

Age Strata and Criminal Profiles

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The sociology of crime and deviance relies upon age-graded statuses such as “juvenile delinquent” or “young offender”, “adult criminal”, and “elderly criminal”, treating the age-graded basis for these statuses as unproblematic. This talk presents the results of Dr. Carrington’s research, supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, into an empirical basis for characterising age/gender strata in terms of distinctive criminal profiles. A criminal life cycle emerges from scaling and typological analyses of police-reported data from the UCR II Survey, on 2.5 million alleged offenders aged from 3 to 89 years.

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Age Strata and Criminal Profiles

The relationship between age and crime is invariably seen as a quantitative one: the *amount* of crime is related to the age of offenders, rising rapidly to a peak in mid- to late-adolescence and falling throughout adulthood. This relationship has been extensively studied, particularly since the notorious claim by Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) that it is invariant across social and cultural conditions. On the other hand, little interest has been shown in the qualitative relationship between the age of the offender and the types of crimes committed. When the type of crime appears in studies of the age-crime relationship, it is typically a specifier variable, used to investigate whether and how the relationship between age and the amount of crime varies by the type of crime (e.g. Steffensmeier et al. 1989). Yet the relationship between age and type of offending is taken for granted, and is implicit in the language we use to talk about crime and deviance: the most obvious example is the conceptual distinction between crime and delinquency, which rests on a distinction between two stages in life, and two corresponding kinds of criminal behaviour. Similar distinctions are presupposed by categories such as “elderly crime” and “female crime”.

Much work has been done describing and explaining the kinds of offences which constitute juvenile delinquency, or youth crime, and there is a growing body of work on crime by “young adults” and by the elderly (Gartner and Piliavin 1988)--although little has been done with the rather vague, residual category of (not young and not elderly) adults and their crimes (cf. Dannefer 1984). However, little attention has been paid to the way in which these supposedly distinct age groups and their corresponding crime profiles are articulated as stages in the development of crime over the entire life-span. Criminal careers researchers have studied versatility and specialization in offending, and transitions from one type of crime to another, but their research is typically limited to adolescence and young adulthood (and often of males only), because of the inevitable temporal limits of prospective panel studies, and perhaps also because youth crime is assumed to be “more important” because there is more of it: Hirschi and Gottfredson provocatively claim that “the problem of crime is largely the problem of delinquency....the vast majority of acts of concern to criminologists are committed by young people” (1995: 136). Furthermore, researchers on crime and deviance tend to work with *a priori* age categories, such as “adolescence”, “youth”, “young adulthood” or “the elderly”, usually using arbitrary age bounds, without enquiring whether these are the most appropriate division of the life-span for the study of criminal behaviour, or attending to the differences between the male and female life courses. However, as Elder points out, “Age categories and distributions have frequently been proposed or accepted as common knowledge”, but without empirical justification. “What is the lower boundary of old age or middle age...At what point...do young people begin to take an adult standpoint...?...what evidence do we have of the social or normative meaning of these categories...?” (1975: 173).

This paper explores the boundaries, content, and articulation of male and female age strata inherent in the development of offending behaviour over the entire life span. Using

detailed data on age and crime and an explicitly classificatory approach, we construct a set of “empirically defensible” age strata and offence groups, linked by stratum-specific offence profiles, and show how these develop over the life-span.

Previous Research

Discussion of the relationship between age and crime has been shaped by the control theory of Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) and the developmental, or criminal career, approach (Blumstein et al. 1986; Farrington 1994; Sampson and Laub 1993). Both approaches are concerned with variations with age in the volume of offending or the propensity to offend, not with the type of offending. Indeed, Hirschi and Gottfredson argued that “the age distribution of the tendency to commit criminal acts [of any type] is invariant” (1983: note 9), and that “our theory regards all of these distinctions [among types of offences] as irrelevant or misleading” (1990: 43). Sampson and Laub theorise the life course as a series of age-graded statuses, but they relate these to volume rather than type of offending. For example, they relate stability and discontinuity in the *volume* of crime to life stages such as childhood, adolescence and adulthood, and to transitions in occupational and marital status (1992); and in reviewing “variability” in offending over the life-course, it is variability in the volume of offending that concerns them (1995). Most work on age and crime has accepted this agenda.

There are exceptions. Cline (1980: Table 13.1) developed a simultaneous typology of offender age groups and criminal profiles by cross-tabulating the age of the offender with the type of offence, using arrest data from the American UCR Survey for 1977, and clustering the contingency table into blocks. Steffensmeier et al. (1989: 817-19) did log-multiplicative analysis of similar data for 1980, with largely similar results. With slight variations, both studies found that adolescents’ offending was concentrated in property crime and liquor offences, with the seriousness increasing with age; that crime by young adults (i.e. those in their twenties) was the most serious, and included possession of stolen property, drug offences, violent crimes, weapons offences, sex offences, prostitution and white collar crime; and that “middle-aged” crime (i.e. that of offenders with a median age over 30) was characterised by the offences of public drunkenness, drinking-driving, and gambling. Steffensmeier and Streifel (1991) found age-offence curves for males and females to be quite similar, with the exception of prostitution. All three analyses were constrained by the aggregations of age groups used in the American UCR Survey: offence distributions are given for individual years of age from 15 to 24 years, and for 5-year aggregations for other ages, except those 65 and older, who are in one group. Cline’s oldest age group is “50 and over”; Steffensmeier et al. and Steffensmeier and Streifel apparently excluded persons over 49 from their age-offence analyses; thus, none of the three was able to characterise crime by children under 10 years or by the elderly.

Le Blanc and Fréchette (1989) analysed data from a three-wave self-report panel study of delinquency in the late nineteen-seventies and nineteen-eighties, using a sample of male adolescents resident in Montreal who were followed to the age of 25. They developed several typologies of offenders; the following is described by Loeber and Le Blanc (1990: 402-3). The first stage occurs at about 11 to 14 years of age, and is characterised by minor property offences; crime by 14 to 17 year old boys is characterised by more serious property offences, mainly

burglary, personal larceny, theft, and car theft; the third stage, from about 16 to 19 years, includes assault, armed robbery, drug trafficking, and sex crimes; the final stage, in the twenties, involves a transition to more “astute” crime, such as fraud, and more violent crime, such as homicide. Although the work of Le Blanc and his colleagues (see also Le Blanc 1996; Ouimet and Le Blanc 1996) represents an exhaustive and sophisticated approach to the age-grading of types of offending, their use of prospective self-reported interview data introduces limitations as well as strengths. These limitations include the small sample size (a few hundred subjects), the limited coverage of the sample (male subjects, resident in one city), and the truncated age range (up to 25 years; later extended to 31 years).

At the other end of the life course, there has been increasing interest in “crimes of the elderly” and “elderly criminals”. Many writers define elderly criminals as those aged 55 years or more—perhaps because using the usual threshold age of 65 would result in too few criminals to study—and they do not distinguish within this large age range. A review of this research by Kercher (1987) found that elderly crime is concentrated in the following offences: public drunkenness, drinking-driving, theft—particularly shoplifting—aggravated assault, homicide, and gambling.

In summary, the great majority of writers on the age-crime relationship are interested only in the quantitative relationship of age to the (undifferentiated) propensity to commit crime. The small amount of research on age and type of offending has tended to be restricted in range. Studies based on UCR data are restricted to 10-49 year olds, or include a single category of “50 or older”; studies of the elderly—typically defined as those over 55—treat them all as one age group; studies using prospective self-reported data are restricted to adolescents and young adults. Had they been referring to the type, rather than the amount, of crime, Rowe and Tittle would still be justified in complaining that “...no systematic study of age and crime is available in the sociological or criminological literature” (1977: 233).

Data

The data used in the present study are taken from a relatively new national survey of police-reported crime in Canada, the Revised (Incident Based) Uniform Crime Reporting Survey. This survey captures very rich data on criminal incidents, including the age in years and gender of each apprehended person; the nature and circumstances of the incident, including the type of alleged offence(s), presence of weapons, use of intoxicants, location of the incident, the value of property involved, the level of injury to the victim(s), the relationship of accused and victim(s); the clearance status of the incident, and whether or not each apprehended person was charged (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 1994a, 1994b).

Although the Revised UCR Survey began operations in 1988, it did not achieve wide coverage until 1995. The present research uses data for six years—1992 to 1997—resulting in a sample size of 2.5 million apprehended persons.

The data in the Revised UCR Survey are taken from the information systems of municipal and provincial police, including provincial police forces that provide municipal

policing under contract. The data are organized by “police area”—the area of jurisdiction of a police force or police detachment. In 1992, police forces in parts of 5 of the 12 provinces and territories² reported to the Revised UCR Survey, accounting for approximately 30 percent of crime known to police in Canada in that year; by 1997, coverage had risen to parts of 6 provinces (including Alberta), accounting for approximately 48 percent of crime known to the police. For the six years included in the present study, overall coverage is approximately 40 percent of crime known to the police in Canada. This distribution is not nationally representative: police forces in Quebec are substantially over-represented, and police forces in rural areas and small towns are under-represented. Therefore, simple distributions of variables may well be biased. However, it seems unlikely that the *relationships* among age, gender, and type of crime that are present in this sample would be substantially biased.

The Revised UCR Survey includes all “accused persons” known to police, whether formally charged or not. An “accused person” is defined as “a person who has been identified as an offender in an incident and against whom a charge may be laid in connection with that incident” (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 1994a).³ This paper uses the term “apprehended person”, since “accused” has customarily been used for persons who are formally charged. Eighty-three percent of apprehended adults and 65 percent of apprehended “young persons”⁴ in this sample were charged. All apprehended persons, whether charged or not, were included in the present study.

The Revised UCR Survey includes persons apprehended for all criminal and quasi-criminal offences enforced by police, including violations of federal and provincial statutes and municipal bylaws. The present study omits persons apprehended for provincial and municipal offences. It includes offences under the *Criminal Code* and other federal statutes, such as the *Narcotics Control Act*. The *Criminal Code*—and therefore this study—includes major traffic offences, such as dangerous driving causing death or causing injury, hit and run, and impaired driving and other drinking-driving offences, but excludes most other traffic offences, which fall under provincial legislation. Similarly, liquor offences—other than drinking-driving offences—are provincial offences, and therefore not included in this study.

The Revised UCR Survey records the age of apprehended persons in single years from 3 to 89 years.⁵ The present study also aggregates 3, 4, and 5 year olds, in order to achieve large enough cell sizes for robust analyses. Nevertheless, there were only small numbers of offenders, particularly female offenders, in the youngest and oldest age groups (Table 1).

– Table 1 about here –

For the same reason, the numerous offence categories in the UCR Survey have been aggregated into 26 offence types, following as closely as possible the categories (of the American UCR Survey) used by most other researchers.⁶ Offences are further grouped in Figure 1 by whether they are against the person (“violent”), against property, or other (“victimless”)—that is, against neither property or person; and by *Criminal Code* classification, which is a rough indicator of seriousness. The *Criminal Code* classifies all offences into three categories: those triable by indictment, by summary conviction, or by either procedure. Indictable offences have maximum prison sentences of 2, 5, 10, or 14 years, or life, and no statutory limit on the fine that

may be imposed. Summary offences have a simpler trial procedure and a maximum sentence of 6 months' imprisonment or a limited fine. Many offences of intermediate seriousness fall into a third category, which may be treated as summary or indictable at the option of the Crown (prosecutor); these are called hybrid, mixed, or dual procedure offences. Since there are relatively few summary offences, they are combined with hybrid offences in our analyses. Details of the offences aggregated into the groups in Figure 1 are given in Appendix 1.

– Figure 1 about here –

Persons implicated in minor property⁷ and “victimless” offences each constitute one-third of the sample. Those implicated in the most serious offences—indictable person and property offences—make up 19 percent of the sample.

Analysis and Results

The Quantitative Age/Gender-Crime Relationship

The relationship between the age and gender of the apprehended person and the *amount* of crime is similar to that reported in other studies in other countries: the gender (male to female) ratio is approximately 5 to 1; crime rates rise sharply from childhood until the mid-teens (for females) or the late teens (for males), then decline to old age (Figure 2).⁸

– Figure 2 about here –

Dimensionality of the Type of Crime

Principal component analysis was used to define a low-dimensional space within which the relationships among age, gender and type of crime could be seen and analysed. The number of apprehended persons was cross-tabulated by gender and age in the rows ($2 \times 85 = 170$) and offence type in the 26 columns. Cell frequencies were row-standardized—that is, frequencies in each cell of the row were divided by the row total—in order to remove the quantitative age/gender-crime relationship. Principal components were extracted from the 26 by 26 matrix of Pearson's correlations among the offence types. The first three eigenvectors were selected: they accounted for 65 percent of the variance, and the remaining eigenvalues were relatively small (Table 2).

-- Table 2 about here --

The names attached to the three eigenvectors were suggested, as is customary, by examination of the loadings in Table 2. The rationale for the first two names will emerge in the discussion below. However, the third eigenvector is of immediate interest, because of its extremely strong association with the gender of the offender: no male age groups had a negative score, and only 13 female age groups had a positive score, on this component (Figure 3). This suggests that gender differences constitute a third distinct dimension of differentiation among age groups in their criminal behaviour. The content of this gender differentiation can be seen in

Table 2, where the offence types are sorted by their loadings on the third eigenvector. The most “male” offences are break and enter, mischief, sexual assault, arson, weapons offences, and robbery. The most “female” offences are public order offences,⁹ fraud,¹⁰ prostitution-related offences, and theft under.

-- Figure 3 about here --

The 13 “masculine” female age-groups were all at the extremes of the age range: 5 (including 3 and 4) to 12 years old, and 82 and 86 to 89 years old. This suggests a certain androgyny of criminality at the extremes of the life cycle.

The existence of this gender dimension confirms that the relationship between age and the type of crime differs for males and females, so that the two gender-specific age-crime relationships cannot be visualized in the same two-dimensional space. Therefore, two-dimensional spaces were defined separately for males and females by re-calculating gender-specific correlation matrices from the two gender-specific 85 by 26 age-offence tables, and extracting the first two principal components separately for each gender.¹¹ The first two components accounted for 63 percent and 55 percent of the variance in the correlation matrices for males and females respectively; additional components had relatively small eigenvalues.

The Qualitative Age-Crime Relationship

Figures 4 and 5 plot male and female age groups and offence types in the spaces defined by the first two eigenvectors of the two matrices of correlations among offence types. The offence types have been projected to the circumferences of the spaces, maintaining their angular relationships to the axes but equalizing their distances from the origin; by moving the offence types outside the areas in which the age groups are plotted, we emphasize that it is the *angular* relationships between age groups and offence types--that is, the extent to which they lie in the same sectors relative to the origin--that is meaningful, and that the Euclidean distances between age groups and offence types are not.

-- Figures 4 and 5 about here --

Probably the most striking feature of the plots is that, with the exception of the youngest, the age groups of each gender are arranged roughly in a closed ellipse, clockwise with increasing age, with the oldest age groups approaching the young adolescents. The closure of the ellipses is not an artifact of the analytic method: when the analysis was repeated, restricting the age ranges to 15 to 65 years, the resulting plots were roughly semi-elliptical, with the youngest and oldest age groups at the open ends.

The elliptical patterns formed by the age groups are due to two phenomena. First, the offence profiles of the age groups above about 14 years of age change gradually, smoothly, and consistently with increasing age: that is, there is a *development* with age. (The scatter which is apparent for age groups above about 50 years, particularly for females, is probably due to “sampling variability” in the small numbers of offenders on which the offence profiles are based.) Second, with increasing age, beginning with female offenders in their fifties, and males

in their sixties, offence profiles become increasingly like those of the youngest age groups, so that the types of crimes committed by those in their eighties are most similar to those of young adolescents.

The Euclidean closeness of age groups to each other in the plot indicates the similarity of their offence profiles, and their distance from the origin indicates distance from the “average” offence profile.¹² The axes in the two plots have the same scale, so that distances of male and female age groups from the origins can be compared. The centres of the ellipses are offset from the origins, with the middle-aged groups closest to the origin, and closest to one another, and children, adolescents, and the very old farthest from the origin and more spread out (see also Figure 6). The offset of the circle indicates that children and teenagers are most distinctive in their patterns of offending, and that the offence profiles of the middle-aged are most similar to one another and are most “average”.

– Figure 6 about here –

The offence types are also strikingly arranged in relation to each other and to the age groups. Moving clockwise through the four quadrants, beginning with the lower left, we find (particularly for males) minor property offences,¹³ then major property offences,¹⁴ then “other” offences and offences against the person spread out over the two right quadrants. This suggests a development in the criminal life cycle from an emphasis on minor then major property crime, then crime against the person, accompanied by “other” crime, then a return to minor property crime, accompanied by certain “other” crimes and crimes against the person, in old age. However, this considerably oversimplifies the picture, both in terms of the tidiness of the progression, and in the interpretation of the juxtapositions of age groups and offence types. For example, the angular closeness of sexual assault level 1 and men in their early eighties does not mean that men in these age groups are implicated in large numbers of these offences, or even large numbers per capita: in fact, the highest per capita rates of level 1 sexual assault offences by males occurred among those aged 13 to 17 years, so that the per capita rate for men in their early eighties was only about 10 percent of that of those in their mid-teens (Figure 7). Nor does it mean that the majority of offences committed by men in their early eighties are sexual assaults: in fact, the largest proportion of any male age group apprehended for level 1 sexual assaults was only 9 percent (of 80-year-old apprehended males; Figure 8). Rather, it indicates that males in the latter part—and the very early part—of the life cycle are apprehended for level 1 sexual assaults in high proportions relative to other male age groups, and that male age groups on the opposite side of the circle in Figure 4—the teens and twenties—have relatively low proportions of level 1 sexual assaults (Figure 8). This can be contrasted with a “young” offence such as robbery, which is plotted opposite to level 1 sexual assault in Figure 4.

– Figures 7 and 8 about here –

Gender differences are also apparent in the spacing of offences over the life cycle. Female offenders begin and end their involvement in burglaries earlier, on average, than males (Figure 9). Prostitution is a “young” offence in females and an “old” offence in males, as is well known. These differences are explored in more detail below.

– Figures 9 and 10 about here –

Age Strata and Associated Offence Profiles

Hierarchical agglomerative clustering, using average linkage, with distances computed from their coordinates in Figures 4 and 5, was used to identify 6 male and 6 female age strata. The boundaries of the age strata are shown in Figures 4 and 5. Offence groups were grouped into 6 clusters, using as criteria the global type of offence, the level of seriousness, and the age distribution of the offence. The constituents of the offence clusters and the offence profiles linking them with the age strata are shown in Figures 11 and 12 and Tables 3 and 4.¹⁵

– Figures 11 and 12 and Tables 3 and 4 about here –

Unlike crime by males, female crime is dominated by one offence: theft under. It was the principal alleged offence in one third of the sample of cases involving females. Approximately 80 percent of cases of theft under involving female offenders were characterized by police as shoplifting. Theft under was by far the most common single offence in all 6 female age strata, and made up more than 40 percent of the alleged crime of 4 of the clusters. In contrast, theft under accounted for only 16 percent of accused males, although it also was the most common alleged offence of males.

Children: 3 to 11 years

Although these two age strata include apprehended persons as young as 3 years old, the majority were in the upper two years: 63 percent of apprehended males in this stratum were 10 or 11 years old, and 68 percent of females were 9 or 10 years old. Only 7 percent of apprehended male children and 11 percent of females were less than 7 years old.

The uniqueness of the offence profiles of both male and female children, and the lack of gender differentiation, is indicated in the age-offence plots by their distances from the origins and their similar angular deflections, and by the similar levels of seriousness of their crime (Figures 13 and 14, discussed below). More than in any other age stratum, crime by both male and female children is specialised: concentrated in the minor property crimes of mischief and theft under, which together accounted for 64 percent of male and 73 percent of female children apprehended. Although low, the proportion of children apprehended for arson (5.8 percent of boys and 2.8 percent of girls) is much higher than among other age strata. Another 10 percent of boys and girls were apprehended for break and enter: this is much higher than in any other female age stratum, but is exceeded considerably by male adolescents. In total, 83 percent of boys and of girls were apprehended for property offences.

The only other offence for which children were apprehended in appreciable numbers is common assault, accounting for 9 percent of both genders.

The seriousness of police-reported crime by male children, as indicated by the proportion (20 percent) of persons in this group apprehended for indictable offences, is considerably lower

than for adolescents, and about the same as for young adult males (Figure 13). This is accounted for mainly by cases of arson and break and enter. Cases of these indictable offences involving male children varied considerably in seriousness: 40 percent of the break and enter, and 50 percent of the arson cases involved property with a value estimated at less than \$100; 17 percent of cases of break and enter, and 30 percent of cases of arson in this age group involved property valued at more than \$1000. Similarly, the relatively large number of cases of mischief varied greatly in the value of the property involved: less than \$100 in 28 percent of cases, and \$1,000 or more in 12 percent. Cases of theft under by this group were relatively minor: 50 percent involved property worth less than \$25, and 72 percent were less than \$100.¹⁶

– Figure 14 about here –

The seriousness of police-reported crime by male children, as indicated by the proportion of “violent” offences (offences against the person), is the lowest of any group except pre-teens. As Figure 14 shows, the proportion of offences against the person tends to increase with age, particularly in males. The proportion of level 1 assaults by male children was close to average for the entire sample of males, and there were few major offences against the person. Of all recorded offences against the person by male children, 24 percent involved a weapon (1 percent involved a firearm), and only 2 percent resulted in major injury to a victim.

Due to the relatively high proportion (compared to other female age strata) of female children implicated in cases of break and enter, which is an indictable offence regardless of the value of property stolen or damaged, and the extremely low proportions of indictable offences committed by any female age stratum, this index of seriousness of crime by female children was the highest of any female age stratum, though still not as high as that of male children (Figure 13). However, the cases of break and enter were relatively minor: one third involved property worth less than \$100, and three quarters involved property worth less than \$500. Their other offences were even more minor. Over half of their cases of theft under and possess stolen property involved property worth less than \$25, and 85 percent involved property worth less than \$100. One quarter of cases of mischief involved damage to property worth less than \$100, and two-thirds less than \$500.

As indicated by the proportion of offences against the person, the seriousness of female crime by children was relatively low (Figure 14). Only 16 percent of their offences against the person involved a weapon (there were no firearms), and only 3 percent resulted in major injury to a victim.

Young adolescents: 12 to 13 years

Although only two age groups of each gender are included in this age stratum, it is clear from Figures 4 and 5 that it should be kept distinct from children and adolescents. In both males and females, it is characterised by the highest level of theft under, mainly shoplifting, of any age stratum. Otherwise, the offence profiles of young adolescents are transitional between those of children and those of adolescents: sharp drops in the levels of minor property offences, an increasing level of major property offences in males, and the appearance of drug offences and offences against the administration of justice.¹⁷

Adolescents

It is in adolescence that the criminality of males and females diverges most dramatically. The police-reported crime rates of both genders reach their peaks in adolescence, but for boys it is reached at 17 and declines sharply thereafter until 24 years, whereas for girls it is reached at 14 and 15 and declines less precipitously (Figure 2). Although adolescents of both genders continue to commit high proportions of property offences (though less than children), the types of property offences are quite different. Therefore, male and female adolescents are discussed separately below.

Male Adolescents: 14 to 18 years

This stratum has by far the highest proportion of indictable crime (Figure 13), predominately the indictable property offences of break and enter, theft over and motor vehicle theft, and robbery—but the lowest proportion of offences against the person (Figure 14)! There are also substantial proportions of the minor property offences, especially theft under, mischief and possess stolen property. The proportions of drugs and administration of justice offences were approximately average, but there were very low proportions of other offences.

The value of property involved in offences by male adolescents was higher than that of male children, but not greatly. Approximately one-third of their numerous cases of break and enter, and almost all cases of theft over, but only about 10 percent of incidents of mischief and of robbery, involved property valued at more than \$1,000. In 50 percent of cases of theft under and possess stolen property, 27 percent of cases of break and enter, and 47 percent of robberies, the property was valued at less than \$100.

Although the overall proportion of offences against the person by male adolescents was below average for males, the relative seriousness of these cases (i.e. the proportion of indictable versus hybrid offences against the person) was relatively high, primarily because of the large number of robberies. Twenty percent of this stratum's robberies involved a firearm, and another 44 percent involved another type of weapon; in 20 percent of robberies, a victim suffered "minor injury" (requiring no medical attention other than first-aid, such as band-aid or ice), and major injury occurred in 5 percent. Of *all* offences against the person by male adolescents, 7 percent involved a firearm, and another 35 percent involved another type of weapon; in at least 55 percent of these cases, a victim suffered injury, which was major in 9 percent of cases.

Female adolescents: 14 to 17 years

Adolescent females were disproportionately involved in theft under and over, possession of stolen property, break and enter, and robbery, although the proportions of these types of offences, except theft under, were very small, compared to adolescent males.

Property crime was mostly very minor: approximately 50 percent of cases of theft under and possess stolen property involved property worth less than \$25, and 80 percent involved property worth less than \$100. Offences against the person were also minor: of *all* their cases of

offences against the person, a weapon was involved in approximately one quarter (a firearm in less than 1 percent), and 6 percent resulted in major injury to a victim.

Young adults: Males 19 to 39 years and Females 18 to 44 years

This first part of adulthood has the largest population (43 percent of the male population and 49 percent of females) and accounts for the majority of apprehended offenders: 58 percent of males and 66 percent of females. This stratum is the most versatile, diversifying their offending over every category of crime, with approximately average proportions of most offences. However, it is characterised by relatively high proportions of administration of justice and drug offenders of both genders, and almost all the females apprehended for prostitution offences. This stratum also had the highest proportion of fraud offenders of both genders.

The proportions of indictable offences and of offences against the person are approximately midway between the extremes of childhood and/or adolescence, and old age.

Robberies by young adult males involved more use of firearms (30 percent), less use of other weapons (34 percent) and proportionately fewer injuries (about 17 percent of robberies by this age group resulted in any injury) than those of male adolescents, but their robberies and property offences were higher-yield: 23 percent of their robberies and 38 percent of their cases of break and enter involved property valued at \$1000 or more. Their offences against the person involved approximately the same levels of use of weapons and injury to victims as those of male adolescents.

The minor property offences by females in this stratum were a little more serious than those of younger females. The average value of property involved in cases of theft under and possess stolen property was a little higher, and the numerous cases of fraud were more serious: 60 percent involved property worth \$100 or more, and 17 percent involved \$1,000 or more. Thirty-six percent of offences against the person by female young adults involved a weapon (2 percent involved a firearm), and 9 percent resulted in major injury to, or the death of, a victim.

Middle-aged and elderly adults

Both the male and the female late middle-aged strata are characterised by continuing versatility in their criminality and declining proportions of indictable offences, due to very low and declining proportions of major property offences, but increasing proportions of offences against the person. Both male and female strata have relatively high proportions of drinking-driving and gambling offences, but in other respects they differ considerably.

Middle-aged and elderly males: 40 to 76 years¹⁸

This stratum encompasses 38 years – about half – of the male life span, during which the rate of change in the type of crime is slowest. In view of the widespread practice of operationalizing old age as beginning at 65 years – or 55 or 60 years in studies of criminality – and the cutoff point for the corresponding female stratum at 59 years, we closely examined the internal differentiation of this male age stratum, to see whether it could reasonably be split into 2 or 3

strata. Examination of Figures 2 and 4 suggests no obvious threshold for criminal old age in males. Hierarchical clustering applied to the 40 to 76 year old age groups, with distances calculated from the two principal components used in the main analysis, produced three clusters, but although there is progressive change across these three sub-strata in the proportions of the various offence categories, there are no major differences among their offence profiles. Neither 58 nor 66 years of age appears to be an “empirically defensible” cutting point in defining these males’ age groups on the basis of the crime profile.

Crime by middle-aged and elderly males is diversified, but is characterised by high proportions of minor offences against the person, especially common assault and other hybrid offences, and “other” offences, especially drinking-driving. Common assault and drinking-driving account for about one-third of offenders in this stratum. There are also relatively high proportions of level 1 sexual assaults, and the highest (though still very low) proportions in any male age group of prostitution, gambling, and public order offences. This stratum is responsible for a disproportionately small amount of major property crime.

The proportion of indictable offences is less than half the average for males, and is intermediate between that of young adult males and that of old men (Figure 13). The level of violence in this group’s offences against the person, as indicated by the percentage of these cases involving weapons or injury to a victim, is only slightly lower than that of young adult males. Apart from the paucity of major property crime, even the minor property crime is relatively low yield: 75 percent of their cases of theft under and possess stolen property involved property worth less than \$100. Only their frauds had moderately high yields: 31 percent involved property worth more than \$500.

Middle-aged females: 45 to 59 years¹⁹

This stratum is also quite versatile in its crime. However, there was an above-average proportion of theft under offenders, and the highest proportions for any female stratum (though still low compared to males) of miscellaneous hybrid offences against the person, and drinking-driving and gambling offences.

As with males, the proportion of indictable offences by females declines throughout this age range (Figure 13). The dollar value of property in cases of theft under (of which approximately 85 percent were shoplifting) and of possess stolen property was a little lower than for the female young adult stratum, but the dollar amounts in fraud cases remained approximately the same. Among cases of offences against the person, the proportion of indictable offences declined from its peak in female young adults, reflecting the increase in the proportion of minor assaults and other hybrid person offences. The use of weapons and violence in offences against the person by this age group appears to be similar to that of young adults: 40 percent involved a weapon (1 percent involved a firearm), and 7 percent resulted in major injury or death.

Old Adults: Men 77 to 89 years²⁰ and Women 60 to 89 years²¹

In old age, the criminality of men and women becomes more similar, and gives the term “life cycle” meaning by returning to some degree to the patterns exhibited in early adolescence, while retaining some of the characteristics of crime by the late middle-aged. Like children, old people account for only a tiny amount of recorded crime, both absolutely and per capita (Figure 2, Tables 3 and 4); like the late middle-aged, their crime is relatively minor, as indicated by the proportion of indictable offences (Figure 13), but very serious, as indicated by the proportion of offences against the person: indeed, old people commit either the most serious or the least serious crime, depending on the indicator used. Like early adolescents, they are implicated in relatively high proportions of theft under and common assault; like the late middle-aged, they have relatively high proportions of “older other” offences, especially Criminal Code traffic offences – which consist mainly of hit and run and dangerous driving – but also public order offences for females and level 1 sexual assault, “other morals”, and weapons offences for males; and very low proportions of minor property offences (other than theft under) and of major property offences.²² Most crime by old men and women is theft under, common assault, or criminal traffic offences. As Gartner and Piliavin (1988: 290, note 4) point out, this does not mean that old people commit more of these types of offences than other people, but rather that they commit fewer of the other types of offences.

Summary and Conclusions

This study analysed the offence profiles of a large sample of persons apprehended by police for criminal offences in Canada during 1992 to 1997. The subjects were aggregated into 85 male and 85 female age groups: those aged 3 to 5, 6, 7, 8, etc. to 89. These age groups were grouped into 6 male and 6 female age strata, using hierarchical clustering, with distances computed from the first 2 principal components of each of the gender-specific matrices of intercorrelations among 26 offence types, calculated from the tables of age-offence profiles.

The offence profiles of these age strata – children, young adolescents, adolescents, young adults, middle-aged and elderly adults, and the old – form a criminal life cycle, in which the offence profiles of adjacent age groups are most similar, and the profiles of male and female old people are intermediate between those of the late middle-aged and those of early adolescents. The offence profiles of corresponding male and female age strata are dissimilar in adolescence and adulthood, but converge somewhat in childhood and old age.

Overall, the major difference between male and female crime is in property crime: males have relatively high proportions of the major property crimes, particularly break and enter, whereas females specialise in the minor offence of theft under, mainly shoplifting. This difference results in a much higher overall level of seriousness of male crime, when seriousness is indexed by the proportion of indictable offences, since the major property crimes are indictable offences and theft under is not.

The small amount of police-reported crime by male and female children is concentrated in mischief and theft under; they also commit disproportionate amounts of arson and common assault, and girls commit high (for females) proportions of break and enter. The seriousness of crime by children, indexed by the proportion of indictable offences, is average for boys, but for

girls it is the highest of any (female) age stratum, due mainly to the high proportion of break and enter offences, and the generally low level of seriousness of female crime in general. However, when indexed by the proportion of offences against the person, crime by children is relatively minor.

Crime in early adolescence is transitional between that of childhood and of adolescence, but has disproportionately high levels of theft under in both genders.

In adolescence, there is a dramatic increase in the volume of recorded crime by both genders, but particularly males. A large proportion of this is property crime, but there is significant gender differentiation. Male adolescents commit high proportions of the major property crimes: especially break and enter, but also theft over/motor vehicle theft and robbery. Since these are all indictable offences, this index of crime seriousness for adolescent males is by far the highest of any age stratum. In contrast, the proportion of offences against the person (“violence”) is at its lowest in this stratum. Male adolescents also commit disproportionate amounts of the minor property offences of theft under, mischief, and possess stolen property. Although male adolescents commit the lowest proportion of offences against the person of any male age stratum, those that they do commit have a relatively high level of seriousness, whether indicated by the proportion of indictable versus hybrid offences, or by the use of weapons or injury to victims. Female adolescents specialise in theft under, in which over half of the female offenders in this age stratum were implicated, and also commit disproportionate amounts of mischief, break and enter, and robbery. Their overall offence profile has an average level (for females) of seriousness, whichever of the two indices of seriousness is considered.

The male and female strata of young adults comprise almost half the population, and account for 58 percent of all apprehended males and 66 percent of females. Their crime is diversified, with approximately average (for each gender) proportions of most types of offences, and is of average seriousness. However, there are relatively high proportions of offences against the administration of justice and drug offences, and, for females only, a relatively high proportion of prostitution offences. There are also above-average proportions of fraud offences by both genders.

The age constitution of the middle-aged and elderly stratum differs considerably by gender. It includes females aged 45 to 59, but males aged 40 to 76. Although it would be very convenient to limit the male stratum to the same terminal age as the females, which corresponds well to the conventional onset of old age, no justification could be found for this in the development of male criminal profiles from 40 to 76: although there are gradual changes with age, the offence profiles of the male age groups in this stratum are insufficiently distinct to warrant splitting it. Both the male and female age groups in this age stratum display diversity in crime, but very low proportions of major property crime, and therefore low values of the index of seriousness. Males have high proportions of common assault and drinking-driving offences, and above-average proportions of level 1 sexual assault, miscellaneous minor offences against the person, prostitution, gambling and public order offences. Females have above average proportions of theft under, miscellaneous minor offences against the person, drinking-driving, public order, and gambling offences.

Old people (males aged 77 to 89 and females aged 60 to 89) commit very little crime. It has the lowest level of seriousness, as indicated by the proportion of indictable offences, but the highest level of seriousness, as indicated by the proportion of offences against the person. The profiles of males and females are somewhat similar, and are intermediate between the profiles of middle-aged and elderly adults and those of young adolescents. Most crime by old people is theft under, common assault, or criminal traffic offences, with a disproportionate amount of level 1 sexual assault by old men.

Although the offence profile of each age stratum has similarities to that of adjacent strata, each is unique. Similarly, the offence profiles of corresponding male and female age strata are quite different, although those of male and female children and old people exhibit the least gender differentiation.

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Notes

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- ¹ The phrase comes from Steffensmeier et al. (1989: 817, note 4).
- ² New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia.
- ³ Whereas the classification of a person as “charged”—and therefore their inclusion in the UCR Survey—is relatively unambiguous, the recording of “accused” who are not charged depends on the highly discretionary decision of a police officer to make a formal record of a person who is implicated in an incident but not (yet) charged. It is believed that there is considerable variation among Canadian police forces in this practice. This implies further bias in the simple distributions.
- ⁴ Since the *Young Offenders Act* came into force in 1984, a “young person” is defined for purposes of criminal law in Canada as anyone aged 12 to 17 inclusive at the time of the alleged offence. Children under 12 cannot be charged with a criminal offence, but they can be, and are, apprehended by police and recorded in the UCR as “accused”.
- ⁵ Although (a few) persons over 89 years old are included in the Survey, data reliability problems precluded their inclusion in this study.
- ⁶ The 26 offence groups are listed in Tables 3 and 4. In Figure 1, the following groups are combined: summary/hybrid and indictable drug (as “Drugs”); escape custody/unlawfully at large are included with “Administration of justice”; gambling, other morals, and other Criminal Code traffic offences are included in “Miscellaneous”.
- ⁷ Theft, like other property offences, is differentiated by the *Criminal Code* by the value of goods stolen, into “theft over [the threshold value]” (which is an indictable offence), and “theft under [the threshold value]”, which is a hybrid offence. The threshold value is adjusted periodically. During part of the period covered by these data (1992-97), the threshold value was \$1,000; later it was changed to \$5,000.
- ⁸ At the time of writing, age/gender specific population estimates for 1992-93 and 1997 were not available to use in calculating rates per 100,000; therefore Figure 2 uses data for the sub-sample apprehended in 1994-96.
- ⁹ Mainly indecent or harassing telephone calls and causing a disturbance.
- ¹⁰ Fraud by females is generally rather minor and probably mostly consumer-related: analysis of UCR data for 1992-93 shows that in 40 percent of fraud cases involving females, less than \$100 was involved, and only 15 percent of cases involved \$1,000 or more.
- ¹¹ For females, the offences of homicide and sexual assault 1 were omitted from the principal components analysis, due to very low numbers (see Table 4); consequently, there were only 24 offence groups.
- ¹² That is, an offence profile consisting of the mean percentage of each offence type, averaged over all age groups.
- ¹³ Although arson is an indictable offence, most cases of arson involving younger offenders were relatively minor (see “Children” below).
- ¹⁴ The *Criminal Code* classifies robbery as an offence against the person, but many researchers treat it as a property offence, and this principal components analysis supports that classification. In the discussion that follows, robbery is treated mainly as a property offence, but it is also included in assessments of the seriousness of offences against the person, in terms of the presence of weapons and/or injury to victim(s).

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- ¹⁵ Property offences were grouped into “major” and “minor” according to whether they were indictable (e.g. break and enter, robbery, theft over) or summary/hybrid (e.g. mischief). Arson is an indictable offence, but was classified as “minor”, since most cases of arson were relatively minor, in terms of property damage. Our data did not distinguish between the indictable (property over the threshold value) and the hybrid (under the threshold value) offences of possess stolen property and fraud; but most of these offences involved property under the threshold value, so these two offences were grouped with minor property offences. The number of persons apprehended for indictable offences against the person was too small (especially since robbery was classified as a property offence) to group them separately from hybrid person offences; also, there is no relationship between age and the seriousness of offences against the person (Figures 4 and 5). Very few persons were apprehended for indictable “other” offences, so it was not feasible to distinguish them from summary and hybrid “other” offences, other than persons apprehended for indictable drug offences, mainly drug trafficking. Figures 4 and 5 suggest two clusters of “other” offences: those that are more characteristic of younger offenders (drug offences and offences against the administration of justice, for both genders; and also prostitution, other morals violations, and weapons offences, for females), and those that are more characteristic of older offenders.
- ¹⁶ Throughout this paper, data on value of property, the presence of weapons, and injury to victims, are based on the sub-sample of 1.3 million persons apprehended in 1994-96, since data for 1992-93 and 1997 were not available at the time of writing.
- ¹⁷ Since children under 12 years of age cannot be charged with a criminal offence, their opportunities for committing offences against the administration of justice are necessarily very limited.
- ¹⁸ The male stratum includes 79 year olds males; the female stratum includes 62, 63, 74 and 80 year olds (see Figures 4 and 5); as explained above, the decreasing consistency of the development of offence profiles with each year of age is probably due to “sampling error” due to small numbers of older offenders – especially females.
- ¹⁹ The ages actually included in this stratum are 45 to 59, 62, 63, 74, and 80. See the previous note.
- ²⁰ Excluding 79 year old males (see Figure 4).
- ²¹ The ages actually included in this stratum are 60, 61, 64 to 73, 75 to 79, and 81 to 89. See note 19.
- ²² No data were available on the degree of violence or financial yield of crime by old people.

Table 1. Number of apprehended persons in the sample, by gender and age group

Age group (years of age)	Female Percent	Female N	Male Percent	Male N	Total Percent	Total N	Gender ratio* (males: females)
3 - 9	0.3	1279	0.4	7971	0.4	9,250	6.2
10 - 19	29.8	122414	29.7	610139	29.7	732,553	5.0
20 - 29	28.4	116756	30.4	623484	30.1	740,240	5.3
30 - 39	24.7	101549	23.5	481512	23.7	583,061	4.7
40 - 49	10.6	43561	10.4	213765	10.4	257,326	4.9
50 - 59	3.8	15602	3.8	77395	3.8	92,997	5.0
60 - 69	1.7	6982	1.4	28298	1.4	35,280	4.1
70 - 79	0.6	2612	0.4	7878	0.4	10,490	3.0
80 - 89	0.1	438	0.1	1082	0.1	1,520	2.5
Total	100.0	411,193	100.0	2,051,524	100.0	2,462,717	5.0

*Note: not standardised by population.

Table 2. Principal components analysis of age/gender-crime correlations: first 3 eigenvectors, sorted on 3rd

	"Young adult versus elderly crime"	"Children's versus middle-aged crime"	"Gender"
Break & enter	0.42	-0.52	0.66
Mischief	-0.26	-0.49	0.54
Sexual assault 1	-0.29	0.68	0.53
Arson	-0.36	-0.48	0.50
Weapons	0.09	0.62	0.47
Robbery	0.81	-0.28	0.38
Theft over, MV theft	0.75	-0.21	0.29
Other morals	-0.04	0.80	0.27
Escape/UAL	0.91	-0.09	0.20
Other indictable person	0.49	0.35	0.18
Assault 2,3	0.19	0.58	0.15
Other CC traffic	-0.47	0.41	0.11
Drinking-driving	0.23	0.84	0.04
Assault 1	-0.30	0.59	0.03
Summary/hybrid drug	0.93	-0.14	0.02
Stolen property	0.85	-0.29	0.00
Other hybrid person	0.14	0.85	-0.05
Gambling	0.00	0.61	-0.10
Miscellaneous	0.36	0.69	-0.14
Indictable drug	0.92	0.06	-0.18
Homicide	-0.07	0.00	-0.19
FTA, bail violation	0.85	0.06	-0.28
Theft under	-0.60	-0.46	-0.42
Prostitution	0.46	0.09	-0.44
Fraud	0.59	0.04	-0.63
Public order	-0.22	-0.04	-0.72
Eigenvalue	7.48	5.95	3.35
Proportion of variance	0.29	0.23	0.13

Table 3. Percent of apprehended males, 1992-97, by age stratum and offence group

Age stratum	3 - 11	12 - 13	14 - 18	19 - 39	40 - 76	77 - 89	Total percent	Total number
Number of age groups	9	2	5	21	38	12	100.0	87
Theft under	29.5	33.3	22.7	12.2	13.3	26.4	15.5	317,200
Arson	5.8	2.0	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	6,846
Mischief	34.2	15.8	7.7	3.7	2.7	2.1	5.1	104,730
Stolen property	0.9	3.4	5.5	3.5	1.9	0.3	3.6	74,672
Fraud	0.2	0.7	2.2	6.5	5.8	1.0	5.2	107,378
Other minor property	41.1	21.9	15.9	13.9	10.7	3.7	14.3	293,626
Break & enter	10.8	13.4	19.5	9.7	3.0	0.5	10.9	224,007
Robbery	0.8	2.2	2.9	2.2	0.8	0.1	2.1	43,345
Theft over \$1,000 and MV theft	0.4	2.4	6.3	3.0	1.4	0.3	3.4	69,954
Major property	12.0	18.0	28.8	14.9	5.2	1.0	16.4	337,306
Other indictable person	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.7	14,263
Assault levels 2 & 3	2.4	3.0	2.8	3.6	3.7	4.8	3.4	69,661
Homicide	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	1,947
Other hybrid person	1.4	1.9	2.0	4.5	7.1	6.8	4.3	87,875
Assault level 1	9.3	9.8	5.8	10.8	14.8	15.7	10.3	211,141
Sexual assault level 1	1.8	2.0	0.9	1.2	2.6	7.4	1.4	27,762
Person	15.2	17.1	12.1	20.9	29.0	35.1	20.1	412,649
Summary/hybrid drug	0.1	1.1	3.1	3.6	1.5	0.0	3.0	62,427
Indictable drug	0.1	0.5	1.6	2.9	1.9	0.0	2.3	47,653
Escape/UAL	0.0	0.5	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.0	1.0	21,089
Administration of justice	0.4	5.1	9.8	13.7	10.2	2.4	11.9	244,287
Drugs, admin. of justice	0.6	7.2	15.7	21.3	14.1	2.4	18.3	375,456
Public order	0.4	0.7	0.9	1.5	1.8	1.1	1.4	27,920
Miscellaneous	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.2	1.6	1.0	1.2	23,999
Prostitution	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.9	1.4	0.7	0.8	15,486
Drinking-driving	0.0	0.0	0.9	9.4	17.4	9.9	8.5	174,016
Gambling	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1	3,035
Weapons	0.7	1.0	1.2	0.9	1.2	1.8	1.0	20,759
Other morals	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.8	1.9	0.4	7,722
Other CC traffic	0.0	0.2	0.9	2.4	3.0	14.8	2.1	42,350
Other	1.6	2.5	4.9	16.8	27.6	31.4	15.4	315,287
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Number of apprehended males	21,256	57,712	448,535	1,195,603	326,572	1,846		2,051,524
Percent of apprehended males	1.0	2.8	21.9	58.3	15.9	0.1	100.0	

Note: the 40 – 76 stratum includes 79 year olds; the 77 – 89 stratum excludes them.

Table 4. Percent of apprehended females, 1992-97, by age stratum and offence group

Age stratum	3 - 11	12 - 13	14 - 17	18 - 44	45 - 59	60 - 89	Total percent	Total number
Number of age groups	9	2	4	27	19	26	100.0	87
Theft under	52.2	57.7	43.1	24.4	38.4	54.5	31.3	128,786
Arson	2.8	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	893
Mischief	16.4	4.3	2.9	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.7	10,902
Stolen property	1.3	3.4	4.4	2.9	2.0	1.3	3.1	12,640
Fraud	0.5	1.0	3.8	12.4	9.7	4.0	9.8	40,321
Other minor property	21.0	9.2	11.2	17.8	14.3	7.4	15.7	64,756
Break & enter	9.5	4.1	4.8	2.1	0.9	0.4	2.7	10,913
Robbery	0.5	1.3	1.9	0.8	0.2	0.0	1.0	3,969
Theft over \$1,000 and MV theft	0.2	0.8	1.9	1.2	1.0	0.6	1.3	5,362
Major property	10.3	6.1	8.7	4.2	2.1	1.0	4.9	20,244
Other indictable person	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.4	1,453
Assault levels 2 & 3	1.5	1.9	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.1	2.7	11,106
Homicide	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	257
Other hybrid person	1.0	2.1	2.7	4.0	5.1	3.8	3.7	15,295
Assault level 1	8.9	11.2	10.2	9.1	10.7	13.2	9.6	39,529
Sexual assault level 1	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	568
Person	12.3	15.6	15.9	16.5	19.0	19.5	16.6	68,208
Escape/UAL	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.6	2,429
Summary/hybrid drug	0.1	0.9	1.9	2.5	0.7	0.2	2.1	8,769
Prostitution	0.1	0.1	1.2	6.5	1.1	0.1	4.6	18,886
Other morals	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.3	1,346
Administration of justice	0.8	7.3	13.1	14.2	6.7	3.8	12.7	52,261
Indictable drug	0.0	0.5	1.1	2.4	1.4	0.5	1.9	7,847
Weapons	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	1,730
Drugs, admin. justice, prost'n etc.	1.7	9.6	18.7	27.0	10.5	5.0	22.7	93,268
Miscellaneous	0.2	0.3	0.7	1.2	1.3	0.8	1.0	4,314
Drinking-driving	0.0	0.0	0.3	5.3	8.1	3.6	4.3	17,624
Gambling	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	606
Public order	2.2	1.4	1.2	2.2	3.4	3.4	2.1	8,647
Other CC traffic	0.1	0.1	0.4	1.2	2.4	4.6	1.2	4,740
Other	2.5	1.8	2.4	10.0	15.7	12.5	8.7	35,931
Number of apprehended females	4,106	19,851	72,829	272,656	33,760	7,991		411,193
Percent of apprehended females	1.0	4.8	17.7	66.3	8.2	1.9	100.0	

Note: the 45 – 59 stratum includes ages 62, 63, 74, and 80; the 60 – 89 stratum excludes them.

Appendix 1. Detailed offence distribution in the sample of apprehended persons

Offence group	Offences	Percent of group	Percent of total	Number
Indictable person			4.0	98,687
Homicide	1st degree murder	32.6	0.0	719
	2nd degree murder	23.3	0.0	513
	Manslaughter	6.4	0.0	141
	Motor vehicle offences causing death	24.8	0.0	547
	Conspiracy to murder, negligence causing death, etc.	12.9	0.0	284
	Total homicide	100.0	0.1	2,204
Major assault	Assault level 3 (aggravated assault)	8.4	0.3	6,757
	Assault level 2 (with weapon or causing bodily harm)	89.3	2.9	72,147
	Unlawfully causing bodily harm	2.3	0.1	1,863
	Total major assault	100.0	3.3	80,767
Other indictable person	Attempt murder	16.5	0.1	2,589
	Sexual assault level 3 (aggravated)	3.8	0.0	593
	Sexual assault level 2 (with a weapon or causing bodily harm)	5.7	0.0	903
	Kidnapping, abduction, hostage-taking, forcible confinement	41.4	0.3	6,504
	Extortion	18.4	0.1	2,899
	Discharge firearm with intent to wound, etc.	2.3	0.0	363
	Criminal negligence causing bodily harm	2.8	0.0	445
	Miscellaneous indictable person	9.0	0.1	1,420
	Total other indictable person	100.0	0.6	15,716
Hybrid person			15.5	382,170
Sexual assault level 1	Sexual assault level 1	100.0	1.2	28,330
Minor assault	Assault level 1	100.0	10.2	250,670
Other hybrid person	Sex offences against children	4.4	0.2	4,489
	Offences against custody orders	0.5	0.0	543
	Assault peace officer, resist arrest	19.2	0.8	19,770
	Criminal harassment	11.1	0.5	11,446
	Other (threats, libel, hate crimes, etc.)	64.9	2.7	66,922
	Total other hybrid person	100.0	4.2	103,170
Indictable property			14.8	365,289
Robbery*	Robbery	100.0	1.9	47,314
Break and enter	Break and enter, possess housebreaking tools	100.0	9.5	234,920
Theft over & motor vehicle theft	Theft of property worth more than... or of motor vehicle, take MV without consent	100.0	3.1	75,316
Arson	Arson	100.0	0.3	7,739
Summary & hybrid property			32.3	796,629
Theft under	Theft of property worth less than ...	100.0	18.1	445,986
Stolen property	Possession of stolen property	100.0	3.5	87,312
Fraud	Fraud, credit card offences, forgery, false pretences, other white collar	100.0	6.0	147,699
Mischief	Mischief causing damage to property	100.0	4.7	115,632

Other			33.3	819,942
Drugs	Possess cannabis	33.0	1.7	41,796
	Possess cocaine	15.0	0.8	19,011
	Possess other illegal drugs	7.6	0.4	9,571
	Traffic/import/produce/possess with intent: cocaine	20.5	1.1	25,993
	Traffic/import/produce/possess with intent: cannabis	16.8	0.9	21,326
	Traffic/import/produce/possess with intent: other illegal drugs	7.1	0.4	8,999
	Total drugs	100.0	5.1	126,696
Administration of justice	Fail to appear for court; bail offences	55.6	7.2	178,003
	Breach probation, fail to comply with disposition under the YOA	26.2	3.4	83,923
	Escape custody/prison, unlawfully at large	7.3	1.0	23,518
	Obstruct peace officer	6.7	0.9	21,562
	Other (obstruct justice, perjury, bribe official, etc.)	4.1	0.5	13,060
	Total administration of justice	100.0	13.0	320,066
Public order	Indecent/harassing telephone calls	59.6	0.9	21,804
	Cause disturbance	31.5	0.5	11,514
	Vagrancy, public nuisance, trespass at night	8.9	0.1	3,249
	Total public order	100.0	1.5	36,567
Weapons	Explosives offences	2.2	0.0	490
	Prohibited weapons offences (possess, import, etc.)	24.4	0.2	5,481
	Restricted weapons offences (possess, import, etc.)	12.4	0.1	2,786
	Other (careless use/storage of firearm, firearms sale offences, concealed weapon)	61.1	0.6	13,732
	Total weapons	100.0	0.9	22,489
Prostitution	Communicate for the purposes of prostitution	87.6	1.2	30,111
	Bawdy house: owner, inmate, found in	8.6	0.1	2,955
	Procuring/permitting underage prostitution	3.8	0.1	1,306
	Total prostitution	100.0	1.4	34,372
Gambling	Betting/gaming house: keeper, found in	77.1	0.1	2,807
	Bookmaking, unauthorised lottery, etc.	22.9	0.0	834
	Total gambling	100.0	0.1	3,641
Other morals	Other morals (public nudity etc.)	100.0	0.4	9,068
Drinking-driving	Impaired driving, driving over .08, refuse to give breath sample, etc.	100.0	7.8	191,640
Miscellaneous	Criminal Code traffic other than drinking-driving (hit & run, dangerous operation, etc.)	62.5	1.9	47,090
	Other Criminal Code (money laundering, attempts, accessories, etc.)	28.1	0.9	21,181
	Other federal statutes (Canada Shipping Act, Immigration Act, etc.)	9.5	0.3	7,132
	Total miscellaneous	100.0	3.1	75,403
Total			100.0	2,462,717

Figure 1. Distribution of offences, 2.5 million apprehended persons, Canada, 1992-97

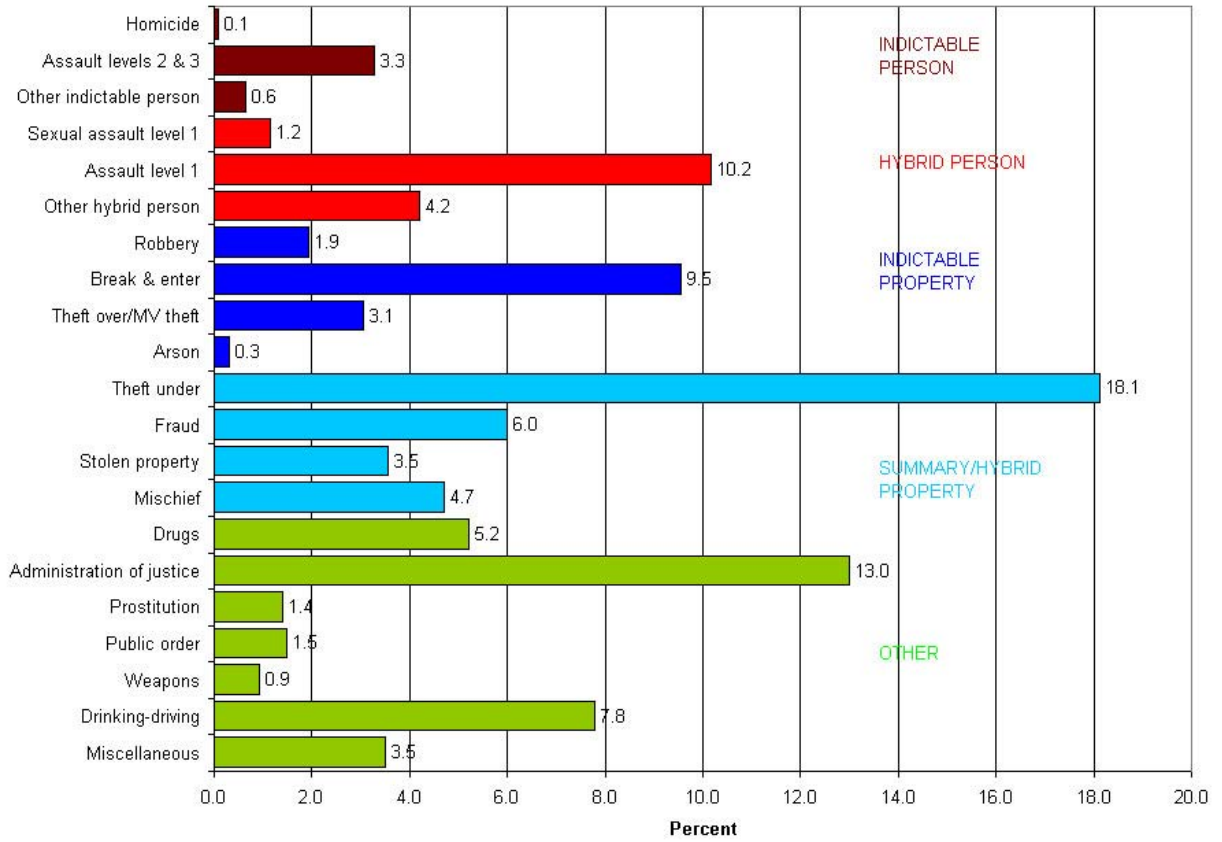


Figure 2. Estimated rates per 100,000 population of persons apprehended by police, by age and gender, Canada, 1994-96

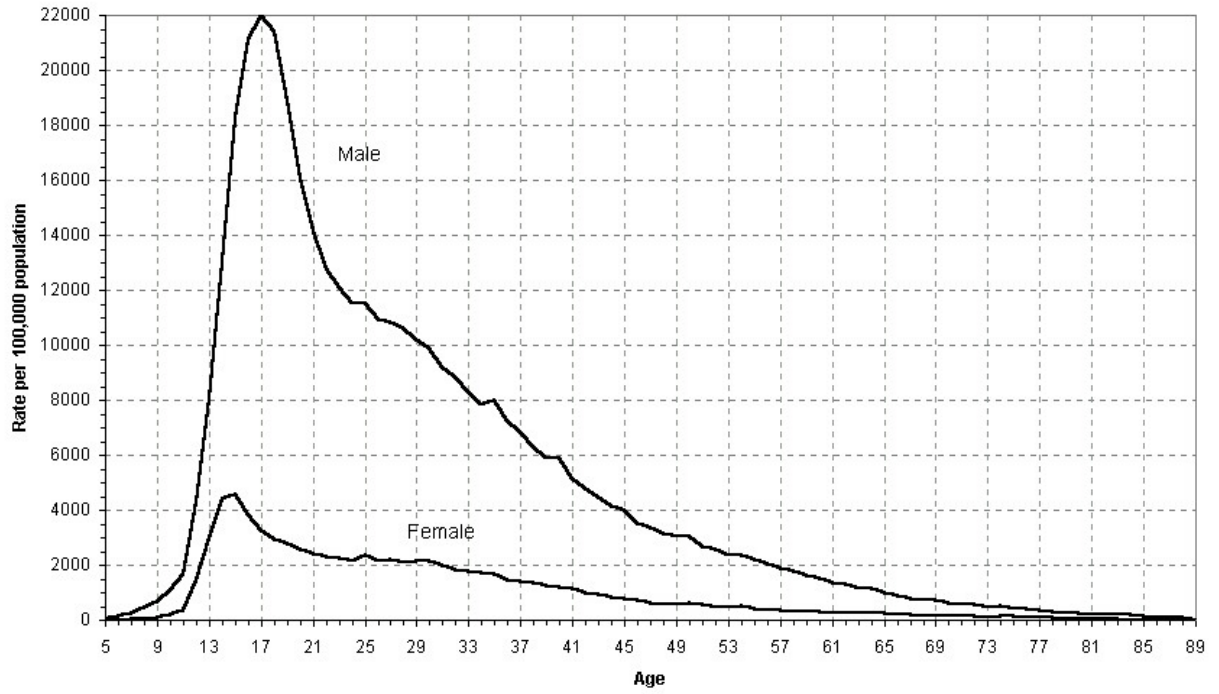


Figure 3. Number of age groups by their score on the 3rd principal component of the offence type intercorrelation matrix, by gender

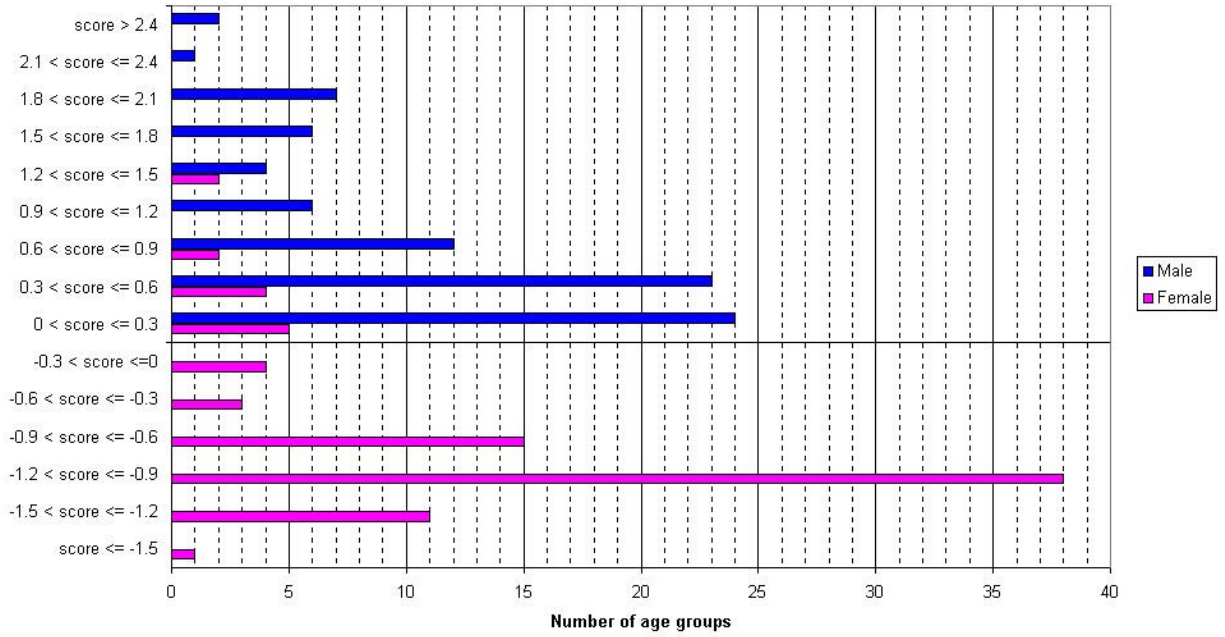


Figure 6. Distances of age groups from the origins of the age-offence plots, by gender

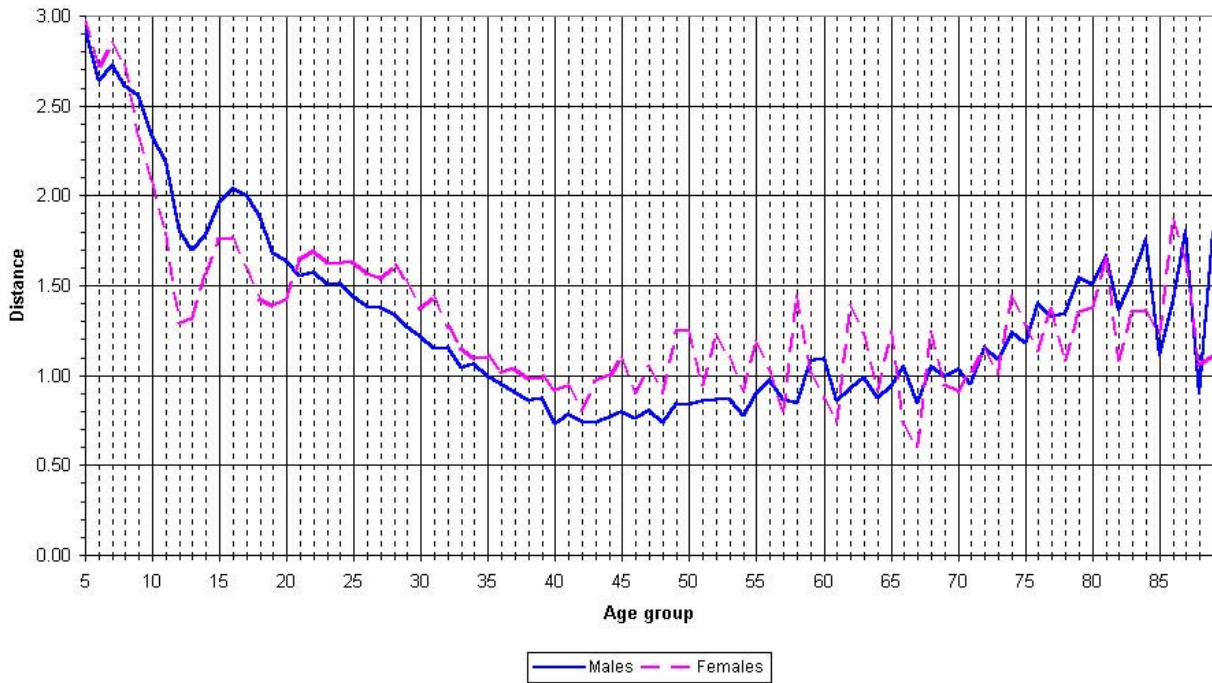


Figure 7. Estimated rates per 100,000 population of males implicated in robbery and level 1 sexual assault, by age, 1994-96

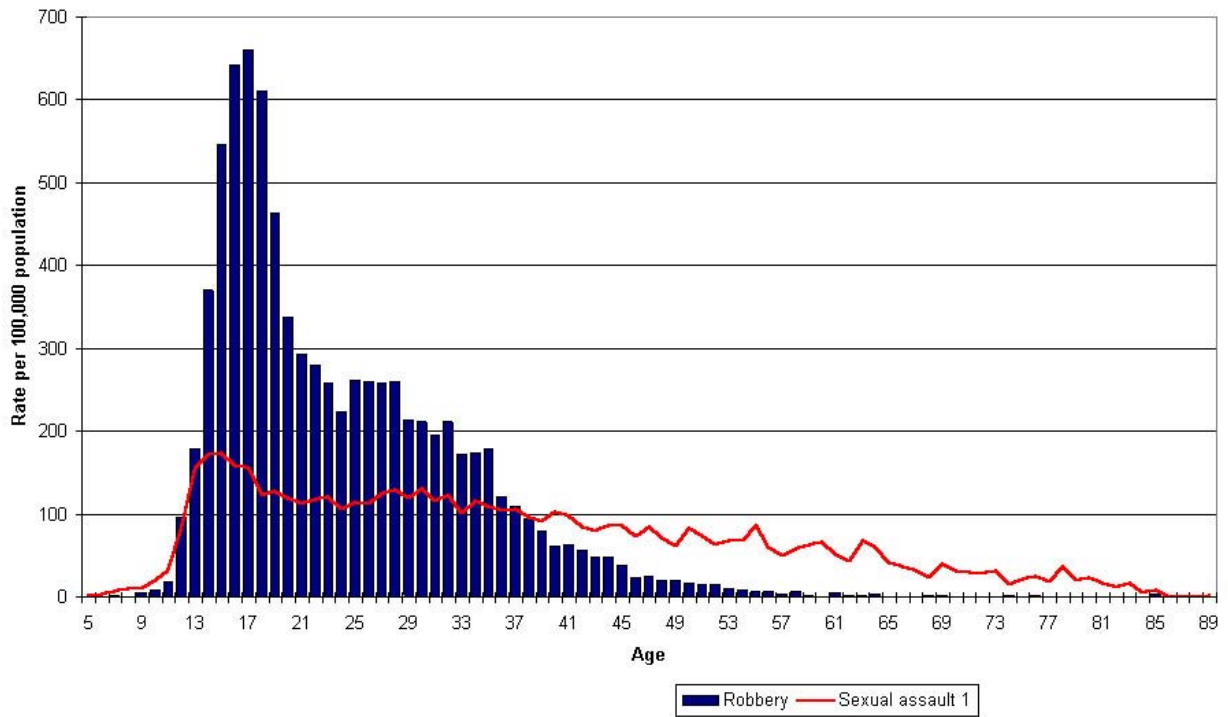


Figure 8. Males implicated in robbery and level 1 sexual assault as percentages of males apprehended for all offences, by age, 1992-97

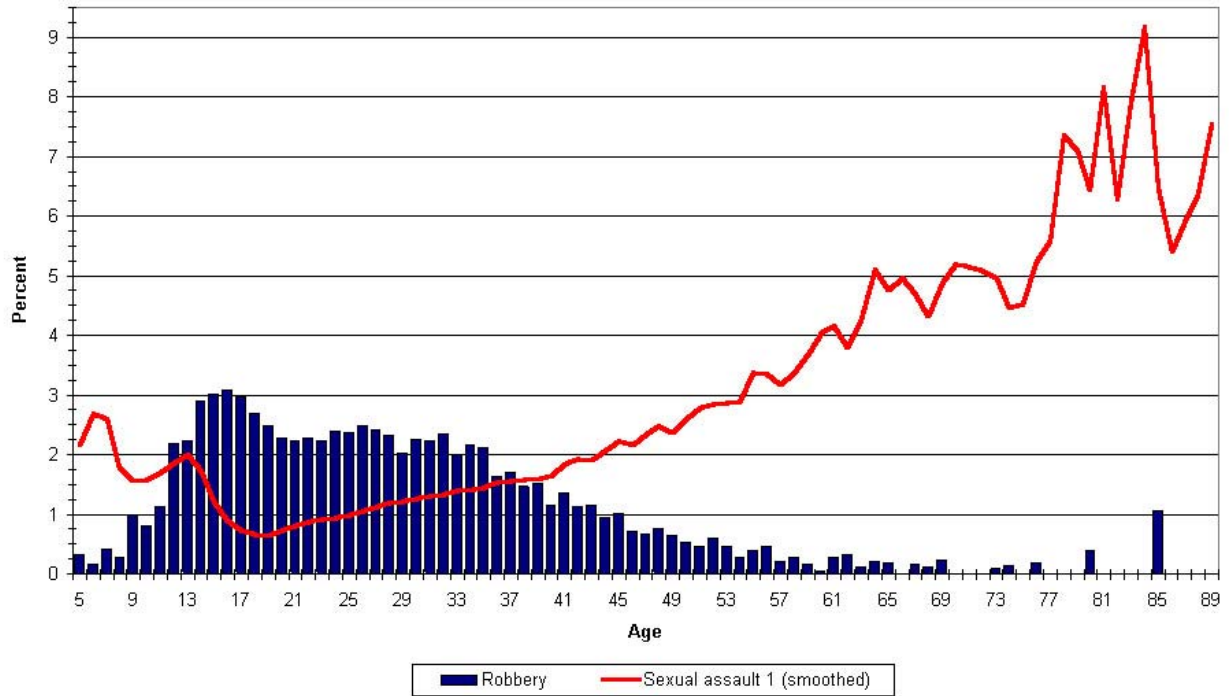


Figure 9. Persons implicated in break and enter as a percentage of all persons in each age/gender group who were apprehended, 1992-97

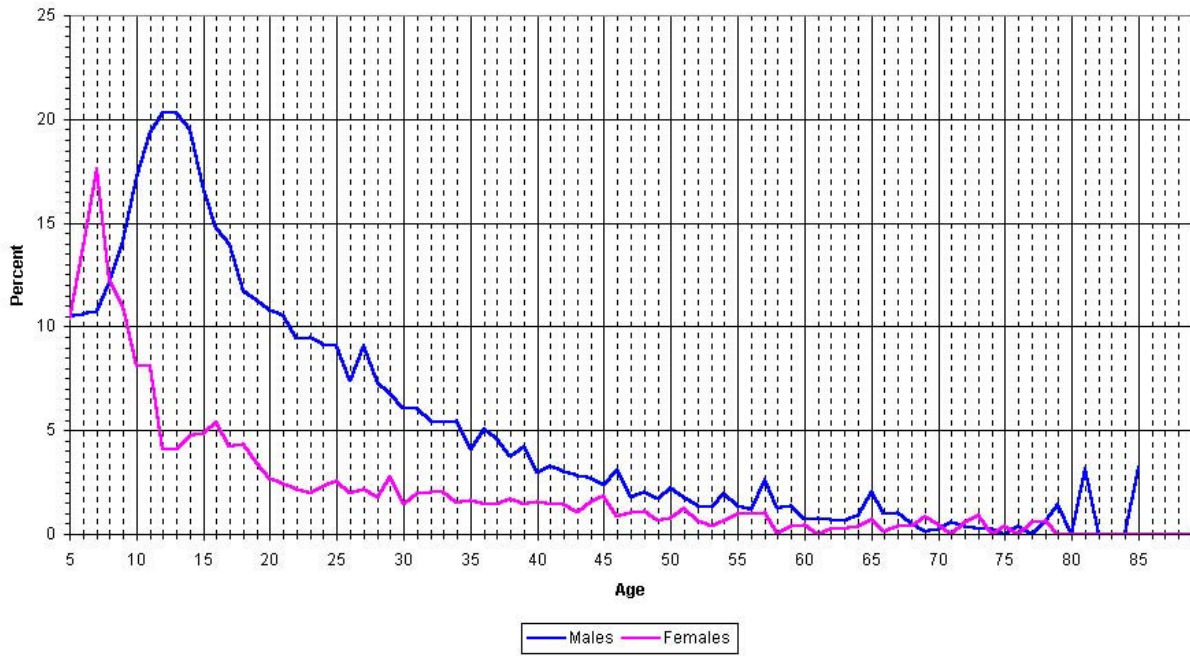


Figure 10. Persons implicated in prostitution-related incidents as a percentage of all persons in each age/gender group who were apprehended, 1992-97

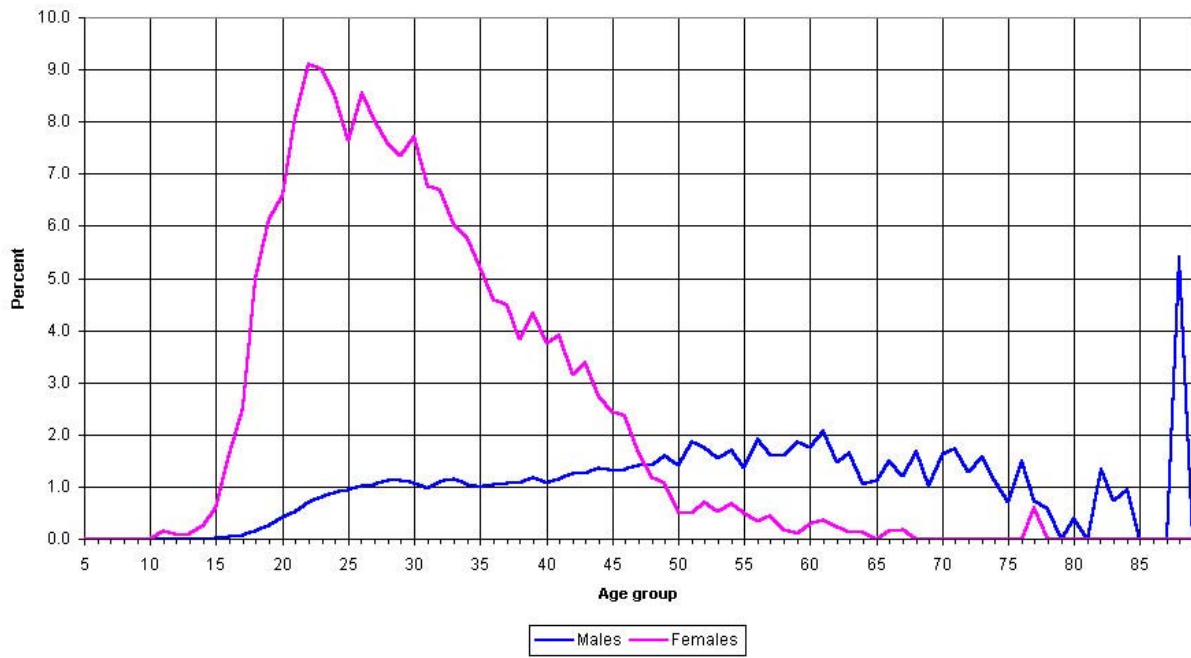


Figure 11. Percent distribution of offences, by age stratum, males, 1992-97

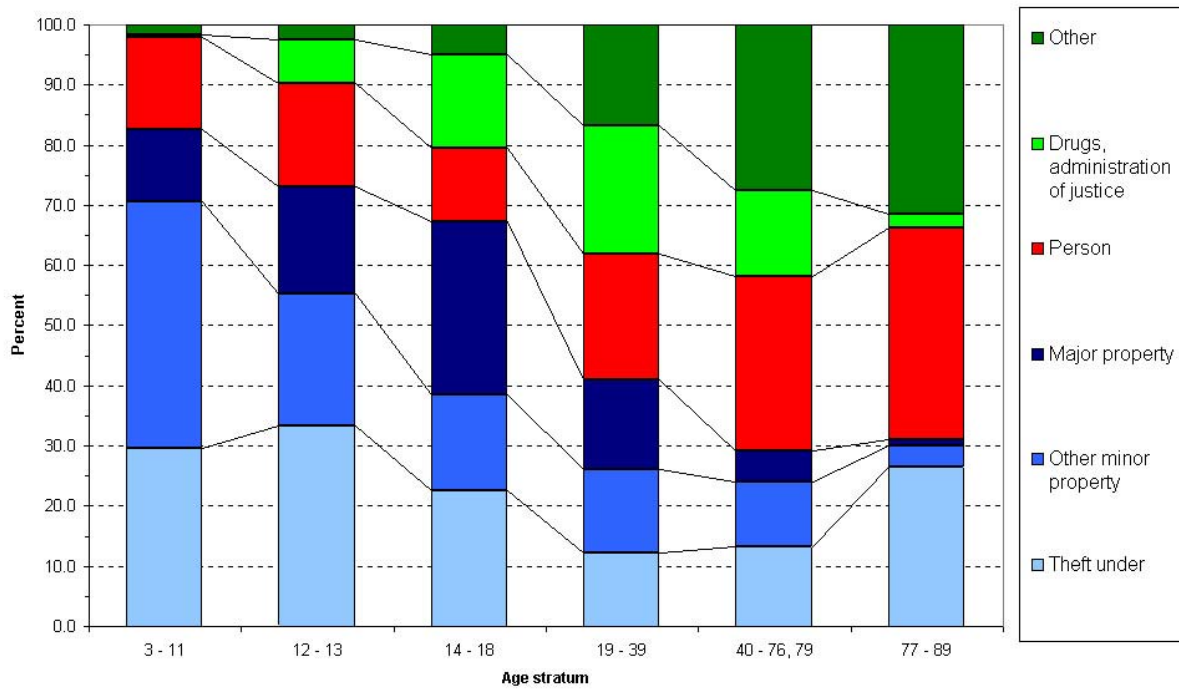


Figure 12. Percent distribution of offences, by age stratum, females, 1992-97

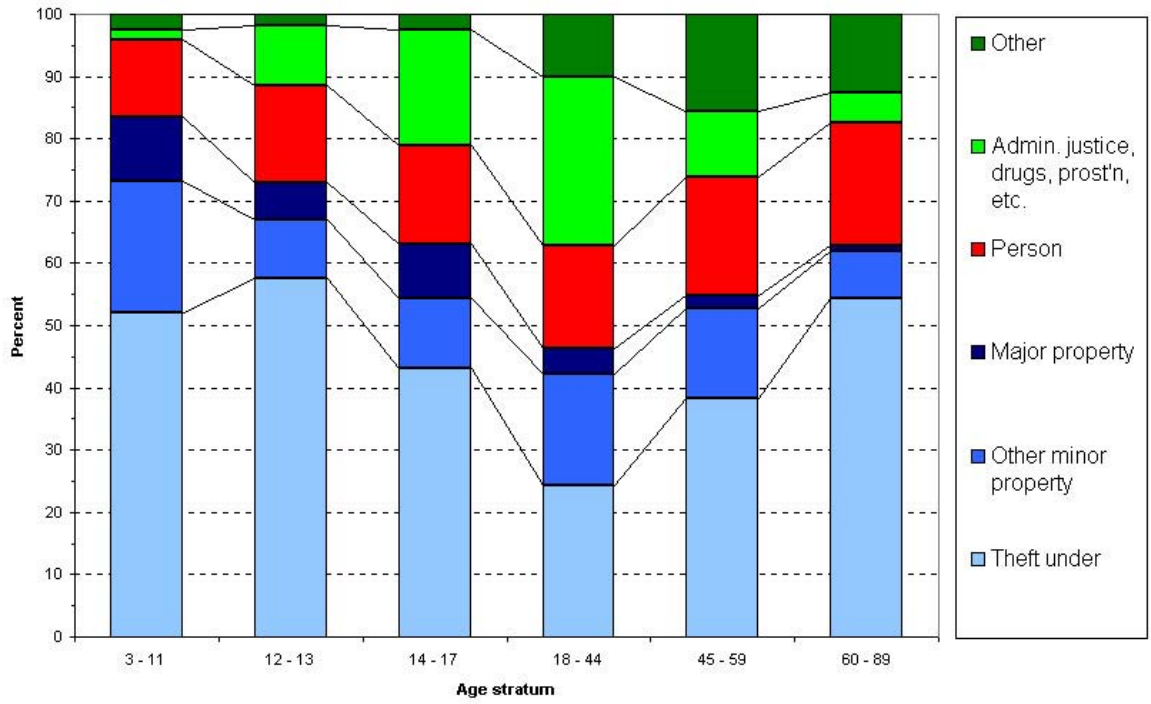


Figure 13. Seriousness of offence profile (percent implicated in indictable offences), by gender and age, Canada, 1992-98

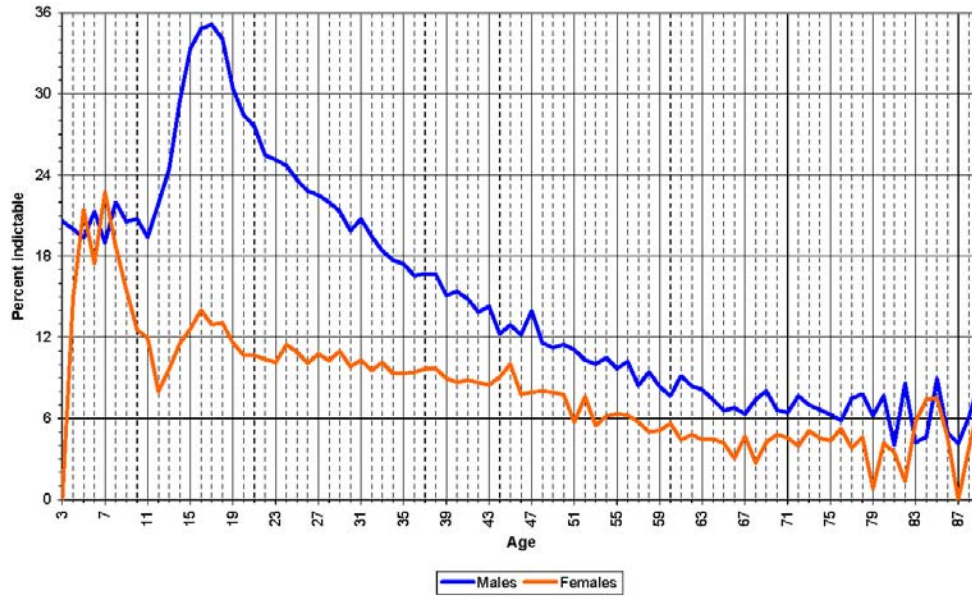
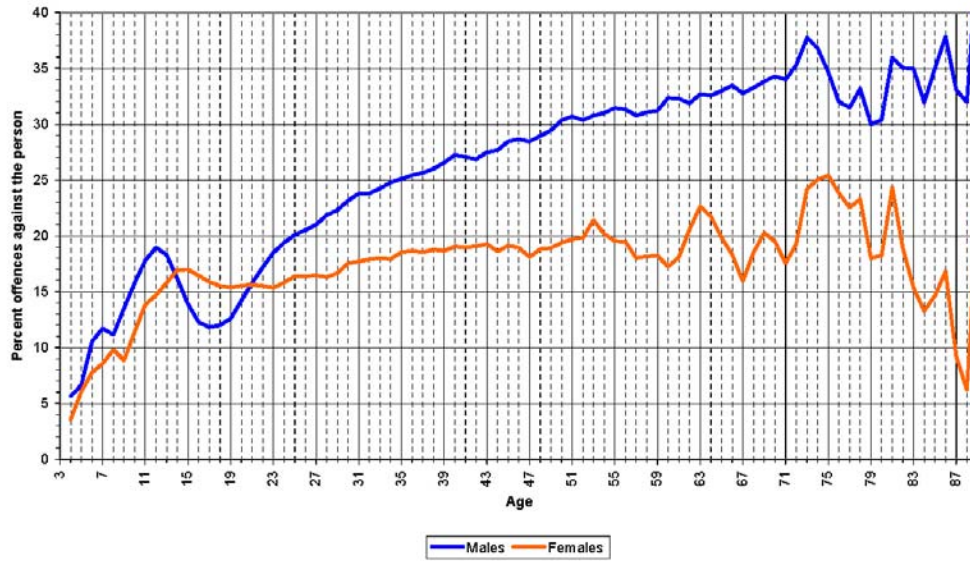


Figure 14. Seriousness of offence profile (percent implicated in offences against the person), by gender and age, Canada, 1992-98



Note: percentages are smoothed, using 2-year moving averages.