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Atlas przestępczości w Polsce 6

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PRAWO KARNE

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ATLAS OF CRIME IN POLAND. KEY FINDINGS

Atlas of Crime in Poland 6th ed. differs significantly from the five previous editions, both in terms of structure and the contributors. As the previous editions of the *Atlas* necessarily covered ever longer time periods, the problem of clear presentation of all data was also becoming more conspicuous. Therefore, this edition is dominated by tabular data covering the three decades after the Polish political transformation (1990–2019).

Atlas of Crime in Poland 6th ed. consists of six chapters. Chapter one discusses data on crimes identified by the Police and chapter two deals with police data on suspects. The third chapter presents criminal justice data for the number of persons convicted for individual offences and the final penalties administered. Chapter four, in turn, contains penitentiary datasets about prisoners. Chapter five provides detailed data on minors and is a completely new part of the *Atlas*. The separation of this chapter was dictated by changes in the method of data recording by the Police. In the last, sixth chapter, as in the previous editions, we present basic data on crime and the administration of justice in Poland compared to other European Union states.

Statistical data on crime and criminal justice response are undergoing multiple changes. The laws and regulations to which these data relate are subject to frequent amendments. The data recording systems and the organizations responsible for collecting them are also evolving. All this, as a matter of course, affects comparability and any conclusions or predictions that can be made. In 2013, the Police introduced a new system of crime recording for statistical purposes, which has unfortunately resulted in significant differences in the scope of the data presented (for more on this, see Chapter I). On the other hand, criminal justice data and penitentiary data have retained full comparability.

A note should be taken of significant changes in the provisions of criminal law (both substantive and procedural), which have had an influence on the data discussed in the *Atlas*. The presented trends most often cover data from 1990–2019 (and in some cases even from 1970), therefore the most important change in this period was, of course, the introduction of the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1997, currently in force.

The new criminal codification was based on the modern axiology that criminal law should be an instrument to protect the core values of the democratic system of the rule of law, and not a political tool for exercising power. It was aimed at a thorough reform of the criminal policy, a departure from the excess of severe, long-term prison sentences, characteristic of the 1969 Code, in favour of non-custodial sentences, including fines, which were to become the basic form of criminal justice response. The data presented in chapter three will show that it took another 20 years to achieve that goal. Since the entry into force in 1997, the Criminal Code has been amended over 100 times, and the Code of Criminal Procedure over 150 times. These changes were not always consistent, and often had a significant impact on crime rates and the types of penalties administered.

It should be noted that these included, but were not limited to, new offences introduced into the catalogue of crimes, “shifts” between the Petty Offences Code and the Criminal Code, changes in the scope of criminalization, severity of penalties and the rules of administering them, and the manner of prosecution (e.g. *ex officio* or on complaint). An example of the first type of amendment may be Article 190a of the Criminal Code, which penalizes stalking and identity theft. A good example of “shifts” between petty offences and

crimes is Article 178a of the Criminal Code, which penalized operating a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants. It was introduced under the Act of 14 April 2000. On 9 November 2013, in turn, an amendment to the Criminal Code entered into force, repealing paragraph 2 of Article 178a, i.e. concerning driving a vehicle other than a motor vehicle while drunk or under the influence of intoxicants and restoring these to the catalogue of petty offences.

The amendment to the Criminal Code of 20 February 2015, which introduced provisions limiting the use of imprisonment (both absolute and conditionally suspended) in favour of fines and restriction of liberty (community service), was a very important element in the landscape of penalties administered since 2016.

Last but not least, the list of contributors to the current edition of *Atlas of Crime in Poland* has significantly expanded. In terms of age, the authors' team of the *Atlas 6th ed.* – to use a school analogy – now consists of “senior graders”: Beata Gruszczyńska, Marek Marczewski and Andrzej Siemaszko, who were also contributors to the previous editions of the *Atlas*, and

“middle graders,” that is, representatives of the younger generation of criminologists who already boast considerable scientific achievements (Justyna Włodarczyk-Madejska, Joanna Klimczak, and Paweł Ostaszewski, who was also the *spiritus movens* of the entire project).

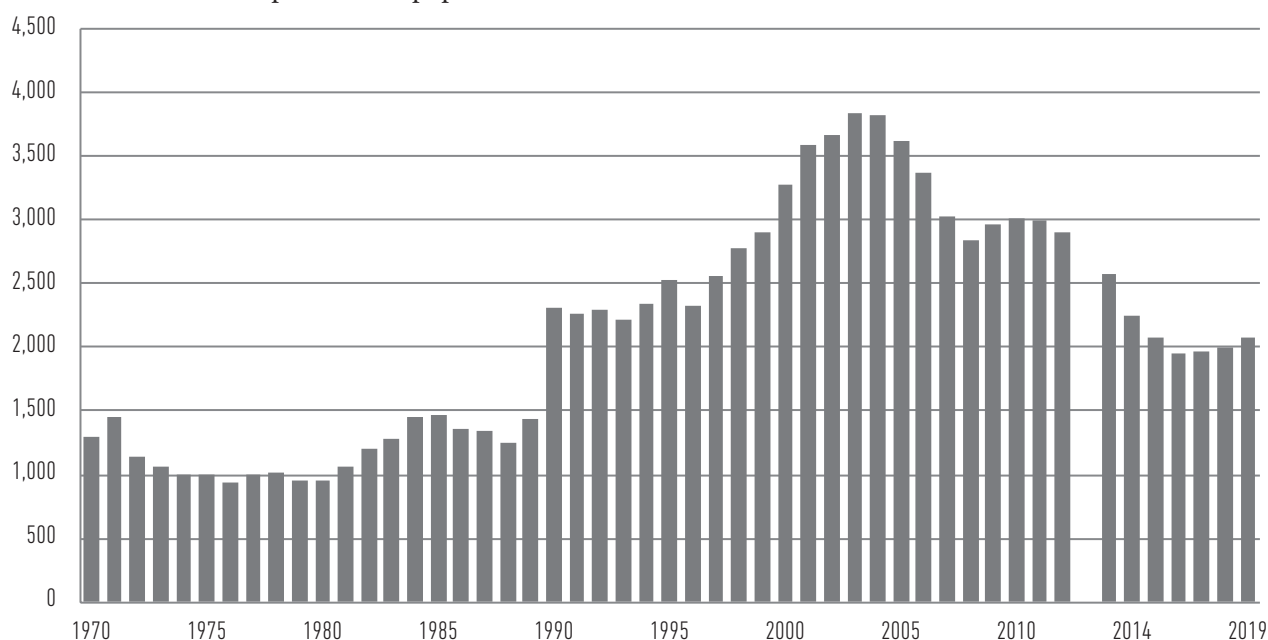
Crime analysis in Poland in this edition of the *Atlas* is concluded with the saying that nothing is more permanent except change. Crime has changed and will continue to change. This is a fact that one simply cannot contend with. The direction of the change, obviously, depends on multiple factors. Nowadays, two of these seem particularly important: the demographic situation and the computerization of society. For years, criminologists have been expecting an increase in online crime, but also the ageing of criminals, and thus also the population of suspects, convicts and prisoners. Changes in this respect are already visible in the statistical data, as we noted in the subsequent editions of the *Atlas* and as we highlight also below. We also present briefly our other (and sometimes also the most recent) findings.

ASCERTAINED CRIMES

In 2017–2019, there was a marked increase in crime. Its level, however, remained lower than that observed

in the years: 1990 – by 10%, 2009 – by 30% and 2013 – by 20%.

CHART 1. Total crimes per 100,000 population



Crime in the rural areas is much lower than in the cities.¹ Moreover, its rate in urban areas seems more stable. In 2015–2019, compared to 1990, crime in cities decreased by an average of 20%, while in rural areas it increased by an average of over 25%.

The structure of crime also changed considerably. A comparison of 2002 and 2019 shows an increase in the category of drug offences (by nearly 5%) and crimes against the family and guardianship (by slightly more than 5%). A slight increase is visible in crimes against freedom, sexual freedom and morals, the reliability

of documents, the activities of state institutions and local government, and the judiciary. In the years covered by the comparison, the share of crimes against property decreased significantly (by as much as 17%, which was a continuation of the previous trend). The share of crimes against public safety and safety in transport (along with crimes under Article 178a of the Criminal Code) also decreased (by 3%). The percentage of crimes against life and health in 2019 was almost the same as in 2002.

[¹] However, to a certain extent this may be an artefact resulting from much more developed social control in rural areas, which gives rise to a tendency to settle many disputes or conflicts (e.g. wedding fights or theft) autonomously, without involvement of formal social control bodies).

TABLE 1. Structure of crime

	2002		2019	
	Crimes	%	Crimes	%
Against public safety and safety in transport (except operating a motor vehicle while under... – Article 178a)*	21,192	1.5	13,926	1.7
Operating a motor vehicle while under... – Article 178a	144,412	10.3	56,358	7.1
Against life and health	33,866	2.4	16,581	2.1
Against freedom, sexual freedom and morals**	47,756	3.4	46,424	5.8
Against the family and guardianship	48,026	3.4	69,861	8.8
Against the reliability of documents	71,395	5.1	57,790	7.3
Against property	890,085	63.5	371,053	46.6
Against the activities of state institutions and local government	14,717	1.0	21,776	2.7
Against the judiciary	14,641	1.0	19,537	2.5
Under laws on counteracting drug addiction***	36,178	2.6	59,322	7.4
Other crimes	81,961	5.8	63,926	8.0
TOTAL	1404,229	100.0	796,557	100.0

* In 2002, it was the sum of traffic offences without those under Article 178a of the Criminal Code, given in the tabulations of the Chief Police Command. In 2019, due to the change of the recording system and the lack of the “road traffic offences” category, crimes falling under the category of traffic offences in 2002 were included: Article 160 § 1–3 CC, Article 173 § 1–4 CC, Article 174 § 1–2 CC, Article 177 § 1–2 CC, Article 179a CC, Article 179b CC, Article 180 CC,

** Crimes against freedom, sexual freedom and morals include acts against freedom (ch. XXIII CC), including, from June 2011, also those under Article 190a: stalking, and crimes against sexual

freedom and morals (ch. XXV CC), including, from 2010, those under Article 200a CC: pornography using the Internet or telecommunications network, and Article 200b CC: publicly promoting or praising conduct that is paedophile in nature.

*** For 2019, data are provided on the basis of the 2005 Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction in force in that year. In 2019, five crimes under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction of 1997 were recorded in the police statistics. These cases are not included in the table.

Among crimes against the family, the most extensive changes concerned the crime of non-alimony. The highest number of offences of non-payment of alimony was recorded in 2018–2019, with more than 50,000 cases. The fewest of these acts, less than 10,000, were ascertained in 2006 and 2016.

A comparison of the structure of crimes against property in 2002 and 2019 shows significant differences in the intensity of individual offences. The percentage of burglary fell by almost 40% (a massive downturn!), while the percentage of robbery by 1/4.

The share of theft also decreased significantly, by almost 30%, while the percentage of fraud increased (from almost 11% in 2002 to over 33% in 2019).

The rate of cyber crime also shows a significant upward trend (except for 2018). In 2019, 107,167 such crimes were recorded, which is twice as many as in 2013. The share of cyber crimes among the total number of crimes ascertained is also growing, from 5% in 2013 to nearly 14% in 2019. Fraud is the most common crime committed in this way. In 2019, it accounted for more than half of all ascertained cyber crimes.

TABLE 2. Number of cyber crimes*

	TOTAL ASCERTAINED CRIMES	CYBER CRIMES**	
		CASES	%
2013	1061,237	52,544	5.0
2014	867,855	60,455	7.0
2015	799,779	64,843	8.1
2016	748,459	67,394	9.0
2017	753,963	82,233	10.9
2018	768,049	81,220	10.6
2019	796,557	107,167	13.5

* Data for ascertained offences, as described with the following *modus operandi* values: I. Type of value: 1) Internet or other computer network, 2) cyberspace II. Criminal tools: 1) online "store", 2) online auction, 3) webcam, 4) computer, 5) computer information carrier (disk, tape streamer, floppy disk, CD), 6) computer network (e.g. the Internet) III. Crime object: 1) online store, 2) computer network (e.g. the Internet) IV. The perpetrator claims to be an online store employee V. The perpetrator claims to be a participant in an online auction VI. The perpetrator commits a crime under the guise of buying and selling through a portal/website VII. The perpetrator commits a crime by fraud in an internet auction VIII. The perpetrator commits a crime by destroying a computer record IX. The perpetrator defeats computer passwords X. The perpetrator defeats a computer code XI. The perpetrator's conduct towards

the aggrieved parties: 1) makes contact via the Internet; 2) makes threats via the Internet or telephone XII. Other conduct characteristics: 1) connects to the network distributing the Internet signal, 2) impersonates an existing website in order to obtain data in an unauthorized manner (phishing), 3) unlawfully modifies computer data records, 4) uses special computer software, 5) defeats or bypasses computer server security, 6) hacks into a computer system, 7) intercepts data on the Internet in an unauthorized manner, e.g. by sniffing, 8) browses or distributes content prohibited by law on the Internet, 9) places an announcement on the Internet XIII. Nature of the object: 1) online auction, 2) online store XIV. Type of the object: 1) online network (the Internet), 2) other computer network.

** Data by recording unit, and not by administrative division.

TABLE 3. Structure of cyber crime in 2019*

	Cyber crimes	%
Punishable threat (Article 190 § 1 CC)	1,412	1.3
Stalking (Article 190a § 1–3 CC)	3,040	2.8
Public presentation of pornographic content (Article 202 § 1–4c CC)	13,101	12.2
Unlawful acquisition of information (Article 267 § 1–4 CC)	4,535	4.2
Burglary (Article 279 § 1 CC)	3,728	3.5
Fraud (Article 286 § 1–3 CC)	55,907	52.3
Computer fraud (Article 287 § 1–2 CC)	8,480	7.9
Money laundering (Article 299 § 1, 5, 6 CC)	753	0.7
Other	16,211	15.1
TOTAL	107,167	100.0

* Data by recording unit, and not by administrative division.

SUSPECTS

In the years 1990–2005, the number of suspects more than doubled; in the following years, however, until 2017, it began to drop, almost to the level from the 1990s. The years 2018–2019 saw a reversal of this trend, with the figures rising again.

The share of women among suspects is slowly but steadily growing, from approx. 8% in 1990 to 12% in 2019.

TABLE 4. Suspects by gender

	TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE	
		Suspects	%	in absolute numbers	%
1990	273,375	250,773	91.7	22,602	8.3
1991	305,031	278,657	91.4	26,374	8.6
1992	307,575	280,383	91.2	27,192	8.8
1993	299,499	273,646	91.4	25,853	8.6
1994	388,855	353,386	90.9	35,469	9.1
1995	423,896	386,461	91.2	37,435	8.8
1996	381,911	345,774	90.5	36,137	9.5
1997	410,844	371,256	90.4	39,588	9.6
1998	396,055	357,742	90.3	38,313	9.7
1999	364,272	331,037	90.9	33,235	9.1
2000	405,275	366,402	90.4	38,873	9.6
2001	533,943	488,196	91.4	45,747	8.6
2002	552,301	503,056	91.1	49,245	8.9
2003	557,224	506,993	91.0	50,231	9.0
2004	578,059	526,810	91.1	51,249	8.9
2005	594,088	540,764	91.0	53,324	9.0

	TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE	
		Suspects	%	in absolute numbers	%
2006	587,959	532,920	90.6	55,039	9.4
2007	540,604	487,257	90.1	53,347	9.9
2008	516,626	465,996	90.2	50,630	9.8
2009	521,699	470,899	90.3	50,800	9.7
2010	516,154	464,433	90.0	51,721	10.0
2011	521,942	470,331	90.1	51,611	9.9
2012	500,539	450,587	90.0	49,952	10.0
2013	430,101	385,649	89.7	44,452	10.3
2014	363,616	322,814	88.8	40,802	11.2
2015	319,399	283,390	88.7	36,009	11.3
2016	312,423	275,788	88.3	36,635	11.7
2017	309,015	271,459	87.8	37,556	12.2
2018	336,886	299,063	88.8	37,823	11.2
2019	338,584	298,643	88.2	39,941	11.8

The share of women among suspects varies significantly depending on the type of crime. It is the lowest among suspects of sexual offences (approx. 1–2%), and slightly higher in the case of crimes of non-alimony, cruelty, operating a motor vehicle while under

the influence of alcohol or other intoxicants, or drug offences (5–6%). The highest percentage of women is recorded among suspects of fraud (30%), theft (18%), stalking (17%) and homicide (15%).

TABLE 5. Suspects of selected crimes by gender in 2019

	TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE	
		Suspects	%	Suspects	%
Homicide (Article 148 CC)	453	384	84.8	69	15.2
Battering (Articles 158 and 159 CC)	6,458	5,855	90.7	603	9.3
Assault (Articles 156 and 157 CC)	7,532	6,877	91.3	655	8.7
Robbery (Articles 280, 281 and 282 CC)	4,647	4,316	92.9	331	7.1
Theft (Article 278 CC)	28,977	23,693	81.8	5,284	18.2
Burglary (Article 279 CC)	9,668	8,935	92.4	733	7.6
Rape (Article 197 CC)	731	723	98.9	8	1.1
Intercourse with a minor (Article 200 § 1 CC)	870	855	98.3	15	1.7
Drug offences (Article 53–68 CDA Act)	33,859	31,647	93.5	2,212	6.5
Operating a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or other intoxicants (Article 178a § 1 CC)	46,902	43,793	93.4	3,109	6.6
Punishable threat (Article 190 § 1 CC)	10,004	9,066	90.6	938	9.4
Stalking (Article 190a § 1 CC)	2,439	2,020	82.8	419	17.2
Cruelty to family member (Article 207 CC)	15,139	14,212	93.9	927	6.1
Non-alimony (Article 209 CC)	48,901	46,424	94.9	2,477	5.1
Fraud (Article 286 § 1&3 CC)	24,733	17,298	69.9	7,435	30.1
Destruction of movable property (Article 288 CC)	9,537	8,834	92.6	703	7.4

Between 2002 and 2019, the structure of suspects of particular types of crimes changed significantly. The largest group are still suspects of crimes against property, but their share significantly decreased, from over 1/3 to 1/4. The share of suspects of road traffic offences also decreased, and the percentage of suspects of crimes against the family more than doubled. The proportion of suspects under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction also increased fourfold.

Noteworthy are the fairly frequent changes in the number of foreigners suspected of crimes. It increased rapidly in the 1990s, and from 2001 onwards, it systematically decreased to stabilize in the years 2006–2012 at approx. 2–2.5 thousand, which accounted for 0.4% of all suspects. Since 2016, we observe another intensive growth in the share of foreigners among suspects, up to 3% in 2019.

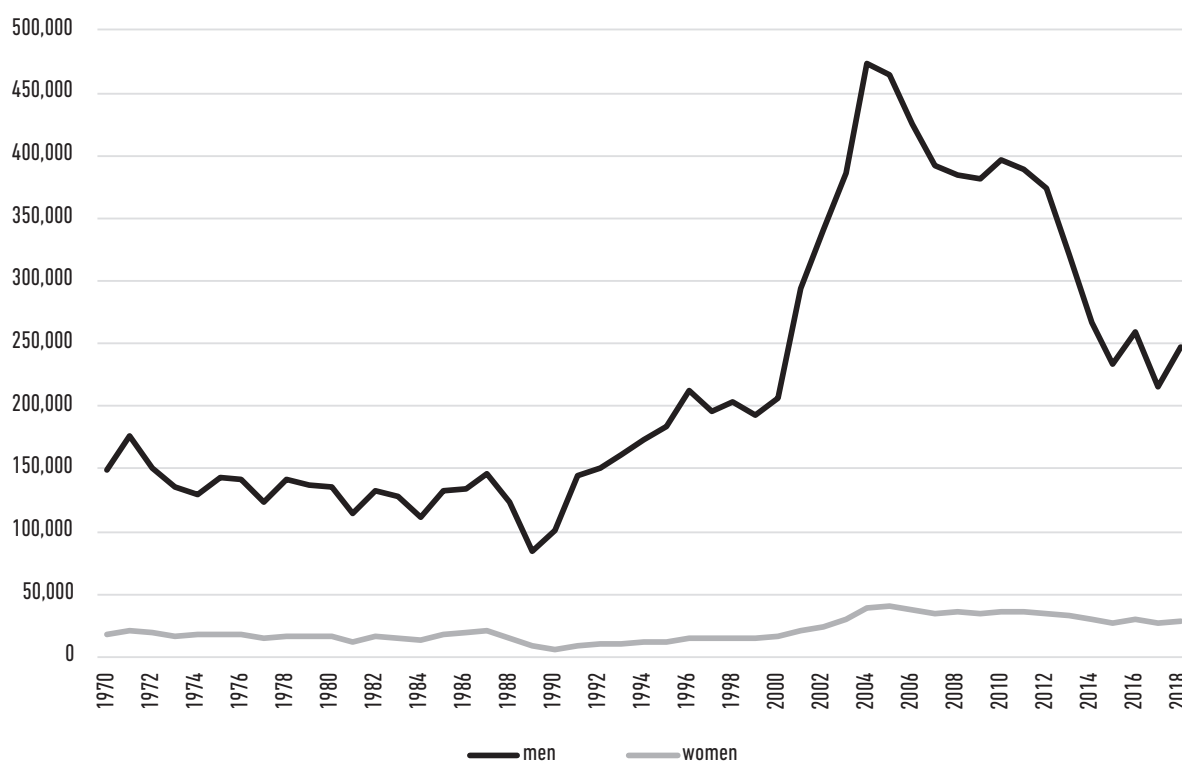
CONVICTIONS AND SENTENCES

In the 1970s, the average number of final convictions on public prosecution was 160,000; the figure rose to 139 thousand in the 1980s, and to 183 thousand in the 1990s. In 2000–2005, the number of convictions more than doubled, from 223,000 to over 500,000. In the following years, it decreased and in 2018 it amounted to approx. 275,000.

Both now and at the beginning of the analyzed period, approx. 90% of sentences were administered

to men, and only 10% to women. Interestingly, however, the share of women in the total number of convicts changed; in the early 1990s it dropped to approx. 6% and was growing systematically since that time. In the last year analyzed (2018), compared to 2000, the number of convictions for men increased by 20%, and for women by nearly 70%.

CHART 2. Convictions on public prosecution



In recent years, the age structure of convicts also clearly changed; first and foremost, there was a decrease in the involvement of the youngest age groups, from 17 to 20 years of age (from 24% in 2000 to 9% in 2018) and from 21 to 24 years of age (from 19% in 2000 to 12% in 2018), while the share of older groups, especially the oldest ones, was on the rise. This is highly unusual, as much ink has been spilt to prove that crime is mainly the domain of young (or even very young) people who gradually grow out of it. Meanwhile, we observe an absolutely new phenomenon of criminal involvement of elderly people. It is also confirmed in

the rich empirical material. While in 2000 people aged 60+ accounted for only 1.6% of all convicts, in 2018 this percentage increased threefold to 4.6%. The share of convicts aged 50 to 59 also doubled, from 4.6% to 9.7%. It should be noted, however, that people aged 60+ mainly commit crimes against safety in transport, most often operating a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or other intoxicants. The worsening demographic decline and the decreasing number of young offenders mean that older people and crimes that are more characteristic of them start to play a more conspicuous role in crime (or at least revealed crime).

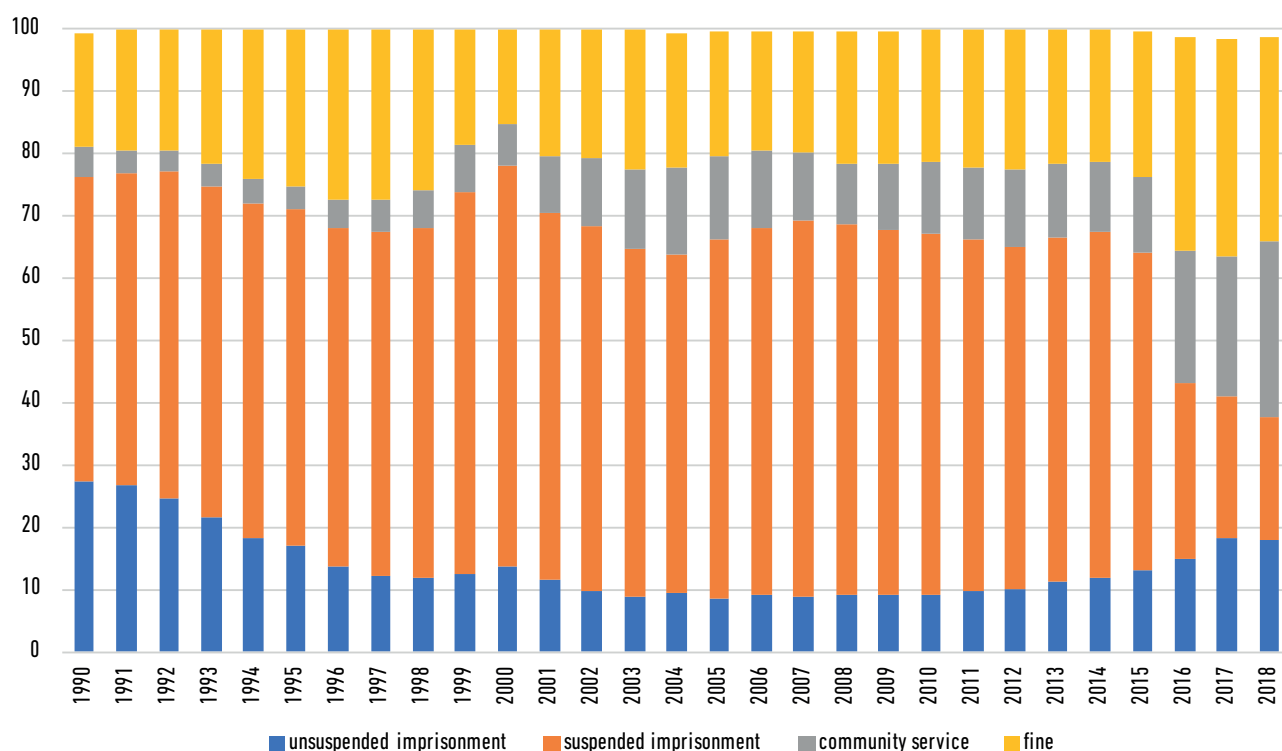
TABLE 6. Convictions by age (2000 and 2018)

	2000		2018	
	Convictions	%	Convictions	%
17-20	53,796	24.1	24,523	8.9
21-24	35,830	16.1	32,461	11.8
25-29	30,750	13.8	43,318	15.7
30-34	25,128	11.3	45,566	16.5
35-39	24,914	11.2	39,506	14.3
40-44	23,517	10.6	30,128	10.9
45-49	15,035	6.7	20,414	7.4
50-59	10,271	4.6	26,809	9.7
60+	3,574	1.6	12,769	4.6
TOTAL	222,815	100.0	275,768	100.0

In 2018, the structure of convictions by type of basic sentence was significantly different than in 2000. The share of sentences of restriction of liberty (community service) increased more than fourfold. On the other hand, the share of sentences of conditionally suspended imprisonment decreased more than twice.

In the analyzed period, the share of sentences of fines as a sole penalty also more than doubled. The reason for such a large increase in the share of non-custodial penalties was rooted in the legislative changes introduced to the Criminal Code in 2015.

CHART 3. Convictions by type of sentence (percentages)



In the analyzed period, the average length of the sentence of absolute imprisonment systematically shortened. It was 21 months in 2000, 16 months in 2012, and 14 months in 2018. The share of relatively short determinate sentences of up to 1 year increased: in 2000 it was 42%, and in 2018 as much as 74%. Since 2000, the share of sentences of more than one year to less than 3 years decreased more than twice, from 46% to 20%. A similar trend was observed in medium and long-term sentences. In the years 2000–2018, the share of determinate sentences of 3 to 5 years decreased twice, from 13% to 6%. On the other hand, the share of sentences over 5 years accounted for approx. 2.7% of all sentences of absolute imprisonment, and in 2018, for 1.2%.

In 2018, the structure of convictions by the length of the sentence of conditionally suspended imprisonment was different than in 2000. The average length of a suspended sentence in 2000 was 12 months, and in 2018, slightly more than 8 months, which is obviously the result of the 2015 shortening of the length of a sentence which can be conditionally suspended. In 2018, compared to 2000, the percentage of sentences for less than one year increased by almost 70%. On the other hand, the share of one-year sentences was less than 33% in 2000, and 8% less in 2018, at 25%. The percentage of sentences over 1 to 2 years decreased by more than four times (from almost 26% to nearly 6%). As can be seen from the above, in the years covered in the comparison, the criminal policy was significantly eased.

CONVICTED PRISONERS POPULATION

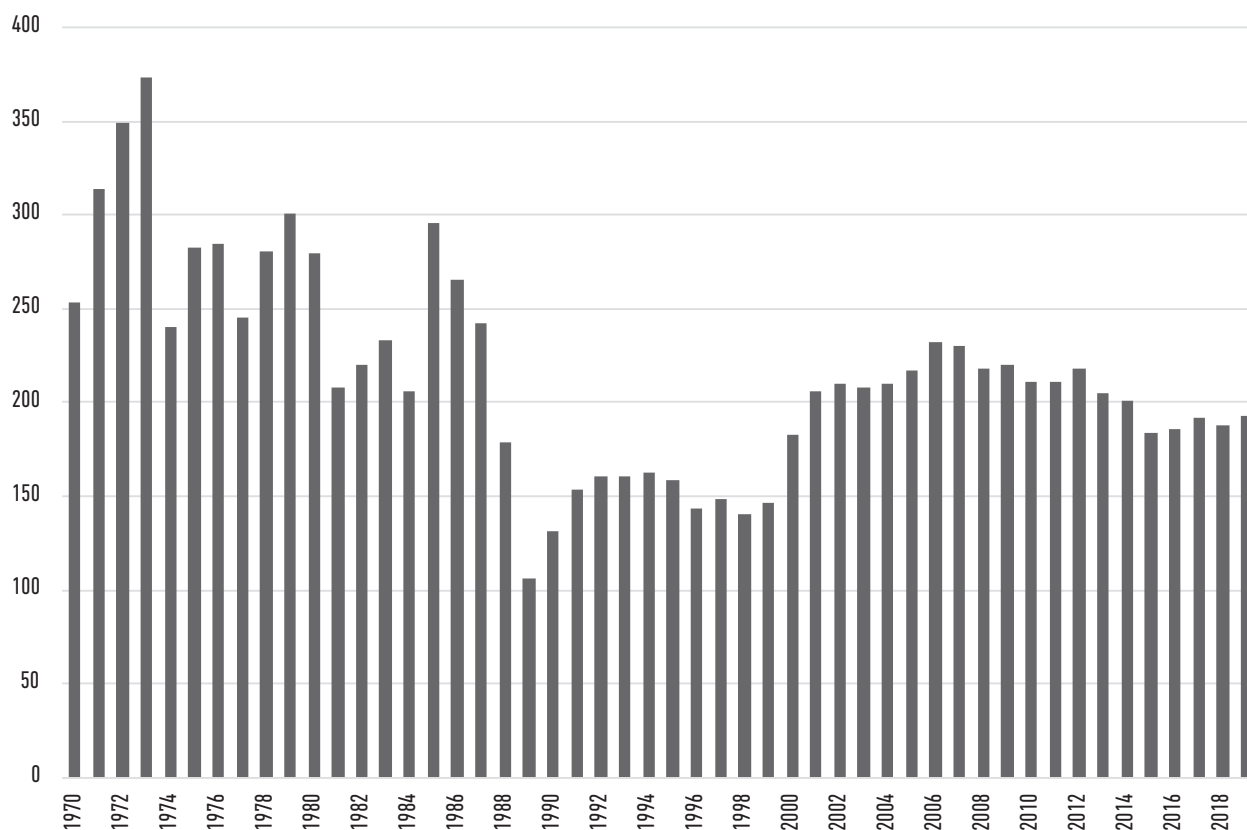
In 2019, there were 74,130 people serving imprisonment sentences, in 2000, 70,544, and in 1990, 50,165. In 2019, the prison rate per 100,000 citizens amounted to 193.1 and was higher by 6% than in 2000 and almost 50% higher than in 1990. However, in the years 2001–2014 the rate was over 200, and in the years 2006–2007 it was by far the highest, at 230. Incidentally, it should

Sentences given under to Article 335 and 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (conviction without trial and voluntary submission to punishment) accounted for 12% of all convictions in 1999, 49% in 2006, and 33% in 2018. It seems that after several years of high popularity, the institution of conviction without trial fell out of fashion quite quickly, as evidenced by the declining number of applications: in 2018 their number was approx. 94,000, i.e. more than two times less than in 2010, when the highest number of these were filed, at nearly 230,000. In 2018, 21,000 applications for voluntary submission to punishment (Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure) were filed, 9% fewer than in 1999. It should be noted that in the analyzed period, courts accepted, on average, as much as 90% of applications for voluntary submission to punishment.

Until 2005, the number of convictions grew systematically: there were twice as many of them as five years earlier, at 220,000. The following year started a downward trend lasting until 2018, when there were 269,000 convictions. In the years 1990–2018, convictions accounted for approx. 80–90% of all judgements. In 2018, conditional discontinuance accounted for 9% of all judgements, slightly more than in 2000 at almost 8% but three times more than in 1990. In 1990 ordinary discontinuances accounted for as much as 13% of all judgements, in 2000 for 5% and in 2018 for only 3%.

be noted that at the end of 2020 the prison population decreased to less than 68,000 people, which was related to the COVID-19 pandemic (at the time of submission of the *Atlas*, the full 2020 prison statistics were not yet available, so this interesting change could not be analyzed in detail).

CHART 4. Total prison population in 1970–2018 (rates per 100,000)



Until 2003, the percentage of convicts among those in prison ranged from 68% to 76%, and in the period after 2012 it fluctuated around 90%. In 1990, 1/3 of all prisoners were detained pending trial, while in 1991–1999 this share was approx. 1/4. From 2000 to 2016, the percentage of pre-trial detainees decreased fourfold, from 31% to 8%, which is yet another confirmation of the fundamental changes in criminal policy. From 2017 onwards, there was a slight increase to 12%. It should also be noted that in the entire analyzed period the share of those penalized under the Petty Offences Code in the prison population did not exceed 2%.

Many experts predicted that the increasing proportion of female perpetrators in overall crime would lead to higher share of women also in the prison population. The trend is also confirmed by significant changes in the rate of female prisoners per 100 male prisoners: in 1990, it was 1.8, in 2000, 2.5, and in 2019, as much as 4.2.

Half of men serving a prison sentence in 2019 were under 36 years of age. In the group of women, the median age was 38 years. Every twelfth male prisoner and every eleventh female prisoner are up to 24 years

old. At this point, we may ask, how this relatively young age of criminals serving a sentence of imprisonment can relate to the previous findings according to which the population of convicts is ageing. One thing, it seems, does not exclude the other: most likely the structure of crimes committed by people at a relatively young age (e.g. homicide and other acts against life and health, robbery and similar acts, and rape) makes the probability of being sent to a prison much higher for younger age groups.

In 2019, half of convicts were serving sentences for crimes against property, 14% for crimes against the family, and 13% for crimes against life and health.

In 1990, 20,000 applications for parole were recorded, and 10 years later nearly 80% more (35,000). Their number was by far the highest in 2010, as it amounted to 58,000 to decrease to 28,000 in 2019, i.e. by half compared to 2010. A clear change in the policy of granting paroles in the analyzed period should also be noted here. While in 1990 the percentage of accepted applications for parole was 73%, along with the increasing number of such applications, it began

to fall sharply and in the years 2000–2010 it amounted to only approx. 40%. On the other hand, in the recent period, the decreasing number of applications since

2011 is accompanied by an even faster decline in the number of accepted applications. In 2019, only a quarter of applications for parole were accepted.

TABLE 7. Paroles

	Total applications	Paroles granted	Paroles/applications ratio (%)	Parolees/serving convicts ratio (%)
1990	20,167	14,692	72.9	43.3
1991	22,949	16,696	72.8	39.0
1992	28,911	21,584	74.7	45.9
1993	31,056	23,060	74.3	49.0
1994	32,027	23,171	72.3	49.6
1995	37,230	25,651	68.9	57.3
1996	39,053	25,327	64.9	61.6
1997	34,673	19,845	57.2	46.2
1998	34,915	19,833	56.8	47.1
1999	34,903	16,936	48.5	40.7
2000	35,665	14,276	40.0	29.7
2001	39,623	15,105	38.1	26.8
2002	46,358	18,142	39.1	30.6
2003	50,720	19,370	38.2	31.9
2004	53,357	21,317	40.0	32.8
2005	54,525	23,253	42.6	33.6
2006	55,888	21,821	39.0	29.5
2007	57,364	22,681	39.5	29.8
2008	58,169	23,966	41.2	32.4
2009	57,238	22,726	39.7	30.7
2010	58,397	26,238	44.9	36.5
2011	57,644	24,328	42.2	33.5
2012	47,244	21,803	46.1	28.4
2013	46,031	19,830	43.1	27.7
2014	41,958	16,184	38.6	22.6
2015	39,733	14,880	37.4	21.2
2016	34,692	11,434	33.0	17.6
2017	31,771	9,585	30.2	12.7
2018	30,296	8,559	28.3	13.0
2019	28,026	7,088	25.3	9.6

In 2019, there were 1,310 foreigner prisoners, of whom slightly fewer than half were convicts. It should also be noted that since 2004 their number

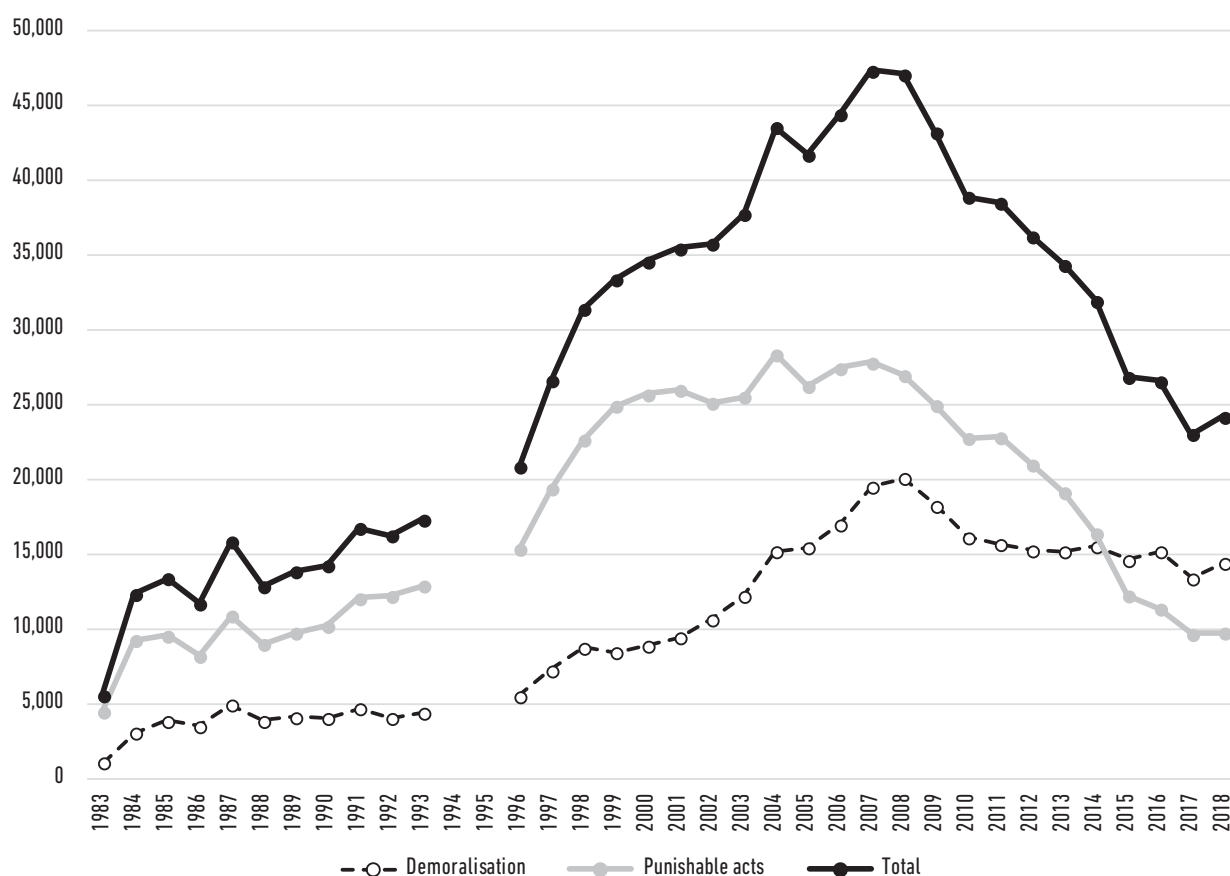
fell systematically, but from 2017 it has been on the rise again.

JUVENILES

Since 2010, there has been a systematic decrease in the number of juveniles with educational, probation or correctional measures awarded by the court. In 2018, there were just over 24,000 convicted juveniles, i.e. half as many as in 2007–2008. Until 2000, among juveniles with educational, corrective or correctional measures imposed, approx. 80% were those who committed

punishable acts. After 2000, an increase in the share of juveniles showing signs of demoralisation is visible. In 2015, for the first time among adjudicated juveniles, there were more of those showing signs of demoralisation than those committing punishable acts. In 2018, juveniles committing punishable acts accounted for 40% of all juveniles.

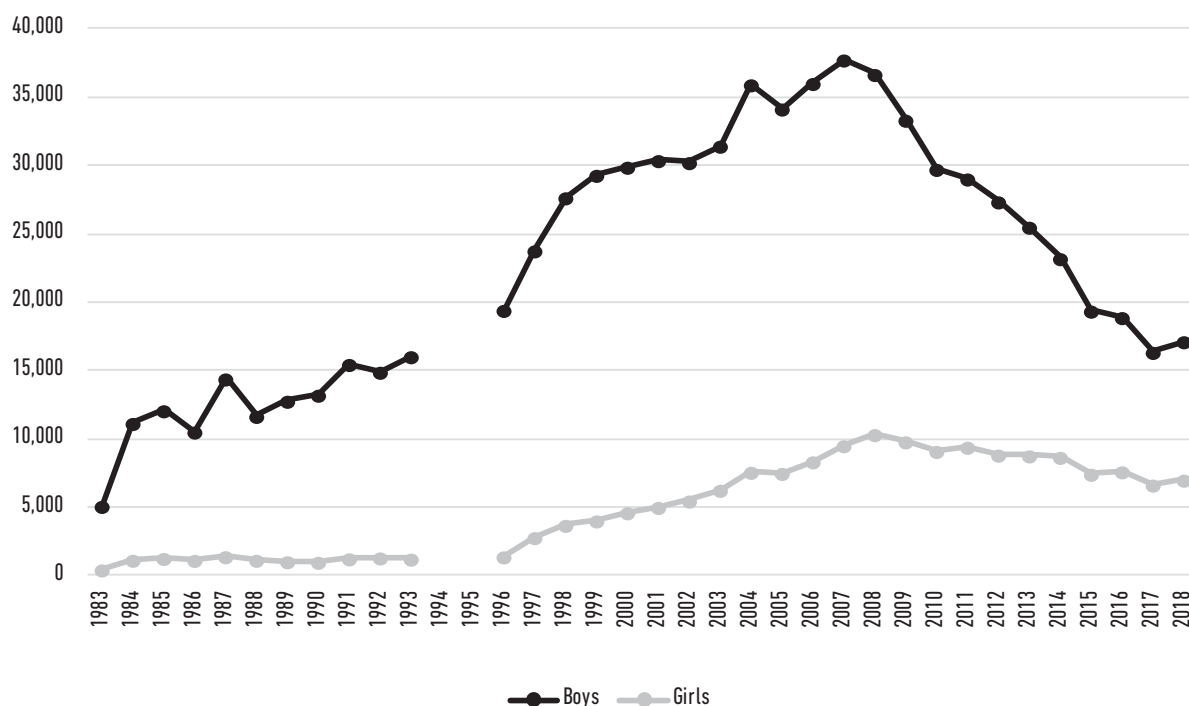
CHART 5. Juveniles awarded educational, probation or correctional measures on the grounds for initiating the procedure



Boys prevail in juvenile delinquency, but in the years 1984–2018 a threefold increase in the share of girls is visible, from 10 to 30%, which is otherwise in line with the same trend for adult women in conflict with the law, whose numbers, as we remember from

the previous sections, are also growing both in the population of suspects, as well as convicts and prisoners. Therefore, we are facing a new tendency, although one predicted by criminologists.

CHART 6. Juveniles by gender



In the judicial statistics, the most numerous group are juveniles aged 14 to 16 years. They account for approx. 70% of all minors with final judgement. In the years 2000–2018, the number of juveniles adjudicated for punishable acts decreased by more than two and a half times.

Between 2000 and 2018, the structure of punishable acts committed by juveniles changed. The share of juveniles committing offences against property decreased from over 70 to less than 50%. On the other

hand, there was an increase in the share of juveniles committing acts against life and health (by 10 percentage points – pp), acts against freedom, sexual freedom and morals (by 8 pp) and drug offences (by 9 pp). An increase, much smaller though, is also seen in the share of acts against good name and personal integrity, the activities of state institutions, public safety and safety in transport, as well as against the family and guardianship.

TABLE 8. Structure of punishable acts among juveniles in selected years

	2000		2018	
	Cases	%	Cases	%
Against public safety and safety in transport	289	1.1	163	1.7
Against life and health	3,716	14.5	2,398	24.6
Against freedom, sexual freedom and morals*	823	3.2	1126	11.5
Against the family and guardianship	50	0.2	174	1.8
Against property	18,488	72.0	4,774	48.9
Against good name and personal integrity	527	2.1	381	3.9
Against the activities of state institutions	64	0.2	307	3.1
Against public order	109	0.4	25	0.3
Under law on counteracting drug addiction	470	1.8	1,009	10.3
TOTAL JUVENILES	25,667		9,754	

* Acts against freedom, sexual freedom and morals in the table include acts against freedom (ch. XXIII CC), including, from June 2011, also those under Article 190a: stalking, and crimes against sexual freedom and morals (ch. XXV CC), including, from 2010,

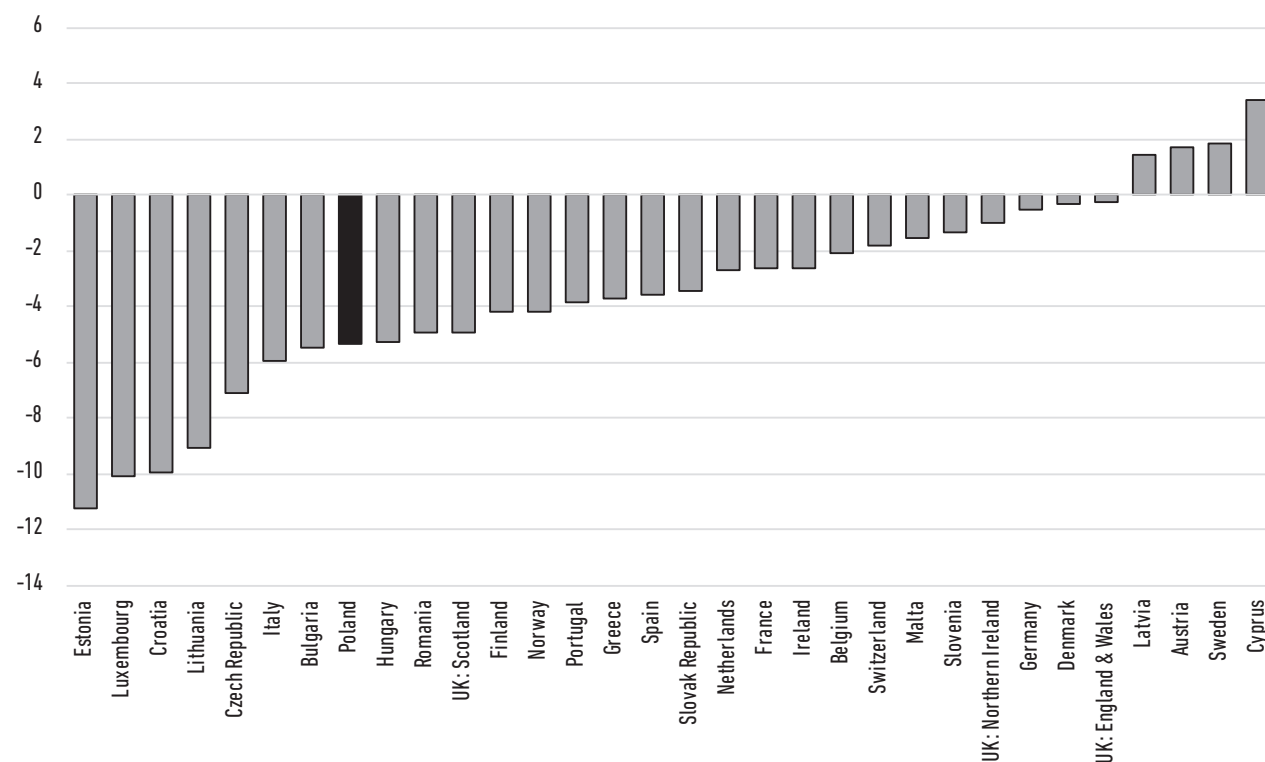
those under Article 200a CC pornography using the Internet or telecommunications network, and Article 200b CC: publicly promoting or praising conduct that is paedophile in nature.

INTERNATIONAL CRIME STATISTICS

International police statistics in the years 2008–2018 indicate a further decline in the number of homicides

and crimes against property in the vast majority of EU and EFTA countries.

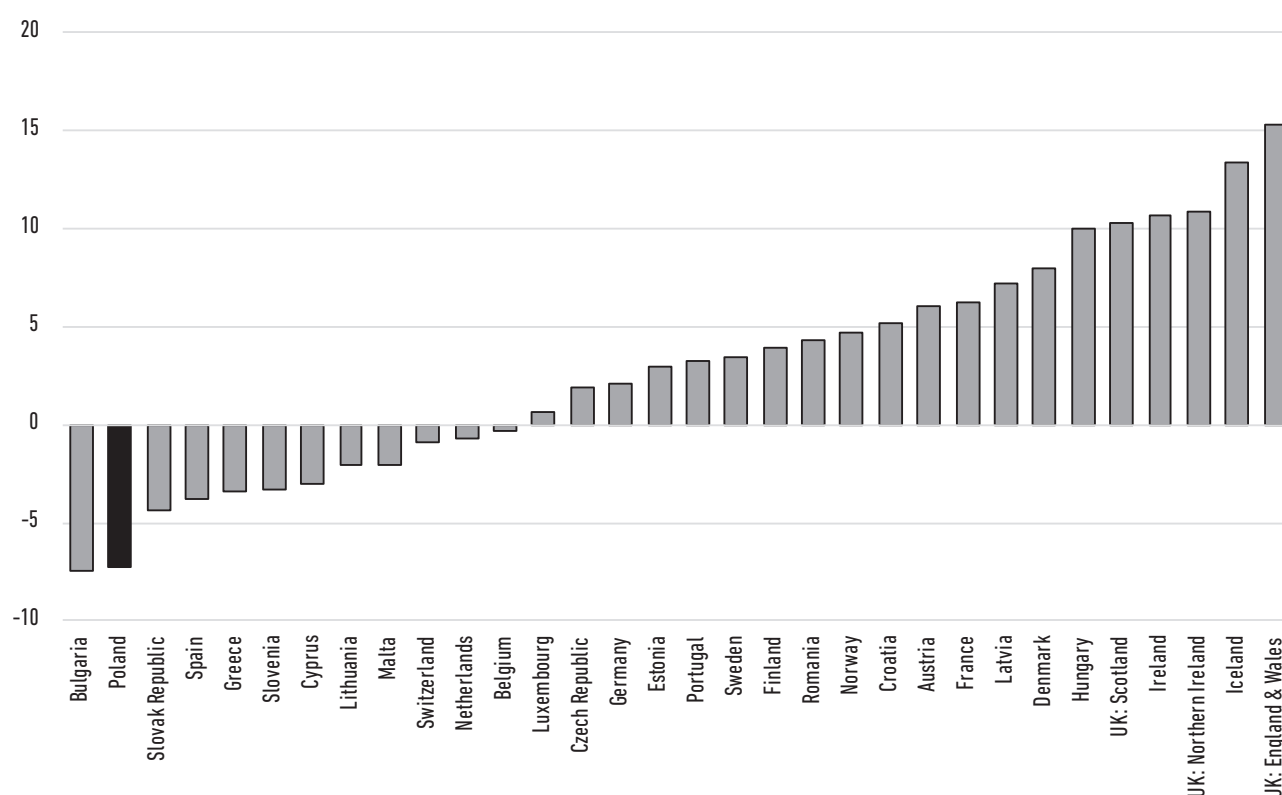
CHART 7. Homicide dynamics in 2008–2018. Annual change in %



In Poland and other post-communist countries, the incidence of robberies fell considerably. In Estonia the rate of decline was the fastest, on average by over 15% per year, while in Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Hungary by over 10% per year. An increase in the number of robberies was recorded in only five EU countries, including the highest in Romania and Greece.

A slightly different picture results from the analysis of the dynamics of the crime of rape. In 2018, compared to 2008, much more of these crimes were recorded in the vast majority of European countries (interestingly, except Poland and Bulgaria). The highest increase (more than twofold) was recorded in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Iceland, Denmark, France, Austria and Hungary, and almost a double one in Latvia, France and Austria, among others.

CHART 8. Rape dynamics in 2008–2018. Annual change in %*

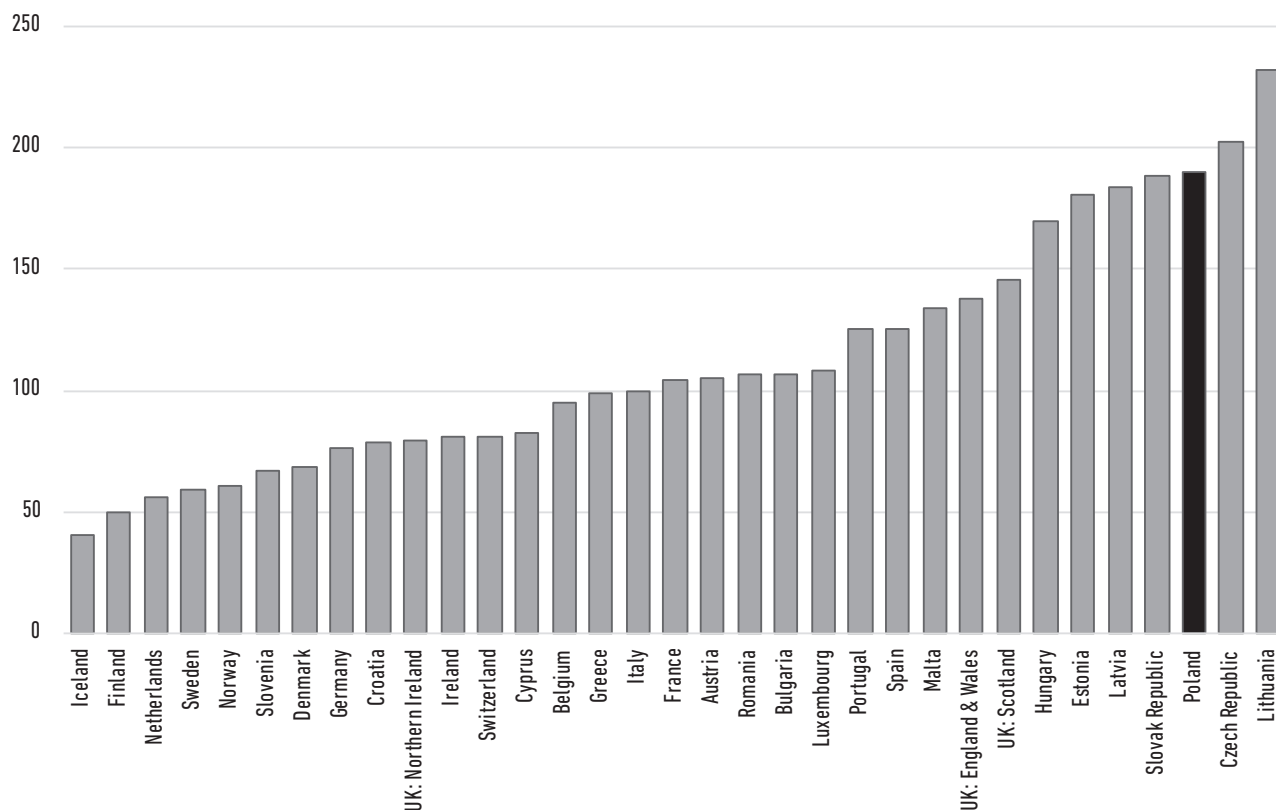


* Data unavailable for Italy.

As in the previous years, in 2018 the largest number of police officers per 100,000 citizens were in Cyprus (570) as well as in Greece, Croatia and Malta, at nearly 500. The smallest number of police officers (less than 200 per 100,000) was in Finland, Iceland, Denmark and Sweden. In Poland, as in Romania, the number of police officers per 100,000 amounted to almost 260, i.e. much fewer than in other Central and Eastern European states.

In 2018, the highest prison rates were recorded in most of the former communist bloc countries, led by Lithuania (over 230), the Czech Republic (over 200) as well as Poland and Slovakia (approx. 190). The rates were almost twice lower in Romania and Bulgaria (below 110), Croatia and Slovenia (below 80), as well as in most Western European countries. The lowest prison rate per 100,000 it was in the Scandinavian / Nordic countries, as well as in Slovenia, at below 70.

CHART 9. Prison rates for 2019 per 100,000 population



* * *

To summarize, it should be concluded that criminologists, even in periods of declining crime, are certainly not at risk of boredom or unemployment. Crime is a social phenomenon and changes as societies change, and the latter is rather an obvious thing. We hope the reader will find *Atlas of Crime in Poland 6th ed.* an inspiring and valuable source of knowledge about phenomena that are undesirable but very important for the society. It is often the data on the “dark side” of society that allow us to properly illuminate the processes taking place in it.

Finally, one cannot ignore the new field of research, which crime has become in 2020 during the COVID-19

pandemic. The latest police data, available at the time of submission of the *Atlas* but not analyzed in detail, suggest that in 2020 compared to 2019, the overall rate of ascertained crimes decreased slightly, i.e. by 4%, along with the number of suspects, by 8%. In turn, the rate of ascertained cyber crimes increased by nearly 2%. Analyses of these changes are beyond the scope of this edition of the *Atlas* but certainly in its next edition the reader will see how the pandemic changed crime and the work of law enforcement and justice administration agencies in Poland and around the world.

Celowość, a wręcz potrzeba opublikowania kolejnej, szóstej już, edycji *Atlasu przestępczości w Polsce* pozostaje poza sporem. Zwłaszcza w dzisiejszych trudnych czasach istnieje konieczność merytorycznej oceny nasilenia, struktury i dynamiki zjawisk patologicznych, w tym zwłaszcza przestępczych. Warunkuje to bowiem wypracowanie skuteczniejszych strategii przeciwdziałania tym zjawiskom ze strony państwa, a jednocześnie może przyczynić się do kształtowania właściwych postawy obywateli. [...]

Jestem przekonany, iż spełni się intencja Autorów co do tego, że *Atlas przestępczości w Polsce 6* okaże się inspirującą lekturą oraz cennym źródłem wiedzy o zjawiskach nie do końca chlubnych, ale dla społeczeństwa niewątpliwie ważnych, także z tego powodu, że przestępczość musi być traktowana jako wskaźnik rozmiarów i nasilenia zakłóceń w równowadze społeczno-ekonomicznej państwa.

Z RECENZJI PROF. DR HAB. EMILA PŁYWACZEWSKIEGO

Publikacja ma charakter opracowania źródłowego zawierającego dane statystyczne i komentarze do nich. [...] Recenzowane opracowanie w obszarze kryminologii – tak jak wydawnictwa źródłowe w wielu innych dyscyplinach nauki – ma niezwykle istotne znaczenie tak dla teoretyków, jak i dla praktyków w obszarze zajmujących się badaniem zjawiska społecznego, jakim jest przestępczość. [...] Publikacja jest istotna dla środowiska kryminologicznego i kontynuację wydawania *Atlasu przestępczości w Polsce* uważam za bardzo potrzebną i istotną dla rozwoju polskiej kryminologii. [...] W tej chwili *Atlas* pozostaje właściwie jedyną szerzej dostępną w naszym kraju zbiorczą publikacją danych statystyki policyjnej, sądowej i penitencjarnej wykraczających poza to co jest dostępne w rocznikach statystycznych GUS (w których publikowane dane siłą rzeczy mają mocno ograniczony charakter).

Z RECENZJI PROF. DR HAB. KRZYSZTOFA KRAJEWSKIEGO

