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### APPENDIX1

		Table 1—	-1990 <sup>2</sup> (Part I)			
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>3</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>4</sup>	(c) Percent Reported <sup>5</sup> (% of col. a)	(d) Number Arrested <sup>6</sup>	(e) Standard Percent Arrested <sup>7</sup> (% of col. b)	(f) True Percent Arrested <sup>8</sup> (% of col. a)
Total	30,661,8609	14,475,630	47.21%	2,313,247	15.98%	7.54%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>10</sup>	N/A	23,440	N/A	18,298	78.06%	78.06%
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>11</sup>	130,260	102,560	78.73%	30,966	30.19%	23.77%
Robbery	1,149,710	639,270	55.60%	136,300	21.32%	11.86%
Aggravated Assault	1,600,670	1,054,860	65.90%	376,917	35.73%	23.55%
Larceny-Theft	20,642,500	7,945,700	38.49%	1,241,236	15.62%	6.01%
Burglary	5,147,740	3,073,900	59.71%	341,192	11.10%	6.63%
Motor Vehicle Theft	1,967,540	1,635,900	83.14%	168,338	10.29%	8.56%

		Table 1—199012	(Part II)		
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>13</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>14</sup>	(g) Number Cleared <sup>15</sup> (col. h * col. b)	(h) Standard Percent Cleared <sup>16</sup>	(i) True Percent Cleared <sup>17</sup> (% of col. a)
Total	30,661,86018	14,475,630	3,075,559.97	21.25%	10.03%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>19</sup>	N/A	23,440	15,751.68	67.20%	67.20%
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>20</sup>	130,260	102,560	53,126.08	51.80%	40.78%
Robbery	1,149,710	639,270	155,342.61	24.30%	13.51%
Aggravated Assault	1,600,670	1,054,860	595,995.90	56.50%	37.23%
Larceny-Theft	20,642,500	7,945,700	1,612,977.10	20.30%	7.81%
Burglary	5,147,740	3,073,900	414,976.50	13.50%	8.06%
Motor Vehicle Theft	1,967,540	1,635,900	227,390.10	13.90%	11.56%

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	Table 1—1990 <sup>21</sup> (Part III)						
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>22</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>23</sup>	(j) Number Convicted <sup>24</sup>	(k) Standard Percent Convicted <sup>25</sup> (% of col b)	(I) True Percent Convicted <sup>26</sup> (% of col. a)		
Total	30,661,860 <sup>27</sup>	14,475,630	379,292	2.62%	1.24%		
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>28</sup>	N/A	23,440	11,028	47.05%	47.05%		
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>29</sup>	130,260	102,560	18,173	17.72%	13.95%		
Robbery	1,149,710	639,270	48,783	7.63%	4.24%		
Aggravated Assault	1,600,670	1,054,860	54,316 <sup>30</sup>	5.15%	3.39%		
Larceny-Theft	20,642,500	7,945,700	94,738	1.19%	0.46%		
Burglary	5,147,740	3,073,900	109,849	3.57%	2.13%		
Motor Vehicle Theft	1,967,540	1,635,900	21,340	1.30%	1.08%		

		Table	2-2006 (Part	I)		
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>31</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>32</sup>	(c) Percent Reported (% of col. a)	(d) Number Arrested <sup>33</sup>	(e) Standard Percent Arrested (% of col. b)	(f) True Percent Arrested (% of col. a)
Total	21,162,43834	10,092,450	47.69%	2,135,238	21.16%	10.09%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter	N/A	14,948	N/A	13,435	89.88%	89.88%
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>36</sup>	272,350	80,440	29.54%	24,535	30.50%	9.01%
Robbery	711,570	384,844	54.08%	125,605	32.64%	17.65%
Aggravated Assault	1,354,750	760,753	56.15%	447,948	58.88%	33.06%
Larceny- Theft	14,275,150	5,810,638	40.70%	1,081,157	18.61%	7.57%
Burglary	3,539,760	1,956,175	55.26%	304,801	15.58%	8.61%
Motor Vehicle Theft	993,910	1,084,652	109.13% <sup>37</sup>	137,757	12.70%	13.86%

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	Table 2—2006 (Part II)					
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>38</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>39</sup>	(g) Number Cleared (col. h * col. b)	(h) Standard Percent Cleared <sup>40</sup>	(i) True Percent Cleared (% of col. a)	
Total	21,162,43841	10,092,450	1,943,955.92	19.26%	9.19%	
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>42</sup>	N/A	14,948	9,073.44	60.70%	60.70%	
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>43</sup>	272,350	80,440	32,899.96	40.90%	12.08%	
Robbery	711,570	384,844	96,980.69	25.20%	13.63%	
Aggravated Assault	1,354,750	760,753	410,806.62	54.00%	30.32%	
Larceny-Theft	14,275,150	5,810,638	1,011,051.01	17.40%	7.08%	
Burglary	3,539,760	1,956,175	246,478.05	12.60%	6.96%	
Motor Vehicle Theft	993,910	1,084,652	136,666.15	12.60%	13.75%	

		Table 2—2006 (	(Part III)		
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>44</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>45</sup>	(j) Number Convicted <sup>46</sup>	(k) Standard Percent Convicted (% of col. b)	(l) True Percent Convicted (% of col. a)
Total	21,162,43847	10,092,450	413,026	4.09%	1.95%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>48</sup>	N/A	14,948	8,845	59.17%	59.17%
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>49</sup>	272,350	80,440	33,618	41.79%	12.34%
Robbery	711,570	384,844	43,059	11.19%	6.05%
Aggravated Assault	1,354,750	760,753	101,108	13.29%	7.46%
Larceny-Theft	14,275,150	5,810,638	107,738	1.85%	0.75%
Burglary	3,539,760	1,956,175	99,964	5.11%	2.82%
Motor Vehicle Theft	993,910	1,084,652	18,694	1.72%	1.88%

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		Table 3	2018 (Part I	)		
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>50</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>51</sup>	(c) Percent Reported (% of col. a)	(d) Number Arrested <sup>52</sup>	(e) Standard Percent Arrested (% of col. b)	(f) True Percent Arrested (% of col. a)
Total	15,883,396 <sup>53</sup>	7,789,995	49.04%	1,679,012	21.55%	10.57%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>54</sup>	N/A	14,786	N/A	11,970	80.95%	80.95%
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>55</sup>	734,630 <sup>56</sup>	127,258	17.32%	25,205	19.81%	3.43%
Robbery	573,100	260,709	45.49%	88,128	33.80%	15.38%
Aggravated Assault	1,058,040	745,238	70.44%	395,800	53.11%	37.41%
Larceny-Theft	10,329,210	4,812,405	46.59%	887,622	18.44%	8.59%
Burglary	2,639,620	1,128,351	42.75%	178,611	15.83%	6.77%
Motor Vehicle Theft	534,010	701,248	131.32%57	91,676	13.07%	17.17%

	Table 3—2018 (Part II)						
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>58</sup>	(b) Number of Offenses Reported <sup>59</sup>	(g) Number Cleared (col. h * col. b)	(h) Standard Percent Cleared <sup>60</sup>	(i) True Percent Cleared (% of col. a)		
Total	15,883,396 61	7,789,995	1,685,378.89	21.64%	10.61%		
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>62</sup>	N/A	14,786	9,211.68	62.30%	62.30%		
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>63</sup>	734,630 <sup>64</sup>	127,258	42,504.17	33.40%	5.79%		
Robbery	573,100	260,709	79,255.54	30.40%	13.83%		
Aggravated Assault	1,058,040	745,238	391,249.95	52.50%	36.98%		
Larceny-Theft	10,329,210	4,812,405	909,544.55	18.90%	8.81%		
Burglary	2,639,620	1,128,351	156,840.79	13.90%	5.94%		
Motor Vehicle Theft	534,010	701,248	96,772.22	13.80%	18.12%		

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	Table	4—Percent	of Crimes	Reported	to Police (F	FBI/NCVS)	65	
	1990	1995	1998	2004	2006	2009	2014	2018
Total	47.21%	37.22% 66	37.15 %	46.44 %	47.69%	54.88%	49.59%	49.04%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>68</sup>	78.73%	24.25%	21.37 %	31.65 %	29.54%	60.57%	35.09%	17.32%
Robbery	55.60%	44.00%	39.59 %	53.47 %	54.08%	65.97%	44.84%	45.49%
Aggravated Assault	65.90%	49.31%	44.41 %	51.36 %	56.15%	85.08%	61.78%	70.44%
Larceny- Theft	38.49%	30.94%	31.81 %	40.63 %	40.70%	47.46%	45.08%	46.59%
Burglary	59.71%	45.97%	44.14 %	51.62 %	55.26%	62.45%	52.57%	42.75%
Motor Vehicle Theft	83.14%	78.73%	86.51 %	101.45 % <sup>69</sup>	109.13 % <sup>70</sup>	97.06%	119.72 % <sup>71</sup>	131.24 % <sup>72</sup>

Table 5-	-Percent of	f Crimes Kn	own When	re Police N	Make Arrest	s (True Pero	ent Arreste	d) <sup>73</sup>
	1990	1995	1998	2004	2006	2009	2014	2018
Total	7.54%	9.12%	9.55%	10.21 %	10.09%	13.46%	11.78%	10.57%
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter	78.06%	115.86 % <sup>74</sup>	132.86 % <sup>75</sup>	98.57 %	89.88%	93.78%	82.08%	80.95%
Rape/Sexual Assault	23.77%	10.18%	9.34%	10.19	9.01%	17.00%	7.39%	3.43%
Robbery	11.86%	15.05%	13.63	17.68 %	17.65%	23.74%	14.21%	15.38%
Aggravated Assault	23.55%	30.19%	30.27 %	30.88 %	33.06%	51.16%	34.13%	37.41%
Larceny- Theft	6.01%	6.95%	7.38%	8.05%	7.57%	11.40%	10.53%	8.59%
Burglary	6.63%	8.01%	8.16%	8.19%	8.61%	9.55%	7.95%	6.77%
Motor Vehicle Theft	8.56%	11.60%	13.24	13.89	13.86%	11.12%	12.80%	17.16%

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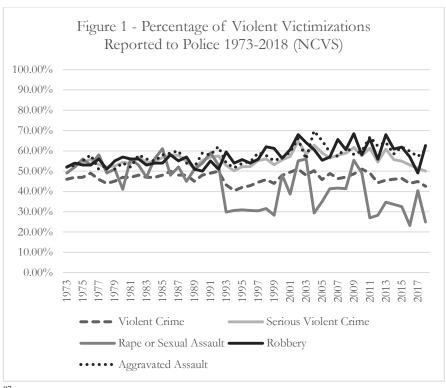
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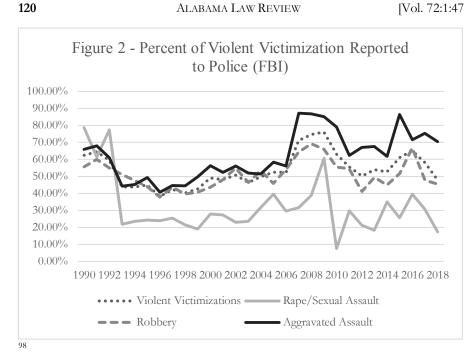
Table 6—True Percent Convicted (% Held Responsible) <sup>77</sup>							
	1990	1998	2004	200678			
Total	1.24%	1.35%	1.81%	1.95%			
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter	47.05%	72.56%	62.88%	59.17%			
Rape/Sexual Assault	13.95%	9.11%	13.14%	12.34%			
Robbery	4.24%	4.57%	6.53%	6.05%			
Aggravated Assault	3.39%	4.26%	6.69%	7.46%			
Larceny-Theft	0.46%	0.53%	0.70%	0.75%			
Burglary	2.13%	2.17%	2.61%	2.82%			
Motor Vehicle Theft	1.08%	1.28%	1.59%	1.88%			

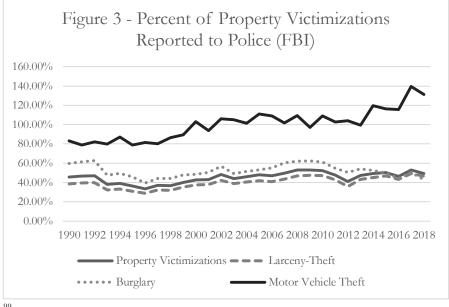
Table 7—Criminal Accountability (FBI Reported), 2006							
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>79</sup>	(b) Percent Reported	(c) True Percent	(d) True Percent	(e) True Percent Convicted <sup>83</sup>		
		(FBI) <sup>80</sup> (% of col. a)	Arrested <sup>81</sup> (% of col. a)	Cleared <sup>82</sup> (% of col. a)	(% of col. a)		
Total	21,162,43884	47.69%	10.09%	9.19%	1.95%		
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>85</sup>	N/A	N/A	89.88%	60.70%	59.17%		
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>86</sup>	272,350	29.54%	9.01%	12.08%	12.34%		
Robbery	711,570	54.08%	17.65%	13.63%	6.05%		
Aggravated Assault	1,354,750	56.15%	33.06%	30.32%	7.46%		
Larceny-Theft	14,275,150	40.70%	7.57%	7.08%	0.75%		
Burglary	3,539,760	55.26%	8.61%	6.96%	2.82%		
Motor Vehicle Theft	993,910	109.13%87	13.86%	13.75%	1.88%		

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Table 8—Criminal Accountability (NCVS Reporting), 2006							
Type of Offense	(a) Number Known <sup>88</sup>	(b) Percent Reported (NCVS) <sup>89</sup>	(c) True Percent Arrested <sup>90</sup> (% of col. a)	(d) True Percent Cleared <sup>91</sup> (% of col. a)	(e) True Percent Convicted <sup>92</sup> (% of col. a)		
Total	21,162,43893	N/A	10.09%	9.19%	1.95%		
Serious Violent Crime	N/A	56.43%94	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter <sup>95</sup>	N/A	N/A	89.88%	60.70%	59.17%		
Rape/Sexual Assault <sup>96</sup>	272,350	41.40%	9.01%	12.08%	12.34%		
Robbery	711,570	56.90%	17.65%	13.63%	6.05%		
Aggravated Assault	1,354,750	59.20%	33.06%	30.32%	7.46%		
Property Crime	N/A	37.70%	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Larceny-Theft	14,275,150	31.70%	7.57%	7.08%	0.75%		
Burglary	3,539,760	49.60%	8.61%	6.96%	2.82%		
Motor Vehicle Theft	993,910	81.00%	13.86%	13.75%	1.88%		







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- 1. See U.S. Dep't of Just., Bureau of Just. Stats., Data Collection: National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), BUREAU OF JUST. STATS. (last visited Sept. 11, 2020), https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=dcdetail &:iid=245. The NCVS changed its method of collection in 2006 and 2016, so it is hard to compare crime estimates from year to year. Id. However, 2006 is also the latest year for state conviction data, so it is used to get a general sense of criminal accountability over the years.
- 2. This chart is similar to that of Paul H. Robinson & John M. Darley, *The Utility of Desert*, 91 Nw. U. L. REV. 453, 461 (1997). Changes include: "Aggravated Assault" rather than "Assault" and the calculations for the Aggravated Assault row and Larceny-Theft row. The 1990 Tables include examples of calculations in footnotes, while 2006 and 2018 do not because the same method is used for all. Tables for 1995, 1998, 2004, and 2014 are on file with author and available upon request.
- 3. See Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1990 16 tbl.1 (Feb. 1992), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus90.pdf [hereinafter 1990 REPORT].
- 4. See BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1992 357 tbl.3.122 (1993), https://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/scjs92.pdf [hereinafter 1992 REPORT]. This paper mostly uses the number of offenses reported to police from the FBI's Uniform Crime Report, Offenses Known data for (b) Number of Offenses Reported, and (c) Percent Reported. The NCVS also has an estimated percent reported to police measure. It will be noted when the NCVS data is used.
- 5. Example of Calculation: Robbery: 639,270 (Bureau of Justice Statistics Number of Offenses Reported) / 1,149,710 (NCVS Number Known) = 55.6% (Percent Reported).
- 6. BUREAU OF JUST. STATS. SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1991 433 tbl.4.2 (1992), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/scjs91.pdf [hereinafter 1991 REPORT].
- 7. Example of Calculation: Robbery: 136,300 (Number Arrested) / 639,270 (Number of Offenses Reported) = 21.32% (Standard Percent Arrested).
- Example of Calculation: Robbery: 136,300 (Bureau of Justice Statistics Number Arrested) / 1,149,710 (NCVS Number Known) = 11.9% (True Percent Arrested).
- 9. This number is the NCVS "Number Known" for Rape/Sexual Assault, Robbery, Aggravated Assault, Larceny-Theft, Burglary, and Motor Vehicle Theft added together, plus the "Number of Offenses Reported" for Murder because the NCVS does not measure murder.
- 10. The NCVS does not gather data for murder offenses. Murder percentages are calculated using "Number of Offenses Reported" rather than "Number Known."
- Definitions: The following sources do not use the term "Sexual Assault." Results from 1990 may not be comparable to other years for the "Rape" offense.
  - NCVS Rape: "Carnal knowledge through the use of force or the threat of force, including attempts." 1990 REPORT, *supra* note 3, at 156 (used for Number Known).
  - FBI (UCR) Forcible Rape: "The carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will. Include[s] . . . attempts . . . ." 1992 REPORT, *supra* note 4, at 711 (used for Number of Offenses Reported).
  - FJS Rape: "[R]ape, assault with intent to commit rape, and carnal knowledge of a female under 16 who is not one's wife." 1992 REPORT, *supra* note 4, at 740 (used for federal conviction data).
  - NJRP Rape: "Forcible intercourse (vaginal, anal, or oral) with a female or male. . . . Includes attempts." 1992 REPORT, *supra* note 4, at 742 (used for state conviction data).
  - 12. See supra note 2.
  - 13. See 1990 REPORT, supra note 3.
  - 14. See 1992 REPORT, supra note 4.
- 15. <u>Example of Calculation</u>: Robbery: (.243) (Standard Percent Cleared) \* 639,270 (Number of Offenses Reported) = 155,342.61 (Number Cleared).
  - 16. See 1992 REPORT, supra note 4, at 450 tbl.4.19.

Calculation for Total: 3,075,559.97 (Number Cleared for all individual crimes added together) / 14,475,630 (Total Number of Offenses Reported) = 21.25% (Standard Percent Cleared).

17. Example of Calculation: Robbery: 155,342.61 (Number Cleared) / 1,149,710 (Number Known) = 13.51% (True Percent Cleared).

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- 18. See supra note 9.
- 19. See supra note 10.
- 20. See supra note 11.
- 21. See supra note 2.
- 22. See 1990 REPORT, supra note 3.
- 23. See 1992 REPORT, supra note 4.
- 24. See id. at 486 tbl.5.15, 527 tbl.5.49.
- 25. Example of Calculation: Robbery: 48,783 (Number Convicted) / 639,270 (Number of Offenses Reported) = 7.63% (Standard Percent Convicted).
- 26. Example of Calculation: Robbery: 48,783 (Number Convicted) / 1,149,710 (Number Known) = 4.24% (True Percent Convicted).
  - 27. See supra note 9.
  - 28. See supra note 10.
  - 29. See supra note 11.
- 30. See 1992 REPORT, supra note 4, at 486 tbl.5.15, 527 tbl.5.49. Table 5.15 is for federal convictions and uses the term "Assault." Table 5.49 is for state convictions and uses the term "Aggravated Assault."
- 31. MICHAEL RAND & SHANNAN CATALANO, CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2006 3 tbl.2 (Dec. 2007), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv06.pdf.
- 32. FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2006 tbl.25 (Sept. 2007), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius 2006/data/table\_25.html [hereinafter FBI, 2006]. This Article mostly uses the number of offenses reported to police from the FBI's Uniform Crime Report, Offenses Known data for (b) Number of Offenses Reported, and (c) Percent Reported. The NCVS also has an estimated percent reported to police measure. This Article will note when using the NCVS data.
  - 33. See id. at tbl.29, https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2006/data/table\_29.html.
  - 34. See supra note 9.
  - 35. See supra note 10.
  - 36. Definitions:
  - NCVS—Rape/Sexual Assault (combined into one victimization measure): Rape includes "[u]nlawful penetration of a person against the will of the victim." Sexual assault "[i]ncludes attacks or attempted attacks generally involving unwanted sexual contact between victim and offender, with or without force." NCVS Victimization Analysis Tool (NVAT), Terms & Definitions, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS. (Jan. 2019), https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=nvat (last visited Sept. 11, 2020) (used for Number Known).
  - FBI—Forcible Rape: "The carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will. Assaults and attempts to commit rape by force or threat of force are also included." FBI, 2006, https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2006/offenses/violent\_crime/forcible\_rape.html (used for Number of Offenses Reported and Number Arrested).
  - NJRP—Sexual Assault (includes rape and other sexual assault): Rape: "forcible intercourse ... with a female or male." Other sexual assault: "(1) forcible or violent sexual acts not involving intercourse with an adult or minor, (2) nonforcible sexual acts with a minor (such as statutory rape or incest with a minor), and (3) nonforcible sexual acts with someone unable to give legal or factual consent because of mental or physical defect or intoxication . . . [I]ncludes attempts." SEAN ROSENMERKEL ET AL., BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., FELONY SENTENCES IN STATE COURTS, 2006 33 (2009), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fssc06st.pdf (used for state conviction data).
  - FJSP—Sexual Abuse: "[R]ape, assault with intent to commit rape, and carnal knowledge of a female under age 16 who is not one's wife, within the territorial and special maritime jurisdictions of the U.S. Also includes cases of sexual abuse, including sexual abuse of a minor and cases of sexual abuse in federal prisons." BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., FEDERAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 2006 22 (2009), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/html/fjsst/2006/fjs06st.pdf (used for federal conviction data).
  - 37. Definitions:

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- FBI—Motor Vehicle Theft: A motor vehicle "is a self-propelled vehicle which runs on land surfaces and not on rails. Examples of motor vehicles include sport utility vehicles, automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, motor scooters, all-terrain vehicles, and snowmobiles." FBI, 2006, https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2006/offenses/property\_crime/motor\_vehicle\_theft.html.
- NCVS—Motor Vehicle: "An automobile, truck, motorcycle, or any other motorized vehicle legally allowed on public roads and highways." *Terms & Definitions: Crime Type*, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=tdtp&tid=3 (last visited Feb. 11, 2020).

The number of offenses reported to the UCR was higher than the number the NCVS estimated for offenses committed. This may be due to definitional differences between the FBI's UCR and the NCVS. All-terrain vehicles and snowmobiles are likely not counted by the NCVS and could account for the differences.

- 38. See RAND, supra note 31.
- 39. See FBI, 2006, supra note 32.
- 40. See FBI, 2006, supra note 32.
- 41. See supra note 9.
- 42. See supra note 10.
- 43. See supra note 36.
- 44. See RAND, supra note 31.
- 45. See FBI, 2006, supra note 32.
- 46. This number is calculated by adding together state and federal conviction data. See SEAN ROSENMERKEL ET AL., supra note 36, at 3 tbl.1.1 (used for state data); BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., supra note 36, at tbl.4.2 (used for federal conviction data).
  - 47. See supra note 9.
  - 48. See supra note 10.
  - 49. See supra note 36.
- 50. See RACHEL E. MORGAN & BARBARA A. OUDEKERK, DEP'T OF JUST., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2018 4 tbl.1, 5 tbl.3 (Sept. 2019), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf.
- 51. See FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2018 tbl.25, https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/tables/table-25 [hereinafter FBI, 2018]. This Article mostly uses the number of offenses reported to police from the FBI's Uniform Crime Report, "Offenses Known" data for "(b) Number of Offenses Reported," and "(c) Percent Reported." The NCVS also has an estimated percent reported to police measure. This Article will note when the NCVS data is used.
- 52. FBI, 2018 tbl.29, https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/tables/table-29.
  - 53. See supra note 9.
  - 54. See supra note 10.
  - 55. Definitions:
  - NCVS—Rape: "Coerced or forced sexual intercourse. Forced sexual intercourse means vaginal, anal, or oral penetration by the offender(s). This category could include incidents where the penetration was from a foreign object such as a bottle. It includes attempted rape, threatened rape, male and female victims, and both heterosexual and same-sex incidents." MORGAN & OUDEKERK, *supra* note 50, at 24.
  - NCVS—Sexual assault: "A wide range of victimizations, separate from rape, attempted rape, or threatened rape. These crimes include attacks or threatened attacks involving unwanted sexual contact between the victim and offender. Sexual assaults may or may not involve force and include such things as grabbing or fondling." MORGAN & OUDEKERK, supra note 50, at 24.
  - FBI—Revised definition of rape: "[P]enetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim." FBI, 2018, https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/rape (used for Number of Offenses Known, Number Arrested).
- 56. Note a significant increase in the number of victimizations. Sometimes NCVS adjusts numbers when the next report comes out, but the 2019 report is not available yet.

57. The number of motor vehicle offenses reported to the UCR was higher than the number the NCVS estimated for offenses known. This may be due to two definitional differences between the FBI's UCR and the NCVS. The first one deals with the definition of the motor vehicle, and the second is whether the report is measuring the number of offenses, the number of households, or the number of victims. See FBI, 2018, https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/motor-vehicle-theft; BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., supra note 37; see also Paul H. Robinson & John M. Darley, The Utility of Desert, 91 Nw. U. L. REV. 453, 458–61 (1997).

Another explanation is that the difference is due to what is being measured. The FBI states that "motor vehicle theft is defined as the theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle." FBI, 2018, https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-pages/motor-vehicle-theft. In contrast, the NCVS measures motor vehicle theft by "[n]umber . . . of property victimizations" (table 3), "[n]umber of households victimized" (table 18), and "[n]umber . . . of persons who were victims" (table 19—where "[t]his measure attributes a burglary to each person age 12 or older in the household. Completed motor-vehicle thefts were attributed to persons only when they were the reference person for their household or were age 12 or older and were related to the reference person." This appears to mean that if a car were stolen from a household where there were three people over the age of twelve, that would be three victims of motor vehicle theft). See MORGAN & OUDEKERK, supra note 50, at 5 tbl.3, 17 tbl.18, 18 tbl.19. In this Article's chart, we use the "number of property victimizations," which is the number of offenses that occur. That appears to be what the FBI is also measuring, but there is ambiguity that could account for the abnormal results.

- 58. See MORGAN & OUDEKERK, supra note 50.
- 59. See FBI, 2018, supra note 51.
- 60. See FBI, 2018, supra note 51.
- 61. See supra note 9.

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- 62. See supra note 10.
- 63. See FBI, supra note 55.
- 64. See supra note 56.
- 65. In general, percentages were calculated as follows: (FBI Number of Offenses Reported / the NCVS Number Known) = Percent Reported. The footnotes to Tables 1–3 provide sources and calculations for 1990, 2006, and 2018. Tables for 1995, 1998, 2004, and 2014 are on file with the author and available upon request.
- 66. There was a large drop in "Percent Reported" from 1990 to 1995. There were large changes in the estimated number of rapes and sexual assaults and a higher number of thefts in 1995. That may account for the change. The change in the estimated number of rapes and sexual assaults is likely due to a change in definition. The 1990 NCVS did not measure rape and sexual assault together. See LISA D. BASTIAN, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990 16 tbl.1 (1992), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus90.pdf; see also CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990 142 (1990), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus90.pdf.
  - 67. The NCVS does not account for estimated murders.
- 68. Rape/Sexual Assault is a difficult category to compare across time. The NCVS and FBI have changed their definitions, but at different times. There was also a jump in the estimated number known from 284,350 in 2014 to 734,630 in 2018. The NCVS did not give an explanation. See supra note 56; MORGAN & OUDEKERK, supra note 50, at 4 tbl.1.
- 69. The number of motor vehicle offenses reported to the UCR was higher than the number the NCVS estimated for offenses known. This may be due to a difference in definitions. See *supra* note 37 for additional explanation. *Compare* FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2004 (2006), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius\_04/offenses\_reported/property\_crime/motor\_vehicle\_theft.html (motor vehicle theft), with *Terms & Definitions: Crime Type, supra* note 37.
  - 70. See supra note 37.
- 71. The number of motor vehicle offenses reported to the UCR was higher than the number the NCVS estimated for offenses known. This may be due to two definitional differences between the FBI's UCR and the NCVS. See supra note 37 for additional explanation. Compare FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2014 (2014), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement/motor-vehicle-theft [hereinafter FBI, 2014] (motor vehicle theft), with Terms & Definitions: Crime Type, supra note 37.

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Another explanation is that the difference is due to what is being measured. The FBI states that "motor vehicle theft is defined as the theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle." FBI, 2014, https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement/motor-vehicle-theft (motor vehicle theft). In contrast, the NCVS measures motor vehicle theft by "Property Victimization," JENNIFER L. TRUMAN & LYNN LANGTON, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2013 3 tbl.3 (2014), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv13.pdf, and "Number of Victims" (which includes "number of households that experienced at least one victimization during the year for property crime"), id. at 5 tbl.4. In these charts, we use the "Property Victimization," which is the number of offenses that occur. That appears to be what the FBI is also measuring, but there is ambiguity that could account for the abnormal results.

- 72. See supra note 57.
- 73. See supra Tables 1–3 for 1990, 2006, and 2018 sources and calculations. Tables for 1995, 1998, 2004, and 2014 are on file with the author and available upon request.
- 74. A possible explanation for why the percent arrested is over 100% is that during the investigation, more than one person was arrested in connection for the murder or multiple people committed one murder.
  - 75. Supra note 74.
- 76. 1990 numbers included only rape and attempted rape, not sexual assault. See LISA D. BASTIAN, supra note 66, at 16 tbl.1.
- 77. See supra Tables 1–3 for 1990 and 2006 sources and calculations. Tables for 1998 and 2004 on file with author and available upon request.
- 78. 2006 was the last year the NJRP produced data on state court convictions. *See Data Collection: National Judicial Reporting Program (NJRP)*, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS. (2006), https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty =dcdetail&iid=241 (last visited Sept. 15, 2020).
- 79. See RAND, supra note 31 for the citation to the FBI table that includes the Number Known for each offense.
  - 80. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part I) and note 5.
  - 81. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part I) and note 8.
  - 82. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part II) and note 17.
  - 83. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part III) and note 26.
  - 84. See supra note 9.
  - 85. See supra note 10.
  - 86. See supra note 36.
  - 87. See supra note 37.
  - 88. See RAND & CATALANO, supra note 31.
  - 89. Id. at 5 tbl.8.
  - 90. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part I) and note 8.
  - 91. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part II) and note 17.
  - 92. See supra Table 2 2006 (Part III) and note 26.
  - 93. See supra note 9.
- 94. This was calculated by taking the (NCVS Percent Reported) \* (Number Known) = (Number Reported). The Number Reported for Rape & Sexual Assault, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault were added together and divided by their total Number Known. After 2009 NCVS began calculating percent reported to police for "[s]erious violent crime[s]" in their reports. See JENNIFER L. TRUMAN & MICHAEL R. RAND, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2009 1 tbl.1 (2010), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv09.pdf.
- 95. See supra note 10. The NCVS does not gather data for murder offenses. Murder percentages are calculated using "Number of Offenses Reported" rather than "Number Known." We use the UCR numbers for the denominator of our Murder percentages (true and standard) because the NCVS doesn't estimate the number of murder offenses committed.
  - 96. See ROSENMERKEL ET AL., supra note 36.
    - Other sexual assault includes (1) forcible or violent sexual acts not involving intercourse with an adult or minor, (2) nonforcible sexual acts with a minor (such as

statutory rape or incest with a minor), and (3) nonforcible sexual acts with someone unable to give legal or factual consent because of mental or physical defect or intoxication. Other sexual assault includes attempts.

Id. at 33

97. Calculation for Serious Violent Crime before 2009 (after 2009 reports include Serious Violent Crime measure): (NCVS % Reported \* Total Known) = Number Reported. Add Number Reported for individual crimes together = Total Number Reported. Add Total Known for individual crimes together = Total Serious Violent Crime. Total Number Reported / Total Serious Violent Crime = % of Serious Violent Crime Reported to Police.

The same sources report violent and property crime for each year.

1973–92: See LISA D. BASTIAN BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1992 at 5 tbl.5 (1993), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv92.pdf. The percent reported for personal larceny without contact for those years is: 1973: 22%; 1974: 24%; 1975: 26%; 1976: 26%; 1977: 24%; 1978: 24%; 1979: 24%; 1980: 27%; 1981: 26%; 1982: 27%; 1983: 26%; 1984: 26%; 1985: 27%; 1986: 28%; 1987: 27%; 1988: 27%; 1989: 29%; 1990: 28%; 1991: 28%; 1992: 30%. LISA D. BASTIAN, supra note 66, at 5 tbl.5. See CRAIG A. PERKINS ET AL., BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1993 9 tbl.1 n.3 (1996), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf cvus93.pdf (stating that in 1993 "Theft [under "Property crimes"] include[d] crimes previously classified as Personal larceny without contact' and 'Household larceny'"). Before 1993, personal larceny without contact was listed under "[c]rimes of theft." LISA D. BASTIAN, supra note 66, at 4 tbl.4. The reporting rates were very similar, but this Article just uses "Larceny" under "household crimes" for this Figure. Also,

[In 1993, the NCVS broadened] the scope of covered sexual incidents beyond the categories of rape and attempted rape. These include: sexual assault (other than rape)[,] verbal threats of rape or sexual assault[, and] unwanted sexual contact without force but involving threats or other harm to the victim. These new categories, broadened coverage, and more extensive questions on sexual victimizations have elicited information on about 3 to 4 times as many sexual crime victimizations as in the past.

Id. at 3.

1993–2000: See Callie Marie Rennison, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization 2000, Changes 1999–2000 with Trends 1993–2000 10 tbl.7 (2001), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv00.pdf.

2001: See Callie Rennison, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization 2001–10 (2002), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv01.pdf.

2002, 2010: Jennifer L. Truman & Michael Planty, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2011 8 tbl.8 (2012), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv11.pdf.

 $2003, 2011: Jennifer L. Truman \ et \ al., Bureau \ of Just. Stats., Criminal \ Victimization, 2012 \\ 4 \ tbl. 4 \ (2013), \ https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv12.pdf.$ 

2004, 2012: See Jennifer L. Truman & Lynn Langton, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2013 3 tbl.3 (2014), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv13.pdf.

2005, 2013: Jennifer L. Truman & Lynn Langton, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2014 7 tbl.6 (2015), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv14.pdf.

2006: MICHAEL RAND & SHANNAN CATALANO, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2006 5 tbl.8 (2007), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv06.pdf.

2007: MICHAEL R. RAND, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2007 7 (2008), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv07.pdf.

2008: MICHAEL R. RAND, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2008 6 tbl.4 (2009), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv08.pdf.

2009: JENNIFER L. TRUMAN & MICHAEL R. RAND, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2009 8 tbl.11 (2010), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv09.pdf.

2014: JENNIFER L. TRUMAN & RACHEL E. MORGAN, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2015 6 tbl.4 (2016), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv15.pdf.

2015: RACHEL E. MORGAN & GRACE KENA, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2016: REVISED 7 tbl.4 (2018), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv16.pdf.

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2016: RACHEL E. MORGAN & JENNIFER L. TRUMAN, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2017 7 tbl.6 (2018), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv17.pdf.

2017: See RACHEL E. MORGAN & BARBARA A. OUDEKERK, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2018 8 tbl.5 (2019), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf.

2018: Id

98. Example of Calculation: (Number Reported to FBI – Offenses Known) / (Number of Known Crimes – NCVS) = Estimated % Reported to Police.

1990: See LISA D. BASTIAN, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990 16 tbl.1 (1992), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus90.pdf; BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1995 324 tbl.3.109 (Kathleen Maguire & Ann L. Pastore eds., 1996), https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/socrijus1995&i=1.

1991: See JOAN M. JOHNSON, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1991 16 tbl.1 (1992), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus91.pdf; BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1995 324 tbl.3.109 (Kathleen Maguire & Ann L. Pastore eds., 1996), https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/socrijus1995&i=1.

1992: See LISA D. BASTIAN, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION 1992 3 tbl.2 (1993), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv92.pdf; BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1995 324 tbl.3.109 (Kathleen Maguire & Ann L. Pastore eds., 1996), https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/socrijus1995&i=1.

1993: See Craig A. Perkins et al., Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1993 9 tbl.1 (1996), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus93.pdf.

[Starting in 1993, the] NCVS broaden[ed] the scope of covered sexual incidents beyond the categories of rape and attempted rape. These include sexual assault (other than rape)[,] verbal threats of rape or sexual assault[, and] unwanted sexual contact without force but involving threats or other harm to the victim. These new categories, broadened coverage, and more extensive questions on sexual victimizations have elicited information on about 3 to 4 times as many sexual crime victimizations as in the past.

Id. at 3; see also BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1995 324 tbl.3.109 (Kathleen Maguire & Ann L. Pastore eds., 1996), https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/socrijus 1995&i=1.

1994: See Tina Dorsey & Jayne Robinson, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1994 6 tbl.1 (1997), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvius94.pdf; Bureau of Just. Stats., Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1995 324 tbl.3.109 (Kathleen Maguire & Ann L. Pastore eds., 1996), https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/socrijus1995&i=1.

1995: See Patsy Klaus & Cathy Maston, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1995 8 tbl.1 (2000), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus95.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 1995, Section III — Crime Index Offenses Cleared 199 tbl.25 (1996), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/1995/95sec3.pdf.

1996, 1997: See MICHAEL RAND, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION 1997, CHANGES 1996-97 WITH TRENDS 1993-97 3 tbl.1, (1998), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv97.pdf; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES 1996, SECTION III – CRIME INDEX OFFENSES CLEARED 205 tbl.25 (1997), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/1996/96sec3.pdf; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES 1997, SECTION III – CRIME INDEX OFFENSES CLEARED 213 tbl.25 (1998), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/1997/97sec3.pdf.

1998: See Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1998 Statistical Tables 2 tbl.1 (2000), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus98.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 1998, Section III — Crime Index Offenses Cleared 201 tbl.25 (1999), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/1998/98sec3.pdf.

1999, 2000: See Callie Marie Rennison, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimizations 2000, Changes with Trends 1999-2000 3 tbl.1 (2001), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv00.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 1999, Section III – Crime Index Offenses Cleared 203 tbl.25 (2000), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/1999/99sec3.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 2000, Section III – Crime Index Offenses Cleared 207 tbl.25 (2001), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2000/00sec3.pdf.

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2001: See Cathy Maston & Patsy Klaus, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization in the United States, 2001 Statistical Tables 14 tbl.1 (2003), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus01.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 2001, Section III – Crime Index Offenses Cleared 222 tbl.25 (2002), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2001/01sec3.pdf.

2002, 2010: See Jennifer L. Truman & Michael Planty, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2011 2 tbl.1 (2012), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv11.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 2002, Section III — Crime Index Offenses Cleared 223 tbl.25 (2003), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2002/02sec3.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2010), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2010/crime-in-the-u.s-2010/tables/10tbl25.xls.

2003, 2011: See Jennifer L. Truman et al., Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2012 2 tbl.1 (2013), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv12.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States 2003, Section III—Offenses Cleared 257 tbl.25 (2004), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2003/03sec3.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2011), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2011/crime-in-the-u.s-2011/tables/table\_25.

2004, 2012: See JENNIFER L. TRUMAN & LYNN LANGTON, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2013 2 tbl.1 (2014), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv13.pdf; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.25 (2004), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius\_04/offenses\_cleared/table\_25.html; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.25 (2012), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/tables/25tabledatadecoverviewpdfs/table\_25\_percent\_of\_offenses\_cleared\_by\_arrest\_or\_exceptional\_means\_by\_population\_group\_2012.xls.

2005, 2013: See Jennifer L. Truman & Lynn Langton, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2014 2 tbl.1 (2015), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv14.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2005), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/05cius/data/table\_25.html; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2013), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/tables/table-25/table\_25\_percent\_of-offenses\_cleared\_by\_arrest\_by\_population\_group\_2013.xls.

2006: See Michael Rand & Shannan Catalano, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2006 3 tbl.2 (2007), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv06.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2006), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2006/data/table\_25.html.

2007: See Michael R. Rand, Bureau of Just. Stats., National Crime Victimization Survey, Criminal Victimization, 2008 1 tbl.1 (2009), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv08.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2007), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2007/data/table\_25.html.

2008: See Jennifer L. Truman & Michael R. Rand, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2009 1 tbl.1 (2010), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv09.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2008), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/data/table\_25.html.

2009: See Jennifer L. Truman, Bureau of Just. Stats., Criminal Victimization, 2010 2 tbl.1 (2011), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv10.pdf; FBI, Crime in the United States tbl.25 (2009), https://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2009/data/table\_25.html.

2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018: See RACHEL E. MORGAN & BARBARA A. OUDEKERK, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION, 2018 4 tbl.1 (2019), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.25 (2014), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s-2014/tables/table-25; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.25 (2015), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s-2015/tables/table-25; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.17 (2016), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2016/crime-in-the-u.s-2017/tables/table-25; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.25 (2017), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2017/tables/table-25; FBI, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES tbl.25 (2018), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s-2018/tables/table-25.

99. Example of Calculation: (Number Reported to FBI – Offenses Known) / (Number of Known Crimes – NCVS) = Estimated % Reported to Police.

1990: See LISA D. BASTIAN, BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990 16 tbl.1 (1992), https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cvus90.pdf; BUREAU OF JUST. STATS., SOURCEBOOK OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATISTICS, 1995 324 tbl.3.109 (Kathleen Maguire & Ann L. Pastore eds., 1996), https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/socrijus1995&i=1.

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