it.
- Different forces require different standards of proof before recording an incident as a crime. Some forces adopted a *prima facie* approach, whereby all incidents that were reported by an alleged victim are recorded as a crime. Other forces would only record the crime once an investigation into evidence had taken place. In reality, most forces would operate somewhere between these two extremes.

Because of such wide variation in recording practices, it has been difficult to make comparisons between police forces and to provide a national estimate of the level of crime. In an attempt to eliminate this variation, the Home Office introduced the National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS) to be implemented nationwide from April 2002.

2. The aims of the NCRS

The NCRS provides police forces with guidance on the initial decision to record an incident as a crime. It aims to promote greater consistency between police forces in the recording of crime and to take a more victim orientated approach to crime recording (that is towards *prima facie* rather than evidential recording).

Under the NCRS an incident will be recorded as a crime unless there is credible evidence to the contrary. Incidents reported for 'victimless crimes' will not be recorded as crimes under the NCRS.

The NCRS should harmonise police forces' approach to crime recording as it brings about more consistency in the systems used to record crime when compared to the recent past. This will enable more robust comparisons between police forces.

As the NCRS is seen as a shift towards a more *prima facie* crime recording system it should supply a better measure of the service demanded of the police. It is hoped that this will

⁸ NCRS: *an analysis of the impact on recorded crime, Companion volume to Crime in England and Wales 2002/03, Part One: The national picture, Home Office Online report 31/03, July 2003*

improve confidence in recorded crime statistics among the general public, academics and the media. This is expected to take place *'by giving victims the assurance that the potential crimes are being reported by them to the police will be properly recorded. More consistent and complete data will also facilitate the effective analysis of crime to support evidence-led policing interventions'*.⁹

3. Estimating the effect of NCRS implementation

The NCRS effect on police crime recording has been calculated at police force level enabling the generation of a national estimate. The effect was derived by comparing trends in the ratio of crime related incidents reported by the public to the police, and the number of crimes recorded by the police.

A brief justification of the Home Office methodology is given below.¹⁰

Crime related incidents have been taken as the most reliable measure of the 'real' changes in crime, on the assumption that the propensity of the public to report crimes should remain reasonably constant over time. Any change in the ratio of crimes to crime-related incidents has been assumed to signify a NCRS effect.

This method has not been able to estimate the impact of the NCRS in every force, particularly where changes to the incident count, either as a result of implementing the NCRS or other reasons, made the measure of incidents unstable over the monitoring period. However, the methodology has enabled the Home Office to make national estimates for the impact of the NCRS and has helped interpret the impact in over half [25] of the 43 forces in England and Wales. In other forces, a more traditional analysis of crime trends or other alternative methods have had to be adopted [such as internal force analysis].

It has only been possible to calculate the NCRS impact within certain crime groups as incident information at police force level is not available for all categories. The groups include violence against the person, burglary from a dwelling, robbery, theft and total crime.

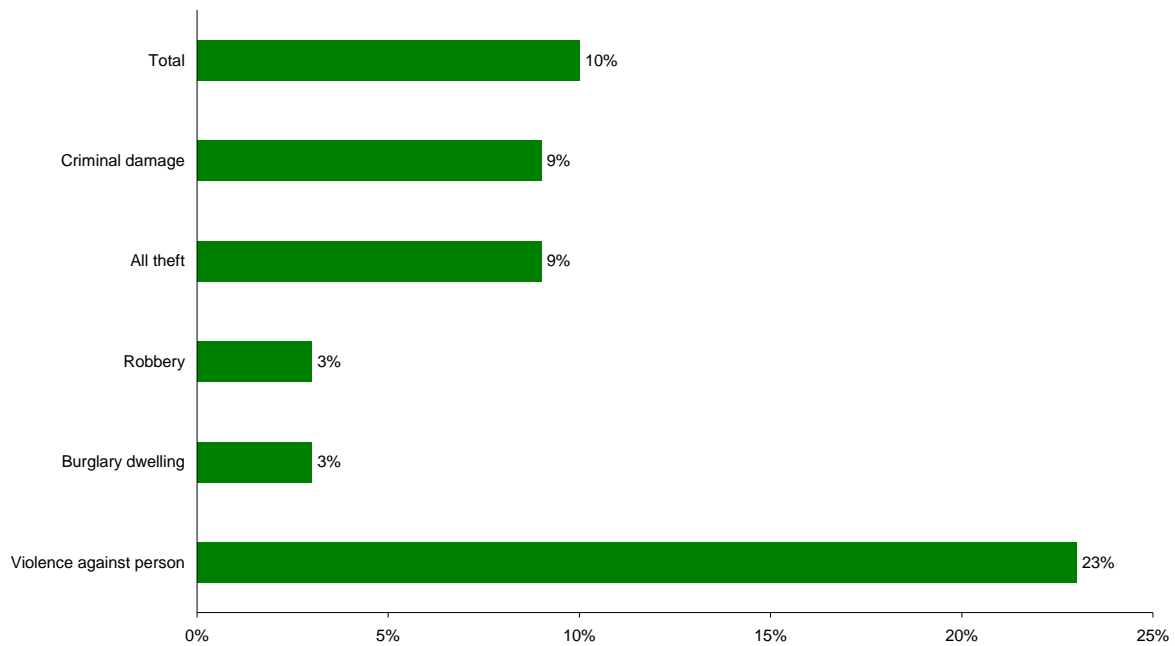
The chart below shows the national NCRS impact for selected offence groups. Nationally, the NCRS impact on total crime has been 10%. This means that, in 2002/03, total recorded crimes were 10% higher than they would have been under pre-NCRS recording.

The violence against the person grouping demonstrated the largest NCRS effect, with the number of such offences almost a quarter higher than they would have been under pre-NCRS recording. The NCRS effect for burglary and robbery offences is much smaller, estimated to be around 3%.

⁹ *NCRS: an analysis of the impact on recorded crime, Companion volume to Crime in England and Wales 2002/03, Part One: the national picture, Home Office Online report 31/03, July 2003*

¹⁰ *NCRS: an analysis of the impact on recorded crime, Companion volume to Crime in England and Wales 2002/03, Part Two: Impact on individual police forces, Home Office Online report 32/03, July 2003*

National estimates of the NCRS impact for 2002/03 by offence



We can use the NCRS effect to adjust the latest recorded crime figures to estimate the real change in recorded crime. Table 2 shows the percentage change in the number of crimes recorded and the adjusted percentage change for those offence groups with an NCRS estimated effect.

Table 2: Recent trends in recorded crime - unadjusted and NCRS adjusted figures

	% change between 01/02 and 02/03	Estimated NCRS effect	% change adjusted for NCRS effect
Violence against the person	28%	23%	5%
Robbery	-11%	3%	-14%
<i>Total Violent Crime</i> ¹	22%	20%	2%
Burglary (dwelling)	2%	3%	-1%
Burglary (non-dwelling)	1%	2%	-1%
<i>Total burglary</i>	1%	2%	-1%
Theft of a vehicle	-3%	4%	-7%
Theft from a vehicle	1%	11%	-10%
<i>Theft of or from a vehicle</i>	-1%	8%	-9%
<i>Total theft and handling stolen goods</i>	4%	8%	-4%
<i>Total criminal damage</i>	4%	8%	-4%
Total recorded crime	7%	10%	-3%

Note: (1) Violent crime includes the offences of violence against the person, robbery and sexual offences. An adjustment to the number of sexual offences has not been included owing to difficulties in calculating the NCRS effect

(2) All theft includes other offences as well as vehicle theft (the only single offence group for which an NCRS effect was estimated and an adjusted figure was calculated)

(3) The figures for total recorded crime include all notifiable offences - not just those listed in the table

Source: Table 3.04, Crime in England and Wales 2002/03, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 07/03, July 2003

Although the recorded crime figures suggest that total recorded crime increased by 7% over the year to April 2003, when adjusted for the effect of NCRS implementation, recorded crime is estimated to have fallen by 3%. In only one of the offence groups (violence against the person) did the number of crimes still remain higher once the NCRS adjustment is included.

Estimates of the NCRS effect within each police force are provided in the attached table 3. The figures are shown for those 25 forces whose data was included in the national estimate. Forces were not included or excluded owing to the quality of their crime recording, but are included on the basis that the relationship between incidents and recorded crimes seemed to indicate an NCRS effect. Full details of the estimated NCRS effect for each of the 43 police forces are provided in Part 2 of the Home Office companion volume.

These figures use the national methodology to calculate estimates of the NCRS effect. The estimates are not intended to provide a precise adjustment to the crime figures, but to indicate the broad impact of NCRS implementation.

D. Independent reviews of crime statistics

In January 2006 the then Home Secretary, Rt. Hon Charles Clarke MP, commissioned a cross-party review of crime statistics compilation and publication, in an attempt to increase public understanding of and trust in crime statistics.

The review, chaired by Professor Adrian Smith, was carried out by an independent group of opposition party nominees, leading statisticians and media representatives. *Crime Statistics: An Independent Review*¹¹ was published in November 2006. The Statistics Commission published a separate independent review in September 2006, *Crime Statistics: User Perspectives*.¹²

Both reviews recommended changes in the production and release of crime statistics aimed at restoring public trust. The reviews recommended exploring the feasibility of extending the scope of the British Crime Survey to include groups not currently covered e.g. children aged under 16, those living in group residences and businesses.

There were also recommendations relating to the recorded crime series, including the redefinition of major crime categories. An issue highlighted was that some offences classified as violent crime¹³ did not necessarily accord with the public's understanding of what was meant by 'violence'.

Smith Review:

Recommendation 2.13. We recommend that the Home Office redefine violent crime in crime statistics to only include those crimes which actually cause physical injury or where the threat to inflict such injury is likely to frighten a reasonable person.

Statistics Commission Review

Recommendation 3: The Home Office, and others as appropriate, should make changes to the presentation of the recorded crime figures in order to communicate better the main messages. These steps include changing the definition of violent crime.

The reviews also looked at the usefulness of the total crime measure.

Whether 'crime' is going up or down has been a major issue in political debate for at least two centuries. So it is perhaps inevitable that many users of statistics demand a count of 'total crime'. This concept is however less robust than it might appear. Not all types of offences are included in the recorded crime statistics and there is no particularly convincing reason for counting every offence as 'one', whether it is a murder or minor theft. Some common offences, such as shoplifting, are known to be incompletely reported to the police and it is therefore quite possible for trends in 'total crime' to be strongly influenced by changes in reporting and recording.¹⁴

¹¹ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs06/crime-statistics-independent-review-06.pdf>

¹² http://www.statscom.org.uk/uploads/files/reports/Crime_Statistics_Review-final.pdf

¹³ For example, bigamy, possession of offensive weapons, illegal abortion and death by dangerous driving

¹⁴ Para 47, *Crime Statistics: User Perspectives*, Statistics Commission

The Statistics Commission Review made the following recommendation.

Recommendation 6: Technical research should be carried out (to a published timetable) to develop a set of weighted index measures of 'total crime' and promote debate on which, if any, of these measures should be adopted alongside the current basic count.

The Smith Review did not make an explicit recommendation about a total crime measure, but did discuss the possibility of creating a basket of serious crimes index.

There are two arguments for doing so. First, the more serious crimes are those for which the Home Secretary and the national government should most clearly be held to account. Second, the more serious crimes are generally more likely to be reported and recorded by the police and so act as a proxy for the overall state of crime. This is what happens in the USA where the national Uniform Crime Reports only include the more serious violent and property crimes.

We recognise that this is a difficult issue. On the one hand, the public might appreciate a clear separation of the serious from the less serious but they may not all agree on which crimes are the more serious: after all each crime is deeply unpleasant and serious for the victim. On the other hand, not including a wide range of crimes in the national crime statistics could send an unfortunate signal that the government does not care about the less serious crimes that the public are known to be concerned about. It is clear that the public are concerned about minor crime as well as serious crime and expect politicians to respond (as the current government has done recently by focusing on anti-social behaviour).

The Home Office published a response to the two reviews in July 2007 in which it broadly supported the recommendations made.¹⁵ In the *Crime in England and Wales 2006/07* publication¹⁶ the Home Office made a number of changes to the classifications of offences and also revised the groupings of several categories

Crime in England and Wales 2006/07 also included suggestions for future presentation of crime statistics based on the points raised by the reviews such as using a "basket of serious crime" as a key measure of crime trends and constructing a weighted crime index. The Home Office invited comments on these proposals and published a summary of the views received in *Crime in England and Wales: Quarterly Update to September 2007*.¹⁷

Following two independent reviews of crime statistics the annual bulletin published in July 2007 sought comments on limited changes to offence classifications and also asked questions on proposals for a 'basket of serious crime' and a weighted crime index. Respondents had general support for a 'basket of serious crime' but some felt that this would entail further work; there was little support for a weighted index. The limited changes in offence classifications were viewed favourably but some wanted more extensive change. These responses have been passed to the team conducting the Flanagan Review of Policing (HMIC, 2007) to assist their work, particularly with respect to their interim recommendation for a cross-party debate to inform a revision

¹⁵ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs07/rcsactionplan.pdf>

¹⁶ See Box 2.1 for further details

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/crimeew0607.html>

¹⁷ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/hosb0108.pdf>

of recorded crime statistics. Consideration will be given to further change once the full implications of this major independent review of policing are known.

E. April 2008 counting rules clarification

The quarterly crime statistics for the period to June 2008, which were released on 23 October 2008, showed a 22% increase in the number of 'most serious violence' offences recorded by the police.¹⁸ This marked increase drew a great deal of negative press coverage. The Home Office claimed that the majority of the increase was due to a clarification of the counting rules regarding GBH with intent.

The Home Office explained the need for, and effect of, the counting rules clarification in a statistical explanatory note accompanying the quarterly crime statistics.¹⁹

The Government's new Public Service Agreements (PSA), published in October 2007, included a commitment to reduce serious violence.²⁰ Progress on this agreement is to be measured by using police recorded crime and this necessitated separating the general category of violence against the person into serious and other violence.

GBH *with intent* has for many years been the major component of offences of 'more serious wounding or other act endangering life'. However, it became clear from the questions that were being raised by forces that there were differences in interpretation of the Home Office Counting Rules for this offence. The rule is that GBH *with intent* should be recorded where there is an intention to commit GBH, i.e. the test as to how to record is based on the offender's intention as opposed to the degree of injury (this being in line with the legal definition of the crime). The majority of forces had interpreted this to mean that providing there was a clear intention to commit GBH then this offence should be recorded as such. However, some forces had in many cases not recorded under this heading unless GBH had been actually sustained (i.e. they had been recording as other violence against the person with and without injury).

Following discussion with the National Crime Recording Steering Group which includes representatives from the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), local police forces and the Audit Commission as well as the Home Office it was agreed in February 2008 to issue new guidance clarifying how GBH with intent should be recorded.

Since the new PSA on serious violence was being introduced, it was essential to clarify the rules used by all forces.

Firstly extra guidance was introduced, based on the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) charging standards that sets out circumstances that may indicate intent (e.g. use of firearm, use of knife, indication of pre-planning). The counting rules say 'If the elements of intent are present and the actions of the offender clearly show a

¹⁸ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/hosb1408.pdf>

¹⁹ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/hosb1408gbh.pdf>

²⁰ Priority Action 1 from Public Service Agreement (PSA) Delivery Agreement 23 is to reduce the most serious violence, including tackling serious sexual offences and domestic violence.

deliberate attempt to inflict serious bodily harm yet the result of the injury does not constitute serious bodily harm' then record as GBH with intent.

Secondly, an example was introduced in the *Counting Rules for Recorded Crime: Instructions for police forces* illustrating the application of the rules:

*A woman in a nightclub appears to provoke another woman she knows by pouring a drink over her head. She then picks up a bottle, and deliberately strikes it on the table and again deliberately strikes her with the broken bottle in the face. The victim suffered a cut to the bridge of her nose and a nose bleed.
(One crime (class 5A) (intent to use broken bottle – attempt GBH)*

As a result of this clarification in crime counting rules a minority of police forces reported that their recording of offences as GBH with intent has increased. Our best estimate, based on 13 forces recording some of the highest apparent increases in GBH, indicates that at least two thirds of the 26% increase in GBH with intent between the first quarter of 2008/09 and the corresponding quarter 12 months previously can be accounted for by the impact of this clarification. Furthermore, falls in the categories of other violence against the person with and without injury are greater than the increase in GBH *with intent*.

In addition, GBH *without intent* has also been separated out from the 'other wounding' category that mostly consists of offences of actual bodily harm. This is so that this new category could form part of the basket of serious crimes used for the PSA. Forces have been told that where there is no intention to commit serious bodily harm but the level of injury is of the GBH level then GBH *without intent* should be recorded. The levels of injury that would amount to GBH are based on the CPS charging standard, such as injury resulting in permanent disability, substantial loss of blood, compound fractures, broken cheek bone, jaw, ribs etc.

The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) noted that there were trends within the crime statistics which would cause concern to the public.²¹

The impact of changes made to the way in which some crime is recorded will make uncomfortable reading. Apparent increases in some categories of violent crime are strongly influenced by these counting amendments which were introduced by the Home Office in April 2008. ACPO supported the amendments to the counting arrangements as these changes will improve our understanding of neighbourhoods affected by crime.

²¹ http://www.acpo.police.uk/pressrelease.asp?PR_GUID={F352C96B-6C93-4D4F-9727-0F5DB970ECA3}

Table 3: Percentage impact of NCRS implementation on recorded crime

	Violence against person	Burglary dwelling	Burglary other	All burglary	Robbery	Theft of and from a vehicle	Other theft	All theft	Criminal damage	Total
Avon and Somerset	18%	..	..	2%	-6%	..	..	9%	14%	10%
Bedfordshire	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cambridgeshire	72%	7%	9%	7%	16%	..	..	11%	23%	17%
Cheshire	76%	6%	-2%	2%	22%	..	..	3%	13%	11%
Cleveland	71%	..	..	7%	3%	..	..	13%	22%	16%
Cumbria	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Derbyshire	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Devon and Cornwall	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dorset	78%	0%	6%	4%	19%	16%	43%	32%	34%	26%
Durham	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Essex	82%	24%	-8%	6%	19%	..	..	12%	18%	21%
Gloucestershire	34%	5%	6%	6%	6%	6%	5%	5%	2%	8%
Greater Manchester	19%	3%	2%	2%	1%	..	..	-4%	-4%	0%
Hampshire	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hertfordshire	55%	9%	2%	6%	16%	11%	57%	36%	33%	28%
Humberside	53%	9%	0%	4%	7%	..	..	2%	8%	9%
Kent	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lancashire	22%	-1%	-1%	0%	-7%	..	..	2%	2%	4%
Leicestershire	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lincolnshire	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
London, City of	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Merseyside	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Metropolitan Police	20%	4%	5%	4%	5%	..	..	12%	9%	12%
Norfolk	35%	11%	-10%	2%	-1%	..	..	24%	23%	16%
North Yorkshire	42%	8%	1%	3%	17%	..	..	6%	17%	11%
Northamptonshire	47%	1%	-1%	-2%	3%	..	..	12%	18%	12%
Northumbria	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nottinghamshire	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Yorkshire	89%	-1%	4%	-1%	21%	..	..	23%	31%	24%
Staffordshire	-2%	-4%	-4%	-4%	-9%	-2%	4%	1%	-3%	-1%
Suffolk	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Surrey	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sussex	-4%	1%	-9%	-5%	3%	..	..	-6%	-6%	-6%
Thames Valley	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Warwickshire	17%	3%	1%	1%	3%	..	..	4%	4%	4%
West Mercia	-1%	6%	-1%	2%	4%	..	..	1%	-4%	0%
West Midlands	-3%	0%	1%	1%	-2%	-11%	-2%	-7%	9%	3%
West Yorkshire	47%	1%	9%	3%	-9%	24%	61%	40%	27%	25%
Wiltshire	53%	..	..	-11%	19%	..	..	10%	2%	10%
Dyfed Powys	25%	17%	25%	23%	23%	..	..	11%	6%	21%
Gwent	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Wales	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Wales	25%	5%	-2%	0%	-6%	..	..	22%	12%	17%
England and Wales	23%	3%	..	..	3%	..	..	9%	9%	10%

Source: NCRS: an analysis of the impact on recorded crime, Companion volume to Crime in England and Wales 2002/03, Home Office Online reports 31/03 and 32/03