Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950–2010

Summary of a report. 8th revised edition

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Kriminologiska institutionen

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Preface

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 8th edition of the English version, the data have been updated for the years up to and including 2010 and now cover 61 years of Nordic criminal justice statistics.

This edition has been furnished with an updated summary on crime and punishment in the four Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) and an *Appendix* discussing the pitfalls of *ad hoc* chart reading.

Please send an e-mail to <hanns.hofer@criminology.su.se> if you wish to receive the data in xls-format.

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

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

Contents

Summary: Crime and Punishment in the Nordic Countries

Geographically, the Nordic[1] 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 25.2 million (2010). All the countries, bar Finland, are constitutional monarchies, and all are protestant and very homogeneous in terms of culture. It wasn't until a few decades ago that the Nordic countries began to feel the impact of immigration, whose level is highest in Sweden and lowest in Finland. The standard of living in the Nordic 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. However, even Norway is a member of the Schengen Area.

Comparative research into types and levels of welfare has shown a rather clear-cut pattern of national clusters[2] 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 15 member states of the European Union before enlargement appeared 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, 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 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** (including Austria, Belgium France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK) occupying an intermediate position. The UK is similar to the southern cluster in terms of its high levels of class and income inequality and poverty.

[1] The terms Nordic and Scandinavian are used interchangeably throughout the text.
[2] See Smit, Haen Marshall & van Gammeren (2008) for a discussion of country clustering.

Other comparisons show that the Nordic countries score high on (income) equality, investment in welfare programmes, trust in other people and political institutions as well as a consensual political culture (Lappi-Seppälä, 2011a).

Against this sketchy backdrop, there follows a reasonably simplistic description of traditional[3] crime (theft and violence) in the Nordic countries, and of these countries' responses to crime. A detailed account is found in Lappi-Säppälä & Tonry (2011). von Hofer (2011) presents a historical perspective.

International crime victims surveys (ICVS/EU ICS)

Because of variations in the rules governing the collection and production of statistics in different countries (Aebi, 2008; European Sourcebook 2010), 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 (Council of Europe, 1999:13; van Dijk, 2008:41). For this reason, when cross-national comparisons of crime levels are considered desirable, the international crime victims surveys[4] are a great help, despite the obvious methodological difficulties associated even with these data sets (such as partially high and increasing non-response rates; cultural differences). A total of twenty-two European countries[5] have participated in the five surveys (1989, 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004/05). Of the Nordic countries, Finland has participated in all five, Sweden in four, and Norway and Denmark in two. 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 2004/05, 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 Norway than in Sweden and Denmark (however, the Norwegian data refer only to 1989 and 2004/05, and the Danish data only to 2000 and 2004/05). For the most part, Sweden lies fairly close to the European average. Similar differences between the Nordic countries were also found during the 1980s, when comparisons were carried out using findings from national victim surveys produced in these countries (RSÅ, 1990:146 ff). At the end of the period, most of the differences between the countries seem to have vanished (Lappi-Seppälä & Tonry, 2011: Fig. 10).

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[3] See van Dijk & de Waard (2000); Alvazzi del Frate (2010) for a comparative assessment of a number of aspects of non-traditional crimes.

[4] See van Dijk, Mayhew & Killias (1990); Mayhew & van Dijk (1997); van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta (2000); van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit (2007).

[5] England & Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland counted as one entity.

Table 1. Victimisation during the past year (percentage victimised on one or more occasions), 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004/05 according to the ICVS/EU ICS project. *Source:* van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit (2007: Appendix 9, Tab. 1).

	DK 2000, 2005	FI 1989-2005	NO 1989, 2004	SE 1992-2005	EUR9 1989-2005
Theft of a car	1.2	0.5	0.9	1.2	0.9
Theft from car	3.1	2.7	2.8	4.6	4.4
Car vandalism	3.8	4.4	4.6	4.6	7.4
Motorcycle theft	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.5
Bicycle theft	6.4	4.7	3.5	7.0	3.7
Burglary	2.9	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.8
Attempted burglary	1.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.9
Robbery	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.9
Thefts of personal property	3.7	3.3	4.0	4.3	4.1
Sexual incidents	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.4	1.9
Assaults & threats	2.6	3.6	3.0	3.6	3.0
Ten offence types	19.7	15.1	14.6	19.9	17.7
[Bicycle theft excluded)	13.3	10.4	11.1	12.9	14.0
Total number of completed interviews	3,900*	9,800*	2,300*	8,600*	>50,000
Response rate	59%	77%	43%	68%	<50%

DK (Denmark): 2000 & 2005; FI (Finland): 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000 & 2005; NO (Norway): 1989 & 2004; SE (Sweden): 1992, 1996, 2000 & 2005; EUR9: Austria, Belgium, France, (West) Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Spain/Catalonia, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. All countries are weighted equally.
* Estimated and rounded.

Denmark and Sweden distinguish themselves (along with the Netherlands) with respect to high levels of bicycle thefts, whilst all the Nordic countries present levels of car vandalism[6] and robbery that are on the whole relatively low. The Nordic countries score higher on sexual incidents. 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; van Dijk, 2008:84 f).

The ICVS/EU ICS 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.

[6] Not included in the 2004-05 sweep.

Asked whether they felt they were at risk of being burgled during the following year, Scandinavian respondents all ranked low (van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta, 2000:210; van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit, 2007:127[7]). Asked how safe they feel on the street after dark, feelings of insecurity were also low among Scandinavian respondents (van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit, 2007:131). 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), Finnish and Danish respondents in particular came out well below the average (van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit, 2007:139).

Additional data from cause of death (vital) statistics relating to the years 2000-2006/10 indicate that levels of homicide in Denmark (0.9 per 100,000 population), Norway (0.8) and Sweden (1.0) are on a par with those reported in western Europe (0.9),[8] whilst Finland still presents higher frequencies (2.3), something which had been noted in the criminological literature as early as the 1930s (cf. Kivivuori & Lehti, 2011).[9]

According to the latest estimates, national prevalence rates of "problem drug use" appear to lie clearly above the European median-level in Denmark, and near the median in Finland and Sweden (Norway missing). [10] As regards drug-induced mortality, all Nordic countries lie far above the European median-level (EMCDDA 2011, Fig. 19). The increase of police-reported drug offences is one of the most prominent changes during the last decades (cf. Stene, 2008). A fairly recent account of the Nordic drug scene is found in Kouvonen, Skretting & Rosenqvist (2006).[11]

Trends[12]

Since no victims surveys (at either the national or European level) cover the entire post-World War II 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 (Council of Europe, 1999:13; Aromaa & Heiskanen, 2008:53; Tavares, Thomas & Bulut, 2012:15; dissenting van Dijk, 2008:41).

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[7] Residents of Helsinki (Finland) excluded.

[8] Data from WHO-database at http://data.euro.who.int/hfadb/. EUR9 countries, excl. Belgium (missing data) and United Kingdom (no valid data).

[9] For a detailed comparison of homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, see Granath, Hagstedt, Kivivuori, Lehti, Ganpat, Liem & Nieuwbeerta (2011).

[10] http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/stats11/pdufig1a

[11] See also http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/countries for up-to-date country related information and data.

[12] See *Appendix* for a discussion of the "trend" concept.

The number of crimes reported to the police has risen in all the Nordic 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). Setting aside drug offences, 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 Nordic countries in 1960 (see *Table 4* below). In part, the increase is linked to the emergence of a group of socially marginalised older males and in part, more recently, to robberies among young males. According to the ICVS/EU ICS project, robbery levels in Scandinavia still remain somewhat below average when viewed from an international perspective (see *Table 1* above).

Crime trends in the Nordic countries are, on the whole, much the same as those found in other western European countries. Westfelt (2001; 2008) 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 Nordic countries and that in Western Europe countries. The similarities in crime trends have previously been noted by many other writers.[13]

It has also been noted that police-recorded theft trends since the 1990s may be in the process of changing direction (Criminology in Europe, 2010). The available data from *national* victim surveys corroborate this view, showing more or less stable levels in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden during the 1990s and the 2000s.[14]

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 the reporting behaviour.[15] While this view is widely shared among professionals, it is strongly contested in the media, by various interest groups and NGOs as well as politicians.

Aromaa (2004:80) has rightly pointed out that "arguments about the 'ownership' of crime problems and disagreements over which forms of data are best suited for interpretations and policy recommendations has become

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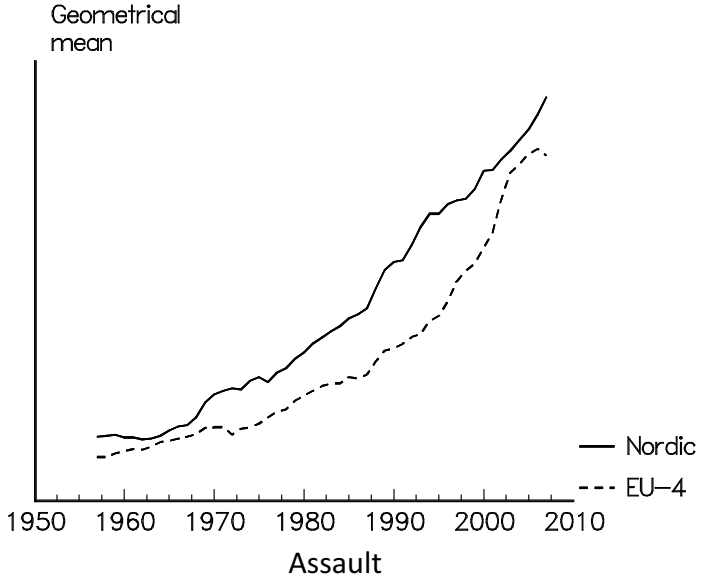
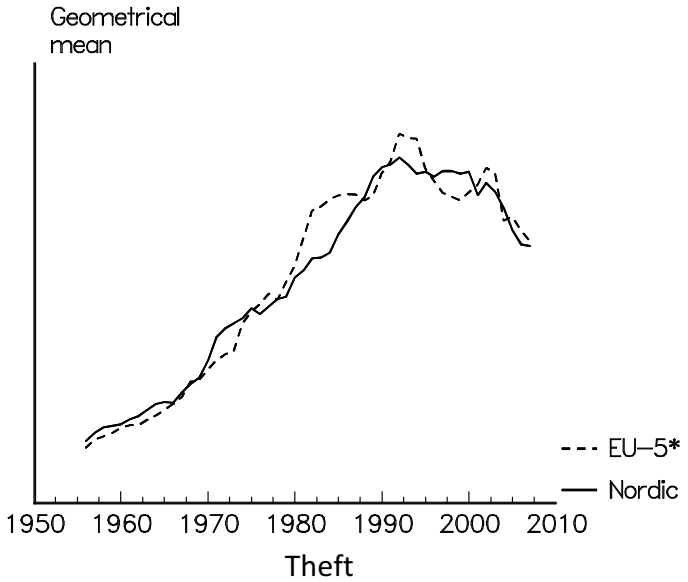
[13] For recent detailed analyses, see Aromaa & Heiskanen (2008) and Aebi & Linde (2010).
[14] Cf. Westfelt (2001:76 ff); Lappi-Seppälä & Tonry (2011: Fig. 10).
[15] Cf. Sirén & Honkatukia (2005) for Finland; Estrada (2006) for Sweden; Balvig & Kyvsgaard (2009) for Denmark; somewhat different Einarsen (2010) for Norway.

Figure 1. *Assaults* and *thefts* reported to the police in Scandinavia and five western European countries, 1956/57–2007 per 100,000 of population. Geometrical mean, scaled series (theft). *Source:* Westfelt (2001; updated).

EU-4 = England & Wales, France, (West) Germany and the Netherlands
EU-5 = ditto and Austria

[*Note.* Y-scales intentionally omitted.]





more marked over time, indicating that criminal policy is becoming increasingly politicized. Crime policy is thus affected more by which camp wins this paradigmatic struggle than it is by the 'actual' trends in crime revealed through empirical analysis."

Women
In 2006, the share of suspected females apprehended by the police was 17-18 percent in Denmark, Finland and Sweden (European Sourcebook, 2010:195; Norway missing). Conviction rates among women have increased during the last decades in Finland, Norway and Sweden, but not in Denmark. However, corresponding increases of female prisoners´ rates are only moderate or non-existent.

Juveniles
In all the Nordic countries, the steep rise of juvenile crime during the decades after World War II has come to an end. There are clear indications from self-report studies, victim surveys and crime statistics that property crimes among young people have decreased during the last twenty years or so, while violence remained at a stable level (cf. Kivivuori & Bernburg, 2011:408-418).

Foreign citizens
According to conviction statistics, persons with foreign background are overrepresented in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden as compared to the domestic population (Kardell & Carlsson, 2009; Kardell, 2012; Skarðhamar, Thorsen & Henriksen, 2011).[16] The reasons for these overrepresentations are contested (cf. Hällsten, Sarnecki & Szulkin, 2011).

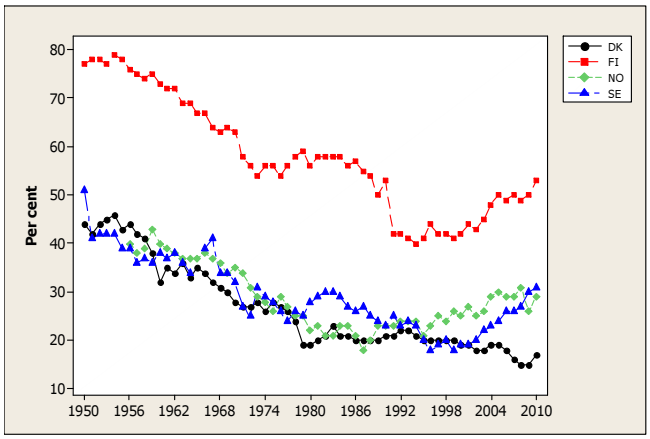
The response to crime and the sanctioning system
The number of police officers per 100,000 of population is lower in the Nordic countries than in either southern or western Europe (cf. Gruszczynska & Haen Marshall, 2008:13). In 2009, Denmark reported a total of 196 police officers per 100,000 of the population, Finland 156, Norway 158, and Sweden 205 (cf. Eurostat, 2012: Tab. 8). Høigård (2011) presents an up-to-date account of police research in the Nordic countries.

Peoples' reporting behaviour seems to be high in Sweden and Denmark and average in Finland (van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit, 2007:110-111; Norway missing). As is the case in other European countries, the clearance rate has dropped considerably over the years (see *Figure 2*). However, a certain (mainly technical?) increase during the last 10 years or so is visible (with the exception of Denmark). Exactly how the long-term drop ought to be interpreted is not altogether certain: purely as a drop in police efficiency 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 (Balvig, 1985:12). In any case,

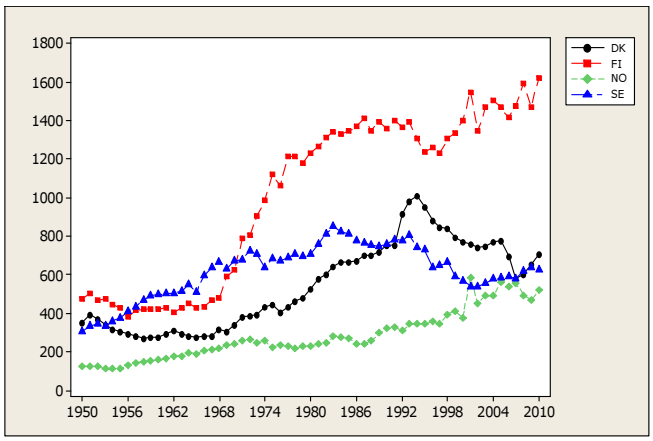
[16] Finland is not included because there too few immigrants for proper statistical analysis. Cf. *Crime Trends in Finland 2010* (p. 472) for similar results.

there is no clear relationship between the development of summary clearance rates and the number of convicted persons (see *Figure 2*).

Figure 2. *Clearance rates* and *conviction rates* (all offences covered by the respective criminal codes) in Scandinavia, 1950-2010. *Source:* Tables 9 and 13 below.



Clearance rates



Conviction rates

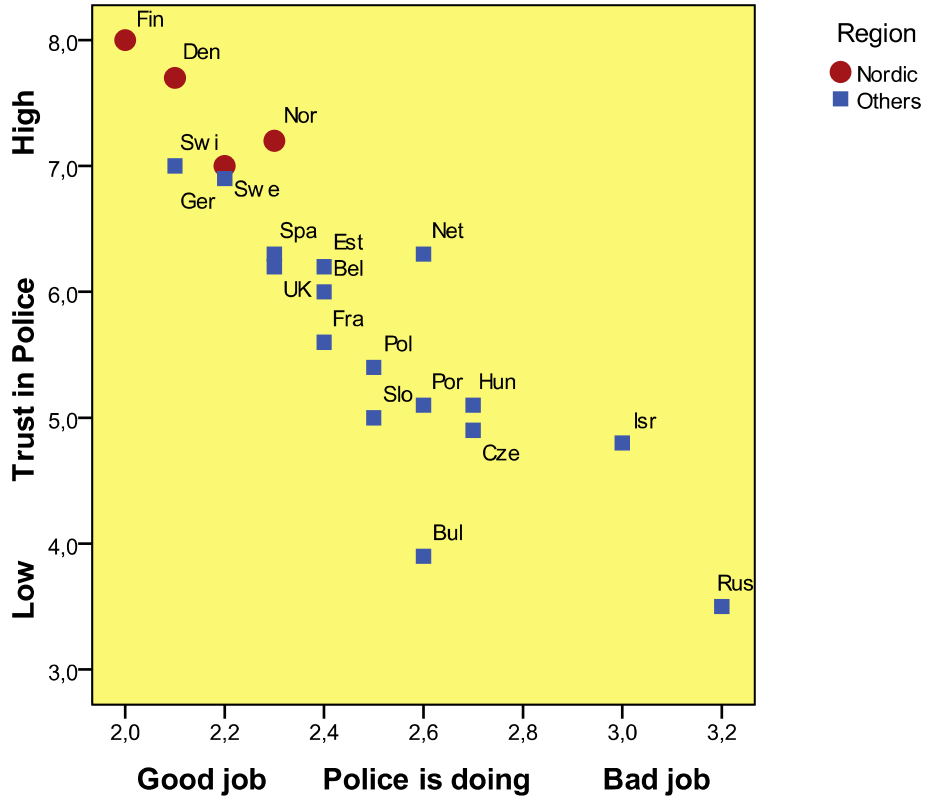
According to a Danish report the use of firearms by police officers causing injuries and deaths varies in the Nordic countries (even if it is generally a marginal phenomenon): more civilians are wounded or killed in Denmark and Sweden than in Finland and Norway (Olsen, 2008; see also Knutsson & Strype, 2003).

EU ICS data has shown that the level of public satisfaction with the police is mixed in Scandinavia.[17] Concerning the way persons reporting crime feel the police have acted at the time the crime was reported, Denmark and Finland present a much higher and Sweden a higher than average level of satisfaction than other countries (van Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit, 2007:115).

On a more general level, the latest *European Social Survey* (ESS 2010) displays high public trust in police in all Nordic countries. Also the public believes the police are doing a good job in these countries. The correlation between these two assessments are displayed in Figure 3.

[17] Norway is excluded from the comparison.

Figure 3. Public trust in police and public perceptions of police performance according to *ESS Round 5 2010* data (authors' analysis).



The EU ICS project has also assessed attitudes on sentencing for 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 found guilty of his *second* burglary, this time stealing a television set. 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 Dijk, van Kesteren & Smit, 2007:149). The corresponding figure for Denmark was 18 per cent, for Norway 29, and for Sweden 33 per cent. Norway and Sweden scored higher than other western and southern European countries; only the Netherlands and the British islands scored even higher. The proportion of those in favour of a prison sentence seems to have increased over time in Norway and Sweden.

Even the latest ESS survey (ESS 2010) shows a similar divide between Finland and Denmark on the one hand, and Sweden and Norway on the other. Still, recent in-depth research on attitudes towards punishment in the Nordic countries (Balvig, Gunnlaugsson, Jerre, Olaussen & Tham, 2010; Balvig, 2011) shows clearly that an *informed* public is hesitant to propose imprisonment, even in Norway and Sweden.

Choices of criminal sanctions[18]

The following brief description of choices of sanction concerns those imposed for all violations of 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.[19] Since the majority of criminal code violations 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 2010. 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 Nordic countries (1,621 per 100,000 of population as compared with 738 in Norway (misdemeanours included), 709 in Denmark, and 624 in Sweden. Finland's unique position may partially be explained by the legalistic approach of Finnish judicial practice, with its rather strict observance of mandatory prosecution and also, as has been intimated by Finnish experts, by the fact that clearance rates have been consistently higher in Finland than in the rest of Scandinavia (see *Figure 2* above).

In contrast to the other countries, however, 82 per cent of those convicted in Finland receive fines (the corresponding proportions in Denmark, Norway and Sweden are 46, 41 and 33 per cent respectively). "Other sanctions" (excluding prison sentences) are used most often in Sweden (54 per cent as compared to 32 in Denmark, 27 in Norway, and 11 per cent in Finland). This very rough outline nonetheless captures essential characteristics of the sanctioning traditions of the Nordic countries: Sweden still emerges as the country where the philosophy of the usefulness of a wide variety of sanctions is most pronounced, whilst Finland most clearly follows the classical tradition, imposing fines and (conditional) prison sentences as the most common forms of sanction. Irrespective of these differences, fines are used extensively throughout the Nordic countries.

When it comes to prison sentences, these are imposed more frequently in Denmark and Norway than in Finland and Sweden. On the other hand, prison sentences are longer in Sweden and Finland than in Denmark and Norway. 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 across different countries (cf. Pease, 1994).

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[18] On sentencing in the Nordic countries, see Hinkkanen & Lappi-Seppälä (2011).

[19] For more detailed data, see *European Sourcebook 2010*.

In addition, we might note that Norway abolished life imprisonment in 1981, whilst in 1983 Sweden abolished the use of prison terms as a means of sanctioning the non-payment of fines (von Hofer, 2004). Electronic tagging as an alternative to imprisonment has been introduced for certain categories of offenders in all four Nordic countries, with Sweden being first to do so in 1994.

The Prisons

Despite the above differences in the frequency and length of the prison sentences imposed in the Nordic countries, their judicial systems produce prison populations of a similar size. In 2010, the prison population in the Nordic countries was low when viewed from a European perspective (Lappi-Seppälä, 2011a: Fig. 1); the level being highest in Sweden at 78 per 100,000 and lowest in Finland at 61 per 100,000. As a rule, prisons in the Nordic countries are small (between 80 and 100 beds), modern, and characterised by high staffing levels (Kristoffersen, 2010:60-62). Overcrowding of inmates is not a typical problem. Open prisons, where security arrangements aimed at preventing escape are kept to a minimum, accounted in 2008 for between 19 per cent (Sweden) and 38 cent of prison places (Norway) (Kristoffersen, 2010:50).

There are very few persons under the age of eighteen in Nordic prisons (well below ½ per cent of the prison population; see Lappi-Seppälä (2011b:242) for details). The proportion of female prisoners lies – as in many other countries – at between four and seven per cent, whilst the proportion of foreign citizens among Nordic prison inmates varies[20] considerably – being lowest in Finland at 13 per cent, and highest in Norway at 33 per cent.[21]

The average length of stay in prison can be estimated to be shortest in Norway and Denmark (4 and 6 months respectively in 2008) and longest in Sweden and Finland (8 and 9 months respectively; but note Finland's low overall prison population). As regards the number of individuals serving life sentences on a certain day in 2008, there were 19 such 'lifers' in Denmark, 151 in Finland and 154 in Sweden (Kristoffersen, 2010:41-45). The number of prison inmates serving life terms in Finland and Sweden has increased substantially over the years.

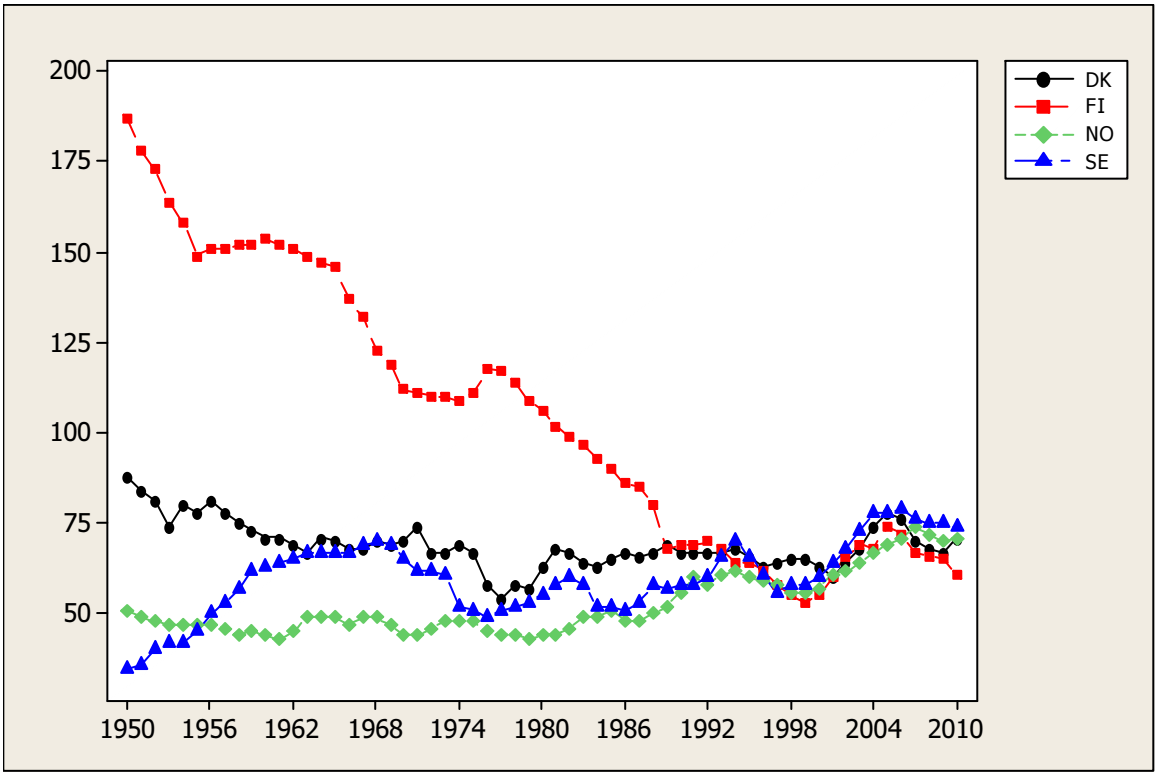
In a 60-year perspective, prison populations have been fairly stable in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (see *Figure 4*). Finland constitutes a remarkable exception. There the prison population has shrunk greatly from the mid-1970s (1976: 118 inmates per 100,000) until the end of the 1990s (1999:

[20] In line with differences in the size of the foreign population.

[21] http://www.prisonstudies.org/info/worldbrief/?search=europe&x=Europe

53 inmates per 100,000. 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 underlying the recent decrease have been described by Törnudd (1993) and Lappi-Seppäla (2007).

Figure 4. *Prison populations* in Scandinavia, 1950-2010. Per 100,000 of population. *Source:* Table 15 below.



Summary

This short overview of crime and punishment in the Nordic countries, as portrayed by available statistical sources, indicates that Scandinavia ranks lower in property crimes and robbery, but in the middle in assault and threats. National prevalence rates of "problem drug use" appear to lie clearly above the European median-level in Denmark, and near the median in Finland and Sweden (Norway missing). The rise of crime during the post-WW II period has been substantial just as it has been elsewhere in Europe – indicating that the recorded increases in traditional crime in Europe may have common structural roots. The 1990s witnessed a stabilisation in theft rates, albeit at a high level. Growing gender equality might have contributed to an increase in the reporting of violent[22] and sexual offences against women (and children), making these offences more visible.

[22] An additional explanation may be that women in the Nordic countries to a high degree are gainfully employed which, as a side-effect, increasingly exposes them to work-related incidents of violence (Kyvsgaard & Snare, 2007:197-198; Estrada, Jerre, Nilsson & Wikman, 2010).

The system of formal control in the Nordic countries is characterised by relatively low police density, a clearance rate that has declined at least until the mid-1990s, a high frequency of criminal sanctions (especially of fines), but relatively low prison populations. State crime prevention organisations (*Crime Prevention Councils*) operate in all the Nordic countries (BRÅ, 2001; Lappi-Seppäla, 2012:208).

The international crime victims surveys indicate that fear of crime is comparatively low; and that (for this reason) people do not feel the need to take special precautions against the possibility of crime to any great extent. Nordic respondents appear to be quite satisfied with the performance of the police and also support limits on the use of prison sentences.

There are more similarities than dissimilarities when the crime picture is compared across the different Nordic countries, and the overall state of affairs is favourable when viewed from a pan-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. Instead, the scenarios painted are commonly quite clear in their inclination towards a "law and order" rhetoric and the need for more extensive anti-crime measures (cf. Tham, 2001; Estrada, 2004; Demker, Towns, Duus-Otterström & Sebring, 2008).

It can also be noticed that the national discourses on crime and other threat scenarios are, to a growing degree, influenced by inter- and transnational organisations (IGOs) such as various bodies of the United Nations and the European Union (Flyghed, 2005). International data collection initiatives usually show that the Nordic countries score low on phenomena such as kidnapping, trafficking in human beings, corruption, organised crime,[23] cyber crime, and terrorism (cf. Alvazzi del Frate, 2010). As Aromaa (2004:92) noted, these crimes have usually very little bearing on the daily operations of the criminal justice system, but they are of paramount importance when it comes to the widening of formal and informal State control at the expense of the citizens' human rights (cf. also Rosén, 2005).

Probably, the most interesting observation concerning the development of crime in Scandinavia is its similarity to the development found in many other industrialised countries. As Balvig (2004:92) observed "This similarity presents a challenge to the two classical ways of thinking about how to reduce crime: the penal control model and the social welfare model. The penal control model assumes that a large police force and harsh punishments can reduce crime, while the social welfare model is grounded in the

[23] On organised crime "the Nordic way", see Korsell & Larsson (2011).

assumption that social welfare and equality in earnings can do the same. The effectiveness of both models is challenged by the fact that crime trends appear uniform regardless of which model a particular country embraces. A closer analysis shows that the two models are negatively correlated opposites in practise and confirm that neither of them is strongly related to crime levels."

Further reading

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Methodological Notes[24]

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 practice, 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

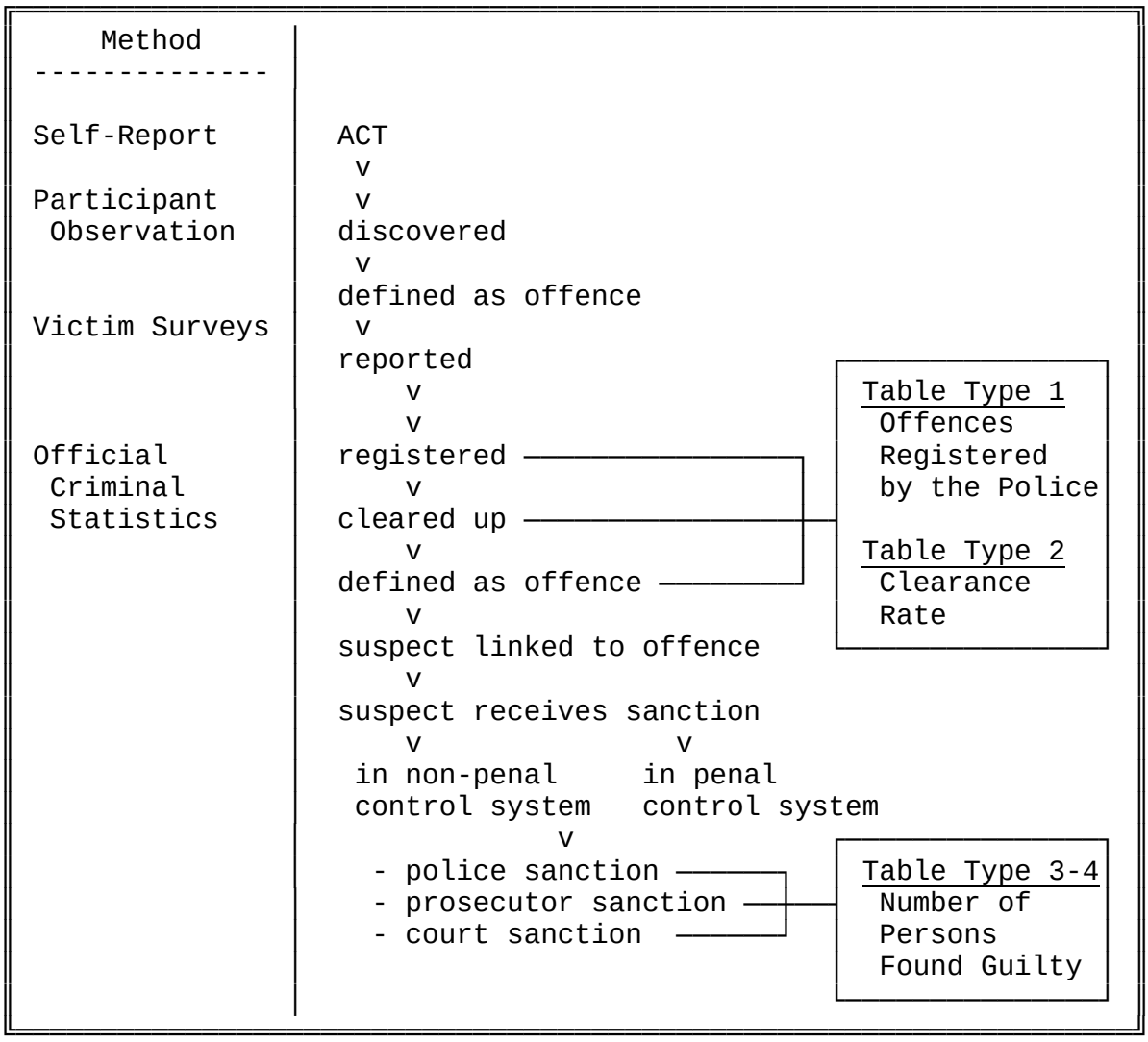
It is possible to compile criminal statistics on the basis of data obtained at several points in the criminal justice process, as shown in the simplified flow-chart of this process (see *Figure 1* below).

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*.

[24] The following pages are a slightly revised translation from the introductory chapter of the main report *Nordisk Kriminalstatistik 1950-1980*.

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 should be documented thoroughly, even if such efforts will remain unsatisfactory. The statistical sources offer usually only fragmentary information about these problems and much of the relevant working knowledge accumulated over the years got lost.

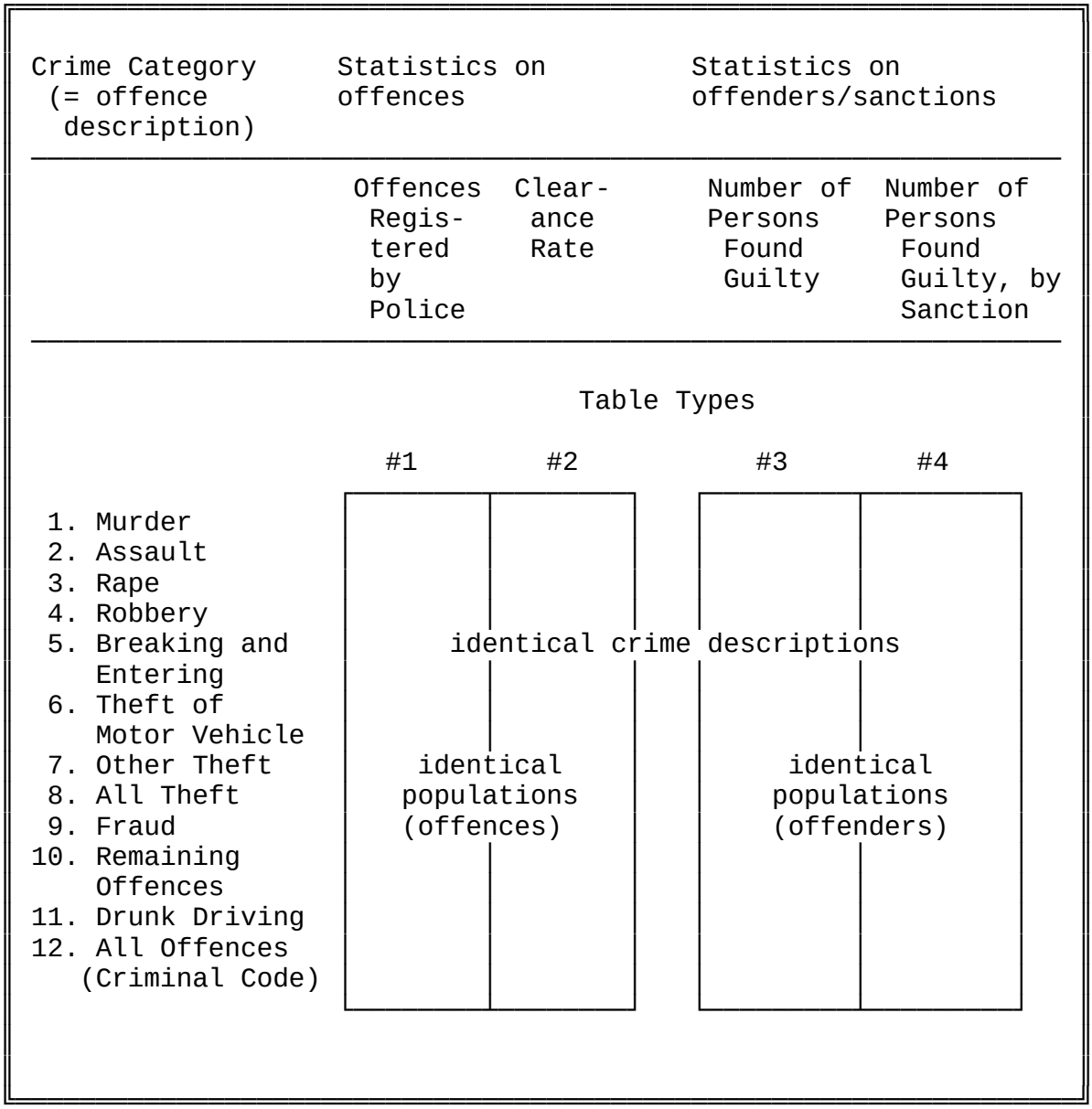
2 Choice of Offences

One well-known publication on crime statistics has been Interpol's "*International Crime Statistics*".[25] Although the basic language used by Interpol has been adopted here, extensive liberties have been taken with the offence definitions. The 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

[25] The publication of Interpol's statistics was dissolved in 2004. Standard setters are now the European Sourcebook project, Eurostat initiatives, and UNODOC (von Hofer, 2009).

country are presented in tabulated form at the beginning of each section below. Here some additional general comments follow.

Figure 2. Idealised Presentation of Criminal Statistics



- **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 is treated as a separate offence category and is thus not 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 limited.

- **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 Criminal Code Offences**

This catch-all category (corresponding to Interpol's *Total Number of Offences*) reflects only offences against Criminal Codes and not special legislation. *Traffic offences* 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,[26] these shortcomings cannot be avoided in a publication 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

[26] Cf. the present thorny collection initiatives by the European Sourcebook project and UNODOC.

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 judgment 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 official criminal statistics are useful 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
- longitudinal 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 designs of the Criminal Code, the Code of Judicial Procedure, welfare legislation, etc., and the formal organization of criminal justice agencies
  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 practice.

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 the *longitudinal development* (“trends”). 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 longitudinal developments 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.

The problem of *continuity* concerns questions of whether an individual time series (for example, registered robberies in country A) reflects the same (or similar) 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. These metadata[27] have been updated in this publication as thoroughly as possible; however, a few stray errors and omissions may occur.

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 here,[28] but the following may be said with regard to crime statistics:

- The *Swedish* data tend to show a higher frequency 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 tend to show a lower frequency. This is because police statistics in Norway have been based until the early 1990s on

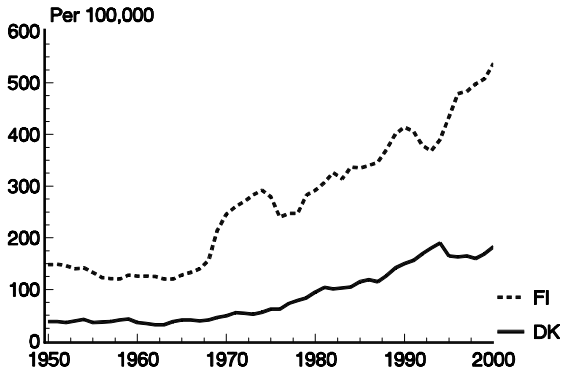
[27] Changes of legislation can be found at https://www.retsinformation.dk/ (Denmark); http://www.finlex.fi/sv/ (Finland); http://www.lovdata.no/ (Norway); http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/ (Sweden).

[28] See also Council of Europe (1999); Aebi (2008); European Sourcebook (2010).

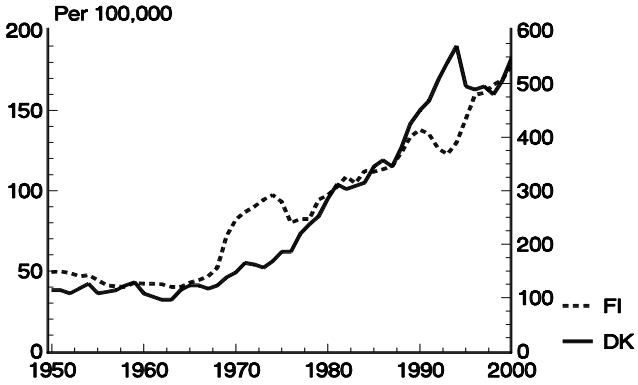
Figure 3. Six graphical models of how to compare crime trends in two countries.

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

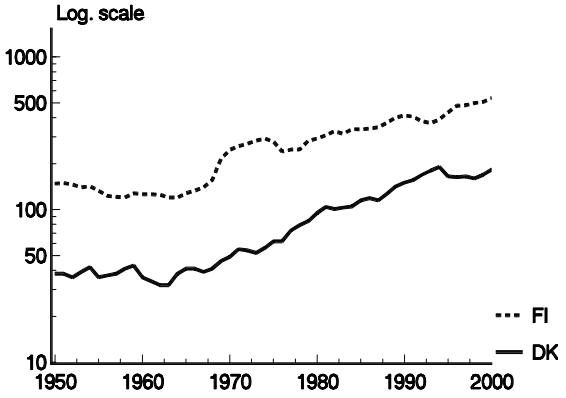
Type 1: Linear scale



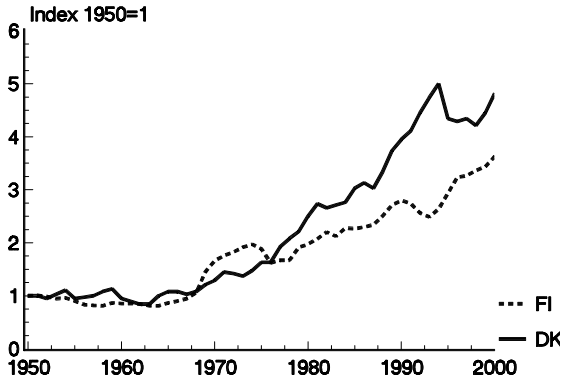
Type 2: Two linear scales



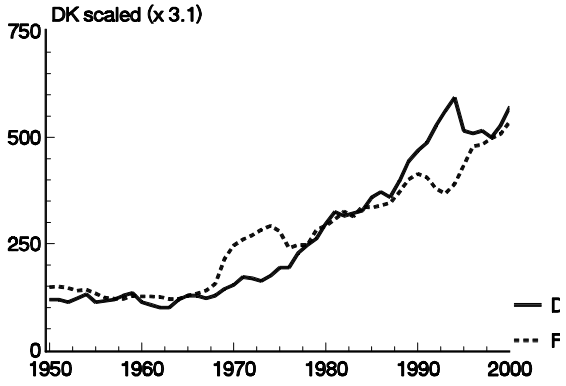
Type 3: Semi-log scale



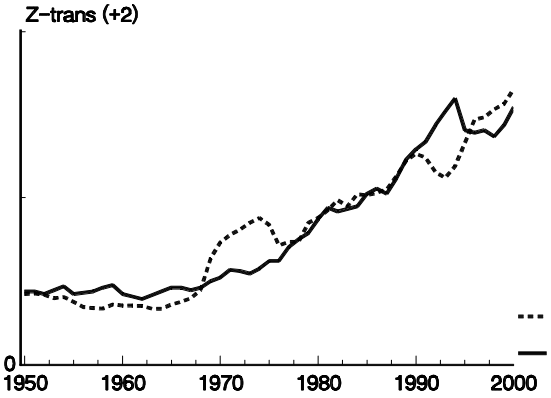
Type 4: Index 1950=1



Type 5: DK upscaled



Type 6: Z-transformations



cases where the police have completed their crime investigations.[29] In addition, Norwegian statistics exclude misdemeanours, which has resulted in the omission of shoplifting, for example, from the Norwegian statistics (since 1972), but not from those for the other countries.

7 Final remarks

Remark 1
The population figures used in this publication refer to the *total* resident population (all ages). In earlier 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. The Finnish data have been revised to a greater extent (from 1980).

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 visually 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.

[29] Since 1990/1993 statistics on offences *reported* to the police are likewise available. They have been used in this publication in order to increase comparability.

Remark 4
Table 1 below presents a 1-year comparison (2005) between data from this publication (NCS) and data from the *European Sourcebook* project (ESB). The outcome is mixed.

Table 1. Selected offences reported to the police and prison data according to *Nordic Criminal Statistics* (NCS) and *European Sourcebook* (ESB), 2005. Per 100,000 of the population.

		DK	FI	NO	SE
Homicide	NCS	1.0	2.2	0.7	0.9
	ESB	1.1	2.5	0.7	0.9
Assault	NCS	205	581	334	805
	ESB	233	580	..	805
Rape	NCS	9	11	17	42
	ESB	9	11	20	42
Robbery	NCS	54	35	31	104
	ESB	39	35	31	104
Theft	NCS	6 324	3 307	3 329	6 875
	ESB	4 552	2 916	..	6 875
Drugs	NCS	356	275	804	574
	ESB	356	274	570	574
Total	NCS	7 985	6 476	5 429	11 951
	ESB	7 989	10 104	5 963	13 753
Prisons: Flow	NCS	229	144	199	118
	ESB	341	144	256	118
Prisons: Stock	NCS	78	74	69	78
	ESB	74	73	67	78

.. Data not available

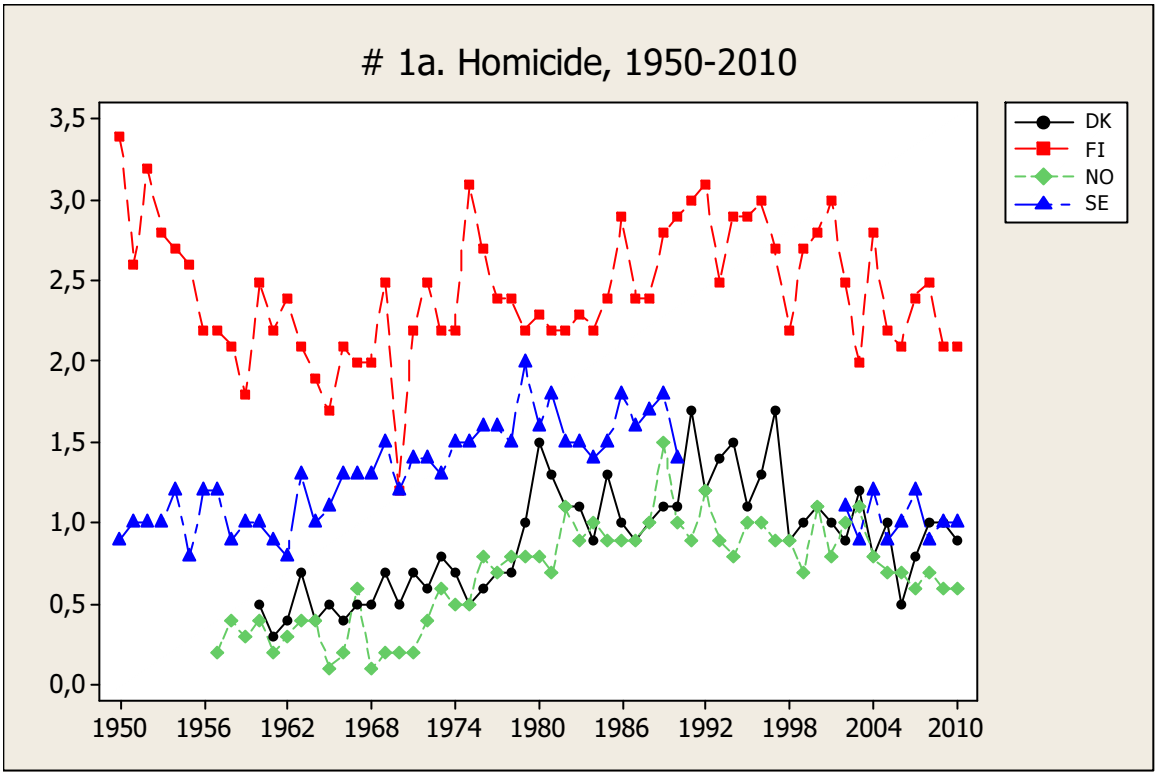
Remark 5
As elaborated in the *Appendix* we would like to point to the dangers with glib *causal* explanation of the data.

Tables

Diagram 1. HOMICIDE, 1950–2010. Completed offences only.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC § 237
Changes in legislation	None
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 21, §§ 1-3
Changes in legislation	1970, 1995
Revision of statistical routines	1970, 1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC § 233
Changes in legislation	1981, 2000, 2003, 2010
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 2002, 2004, 2006
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	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-: published figures of documented bad quality

CC = Criminal Code



Per 100,000 population

Table 1a. HOMICIDE, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	2.5	0.4	1.0
1961	16	97	8	67	0.3	2.2	0.2	0.9
1962	19	109	10	64	0.4	2.4	0.3	0.8
1963	33	94	13	101	0.7	2.1	0.4	1.3
1964	18	87	14	78	0.4	1.9	0.4	1.0
1965	23	79	5	87	0.5	1.7	0.1	1.1
1966	18	94	9	99	0.4	2.1	0.2	1.3
1967	24	92	24	99	0.5	2.0	0.6	1.3
1968	26	93	5	100	0.5	2.0	0.1	1.3
1969	32	115	9	116	0.7	2.5	0.2	1.5
1970	26	56	6	100	0.5	1.2	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	125	0.7	2.2	0.5	1.5
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	34	113	31	124	0.7	2.4	0.8	1.5
1979	50	107	32	170	1.0	2.2	0.8	2.0
1980	76	111	31	135	1.5	2.3	0.8	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	38	121	1.1	2.3	0.9	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	147	1.0	2.9	0.9	1.8
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	..	1.7	3.0	0.9	..
1992	62	155	50	..	1.2	3.1	1.2	..
1993	71	129	38	..	1.4	2.5	0.9	..
1994	79	147	33	..	1.5	2.9	0.8	..
1995	60	146	42	..	1.1	2.9	1.0	..
1996	69	153	43	..	1.3	3.0	1.0	..
1997	88	139	38	..	1.7	2.7	0.9	..
1998	49	113	38	..	0.9	2.2	0.9	..
1999	53	142	33	..	1.0	2.7	0.7	..

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	58	146	48	..	1.1	2.8	1.1	..
2001	52	155	37	..	1.0	3.0	0.8	..
2002	48	131	46	99	0.9	2.5	1.0	1.1
2003	65	103	51	83	1.2	2.0	1.1	0.9
2004	43	144	36	109	0.8	2.8	0.8	1.2
2005	53	113	33	81	1.0	2.2	0.7	0.9
2006	29	111	33	93	0.5	2.1	0.7	1.0
2007	45	127	30	114	0.8	2.4	0.6	1.2
2008	53	132	34	82	1.0	2.5	0.7	0.9
2009	56	114	29	93	1.0	2.1	0.6	1.0
2010	49	110	29	91	0.9	2.1	0.6	1.0

.. Data not available

NB. Sweden 2002-2010: Manually revised data (Kriminalstatistik 2010, p. 30).

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 2.01 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Table 1b. HOMICIDE, 1950-2010.
Vital statistics

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	..	116	..	..	..	2.9	..	..
1951	44	118	11	43	1.0	2.9	0.3	0.6
1952	37	124	12	48	0.9	3.0	0.4	0.7
1953	55	120	12	47	1.3	2.9	0.4	0.7
1954	33	124	12	56	0.7	3.0	0.4	0.8
1955	24	103	9	48	0.5	2.4	0.3	0.7
1956	44	105	13	65	1.0	2.5	0.4	0.9
1957	24	98	19	54	0.5	2.3	0.5	0.7
1958	24	91	19	51	0.5	2.1	0.5	0.7
1959	22	73	16	52	0.5	1.7	0.4	0.7
1960	23	116	15	45	0.5	2.6	0.4	0.6
1961	18	107	16	39	0.4	2.4	0.4	0.5
1962	23	112	16	39	0.5	2.5	0.4	0.5
1963	37	101	24	63	0.8	2.2	0.7	0.8
1964	20	86	19	62	0.4	1.9	0.5	0.8
1965	28	82	20	56	0.6	1.8	0.5	0.7
1966	25	96	16	65	0.5	2.1	0.4	0.8
1967	23	96	17	70	0.5	2.1	0.4	0.9
1968	28	94	23	54	0.6	2.0	0.6	0.7
1969	32	116	27	71	0.7	2.5	0.7	0.9
1970	33	93	24	66	0.7	2.0	0.6	0.8
1971	48	125	22	76	1.0	2.7	0.6	0.9
1972	29	141	29	86	0.6	3.0	0.7	1.1
1973	46	122	30	81	0.9	2.6	0.8	1.0
1974	37	119	25	102	0.7	2.5	0.6	1.2
1975	29	170	28	94	0.6	3.6	0.7	1.1
1976	35	149	30	102	0.7	3.2	0.7	1.2
1977	35	130	33	96	0.7	2.7	0.8	1.2
1978	27	141	30	81	0.5	3.0	0.7	1.0
1979	50	125	38	112	1.0	2.6	0.9	1.4
1980	67	156	46	96	1.3	3.3	1.1	1.2
1981	70	129	55	119	1.4	2.7	1.3	1.4
1982	50	135	42	100	1.0	2.8	1.0	1.2
1983	59	148	51	101	1.2	3.0	1.2	1.2
1984	52	131	45	92	1.0	2.7	1.1	1.1
1985	74	131	40	103	1.4	2.7	1.0	1.2
1986	61	156	65	119	1.2	3.2	1.6	1.4
1987	54	132	60	99	1.1	2.7	1.4	1.2
1988	57	137	49	117	1.1	2.8	1.2	1.4
1989	62	158	55	127	1.2	3.2	1.3	1.5
1990	51	160	49	108	1.0	3.2	1.2	1.3
1991	71	154	66	125	1.4	3.1	1.5	1.5
1992	69	173	47	117	1.3	3.4	1.1	1.3
1993	63	166	42	113	1.2	3.3	1.0	1.3
1994	70	165	34	107	1.3	3.2	0.8	1.2
1995	62	150	45	85	1.2	2.9	1.0	1.0
1996	59	170	47	110	1.1	3.3	1.1	1.2
1997	64	142	41	94	1.2	2.8	0.9	1.1
1998	51	125	43	98	1.0	2.4	1.0	1.1
1999	58	145	38	108	1.1	2.8	0.9	1.2

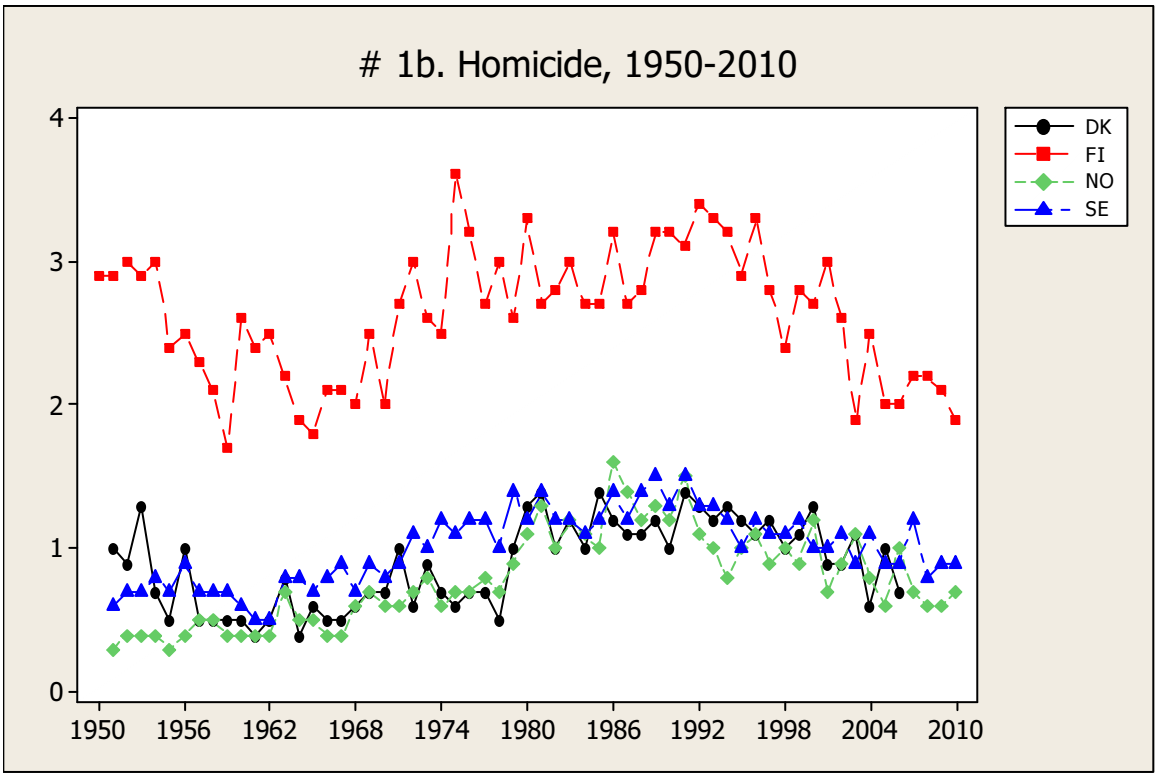
continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	67	139	53	90	1.3	2.7	1.2	1.0
2001	49	154	33	86	0.9	3.0	0.7	1.0
2002	49	133	39	100	0.9	2.6	0.9	1.1
2003	61	99	48	81	1.1	1.9	1.1	0.9
2004	35	130	39	97	0.6	2.5	0.8	1.1
2005	53	105	29	82	1.0	2.0	0.6	0.9
2006	36	107	45	79	0.7	2.0	1.0	0.9
2007	..	116	33	106	..	2.2	0.7	1.2
2008	..	119	27	70	..	2.2	0.6	0.8
2009	..	110	31	85	..	2.1	0.6	0.9
2010	..	102	33	88	..	1.9	0.7	0.9

.. Data not available

Sources:

National Research Institute of Legal Policy. Homicide database (forthcoming).

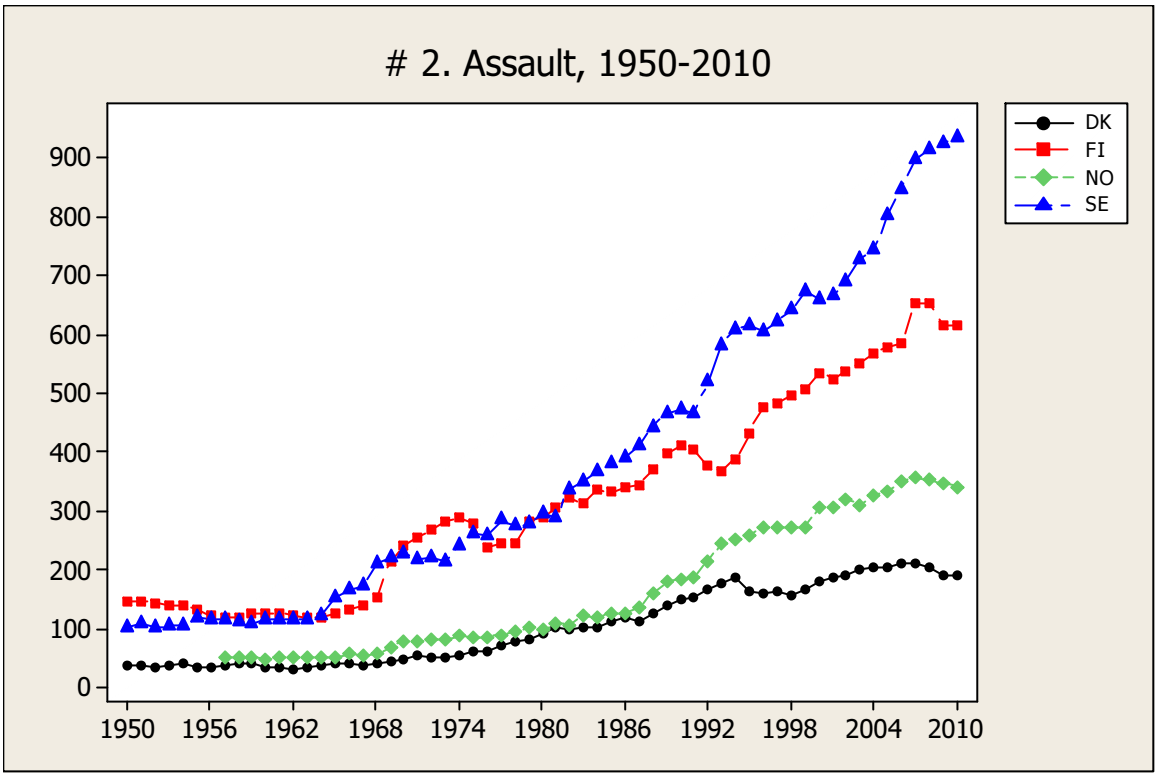


Per 100,000 population

Diagram 2. ASSAULT, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 244-246
Changes in legislation	1989, 1994, 2000 (244)
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 21, §§ 5-7
Changes in legislation	1970, 1975, 1995, 2001, 2011
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1970, 1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 219, 228-229, 231
Changes in legislation	1981, 1988, 2006, 2010
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 3, §§ 5-6 excl. "Assault resulting in death" (CC Chap. 3, §§ 5-6)
Changes in legislation	1965, 1982, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2010
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code



Per 100,000 population

Table 2. ASSAULT, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	1 613	5 937	..	7 395	38	148	..	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	1 944	5 623	1 876	8 243	43	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	118
1964	1 799	5 442	1 920	9 532	38	120	52	124
1965	1 944	5 823	1 965	11 803	41	128	53	153
1966	1 962	6 091	2 166	13 094	41	133	58	168
1967	1 892	6 459	2 161	13 671	39	140	57	174
1968	1 999	7 233	2 233	16 816	41	156	58	213
1969	2 239	9 954	2 751	17 842	46	215	71	224
1970	2 401	11 230	3 092	18 385	49	244	80	229
1971	2 749	11 858	3 115	17 651	55	257	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	13 680	3 563	19 899	56	292	89	244
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	4 012	11 759	3 944	22 868	79	247	97	276
1979	4 285	13 476	4 207	23 171	84	283	103	279
1980	4 854	13 964	4 041	24 668	95	292	99	297
1981	5 326	14 730	4 492	24 314	104	307	110	292
1982	5 169	15 723	4 459	28 200	101	326	108	339
1983	5 256	15 248	5 070	29 220	103	314	123	351
1984	5 390	16 442	4 975	30 785	105	337	120	369
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	5 812	34 757	115	346	139	414
1988	6 513	18 369	6 837	37 511	127	371	162	445
1989	7 287	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	40 454	156	406	189	469
1992	8 741	19 086	9 298	45 232	169	379	217	522
1993	9 315	18 656	10 563	50 926	180	368	245	584
1994	9 880	19 836	10 911	53 665	190	390	252	611
1995	8 622	22 188	11 320	54 380	165	434	260	616
1996	8 589	24 542	12 061	53 731	163	479	275	608
1997	8 734	24 847	12 086	55 109	165	483	274	623
1998	8 460	25 660	12 157	56 878	159	498	274	643
1999	8 973	26 223	12 172	59 918	169	508	273	676

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	9 796	27 820	13 727	58 846	183	537	306	663
2001	10 080	27 329	13 791	59 461	188	527	306	668
2002	10 332	28 022	14 558	61 631	192	539	321	691
2003	10 894	28 862	14 178	65 177	202	554	311	728
2004	11 005	29 806	15 039	67 089	204	570	328	746
2005	11 115	30 481	15 455	72 645	205	581	334	805
2006	11 628	30 885	16 450	77 019	214	586	353	848
2007	11 635	34 634	16 823	82 262	213	655	357	899
2008	11 256	34 803	16 994	84 566	205	655	356	917
2009	10 637	32 895	16 806	86 281	193	616	348	928
2010	10 696	33 082	16 773	87 854	193	617	343	937

.. Data not available

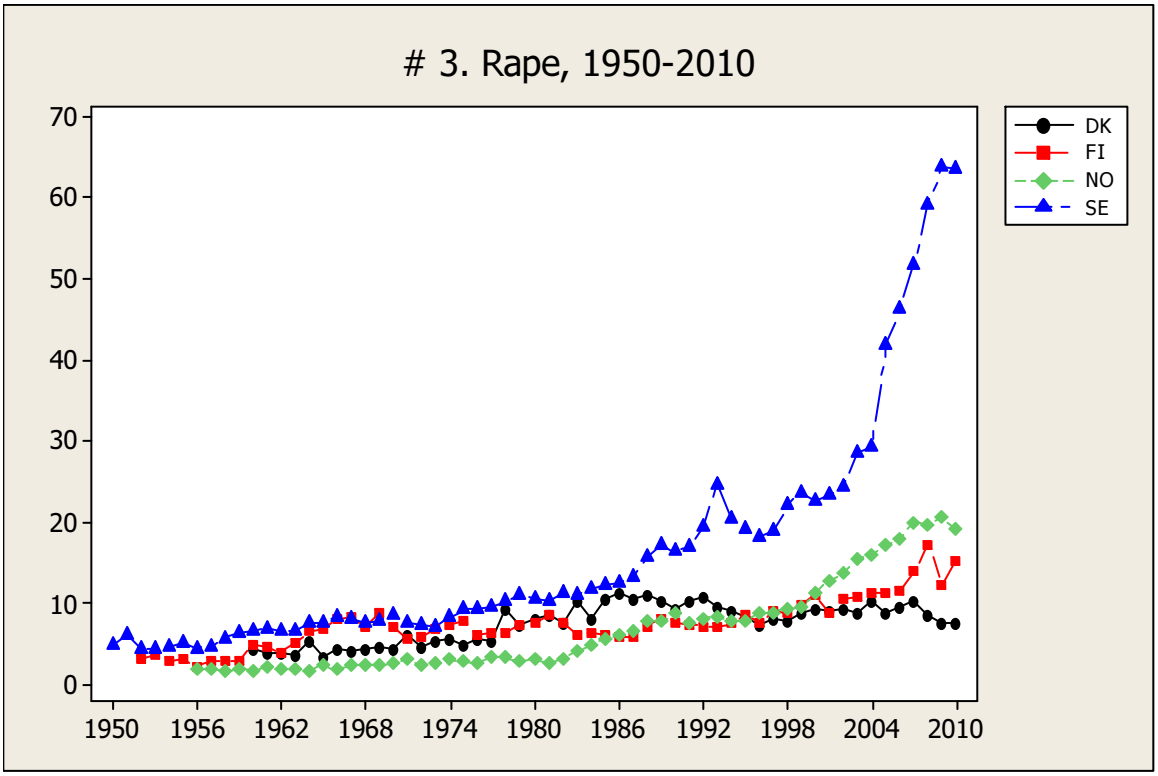
Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 2.01 <(http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Diagram 3. RAPE, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 216-217, 221
Changes in legislation	1965, 1967, 1981
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1973, 1979, 1981, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 20, §§ 1-3
Changes in legislation	1971, 1994, 1999, 2011
Revision of statistical routines	1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC § 192
Changes in legislation	1963, 1981, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2010
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 6, § 1
Changes in legislation	1965, 1984, 1992, 1998, 2005
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code



Per 100,000 population

Table 3. RAPE, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	..	..	..	350	..	..	..	5.0
1951	..	..	..	449	..	..	..	6.3
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	68	516	4.1	4.1	1.9	6.8
1963	173	237	73	516	3.7	5.2	2.0	6.8
1964	259	299	68	590	5.5	6.6	1.8	7.7
1965	162	320	93	587	3.4	7.0	2.5	7.6
1966	215	371	70	660	4.5	8.1	1.9	8.5
1967	203	386	92	652	4.2	8.4	2.4	8.3
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	325	109	692	4.4	7.1	2.8	8.6
1971	304	261	123	617	6.1	5.7	3.2	7.6
1972	233	274	95	598	4.7	5.9	2.4	7.4
1973	269	327	105	597	5.4	7.0	2.7	7.3
1974	287	345	127	684	5.7	7.4	3.2	8.4
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	484	304	137	851	9.5	6.4	3.4	10.3
1979	379	356	120	922	7.4	7.5	2.9	11.1
1980	422	367	129	885	8.2	7.7	3.2	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	175	923	10.3	6.1	4.2	11.1
1984	424	317	201	995	8.3	6.5	4.9	11.9
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	1 462	10.3	7.5	7.6	17.0
1992	556	369	357	1 688	10.8	7.3	8.3	19.5
1993	499	365	368	2 153	9.6	7.2	8.5	24.7
1994	481	387	342	1 812	9.2	7.6	7.9	20.6
1995	440	446	348	1 707	8.4	8.7	8.0	19.3
1996	388	395	389	1 608	7.4	7.7	8.9	18.2
1997	435	468	396	1 692	8.2	9.1	9.0	19.1
1998	418	463	419	1 965	7.9	9.0	9.5	22.2
1999	477	514	427	2 104	9.0	10.0	9.6	23.8

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	497	579	512	2 024	9.3	11.2	11.4	22.8
2001	493	459	581	2 084	9.2	8.8	12.9	23.4
2002	500	551	628	2 184	9.3	10.6	13.8	24.5
2003	472	573	706	2 565	8.8	11.0	15.5	28.6
2004	562	595	739	2 631	10.4	11.4	16.1	29.3
2005	475	593	798	3 787	8.8	11.3	17.3	41.9
2006	527	613	840	4 208	9.7	11.6	18.0	46.3
2007	566	739	945	4 749	10.4	14.0	20.1	51.9
2008	475	915	944	5 446	8.6	17.2	19.8	59.1
2009	431	660	998	5 937	7.8	12.4	20.7	63.8
2010	429	818	938	5 960	7.7	15.3	19.2	63.6

.. Data not available

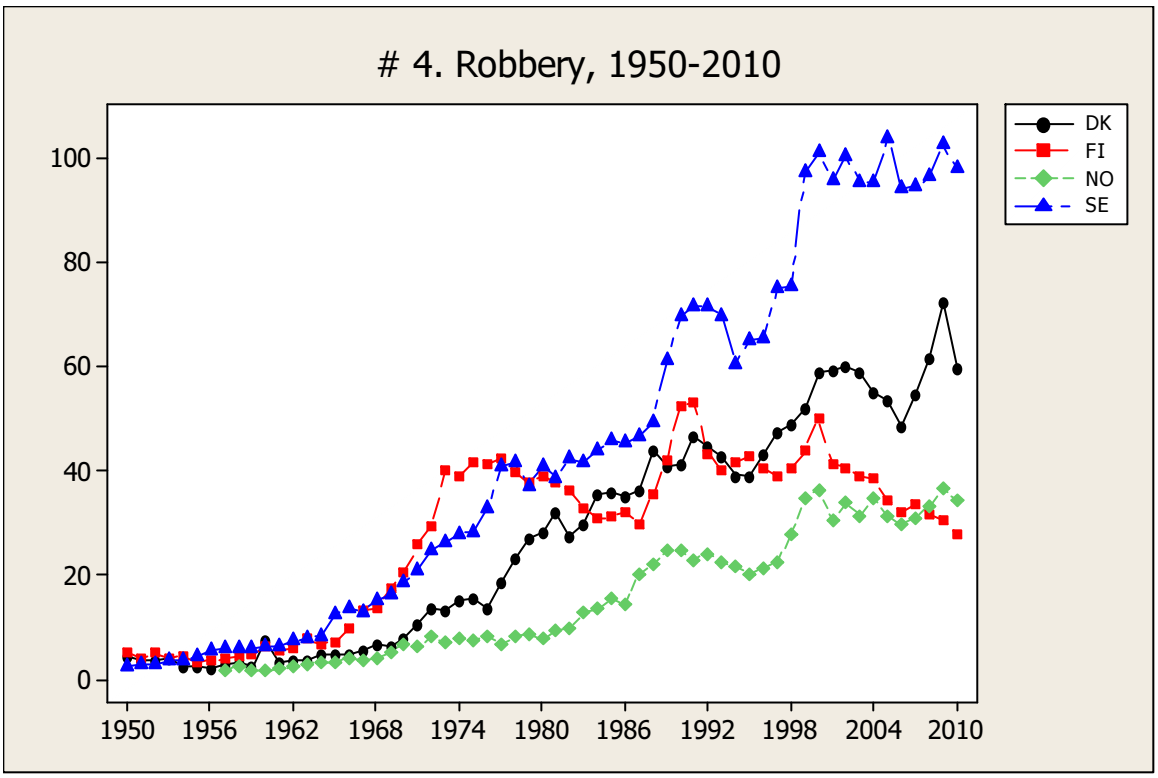
Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.02 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Diagram 4. ROBBERY, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC § 288
Changes in legislation	None
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 31, §§ 1-2
Changes in legislation	1972, 1973, 1991
Revision of statistical routines	1970, 1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 267-269
Changes in legislation	1967, 1972, 1981, 1984
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	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



Per 100,000 population

Table 4. ROBBERY, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	113	221	71	455	2.5	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	653	4.8	6.9	3.4	8.5
1965	222	334	132	963	4.7	7.3	3.5	12.5
1966	230	444	156	1 066	4.8	9.7	4.2	13.7
1967	266	607	135	1 034	5.5	13.2	3.6	13.1
1968	342	631	165	1 192	7.0	13.6	4.3	15.1
1969	309	809	209	1 297	6.3	17.5	5.4	16.3
1970	396	947	262	1 511	8.0	20.6	6.8	18.8
1971	534	1 204	244	1 701	10.8	26.1	6.3	21.0
1972	690	1 372	323	2 027	13.8	29.6	8.2	25.0
1973	664	1 886	290	2 150	13.2	40.4	7.3	26.4
1974	779	1 839	316	2 296	15.4	39.2	7.9	28.1
1975	787	1 968	306	2 336	15.6	41.8	7.6	28.5
1976	692	1 962	331	2 697	13.6	41.5	8.2	32.8
1977	947	2 020	281	3 374	18.6	42.6	6.9	40.9
1978	1 182	1 902	334	3 461	23.2	40.0	8.2	41.8
1979	1 381	1 799	364	3 075	27.0	37.8	8.9	37.1
1980	1 461	1 869	317	3 427	28.5	39.1	7.8	41.2
1981	1 651	1 828	395	3 228	32.2	38.1	9.6	38.8
1982	1 410	1 763	408	3 530	27.6	36.5	9.9	42.4
1983	1 529	1 604	530	3 473	29.9	33.0	12.8	41.7
1984	1 819	1 509	568	3 681	35.6	30.9	13.7	44.2
1985	1 834	1 532	657	3 851	35.9	31.3	15.8	46.1
1986	1 812	1 584	604	3 806	35.4	32.2	14.5	45.5
1987	1 877	1 482	847	3 939	36.6	30.0	20.2	46.9
1988	2 257	1 765	936	4 177	44.0	35.7	22.2	49.5
1989	2 104	2 098	1 056	5 211	41.0	42.3	25.0	61.4
1990	2 127	2 627	1 047	5 967	41.4	52.7	24.7	69.7
1991	2 418	2 672	983	6 173	46.9	53.3	23.1	71.6
1992	2 328	2 194	1 040	6 219	45.0	43.5	24.3	71.7
1993	2 232	2 049	976	6 101	43.0	40.4	22.6	70.0
1994	2 046	2 122	951	5 331	39.3	41.7	21.9	60.7
1995	2 039	2 190	891	5 747	39.0	42.9	20.4	65.1
1996	2 280	2 087	947	5 821	43.3	40.7	21.6	65.8
1997	2 523	2 016	989	6 641	47.7	39.2	22.5	75.1
1998	2 606	2 092	1 240	6 713	49.1	40.6	28.0	75.8
1999	2 781	2 277	1 558	8 628	52.3	44.1	34.9	97.4

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	3 152	2 600	1 635	8 999	59.0	50.2	36.4	101.4
2001	3 192	2 157	1 392	8 538	59.6	41.6	30.8	96.0
2002	3 238	2 120	1 548	8 974	60.2	40.8	34.1	100.5
2003	3 181	2 045	1 437	8 575	59.0	39.2	31.5	95.7
2004	2 989	2 017	1 596	8 590	55.3	38.6	34.8	95.5
2005	2 921	1 814	1 448	9 398	53.9	34.6	31.3	104.1
2006	2 650	1 700	1 388	8 584	48.7	32.3	29.8	94.5
2007	2 994	1 784	1 464	8 673	54.8	33.7	31.1	94.8
2008	3 400	1 696	1 598	8 909	61.9	31.9	33.5	96.6
2009	4 004	1 640	1 776	9 570	72.5	30.7	36.8	102.9
2010	3 327	1 508	1 687	9 219	60.0	28.1	34.5	98.3

.. Data not available

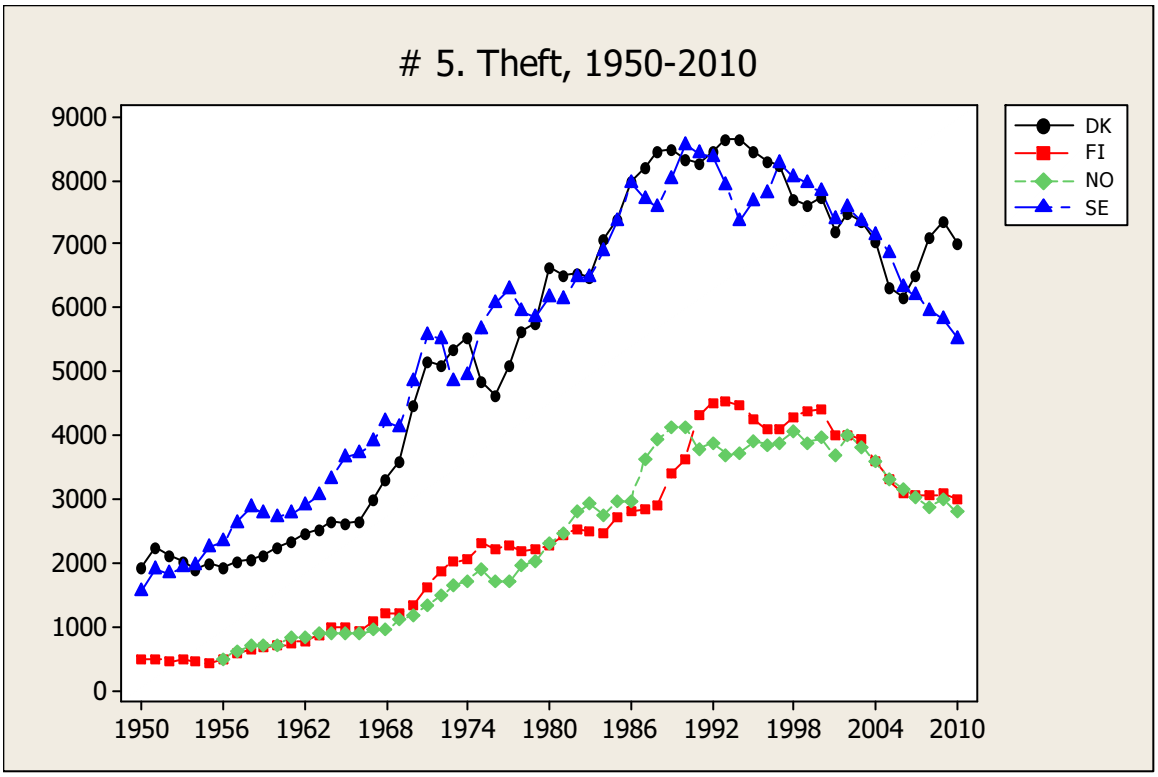
Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.02 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Diagram 5. THEFT, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC § 276, 293
Changes in legislation	1961, 1973, 1982, 2000 (293)
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 28, §§ 1-3, 7-9c, Chap. 34a
Changes in legislation	1964, 1972, 1973, 1991, 2002
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 257-258, 260
Changes in legislation	1972, 1989, 2003
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 8, §§ 1-4, 7-11
Changes in legislation	1965, 1972, 1976, 1988, 1993, 2008
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code



Per 100,000 population

Table 5. THEFT, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	82 664	20 328	..	110 470	1 936	507	..	1 574
1951	97 521	20 143	..	134 110	2 268	498	..	1 896
1952	92 215	18 719	..	131 332	2 129	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	2 048	587	634	2 628
1958	92 719	28 302	24 718	212 943	2 053	649	701	2 872
1959	97 049	29 725	25 835	207 543	2 133	676	727	2 784
1960	103 430	31 020	26 049	203 675	2 256	700	727	2 721
1961	108 520	33 106	30 034	208 935	2 351	742	832	2 778
1962	114 338	35 217	30 625	219 246	2 460	784	842	2 899
1963	119 255	39 927	32 823	232 528	2 545	883	895	3 058
1964	125 928	45 369	33 206	255 021	2 667	997	899	3 329
1965	125 109	44 922	33 605	284 728	2 628	984	903	3 682
1966	127 470	42 657	34 043	290 632	2 656	931	907	3 722
1967	145 125	50 932	36 058	308 911	3 000	1 106	952	3 926
1968	162 379	56 864	36 903	334 277	3 336	1 229	966	4 225
1969	176 958	56 955	43 064	328 762	3 617	1 232	1 118	4 126
1970	220 276	61 934	46 071	390 523	4 469	1 345	1 188	4 855
1971	256 234	74 988	52 835	453 032	5 162	1 626	1 354	5 594
1972	255 411	86 997	58 605	447 540	5 116	1 875	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	403 139	5 564	2 060	1 732	4 940
1975	245 213	109 244	76 148	465 396	4 846	2 319	1 900	5 680
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	5 127	2 278	1 718	6 309
1978	288 111	104 760	79 892	493 367	5 644	2 204	1 968	5 961
1979	295 710	105 838	82 892	487 033	5 779	2 221	2 035	5 872
1980	340 891	108 963	95 011	514 130	6 654	2 280	2 325	6 187
1981	334 149	117 088	101 197	511 898	6 524	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	121 403	539 754	6 484	2 494	2 941	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	647 490	8 220	2 841	3 636	7 710
1988	435 005	143 764	166 143	641 430	8 480	2 907	3 947	7 603
1989	435 964	169 291	174 980	683 395	8 493	3 410	4 140	8 047
1990	429 896	181 872	175 165	734 409	8 362	3 648	4 130	8 581
1991	427 696	217 472	161 713	726 850	8 298	4 337	3 794	8 435
1992	438 512	227 811	166 990	725 566	8 479	4 518	3 896	8 371
1993	449 835	230 738	159 608	693 322	8 669	4 555	3 701	7 952
1994	450 678	228 409	161 228	647 920	8 655	4 489	3 718	7 379
1995	444 160	218 352	171 427	679 095	8 486	4 275	3 933	7 693
1996	437 773	210 298	168 928	689 920	8 318	4 103	3 856	7 804
1997	436 720	211 090	171 948	732 172	8 263	4 107	3 903	8 277
1998	410 250	221 040	180 132	713 731	7 733	4 290	4 065	8 064
1999	405 696	226 744	174 037	705 947	7 623	4 390	3 900	7 970

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	413 471	228 272	178 469	694 875	7 743	4 410	3 974	7 832
2001	386 052	208 173	166 303	658 223	7 204	4 013	3 684	7 399
2002	403 430	209 310	182 325	677 700	7 504	4 024	4 018	7 593
2003	397 722	206 271	174 603	660 223	7 378	3 957	3 825	7 370
2004	381 328	188 401	166 156	643 159	7 055	3 604	3 618	7 151
2005	342 678	173 483	153 930	620 761	6 324	3 307	3 330	6 874
2006	335 357	163 036	148 124	574 131	6 168	3 096	3 178	6 322
2007	355 824	162 339	142 787	567 819	6 516	3 069	3 032	6 207
2008	391 052	162 465	138 083	550 632	7 118	3 058	2 896	5 972
2009	407 784	165 375	145 434	544 012	7 383	3 097	3 012	5 850
2010	389 161	160 526	137 543	519 168	7 014	2 993	2 813	5 536

.. Data not available

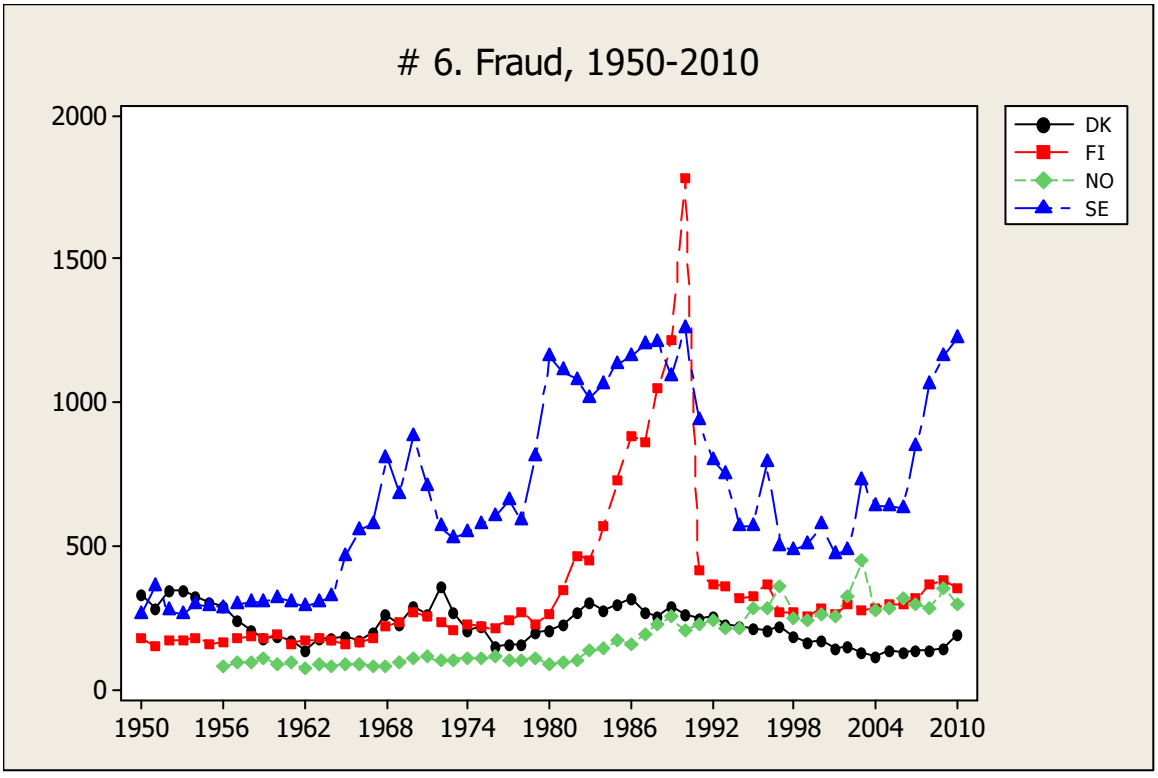
Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 2.01 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI Compiled from StatFin database at <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Diagram 6. FRAUD, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 278, 279, 279a, 280, 283
Changes in legislation	1973, 1985
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 28, §§ 4-6, Chap. 36, §§ 1-3
Changes in legislation	1972, 1973, 1991, 1997
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 255-256, 270-278
Changes in legislation	1972, 1980, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 9 (from 2001)
Changes in legislation	1965, 1971, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2010
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999

CC = Criminal Code



Per 100,000 population

Table 6. FRAUD, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	14 156	7 167	..	18 820	332	179	..	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	8 214	8 106	3 877	22 738	181	184	109	305
1960	8 590	8 686	3 282	23 969	187	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	25 105	179	176	87	328
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	45 598	205	179	86	580
1968	12 894	10 462	3 197	64 009	265	226	84	809
1969	11 233	10 904	3 869	54 335	230	236	100	682
1970	14 376	12 484	4 376	71 029	292	271	113	883
1971	13 126	12 018	4 593	57 781	264	261	118	714
1972	18 161	11 082	4 031	46 193	364	239	102	569
1973	13 683	9 741	4 287	42 975	272	209	108	528
1974	10 509	10 731	4 586	45 005	208	229	115	551
1975	11 146	10 376	4 478	47 539	220	220	112	580
1976	7 968	10 323	4 763	49 752	157	218	118	605
1977	8 339	11 435	4 210	54 392	164	241	104	659
1978	8 345	12 853	4 384	48 846	163	270	108	590
1979	10 393	11 116	4 471	67 332	203	233	110	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	5 725	84 494	308	455	139	1 014
1984	14 105	27 835	6 025	88 814	276	570	146	1 065
1985	15 290	35 890	7 227	94 899	299	732	174	1 137
1986	16 296	43 687	6 665	97 634	318	888	160	1 166
1987	13 864	42 506	8 222	101 109	270	862	196	1 204
1988	13 384	52 032	9 729	102 327	261	1 052	231	1 213
1989	15 199	60 675	10 830	92 908	296	1 222	256	1 094
1990	13 616	89 073	8 790	108 133	265	1 786	207	1 263
1991	12 832	20 822	9 701	80 990	249	415	228	940
1992	13 386	18 557	10 540	69 728	259	368	246	804
1993	11 860	18 225	9 394	65 474	229	360	218	751
1994	11 698	16 321	9 468	50 071	225	321	218	570
1995	11 192	16 820	12 512	50 217	214	329	287	569
1996	11 010	19 057	12 623	70 411	209	372	288	796
1997	11 965	13 911	16 111	44 528	226	271	366	503
1998	10 175	13 899	11 218	42 932	192	270	253	485
1999	8 984	13 324	10 770	45 023	169	258	241	508

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	9 388	14 876	12 021	51 537	176	287	268	581
2001	7 959	13 655	11 643	42 232	149	263	258	475
2002	8 313	15 503	15 034	43 431	155	298	331	487
2003	7 209	14 714	20 811	65 886	134	282	456	735
2004	6 481	15 032	12 943	57 680	120	288	282	641
2005	7 629	15 691	13 290	57 742	141	299	287	639
2006	7 124	15 624	14 833	57 460	131	297	318	633
2007	7 692	16 845	14 018	77 671	141	318	298	849
2008	7 589	19 488	13 763	98 356	138	367	289	1 067
2009	7 978	20 604	17 048	108 494	144	386	353	1 167
2010	10 772	19 163	14 601	114 724	194	357	299	1 223

.. Data not available

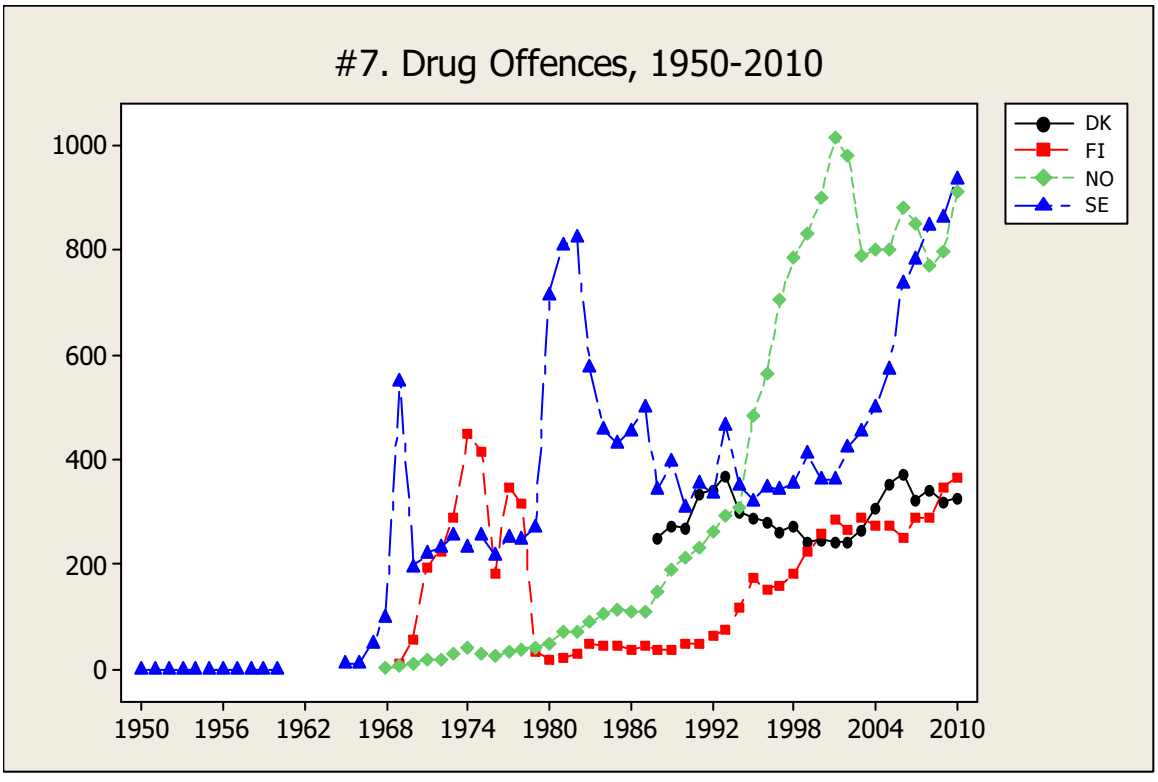
Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 2.01 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1
<http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Diagram 7. DRUG OFFENCES, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	CC §§ 191; The Euphoriant Act
Changes in legislation	1955, 1969, 1971, 1975, 1982, 1996, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2008
Revision of statistical routines	1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	CC Chap. 50, §§ 1-4
Changes in legislation	1957, 1972, 1994, 2001, 2007, 2008
Revision of statistical routines	1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	CC § 162 and The Act relating to medical goods etc. from 1992 (§ 31)
Changes in legislation	1968, 1972, 1981, 1984, 1994, 2005, 2009
Revision of statistical routines	1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	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, 2001, 2005, 2006
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1987, 1989, 1992-, 1995, 1999, 2000

CC = Criminal Code



Per 100,000 population

Table 7. DRUG OFFENCES, 1950-2010.
Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	0
1951	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	0
1952	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	0
1953	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	0
1954	..	..	..	27	..	..	..	0
1955	..	..	..	35	..	..	..	0
1956	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	0
1957	..	..	..	33	..	..	..	0
1958	..	..	..	52	..	..	..	1
1959	..	..	..	101	..	..	..	1
1960	..	..	..	146	..	..	..	2
1961	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1963	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1964	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1965	..	..	..	737	..	..	..	10
1966	..	..	..	1 051	..	..	..	13
1967	..	..	..	4 043	..	..	..	51
1968	..	..	201	7 959	..	..	5	101
1969	..	497	244	43 946	..	11	6	552
1970	..	2 634	437	15 803	..	57	11	196
1971	..	9 031	770	18 075	..	196	20	223
1972	..	10 514	811	19 047	..	227	21	235
1973	..	13 624	1 262	21 005	..	292	32	258
1974	..	21 173	1 752	18 926	..	451	44	232
1975	..	19 695	1 253	21 110	..	418	31	258
1976	..	8 655	1 133	17 879	..	183	28	217
1977	..	16 513	1 420	20 753	..	348	35	251
1978	..	15 169	1 617	20 655	..	319	40	250
1979	..	1 598	1 706	22 615	..	34	42	273
1980	..	955	2 050	59 447	..	20	50	715
1981	..	1 154	2 994	67 587	..	24	73	812
1982	..	1 481	2 934	68 566	..	31	71	824
1983	..	2 353	3 793	48 019	..	48	92	577
1984	..	2 273	4 408	38 238	..	47	106	459
1985	..	2 323	4 803	35 971	..	47	116	431
1986	..	1 973	4 583	38 028	..	40	110	454
1987	..	2 221	4 608	41 869	..	45	110	499
1988	12 985	1 914	6 229	29 003	253	39	148	344
1989	14 161	1 889	8 139	33 607	276	38	193	396
1990	13 926	2 546	9 091	26 517	271	51	214	310
1991	17 316	2 491	9 949	30 765	336	50	233	357
1992	17 861	3 336	11 309	29 229	345	66	264	337
1993	19 159	3 976	12 675	40 749	369	78	294	467
1994	15 661	5 936	13 481	30 785	301	117	311	351
1995	15 202	9 052	21 243	28 473	290	177	487	323
1996	14 907	7 868	24 833	30 874	283	154	567	349
1997	13 992	8 323	31 078	30 378	265	162	706	343
1998	14 530	9 461	34 955	31 566	274	184	789	357
1999	13 018	11 674	37 208	36 523	245	226	834	412

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE	DEN	FIN	NOR	SWE
2000	13 249	13 445	40 459	32 423	248	260	901	365
2001	13 179	14 869	45 904	32 405	246	287	1 017	364
2002	13 160	13 857	44 616	38 005	245	266	983	426
2003	14 512	15 058	36 133	40 860	269	289	792	456
2004	16 633	14 486	36 818	45 093	308	277	802	501
2005	19 307	14 425	37 178	51 807	356	275	804	574
2006	20 332	13 317	41 165	66 857	374	253	883	736
2007	17 670	15 448	40 113	71 546	324	292	852	782
2008	18 998	15 482	36 738	78 188	346	291	771	848
2009	17 771	18 524	38 515	80 256	322	347	798	863
2010	18 177	19 724	44 741	87 890	328	368	915	937

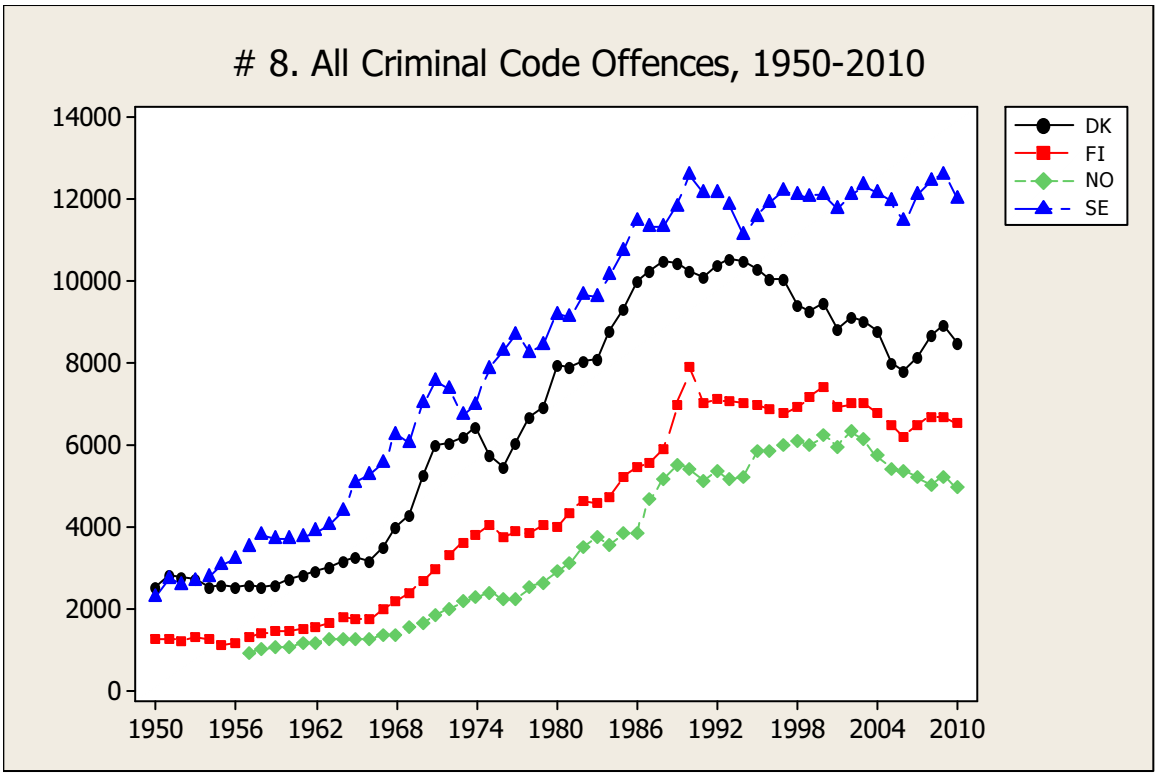
.. Data not available

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 2.01 and 2.04 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Diagram 8. ALL CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES, 1950–2010.
Reported offences per 100,000 of the population

Denmark	
Section of law (2010)	Criminal Code
Changes in legislation	..
Revision of statistical routines	1960, 1979, 1990
Finland	
Section of law (2010)	Criminal Code [excl. traffic offences]
Changes in legislation	..
Revision of statistical routines	1951, 1971, 1980
Norway	
Section of law (2010)	Criminal Code [excl. misdemeanours]
Changes in legislation	..
Revision of statistical routines	1984, 1993, 1994, 2002
Sweden	
Section of law (2010)	Criminal Code
Changes in legislation	..
Revision of statistical routines	1965, 1968, 1975, 1992-, 1995, 1999, 2007, 2010



Per 100,000 population

Table 8. ALL CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES, 1950-2010.

Reported offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	108 913	51 273	..	161 778	2 551	1 279	..	2 306
1951	122 462	51 952	..	194 753	2 848	1 284	..	2 753
1952	120 057	50 811	..	185 787	2 771	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	..	3 214
1957	116 939	58 009	33 481	259 176	2 604	1 342	958	3 518
1958	115 421	61 081	36 403	280 917	2 555	1 401	1 033	3 789
1959	119 011	63 685	38 514	278 004	2 616	1 449	1 083	3 730
1960	126 238	65 201	38 584	276 314	2 754	1 472	1 077	3 692
1961	131 413	67 162	43 071	281 752	2 847	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	3 054	1 664	1 254	4 062
1964	150 091	81 520	47 057	336 435	3 179	1 792	1 274	4 392
1965	155 155	81 427	47 532	393 660	3 260	1 784	1 277	5 090
1966	152 473	79 945	48 509	410 904	3 177	1 745	1 292	5 263
1967	170 750	91 538	51 258	437 042	3 529	1 987	1 354	5 555
1968	194 263	102 097	51 747	493 926	3 991	2 207	1 355	6 243
1969	209 692	111 022	60 060	480 979	4 286	2 401	1 560	6 036
1970	260 014	122 849	64 868	563 138	5 275	2 667	1 673	7 002
1971	298 503	138 465	73 482	614 150	6 013	3 002	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	570 610	6 456	3 786	2 289	6 992
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	3 759	2 242	8 310
1977	307 416	185 209	90 101	716 367	6 041	3 908	2 229	8 681
1978	340 659	183 425	103 031	683 646	6 673	3 859	2 538	8 261
1979	353 946	192 979	107 683	698 171	6 917	4 050	2 644	8 418
1980	406 346	191 219	119 042	760 911	7 932	4 000	2 913	9 157
1981	405 746	209 179	127 842	760 614	7 922	4 358	3 118	9 142
1982	413 033	224 653	144 920	805 569	8 070	4 654	3 522	9 677
1983	414 958	222 005	155 524	799 457	8 114	4 572	3 768	9 598
1984	449 337	231 303	147 145	845 706	8 790	4 738	3 554	10 144
1985	477 259	257 137	159 994	894 396	9 332	5 246	3 852	10 711
1986	512 853	269 176	161 670	960 080	10 015	5 473	3 880	11 470
1987	524 323	273 956	196 184	950 367	10 227	5 555	4 686	11 317
1988	536 880	291 218	217 258	955 043	10 465	5 888	5 162	11 321
1989	536 564	345 544	232 790	1 003 910	10 453	6 961	5 507	11 820
1990	527 421	394 181	230 103	1 076 289	10 259	7 906	5 426	12 575
1991	519 755	351 974	217 890	1 045 306	10 084	7 020	5 112	12 131
1992	536 821	358 866	229 263	1 051 770	10 379	7 118	5 349	12 134
1993	546 894	357 134	223 179	1 031 015	10 539	7 050	5 176	11 825
1994	546 926	357 833	226 924	975 690	10 504	7 033	5 232	11 111
1995	538 963	356 795	254 730	1 018 310	10 297	6 985	5 844	11 536
1996	528 488	351 843	256 128	1 053 443	10 042	6 865	5 846	11 915
1997	531 102	348 504	265 105	1 079 132	10 049	6 780	6 018	12 199
1998	499 167	358 128	270 843	1 068 023	9 409	6 950	6 112	12 067
1999	494 191	370 874	267 534	1 068 034	9 286	7 181	5 996	12 057

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	504 231	384 749	280 696	1 074 004	9 443	7 433	6 250	12 106
2001	473 290	360 289	269 644	1 045 989	8 832	6 945	5 974	11 758
2002	491 511	364 108	288 846	1 078 872	9 143	7 001	6 365	12 088
2003	486 174	366 915	279 626	1 103 139	9 018	7 038	6 125	12 315
2004	474 419	355 203	263 387	1 091 240	8 777	6 794	5 736	12 133
2005	432 704	340 525	251 008	1 079 108	7 985	6 491	5 430	11 950
2006	425 093	325 237	250 112	1 039 850	7 819	6 176	5 366	11 451
2007	445 271	344 428	245 380	1 105 650	8 154	6 512	5 211	12 086
2008	476 953	355 625	239 896	1 145 561	8 681	6 693	5 031	12 425
2009	491 792	356 934	252 890	1 171 737	8 904	6 685	5 237	12 601
2010	471 088	350 323	242 634	1 126 324	8 491	6 532	4 963	12 010

.. Data not available

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.01 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI Compiled from StatFin database <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-03-21-04.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 1.1 <http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

Table 9. CLEARANCE RATE, 1950-2010.
All Criminal Code offences

	Percentage			
	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	34
1965	35	67	37	..
1966	34	67	38	39
1967	32	64	37	41
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	28
1976	27	54	29	26
1977	26	56	27	24
1978	24	58	25	26
1979	19	59	25	25
1980	19	56	22	28
1981	20	58	23	29
1982	21	58	21	30
1983	23	58	21	30
1984	21	58	23	29
1985	21	56	23	27
1986	20	57	21	26
1987	20	55	18	27
1988	20	54	20	25
1989	20	50	23	24
1990	21	53	23	23
1991	21	42	23	25
1992	22	42	24	23
1993	22	41	24	24
1994	21	40	24	23
1995	20	41	21	20
1996	20	44	23	18
1997	20	42	25	19
1998	20	42	24	20
1999	20	41	26	18

continued

	Percentage			
	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	19	42	25	19
2001	19	44	27	19
2002	18	43	25	20
2003	18	45	26	22
2004	19	48	29	23
2005	19	50	30	24
2006	18	49	29	26
2007	16	50	29	26
2008	15	49	31	27
2009	15	50	26	30
2010	17	53	29	31

.. Data not available

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.01 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/statfin/oik/polrik/polrik_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2012-03-28-11.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 2.2
<http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>

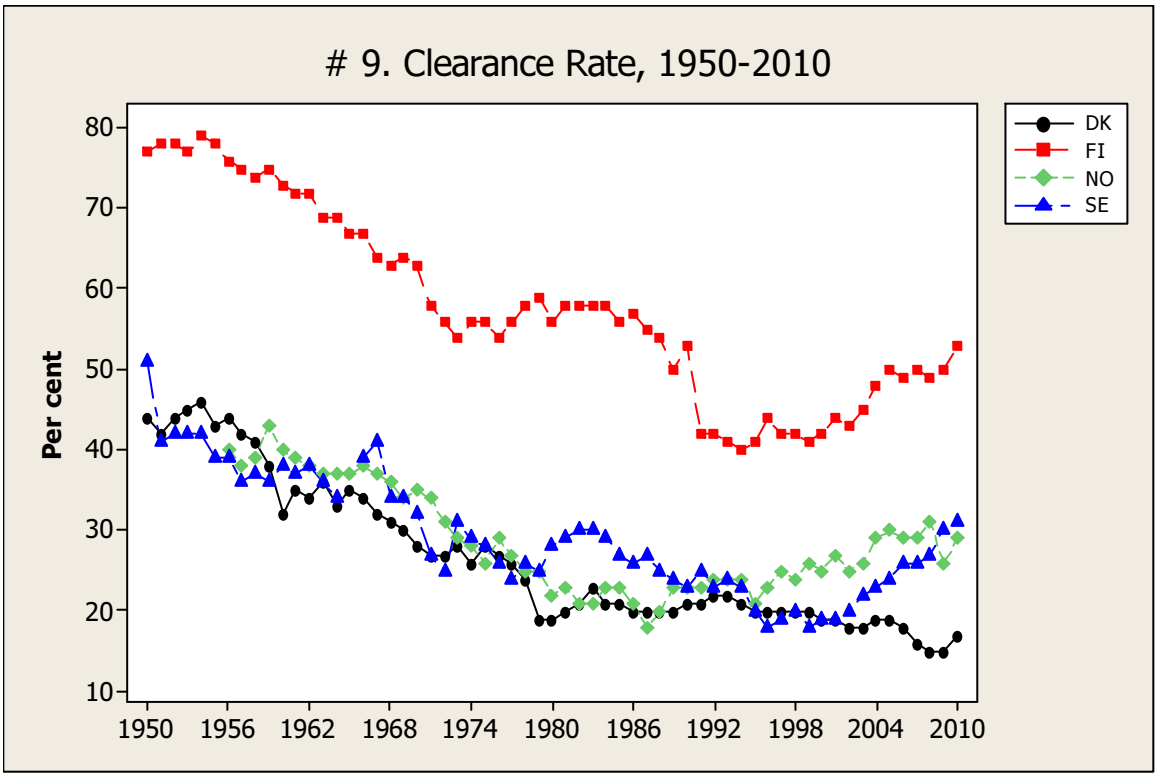


Table 10. PRISON SENTENCES, 1950-2010.

Persons found guilty of Criminal Code offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	107	68	108
1971	5 822	7 187	2 808	8 250	117	156	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	111
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

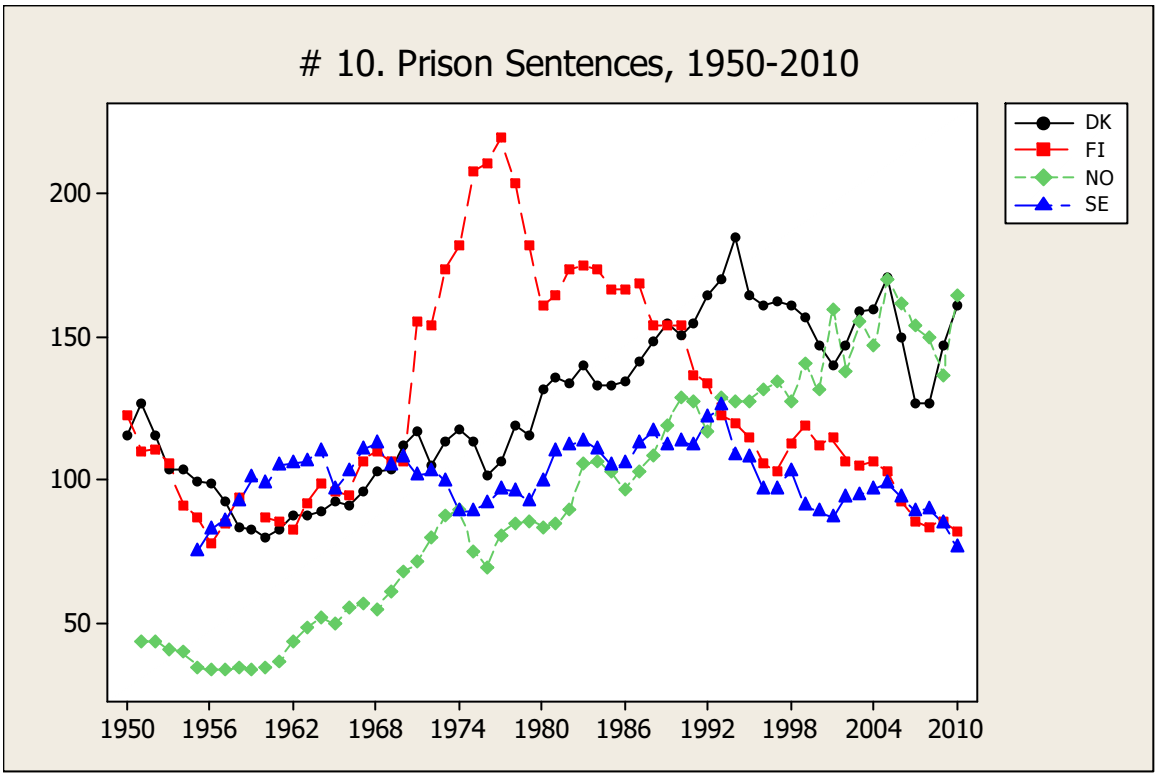
continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	7 859	5 797	5 932	7 928	147	112	132	89
2001	7 520	5 952	7 231	7 778	140	115	160	87
2002	7 879	5 590	6 244	8 385	147	107	138	94
2003	8 565	5 493	7 119	8 466	159	105	156	95
2004	8 642	5 612	6 763	8 722	160	107	147	97
2005	9 269	5 399	7 875	8 911	171	103	170	99
2006	8 143	4 890	7 539	8 535	150	93	162	94
2007	6 947	4 549	7 247	8 163	127	86	154	89
2008	7 004	4 470	7 139	8 254	127	84	150	90
2009	8 105	4 570	6 594	7 880	147	86	137	85
2010	8 912	4 390	8 073	7 246	161	82	165	77

.. Data not available

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.04 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI Compiled from national statistics (Official Statistics of Finland, Justice)
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-12-22-28.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 4.10
<http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>



Per 100,000 population

Table 11. FINES, 1950-2010.

Persons found guilty of Criminal Code offences

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	432	23	233
1971	2 548	24 010	1 082	18 655	51	521	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	326
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	544	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

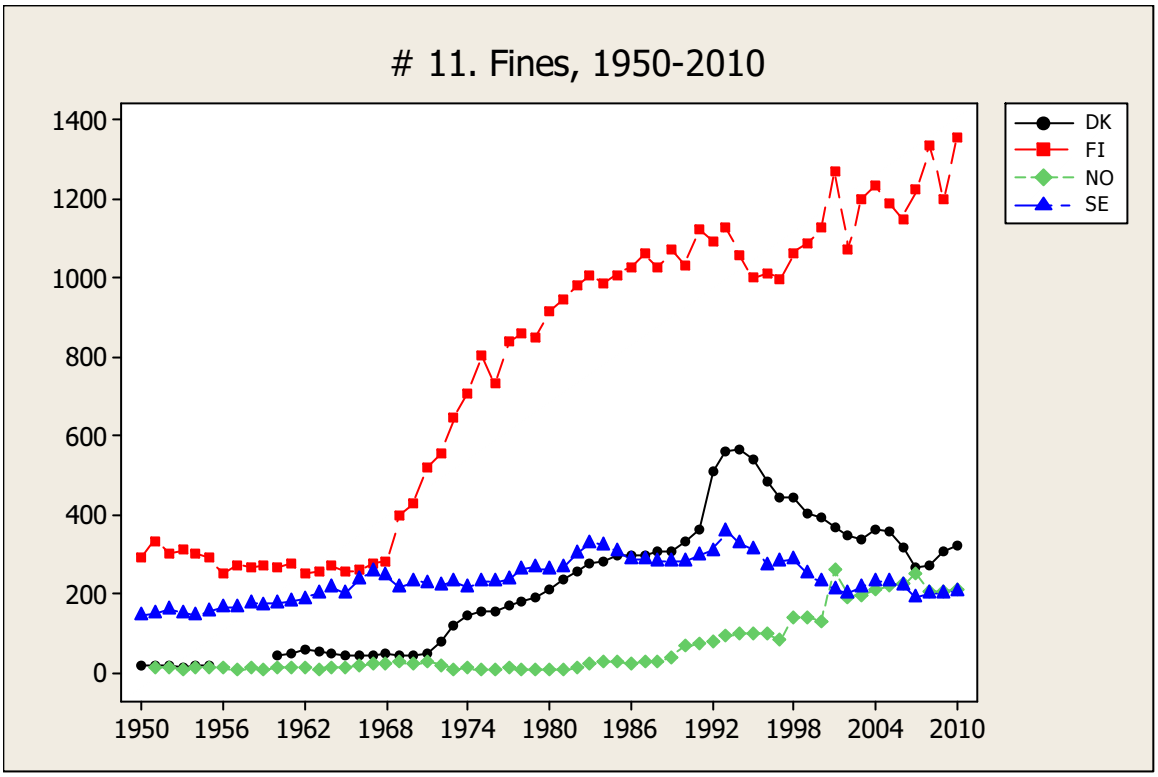
continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	21 077	58 609	6 021	20 504	395	1 133	134	231
2001	19 903	66 025	11831	18 834	371	1 273	262	212
2002	18 909	56 066	8 851	18 171	352	1 078	195	204
2003	18 415	62 659	8 929	19 438	342	1 202	196	217
2004	19 675	64 604	9 854	21 043	364	1 236	215	234
2005	19 420	62 507	10 212	20 998	358	1 191	221	233
2006	17 269	60 736	10 588	20 239	318	1 153	227	223
2007	14 601	64 839	11 993	17 530	267	1 226	255	192
2008	15 156	71 056	10 010	18 637	276	1 337	210	202
2009	17 230	64 327	10 041	19 015	312	1 205	208	204
2010	17 955	72 932	10 519	19 511	324	1 360	215	208

.. Data not available

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.04 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI Compiled from national statistics (Official Statistics of Finland, Justice)
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-12-22-28.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 4.10
<http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>



Per 100,000 population

Table 12. OTHER SANCTIONS, 1950-2010.

Persons found guilty of Criminal Code offences

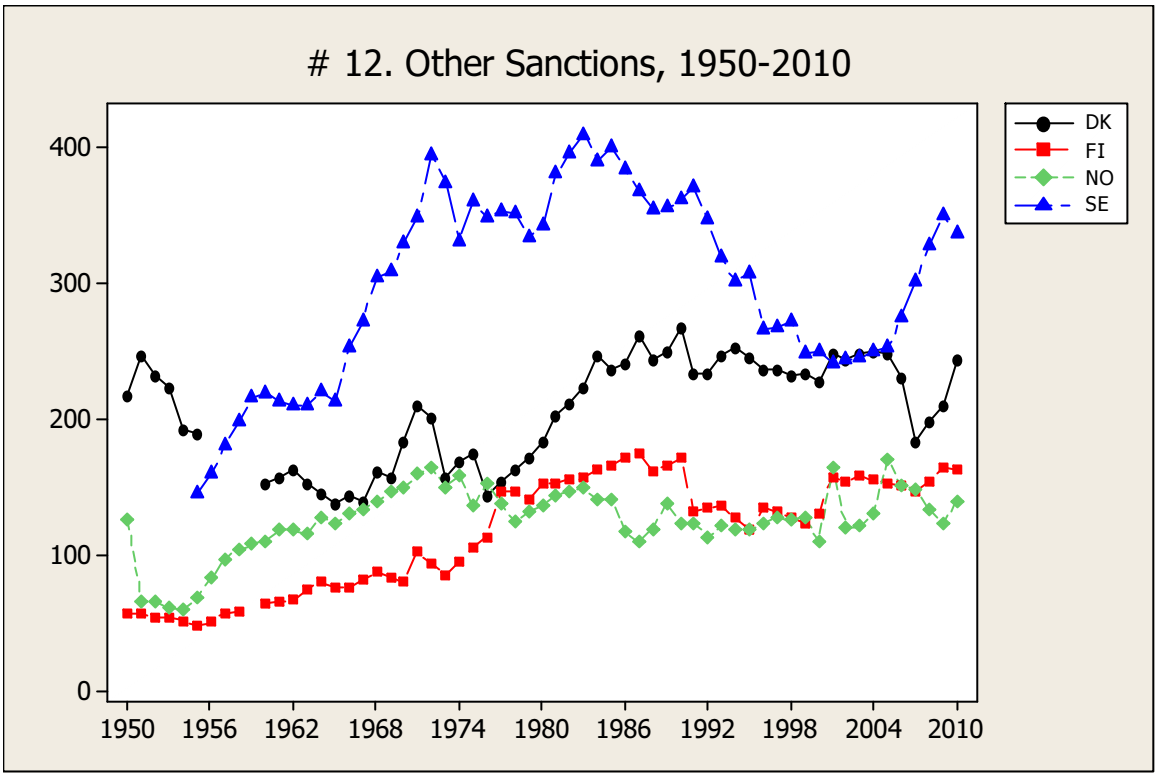
	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	9 292	2 325	4 156	..	218	58	127	..
1951	10 683	2 355	2 172	..	248	58	66	..
1952	10 094	2 189	2 190	..	233	54	66	..
1953	9 789	2 277	2 075	..	224	55	62	..
1954	8 493	2 189	2 051	..	193	52	60	..
1955	8 424	2 084	2 356	10 608	190	49	69	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	199
1959	..	..	3 868	16 207	..	..	109	217
1960	6 999	2 880	3 978	16 499	153	65	111	220
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	103	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	8 345	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	391
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	27 147	246	119	119	308
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

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	12 211	6 773	5 002	22 228	229	131	111	251
2001	13 341	8 210	7 437	21 503	249	158	165	242
2002	13 142	8 050	5 502	21 859	244	155	121	245
2003	13 434	8 289	5 561	22 008	249	159	122	246
2004	13 540	8 130	6 013	22 595	251	156	131	251
2005	13 502	8 088	7 903	22 822	249	154	171	253
2006	12 553	8 006	7 069	24 988	231	152	152	275
2007	10 063	7 801	7 013	27 666	184	147	149	302
2008	10 951	8 237	6 411	30 363	199	155	134	329
2009	11 675	8 815	6 004	32 647	211	165	124	351
2010	13 580	8 727	6 865	31 744	245	163	140	338

.. Data not available

Sources: Computed as [Tab. 13 – (Tab. 11 + Tab. 12)].



Per 100,000 population

Table 13. ALL SANCTIONS, 1950-2010.
Persons found guilty of Criminal Code offences

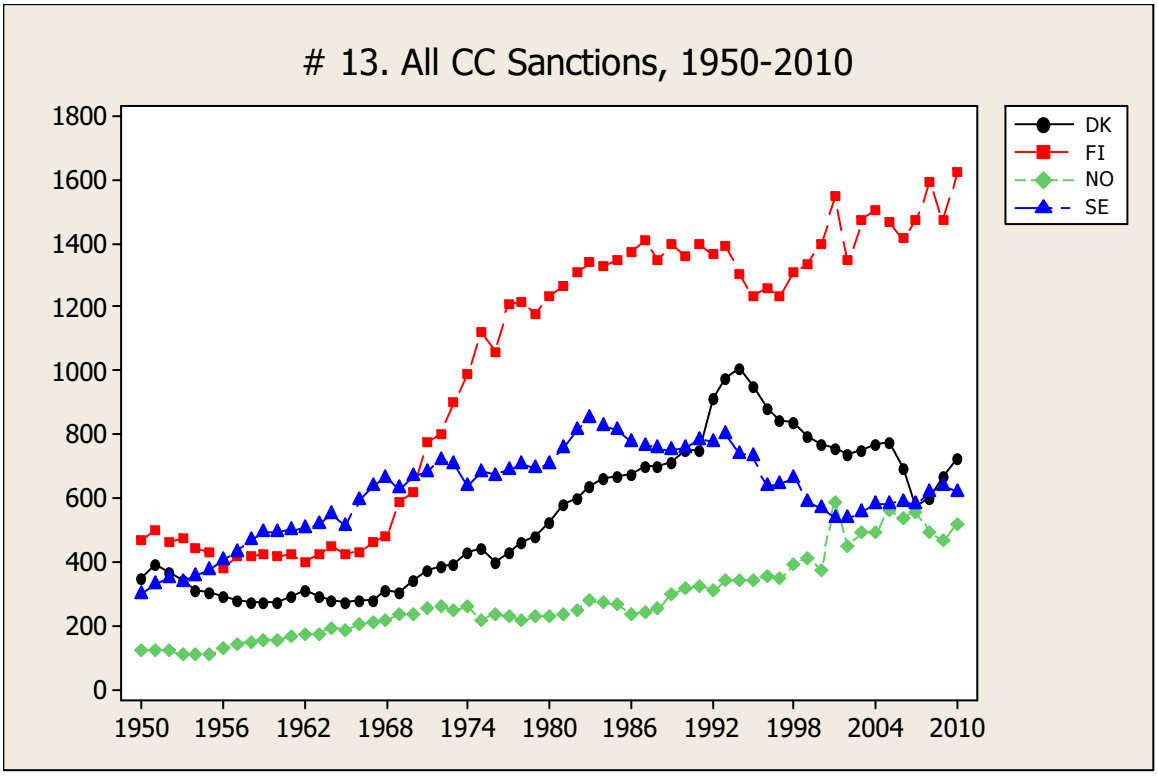
	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	15 059	19 008	4 156	21 365	353	474	127	304
1951	16 991	20 418	4 079	23 740	395	505	124	336
1952	15 982	19 091	4 128	24 911	369	467	124	350
1953	14 980	19 693	3 868	24 196	343	476	115	337
1954	13 906	18 751	3 871	25 982	316	448	114	360
1955	13 700	18 262	4 023	27 534	309	431	117	379
1956	13 101	16 394	4 552	29 941	293	383	131	409
1957	12 782	18 063	5 035	32 074	285	418	144	435
1958	12 391	18 365	5 338	34 905	274	421	151	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	619	241	671
1971	18 857	35 956	10 134	55 183	380	780	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	1 061	237	674
1977	22 190	57 446	9 396	56 822	436	1 212	232	689
1978	23 708	57 685	8 923	58 860	464	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	828
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	914	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	1 008	1 306	347	743
1995	49 962	63 225	15 097	64 565	955	1 238	346	731
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

continued

	Frequency				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	41 147	72 415	16 955	50 660	771	1 399	378	571
2001	40 764	80 187	26 499	48 115	761	1 546	587	541
2002	39 930	69 981	20 597	48 415	743	1 346	454	542
2003	40 414	76 688	22 609	49 912	750	1 471	495	557
2004	41 857	78 605	22 630	52 360	774	1 504	493	582
2005	42 191	77 028	25 990	52 731	779	1 468	562	584
2006	37 965	74 552	25 196	53 762	698	1 416	541	592
2007	31 611	78 038	26 284	53 359	579	1 475	558	583
2008	33 111	84 615	23 560	57 254	603	1 593	494	621
2009	37 010	78 598	22 639	59 542	670	1 472	469	640
2010	40 447	86 916	25 457	58 501	729	1 621	521	624

Sources:

DK Kriminalitet 2010, Tab. 1.04 <http://www.dst.dk/pubomtale/15245>
FI Compiled from national statistics (Official Statistics of Finland, Justice)
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2011-12-22-28.html>
SE Kriminalstatistik 2010, Tab. 4.10
<http://www.bra.se/download/18.656e38431321e85c24d80005741/2011_kriminalstatistik_2010.pdf>



Per 100,000 population

Table 14. NUMBER OF ADMITTED PRISONERS, 1950-2010.

	Number				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	..	347	136	151
1965	..	15 769	5 057	11 297	..	346	136	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	..	11 465	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	176
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	12 240	9 851	11 778	13 836	237	195	275	160
1993	12 250	9 435	9 866	14 321	236	186	229	164
1994	12 626	8 711	9 688	14 198	242	171	223	162
1995	12 694	7 755	8 284	13 644	243	152	190	155
1996	11 501	6 594	8 501	12 123	219	129	194	137
1997	12 025	9 201	8 379	9 112	228	179	190	103
1998	11 800	5 803	8 101	9 497	222	113	183	107
1999	11 699	5 838	8 036	9 300	220	113	180	105

continued

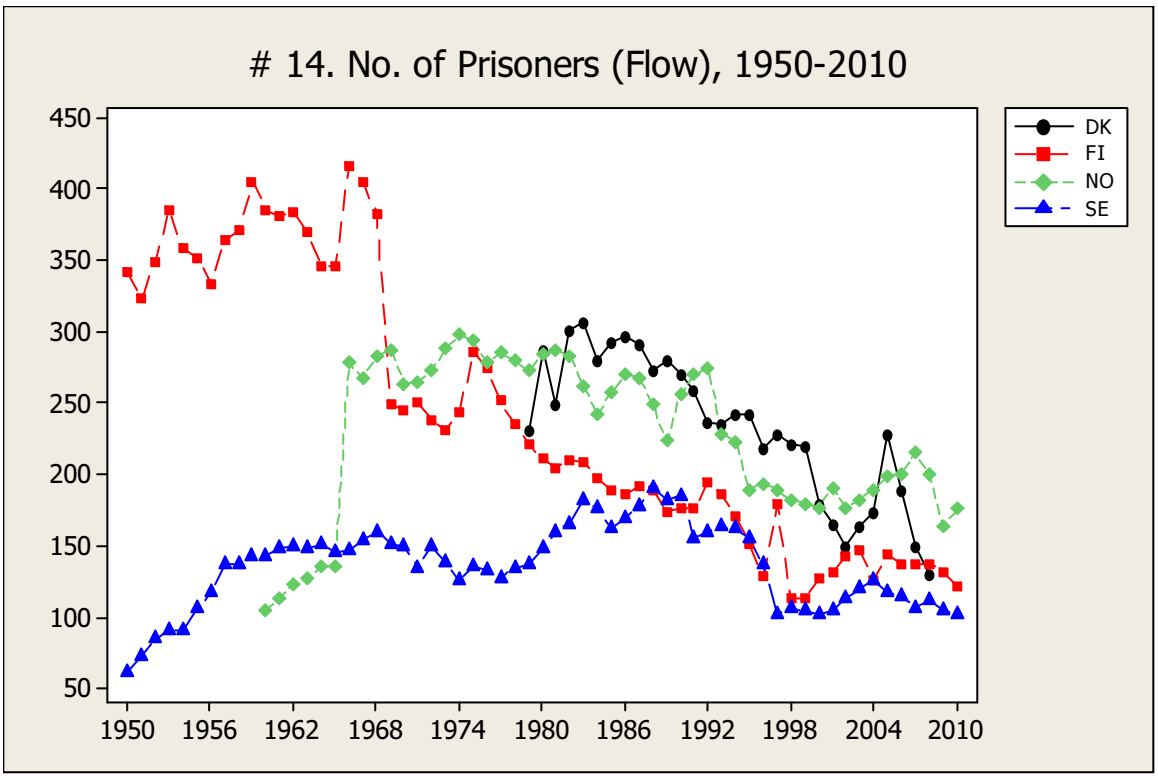
	Number				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	9 583	6 561	7 927	9 178	179	127	177	103
2001	8 879	6 832	8 612	9 317	166	132	191	105
2002	8 059	7 451	8 020	10 173	150	143	177	114
2003	8 830	7 654	8 370	10 721	164	147	183	120
2004	9 428	6 575	8 714	11 343	174	126	190	126
2005	12 418	7 552	9 206	10 656	229	144	199	118
2006	10 302	7 292	9 376	10 428	189	138	201	115
2007	8 207	7 303	10 187	9 829	150	138	216	107
2008	7 217	7 321	9 581	10 370	131	138	201	112
2009	..	7 059	7 927	9 805	..	132	164	105
2010	..	6 545	8 612	9 679	..	122	176	103

.. Data not available

NB. Norway including electronic monitoring: 2008 = 95, 2009 = 705, and 2010 = 887 cases.

Sources:

DK & SE Kristoffersen (2010, Tab. 3.1) and updated.
< http://www.krus.no/upload/PDF-dokumenter/NordicStatistics2004-2008(web).pdf>
FI Rikosseuraamuslaitoksen tilastoja 2010. Rikosseuraamuslaitos 2012.
NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2012-03-08-52.html>



Per 100,000 population

Table 15. NUMBER OF PRISONERS, 1950-2010.

Yearly average, including remand prisoners

	Number				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
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	112	44	65
1971	3 680	5 131	1 712	5 004	74	111	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	109	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	52
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	3 612	3 412	2 665	5 664	70	67	62	65
1994	3 709	3 271	2 691	6 021	71	64	62	69
1995	3 655	3 243	2 613	5 861	70	63	60	66
1996	3 501	3 192	2 616	5 428	67	62	60	61
1997	3 603	2 974	2 543	4 974	68	58	58	56
1998	3 628	2 809	2 473	5 156	68	55	56	58
1999	3 669	2 743	2 520	5 147	69	53	56	58

continued

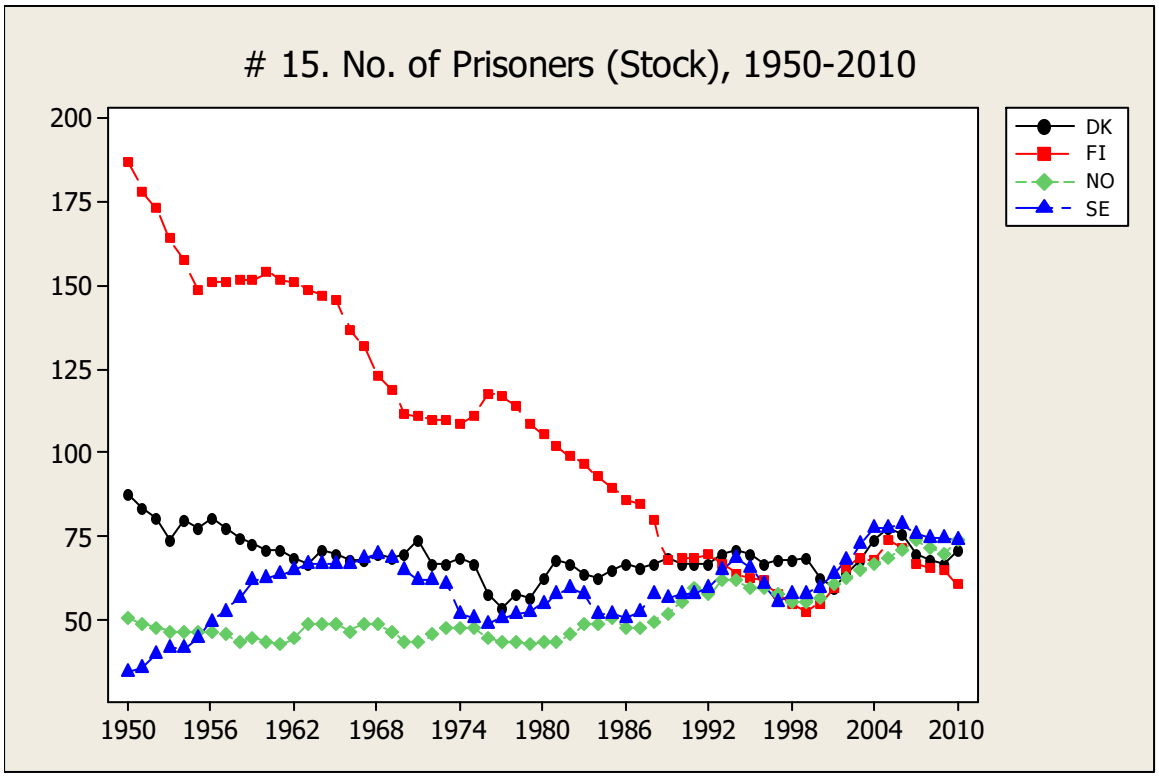
	Number				Per 100,000 population			
	DK	FI	NO	SE	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	3 382	2 855	2 562	5 326	63	55	57	60
2001	3 236	3 135	2 771	5 708	60	60	61	64
2002	3 435	3 434	2 850	6 097	64	66	63	68
2003	3 641	3 578	2 964	6 535	68	69	65	73
2004	3 982	3 577	3 090	7 020	74	68	67	78
2005	4 233	3 888	3 174	7 008	78	74	69	78
2006	4 140	3 778	3 300	7 196	76	72	71	79
2007	3 843	3 551	3 482	6 925	70	67	74	76
2008	3 717	3 526	3 449	6 884	68	66	72	75
2009	3 715	3 492	3 403	7 012	67	65	70	75
2010	3 965	3 291	3 624	6 902	71	61	74	74

Sources:

DK & SE Kristoffersen (2010, Tab. 3.2) and updated.
< http://www.krus.no/upload/PDF-dokumenter/NordicStatistics2004-2008(web).pdf>

FI Rikosseuraamuslaitoksen tilastoja 2010. Rikosseuraamuslaitos 2012

NO <http://www.ssb.no/a_krim_tab/tab/tab-2012-03-08-52.html>



Per 100,000 population

Table 16. AVERAGE TOTAL RESIDENT POPULATION, 1950-2010.

1,000s

	DK	FI	NO	SE
1950	4 269	4 009	3 265	7 017
1951	4 300	4 047	3 296	7 073
1952	4 332	4 090	3 327	7 125
1953	4 369	4 139	3 359	7 171
1954	4 407	4 187	3 392	7 213
1955	4 439	4 235	3 427	7 262
1956	4 467	4 282	3 462	7 316
1957	4 490	4 324	3 494	7 367
1958	4 517	4 360	3 525	7 414
1959	4 549	4 395	3 556	7 454
1960	4 584	4 430	3 583	7 485
1961	4 616	4 461	3 610	7 520
1962	4 648	4 491	3 639	7 562
1963	4 685	4 523	3 667	7 604
1964	4 722	4 549	3 694	7 661
1965	4 760	4 564	3 723	7 734
1966	4 800	4 581	3 754	7 808
1967	4 838	4 606	3 786	7 868
1968	4 867	4 626	3 819	7 912
1969	4 893	4 624	3 851	7 968
1970	4 929	4 606	3 877	8 043
1971	4 964	4 612	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	4 726	4 026	8 222
1977	5 089	4 739	4 043	8 252
1978	5 105	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	5 127	4 932	4 187	8 398
1988	5 130	4 946	4 209	8 436
1989	5 133	4 964	4 227	8 493
1990	5 141	4 986	4 241	8 559
1991	5 154	5 014	4 262	8 617
1992	5 172	5 042	4 286	8 668
1993	5 189	5 066	4 312	8 719
1994	5 207	5 088	4 337	8 781
1995	5 234	5 108	4 359	8 827
1996	5 263	5 125	4 381	8 841
1997	5 285	5 140	4 405	8 846
1998	5 305	5 153	4 431	8 851
1999	5 322	5 165	4 462	8 858

continued

	DK	FI	NO	SE
2000	5 340	5 176	4 491	8 872
2001	5 359	5 188	4 514	8 896
2002	5 376	5 201	4 538	8 925
2003	5 391	5 213	4 565	8 958
2004	5 405	5 228	4 592	8 994
2005	5 419	5 246	4 623	9 030
2006	5 437	5 266	4 661	9 081
2007	5 461	5 289	4 709	9 148
2008	5 494	5 313	4 768	9 220
2009	5 523	5 339	4 829	9 299
2010	5 548	5 363	4 889	9 378

Sources:

DK <http://www.statistikbanken.dk/statbank5a/default.asp?w=1152>
FI <http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/StatFin/vrm/vaerak/vaerak_en.asp>
NO <http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/02/folkendrhist/tabeller/tab/00.html>
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APPENDIX

CRIME TRENDS vs. RANDOM WALK.
Pitfalls of *ad hoc* chart reading

ABSTRACT. This note questions the common practice of *ad hoc* chart reading without formulating a sensible statistical model of the data beforehand and argues that the random walk model should not be overlooked when analyzing time series of crime data.

This note has been prompted by the recent discussion in "Criminology in Europe" (2010) about a possible crime drop in Europe. What intrigued me was the great number and considerable diversity of explanations that were offered despite the time periods under study being rather short (e.g. 1967-2008, 1980-2008, 1989-2005). Is it really possible to make substantive claims about the development of crime ("crime trends") when the number of observations is so limited? The following remarks are not thought for criminologists who are familiar with econometric methods, but for mainstream criminologists who use charts as a tool to build an argument – like the scholars in the above discussion.

In economic research, there is the well-known controversy whether stock market prices (and other economic variables) develop in a purely random fashion or whether there are discernible regularities and patterns that also can be predicted into the future. The idea was popularized by Malkiel's (1973) "A Random Walk Down Wall Street" and countered by Lo & MacKinlay's (1999) "A Non-Random Walk Down Wall Street". Of interest here is not the question of whether the development of stock market prices should be conceived as random or not, but why this controversy exists at all. For a casual observer, stock market prices very often appear to show clear systematic patterns like cycles and trends. This is true for criminological time series as well, as outlined in Figure 1.

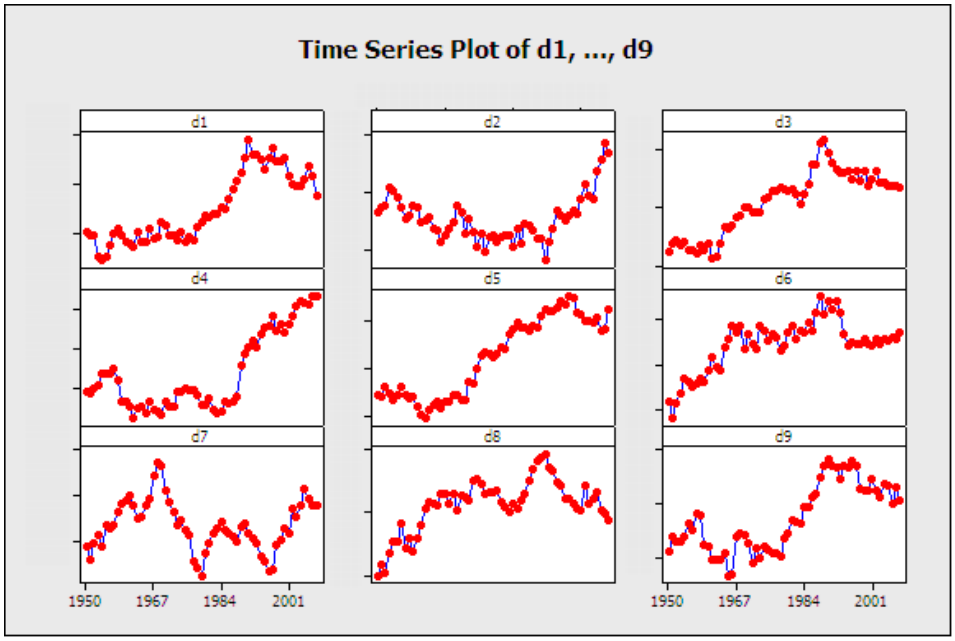

Figure 1. Nine time series, 1950–2008.

1. The Problem

Figure 1 describes nine yearly time series. The time span is supposed to comprise the years between 1950 and 2008. The question is which of the subplots display "real" crime data (say, police recorded offences) and which ones are simply constructed by the author.[1]

The answer is: none! None of the subplots represent authentic crime data. All of them have been constructed, though one has to admit that they look pretty much like real crime data from Western-type societies after World War II.

What do the data represent then? They represent simple "random walk" (RW) realizations. Mathematically, a random walk (in its simplest form) is defined as

$$X(t) = X(t-1) + \upsilon(t), \quad t \geq 1 \qquad \text{Eq. (1)}$$

where x(t), the present observation, is determined by the preceding observation x(t-1) plus a random term u(t). How the random term is distributed is of no interest here. The only assumption is that it is "white noise" (Newton, 1988:91).

The term "random walk" may be confusing since the *appearance* of a RW-series itself is not random, while the *process* that shapes the series is random. Working (1934:11) called these series very clearly "random-difference" series. Unfortunately, this terminology is no longer used.[2]

In time series analysis it is crucial to distinguish the series (i.e. the "realization") from the "process" that generates it.[3] The easiest way to construct a random walk is to flip a coin (i.e. the process) and add the outcome (+1 for heads and -1 for tails) to the emerging series (i.e. the realization). One may be surprised how non-random the series can look, even if the flips of the coin are random events.

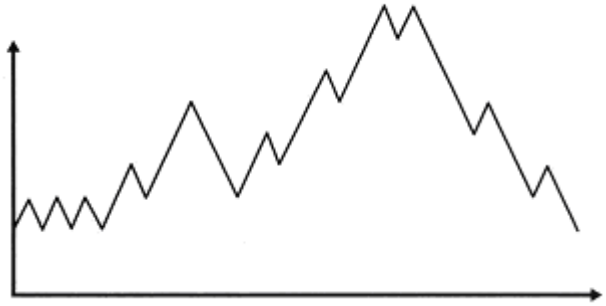

Figure 2. Data from a random process that appears ordered.
(Note. The figure is taken from Aronson, 2007:94).

The remainder of the paper proceeds as follows. In sect. 2 the implications are described in case an observed process can be modeled as a random walk. In sect. 3 the shortcomings of *ad hoc* (subjective) chart analysis are explained. Sect. 4 and 5 deal with the merits and shortcomings of "first differences" as a possible solution. Finally, in sect. 6 conclusions and recommendations are summarized.

2. Implications

Given that a process can be modeled as a random walk has important implications. Since such a process is considered as only driven by chance, the realizations of such a process are void of *specific* causes. The terminology used here is borrowed from the control chart literature (Shewhart, 1985), where specific causes denote "assignable causes", "unusual patterns" and the like, while common causes denote "chance causes", "natural patterns" and so forth. Since a RW-process is void of specific causes and made up of only "chance causes", *prediction* is not possible: all that looks like systematic variation or stability is imaginary. Most importantly, what looks like a trend is not necessarily a *causa*l trend, but can be random fluctuation. The subplots d1, d3, d5 or d9 in Figure 1, for example, could easily, but erroneously be interpreted as representing U.S. or Western European crime series raising the question: Why has crime after significant increases in earlier decades leveled off or decreased by the end of the period? Thus, any post-hoc analysis of time-series data is confronted with the problem how to separate "assignable" causes from "chance" causes.

Secondly, even though it is chance that drives RW-processes, two RW-series can be highly correlated as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Correlations of d1, d2, d3, d4, d5, d6, d7, d8, d9

	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8
d2	0.068							
	0.610							
d3	0.806	-0.153						
	0.000	**0.248**						
d4	0.724	0.577	0.459					
	0.000	**0.000**	**0.000**					
d5	0.891	0.065	0.859	0.706				
	0.000	**0.625**	**0.000**	**0.000**				
d6	0.553	-0.355	0.803	0.141	0.550			
	0.000	**0.006**	**0.000**	**0.287**	**0.000**			
d7	-0.255	0.269	-0.284	-0.126	-0.415	0.066		
	0.052	**0.039**	**0.029**	**0.340**	**0.001**	**0.618**		
d8	0.554	-0.436	0.763	0.187	0.511	0.865	-0.064	
	0.000	**0.001**	**0.000**	**0.157**	**0.000**	**0.000**	**0.629**	
d9	0.899	0.139	0.731	0.723	0.854	0.428	-0.272	0.419
	0.000	**0.295**	**0.000**	**0.000**	**0.000**	**0.001**	**0.037**	**0.001**

(Second line: **p-value**)

This implies that it is not necessarily a valid argument to state because two (or more) series are (highly) correlated they are driven by the same or similar set of causes or that one series is the cause of the other. Thus, RW-series raise the serious problem of spurious correlation.[4]

The conclusion so far is: What we may conceive as real – e.g., the existence of a crime trend or specific causal explanations – may turn out to be illusion. Why is that so?

3. The short-comings of *ad hoc* chart analysis

Chris Chatfield, who has introduced legions of statistics students and researchers to the theory and practice of time series analysis, writes in his well-known "The Analysis of Time Series" (2004:13): "The first, and most important step in any time-series analysis is to plot the observations against time. This graph, called a time plot, will show up important features of the series such as trend, seasonality, outliers and discontinuities. The plot is vital, both to describe the data and to help to formulate a sensible model […]."

While it is in fact highly advisable to plot the data before interpreting them, it is likewise very common, not the least in criminological research, to plot the data and, after a more or less in-depth discussion of the data's quality, directly jump to their interpretation – *without formulating a sensible statistical model of the data beforehand*. This method of directly jumping from eyeball inspection to interpretation can be called *ad hoc* chart analysis and it can lead to misleading results. Why?

With reference to Gilovich (1991), Aronson (2007:82) in his comprehensive critique of subjective chart analysis writes: "Humans have both the need and the capacity to find order and meaning in their experience. […] We can capitalize on ordered phenomenon in ways we cannot on those that are random. The predisposition to detect patterns and make connections is what leads to discovery and advance. The problem is that the tendency is so strong and so automatic that we sometimes detect coherence even when it does not exist." More specifically, Aronson (2007:96) argues:

1. *[…], it is erroneously thought that data generated by a random process should look random – a formless haphazard flip-flop without any hint of patterns, organized shapes or trends.*
2. *This stereotype is erroneously assumed to manifest in all samples of random data, irrespective of the number of observations comprising the sample.*
3. *A small sample of data is examined and it appears not to match the intuitive stereotype of randomness.*

4. *The data is thus deemed to be the product of a nonrandom process.*
5. *Nonrandom processes are amenable to prediction, hence it would be reasonable to look for patterns and trends in the data to make predictions.*

Aronson draws here on what is known as the "clustering illusion", i.e. the intuition that random events which occur in clusters are not really random events. The illusion is due to selective thinking based on a false assumption regarding statistical odds. In short, we tend to underestimate the probabilities that longer runs can occur in time series in a purely random manner.[5]

Suppose the probability of ups and downs in a series is .5.[6] Since the distribution of those yearly changes is binomial, the probabilities of different outcomes are easily calculated; see Table 2.[7]

Table 2. Selected p-values for a binomial distribution (p= .5, N= 60, 50, … , 20, 10).

Number of obs	Downs or ups					
	P(X<=30)	P(X<=25)	P(X<=20)	P(X<=15)	P(X<=10)	P(X<=5)
60	.551	.123				
50		.556	.101			
40			.563	.077		
30				.572	.049	
20					.588	.021
10						.623

In the case of a series with 50 observations (say, reported crimes between 1961 and 2010), the probability of getting 20 or less downs – a clear upward trend – by chance is about 10 per cent. Or in the case of a series with 30 observations (say, reported offences between 1981 and 2010), the probability of getting 10 or less ups – a situations that reminds of actual theft offences in European countries (cf. Aebi & Linde, 2010:254) – is still almost 5 per cent.

The question is then whether there are ways to overcome the risk of biased visual inspections of time plots. An appealing answer is to look at the "first differences" of the series.[8]

4. First differences

With reference to Working (1934) and Kendall (1953), Roberts (1959:2) argued that "the usual method of graphing stock prices gives a picture of successive (price) levels rather than of price changes and levels can give an artificial appearance of 'pattern' or 'trend'. […], chance behavior itself produces patterns that invite spurious interpretations." Thus, he was proposing to look at changes first and then at levels – or, in modern time series language, to start with the analysis of the first differences. "If there is a really fundamental shift in the underlying situation, it can be detected visually more readily by an analysis of changes than of levels. Conversely, if there has been no fundamental shift, a graph of changes will be much less likely to give the impression that there has been a shift." (Roberts, 1959:8)

The concept of "level" and "change" may not immediately be comprehensible, but should become clearer if we look at time series graphs in a different shape. It has become some kind of a standard nowadays to present time series as *line graphs,* which signals that the underlying distribution is continuous. However, a crime is in most cases a discrete event, therefore standard crime time series should be represented as *bar graphs;* see Figure 3.

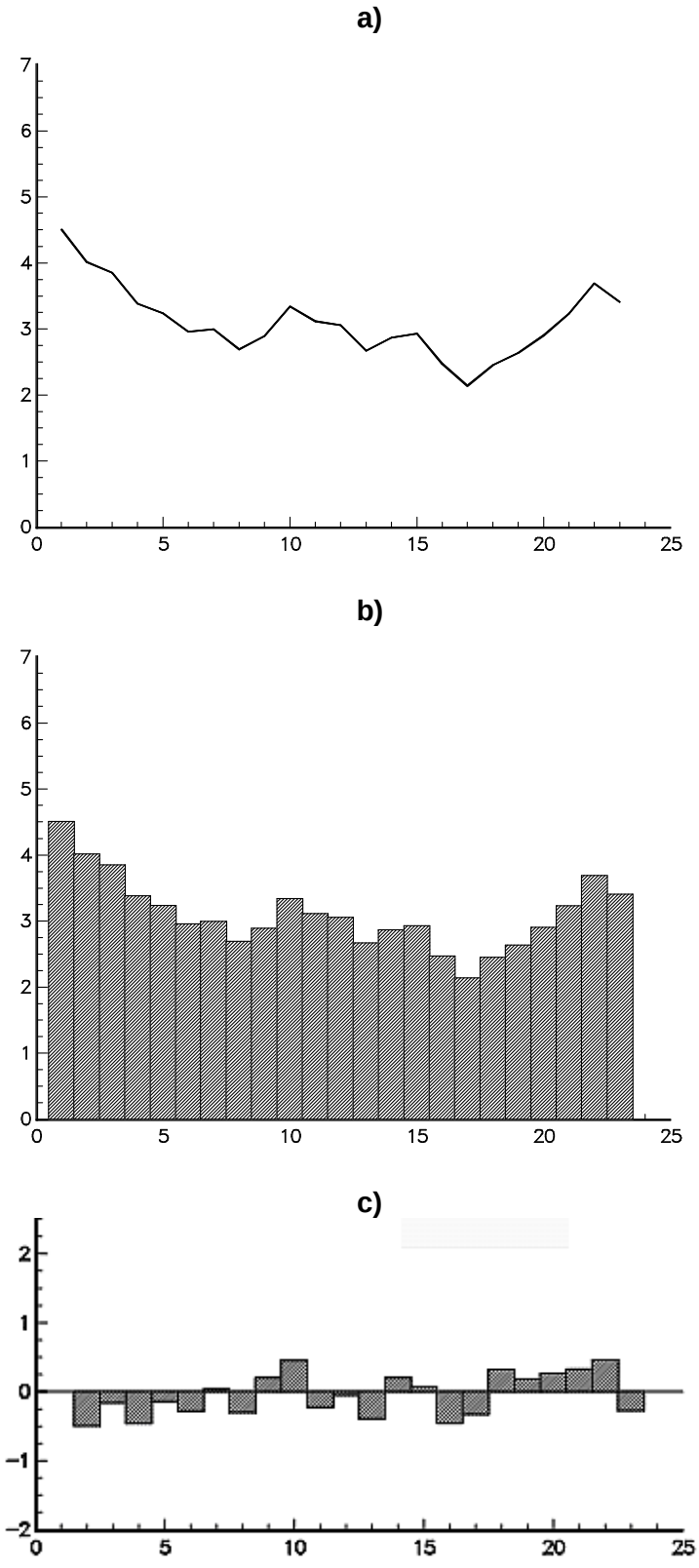

Figure 3. A random walk series (n=23) as a line chart (a), as a bar chart (b) and as first differences (c).

Figure 3b illustrates the concept of level and change more clearly than Figure 3a. Each bar represents the yearly level of crime, while the comparison between bars represents the change aspect. When we are interested in changes, we should not look at how the different bars (the levels) develop sequentially (i.e. the concept behind the line chart), but at the differences *between* the bars. This is exactly the method of taking the first differences (Figure 3c).[9]

To demonstrate the value of the approach, we can look at the first differences of the series in Figure 1. Series d11 in Figure 4 represents the first differences of series d1, d21 of d2 and so forth.

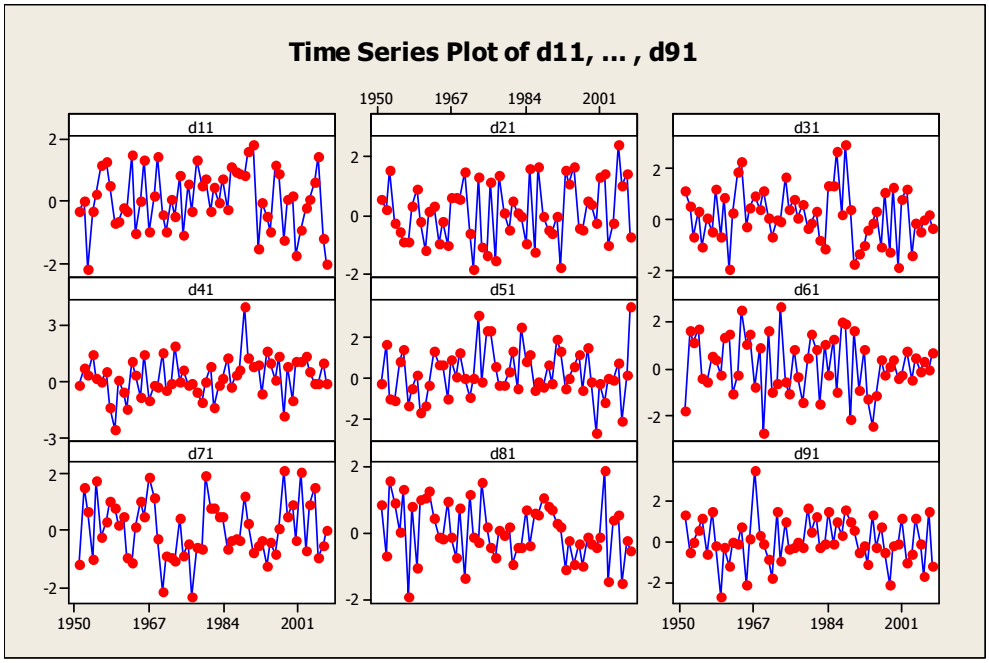

Figure 4. First differences of the series in Figure 1.
(Note. For limitations of the software package used, line charts are displayed instead of bar charts.)

As expected, the data patterns now "look" much more random than in Figure 1, all upward trend patterns are gone and, as well as expected, the correlations between the series have disappeared (except for d31/d91 at the 5 per cent level – a case of a false positive, but statistically not unexpected).

Table 3. Correlations of d11, d21, d31, d41, d51, d61, d71, d81, d91

	d11	d21	d31	d41	d51	d61	d71	d81
d21	-0.139							
	0.299							
d31	0.104	0.077						
	0.439	**0.565**						
d41	0.062	-0.010	0.174					
	0.646	**0.939**	**0.192**					
d51	-0.133	-0.008	-0.000	0.122				
	0.318	**0.954**	**0.999**	**0.360**				
d61	-0.112	0.001	0.010	0.139	0.032			
	0.402	**0.993**	**0.939**	**0.299**	**0.811**			
d71	-0.035	0.047	-0.096	-0.212	-0.043	0.126		
	0.795	**0.726**	**0.475**	**0.110**	**0.751**	**0.344**		
d81	0.039	-0.125	0.239	0.025	-0.143	-0.022	0.156	
	0.774	**0.350**	**0.070**	**0.851**	**0.284**	**0.871**	**0.242**	
d91	0.119	-0.134	0.331	0.240	-0.058	-0.104	0.024	0.133
	0.376	**0.316**	**0.011**	**0.070**	**0.667**	**0.436**	**0.860**	**0.320**

(Second line: **p-value**)

At the same time, it becomes clear that it would not be easy to explain the variation displayed in the subplots of Figure 4 – compared with Figure 1, where at least some of the series slyly invite the analyst to propose an explanation with only a few dimensions (e.g. a trend).

5. Problem solved?

Does differencing solve the problem of whether a trending series is driven by a causal trend or by a random walk? Naturally not – because differencing a series that contains a causal trend removes such a trend as well, as shown in the following trivial example.

Consider the simple causal trend

$$X = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, \ldots$$

Differencing the series yields

$$\nabla (X) = 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, \ldots$$

Thus, differencing removes both a random drift and a causal trend and the question remains unsolved, how we can tell the difference between a causal trend and random drift. More generally, differenced series no longer contain long-term information, which is an unwanted consequence if one is interested in the study of such eventually existing long-term developments (Mills, 1990:269).

How we can tell the difference between a causal trend and random drift is either, deductively, a matter of solid theory or, inductively, of strong empirical evidence. If there is a good theory – a priori – that predicts a specific trend model than there is also good reason to believe that observed trend patterns in the empirical data are causal. On the other hand, if a good theory is lacking (as often in criminology, cf. Weisburd & Piquero, 2008), then the choice between trend and drift mainly appears to be a matter of how many observations there are available: the more observations, the better the guess.

Without going into details,[10] econometricians have tried to tackle the latter alternative (where an a priori theory is lacking) by introducing the concept of time series that are *trend-stationary* and *difference-stationary*. In the trend-stationary specification the stochastic term follows a stationary process, while in the difference-stationary specification the stochastic term behaves like a random walk. Different statistical tests have been developed (Phillips & Xiao, 1998) to guide a proper choice between the two models, but these tests are rather unhelpful when the number of observations is limited (Chatfield, 2004:263-4).

This can be easily understood when we look at a more general model that may be used to describe crime series.

$$X(t) = \mu + \phi_1 X(t-1) + \beta T(t) + \upsilon(t), \quad t \geq 1 \qquad \text{Eq. (2)}$$

where

X is the series
μ is a constant
ϕ_1 is the first autoregressive parameter
β is the causal trend (T) parameter
υ is a random term (“white noise”)

When $\mu = 0$ and $\beta = 0$, then the model describes either a simple autoregressive or a simple random walk process depending on whether $|\phi_1| < 1$ (autoregressive process) or $|\phi_1| = 1$ (random walk process). Mathematically, the two models have different properties as regards their means and variances. However, empirically it is difficult to separate an autoregressive model from a random walk model, when $|\phi_1|$ approaches 1. Knowing the notoriously questionable quality of crime data[11] (compared with high-frequency computerised stock data), it becomes obvious that testing does not really provide a reliable solution in such a situation.

Thus, we are confronted with the problem of "model uncertainty" – an often avoided subject in data analysis. Chatfield (2004:265) notes that

> *When a model is selected using the data, rather than being specified a priori, the analyst needs to remember that (1) the true model may not have been selected, (2) the model maybe changing through time or (3) there may not be a 'true' model anyway. It is indeed strange that we often implicitly admit that there is uncertainty about the underlying model by searching for a 'best-fit' model, but then ignore this uncertainty when making predictions.*

6. Conclusions

From the previous discussion we can draw the following conclusions.

First, the discussion certainly does *not* imply that crime series really have to be random walks, and hence devoid of valid trends and patterns. Causal trends and other regular patterns may exist. "Random walks" and "trends" are statistical models that are superimposed on the data: while models are clear-cut, data ("nature") is fuzzy and ambiguous. Post-hoc searches of crime series for causal structures are definitely a viable scientific undertaking.

Second, the discussion does, however, call into question the efficacy of *ad hoc* (i.e. subjective) *chart reading* as a means of knowledge acquisition. If *ad hoc* chart reading of level data *without formulating a sensible statistical model of the data beforehand* were a valid skill, it should at least be possible to distinguish an actual chart from a random fake (Aronson, 2007:84; Working, 1934, *passim*). As demonstrated in Figure 1 above, it is not. To be sure, it is likewise clear that the fact that something can be simulated with a random process, does not necessarily mean that the phenomenon *is* random in nature or that an observer should be able to discern simulated and real data from each other. The crucial point made here is *to start with an explicit model* of the data.

Third, it becomes clear that yearly crime data from the post-war period (presently about 60 observations) in many instances cannot form a robust empirical basis to decide whether we observe causal trends or random patterns in the data. *Many criminological time series studies comprise an even shorter time period*.[12] To complicate the matter further (cf. Eq. (2)), the dichotomy trend/drift or cause/chance may be an analytical simplification. In real time series, a mixture of trend, drift, level shifts, structural breaks, pulses and outliers may co-exist.

Fourth, a crime series is a highly complex phenomenon (unlike high-frequency computerised stock data): it is aggregated human action that is labelled criminal. These acts have to be detected, labelled as crimes at several stages by different agents, processed through the filters of various bureaucratic organizations (both the criminal justice system as well as statistical bureaus), before they can add up to, say, a yearly crime rate. Because of this complexity, far too many reasonable hypotheses about the levels and changes of crime exist. Thus, traditional causal models have to make choices, which make them reductionist by nature, and the limited number of observations put further restrictions on the dimensionality of the explanatory model. Far too often the analyst does not even consider the underlying complexity and operates on the basis of only very few "causal" explanations – *ad hoc*.

The RW-model, in contrast, is non-reductionist and can serve as a caveat that helps the analyst not to jump to rushed conclusions. In fact, a conservative statistical analysis of the time series in this publication shows that the null hypothesis of a random walk cannot be rejected in at least 20 out of 60 cases. The test results can be obtained from the author.

Endnotes

[1] The idea has been taken from Aronson (2007:84) with further references.

[2] It was seemingly Karl Pearson and Lord Rayleigh in 1905 who were the first to use the term "random walk". However, they used the term for purposes of spatial analysis, not time series (Klein, 1997:271; Mills, 1999:2).

[3] Compare the cross-sectional approach where an individual (i) is drawn from a population (P). Thus, the "realization" corresponds to (i) and the "process" to (P).
[4] See already Yule (1926). The topic received further development in Granger & Newbold (1974) and Engle & Granger (1987). – Both Engle and Granger received later The Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel.
See http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/2003/ and Granger (2003).
[5] It seems to be a general human trait to underestimate the magnitude of chance. A striking example is the well-known "birthday paradox". In a group of 23 randomly chosen persons, two persons will have birthday on the same day with a probability as high as .507.
See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birthday_problem .
[6] The coefficient of correlation between absolute values in a Gaussian random series and immediate subsequent changes is r= -.7071 or r^2=.50 (cf Working, 1934:12).
[7] See http://stattrek.com/Tables/Binomial.aspx or
http://www.stat.tamu.edu/~west/applets/binomialdemo.html
[8] On the history of "first differences", see Klein (1997: Chapter 3).
[9] Since the random walk model is defined according to Eq. (1) as X(t) = X(t-1) + υ(t), taking the first differences of such a series yields X(t) – X(t-1) = υ(t), where the resulting series υ(t), by definition, is random.
[10] See, e.g., Mills (1999: Chapter 7).
[11] See, e.g., Mosher, Miethe & Phillips (2002:5).
[12] See, e.g., recently Aebi & Linde (2010) with further references.

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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 8th edition of the English version, the original data have been updated for the years up to and including 2010 and now cover 61 years of Nordic criminal justice statistics.

This edition has been furnished with an updated summary on crime and punishment in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. An Appendix is discussing the pitfalls of *ad hoc* chart reading.

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