

Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950–2000

Eds. Sturla Falck, Hanns von Hofer & Anette Storgaard

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Department of Criminology
Stockholm University

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Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950-2000

Summary of a report, 7th revised edition

Edited by Sturla Falck (NO), Hanns von Hofer (SE) and Anette Storgaard (DK)

In a joint Nordic project, criminal statistics from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden were compiled under the auspices of the Nordic Committee on Criminal Statistics (NUK) and were published under the title *Nordisk kriminalstatistik 1950-1980* in 1982.*

In December of 1982, the first abbreviated English language version of this report was published.** For this 7th edition of the English version, the original data have been updated for the years up to and including 2000 and now cover 51 years of Nordic criminal justice statistics.

This edition has been furnished with a lengthy summary on crime and punishment in the four Scandinavian countries.

David Shannon (Stockholm University) has checked the English language.

We would like to extend our thanks to the *Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology* which has sponsored the work carried out in association with this report.

* *Nordisk Kriminalstatistik 1950-1980. Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950-1980.* Red. Hanns von Hofer. Rapport från Nordiska utskottet för kriminalstatistik (NUK). Teknische rapporter nr. 30. København: Nordisk statistisk sekretariat, 1982 [468 pp].

** *Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950-1980.* RS-promemoria 1982:15. Stockholm: Statistiska centralbyrån.

Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950–2000

Summary	.....	5
Introduction - Methodological Notes	.....	17
Tables	.....	27
<i>Table 1</i>	Homicide, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 2</i>	Assault, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 3</i>	Rape, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 4</i>	Robbery, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 5</i>	Theft, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 6</i>	Fraud, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 7</i>	Drug Offences, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 8</i>	All Offences Against the Criminal Code, 1950-2000. Reported offences	
<i>Table 9</i>	Clear-up Rate, 1950-2000. All offences against the Criminal Code	
<i>Table 10</i>	Prison Sentences, 1950-2000. Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code	
<i>Table 11</i>	Fines, 1950-2000. Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code	
<i>Table 12</i>	Other Sanctions, 1950-2000. Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code	
<i>Table 13</i>	All Sanctions, 1950-2000. Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code	
<i>Table 14</i>	Number of Prison Inmates, 1950-2000. Yearly average (including remand prisoners, etc.)	
<i>Table 15</i>	Number of Inmates Admitted to Prison, 1950-2000.	
<i>Table 16</i>	Total Residual Population, 1950-2000.	
References	.....	59

Summary: Crime and Punishment in Scandinavia

Geographically, the Scandinavian countries (here meaning Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) lie on the margins of Europe, and with the exception of Denmark are rather sparsely populated, with a total population of around 24 million. All the countries bar Finland are constitutional monarchies, and all are both protestant and very homogeneous in terms of culture. It wasn't until a few decades ago that the Scandinavian countries began to feel the impact of immigration, whose level is highest in Sweden and lowest in Finland. The standard of living in the Scandinavian countries is among the highest in the world and the region's modern political history has on the whole been shaped by the principles of social democracy. Denmark, Finland and Sweden are members of the European Union; Norway is not.

Comparative research into types and levels of welfare has shown a rather clear-cut pattern of national clusters among the EU-member states, characterised by similarity in the welfare mix, as well as in the general distributional outcome as witnessed by material living standards. The European Union appears to be divided in three such homogeneous clusters (Vogel, 1997):

- **a northern European cluster** (including Denmark, Finland, Norway [not a member of the EU] and Sweden) exhibiting high levels of social expenditure and labour market participation and weak family ties. In terms of income distribution this cluster is characterised by relatively low levels of class and income inequality, and low poverty rates, but a high level of inequality between the younger and the older generations;
- **a southern European cluster** (including Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) characterised by much lower levels of welfare state provision and lower rates of employment, but by strong traditional families. Here we find higher levels of class and income inequality and of poverty, but low levels of inter-generational inequality;
- **a western European cluster** occupying an intermediate position (including Austria, Belgium France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK). The UK borders on the southern cluster in terms of its high levels of income inequality, poverty and class inequality.

Against this sketchy backdrop, there follows a reasonably simplistic description of traditional¹ crime (i.e. theft and violence) in the Scandinavian countries, and of these countries' responses to crime.

¹ For a recent comparative assessment of a number of aspects of non-traditional crimes, see van Dijk & de Waard (2000).

International crime victims surveys (ICVS)

Because of variations in the rules governing the collection and production of statistics in different countries, it is generally accepted by experts that comparisons based on crime statistics do not in principle allow for the possibility of making cross-national comparisons of *levels* of crime (CoE, 1999b:13). For this reason, when cross-national comparisons of crime levels are considered desirable, the international crime victims surveys (van Dijk, Mayhew & Killias, 1990; Mayhew & van Dijk, 1997; van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta, 2000) are a great help, despite the obvious methodological difficulties associated even with these data sets (e.g., partially high non-response rates; cultural differences). The data are collected by means of telephone interviews (using standardised questions) based on random samples of between 1,000 and 5,000 persons from each country. A total of nineteen European countries have participated in the four surveys (1989, 1992, 1996, and 2000), whilst of the Scandinavian countries, Finland has participated in all four, Sweden in three, and Norway and Denmark in one. The offence types included in the survey are: car theft, motorcycle theft, bicycle theft, burglary and attempted burglary, robbery, theft from the person, sex offences and assault/threatening behaviour.

Results from all the surveys conducted between 1989 and 2000, irrespective of how many times the individual countries participated, have been summarised and are presented in the table below.

Generally speaking, the level of criminal victimisation is reported to be lower in Finland and Norway² than in Sweden and Denmark (however, the Norwegian data refer only to 1989 and the Danish data only to the year 2000). For the most part, Sweden lies fairly close to the European average. Similar differences between the Scandinavian countries were also found during the 1980s, when comparisons were carried out using findings from national victim surveys produced in these countries. At that time the findings from Denmark were in many respects similar to those from Sweden (RSA, 1990:146 ff). Denmark and Sweden distinguish themselves (along with the Netherlands) with respect to high levels of bicycle thefts, whilst all the Scandinavian countries present levels of car vandalism and robbery that are on the whole relatively low. However, the Scandinavian countries score high on assaults/threatening behaviour. There has been speculation that this might in part be explained by higher levels of awareness and lower levels of tolerance among Scandinavian women when it comes to setting limits for the forms of cross-gender encounters that are considered socially acceptable (HEUNI, 1999:132 f, 163, 349, 432).

² Aromaa (2000:19) notes in a recent analysis, however, that Norway “may have lost its previous position as one of the definitive low-crime countries in western Europe”.

Table 1. Victimization during the past year (percentage victimised on one or more occasions), 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000 according to the ICVS project.

Source: van Kesteren *et al.* (2000), Appendix 4, Table 1.

	DK 2000	FI 1989-2000	NO 1989	SE 1992-2000	EUR9 1989-2000
Car theft	1.1	0.5	1.1	1.4	1.1
Theft from car	3.4	2.9	2.8	4.7	4.8
Car vandalism	3.8	4.4	4.6	4.6	7.5
Motorcycle theft	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.6
Bicycle theft	6.7	4.5	2.8	7.7	3.4
Burglary	3.1	0.5	0.8	1.5	1.8
Attempted burglary	1.5	0.7	0.4	0.9	1.8
Robbery	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.6	1.0
Thefts of personal property	4.2	3.6	3.2	4.9	4.1
Sexual incidents	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.1	2.2
Assaults & threats	3.6	3.9	3.0	3.7	2.7
All eleven offence types	23.0	18.8	16.4	23.4	22.7
Number of completed interviews	3,007	8,327	1,009	4,707	44,396
Response rate	66%	82%	71%	72%	50%

DK (Denmark): 2000 only; FI (Finland): 1989,1992,1996, 2000; NO (Norway): 1989 only; SE (Sweden): 1992, 1996, 2000; EUR9: Austria, Belgium, England & Wales, France, (West) Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Spain/Catalonia and Switzerland. All countries are weighted equally.

Additional data from cause of death statistics relating to the mid-1990s indicate (CoE, 1999b:43) that levels of homicide in Denmark, Norway and Sweden are on a par with those reported in western Europe (around 1.2 per 100,000 of population), whilst Finland still presents considerably higher frequencies (approximately 3.0 per 100,000 of population), something which had been noted in the criminological literature as early as the 1930s (NCS, 1997:13; Lappi-Seppälä, 2001).

According to the latest estimates, national prevalence rates of “problem drug use” appear to lie near the average in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and below average in Finland (EMCCDA, 2002). An account of the Scandinavian drug scene in the 1990s is provided by Olsson *et al.* (1997) and that of the Baltic Sea region is described in Leifman & Edgren Henrichson (2000).³

³ For the most recent individual national reports to the EMCCDA, see www.emccda.eu.int/infopoint/publications/national_reports.shtml

The ICVS project surveys not only the extent of criminal victimisation but also other related phenomena such as levels of fear, crime-preventive measures, and attitudes towards and experiences of the police. Asked whether they felt they were at risk of being burgled during the following year, respondents from Finland, Sweden, and Denmark all ranked low (van Kesteren *et al.*, 2000:210). Asked how safe they felt outside in their own neighbourhood after dark, feelings of insecurity were also low among Scandinavian respondents (*op. cit.*, 212; no data for Norway). In response to the question of whether they had installed various kinds of anti break-in devices (such as burglar alarms, special locks, or bars on windows or doors), Finland and Denmark in particular came out well below the average (*op. cit.*, 216).

Trends

Since there are no victims surveys (at either the national or European level) covering the entire post-war period, descriptions of crime trends have to be based on records of crimes reported to the police. Despite the well known shortcomings of official crime statistics, the use of such statistics to compare crime *trends* is a widely accepted method (CoE, 1999b:13).

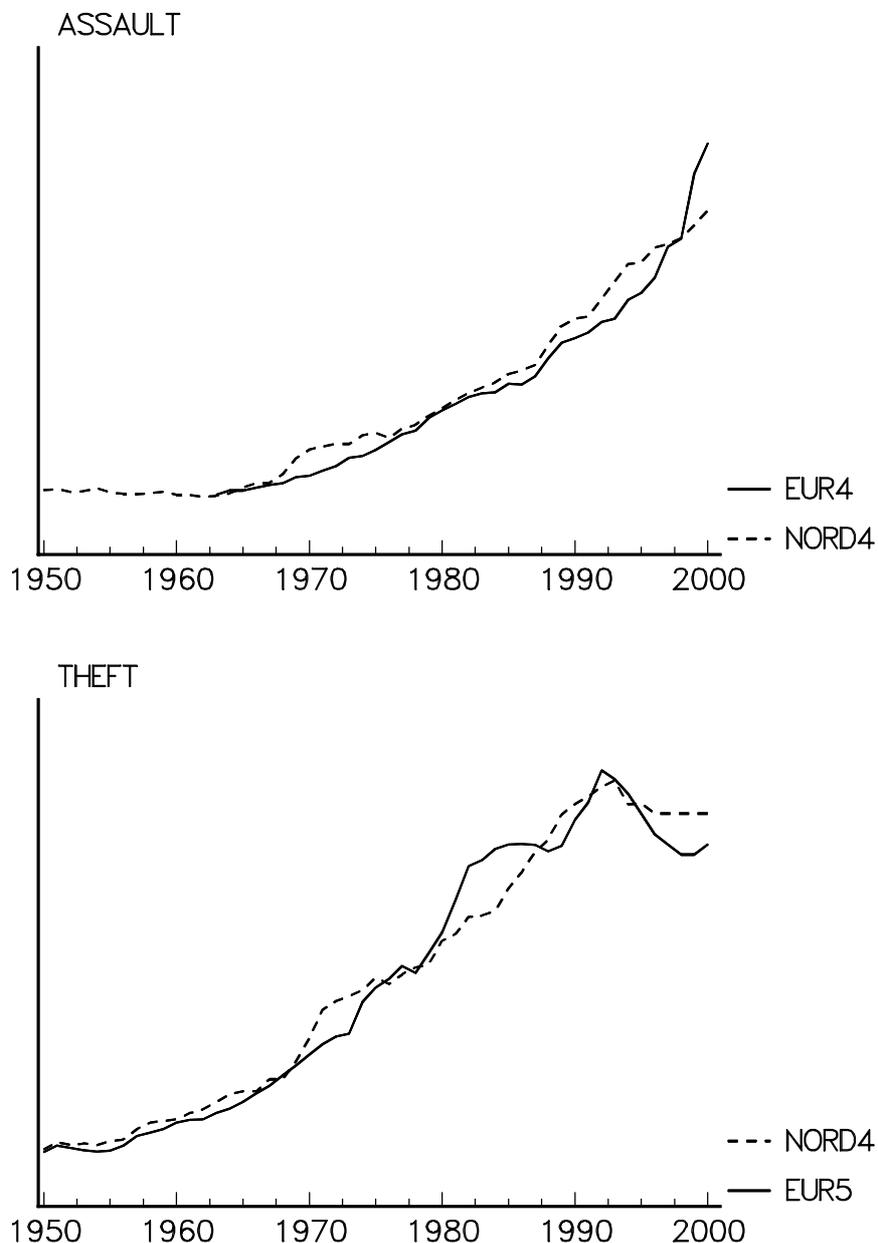
The number of crimes reported to the police has risen in all the Scandinavian countries since at least the beginning of the 1960s. The smallest increase is found in the number of reported incidents of homicide (the number of such reports has doubled, except in Finland where they seem to have remained at more or less the same level). The largest increase is to be found in the number of reported robberies, this being partly due to the fact that at the end of the 1950s robbery was more or less unheard of in these countries, with a total of only 1,200 robberies being registered in the four Scandinavian countries in 1960 (see *Table 4* below). In part, the increase is probably linked to the emergence of a group of socially marginalised older males and in part, more recently, to robberies among young males. It is nonetheless worth noting that according to the ICVS, robbery levels in Scandinavia still remain below average when viewed from an international perspective (see *Table 1* above). When the countries are *ranked* on the basis of increases in five offence categories (homicide, assault, rape, robbery and theft) between 1960 and 2000, Norway presents the largest increases, whilst the increases are least marked in Finland. However, similarities between the countries are more notable than dissimilarities.

Crime trends in the Scandinavian countries are on the whole much the same as those found in other western European countries. Westfelt (2001) compared crime trends in Scandinavia with those in Austria, England & Wales, France, (West) Germany and the Netherlands. He found that all countries reported increases in crime, even though there were periodical local differences. *Figure 1* clearly shows the striking similarity between the trend in

registered assault and theft offences in the Scandinavian countries and that in the countries of western Europe. The similarities in crime trends have previously been noted by writers such as Heidensohn & Farrel (1991), Eisner (1995), Killias (1995), Joutsen (1996), Marshall (1996), Aromaa (2000), Killias & Aebi (2000), and Entdorf & Spengler (2002).

Figure 1. *Assaults and thefts reported to the police in Scandinavia and five western European countries, 1950–2000. Scaled series, per 100,000 of population. Source: Westfelt (2001; updated).*

EUR4 = England & Wales, France, (West) Germany and the Netherlands
 EUR5 = ditto and Austria



[Note. Y-scales intentionally omitted.]

It has been suggested that police-recorded theft trends in the 1990s may be in the process of changing direction. The available data from *national* victim surveys corroborate this, showing more or less stable levels in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden during the 1990s (Westfelt, 2000:76 *et seq.*); and, interestingly, this stability is found not only in relation to theft, but also to violence. This indicates that the trends in violence shown by crime statistics may have been significantly inflated by changes in reporting behaviour (*cf.* Wittebrood & Junger, 2002, for Holland).

The trend in juvenile crime constitutes a special case. The issue has been studied by Pfeiffer (1998) and Estrada (1999). According to Estrada, levels of juvenile crime (i.e. mostly against property) increased in all ten of the European countries studied (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, as well as Austria, England, (West) Germany, the Netherlands, Scotland and Switzerland) without exception in the decades following the Second World War. In many of these countries this upward trend was broken, however, probably at some point between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s. In three countries, however, England, *Finland* (but see below) and Germany, no such break has been visible in juvenile crime trends, and the increases may simply have continued.

The trends in levels of *violent* offences committed by juveniles differ somewhat from the general crime trend. Here the official statistics of virtually all the countries examined indicate increases over the last ten to fifteen years (with the possible exception of *Finland* and Scotland). This picture of rising levels of violence has recently been challenged by Estrada (2001), who argues that studies stressing such increases are far too reliant on official crime statistics. In countries where alternative data are available (e.g., victim surveys, self-report studies, health care and vital statistics), these often present a different picture.

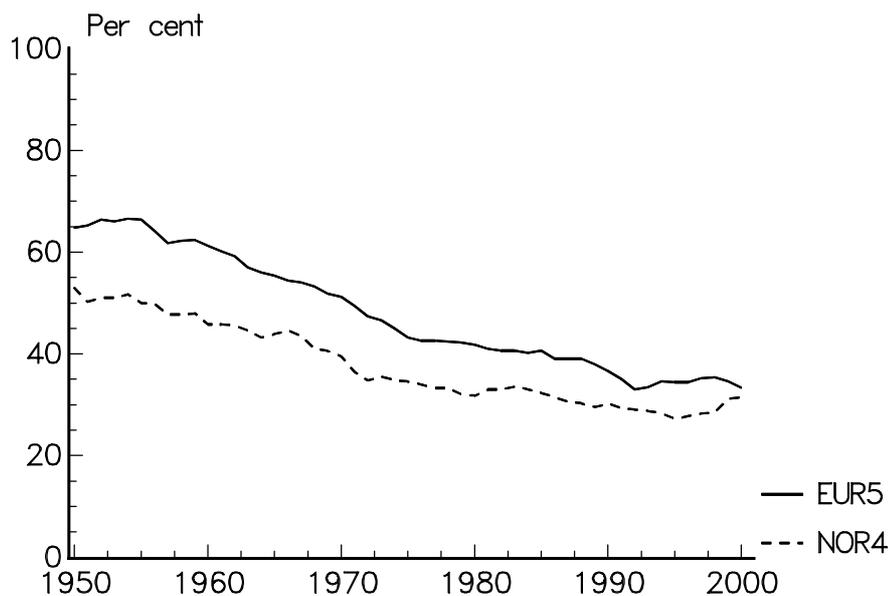
This view is supported by *recent self-report* surveys targeting ninth-grade students in Finland and Sweden. These surveys have been conducted since 1995 on a regular basis (Kivivuori, 2002; Ring, 2000). The questions are not completely identical across the Finnish and the Swedish surveys, but both have been developed on the basis of the ISRD (Junger-Tas *et al.*, 1994) and many of the questions are sufficiently similar to warrant comparison. Finland and Sweden seem to share some basic trends in adolescent delinquency. For example, participation in shoplifting, stealing from school and the destruction of property seem to have decreased in both countries, while participation in violence has been comparatively stable. The percentage of adolescents *refraining* from participation in any offences has been increasing in both countries (Kivivuori, 2002:162) as well as in Denmark (Kyvsgaard, 1992; Balvig, 2000).

The response to crime and the sanctioning system

The number of police officers per 100,000 of population is lower in the Scandinavian countries than in either southern or western Europe. Over the period 1999 to 2001 the Scandinavian countries reported⁴ a total of 177 police officers per 100,000 of the population, whilst the average for the EU member states stood at 345 (Barclay *et al.*, 2003:17). As is the case in other European countries, however, the clear-up rate has dropped considerably over the years (see *Figure 2*). Exactly how this drop ought to be interpreted is not altogether clear: purely as a drop in police efficiency, for example, or as a result of increases in the number of offences which were always unlikely to be cleared, or as a combination of such factors (*cf.* Balvig, 1985:12).

Figure 2. *Clear-up rates* (all offences covered by respective criminal codes) in Scandinavia and five western European countries, 1950-2000. *Source:* Westfelt (2001, p. 221; updated).

EUR5: Austria, England & Wales, France, Germany, the Netherlands.



The ICVS data show that the level of public satisfaction with the police is mixed in Scandinavia (Norway excluded from the comparison). Denmark and Sweden (together with the Netherlands) top the list as regards the extent to which members of the public report crimes to the police (van Kesteren *et al.*, 2000:194). Concerning the way persons reporting crime feel the police have acted at the time the crime was reported, Denmark, Finland and Sweden present a higher than average level of satisfaction by comparison with the other countries (*op. cit.*, 202). However, in the matter of how satisfied the respondents were with the police *in general*, confidence seems to be below

⁴ All countries are weighted equally.

average in Finland and Sweden, but above average in Denmark (op. cit., 206). The ICVS project has also assessed attitudes to the kind of sentences dealt out in response to criminal offences. The respondents were asked to choose which of a variety of sanctions they felt to be most suitable for a 21 year old male being found guilty of his *second* burglary, this time stealing a colour television set in the process. Given the choice between fines, a prison sentence, community service, a suspended sentence or any other sentence, 16 per cent of the Finnish respondents chose a prison sentence (van Kesteren *et al.*, 2000:219). The corresponding figure for the Norwegians was 18 per cent, for the Danish 20, and for the Swedish 26 per cent. The view in the Scandinavian countries does not seem to deviate too much from the European average, with the exception of the English speaking nations and the Netherlands, where prison sentences are advocated to a greater extent.

The following brief description of choices of sanction concerns those imposed for all offences against the criminal code taken together (see *Tables 10-13* below). A more detailed description, looking at different offence categories, would not have been feasible given the brevity of this overview.⁵ Since the majority of offences committed against the criminal code are property offences of one kind or another, the sanctions described here are in practice primarily those imposed for theft offences and the like. The data refer to the year 2000. In the case of Norway, the data had to be supplemented with "misdemeanours" since they are not included in the tables in the present publication.

Finland convicts far more people than the other Scandinavian countries (1,400 per 100,000 of population) as compared with 770 in Denmark, 570 in Sweden and 545 in Norway (misdemeanours included). Finland's unique position may partially be explained by the legalistic approach characteristic of Finnish judicial practice, with its rather strict observance of mandatory prosecution (Joutsen, [1999]) and also, as has been intimated by Finnish experts, by the fact that clear-up rates have been consistently higher in Finland than in the rest of Scandinavia (compare *Table 9* below).

In contrast to the other countries, however, 81 per cent of those convicted in Finland receive fines (the corresponding proportions in Denmark, Norway and Sweden being 51, 54 and 42 per cent respectively). "Other sanctions" (excluding prison sentences) are used most often in Sweden (44 per cent as against 30 in Denmark, 21 in Norway and 9 per cent in Finland). This very rough outline nonetheless captures a number of the essential characteristics of the sanctioning culture of the Scandinavian countries: Sweden still emerges as the country where the philosophy of individual prevention, based on a wide variety of sanctions, is most pronounced, whilst Finland most clearly follows the classical tradition, imposing fines and prison sentences as the most common forms of sanction. Irrespective of these differences, fines

⁵ For more detailed data, see Barclay *et al.* (2003) and European Sourcebook (2003).

are used extensively throughout the Scandinavian countries.

When it comes to the use of prison sentences, these are imposed less frequently in Sweden at the end of the period. On the other hand, the prison sentences imposed are longer in Sweden and Finland. This somewhat complicated picture provides a good indication of the difficulties faced when trying to measure and compare the relative "punitiveness" of the sanctioning systems of different countries (*cf.* Pease, 1994).

In addition, we might note that Norway abolished life imprisonment in 1981, whilst Sweden abolished the use of prison terms as a means of sanctioning the non-payment of fines (Sveri, 1998), and electronic tagging has been introduced for certain categories of offenders in both Finland⁶ and Sweden (Haverkamp, 2002).

The Prisons

Despite the above differences in the frequency and length of the prison sentences imposed in the Scandinavian countries, their judicial systems produce prison populations of a similar size. In the year 2000, the average prison population in the Scandinavian countries was low when viewed from a European perspective (59 prison inmates per 100,000 of population; the level being lowest in Finland at 55 per 100,000 and highest in Denmark at 63 per 100,000; see *Table 14* below). The corresponding figure for western and southern Europe was 88 per 100,000 (computed from Barclay & Tavares, 2002:7). The perception that prison sentences are harmful and should thus be avoided as far as possible retains a great deal of currency in the Scandinavian countries (Bondeson, 1998:94).

Unlike in many other European countries, there had until recently been no general problems of prison overcrowding in Scandinavia (although such problems can arise in special types of institutions, CoE, 1999c:115 ff). As a rule, prisons in the Scandinavian countries are small (between 60 and 100 inmates), modern and characterised by high staffing levels (NSK, 2002:20). Open prisons, where security arrangements aimed at preventing escape are kept to a minimum, account for between 20 per cent (Sweden) and 34 cent of prison places (Denmark) (*op. cit.*, 21). For this reason the Scandinavian countries, with the possible exception of Finland, report high levels of prison escapees by comparison with those of other countries (CoE, 1999a:41).

There are very few persons under the age of eighteen in Scandinavian prisons (such individuals account for well below ½ per cent of the prison population). The proportion of female prison inmates lies – as in many other countries – at

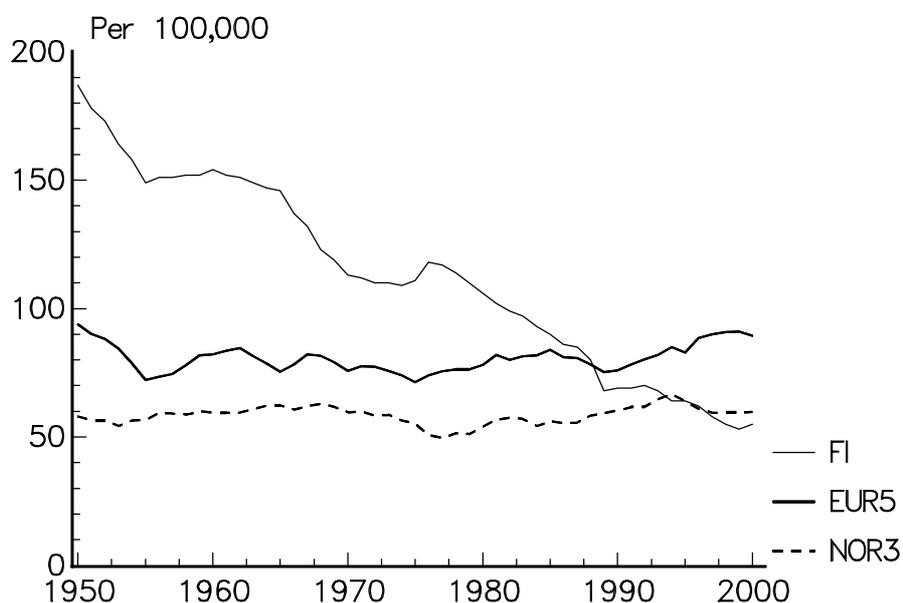
⁶ A GSM tracking system is in use – on a trial basis – for prisoners moving outside the prison (Annual Report, 2002:26).

between five and six per cent, whilst the proportion of foreign citizens among prison inmates varies⁷ quite considerably – being lowest in Finland at 6 per cent, and highest in Sweden at 28 per cent (NSK, 2002:17).

The average length of stay in prison can be estimated (computed from NSK, 2002:14 and 16) to be shortest in Norway and Denmark (2.8 and 3.2 months respectively in 2000) and longest in Finland (6.8 months; but note Finland's low overall prison population). As regards the number of individuals serving life sentences, on a certain day in the year 2000 there were 16 such 'lifers' in Denmark, 60 in Finland and 99 in Sweden (op. cit., 17). There has been a substantial increase in the number of prison inmates serving life terms in all the countries over recent years (with the exception of Norway, see *supra*).

Figure 3. *Prison populations in Scandinavia and five western European countries, 1950-2000. Per 100,000 of population.*
Source: Table 14 below and Westfelt (2001; updated)

NOR3: Denmark, Norway and Sweden.
 EUR5: Austria, England & Wales, France, (West) Germany and the Netherlands.



Over the last 50 years, prison populations have been fairly stable in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (see *Figure 3*). Finland constitutes a remarkable exception. There the prison population has shrunk quite considerably since the mid-1970s (1976: 118 inmates per 100,000 of population) and is today (2000) lower than that of her Scandinavian neighbours. The roots of the formerly high Finnish prison population may be traced back to the civil war (1918) and its aftermath (Christie, 1968:171). The political mechanisms

⁷ In line with differences in the size of the foreign population.

underlying the recent decrease have been described by Törnudd (1993) and Lappi-Seppälä (2000), who – among other things – draws the conclusion that the decrease in the prison population has not had a negative effect on the crime picture in Finland by comparison with that of other Scandinavian countries (op. cit., 36-37).

Summary

This short overview of the state of the crime levels and penal systems in the Scandinavian countries, as portrayed by available statistical sources, indicates that the crime level in Scandinavia (as regards traditional offences) is similar to or lower than that of other European countries. The extent of drug abuse in the Scandinavian countries also appears to be on a par with or lower than it is in the rest of Europe. Increases in crime rates during the post-war period have been very substantial in the Scandinavian countries just as they have been elsewhere in Europe – indicating that the recorded increases in traditional crime in Europe may have common structural roots. The 1990s have witnessed a stabilisation in theft rates, albeit at a high level. Increasing equality between the sexes might have contributed to an increase in the reporting of violent and sexual offences against women (and children), making these offences more visible. The system of formal control in the Scandinavian countries is characterised by relatively low police density, a declining clear-up rate, the imposition of fines in a high proportion of criminal cases and relatively low prison populations.

The international crime victims surveys (no recent data available for Norway) indicate that fear of crime is comparatively low in Denmark, Finland and Sweden; and that (for this reason) people do not feel the need to take special precautions against the possibility of crime to any great extent. Respondents appear to be fairly satisfied with the performance of the police and also support limits on the use of prison sentences.

Lahti (2000) – in his analysis of the ideological trends in the criminal policy of the Nordic countries since the 1960s – arrived at the conclusion that, although criminal policy in these countries is not unified, one can argue for the existence of a 'Scandinavian criminal policy' characterised by several common features relating to historical traditions, intensive cooperation and a similar approach to crime prevention and control.

In addition, there are more similarities than dissimilarities when the crime picture is compared across the different Nordic countries, and the overall state of affairs is not unfavourable when viewed from a European perspective. It should be remembered, however, that debates on crime policy in the media or among politicians at the national level are rarely based on a comparative cross-national perspective. Conclusions such as those drawn in HEUNI's "Profiles of Criminal Justice Systems" (1999), for example,

- on Denmark:
"In general, therefore, the data (which is admittedly limited) suggest a relatively low crime problem in Denmark" (p. 134)
- or on Sweden:
"All in all, therefore, the image one receives from the data on crime and criminal justice is that, at least in the international comparison, Sweden has been relatively successful in its crime prevention and criminal justice policy" (p. 434)

would be rejected by many national editorials and politicians as artefacts. Instead, the scenarios painted are not uncommonly quite clear in their inclination towards a "law and order" rhetoric and the need for more extensive anti-crime measures. Thus, state crime prevention organisations (Crime Prevention Councils) operate in all the Scandinavian countries (BRÅ, 2001).

Introduction – Methodological Notes⁸

As an introduction, two possible methods for compiling international criminal statistics are described:

- The first method begins with the selection of certain types of offences and an inquiry into whether their legal definitions in the various countries are comparable. By examining relevant publications, it is then determined whether their statistical definitions are comparable as well. The data which are found to contain comparable legal and statistical definitions are compiled.
- The second method begins at the opposite end with a search through statistical publications for those types of offences which *appear* to be comparable. The data on these offences are then compiled and the legal rules and statistical procedures applied in each country are described. Any definitive assessment of the data's comparability is left for the consumer of the statistics.

The descriptions of these two methods may appear so similar that choosing between them seems rather meaningless. It has been shown in practice⁹, however, that it is only the second method that is likely to produce results. Thus, this method was chosen for compiling the Nordic criminal statistics.

1 Choice of Statistics

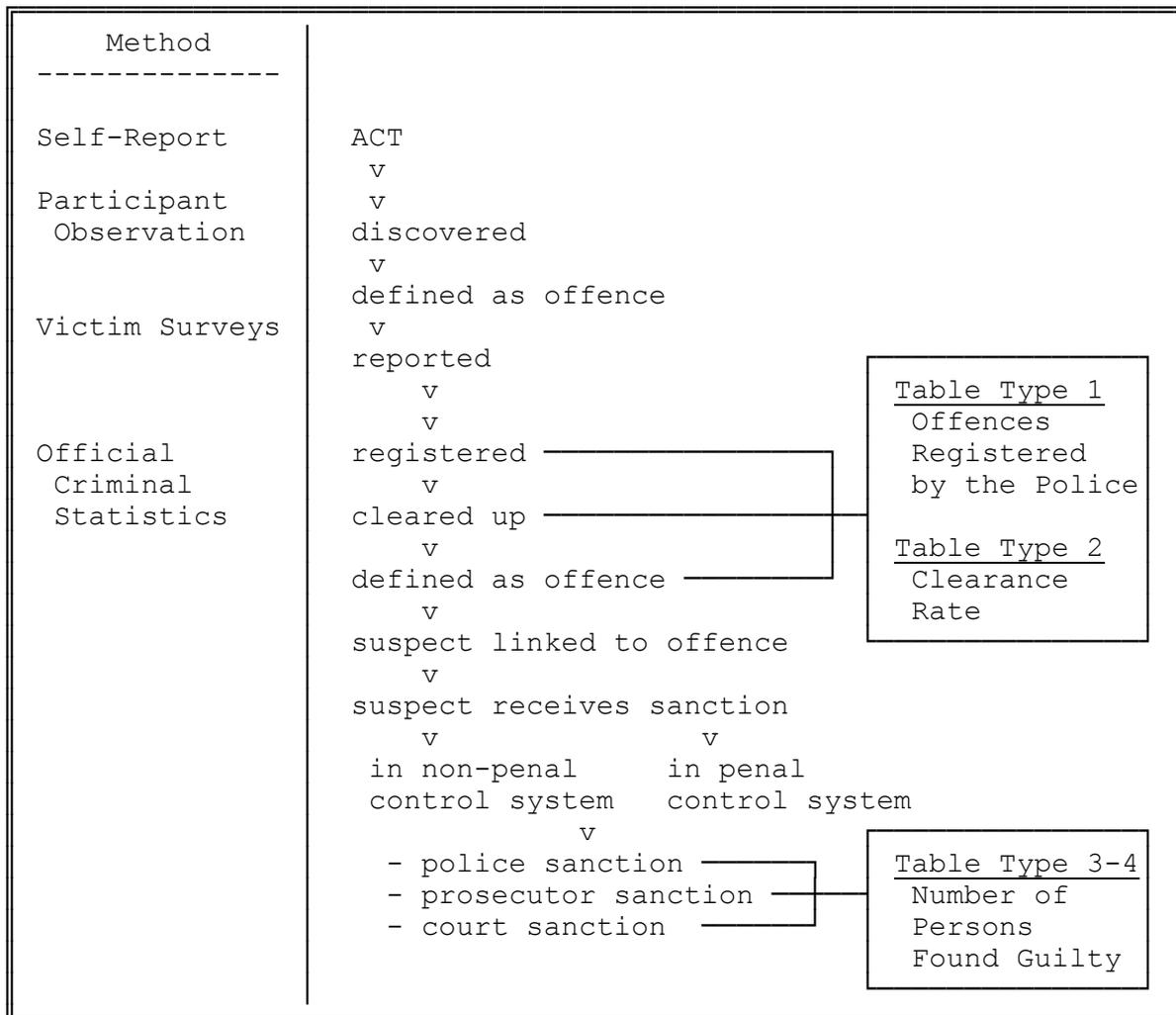
It is possible to compile criminal statistics on the basis of data obtained at several points in the criminal justice process, as shown in the simplified flow-chart of this process (see *Figure 1* below).

We chose to compile and compare "official" statistics for registered offences as well as for persons found guilty of these offences. Observe that the measurement units in the tables shift between *offences* (Table Types 1 & 2) and *offenders* (Table Types 3 & 4).

Based on the notion of a flow-chart such as the one shown in *Figure 1*, idealised criminal statistics for *one* country might take the form shown in *Figure 2*.

⁸ The following pages are a revised translation from the introductory chapter of the main report *Nordisk Kriminalstatistik 1950-1980* (1982).

⁹ For a more detailed discussion, see Collmann (1973) and Vetere-Newman (1977) for their histories of international crime statistics and further references. See now also HEUNI (1990:38 ff), Council of Europe (1999b), Newman & Howard (1999).

Figure 1. Flow-Chart of the Criminal Justice Process

Of course, it is not always, and perhaps not ever, possible actually to produce *identical crime descriptions* and *identical populations*. Therefore, deviations from these criteria in the statistics are indicated in the main publication. While these deviations have been documented as thoroughly as possible, such efforts are and will remain unsatisfactory. The statistical sources offer only fragmentary information about this problem and much of the relevant working knowledge accumulated over the years has unfortunately been lost.

2 Choice of Offences

One well-known publication on crime statistics is Interpol's "*International Crime Statistics*", which has been published since 1950.¹⁰

Although the basic language used by Interpol has been adopted in the main report, extensive liberties have been taken with the offence definitions. The

¹⁰ <http://www.interpol.int/Public/Statistics/ICS/Default.asp>

Figure 2. Idealised Presentation of Criminal Statistics

Crime Category (= offence description)	Statistics on offences		Statistics on offenders/sanctions	
	Offences Regis- tered by Police	Clear- ance Rate	Number of Persons Found Guilty	Number of Persons Found Guilty, by Sanction
Table Types				
	#1	#2	#3	#4
1. Murder	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; width: 45%;"> <p style="text-align: center;">identical populations (offences)</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; width: 45%;"> <p style="text-align: center;">identical populations (offenders)</p> </div> </div>	<p style="text-align: center;">identical crime descriptions</p>		
2. Assault				
3. Rape				
4. Robbery				
5. Breaking and Entering				
6. Theft of Motor Vehicle				
7. Other Theft				
8. All Theft				
9. Fraud				
10. Remaining Offences				
11. Drunk Driving				
12. All Offences (Criminal Code)				

overall goal has been to choose crime categories that are as well-defined as possible.

The sections of law relating to these offences in each country are presented in tabulated form at the beginning of each section. Some additional general comments are presented first.

- **Homicide**

Our data include consummated homicides only, thus excluding attempted homicides. Comparisons of homicide rates are further complicated by the inclusion in some countries of *Assaults resulting in death* under this heading.

- **Assault**

This category is not limited to serious assaults. *Violence against public servants* was excluded for reasons of space.

- **Rape**

Rape is the only sexual offence included in this report, due to the unspecified nature of Interpol's *Sex Offences* category.

- **Robbery**

Robbery has been treated as a separate offence category and has thus not been included under the heading *All Theft* below (by contrast with the practice at Interpol).

- **Theft**

All theft categories (breaking and entering, theft/use of a [motor] vehicle without permission, other types of stealing) are included under this heading. Robbery is not included.

- **Fraud**

The possibilities for comparing fraud offences across the various countries are minimal.

- **Drug Offences**

Drug offences were not included in the main report from 1982. However, due to the immense current interest in drug offences, they have been added.

- **All Offences Against the Criminal Code**

This catch-all category (corresponding to Interpol's *Total Number of Offences*) reflects only offences against Criminal Codes and not special legislation. *Drunken driving* and *drunkenness* have been excluded from the data from Finland and *drunkenness/disorderly conduct* from that of Sweden.

The above offence selections are open to criticism for their almost exclusive focus on *traditional* crimes, while so-called *modern* criminality is neglected. But until it becomes possible to use a small number of categories as indicators of modern criminality, these shortcomings cannot be avoided in a publication such as this, which is aimed at documentation and not at the construction of new offence classifications. It is also the case that the greatest proportion of resources allocated to criminal justice systems (except for those spent on road traffic offences) is spent in relation to the types of crime listed above, a fact which is of course also reflected in the official statistics.

3 Commentary on the Sanctioning Statistics

The main difficulty when compiling the *sanctions* tables has been to condense a wide range of diverse sanctions into a small number of representative categories. We chose a rather crude, but hopefully effective grouping: "prison" sentences (including all forms of sanctions and measures that

deprive an individual of liberty), fines, and other sanctions (as a residual category). The figures refer to Criminal Code offences only; that is, sanctions concerning breaches of the special legislation are excluded here.

4 Description of Working Procedure

The base figures for each country have primarily been obtained from official statistical publications. The data have been independently checked by several individuals so that a high degree of reliability is assured.

Possible remaining errors are of three types:

- errors in the basic statistical publications which have not been discovered;
- errors in judgement concerning how a series should be continued, for example, after a statistical reorganization;
- factual or printing errors in the text, which should not affect the numerical information provided in the tables.

5 Comparability in General

The issue of whether or not it is useful to use official criminal statistics in making criminal policy decisions or in conducting scientific studies is one of the classic debates within criminology. No definitive answer to this question is provided here, and the dilemma will certainly not be solved through theoretical analyses or statements. The problem is *empirical* in nature; thus, each intended use of the data must itself determine whether or not they are suitable as the basis for analysis.

Comparative analyses generally fall into three categories:

- distributional comparisons
- level comparison
- trend comparisons

Distributional comparisons are aimed at answering questions such as: Do property crimes dominate the crime picture in many countries? What is the age profile of convicted offenders in the various countries?

The relevant questions for *level comparisons* are of the type: Which country has the highest frequency of robbery? Which country makes the most use of fines as a criminal sanction? In contrast, interpretations of *trends* concern such questions as: Does the trend in robbery offences differ over time between the different countries? Did the use of suspended sentences follow similar patterns in the respective countries during the 1970s?

Before these questions can be answered, it should be noted that official statistics on crimes and sanctions are fundamentally dependent upon the following three sets of conditions:

- **actual conditions**

such as the propensity to commit crimes, the opportunity structure, the risk of detection, the propensity to report crimes, etc.

- **legal conditions**

formal – the design of the Criminal Code, of the Code of Judicial Procedure, of welfare legislation, etc., and the formal organization of the criminal justice agencies¹¹

informal – the application of the laws and the praxis of the criminal justice agencies

- **statistical conditions**

formal – collection and processing regulations

informal – the collection and processing procedures in operation.

To ensure reliability when conducting *distributional* and *level comparisons*, one must carefully control for the legal and statistical conditions before observed similarities or dissimilarities in the data can be deemed to be real, that is, as being due to *actual conditions*.

The demands are somewhat different when *determining trends over time*. For such analyses, the "real" crime level need not be known; instead it is sufficient to control for possible changes in the legal and statistical systems. Naturally, this is a difficult task, and isolating the *informal* changes in criminal justice procedures and statistical routines is particularly difficult.

The basic premise underlying the analysis of trends is that changes in the series are *ascribed* to changes in actual conditions ("real" changes), if changes in the legal and statistical systems can *reasonably* be ruled out. Comparisons of trends then begin to resemble level comparisons when changes in the different factors coincide over time. In such cases, it is important to hold the effects of the different factors separate (which is often not possible).

In conclusion, there are two major problems that a comparative analysis of time series must face and resolve:

- the continuity problem, and
- the congruence problem.

¹¹ Cf. the short descriptions for Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden in HEUNI (1990), HEUNI (1995), and HEUNI (1999).

The problem of *continuity* concerns questions of whether an individual time series (for example, registered robberies in country A) reflects the same legal and statistical content at all points of measurement, and of how possible changes to this content are likely to be perceived.

The problem of *congruence* (which even occurs in distributional and level comparisons) concerns the question of whether the data being analysed from each country are comparable.

In order to facilitate statistical analyses in the light of continuity and congruence problems, the applicable sections of law, with interpretations and potential amendments, and the statistical procedures used, as well as relevant revisions, have been noted in the main report of 1982.

6 Comparability among the Nordic Countries

Comparisons among the Nordic countries reveal differences in *offence descriptions*, but the differences generally seem to be small (one exception is fraud offences).

The *method of producing* the statistics, however, differs markedly among the countries and the comparability is affected as a consequence. No exhaustive description of these differences is provided here¹², but the following may be said with regard to crime statistics:

- The *Swedish* data tend to lie at a higher level than that of the other countries (von Hofer, 2000). This is due to several factors: 1) in Sweden, a criminal offence is registered at the point that it is reported; 2) reported acts that later prove to be non-offences are *not* removed from the statistics; and, 3) *all* offences listed on the same police report or committed on the same occasion (or in a series) appear as separate offences in Swedish statistics. Thus, the number of offences counted in Sweden is more comprehensive than in the other Nordic countries.
- The *Norwegian* data generally lie at a lower level than in the other countries. This is because police statistics in Norway are based on cases where the police have completed their crime investigations.¹³ In addition, Norwegian statistics include only the more serious offences (thus excluding "misdemeanours"), which has resulted in the omission of shoplifting, for example, from the Norwegian statistics (since 1972), but not from those for the other three countries.

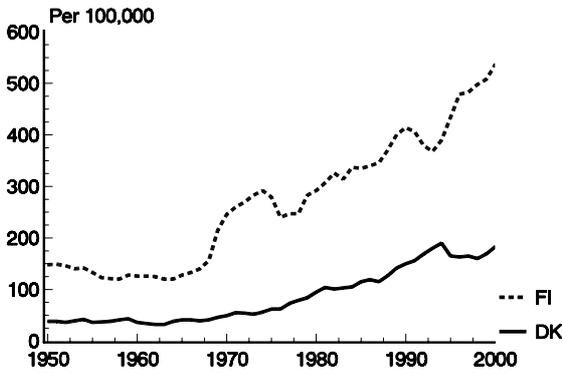
¹² For further details, see CoE (1999b).

¹³ Since 1990, statistics on offences *reported* to the police are likewise available. They have not been used in this publication for the sake of continuity.

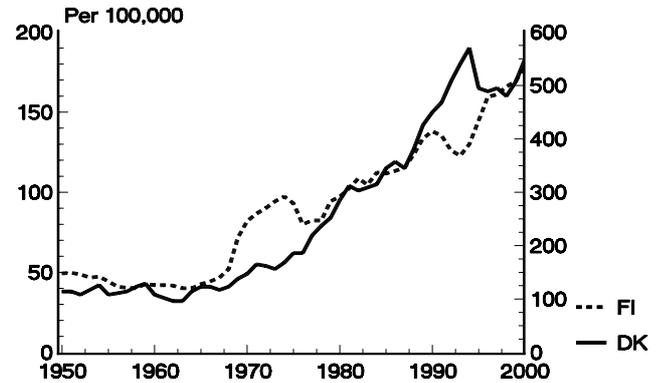
Figure 3. Six graphical models of how to compare crime trends in two countries.

Example: Reported assault in Denmark and Finland, 1950-2000, per 100,000 of population (see Table 2 below)

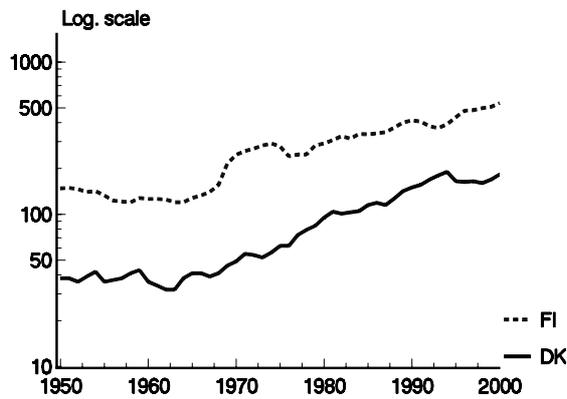
Type 1: Linear scale



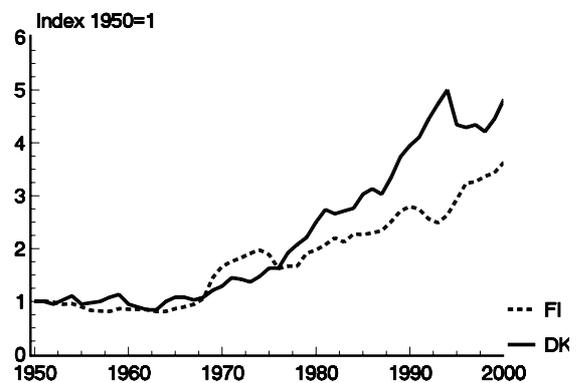
Type 2: Two linear scales



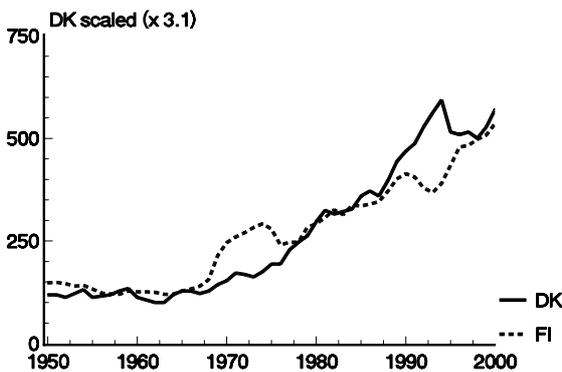
Type 3: Semi-log scale



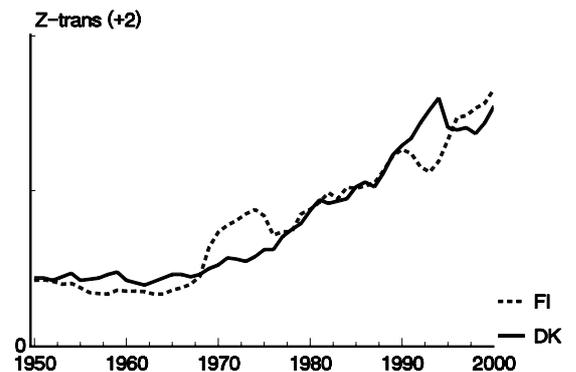
Type 4: Index 1950=1



Type 5: DK upscaled



Type 6: Z-transformations



- The crime counting routines in Denmark and Finland lie somewhere between those of Sweden and Norway.

7 Final remarks

Remark 1

The population figures used in this publication refer to the *total* resident population (all ages). In previous editions, all crime figures were standardised for populations aged 15-67 years. This principle has been abandoned since the sixth edition in order to increase the level of comparability with other international publications.

Remark 2

Compared with the previous edition of this report, a few erroneous figures have been changed in Tables 1 – 16 below. It has also been possible to update some of the data missing in previous editions. All changes appear in *italics*.

Remark 3

The graphical comparison of crime trends poses a special problem, when the curves start at different levels. As can be seen from the examples in *Figure 3*, crime trends will appear differently depending upon what kind of graphical model is chosen. We would favour the use of the semi-log model (*Type 3*) for the following reasons: (i) the semi-log model does not distort the comparison of trends *between* countries; (ii) it retains information on the rank order of the countries; (iii) all countries can be easily included in a single graph; and (iv) it is easily computed. The drawback of the semi-log model, however, is that it optically flattens major linear increases, because the semi-log scale transforms absolute changes to percentage changes, *i.e.* an increase from 40 to 80 units renders the same scale step as an increase from 100 to 200 units; in both cases the increase is 100 per cent, while the numerical increase is 40 and 100 units respectively. In addition, our experience has shown that semi-log scales are difficult to communicate to a non-expert audience. For this reason, we have chosen to employ the simple, but sometimes misleading linear model.

Tables

Diagram 1. HOMICIDE, 1950–2000 . Completed offences only.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000)	CC § 237
Changes in legislation	None
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979

Finland

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 21, §§ 1-3
Changes in legislation	1970, 1995
Revision of statistical routines	1970, 1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000)	CC § 233
Changes in legislation	1981
Revision of statistical routines	1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 3, §§ 1-2 incl. "Assault resulting in death" (CC Chap. 3, §§ 5-6)
Changes in legislation	1965
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1987, 1992-: publ- ished figures of documented bad quality; estimations applied instead.

CC = Criminal Code

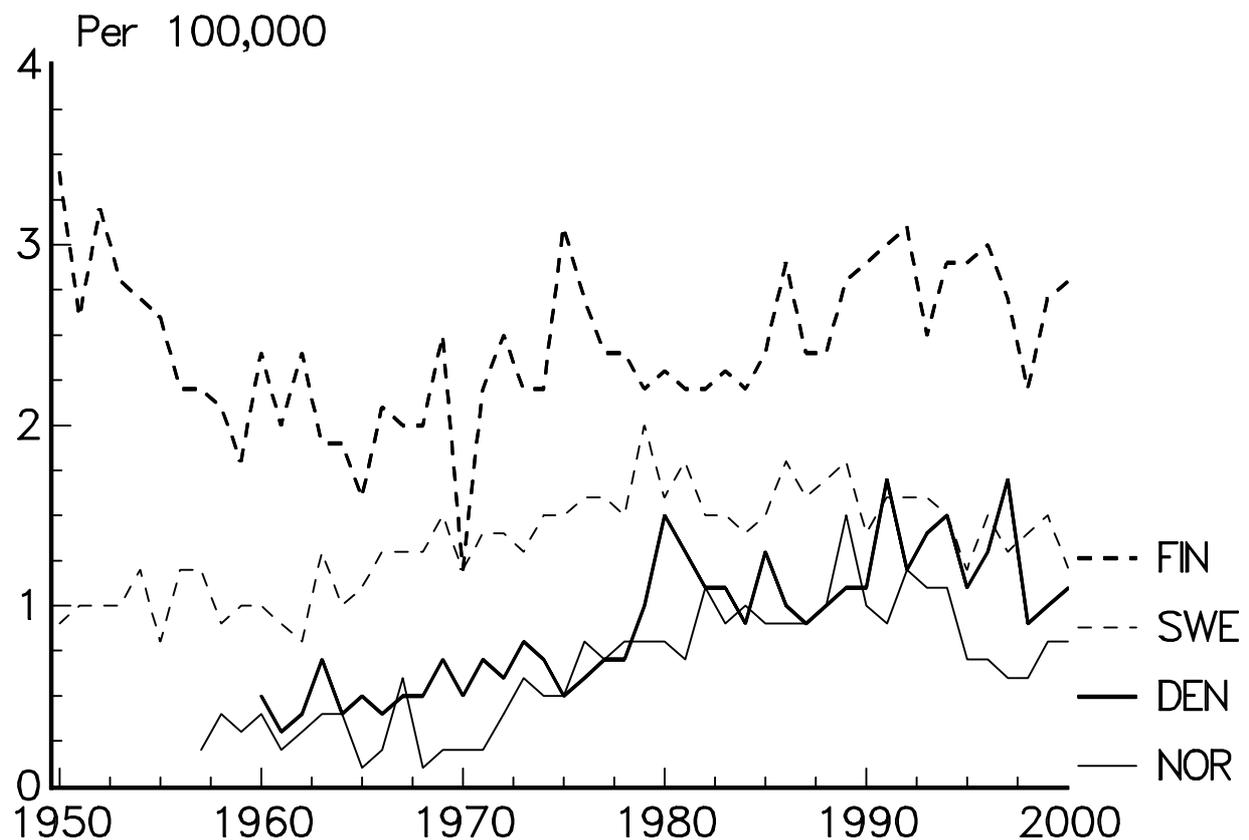


Table 1. HOMICIDE, 1950–2000.
Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	..	136	..	66	..	3.4	..	0.9
1951	..	107	..	74	..	2.6	..	1.0
1952	..	129	..	69	..	3.2	..	1.0
1953	..	114	..	70	..	2.8	..	1.0
1954	..	113	..	85	..	2.7	..	1.2
1955	..	109	..	59	..	2.6	..	0.8
1956	..	96	..	90	..	2.2	..	1.2
1957	..	97	7	89	..	2.2	0.2	1.2
1958	..	90	15	69	..	2.1	0.4	0.9
1959	..	78	10	76	..	1.8	0.3	1.0
1960	22	109	14	73	0.5	2.4	0.4	1.0
1961	16	97	8	67	0.3	2.0	0.2	0.9
1962	19	109	10	64	0.4	2.4	0.3	0.8
1963	33	94	13	101	0.7	1.9	0.4	1.3
1964	18	87	14	<u>78</u>	0.4	1.9	0.4	<u>1.0</u>
1965	23	79	5	87	0.5	1.6	0.1	1.1
1966	18	94	9	99	0.4	2.1	0.2	1.3
1967	24	92	24	<u>99</u>	0.5	2.0	0.6	<u>1.3</u>
1968	26	93	5	100	0.5	2.0	0.1	1.3
1969	32	<u>115</u>	9	116	0.7	<u>2.5</u>	0.2	1.5
1970	26	<u>56</u>	6	100	0.5	<u>1.2</u>	0.2	1.2
1971	34	102	8	117	0.7	2.2	0.2	1.4
1972	31	118	17	114	0.6	2.5	0.4	1.4
1973	42	101	23	107	0.8	2.2	0.6	1.3
1974	37	102	20	<u>125</u>	0.7	2.2	0.5	<u>1.5</u>
1975	26	145	21	122	0.5	3.1	0.5	1.5
1976	32	128	32	128	0.6	2.7	0.8	1.6
1977	37	112	29	131	0.7	2.4	0.7	1.6
1978	<u>34</u>	113	31	124	<u>0.7</u>	2.4	0.8	1.5
1979	50	<u>107</u>	32	170	1.0	<u>2.2</u>	0.8	2.0
1980	76	111	<u>31</u>	135	1.5	2.3	<u>0.8</u>	1.6
1981	69	107	27	146	1.3	2.2	0.7	1.8
1982	55	107	47	125	1.1	2.2	1.1	1.5
1983	54	114	<u>38</u>	121	1.1	2.3	<u>0.9</u>	1.5
1984	47	107	41	116	0.9	2.2	1.0	1.4
1985	64	117	37	126	1.3	2.4	0.9	1.5
1986	51	143	37	<u>147</u>	1.0	2.9	0.9	<u>1.8</u>
1987	47	117	39	134	0.9	2.4	0.9	1.6
1988	50	118	44	146	1.0	2.4	1.0	1.7
1989	59	138	62	150	1.1	2.8	1.5	1.8
1990	58	145	42	121	1.1	2.9	1.0	1.4
1991	86	152	38	<u>141</u>	1.7	3.0	0.9	<u>1.6</u>
1992	62	155	50	<u>142</u>	1.2	3.1	1.2	<u>1.6</u>
1993	71	129	47	<u>138</u>	1.4	2.5	1.1	<u>1.6</u>
1994	79	<u>147</u>	46	<u>131</u>	1.5	<u>2.9</u>	1.1	<u>1.5</u>
1995	60	<u>146</u>	32	<u>104</u>	1.1	2.9	0.7	1.2
1996	69	153	31	<u>134</u>	1.3	3.0	0.7	1.5
1997	88	139	28	<u>115</u>	1.7	2.7	0.6	1.3
1998	49	113	26	<u>120</u>	0.9	2.2	0.6	1.4
1999	53	142	34	<u>132</u>	1.0	2.7	0.8	1.5
2000	58	146	38	<u>110</u>	1.1	2.8	0.8	1.2

Sweden (1992–2000): Estimated figures.

Diagram 2. ASSAULT, 1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 244-246
Changes in legislation	1989, 1994
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979

Finland

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 21, §§ 5-8
Changes in legislation	1970, 1975, 1995
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1970, 1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 228-229, 231
Changes in legislation	1981, 1988
Revision of statistical routines	1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 3, §§ 5-6 excl. "Assault resulting in death" (CC Chap. 3, §§ 5-6)
Changes in legislation	1965, 1982, 1988, 1993, 1998
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code

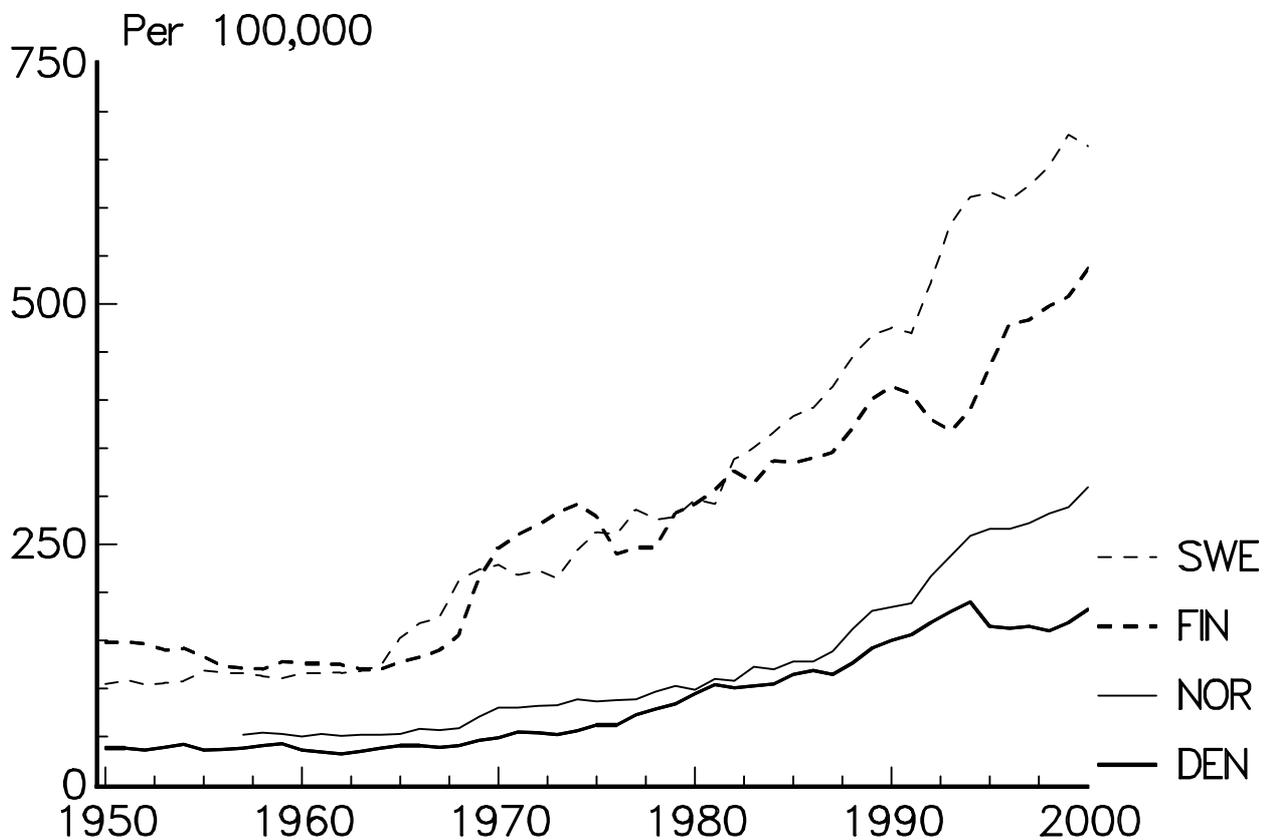


Table 2. ASSAULT, 1950–2000.
Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	1 613	<u>5 937</u>	..	7 395	38	<u>148</u>	..	105
1951	1 638	6 032	..	7 732	38	149	..	109
1952	1 553	5 983	..	7 397	36	146	..	104
1953	1 719	5 788	..	7 568	39	140	..	106
1954	1 838	5 950	..	7 774	42	142	..	108
1955	1 600	5 637	..	8 615	36	133	..	119
1956	1 649	5 279	..	8 510	37	123	..	116
1957	1 694	5 253	1 822	8 570	38	121	52	116
1958	1 839	5 218	1 888	8 402	41	120	54	113
1959	<u>1 944</u>	5 623	1 876	8 243	<u>43</u>	128	53	111
1960	1 632	5 571	1 802	8 711	36	126	50	116
1961	1 572	5 642	1 901	8 765	34	126	53	117
1962	1 501	5 636	1 869	8 735	32	125	51	116
1963	1 621	5 442	1 893	9 011	35	120	52	119
1964	1 799	5 442	1 920	<u>9 532</u>	38	120	52	<u>124</u>
1965	1 944	5 823	1 965	11 803	41	128	53	<u>153</u>
1966	1 962	6 091	2 166	13 094	41	133	58	168
1967	1 892	6 459	2 161	<u>13 671</u>	39	140	57	<u>174</u>
1968	1 999	7 233	2 233	16 816	41	156	59	<u>213</u>
1969	2 239	<u>9 954</u>	2 751	17 842	46	<u>215</u>	71	224
1970	2 401	<u>11 230</u>	3 092	18 385	49	<u>246</u>	80	229
1971	2 749	11 858	3 115	17 651	55	260	80	218
1972	2 692	12 527	3 212	18 119	54	270	82	223
1973	2 603	13 183	3 304	17 487	52	283	83	215
1974	2 821	<u>13 680</u>	3 563	<u>19 899</u>	56	<u>292</u>	89	<u>244</u>
1975	3 121	13 138	3 495	21 509	62	279	87	263
1976	3 123	11 348	3 524	21 378	62	240	88	260
1977	3 724	11 718	3 599	23 596	73	247	89	286
1978	<u>4 012</u>	11 759	3 944	22 868	<u>79</u>	247	97	276
1979	4 285	<u>13 476</u>	4 207	23 171	84	<u>283</u>	103	279
1980	4 854	13 964	<u>4 041</u>	24 668	95	292	<u>99</u>	297
1981	5 326	14 730	4 492	<u>24 314</u>	104	307	110	<u>292</u>
1982	5 169	15 723	4 459	28 200	101	326	108	339
1983	5 256	15 248	<u>5 070</u>	29 220	103	314	<u>123</u>	351
1984	5 390	16 442	4 975	30 785	105	337	120	367
1985	5 865	16 425	5 325	31 996	115	335	128	383
1986	6 071	16 707	5 340	32 805	119	340	128	392
1987	5 885	17 067	<u>5 812</u>	<u>34 757</u>	115	346	<u>139</u>	<u>414</u>
1988	<u>6 513</u>	18 369	<u>6 837</u>	37 511	<u>127</u>	371	162	445
1989	<u>7 287</u>	19 903	7 661	39 641	142	401	181	467
1990	7 698	20 654	7 842	40 690	150	414	185	475
1991	8 052	20 347	8 040	<u>40 454</u>	156	406	189	<u>469</u>
1992	8 741	19 086	9 298	<u>45 232</u>	169	379	217	<u>522</u>
1993	<u>9 315</u>	18 656	10 271	50 926	<u>180</u>	368	238	584
1994	9 880	<u>19 836</u>	11 244	<u>53 665</u>	190	<u>390</u>	259	<u>611</u>
1995	8 622	22 188	11 588	54 380	165	434	266	616
1996	8 589	24 542	11 648	53 731	163	479	266	608
1997	8 734	24 847	11 965	<u>55 109</u>	165	483	272	<u>623</u>
1998	8 460	25 660	12 488	<u>56 878</u>	160	498	282	<u>643</u>
1999	8 973	26 223	12 874	59 918	169	508	289	676
2000	9 796	27 820	13 936	58 846	183	537	310	663

Diagram 3. RAPE, 1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 216-217, 221
Changes in legislation	1965, 1967, 1981
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1973, 1979, 1981

Finland

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 20, §§ 1-2
Changes in legislation	1971, 1994, 1999
Revision of statistical routines	1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000)	CC § 192
Changes in legislation	1963, 1981, 1995, 1998, 2000
Revision of statistical routines	1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 6, § 1
Changes in legislation	1965, 1984, 1992, 1998
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code

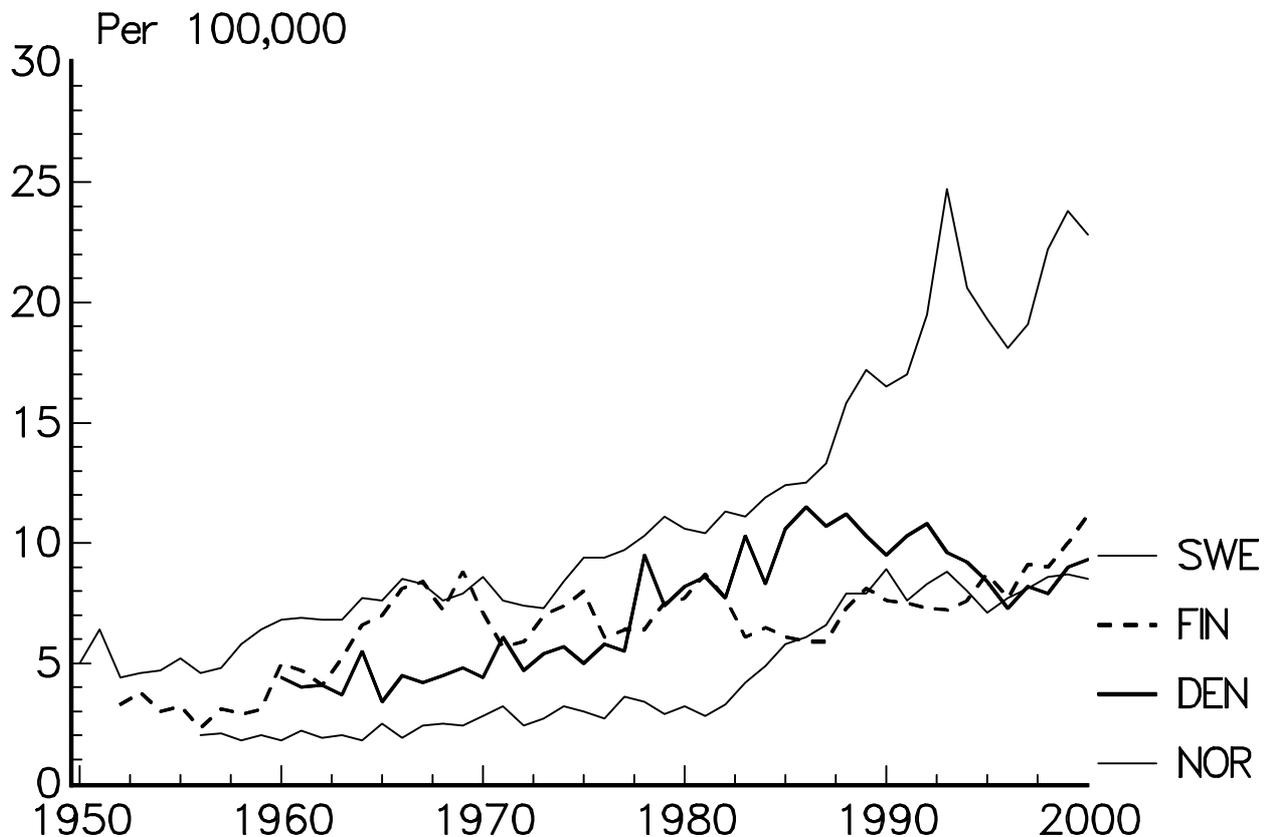


Table 3. RAPE, 1950–2000.
Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	..	..	..	350	..	..	..	5.0
1951	..	..	..	449	..	..	..	6.4
1952	..	136	..	310	..	3.3	..	4.4
1953	..	158	..	330	..	3.8	..	4.6
1954	..	125	..	339	..	3.0	..	4.7
1955	..	137	..	375	..	3.2	..	5.2
1956	..	97	69	333	..	2.3	2.0	4.6
1957	..	133	75	356	..	3.1	2.1	4.8
1958	..	128	63	427	..	2.9	1.8	5.8
1959	..	138	70	474	..	3.1	2.0	6.4
1960	200	222	66	512	4.4	5.0	1.8	6.8
1961	185	211	80	516	4.0	4.7	2.2	6.9
1962	189	186	<u>68</u>	516	4.1	4.1	<u>1.9</u>	6.8
1963	173	237	<u>73</u>	516	3.7	5.2	2.0	6.8
1964	<u>259</u>	299	68	<u>590</u>	<u>5.5</u>	6.6	1.8	<u>7.7</u>
1965	162	320	93	<u>587</u>	3.4	7.0	2.5	7.6
1966	<u>215</u>	371	70	660	<u>4.5</u>	8.1	1.9	8.5
1967	203	386	92	<u>652</u>	4.2	8.4	2.4	<u>8.3</u>
1968	217	332	95	603	4.5	7.2	2.5	7.6
1969	236	407	93	630	4.8	8.8	2.4	7.9
1970	215	<u>325</u>	109	692	4.4	<u>7.1</u>	2.8	8.6
1971	304	261	123	617	6.1	5.7	3.2	7.6
1972	<u>233</u>	274	95	598	<u>4.7</u>	5.9	2.4	7.4
1973	269	327	105	597	5.4	7.0	2.7	7.3
1974	287	345	127	<u>684</u>	5.7	7.4	3.2	<u>8.4</u>
1975	252	375	119	769	5.0	8.0	3.0	9.4
1976	294	289	108	773	5.8	6.1	2.7	9.4
1977	280	305	147	800	5.5	6.4	3.6	9.7
1978	<u>484</u>	304	137	851	<u>9.5</u>	6.4	3.4	10.3
1979	379	<u>356</u>	120	922	7.4	<u>7.5</u>	2.9	11.1
1980	<u>422</u>	367	<u>129</u>	885	<u>8.2</u>	7.7	<u>3.2</u>	10.6
1981	442	417	114	865	8.6	8.7	2.8	10.4
1982	396	370	136	941	7.7	7.7	3.3	11.3
1983	527	296	<u>175</u>	<u>923</u>	10.3	6.1	<u>4.2</u>	<u>11.1</u>
1984	424	317	201	995	8.3	6.5	4.9	<u>11.9</u>
1985	541	300	241	1 035	10.6	6.1	5.8	12.4
1986	587	292	255	1 046	11.5	5.9	6.1	12.5
1987	550	293	278	1 114	10.7	5.9	6.6	13.3
1988	576	359	332	1 332	11.2	7.3	7.9	15.8
1989	527	404	335	1 462	10.3	8.1	7.9	17.2
1990	486	381	376	1 410	9.5	7.6	8.9	16.5
1991	531	378	326	<u>1 462</u>	10.3	7.5	7.6	<u>17.0</u>
1992	556	369	357	1 688	10.8	7.3	8.3	19.5
1993	499	<u>365</u>	379	2 153	9.6	<u>7.2</u>	8.8	24.7
1994	481	387	<u>349</u>	<u>1 812</u>	9.2	7.6	<u>8.0</u>	<u>20.6</u>
1995	440	446	309	1 707	8.4	8.7	7.1	19.3
1996	388	395	338	1608	7.3	7.7	7.7	18.1
1997	435	468	358	<u>1 692</u>	8.2	9.1	8.1	<u>19.1</u>
1998	418	463	380	<u>1 965</u>	7.9	9.0	8.6	<u>22.2</u>
1999	477	514	388	2 104	9.0	10.0	8.7	23.8
2000	497	579	381	2 024	9.3	11.2	8.5	22.8

Diagram 4. ROBBERY, 1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000)	CC § 288
Changes in legislation	None
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979

Finland

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 31, §§ 1-2
Changes in legislation	1972, 1973, 1991
Revision of statistical routines	1970, 1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 267-269
Changes in legislation	1967, 1972, 1981, 1984
Revision of statistical routines	1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 8, §§ 5-6
Changes in legislation	1965, 1976, 1992, 1998
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code

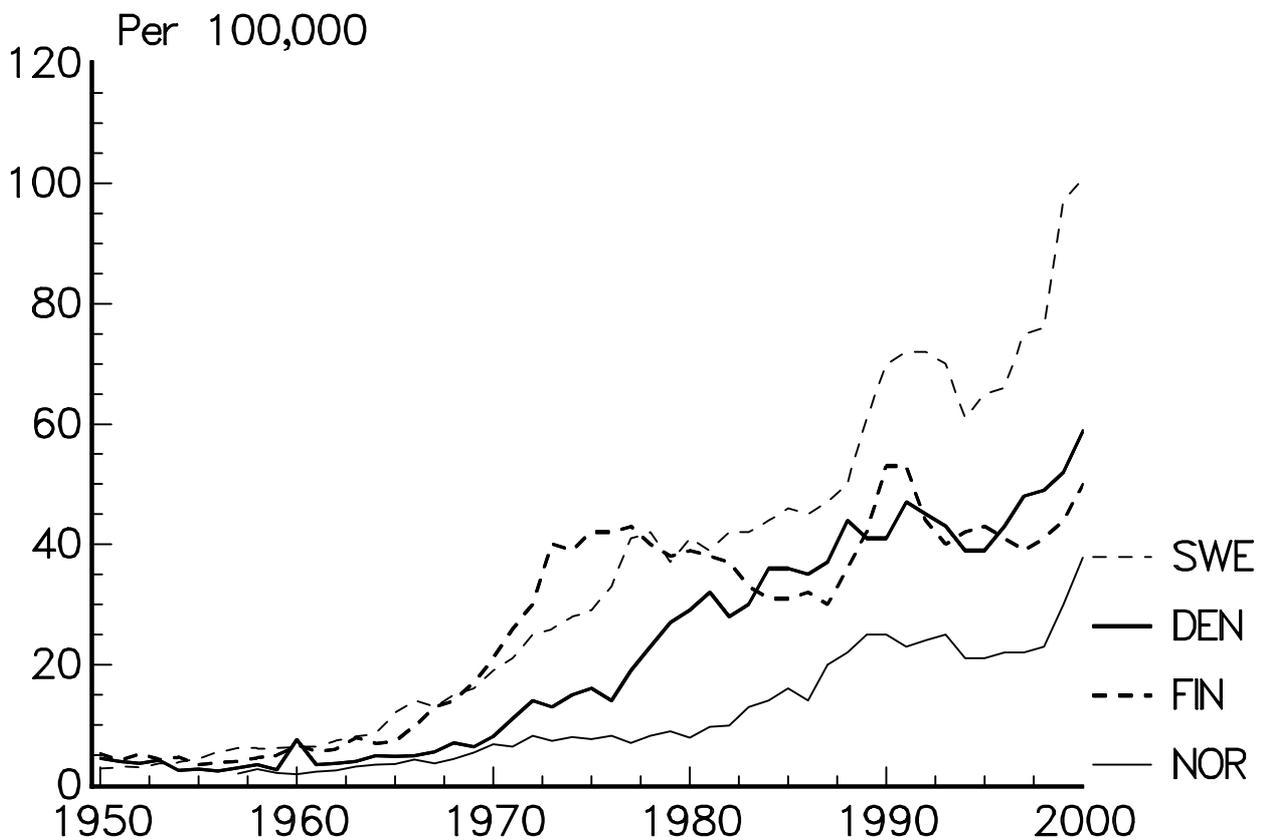


Table 4. ROBBERY, 1950–2000.

Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100.000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	189	210	..	190	4.4	5.2	..	2.7
1951	166	165	..	214	3.9	4.1	..	3.0
1952	158	212	..	198	3.6	5.2	..	2.8
1953	179	174	..	261	4.1	4.2	..	3.6
1954	106	193	..	277	2.4	4.6	..	3.8
1955	116	146	..	316	2.6	3.4	..	4.4
1956	102	157	..	404	2.3	3.7	..	5.5
1957	125	174	67	452	2.8	4.0	1.9	6.1
1958	154	196	92	442	3.4	4.5	2.6	6.0
1959	<u>113</u>	221	71	455	<u>2.5</u>	5.0	2.0	6.1
1960	344	294	65	469	7.5	6.6	1.8	6.3
1961	156	250	78	491	3.4	5.6	2.2	6.5
1962	168	269	89	556	3.6	6.0	2.4	7.4
1963	184	351	111	607	3.9	7.8	3.0	8.0
1964	227	315	124	<u>653</u>	4.8	6.9	3.4	<u>8.5</u>
1965	222	334	132	963	4.7	7.3	3.5	12
1966	230	444	<u>156</u>	1 066	4.8	9.7	<u>4.2</u>	14
1967	266	607	135	<u>1 034</u>	5.5	13	3.6	<u>13</u>
1968	342	631	165	1 192	7.0	14	4.3	15
1969	309	<u>809</u>	209	1 297	6.3	<u>17</u>	5.4	16
1970	396	<u>947</u>	262	1 511	8.0	<u>21</u>	6.8	19
1971	534	<u>1 204</u>	<u>244</u>	1 701	11	<u>26</u>	<u>6.3</u>	21
1972	690	<u>1 372</u>	323	2 027	14	<u>30</u>	8.2	25
1973	664	1 886	290	2 150	13	40	7.3	26
1974	779	1 839	316	<u>2 296</u>	15	39	7.9	<u>28</u>
1975	787	1 968	306	<u>2 336</u>	16	42	7.6	<u>29</u>
1976	692	1 962	331	2 697	14	42	8.2	33
1977	947	2 020	281	3 374	19	43	7.0	41
1978	<u>1 182</u>	1 902	334	3 461	<u>23</u>	40	8.2	42
1979	1 381	<u>1 799</u>	364	3 075	27	<u>38</u>	8.9	37
1980	1 461	1 869	<u>317</u>	3 427	29	39	<u>7.8</u>	41
1981	1 651	1 828	<u>395</u>	3 228	32	38	9.6	39
1982	1 410	1 763	408	3 530	28	37	9.9	42
1983	1 529	1 604	<u>530</u>	3 473	30	33	<u>13</u>	42
1984	1 819	1 509	568	3 681	36	31	14	44
1985	1 834	1 532	657	3 851	36	31	16	46
1986	1 812	1 584	604	3 806	35	32	14	45
1987	1 877	1 482	847	3 939	37	30	20	47
1988	2 257	1 765	936	4 177	44	36	22	50
1989	2 104	2 098	1 056	5 211	41	42	25	61
1990	2 127	<u>2 627</u>	1 047	5 967	41	<u>53</u>	25	70
1991	2 418	2 672	983	<u>6 173</u>	47	53	23	<u>72</u>
1992	2 328	2 194	1 040	6 219	45	44	24	72
1993	2 232	2 049	1 069	6 101	43	40	25	70
1994	2 046	2 122	891	<u>5 331</u>	39	42	21	<u>61</u>
1995	2 039	2 190	905	5 747	39	43	21	65
1996	2 280	2 087	968	5 821	43	41	22	66
1997	2 523	2 016	976	<u>6 641</u>	48	39	22	<u>75</u>
1998	2 606	2 092	1 021	<u>6 713</u>	49	41	23	<u>76</u>
1999	2 781	2 277	1 340	8 628	52	44	30	97
2000	3 152	2 600	1 693	8 999	59	50	38	101

Diagram 5. THEFT, 1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000)	CC § 276, 293
Changes in legislation	1961, 1973, 1982
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990

Finland

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 28, §§ 1-3, 7-9
Changes in legislation	1964, 1972, 1973, 1991
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 257-258, 260
Changes in legislation	1972, 1989
Revision of statistical routines	1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 8, §§ 1-4, 7-11
Changes in legislation	1965, 1972, 1976, 1988, 1993
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code

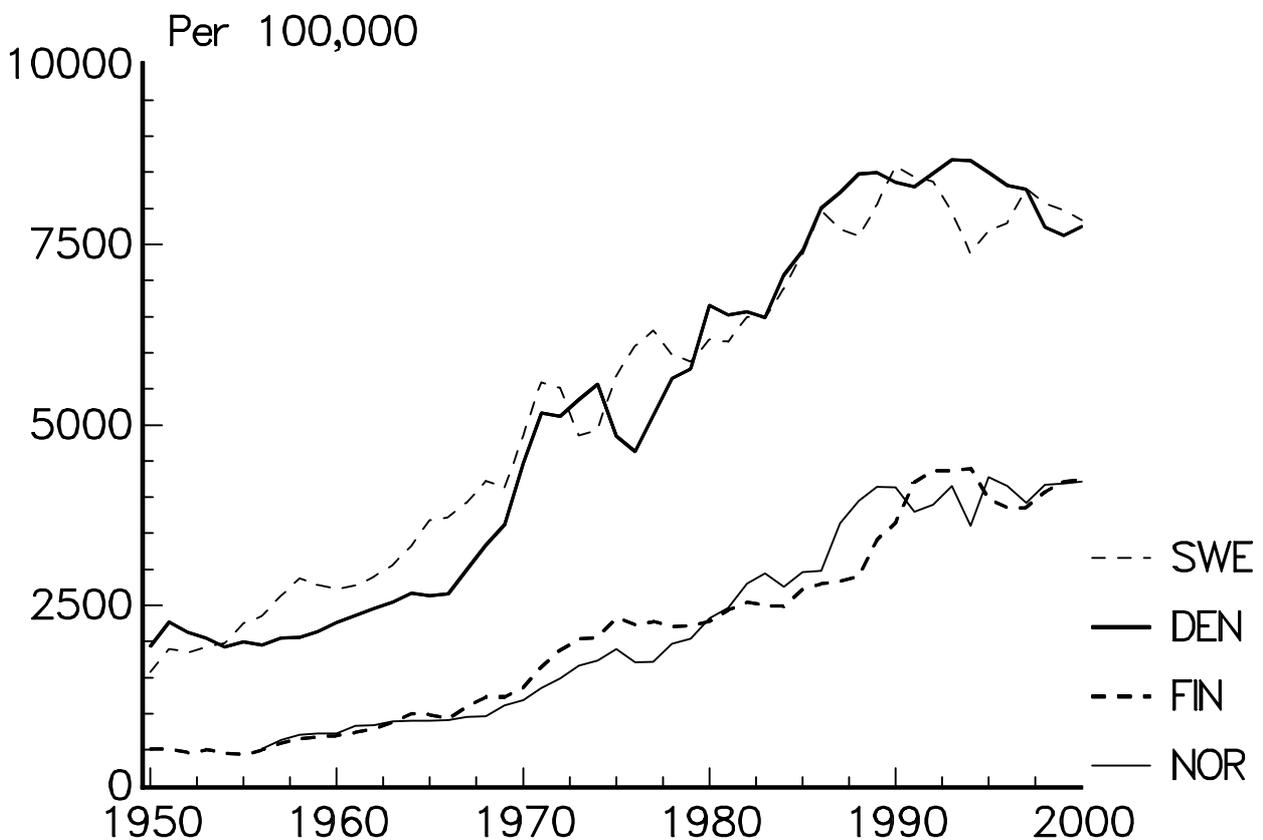


Table 5. THEFT, 1950–2000.
Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	82 664	<u>20 328</u>	..	110 470	1 936	<u>507</u>	..	1 575
1951	97 521	20 143	..	134 110	2 266	498	..	1 897
1952	92 215	18 719	..	131 332	2 128	458	..	1 843
1953	89 265	20 923	..	138 104	2 043	506	..	1 926
1954	84 640	18 857	..	142 632	1 921	450	..	1 977
1955	88 675	18 406	..	163 407	1 998	435	..	2 250
1956	87 192	21 483	17 610	172 445	1 952	502	509	2 357
1957	91 970	25 362	22 147	193 608	2 049	587	634	2 629
1958	92 719	28 302	24 718	212 943	2 054	649	702	2 874
1959	<u>97 049</u>	29 725	25 835	207 543	<u>2 134</u>	676	727	2 787
1960	<u>103 430</u>	31 020	<u>26 049</u>	203 675	<u>2 258</u>	700	727	2 723
1961	108 520	33 106	<u>30 034</u>	208 935	2 354	742	832	2 778
1962	114 338	35 217	<u>30 625</u>	219 246	2 460	784	842	2 899
1963	119 255	<u>39 927</u>	<u>32 823</u>	232 528	2 546	<u>883</u>	895	3 058
1964	125 928	45 369	<u>33 206</u>	<u>255 021</u>	2 668	997	899	<u>3 329</u>
1965	125 109	44 922	<u>33 605</u>	284 728	2 629	984	903	3 682
1966	127 470	42 657	<u>34 043</u>	290 632	2 657	931	907	3 722
1967	145 125	50 932	<u>36 058</u>	<u>308 911</u>	2 999	1 106	953	<u>3 926</u>
1968	162 379	56 864	<u>36 903</u>	334 277	3 336	1 229	967	4 225
1969	176 958	56 955	<u>43 064</u>	328 762	3 618	1 232	1 119	4 126
1970	220 276	<u>61 934</u>	<u>46 071</u>	390 523	4 469	<u>1 359</u>	1 189	4 855
1971	256 234	<u>74 988</u>	<u>52 835</u>	<u>453 032</u>	5 163	<u>1 644</u>	<u>1 354</u>	<u>5 594</u>
1972	<u>255 411</u>	<u>86 997</u>	<u>58 605</u>	447 540	<u>5 116</u>	<u>1 875</u>	1 490	5 510
1973	268 817	95 116	65 928	394 699	5 353	2 038	1 664	4 851
1974	280 724	96 625	69 005	<u>403 139</u>	5 564	2 060	1 732	<u>4 940</u>
1975	245 213	109 244	76 148	<u>465 396</u>	4 846	2 319	1 900	<u>5 680</u>
1976	234 983	105 477	68 710	501 467	4 632	2 232	1 707	6 099
1977	260 936	107 938	69 460	520 583	5 128	2 278	1 718	6 309
1978	<u>288 111</u>	104 760	79 892	493 367	<u>5 645</u>	2 204	1 968	5 961
1979	295 710	<u>105 838</u>	82 892	487 033	5 779	<u>2 221</u>	2 035	5 872
1980	340 891	108 963	95 011	514 130	6 654	2 280	2 325	6 187
1981	<u>334 149</u>	117 088	101 197	511 898	<u>6 524</u>	2 439	2 468	6 153
1982	336 079	122 927	115 366	541 096	6 567	2 547	2 804	6 500
1983	331 607	121 097	<u>121 403</u>	539 754	6 484	2 494	<u>2 941</u>	6 480
1984	361 668	121 071	114 172	574 533	7 075	2 480	2 758	6 891
1985	379 151	133 609	122 941	615 189	7 414	2 726	2 960	7 368
1986	409 844	137 928	124 074	667 057	8 003	2 805	2 978	7 970
1987	421 421	140 124	152 222	<u>647 490</u>	8 218	2 841	3 636	<u>7 710</u>
1988	435 005	143 764	<u>166 143</u>	641 430	8 480	2 906	<u>3 947</u>	7 603
1989	<u>435 964</u>	169 291	174 980	683 395	<u>8 495</u>	3 410	4 140	8 047
1990	429 896	<u>181 872</u>	175 165	734 409	8 364	<u>3 648</u>	4 130	8 581
1991	427 696	<u>210 853</u>	161 713	<u>726 850</u>	8 298	4 205	3 794	<u>8 435</u>
1992	438 512	220 236	166 990	<u>725 566</u>	8 482	4 368	3 896	<u>8 371</u>
1993	449 835	<u>221 448</u>	<u>178 926</u>	693 322	8 669	4 371	4 149	7 952
1994	450 678	<u>213 890</u>	<u>156 288</u>	<u>647 920</u>	8 659	4 404	3 604	<u>7 379</u>
1995	444 160	<u>203 043</u>	<u>186 541</u>	679 095	8 496	3 975	4 279	7 693
1996	437 773	197 242	182 010	689 920	8 320	3 849	4 155	7 804
1997	436 720	198 512	172 790	732 172	8 265	3 862	3 923	8 277
1998	410 250	209 637	184 740	<u>713 731</u>	7 739	4 068	4 169	<u>8 064</u>
1999	405 696	217 618	186 937	705 947	7 627	4 213	4 190	7 970
2000	413 471	219 800	189 405	694 875	7 747	4 247	4 217	7 832

Diagram 6. FRAUD, 1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 278, 279, 279a, 280, 283
Changes in legislation	1973, 1985
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979

Finland

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 28, §§ 4-6, Chap. 36, §§ 1-3, Chap. 37, §§ 8-11
Changes in legislation	1972, 1973, 1991
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000)	CC §§ 255-256, 270-278
Changes in legislation	1972, 1980, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1997, 1999
Revision of statistical routines	1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000)	CC Chap. 9, §§ 1-3, 8-10, Chap. 10
Changes in legislation	1965, 1971, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1993, 1995
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code

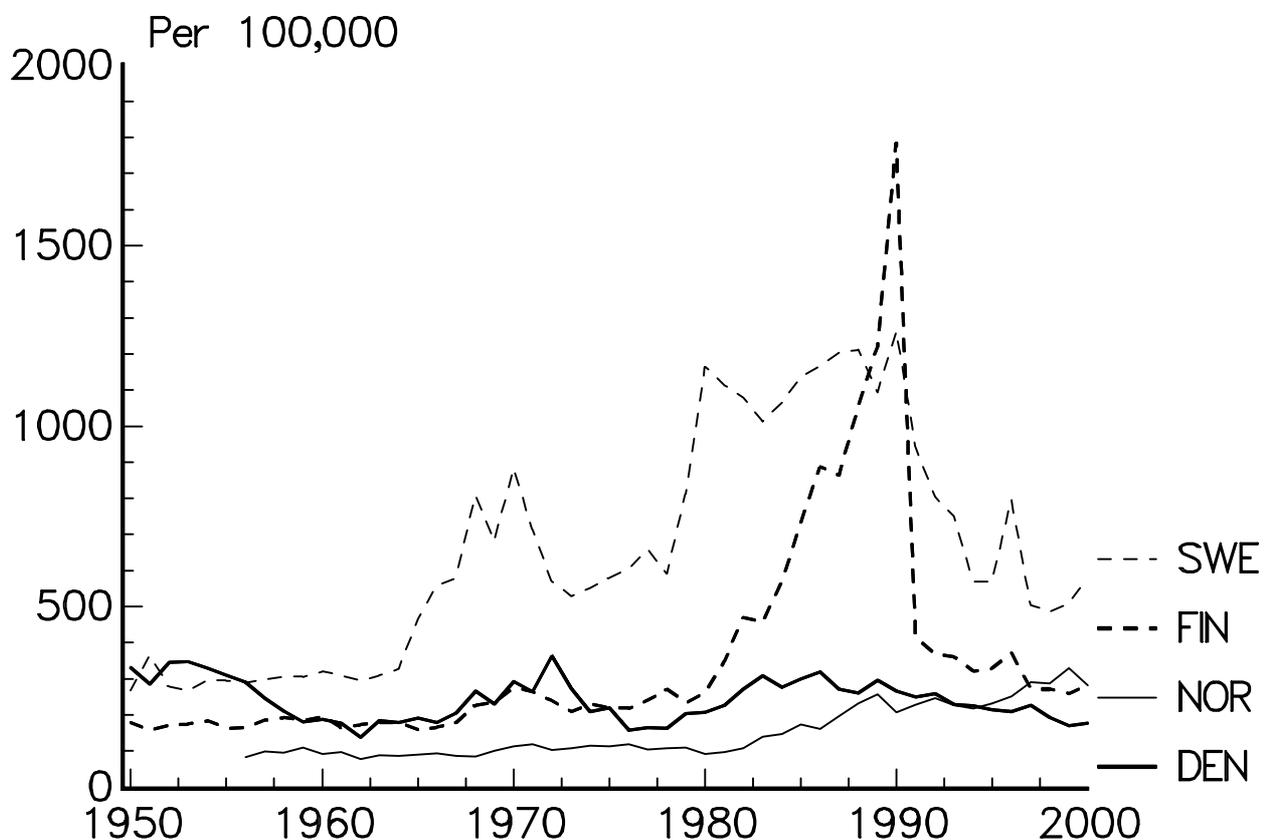


Table 6. FRAUD, 1950–2000.

Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	14 156	<u>7 167</u>	..	18 820	332	<u>179</u>	..	268
1951	12 271	6 357	..	25 798	285	157	..	365
1952	15 006	7 035	..	19 837	346	172	..	278
1953	15 142	7 258	..	19 214	347	175	..	268
1954	14 481	7 642	..	21 426	329	183	..	297
1955	13 768	6 883	..	21 378	310	163	..	294
1956	13 001	7 115	2 835	21 069	291	166	82	288
1957	11 047	8 020	3 442	22 096	246	185	99	300
1958	9 546	8 368	3 353	22 658	211	192	95	306
1959	<u>8 214</u>	8 106	3 877	22 738	<u>181</u>	184	109	305
1960	8 590	8 686	3 282	23 969	188	196	92	320
1961	8 105	7 295	3 472	23 140	176	164	96	308
1962	6 414	7 835	2 829	22 224	138	174	78	294
1963	8 615	8 103	3 234	23 542	184	179	88	310
1964	8 444	7 999	3 220	<u>25 105</u>	179	176	87	<u>328</u>
1965	9 072	7 240	3 318	36 091	191	159	89	467
1966	8 536	7 595	3 531	43 665	178	166	94	559
1967	9 922	8 252	3 254	<u>45 598</u>	205	179	86	<u>580</u>
1968	12 894	10 462	3 197	64 009	265	226	84	809
1969	11 233	10 904	3 869	54 335	230	236	101	682
1970	14 376	<u>12 484</u>	4 376	<u>71 029</u>	292	<u>274</u>	113	<u>883</u>
1971	13 126	<u>12 018</u>	<u>4 593</u>	57 781	264	<u>263</u>	<u>118</u>	714
1972	<u>18 161</u>	<u>11 082</u>	4 031	46 193	<u>364</u>	<u>239</u>	102	569
1973	13 683	9 741	4 287	42 975	272	209	108	528
1974	10 509	10 731	4 586	<u>45 005</u>	208	229	115	<u>551</u>
1975	11 146	10 376	4 478	47 539	220	220	112	580
1976	7 968	10 323	4 763	<u>49 752</u>	157	218	118	<u>605</u>
1977	8 339	11 435	4 210	54 392	164	241	104	659
1978	<u>8 345</u>	12 853	4 384	<u>48 846</u>	<u>163</u>	270	108	<u>590</u>
1979	10 393	<u>11 116</u>	<u>4 471</u>	67 332	203	<u>233</u>	<u>110</u>	812
1980	10 580	12 511	3 746	96 701	207	262	92	1 164
1981	11 643	16 752	3 933	92 539	227	349	96	1 112
1982	13 828	22 634	4 441	89 789	270	469	108	1 079
1983	15 756	22 077	<u>5 725</u>	84 494	308	455	<u>139</u>	1 014
1984	<u>14 105</u>	27 835	6 025	88 814	<u>276</u>	570	146	1 065
1985	15 290	35 890	7 227	<u>94 899</u>	299	732	174	<u>1 137</u>
1986	16 296	43 687	<u>6 665</u>	97 634	318	888	<u>160</u>	1 166
1987	13 864	42 506	8 222	101 109	270	862	196	1 204
1988	13 384	52 032	<u>9 729</u>	102 327	261	1 052	<u>231</u>	1 213
1989	15 199	60 675	10 830	92 908	296	1 222	256	1 094
1990	13 616	<u>89 073</u>	<u>8 790</u>	108 133	265	<u>1 786</u>	<u>207</u>	1 263
1991	12 832	<u>20 822</u>	9 701	<u>80 990</u>	249	415	228	<u>940</u>
1992	13 386	<u>18 557</u>	10 540	<u>69 728</u>	259	368	246	<u>804</u>
1993	11 860	<u>18 225</u>	9 802	65 474	229	360	227	751
1994	11 698	<u>16 321</u>	9 390	<u>50 071</u>	225	321	217	<u>570</u>
1995	11 192	<u>16 820</u>	10 083	50 217	214	329	231	569
1996	11 010	19 057	<u>11 011</u>	70 411	209	372	<u>251</u>	796
1997	11 965	13 911	12 834	44 528	226	271	291	503
1998	10 175	13 899	<u>12 655</u>	<u>42 932</u>	192	270	<u>286</u>	<u>485</u>
1999	8 984	13 324	14 671	45 023	169	258	329	508
2000	9 388	14 876	12 519	51 537	176	287	279	581

Diagram 7. DRUG OFFENCES, 1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000) CC §§ 191, 191a; The Euphoriant Act
Changes in legislation 1955, 1969, 1975, 1982
Revision of statistical routines None

Finland

Section of law (2000) CC Chap. 50, §§ 1-4
Changes in legislation 1957, 1972, 1994
Revision of statistical routines 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000) CC § 162 and The Act relating to medical goods etc. from 1964 (§ 43) and the new act from 1992 (§ 31)
Changes in legislation 1968, 1972, 1981, 1984, 1992
Revision of statistical routines None

Sweden

Section of law (2000) The Narcotic Drug Act
Changes in legislation 1958, 1961, 1964, 1965, 1968, 1969, 1971, 1972, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2000
Revision of statistical routines 1965, 1968, 1975, 1987, 1989, 1992-, 1995, 1999, 2000

CC = Criminal Code

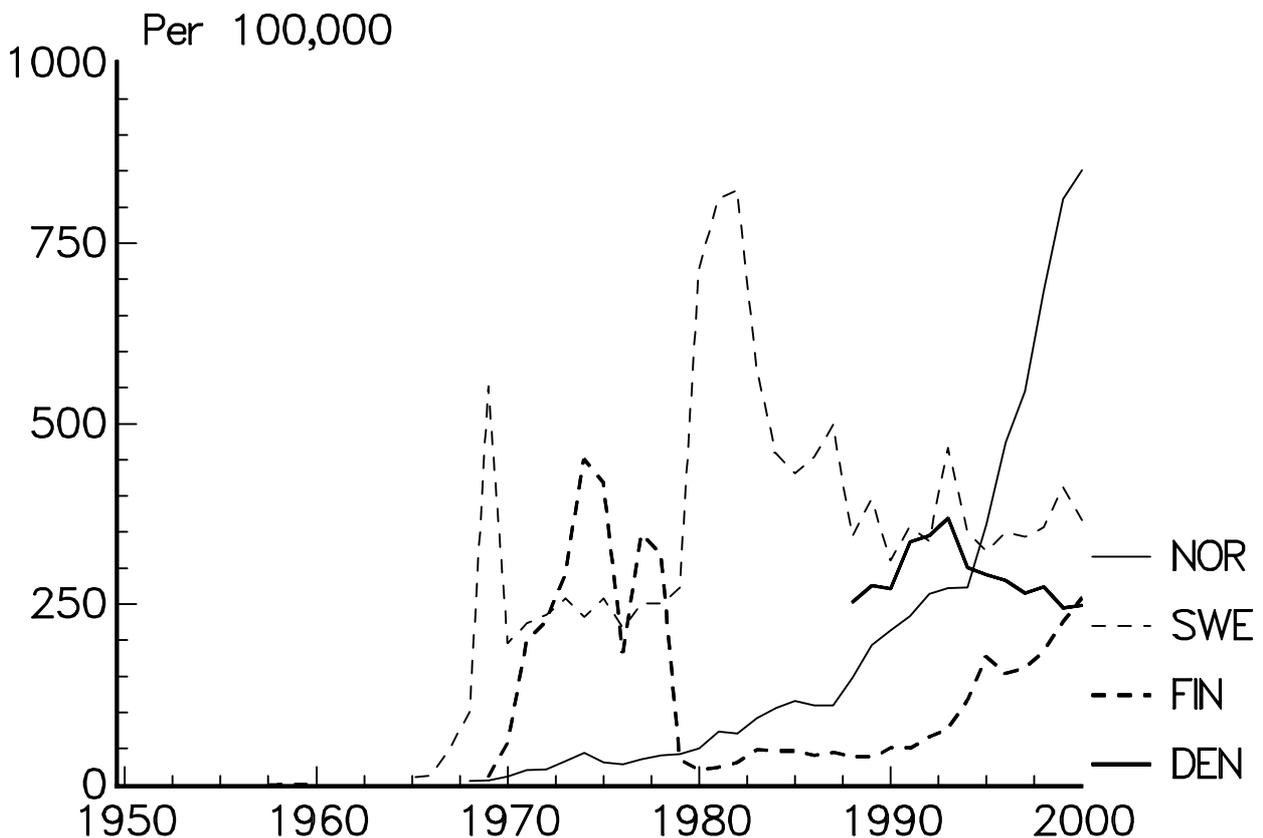


Table 7. DRUG OFFENCES, 1950–2000.
Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	0
1951	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	0
1952	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	0
1953	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	0
1954	..	..	..	27	..	..	..	0
1955	..	..	..	35	..	..	..	0
1956	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	0
1957	..	..	..	<u>33</u>	..	..	..	<u>0</u>
1958	..	..	..	52	..	..	..	1
1959	..	..	..	101	..	..	..	1
1960	..	..	..	146	..	..	..	2
1961	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1963	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1964	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1965	..	..	..	737	..	..	..	10
1966	..	..	..	1 051	..	..	..	13
1967	..	..	..	<u>4 043</u>	..	..	..	<u>51</u>
1968	..	..	201	<u>7 959</u>	..	..	5	<u>101</u>
1969	..	497	244	43 946	..	11	6	552
1970	..	2 634	437	<u>15 803</u>	..	58	11	<u>196</u>
1971	..	<u>9 031</u>	<u>770</u>	<u>18 075</u>	..	<u>198</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>223</u>
1972	..	10 514	811	19 047	..	227	21	235
1973	..	13 624	1 262	21 005	..	292	32	258
1974	..	21 173	1 752	<u>18 926</u>	..	451	44	<u>232</u>
1975	..	19 695	1 253	21 110	..	418	31	258
1976	..	8 655	1 133	<u>17 879</u>	..	183	28	<u>217</u>
1977	..	16 513	1 420	20 753	..	348	35	251
1978	..	15 169	1 617	20 655	..	319	40	250
1979	..	<u>1 598</u>	1 706	<u>22 615</u>	..	<u>34</u>	42	<u>273</u>
1980	..	955	<u>2 050</u>	<u>59 447</u>	..	20	<u>50</u>	<u>715</u>
1981	..	1 154	2 994	67 587	..	24	73	812
1982	..	1 481	2 934	<u>68 566</u>	..	31	71	<u>824</u>
1983	..	2 353	<u>3 793</u>	48 019	..	48	<u>92</u>	577
1984	..	2 273	4 408	<u>38 238</u>	..	47	106	<u>459</u>
1985	..	2 323	4 803	35 971	..	47	116	431
1986	..	1 973	4 583	<u>38 028</u>	..	40	110	<u>454</u>
1987	..	2 221	4 608	<u>41 869</u>	..	45	110	<u>499</u>
1988	12 985	1 914	6 229	<u>29 003</u>	253	39	148	<u>344</u>
1989	14 161	1 889	8 139	33 607	276	38	193	396
1990	13 926	2 546	9 091	<u>26 517</u>	271	51	214	<u>310</u>
1991	17 316	2 491	<u>9 949</u>	<u>30 765</u>	336	50	<u>233</u>	<u>357</u>
1992	17 861	3 336	11 309	<u>29 229</u>	345	66	264	<u>337</u>
1993	19 159	<u>3 976</u>	11 739	40 749	369	<u>78</u>	272	467
1994	15 661	5 936	11 842	<u>30 785</u>	301	117	273	<u>351</u>
1995	15 202	9 052	15 673	28 473	291	177	360	323
1996	14 907	7 868	20 752	30 874	283	154	474	349
1997	13 992	8 323	23 999	30 378	265	162	545	343
1998	14 530	9 461	30 298	<u>31 566</u>	274	184	684	<u>357</u>
1999	13 018	11 674	36 176	<u>36 523</u>	245	226	811	<u>412</u>
2000	13 249	13 445	38 292	32 423	248	260	853	365

Diagram 8. ALL OFFENCES AGAINST THE CRIMINAL CODE,
1950–2000.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark

Section of law (2000) Criminal Code

Changes in legislation ..

Revision of statistical routines 1960, 1979

Finland

Section of law (2000) Criminal Code [excl. drunken driving offences]

Changes in legislation ..

Revision of statistical routines 1951, 1971, 1980

Norway

Section of law (2000) Criminal Code [excl. misdemeanours]

Changes in legislation ..

Revision of statistical routines 1984

Sweden

Section of law (2000) Criminal Code [excl. disorderly conduct]

Changes in legislation ..

Revision of statistical routines 1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

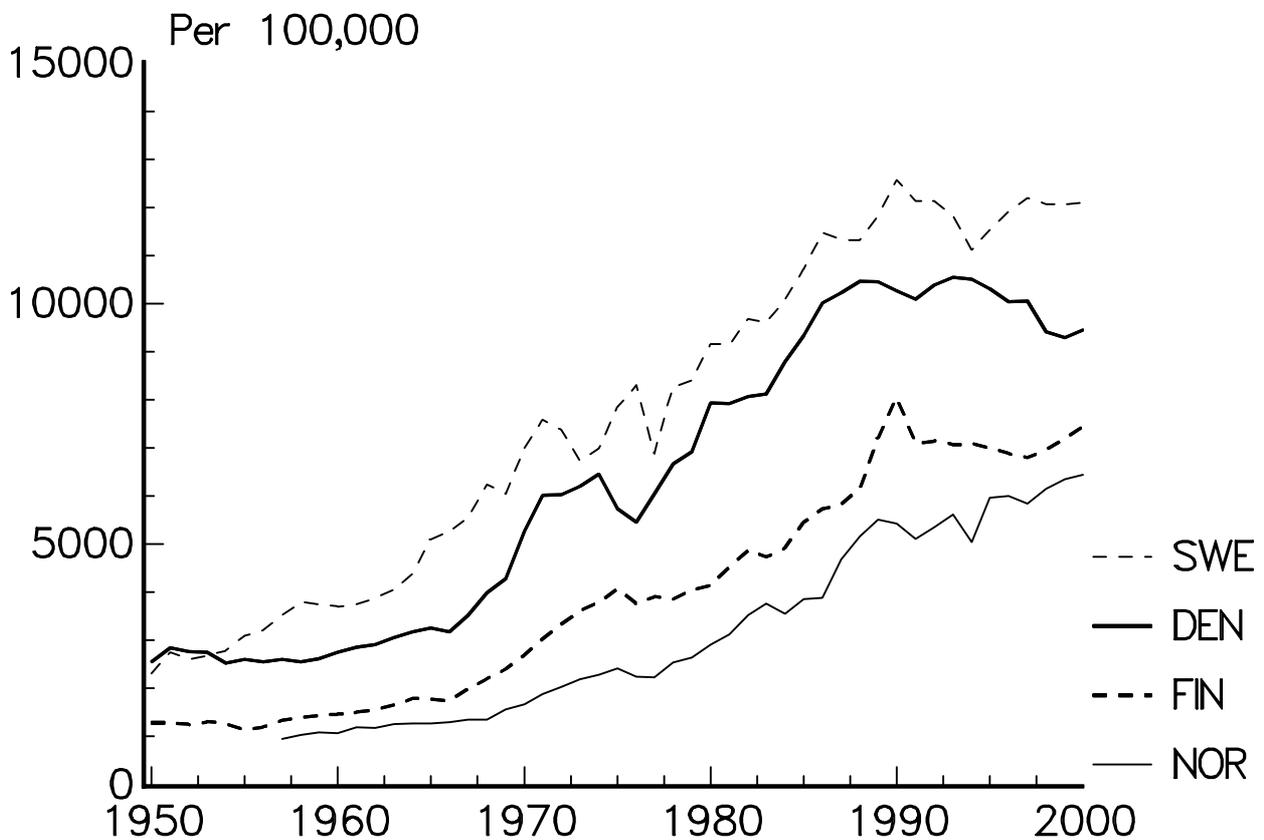


Table 8. ALL OFFENCES AGAINST THE CRIMINAL CODE, 1950–2000.
Reported offences

	Number of offences				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	108 913	<u>51 273</u>	..	161 778	2 551	<u>1 279</u>	..	2 307
1951	122 462	51 952	..	194 753	2 845	1 284	..	2 755
1952	120 057	50 811	..	185 787	2 770	1 242	..	2 608
1953	119 950	54 125	..	192 851	2 745	1 308	..	2 689
1954	111 093	52 520	..	201 317	2 521	1 254	..	2 791
1955	115 850	48 240	..	225 231	2 610	1 139	..	3 102
1956	113 938	51 491	..	235 153	2 551	1 202	..	3 215
1957	116 939	58 009	33 481	259 176	2 606	1 342	959	3 520
1958	115 421	61 081	36 403	280 917	2 556	1 401	1 033	3 792
1959	<u>119 011</u>	63 685	38 514	278 004	<u>2 617</u>	1 449	1 084	3 734
1960	126 238	65 201	38 584	276 314	2 756	1 472	1 077	3 694
1961	131 413	67 162	43 071	281 752	2 851	1 506	1 193	3 747
1962	135 571	70 194	42 840	293 763	2 917	1 563	1 177	3 885
1963	143 080	75 245	45 988	308 850	3 055	1 664	1 254	4 062
1964	150 091	81 520	47 057	<u>336 435</u>	3 180	1 792	1 274	<u>4 392</u>
1965	155 155	81 427	47 532	393 660	3 261	1 784	1 277	5 090
1966	152 473	79 945	48 509	410 904	3 179	1 745	1 293	5 263
1967	170 750	91 538	51 258	<u>437 042</u>	3 529	1 987	1 354	<u>5 555</u>
1968	194 263	102 097	51 747	493 926	3 991	2 207	1 356	6 243
1969	209 692	111 022	60 060	480 979	4 287	2 401	1 561	6 036
1970	260 014	<u>122 849</u>	64 868	563 138	5 275	<u>2 696</u>	1 674	7 002
1971	298 503	<u>138 465</u>	73 482	614 150	6 015	3 035	1 883	7 584
1972	301 080	155 122	79 727	598 681	6 031	3 343	2 027	7 371
1973	311 248	168 966	86 725	547 542	6 198	3 621	2 189	6 729
1974	325 725	177 615	91 208	<u>570 610</u>	6 456	3 786	2 289	<u>6 992</u>
1975	290 450	191 704	96 754	643 405	5 740	4 069	2 415	7 853
1976	276 731	177 669	90 262	683 279	5 455	3 760	2 242	8 310
1977	307 416	185 209	90 101	716 367	6 042	3 908	2 229	8 681
1978	<u>340 659</u>	183 425	103 031	683 646	<u>6 674</u>	3 859	2 538	8 261
1979	353 946	<u>192 979</u>	107 683	698 171	6 917	<u>4 050</u>	2 644	8 418
1980	406 346	198 105	119 042	760 911	7 932	4 144	2 913	9 157
1981	405 746	216 851	127 842	760 614	7 922	4 518	3 118	9 142
1982	413 033	235 156	144 920	805 569	8 070	4 872	3 522	9 677
1983	414 958	229 861	<u>155 524</u>	799 457	8 114	4 734	<u>3 768</u>	9 598
1984	449 337	240 072	147 145	845 706	8 790	4 917	3 554	10 072
1985	477 259	267 125	159 994	894 396	9 332	5 449	3 852	10 711
1986	512 853	281 877	161 670	960 080	10 015	5 732	3 880	11 470
1987	524 323	287 143	196 184	950 367	10 225	5 822	4 687	11 317
1988	536 880	304 132	217 258	955 043	<u>10 465</u>	6 148	5 162	11 321
1989	536 564	357 504	232 790	1 003 910	10 455	7 202	5 507	11 820
1990	527 421	401 651	230 103	1 076 289	10 261	8 056	5 426	12 575
1991	519 755	355 966	217 890	<u>1 045 306</u>	10 085	7 099	5 112	<u>12 131</u>
1992	536 821	360 340	229 263	1 051 770	10 383	7 147	5 349	12 134
1993	546 894	358 166	242 311	1 031 015	10 539	7 070	5 619	11 825
1994	546 926	360 289	218 821	<u>975 690</u>	10 508	7 081	5 045	<u>11 111</u>
1995	538 969	357 327	259 755	1 018 310	10 309	6 995	5 959	11 536
1996	528 520	352 766	262 827	1 053 443	10 044	6 883	5 999	11 915
1997	531 115	349 209	257 326	1 079 132	10 051	6 794	5 842	12 199
1998	499 174	358 988	272 622	<u>1 068 023</u>	9 417	6 967	6 153	<u>12 067</u>
1999	494 205	372 207	283 491	1 068 034	9 291	7 206	6 353	12 057
2000	504 231	385 797	289 212	1 074 004	9 448	7 454	6 440	12 106

Diagram 9. CLEAR-UP RATE, 1950–2000.
All offences against the Criminal Code. Percentage

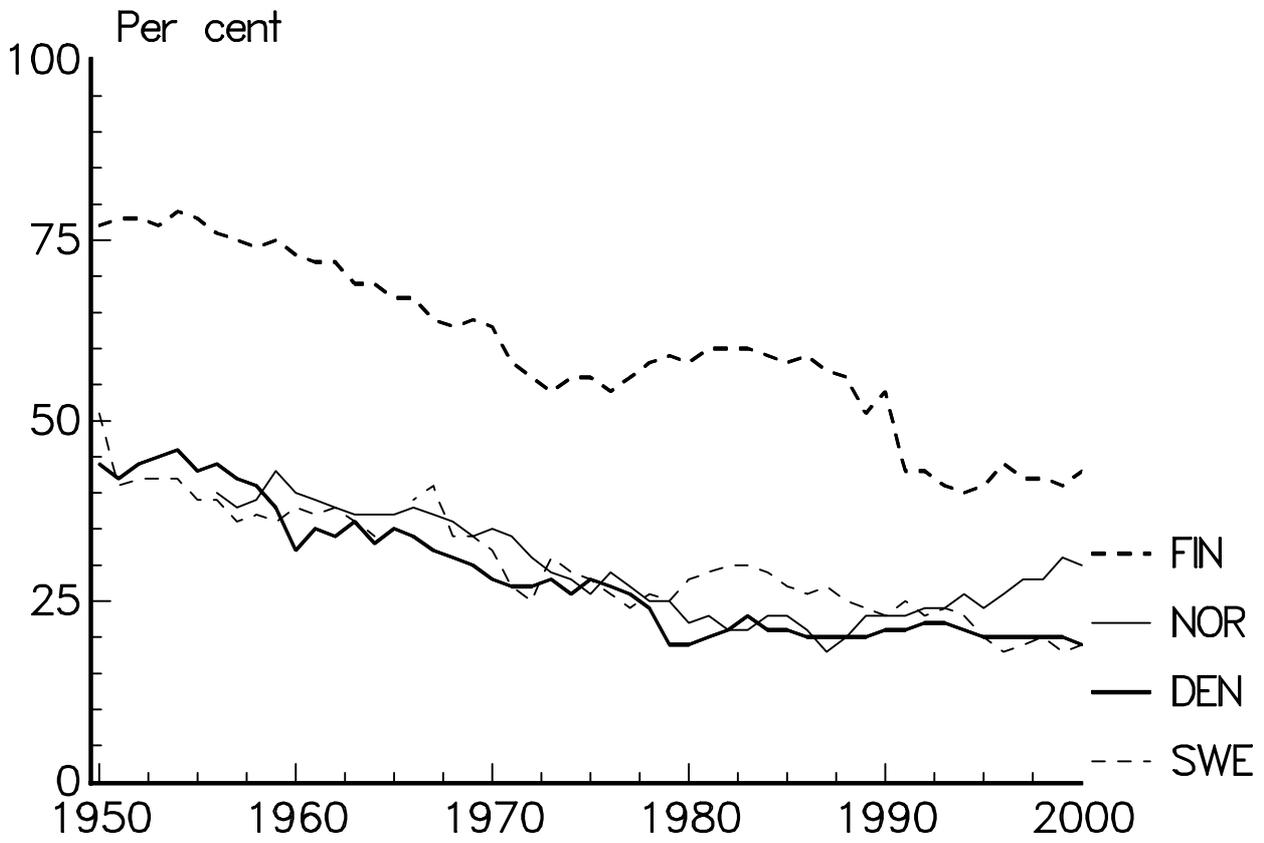


Table 9. CLEAR-UP RATE, 1950-2000.
All offences against the Criminal Code

	Per cent			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	44	77	..	51
1951	42	78	..	41
1952	44	78	..	42
1953	45	77	..	42
1954	46	79	..	42
1955	43	78	..	39
1956	44	76	40	39
1957	42	75	38	36
1958	41	74	39	37
1959	38	75	43	36
1960	32	73	40	38
1961	35	72	39	37
1962	34	72	38	38
1963	36	69	37	36
1964	33	69	37	<u>34</u>
1965	35	67	37	..
1966	34	67	38	39
1967	32	64	37	<u>41</u>
1968	31	63	36	34
1969	30	64	34	34
1970	28	63	35	32
1971	27	58	34	27
1972	27	56	31	25
1973	28	54	29	31
1974	26	56	28	29
1975	28	56	26	<u>28</u>
1976	27	54	29	26
1977	26	56	27	24
1978	<u>24</u>	58	25	26
1979	19	59	25	25
1980	19	58	22	28
1981	20	<u>60</u>	23	29
1982	21	<u>60</u>	21	30
1983	23	60	21	30
1984	21	59	23	29
1985	21	58	23	27
1986	20	59	21	26
1987	20	57	18	27
1988	20	56	20	25
1989	20	51	23	24
1990	21	<u>54</u>	23	23
1991	21	48	23	25
1992	22	47	24	23
1993	22	45	24	24
1994	21	43	26	23
1995	20	45	24	20
1996	20	47	26	18
1997	20	46	28	19
1998	20	46	28	20
1999	20	56	31	18
2000	19	58	30	19

Norway: Offences against special legislation included.

Diagram 10. PRISON SENTENCES, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code.
Per 100,000 of the population

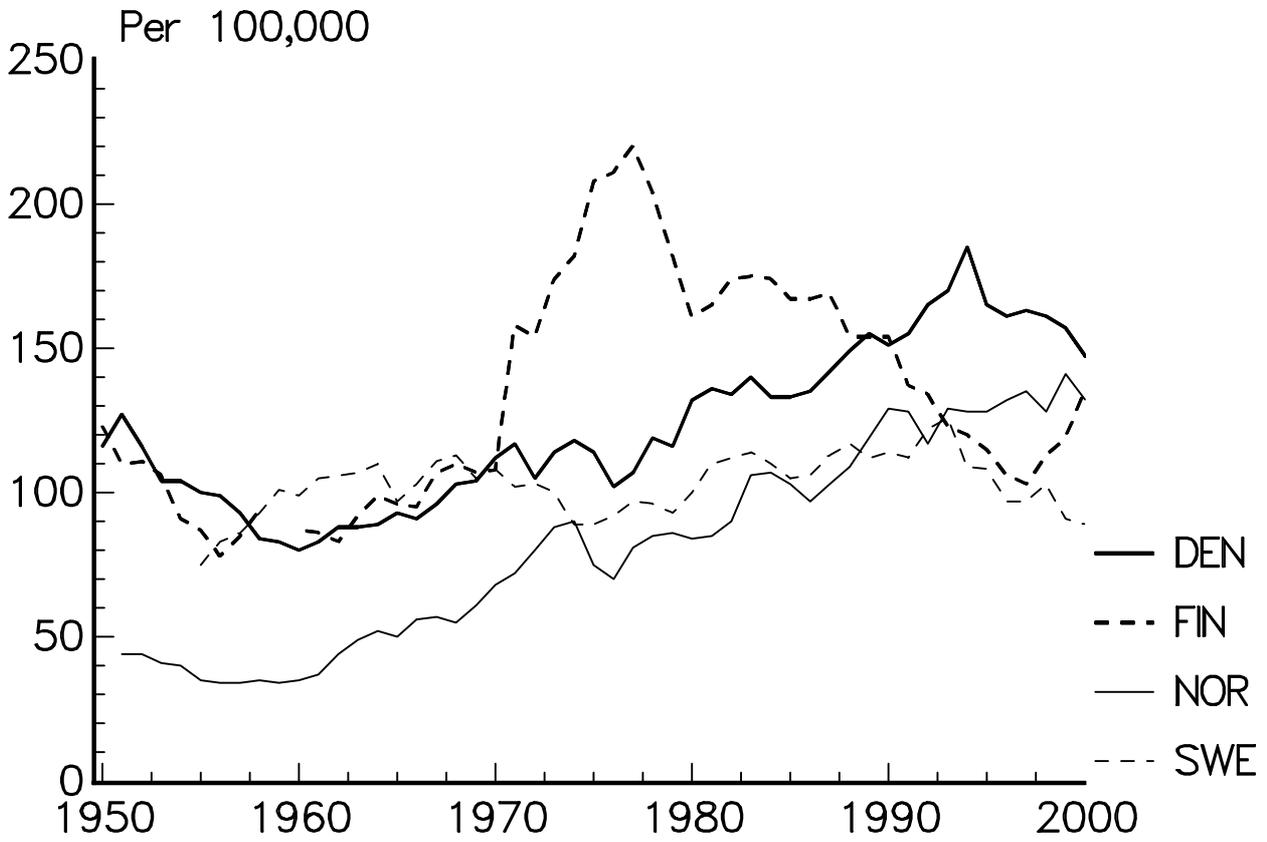


Table 10. PRISON SENTENCES, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code

	Number of persons				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	4 958	4 949	..	..	116	123	..	..
1951	5 451	4 462	1 445	..	127	110	44	..
1952	5 015	4 538	1 480	..	116	111	44	..
1953	4 534	4 370	1 374	..	104	106	41	..
1954	4 591	3 831	1 348	..	104	91	40	..
1955	4 447	3 699	1 216	5 463	100	87	35	75
1956	4 420	3 329	1 188	6 079	99	78	34	83
1957	4 183	3 669	1 194	6 303	93	85	34	86
1958	3 791	4 081	1 221	6 878	84	94	35	93
1959	3 776	..	1 212	7 494	83	..	34	101
1960	3 679	3 866	1 246	7 386	80	87	35	99
1961	3 839	3 820	1 321	7 865	83	86	37	105
1962	4 080	3 726	1 614	8 028	88	83	44	106
1963	4 122	4 159	1 783	8 115	88	92	49	107
1964	4 208	4 513	1 926	8 456	89	99	52	110
1965	4 403	4 374	1 855	7 486	93	96	50	97
1966	4 355	4 345	2 095	8 066	91	95	56	103
1967	4 661	4 916	2 147	8 730	96	107	57	111
1968	5 005	5 103	2 108	8 923	103	110	55	113
1969	5 090	4 947	2 344	8 389	104	107	61	105
1970	5 503	4 915	2 627	8 704	112	108	68	108
1971	5 822	7 187	2 808	8 250	117	158	72	102
1972	5 247	7 149	3 143	8 402	105	154	80	103
1973	5 718	8 099	3 501	8 103	114	174	88	100
1974	5 933	8 520	3 587	7 242	118	182	90	89
1975	5 757	9 780	3 014	7 287	114	208	75	89
1976	5 173	9 959	2 834	7 589	102	211	70	92
1977	5 450	10 423	3 255	8 016	107	220	81	97
1978	6 076	9 706	3 433	7 929	119	204	85	96
1979	5 942	8 664	3 484	7 686	116	182	86	93
1980	6 759	7 674	3 439	8 273	132	161	84	100
1981	6 989	7 902	3 479	9 126	136	165	85	110
1982	6 868	8 378	3 703	9 297	134	174	90	112
1983	7 153	8 491	4 393	9 498	140	175	106	114
1984	6 776	8 507	4 445	9 226	133	174	107	110
1985	6 817	8 202	4 295	8 799	133	167	103	105
1986	6 907	8 189	4 026	8 896	135	167	97	106
1987	7 273	8 333	4 306	9 512	142	169	103	113
1988	7 633	7 609	4 605	9 906	149	154	109	117
1989	7 951	7 639	5 050	9 484	155	154	119	112
1990	7 738	7 683	5 470	9 741	151	154	129	114
1991	7 984	6 888	5 453	9 624	155	137	128	112
1992	8 514	6 776	5 020	10 535	165	134	117	122
1993	8 838	6 219	5 556	10 984	170	123	129	126
1994	9 651	6 102	5 569	9 569	185	120	128	109
1995	8 632	5 891	5 589	9 505	165	115	128	108
1996	8 452	5 433	5 796	8 615	161	106	132	97
1997	8 610	5 283	5 943	8 568	163	103	135	97
1998	8 551	5 807	5 652	9 149	161	113	128	103
1999	8 365	6 133	6 295	8 087	157	119	141	91
2000	7 859	7 033	5 932	7 928	147	136	132	89

Diagram 11. FINES, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code.
Per 100,000 of the population

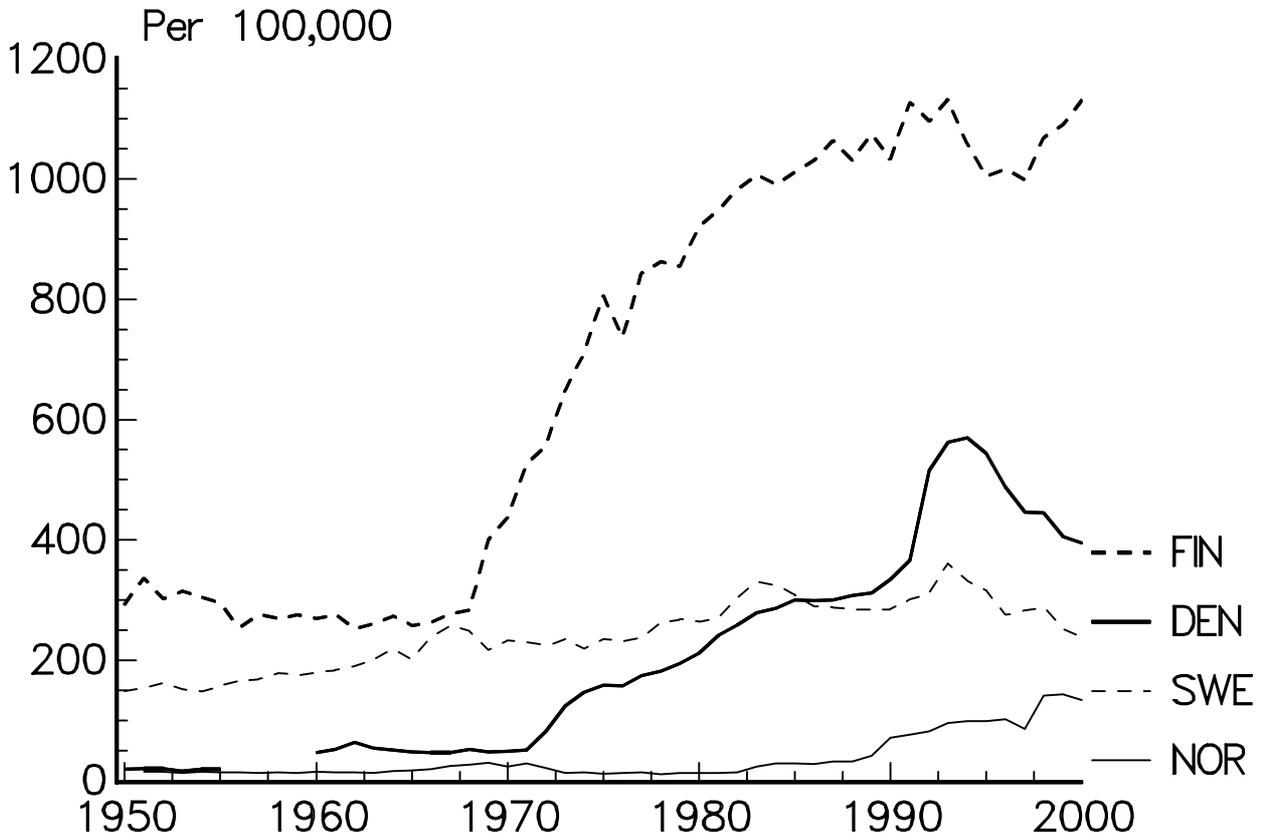


Table 11. FINES, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code

	Number of persons				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	809	11 734	..	10 483	19	293	..	149
1951	857	13 601	462	10 889	20	336	14	154
1952	873	12 364	458	11 616	20	302	14	163
1953	657	13 046	419	10 888	15	315	12	152
1954	822	12 731	472	10 655	19	304	14	148
1955	829	12 479	451	11 463	19	295	13	158
1956	..	10 882	444	12 143	..	254	13	166
1957	..	11 888	403	12 438	..	275	12	169
1958	..	11 709	464	13 245	..	269	13	179
1959	..	12 076	421	13 039	..	275	12	175
1960	2 090	11 895	484	13 450	46	269	14	180
1961	2 405	12 346	455	13 855	52	277	13	184
1962	2 906	11 309	476	14 341	63	252	13	190
1963	2 512	11 816	456	15 256	54	261	12	201
1964	2 393	12 409	560	16 769	51	273	15	219
1965	2 233	11 742	634	15 576	47	257	17	201
1966	2 221	12 065	715	18 566	46	263	19	238
1967	2 228	12 788	914	20 237	46	278	24	257
1968	2 546	13 126	975	19 583	52	284	26	248
1969	2 316	18 492	1 121	17 268	47	400	29	217
1970	2 387	19 890	898	18 777	48	437	23	233
1971	2 548	24 010	1 082	18 655	51	526	28	230
1972	4 080	25 859	817	18 212	82	557	21	224
1973	6 211	30 226	463	19 098	124	648	12	235
1974	7 414	33 374	525	17 905	147	711	13	219
1975	7 989	37 963	429	19 284	158	806	11	235
1976	7 954	34 830	500	19 116	157	737	12	232
1977	8 858	40 015	519	19 635	174	844	13	238
1978	9 287	41 012	422	21 796	182	863	10	263
1979	9 969	40 690	475	22 190	195	854	12	268
1980	10 875	43 997	490	21 973	212	920	12	264
1981	12 345	45 529	511	22 511	241	949	12	271
1982	13 229	47 391	536	25 344	258	982	13	304
1983	14 259	48 950	956	27 523	279	1 008	23	330
1984	14 601	48 358	1 139	27 219	286	991	28	324
1985	15 343	49 625	1 148	25 749	300	1 012	28	308
1986	15 319	50 714	1 131	24 182	299	1 031	27	289
1987	15 382	52 498	1 279	24 063	300	1 064	31	287
1988	15 750	51 002	1 286	23 973	307	1 031	31	284
1989	15 999	53 350	1 754	24 048	312	1 075	41	283
1990	17 166	51 491	3 005	24 356	334	1 033	71	285
1991	18 870	56 506	3 237	25 904	366	1 127	76	301
1992	26 612	55 284	3 513	27 008	515	1 096	82	312
1993	29 176	57 327	4 109	31 452	562	1 132	95	361
1994	29 675	53 865	4 291	29 180	570	1 059	99	332
1995	28 470	51 270	4 301	27 913	545	1 004	99	316
1996	25 691	52 142	4 483	24 287	488	1 017	102	275
1997	23 579	51 272	3 767	25 044	446	998	86	283
1998	23 616	55 030	6 250	25 532	445	1 068	141	288
1999	21 537	56 342	6 395	22 336	405	1 091	143	252
2000	21 077	58 609	6 021	20 504	395	1 132	134	237

Diagram 12. OTHER SANCTIONS, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code.
Per 100,000 of the population

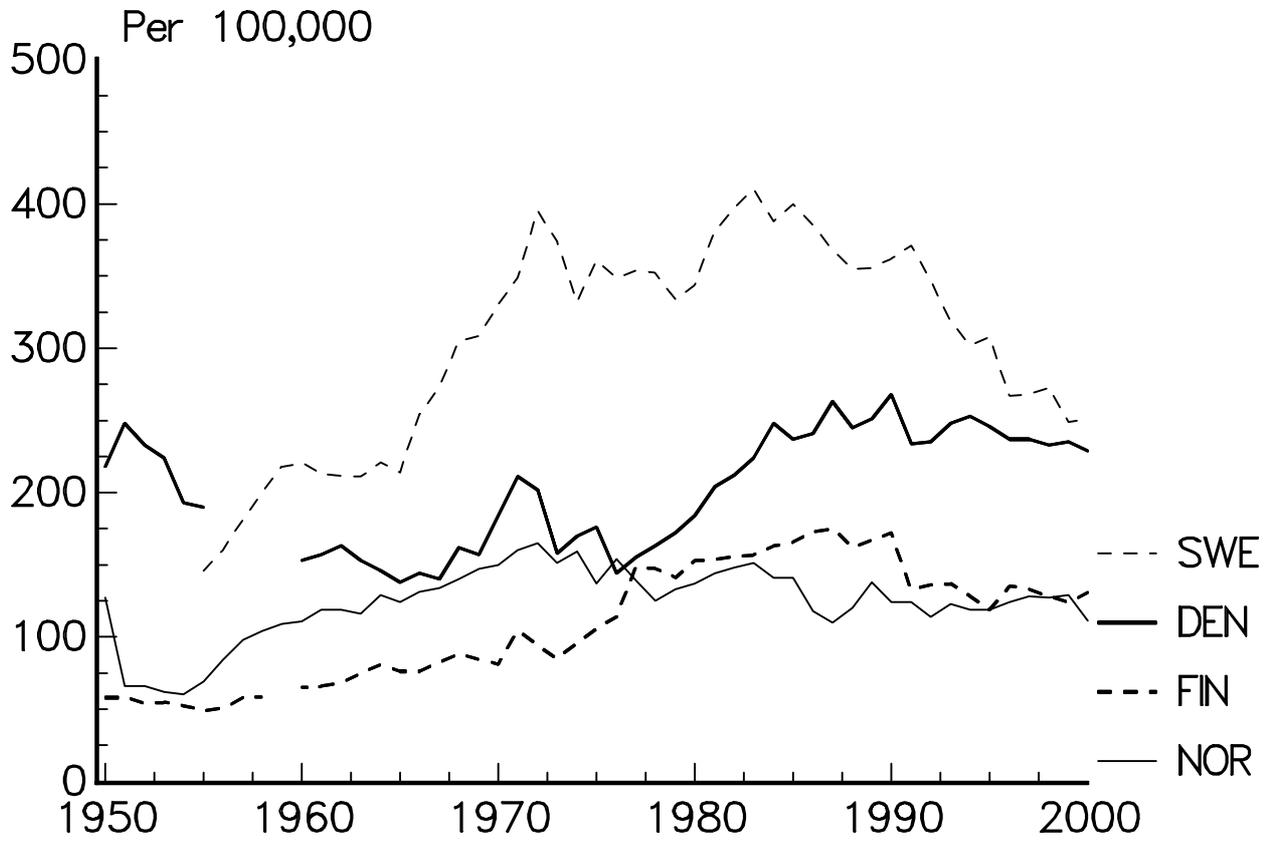


Table 12. OTHER SANCTIONS, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code

	Absolute numbers				Per 100,000 population			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	9 292	2 325	4 156	..	218	58	127	..
1951	10 683	2 355	2 172	..	248	58	66	..
1952	10 094	2 189	2 190	..	233	54	66	..
1953	9 789	2 277	2 075	..	224	55	62	..
1954	8 493	2 189	2 051	..	193	52	60	..
1955	8 424	2 084	2 356	10 608	190	49	69	146
1956	..	2 183	2 920	11 719	..	51	84	160
1957	..	2 506	3 438	13 333	..	58	98	181
1958	..	2 575	3 653	14 782	..	59	104	200
1959	..	..	3 868	16 207	..	..	109	218
1960	6 999	2 880	3 978	16 499	153	65	111	221
1961	7 259	2 955	4 309	16 033	157	66	119	213
1962	7 589	3 060	4 336	15 969	163	68	119	211
1963	7 173	3 374	4 241	16 067	153	75	116	211
1964	6 911	3 683	4 781	16 956	146	81	129	221
1965	6 545	3 489	4 623	16 531	138	76	124	214
1966	6 889	3 473	4 929	19 805	144	76	131	254
1967	6 759	3 822	5 069	21 445	140	83	134	273
1968	7 879	4 085	5 351	24 126	162	88	140	305
1969	7 697	3 869	5 648	24 614	157	84	147	309
1970	9 045	3 711	5 822	26 512	184	81	150	330
1971	10 487	4 759	6 244	28 278	211	104	160	349
1972	10 103	4 350	6 496	32 085	202	94	165	395
1973	7 941	3 970	5 966	30 434	158	85	151	374
1974	8 571	4 510	6 356	27 077	170	96	159	332
1975	8 922	5 009	5 499	29 613	176	106	137	361
1976	7 292	5 369	6 202	28 731	144	114	154	349
1977	7 882	7 008	5 622	29 171	155	148	139	354
1978	<u>8 345</u>	6 967	5 068	29 135	163	147	125	352
1979	8 776	6 717	5 397	27 705	172	141	133	334
1980	9 451	7 293	5 600	28 620	184	153	137	344
1981	10 463	7 403	5 888	31 700	204	154	144	381
1982	10 857	7 517	6 073	33 080	212	156	148	397
1983	11 430	7 647	6 239	34 141	224	157	151	410
1984	12 662	7 947	5 840	32 604	248	163	141	388
1985	12 110	8 138	5 837	33 360	237	166	141	400
1986	12 359	8 486	4 902	32 211	241	173	118	385
1987	13 483	8 646	4 606	30 914	263	175	110	368
1988	12 553	8 017	5 030	29 967	245	162	120	355
1989	12 899	8 266	5 835	30 220	251	167	138	356
1990	13 773	8 576	5 239	30 970	268	172	124	362
1991	12 057	6 677	5 273	31 977	234	133	124	371
1992	12 156	6 864	4 871	30 078	235	136	114	347
1993	12 854	6 931	5 318	27 850	248	137	123	319
1994	13 184	6 496	5 174	26 518	253	128	119	302
1995	12 859	6 064	5 207	<u>27 147</u>	246	119	119	<u>308</u>
1996	12 454	6 929	5 437	23 602	237	135	124	267
1997	12 509	6 830	5 647	23 674	237	133	128	268
1998	12 340	6 575	5 612	24 141	233	128	127	273
1999	12 524	6 419	5 769	22 046	235	124	129	249
2000	12 211	6 773	5 002	22 228	229	131	111	251

Diagram 13. ALL SANCTIONS, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code.
Per 100,000 of the population

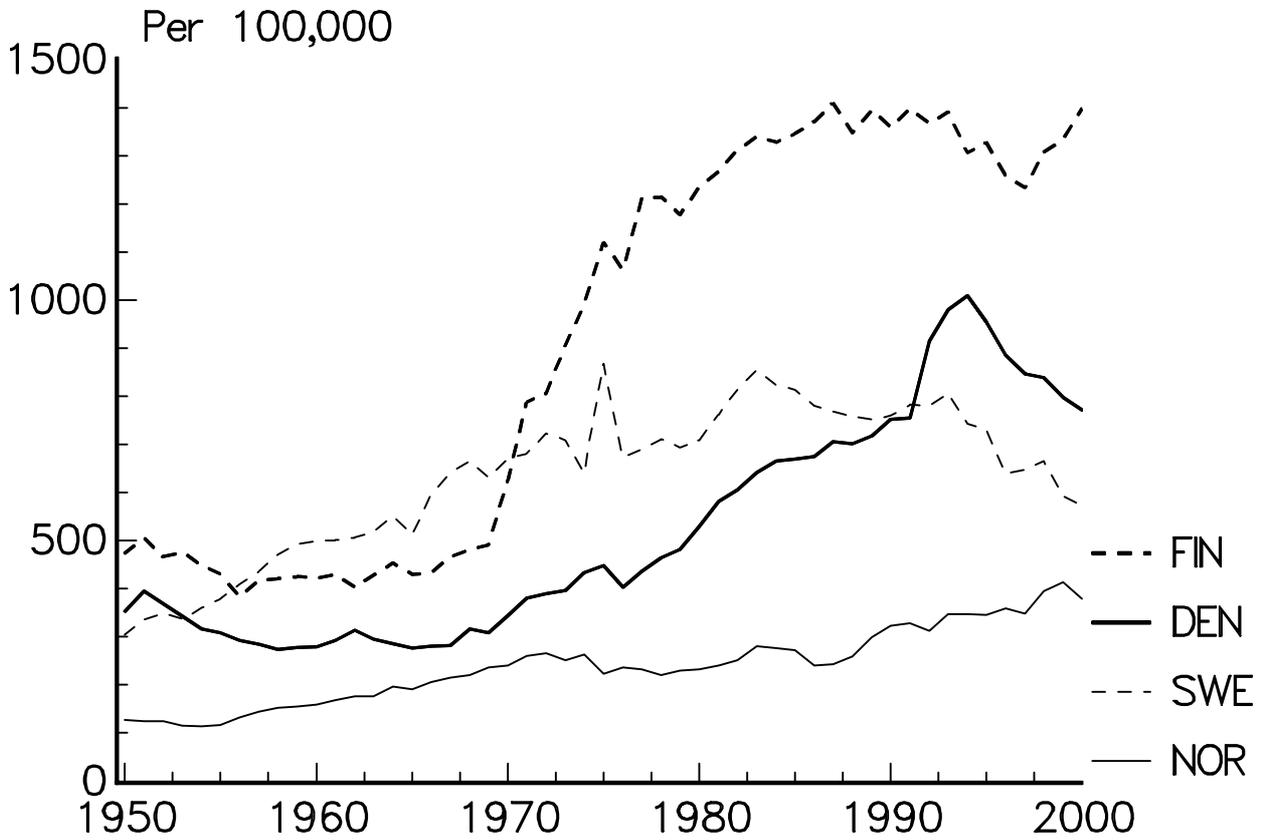


Table 13. ALL SANCTIONS, 1950–2000.
Persons found guilty of offences against the Criminal Code

	Number of persons				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	15 059	19 008	4 156	21 365	353	474	127	305
1951	16 991	20 418	4 079	23 740	395	505	124	336
1952	15 982	19 091	4 128	24 911	369	467	124	350
1953	14 980	19 693	3 868	24 196	343	476	115	337
1954	13 906	18 751	3 871	25 982	316	448	114	360
1955	13 700	18 262	4 023	27 534	309	431	117	379
1956	13 101	16 394	4 552	29 941	293	383	132	409
1957	12 782	18 063	5 035	32 074	285	418	144	436
1958	12 391	18 365	5 338	34 905	274	421	152	471
1959	12 632	18 718	5 501	36 740	278	426	155	493
1960	12 768	18 641	5 708	37 335	279	421	159	499
1961	13 503	19 121	6 085	37 753	293	429	169	502
1962	14 575	18 095	6 426	38 338	314	403	177	507
1963	13 807	19 349	6 480	39 438	295	428	177	519
1964	13 512	20 605	7 267	42 181	286	453	197	551
1965	13 181	19 605	7 112	39 593	277	430	191	512
1966	13 465	19 883	7 739	46 437	281	434	206	595
1967	13 648	21 526	8 130	50 412	282	467	215	641
1968	15 430	22 314	8 434	52 632	317	482	221	665
1969	15 103	27 308	9 113	50 271	309	591	237	631
1970	16 935	28 516	9 347	53 993	344	626	241	671
1971	18 857	35 956	10 134	55 183	380	788	260	681
1972	19 430	37 358	10 456	58 699	389	805	266	723
1973	19 870	42 295	9 930	57 635	396	906	251	708
1974	21 918	46 404	10 468	52 224	434	989	263	640
1975	22 668	52 752	8 942	56 184	448	1 120	223	686
1976	20 419	50 158	9 536	55 436	403	1 062	237	674
1977	22 190	57 446	9 396	56 822	436	1 212	232	689
1978	<u>23 708</u>	57 685	8 923	58 860	<u>464</u>	1 214	220	711
1979	24 687	56 071	9 356	57 581	482	1 177	230	694
1980	27 085	58 964	9 529	58 866	529	1 234	233	708
1981	29 797	60 834	9 878	63 337	582	1 267	241	761
1982	30 954	63 286	10 312	67 721	605	1 311	251	813
1983	32 842	65 088	11 588	71 162	642	1 340	281	854
1984	34 039	64 812	11 424	69 049	666	1 328	276	822
1985	34 270	65 965	11 280	67 908	670	1 346	272	813
1986	34 585	67 389	10 059	65 289	675	1 370	241	780
1987	36 138	69 477	10 191	64 489	705	1 409	243	768
1988	35 936	66 628	10 921	63 846	701	1 347	259	757
1989	36 849	69 255	12 639	63 752	718	1 395	299	751
1990	38 677	67 750	13 714	65 067	752	1 359	323	760
1991	38 911	70 071	13 963	67 505	755	1 398	328	783
1992	47 282	68 924	13 404	67 621	915	1 367	313	780
1993	50 868	70 522	14 983	70 286	980	1 392	347	806
1994	52 510	66 463	15 034	65 267	1 009	1 306	347	743
1995	49 962	63 225	15 097	<u>64 565</u>	955	1 238	346	<u>731</u>
1996	46 597	64 504	15 716	56 504	885	1 259	359	639
1997	44 698	63 385	15 357	57 286	846	1 233	349	648
1998	44 507	67 412	17 514	58 822	839	1 308	395	665
1999	42 426	68 894	18 462	52 469	797	1 334	414	592
2000	41 147	72 415	16 955	50 660	771	1 399	378	571

Diagram 14. NUMBER OF PRISONERS, 1950–2000.
Yearly average, including remand prisoners.
Per 100,000 of the population

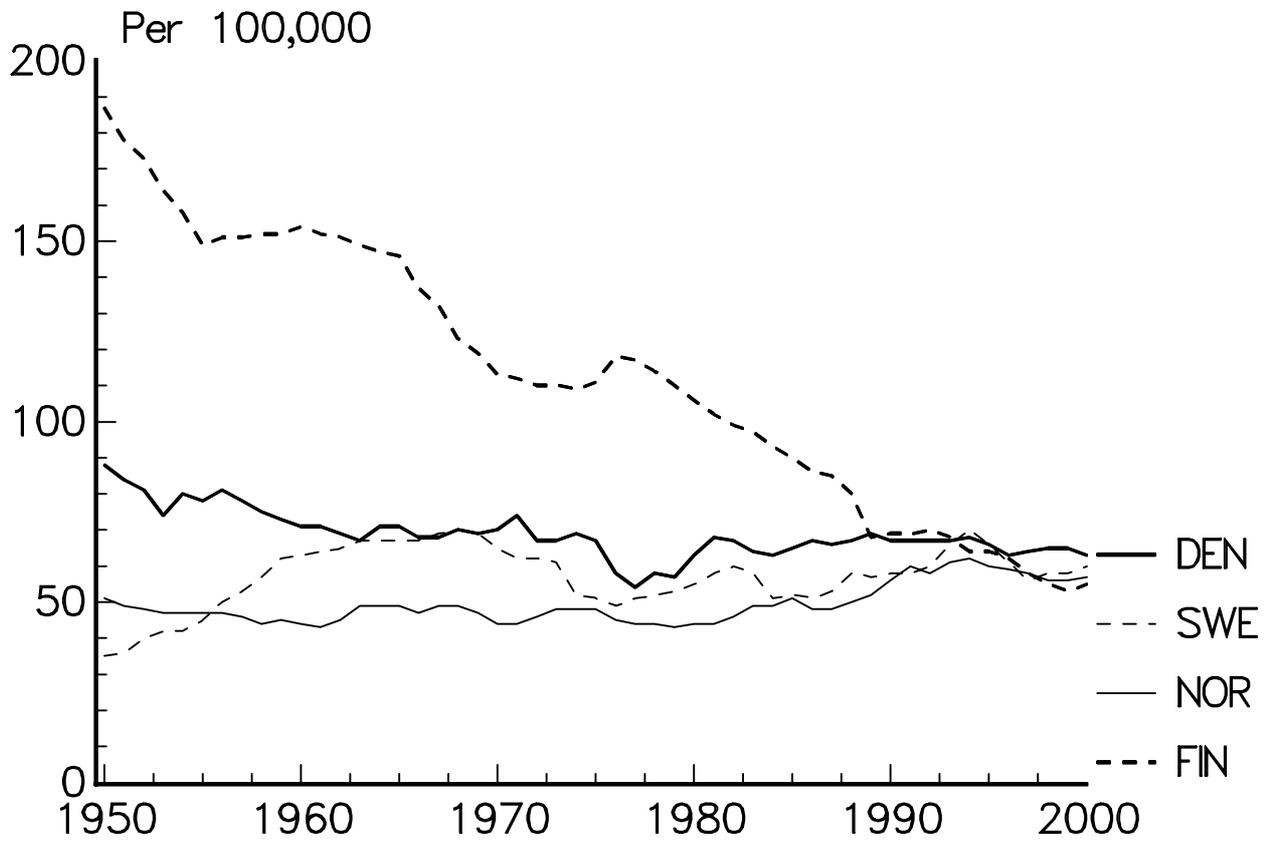


Table 14. NUMBER OF PRISONERS, 1950–2000.
Yearly average, including remand prisoners

	No. of prisoners				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	3 776	7 507	1 679	2 425	88	187	51	35
1951	3 630	7 213	1 608	2 564	84	178	49	36
1952	3 510	7 066	1 582	2 864	81	173	48	40
1953	3 246	6 772	1 564	3 025	74	164	47	42
1954	3 521	6 625	1 580	3 043	80	158	47	42
1955	3 462	6 330	1 608	3 253	78	149	47	45
1956	3 619	6 452	1 622	3 667	81	151	47	50
1957	3 491	6 513	1 598	3 927	78	151	46	53
1958	3 367	6 635	1 551	4 231	75	152	44	57
1959	3 300	6 696	1 586	4 606	73	152	45	62
1960	3 241	6 818	1 572	4 728	71	154	44	63
1961	3 265	6 780	1 555	4 813	71	152	43	64
1962	3 228	6 761	1 648	4 905	69	151	45	65
1963	3 150	6 723	1 784	5 062	67	149	49	67
1964	3 372	6 704	1 814	5 124	71	147	49	67
1965	3 337	6 665	1 829	5 159	70	146	49	67
1966	3 267	6 284	1 780	5 243	68	137	47	67
1967	3 283	6 094	1 863	5 438	68	132	49	69
1968	3 429	5 713	1 873	5 509	70	123	49	70
1969	3 391	5 522	1 822	5 530	69	119	47	69
1970	3 458	5 140	1 692	5 250	70	113	44	65
1971	3 680	5 131	1 712	5 004	74	112	44	62
1972	3 355	5 122	1 807	5 004	67	110	46	62
1973	3 350	5 113	1 912	4 972	67	110	48	61
1974	3 489	5 104	1 924	4 266	69	109	48	52
1975	3 378	5 242	1 913	4 140	67	111	48	51
1976	2 964	5 596	1 802	4 051	58	118	45	49
1977	2 747	5 555	1 779	4 242	54	117	44	51
1978	2 954	5 399	1 781	4 278	58	114	44	52
1979	2 940	5 216	1 748	4 407	57	110	43	53
1980	3 240	5 088	1 797	4 564	63	106	44	55
1981	3 497	4 883	1 800	4 835	68	102	44	58
1982	3 412	4 766	1 888	4 996	67	99	46	60
1983	3 256	4 709	2 033	4 844	64	97	49	58
1984	3 229	4 524	2 044	4 309	63	93	49	51
1985	3 304	4 411	2 104	4 339	65	90	51	52
1986	3 408	4 219	2 002	4 283	67	86	48	51
1987	3 408	4 175	2 023	4 481	66	85	48	53
1988	3 435	3 972	2 113	4 929	67	80	50	58
1989	3 524	3 389	2 208	4 883	69	68	52	57
1990	3 425	3 441	2 379	4 977	67	69	56	58
1991	3 447	3 467	2 548	4 965	67	69	60	58
1992	3 472	3 511	2 477	5 233	67	70	58	60
1993	3 451	3 421	2 650	5 771	67	68	61	66
1994	3 541	3 275	2 670	6 125	68	64	62	70
1995	3 478	3 248	2 610	5 861	66	64	60	66
1996	3 311	3 197	2 602	5 428	63	62	59	61
1997	3 397	2 974	2 536	4 974	64	58	58	56
1998	3 423	2 809	2 466	5 156	65	55	56	58
1999	3 477	2 743	2 512	5 147	65	53	56	58
2000	3 382	2 855	2 548	5 326	63	55	57	60

Diagram 15. NUMBER OF ADMITTED PRISONERS, 1950–2000.
Per 100,000 of the population

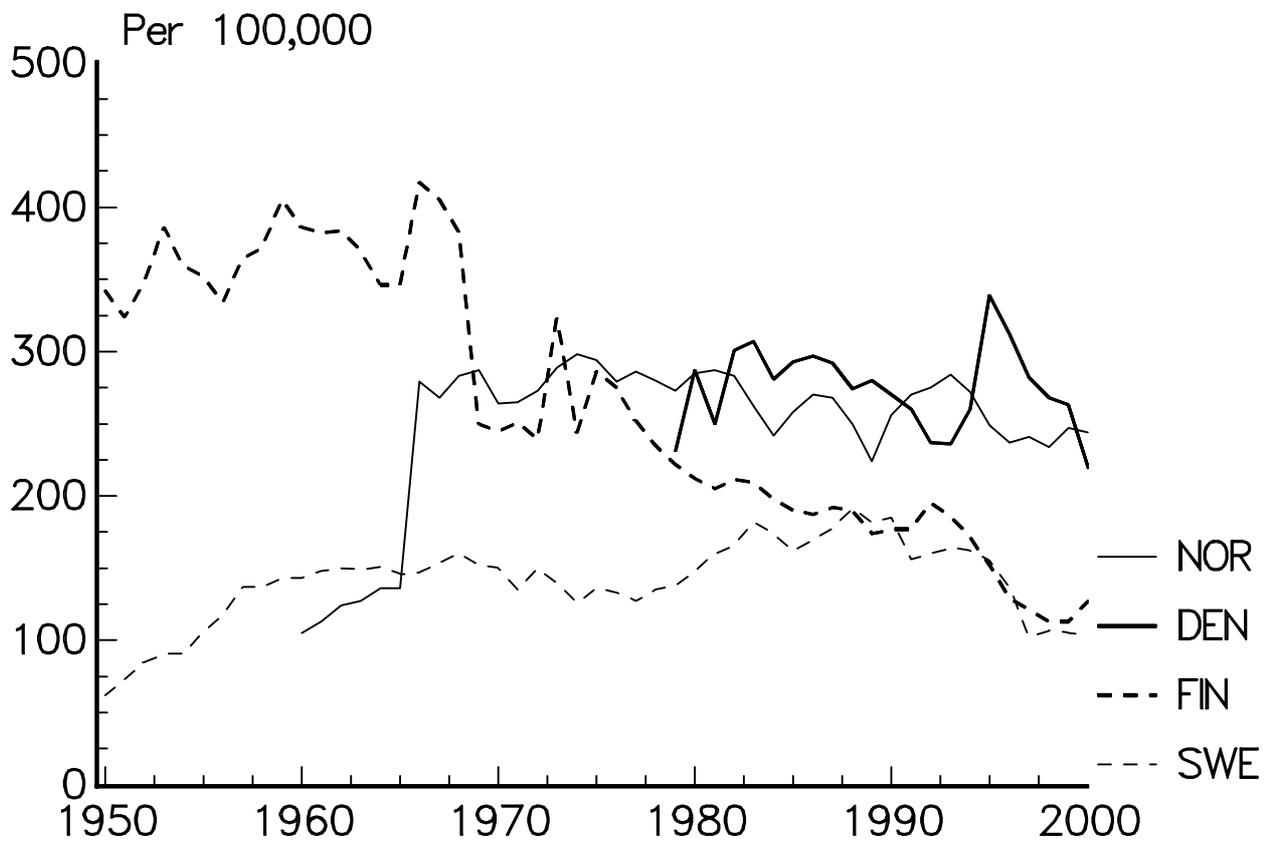


Table 15. NUMBER OF ADMITTED PRISONERS, 1950–2000.

	No. of prisoners				Per 100,000 pop.			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	..	13 692	..	4 329	..	342	..	62
1951	..	13 130	..	5 154	..	324	..	73
1952	..	14 270	..	6 037	..	349	..	85
1953	..	15 970	..	6 491	..	386	..	91
1954	..	15 018	..	6 554	..	359	..	91
1955	..	14 928	..	7 700	..	352	..	106
1956	..	14 304	..	8 660	..	334	..	118
1957	..	15 770	..	10 108	..	365	..	137
1958	..	16 232	..	10 123	..	372	..	137
1959	..	17 812	..	10 667	..	405	..	143
1960	..	17 089	3 760	10 699	..	386	105	143
1961	..	17 045	4 086	11 131	..	382	113	148
1962	..	17 253	4 510	11 377	..	384	124	150
1963	..	16 746	4 665	11 297	..	370	127	149
1964	..	15 764	5 041	11 586	..	346	136	151
1965	..	15 769	<u>5 057</u>	11 297	..	346	<u>136</u>	146
1966	..	19 117	10 479	11 482	..	417	279	147
1967	..	18 658	10 144	12 096	..	405	268	154
1968	..	17 704	10 814	12 631	..	383	283	160
1969	..	11 545	11 053	12 075	..	250	287	152
1970	..	11 298	10 219	12 088	..	245	264	150
1971	..	11 567	10 328	10 939	..	251	265	135
1972	..	11 097	10 742	12 160	..	239	273	150
1973	..	10 835	11 459	11 293	..	232	289	139
1974	..	<u>11 465</u>	11 867	10 255	..	244	298	126
1975	..	13 453	11 778	11 157	..	286	294	136
1976	..	12 999	11 246	10 920	..	275	279	133
1977	..	11 939	11 544	10 521	..	252	286	127
1978	..	11 183	11 371	11 208	..	235	280	135
1979	11 813	10 577	11 104	11 414	231	222	273	138
1980	14 690	10 114	11 625	12 272	287	212	285	148
1981	12 805	9 840	11 769	13 346	250	205	287	160
1982	15 393	10 194	11 637	13 835	301	211	283	166
1983	15 691	10 132	10 821	15 177	307	209	262	182
1984	14 380	9 671	10 039	14 647	281	198	242	174
1985	15 007	9 307	10 712	13 535	293	190	258	162
1986	15 213	9 216	11 257	14 188	297	187	270	170
1987	14 957	9 467	11 210	14 980	292	192	268	178
1988	14 066	9 379	10 543	16 098	274	190	250	191
1989	14 367	8 648	9 478	15 467	280	174	224	182
1990	13 878	8 831	10 861	15 833	270	177	256	185
1991	13 392	8 874	11 497	13 422	260	177	270	156
1992	<u>12 240</u>	9 851	11 778	13 836	<u>237</u>	195	275	160
1993	12 250	9 435	12 228	14 321	236	186	284	164
1994	13 542	8 711	11 798	14 198	260	171	272	162
1995	17 746	7 775	10 863	13 644	339	152	249	155
1996	16 422	6 594	10 394	12 123	312	129	237	137
1997	14 920	6 201	10 600	9 112	282	121	241	103
1998	14 183	5 803	10 377	9 497	268	113	234	107
1999	14 005	5 838	11 029	9 300	263	113	247	105
2000	11 700	6 561	10 979	9 178	219	127	244	103

Sweden: remand prisoners excluded.

Table 16. TOTAL RESIDENTIAL POPULATION, 1950–2000.
Yearly average. In 1000,s

	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
1950	4 269	4 010	3 265	7 014
1951	4 304	4 047	3 296	7 070
1952	4 334	4 090	3 328	7 125
1953	4 369	4 139	3 361	7 171
1954	4 406	4 187	3 394	7 213
1955	4 439	4 235	3 428	7 262
1956	4 466	4 282	3 461	7 315
1957	4 488	4 324	3 492	7 364
1958	4 515	4 360	3 523	7 409
1959	4 547	4 395	3 553	7 446
1960	4 581	4 430	3 581	7 480
1961	4 610	4 461	3 610	7 520
1962	4 647	4 492	3 639	7 562
1963	4 684	4 523	3 667	7 604
1964	4 720	4 549	3 694	7 661
1965	4 758	4 564	3 723	7 734
1966	4 797	4 581	3 753	7 808
1967	4 839	4 606	3 785	7 868
1968	4 867	4 626	3 816	7 912
1969	4 891	4 624	3 848	7 968
1970	4 929	4 556	3 876	8 043
1971	4 963	4 562	3 903	8 098
1972	4 992	4 640	3 933	8 122
1973	5 022	4 666	3 961	8 137
1974	5 045	4 691	3 985	8 161
1975	5 060	4 711	4 007	8 193
1976	5 073	4 725	4 026	8 222
1977	5 088	4 739	4 043	8 252
1978	5 104	4 753	4 059	8 276
1979	5 117	4 765	4 073	8 294
1980	5 123	4 780	4 086	8 310
1981	5 122	4 800	4 100	8 320
1982	5 118	4 827	4 115	8 325
1983	5 114	4 856	4 128	8 329
1984	5 112	4 882	4 140	8 337
1985	5 114	4 902	4 153	8 350
1986	5 121	4 918	4 167	8 370
1987	5 128	4 932	4 186	8 398
1988	5 130	4 947	4 209	8 436
1989	5 132	4 964	4 227	8 493
1990	5 140	4 986	4 241	8 559
1991	5 154	5 014	4 262	8 617
1992	5 170	5 042	4 286	8 668
1993	5 189	5 066	4 312	8 719
1994	5 205	5 088	4 337	8 781
1995	5 228	5 108	4 359	8 827
1996	5 262	5 125	4 381	8 841
1997	5 284	5 140	4 405	8 846
1998	5 301	5 153	4 431	8 851
1999	5 319	5 165	4 462	8 858
2000	5 337	5 176	4 491	8 872

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