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Atlas of Crime in Poland 7

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INTRODUCTION

Joanna Klimczak

An astute reader of the *Atlas* series would probably notice certain changes in each subsequent edition of the series. This edition is no different. The *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7* differs from previous editions in terms of both structure and authorship.

First of all, in this edition returns to presentation of individual issues on individual pages in a graphic form supplemented with short comments, which will probably be the first thing to catch the reader's eye. We hope that this will not only enliven the presented data, but will also make it easier to read the trends of the studied phenomena. However, we have not abandoned the practice of including brief introductions to each chapter and tables – these appear both where problems are discussed thematically and at the end of each chapter in the form of annexes. As in previous editions, we have made every effort to ensure that this latest *Atlas* continues to serve as a key nationwide source of detailed data on crime and related issues.

Secondly, the layout and number of chapters have changed, this time counting no fewer than eight. It is appropriate to start with the “classic” chapters, which concern the issues of ascertained crimes (Chapter I), suspects (Chapter II), persons serving prison sentences (Chapter IV), international statistics – this time in a new version of the title (Chapter VII), and a separate section for juveniles introduced in the previous edition (Chapter V). In Chapter VIII, we present victimization and social attitudes data obtained on the basis of the Second National Victimization Survey commissioned by the Institute of Justice in 2024. This is a return to the presentation of data of this kind – the last time the results of victimization tests were included in the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 4*. Undoubtedly, broadening the perspective to include information on the *dark number of crimes* enables a better assessment of the scale of crime. We are especially pleased that this edition of the *Atlas* includes the results of this study as well. Finally, this edition includes two new chapters – one as an absolute

novelty (Chapter VI) and the other as a result of certain transformations (Chapter III). Chapter III, entitled “Criminal law response to offences”, is a modified version of the chapter “Convictions and Sentences” known from previous editions of the *Atlas*. To date, it has presented data on the basis of final convictions. When preparing this edition of the *Atlas*, these data were not available for recent years, so we decided to use the statistical data of the Ministry of Justice on convictions pronounced in the first instance (non-final). Somewhat forced to take this step, we used this situation to the advantage of the *Atlas*, presenting new information, available only with regard to non-final convictions. As mentioned, there is a completely new chapter, which is Chapter VI “Law enforcement agencies”. The inspiration for creating this new chapter was the desire to gather in one place information about formations that are responsible for prosecuting crimes and offences and ensuring the security of the state and its citizens.

As in the previous edition, we have retained the graphic distinction in the presentation of data of crimes detected between the years 2012 and 2013 (keeping the space in tables and charts). This is due to the changes in the way the police collect statistical data, which made it impossible to compare in an accurate way the numbers from before 2012 to those applicable subsequent to 2012.

Undoubtedly, as repeatedly emphasized in the *Atlas*, legislative changes have an impact on the analysed data. Due to the volume of these changes, as well as the desire to avoid repetition (some amendments to the law translated into changes observed in more than one chapter of the *Atlas*), we decided to collect them in one place. Therefore, this introduction is followed by a table showing “selected changes in the law and their possible impact on the recorded data”. We refer to legislative changes many times in individual chapters, encouraging you to read this table.

The statistical data in this edition of the *Atlas* now include the period of 2020–2023. A lot changed

in the reality around us during that four-year period. The events we experienced during this time often had an impact on the data presented in the *Atlas*. It is appropriate to start with the COVID-19 pandemic, which in Poland dates back to 2020. The related lockdowns, restrictions on the functioning of institutions, or sanitary orders and prohibitions affected many areas related to crime. Then, in February 2022, we witnessed Russia's invasion of Ukraine. As a result, Poland had to face not only a real threat to national security, but also migration on an unprecedented scale due to people fleeing the war. The pandemic and the war on the eastern border are factors affecting not only the observed scale of threats, but also the envisaged outlook for the future, which remains uncertain with regard to both of these issues.

In this seventh edition of the *Atlas* the list of authors has also changed. This is the first edition of this series without its main architect, Andrzej Siemaszko, and without the participation of Marek Marczewski. As for the "founding parents" of the series, the authors' team is currently represented by Beata Gruszczyńska, who is accompanied by a group of researchers from the Economic Analysis Section of the Justice System of the Institute of Justice, already known to the reader from the previous edition: Paweł Ostaszewski, Justyna Włodarczyk-Madejska, Joanna Klimczak and Paweł Waszkiewicz, who made his debut in the *Atlas*. We hope that the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7* will become an inspiration for scientific research and will help in the furtherance of knowledge about the criminal aspects of the world around us.

SELECTED CHANGES IN THE LAW AND THEIR POSSIBLE IMPACT ON THE RECORDED DATA

The primary objective of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland* is to quantify changes in the number of crimes and the number of suspects, as well as the ways in which law enforcement agencies and the justice system respond to crime, which affect issues such as the number of convictions, the number of people imprisoned in prisons and detention centres, and the number of measures applied to juveniles in Poland. Crime is shaped by many factors, such as the true social changes taking place, including those involving the real level of risk of crime, as well as changes in the law, which do not so much change the social reality itself, as the way it is depicted, including in quantitative terms. When analysing the data presented in the *Atlas*, it is therefore necessary to take into account such changes in the law that could, often very significantly, affect the scale of crime reported or how the individual agencies monitoring crime operate. As it is impossible to

present them all, a selective overview is provided in table 1. These changes occurred from 1995 to 2023, which, also in the previous editions of the *Atlas*, played an important role in the interpretation of statistical data, as in our opinion they shaped the way crime was depicted, e.g. by decreasing or increasing the scope of criminalisation of certain behaviours or changing the procedures followed by institutions in the process of disclosing and identifying criminal acts and their perpetrators, and subsequently imposing criminal law consequences on them. These changes may have concerned various aspects, such as the size or structure of crime or the structure of adjudicated measures of criminal law response. We do not explain (in principle) in which direction a change might have gone, as this seems to us to be quite obvious. The perceptive Reader, when reading the statistical data included in the *Atlas*, should bear in mind table 1.

Table 1. Selected changes in the law

No.	Law	What has changed?
1	Act of 12 July 1995 amending the Penal Code, the Executive Penal Code and increasing the lower and upper limits of fines and penalties in criminal law (Journal of Laws No. 95, item 475). It came into force on 20 November 1995.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act increased the value of stolen property or damage caused tenfold, as a result of which some acts previously classified as crimes were categorised as misdemeanours.
2	Act of 24 April 1997 on Counteracting Drug Addiction (Journal of Laws of 1997 No. 75, item 468). It came into force on 14 October 1997.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> Under the Act, drug possession was a crime punishable by imprisonment for up to three years. However, possession of small amounts of drugs for personal use was not punishable. The previous Act of 31 January 1985 on Counteracting Drug Addiction did not penalize the possession of drugs, but they were subject to confiscation.
3	Act of 6 June 1997. Penal Code (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 17, as amended). It came into force on 1 September 1998.	<i>Significant changes concerning the catalogue of penalties and measures and the catalogue of offences.</i>
4	Act of 14 April 2000 amending the Penal Code (Journal of Laws No. 48, item 548). It came into force on 15 December 2000.	<i>New offence.</i> Article 178a of the Penal Code (driving under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants) was added to the Code, as a result of which over 120,000 cases of driving under the influence of alcohol were moved from the category of offences to the category of crime.
5	Act of 9 September 2000 amending the Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Unfair Competition Act, the Public Procurement Act and the Banking Law (Journal of Laws No. 93, item 1027). It came into force on 4 February 2001.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The scope of criminalisation of the crime of taking a bribe and bribery was changed. According to the Act, the penalty for the crime of taking a bribe also applies to persons who, in connection with the performance of a public function in a foreign country or an international organisation, accept or demand a financial or personal benefit, or demand such a benefit, or make the performance of an official activity dependent on its receipt. The penalty for the crime of bribery was increased. It was clarified that the crime of bribery is committed by a person who grants or promises to provide a financial or personal benefit to a person performing a public function, but in connection with the performance of this function, as well as by a person who tries to induce a person performing a public function to violate the law (or grants benefits for violating it), and not for a breach of official duty, as before. The scope of criminalisation also includes bribery of a person performing a public function in a foreign country or in an international organisation.

No.	Law	What has changed?
6	Act of 27 July 2001 on Probation Officers (Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1095). It came into force on 1 January 2002.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act changed the scope of the definition of a public official. Every probation officer (not only professional) became such an officer. Therefore, a wider group of people could commit crimes as public officials, such as taking a bribe.
7	Act of 13 June 2003 amending the Penal Code and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2003 No. 111, item 1061). It came into force on 1 July 2003.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act introduced a definition of a person performing a public function. The scope of criminalisation of the crime of taking a bribe was also changed. Claims for financial or personal benefits are excluded from the scope of criminalisation. However, it covers the conduct of persons performing public functions who make the performance of an official activity dependent on receiving not only a financial benefit (as before), but also a personal benefit, or a promise or demand for such a benefit. The scope of criminalisation of the crime of bribery was also extended to include a promise of financial or personal benefit. According to the Act, such an offence is not committed by a person if the perpetrator notified the authorities appointed to prosecute crimes and disclosed all the relevant circumstances of the crime before the authority became aware of it. Pursuant to the Act, Article 250a of the Penal Code, Article 296a of the Penal Code and Article 296b of the Penal Code were added, which criminalised electoral, economic and sports corruption.
8	Act of 23 January 2004. Electoral Act for the European Parliament (Journal of Laws of 2004 No. 25, item 219, as amended). It came into force on 1 March 2004.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The definition of a public official was changed once again, including a Member of the European Parliament. Therefore, this change, like the previous ones, extended the scope of criminalisation.
9	Act of 16 April 2004 amending the Penal Code and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2004 No. 93, item 889). It came into force on 1 May 2004.	<i>New definition and new offence.</i> The Act introduced a definition of a terrorist offence. Penalisation was also introduced for enabling or facilitating illegal stay of foreigners on the territory of Poland by another person (in order to achieve financial or personal gain).
10	Act of 28 July 2005 amending the Fiscal Penal Code and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2005 No. 178, item 1479). It came into force on 17 December 2005.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> According to the Act, in addition to judges, lay judges, prosecutors, notaries, bailiffs and probation officers, a financial officer of a preparatory proceedings body or a body superior to a financial preparatory proceedings body, and a person adjudicating in disciplinary bodies acting on the basis of the Act is also considered a public officer (no longer, as was the case before, a person adjudicating in misdemeanour cases).
11	Act of 29 July 2005 on Counteracting Drug Addiction (Journal of Laws of 2005 No. 179, item 1485). It came into force on 15 October 2005.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act introduced criminal sanctions for possession of even a small amount of narcotic or psychotropic drugs.
12	The Act of 15 June 2007 on the Trustee's Licence (currently on the Restructuring Advisor Licence, Journal of Laws of 2022, item 1007). It came into force on 10 October 2007.	<i>Change of definition.</i> The definition of a public official was extended to include a trustee, a court supervisor and an administrator.
13	Act of 7 September 2007 on Assistance to Persons Entitled to Alimony (Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1993, as amended). It came into force on 1 October 2008.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> Within the scope of crimes harmful to the family and care, especially failure to pay alimony, there is one more notable change, namely the change in the institution of the Maintenance Fund. This fund was abolished on 1 May 2004. Over 500,000 people used the Maintenance Fund. This fund was reinstated in July 2008. Pursuant to the Act of 7 September, Article 209 § 2 of the Penal Code, as of 1 October 2008, the group of entities entitled to file an application for prosecution of an offence under Article 209 § 1 of the Penal Code was extended. In addition to the injured party and the social welfare authority, instead of the authority granting the appropriate family benefit or alimony advance being authorised to submit an application for prosecution, any authority taking action against the alimony debtor was authorised to submit an application for prosecution.
14	Act of 24 October 2008 amending the Penal Code and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2008 No. 214, item 1344). It came into force on 18 December 2008.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act changed the scope of criminalisation of Article 296a of the Penal Code (economic corruption). This offence may be committed by a person performing a managerial function, a person an employment relationship with a person performing a managerial function, a contract of mandate or a contract for specific work (so far also having, due to the position/function held, a significant influence on making decisions related to the entity's activity), who demands or accepts a financial/personal benefit in exchange for the abuse of the rights granted or failure to comply with the obligation incumbent on him/her, which may cause material damage to that entity, constitute an act of unfair competition or an unacceptable preferential activity for the benefit of the buyer or receipt of goods, services or performances.
15	Act of 20 May 2010 amending the Penal Code, the Police Act, the Provisions Introducing the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code (Journal of Laws of 2010 No. 98, item 626). It came into force on 8 September 2010.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act, once again, extended the scope of the definition of a public official to include an employee of the international criminal court as such, unless they perform only service activities.
16	The Act of 25 June 2010 on Sport (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2023, item 2048). It came into force on 16 October 2010.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act repealed Article 296b of the Penal Code, which criminalised sports corruption.

No.	Law	What was changed?
17	Act of 25 February 2011 amending the Penal Code (Journal of Laws of 2011 No. 72, item 381). It came into force on 6 June 2011.	<i>New offence.</i> The Act introduced the criminalisation of “stalking” in Article 190a of the Penal Code.
18	Act of 1 April 2011 amending the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2011 No. 117, item 678). It came into force on 9 December 2011.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> A regulation provided for in Article 62a of the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction was introduced. It allows for discontinuation of proceedings if the subject of the crime is narcotic or psychotropic drugs in an insignificant amount, intended for the perpetrator’s own use, and imposing a penalty on the perpetrator would be pointless due to the circumstances of the act and the degree of its social harmfulness.
19	Act of 27 September 2013 amending the Act – Code of Criminal Procedure and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2013, item 1247). It came into force on 9 November 2013.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> Crime under Article 178a § 2 of the Penal Code has been reclassified as offences – Article 87 § 1a of the Code of Petty Offences. The value of stolen or misappropriated property was increased, qualifying acts as crimes (so-called halving), as a result of which some of them were moved to the category of offences. The limit of the value of stolen property was then changed from PLN 250 to 1/4 of the minimum wage (in 2013 it was PLN 400).
20	Act of 13 June 2013 amending the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Journal of Laws of 2013, item 849) It came into force on 27 January 2014.	The amendment abolished the application procedure for prosecuting crimes against sexual freedom, and from the moment of its entry into force, they are prosecuted <i>ex officio</i> .
21	Act of 30 August 2013 amending the Act on Juvenile Justice Proceedings and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2013, item 1165). It came into force on 2 January 2014.	The Act abandons the inquiry proceedings and the dualism of proceedings conducted against juveniles: custody and education, and correctional proceedings. Since the entry into force of the Act, all juvenile cases have been conducted in a uniform procedure and registered in court statistics under one reference number Nkd. The abolition of inquiries significantly reduced the number of juvenile cases handled by the family and juvenile departments of district courts.
22	Act of 20 February 2015 amending the Penal Code and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2015, item 396). It came into force on 1 July 2015.	The Act significantly limited the possibility of applying a suspended prison sentence in favour of broader use of the penalty of restriction of liberty and fines. It also introduced the so-called adversarial model of criminal proceedings (withdrawn after less than a year – amendment no. 24), increasing the role of the parties and limiting the role of the court in the evidentiary proceedings, which led to a reduction in the number of cases referred by prosecutors to courts.
23	Act of 24 July 2015 amending the Act – Road Traffic Law and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2015, item 1273) It came into force on 1 January 2016.	The Act repealed the provisions which were the legal basis for road traffic control carried out by municipal guards using of speed cameras, which significantly reduced the number of proceedings for offences conducted by these guards and led to an increase in the number of these proceedings conducted by the Road Transport Inspectorate, which to a large extent took over the supervision of speed cameras.
24	Act of 11 March 2016 amending the Code of Criminal Procedure and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2016, item 437). It came into force on 15 April 2016.	The act reversed the introduction of the adversarial model of criminal proceedings, which led to the return of the number of cases referred by prosecutors to courts to the pre-2015 levels.
25	Act of 16 November 2016 amending the Act on the General Obligation to Defend the Republic of Poland and certain other Acts (Journal of Laws of 2016, item 2138). It came into force on 1 January 2017.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act changed the scope of the definition of a public official, recognising as such, as before, a person performing active military service, but no longer territorial military service performed at disposal.
26	Act of 23 March 2017 amending the Penal Code and the Act on Assistance to Persons Entitled to Maintenance (Journal of Laws of 2017, item 952). It came into force on 31 May 2017.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The Act amended Article 209 of the Penal Code concerning the crime of failure to pay alimony. As a result of this amendment, the scope of criminalisation of acts consisting in evasion of maintenance significantly increased – any such action is now classified as a crime, as a result of which arrears constituting the equivalent of at least three months’ alimony arise, without the need to prove that it is persistent and causes risk of inability to meet basic life needs.
27	Act of 20 July 2018 amending the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction and the Act on the State Sanitary Inspection (Journal of Laws of 2018, item 1490). It came into force on 21 August 2018.	<i>Changing the rules of conduct of an institution in response to a criminal act.</i> Article 62b of the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction came into force on 21 August 2018. This defines the manner of reaction to the possession of new psychoactive substances. As a rule, it is a fine (§ 1), and in the case of possession of significant quantities – a fine, a penalty of restriction of liberty or imprisonment for up to three years (§ 2). Paragraph 3, in turn, provides for the possibility of discontinuing proceedings in the case of possession of new psychoactive substances, provided that the amount possessed is insignificant, intended for the perpetrator’s own use, and due to the circumstances in which the act is committed and its degree of social harmfulness imposing a penalty on the perpetrator would be pointless.
28	Act of 4 October 2018 amending the Act – Code of Petty Offences and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2018, item 2077). It came into force on 15 November 2018.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The method of “halving” of theft was changed again. Instead of recognising the stolen property in the value of one quarter of the minimum wage as the limit value of the stolen property, a fixed amount of PLN 500 was restored. In 2018, one quarter of the minimum wage was PLN 525, so the change this year did not increase the threshold of “halving”. However, in the following years (when the amount of the minimum wage increased every year) it could cause changes in the classification of theft as a misdemeanor.

No.	Law	What has changed?
29	Act of 9 June 2022 on the Support and Resocialisation of Juveniles (Journal of Laws of 2024, item 978). It came into force on 1 September 2022.	<i>Change of definition.</i> The Act, among other things, broadened the definition of a punishable act. From the moment it entered into force, all fiscal offences were considered to be such an act. The Act also introduced a lower age limit for demoralisation, setting it at ten years of age. Therefore, the cases of younger children cannot be, as was the case so far, the subject of proceedings conducted against minors.
30	Act of 7 July 2022 amending the Penal Code and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2022, item 2600, as amended). It came into force on 1 October 2023.	<i>Change of the definition of an existing offence.</i> The value of stolen or misappropriated property was increased, qualifying acts as crimes, as a result of which some of them were moved to the category of offences. The limit value of stolen property of PLN 500 was set at PLN 800. The scope of criminalisation of the crime of taking a bribe was also changed. The upper limit of the penalty (from 12 to 15 years of imprisonment) provided for persons who, in connection with the performance of a public function, accept a financial benefit of significant value or a promise of it; § 5a was inserted, which provides for a penalty of imprisonment for between three and twenty years for persons who, in connection with the performance of a public function, accept a financial benefit of great value or a promise thereof. Accordingly, the scope of criminalisation also included persons who grant or promise to provide a financial benefit of great value to a person performing a public function.
31	Act of 13 July 2023 on the revitalisation of the Odra River (Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1963). It came into force on 1 July 2024.	<i>Reconstruction of the definition.</i> According to the Act, the Water Inspectorate inspector was also recognised as a public official.

Chapter I

CRIMES REPORTED

Joanna Klimczak, Justyna Włodarczyk-Madejska

Introduction

The basic source of information about crime found in Poland is police and prosecutor's statistics. The data presented in this chapter on the number of crimes recorded until 2012 came from the Police Crime Statistics System TEMIDA of the National Police Headquarters, and included crimes confirmed both in proceedings conducted by the police and in proceedings conducted by the prosecutor's office on their own (not involving the police). Since the beginning of 2013, the police have been using a new statistical system – the National Police Information System (KSIP) – which contains information only about crimes found in proceedings conducted by the police.¹ Statistical data on proceedings conducted by the prosecutor's office on their own are collected separately and to a significantly limited extent. The data presented in this chapter since 2013 come only from police statistics, and thus are not fully comparable with the data up to 2012.

The above systemic changes in crime statistics mean that currently the only source of aggregated (combined) data sets from the police and the prosecutor's office are the data collected and presented by the Central Statistical Office in the *Statistical Yearbooks of the Republic of Poland* and *Small Statistical Yearbooks*. Unfortunately, this data is collected only for selected categories of crimes, which have additionally changed over the past years. Therefore, they do not allow for detailed analyses. Analysis of this data shows a small number of proceedings for crimes conducted exclusively by the prosecutor's office, which data is missing in police statistics. Importantly, the data on crimes found since 2013 does not include criminal acts of minors. Since 2013, these acts have been shown in police statistics only after obtaining information

about the initiation and completion of proceedings by the family court, and not, as before, when the case is referred to the family court. However, due to the fact that family courts are not obliged to inform the Police about the results of the proceedings, the police data in this respect is incomplete. Therefore, in this edition of the *Atlas*, as in the previous one, it was decided to present in this chapter data on crimes established since 2013, excluding the incomplete data on juvenile offences. These acts, recorded in the statistics of juvenile courts, are the subject of a separate chapter, Chapter V of the *Atlas*.

The changes in data collection discussed above should be taken into account when analysing crime statistics – they have been graphically highlighted in charts and tables as the interval between 2012 and 2013. In addition, the analysis of the extent of crime should also take into account legislative changes that could have affected the number of registered crimes in individual years. The most important of them are listed in "Selected changes in the law..."

Changes in the method of data registration or legislative changes undoubtedly affect the image of crime in Poland. These are just two of a number of other factors shaping the statistics discussed in the *Atlas*. These include important events in recent years, such as the escalation of the war in Ukraine, the conflict on the Polish-Belarusian border, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the increasingly visible effects of socio-demographic changes (such as the aging of the population). The *ageing of the population* means nothing more than the fact that as the percentage of older people increases, the percentage of younger people decreases, and they commit crimes much more often than older people. The analysis of statistical data shows that despite these factors, some constant elements can be observed in crime in Poland. Undoubtedly, these include the conclusion that the predominant form of crime is crime against property, as well as a much greater rate of registered crime in cities than in the countryside. However,

¹ Ordinance No. 5 of the Commander-in-Chief of the Police of 31 January 2013.

it turns out that these “constant” phenomena are also subject to change. The most common property-related crime is no longer theft, but fraud, probably committed with increasing frequency using the Internet. On the other hand, crime in the countryside is growing much faster than in cities. In the 1990s, the share of crimes committed in rural areas did not exceed 20%, and for about ten years, crime in rural areas has accounted for 25% of all recorded crime. This may be related to suburbanisation and the increasing resemblance of rural areas to urban areas. Sometimes, even overtakes urban areas, such as on the scale of housing construction. In the years 2013–2020 alone, two-thirds of new dwellings were built in suburban zones of large cities. What is more, in some suburban municipalities, construction has taken on larger dimensions than in some medium-sized or large Polish cities. In the above-mentioned period, among the 15 territorial units with the highest percentage of new dwellings completed, 14 of them were located in rural areas. In addition, analyses of the intensity of residential construction per 10,000 inhabitants showed that it is higher not in core cities, but in the surrounding areas.²

Until 2022, drug crime, primarily drug possession, was growing (albeit with periodic declines). Drugs are more and more readily available, and are used instead of, or in addition to alcohol – primarily by young people. However, drug crime rates per 100,000 Polish inhabitants show that the increase has been constantly visible since 2019, including in 2023.

Since 2015, crime in Poland has been relatively stable. Crime rates do show some increases or decreases, but they are rather small. Currently, crime remains at a much lower level than at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, and lower than in 2013, which, due to the changes in registration, can be considered the most appropriate for comparison. The areas of south-west Poland have the highest crime rates, and the

least crime is recorded in the south-east. Quite an interesting conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of traffic offences. It turns out that Between 2002 and 2023, the percentage of the offence of driving under the influence of alcohol or while intoxicated decreased, and quite significantly. This is one of the main changes in road crime. The most significant change concerned the recognition of cycling under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants as a misdemeanour, not a crime. This took place in 2013. Nowadays, with regards to traffic crime, a behaviour that is becoming more and more visible is repeated driving under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants. In absolute numbers, the change is practically invisible, but due to the decrease in single cases of this type – the percentage of multiple behaviours has increased 1.5 times over the last ten years. The rates of crimes relating to the family and care are certainly worrying – almost twice as high as in the 1990s, which may be due to fewer crimes of this nature being reported in the 1990s. There may be several reasons for this, such as social consent to such behaviour, which, due to the patriarchal model of many families, was considered normal, but also a low level of social sensitivity resulting in a failure to react to what was happening next door. In the 1990s, although the system of counteracting domestic violence began to develop, it was very different from the one that functions today, hence it was more difficult to obtain appropriate assistance. As many as 70% of this type of crime is a crime of non-payment of alimony. When it comes to Internet crimes, there is probably a certain amount of stabilisation here. The year 2023, like the previous one, is no different in the percentage of crimes committed in this way. This may also be the result of the very different manner of detection. Corruption crimes, on the other hand, account for a small percentage of crimes identified. The predominant form of this crime is the taking of a bribe by an official and bribery. The good news is that the overall detection rate has remained consistently above 70% since 2017, which is the highest in the period we analysed.

² Ł. Sykała et al., *Suburbanization processes in Poland in the light of the development of residential and non-residential construction in suburban zones*, Institute for Urban and Regional Development, 2023, pp. 14, 18–19.

Important clarifications

The following rules apply to the compilation of data on recorded offences in police and prosecution statistics:

- The statistical unit for reporting is a **recorded offence**, i.e. an act recognised as an offence in a completed pre-trial investigation.
- Completed pre-trial proceedings are considered to be closed proceedings conducted by a prosecutor or investigations or inquiries that have been substantively completed by the police with one of the following procedural decisions: 1) referral of a request for: a) approval or drafting of an indictment, b) approval of a decision on discontinuance, c) transfer of proceedings to prosecutorial bodies of other countries; 2) transfer of proceedings files: a) to the court with a request for conditional discontinuance, b) to the family court, c) to other adjudicating bodies (e.g. financial and customs authorities).
- The number of recorded offences does not correspond to the volume of offences actually committed in a given year. This is because crime statistics do not include unreported crimes and crimes reported but not accepted or not registered by the police (the 'dark number' problem).
- In addition, there are delays in the registration of recorded offences related to the duration of the pre-trial investigation and the circulation of statistical documents. According to police estimates, the *statistical delay* between an act being committed and recorded the relevant statistics is two to three months.
- Also, in the case of concurrent offences, one offence – the most serious, i.e. with the highest sanction – is recorded in the crime statistics, which also means that the statistics of recorded offences do not cover the full number of offences.
- Recorded offences are shown according to the classification of the Penal Code and the criminal provisions of other laws.
- Crimes relate geographically to where they were committed in the country. This is how data was recorded in the TEMIDA system (until 2012). The new KSIP system (as of 2013), on the other hand, includes two ways of recording data – by administrative division of the country and by registering unit (which also includes crimes committed outside Poland, but dealt with or partly dealt with by the Polish police). The data from these two sources differ minimally. As a rule, this chapter presents data by administrative division (and therefore only for Poland). However, some of the information (e.g. on the *modus operandi* used in crimes, use of weapons and place of burglary) is included only in the information compiled by the registering unit. In each instance, the appropriate annotation is included in the details.
- Also, the types of crime are recorded according to the classification adopted in the investigation, irrespective of whether the classification might change during the judicial proceedings.
- **The crime rate** (per 100,000 population) is the quotient of the number of crimes and the population in a given year (multiplied by 100,000). Crime rates are calculated on the basis of information on the population of Poland as at 30 June of a given year – which corresponds to the average population in a given year.
- **A detected crime** is an offence for which at least one suspect has been identified in a completed investigation.
- **The detection rate** is the quotient (expressed as a percentage) of the number of detected offences and the total number of recorded offences, plus the number of recorded offences in proceedings undertaken – discontinued in previous years due to failure to detect the perpetrators.
- The **rate/dynamic index** is the quotient (expressed as a percentage) of the number of offences in a given year and the number of offences in the base year. It indicates whether this number has increased (values above 100) or decreased (values below 100).
- **Internet crimes** are understood as crimes related to the Internet or another computer networks according to the *modus operandi* of the perpetrator.

TOTAL CRIME REPORTED

Chart 1. Total crimes per 100,000 population in the years 1970–2023

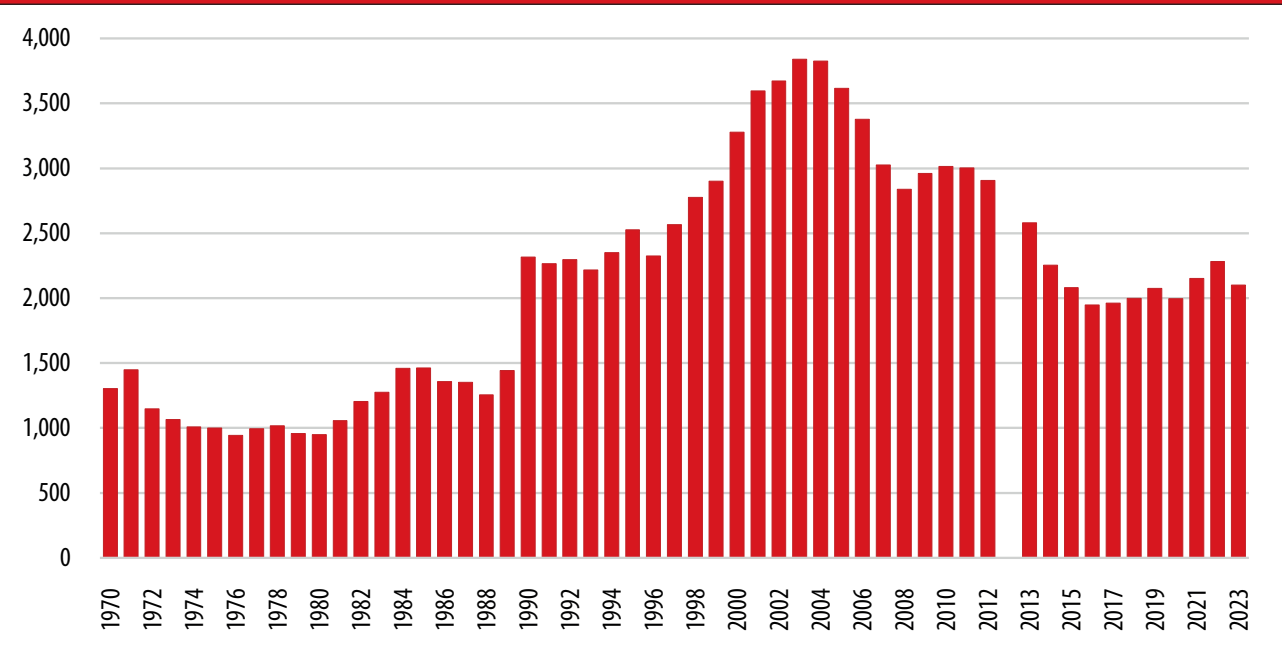
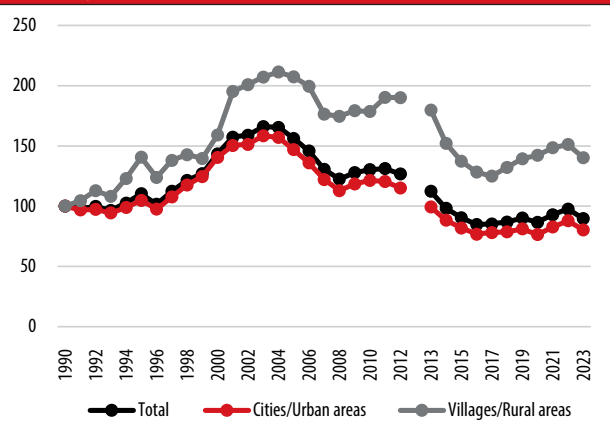


Chart 2. Crime growth rates in the years 1990–2023 (1990 = 100)



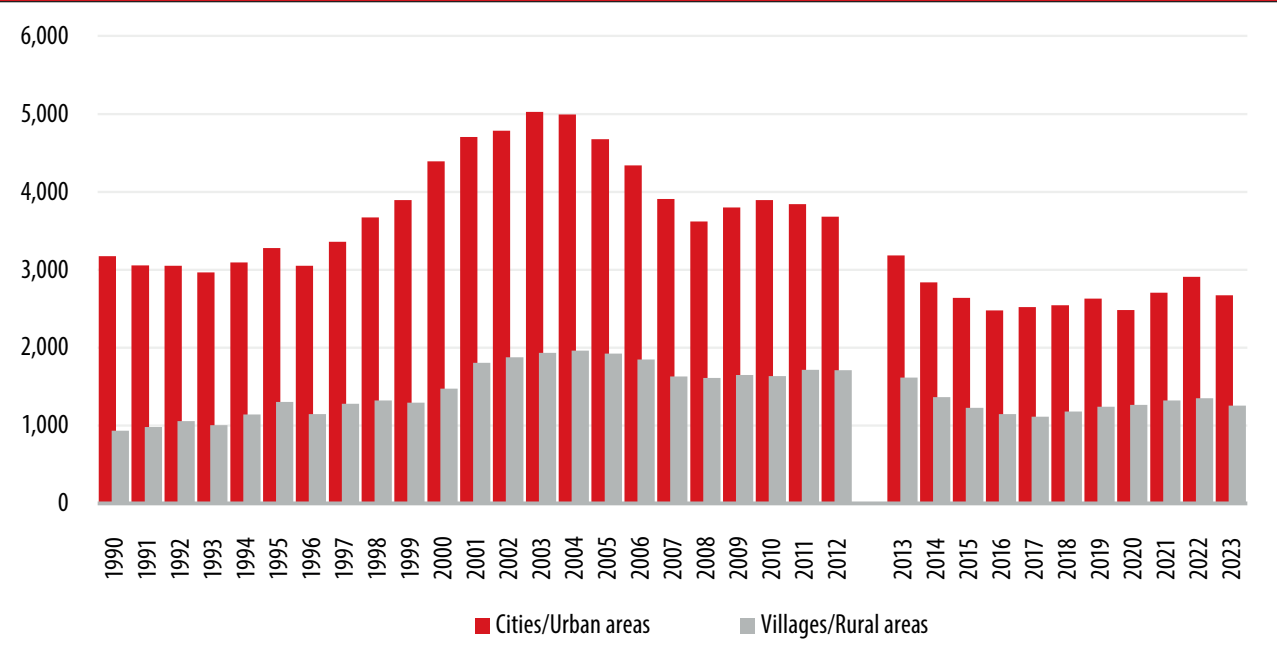
- After a sharp increase in 1989–1990 (by more than 60%), in the mid-1990s crime rates became relatively stable, and in the years 1997–2003 they increased by an average of 10% per year. Between 2007 and 2013,

the fluctuations in the crime rate averaged around 5%, between 2014 and 2019 – around 4%, and from 2020 to 2023 – around 7%.

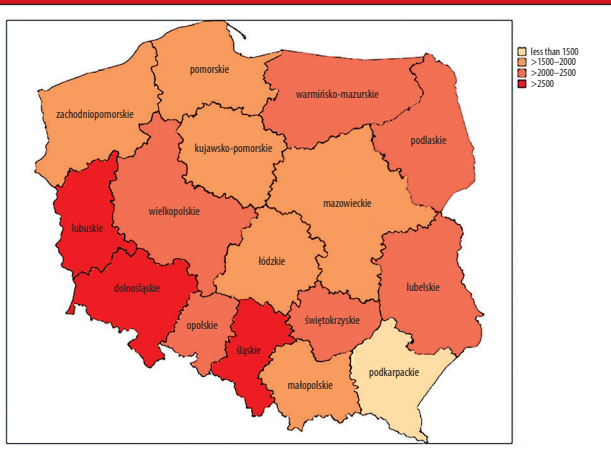
- In 2023, the crime rate was nearly 20% lower than in 2013 and about 45% lower than in 2002–2004. It was also about 20% lower than in the mid-1990s. Compared to the 1970s, the crime rate has almost doubled. In 2023, it was more than 60% higher than in the 1980s. The crime rate peaked in 2003–2004, reaching over 3,800. Between 2007 and 2012, crime stabilised at around 3,000 crimes per 100,000 population, with a decreasing trend since 2011. Between 2015 and 2023, there were approximately 2000 crimes per 100,000 population per year.
- In 2023, crime was 10% lower than in 1990.

DIFERENCES ACROSS REGIONS

Chart 3. Total crimes in cities and rural areas per 100,000 population in 1990–2023



Map 1. Crime per 100,000 population in voivodships in 2023



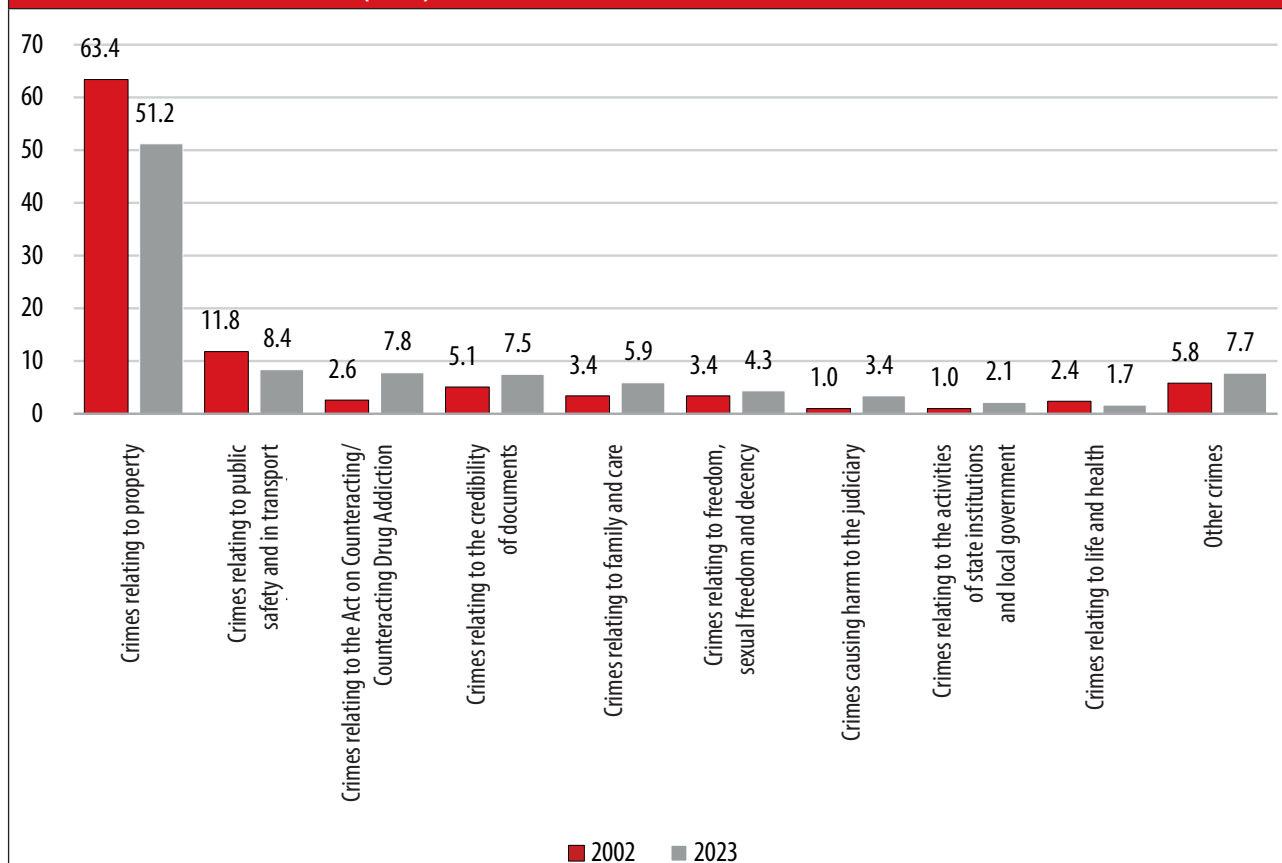
- In 2023, the highest crime rate, above 2,500, was in the following voivodships: Lubuskie (Lubusz) (2,525.1), Dolnośląskie (Lower Silesia) (2,750.1) and Śląskie (Silesia) (2,593.6). It was relatively high (over 2,000) in the voivodship: Zachodniopomorskie (West Pomerania) (2,127.1), Pomorskie (Pomerania) (2,266.5), Kujawsko-Pomorskie (Kuyavia-Pomerania) (2,163.3), Mazowieckie

(Masovia) (2,212.5), Łódzkie (Lodzkie) (2,099.3) and Małopolskie (Lesser Poland) (2,087.9). The lowest crime rate (below 1,500) was in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship (Subcarpathia) (1,155.8). Compared to 2019, there was a significant change (over 10%) in the distribution of crime in individual voivodships. The most visible is a decrease of over 30% in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship and an increase of nearly 20% in the Kuyavia-Pomerania Voivodeship.

- The crime rate in cities is more than twice as high as in the rural areas.
- The trend of crime in cities is very similar to the nationwide trend of crime, and more stable than the trend of crime in rural areas.
- Although it is at a definitely lower level than in cities, crime in rural areas increased at a much faster rate in the analysed period.
- Between 2013 and 2023, compared to 1990, crime fell by an average of about 10%, while in rural areas it increased by an average of over 35%, which may be related to the suburbanisation mentioned in the introduction.

STRUCTURE OF CRIMES

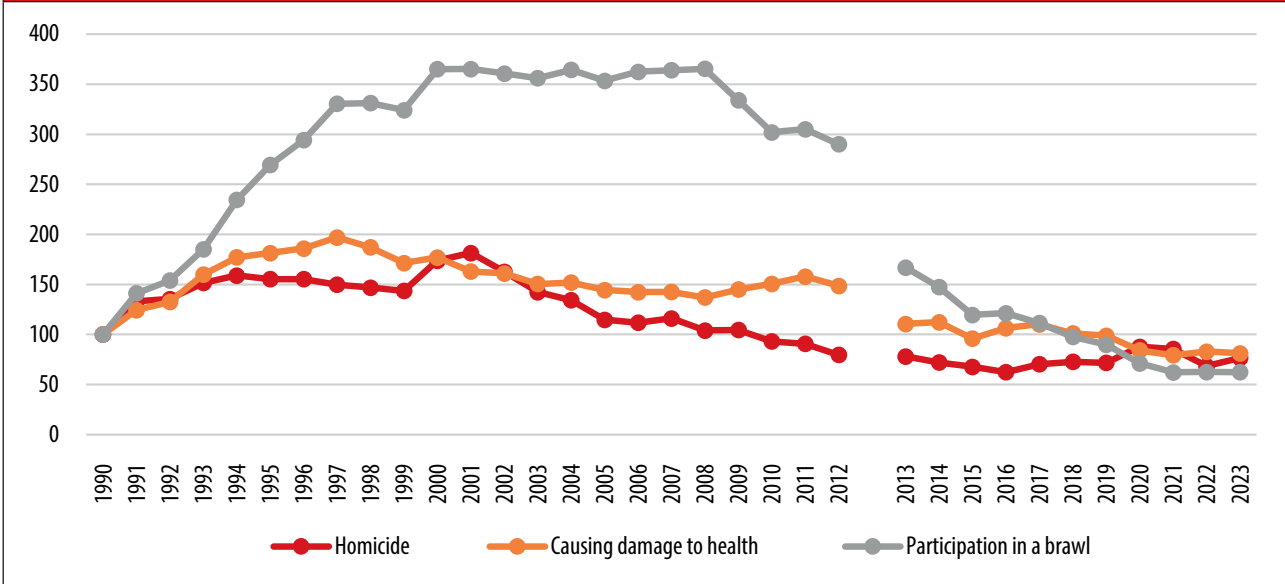
Chart 4. Structure of crimes (in %) in 2002 and 2023



- More than half of the crimes confirmed are crimes relating to property. Approximately 8% are relating to public safety and in transport, the credibility of documents, and crimes under the Acts on Counteracting/Preventing Drug Addiction.
- In 2023, compared to 2002, the percentage of property crimes decreased by more than 12 p.p. There was also a significant change in crime relating to public safety and transport – this decreased almost 1.5 times. The percentage of crimes relating to life and health also decreased nearly 1.5 times.
- Compared to 2002, in 2023 the percentage of crimes committed under the Acts on Counteracting Drug Addiction and crimes causing harm to the judiciary tripled, while crimes relating to the activities of state institutions and local government doubled. The percentage of crimes relating to freedom, sexual freedom and decency, family and care, and the credibility of documents also increased.

CRIMES RELATING TO LIFE AND HEALTH

Chart 5. Growth rates in the years 1990–2023 (1990 = 100)



- Between 2002 and 2016, the homicide rate decreased steadily, by an average of almost 7% per year. In 2016, the homicide rate was the lowest in the entire analysed period. Between 2020 and 2021, more than 600 homicides were reported per year, the highest in nearly a decade.
- The highest rate of crimes causing harm to health was recorded at the end of the 1990s. Since 2000, there has been a downward trend in these crimes.
- The rate of brawling remained high in the years 1997–2011 – three times higher than in 1990. In the following years, there was a systematic decrease in these crimes. The largest difference in rate of brawling occurred between 2012 and 2013, which is partly due to the change in crime registration during this time.
- For the years of 2022 and 2023, the police released data on the number of homicides according to the form in which they were committed. Based on this data, 254 murders were recorded in 2022 and 286 in 2023. This means that in both years, attempted homicides accounted for about 47% of all homicides. This

is the highest percentage of attempted murders recorded to date – in the fifth *Atlas of Crime in Poland*, the highest rate of attempted murder was 40.8% in 2001.

- After rapid changes since 1990, the rates of crimes relating to life and health began to resemble the level of 30 years ago, and are now lower.
- Comparing the structure of crimes relating to life and health in 2013 and 2023, the homicide rate increased by about 1 p.p., and the percentage of acts causing bodily harm increased by approximately 8 p.p. On the other hand, the percentage of participation in a brawl has almost two times decreased.

Table 1. Structure of crimes relating to life and health

Crimes	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Homicide	570	2.8	559	4.2
Causing bodily injury	11,510	56.0	8,458	64.2
Brawling	6,571	32.0	2,452	18.6
Other	1,900	9.2	1,718	13.0
TOTAL	20,551	100.0	13,187	100.0

CRIMES RELATING TO SEXUAL FREEDOM AND DECENCY

Chart 6. Number of crimes of rape and sexual intercourse with a minor in the years 1990–2023

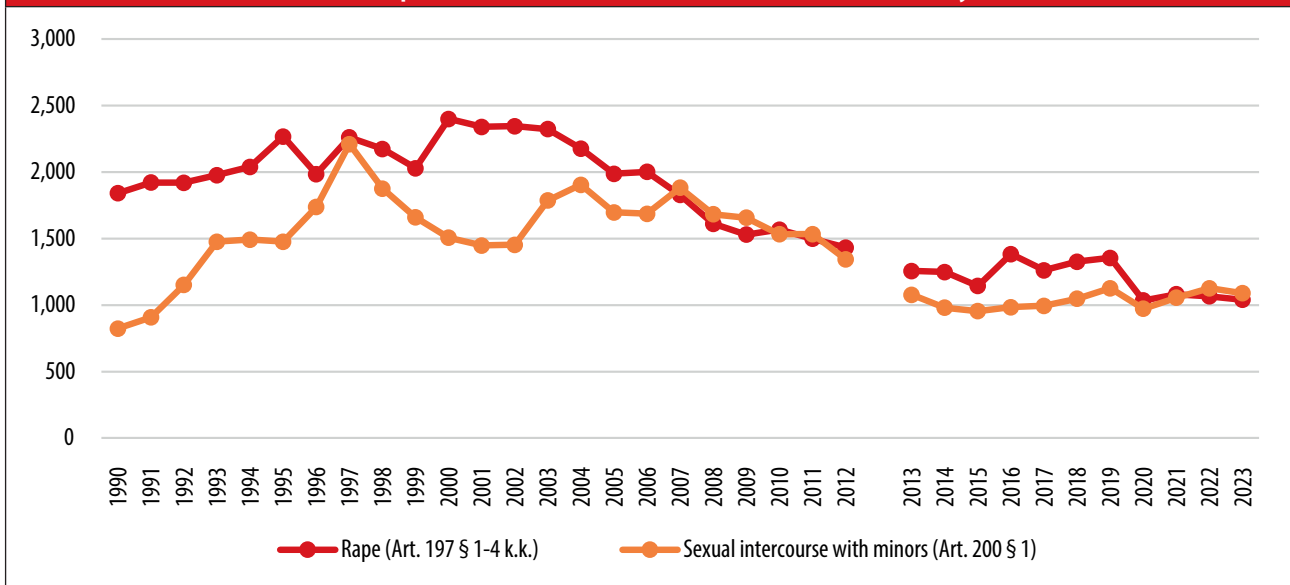


Chart 7. Crimes relating to sexual freedom and decency in the years 2000–2023 per 100,000 population

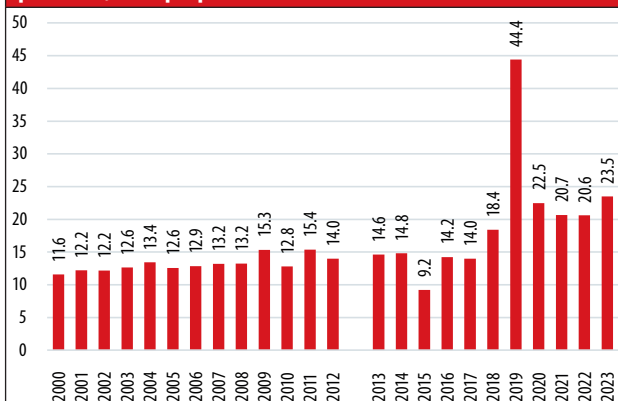


Table 2. Structure of crimes relating to sexual freedom and decency

Crimes	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Art. 197 §§ 1, 2	1,124	20.0	831	9.4
Art. 197 §§ 3, 4	132	2.3	209	2.4
Art. 200 § 1	1,078	19.1	1089	12.3
Other	3,296	58.6	6,724	75.9
TOTAL	5,630	100.0	8,853	100.0

- The highest rape rates were recorded in the years 2000–2003, exceeding 2300 cases per year.
- The periods 1996–1998 and 2003–2007 saw the highest number of crimes of sexual intercourse with minors.
- The more than twofold increase in the number of crimes relating to sexual freedom and decency in 2019 was the result of a higher number of offences under Article 202 § 4a of the Penal Code. In 2019, 12,845 offences were identified, compared to 261 in the previous year (see “Selected changes in the law...”).
- Comparing the years 2013 and 2023, the percentage of rape in overall crimes relating to sexual freedom and decency decreased twice. The percentage of crimes of sexual intercourse with minors also decreased (by 7 p.p.).

CRIMES RELATING TO FAMILY AND GUARDIANSHIP

Chart 8. Number of offences under Articles 207 and 209 of the Penal Code in the years 1990–2023

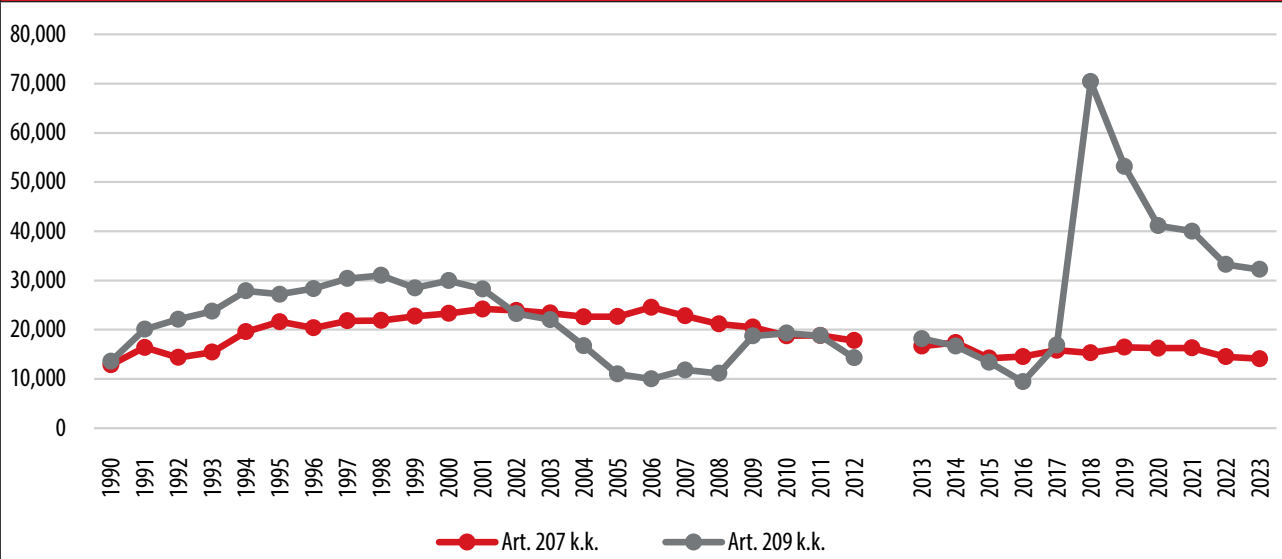


Chart 9. Crimes relating to family and guardianship in total offences identified in the years 1990–2023

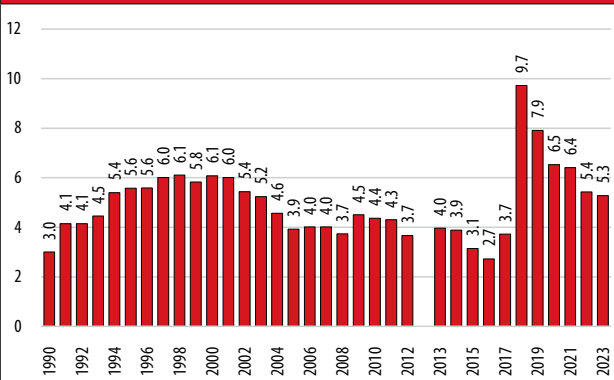


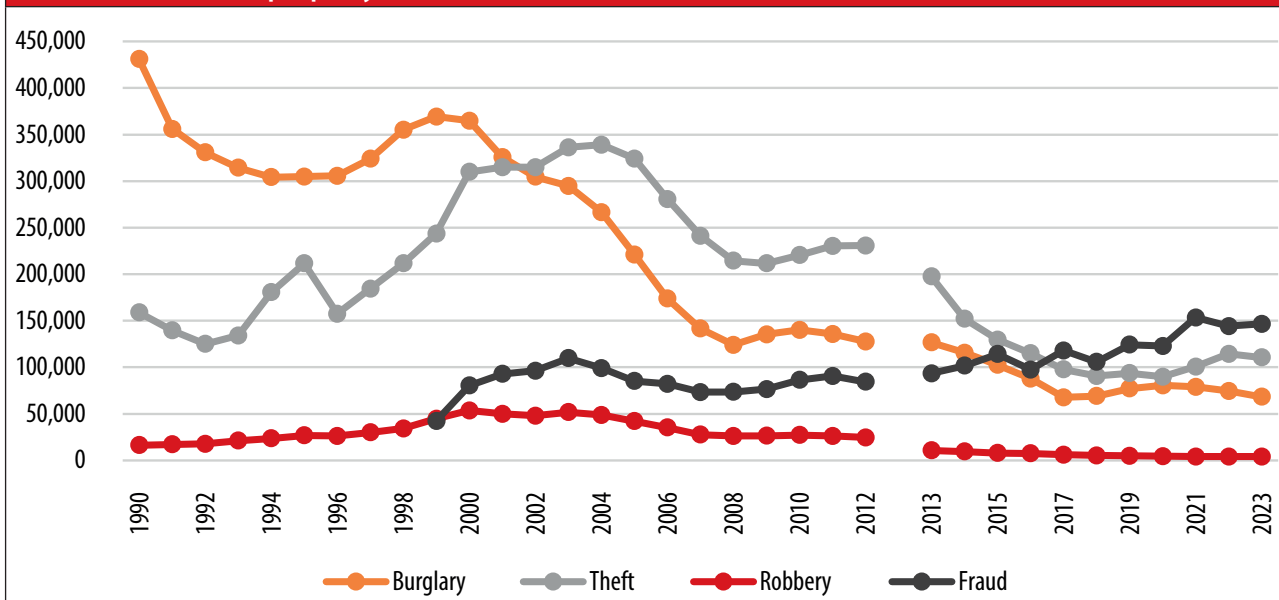
Table 3. Structure of family and guardianship crimes

Crimes	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Art. 207 Penal Code	16,650	47.5	14,110	30.3
Art. 209 Penal Code	18,166	51.9	32,253	69.2
Other	203	0.6	276	0.5
TOTAL	35,019	100.0	46,639	100.0

- In the years 1990–2023, crimes relating to family and guardianship accounted for approximately 5% of all crimes recorded. The highest percentage was recorded in 2018, due to the change in the regulations on the crime of failure to pay alimony (see “Selected changes in the law...”).
- The most common crime from this group of acts is the crime of failure to pay alimony. In 2023, this accounted for nearly 70% of the total. One in three crimes is the crime of abuse. The number of these crimes has remained almost the same since the 1990s.
- Between 2013 and 2023, there was a significant change in the structure of crimes relating to family and care. The percentage of the crime of failure to pay alimony increased significantly, while the percentage of the crime of abuse decreased.

CRIMES RELATING TO PROPERTY

Chart 10. Number of property crimes between 1990 and 2023



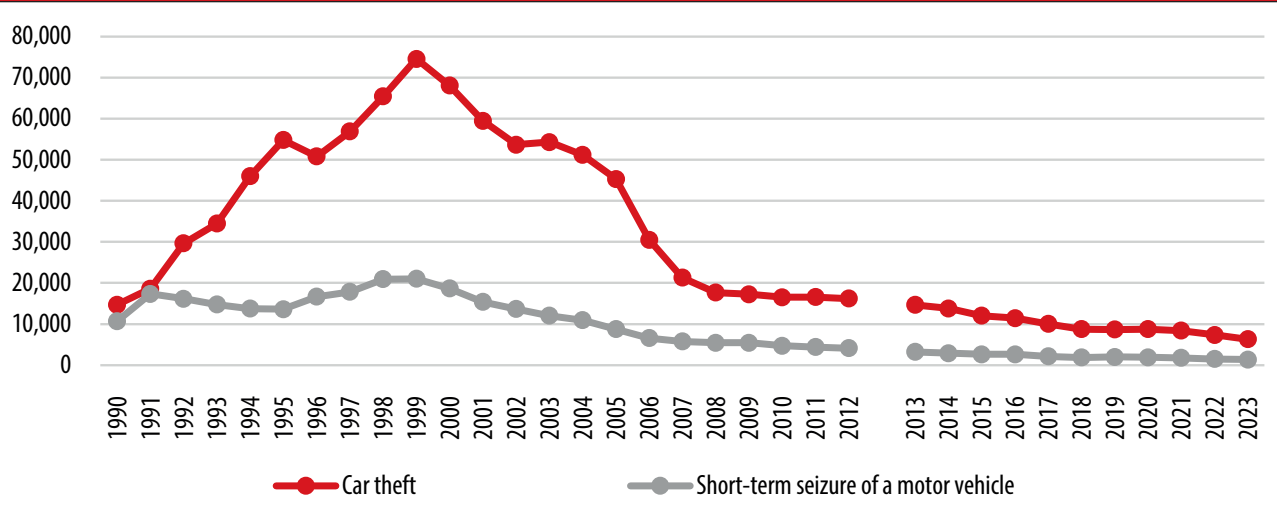
- Burglary was the most common form of property crime between 1990 and 2001. After this period, until 2023, basic forms of theft were more common (Article 278 of the Penal Code).
- Since 2017, the most common crime in this category has been fraud, with a rate of 389 per 100,000 population in 2023.
- The rate of robbery crimes has been steadily decreasing since 2006, and in 2013–2015 the rate per 100,000 population was approximately 20, and from 2021 it was half this number.
- Apart from fraud, the rate of property crimes in 2023 was lower than in 2013 (for theft and burglary there was almost a twofold decrease, and almost threefold for robbery).
- In 2021, the downward trend for theft reversed, increasing by 12%, and a year later by 14%. In 2023, it decreased slightly, still remaining at the level of over 100,000 crimes.
- Comparing the years 2013 and 2023, there was a visible change in structure of property crimes. First of all, there was a notable twofold increase in the percentage of fraud, which seems to be a constant trend in property crime.
- The rate of theft decreased by 10 p.p. and burglary by 7 p.p., which may indicate that thieves are now reclassified as perpetrators of fraud.

Table 4. Structure of property crimes

Crimes	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Burglary	126,553	23.9	68,185	16.8
Robbery	10,699	2.0	3,942	1.0
Theft	197,498	37.4	110,443	27.3
Fraud	93,375	17.7	146,553	36.1
Other property crimes	100,481	19.0	76,140	18.8
TOTAL	528,606	100.0	405,263	100.0

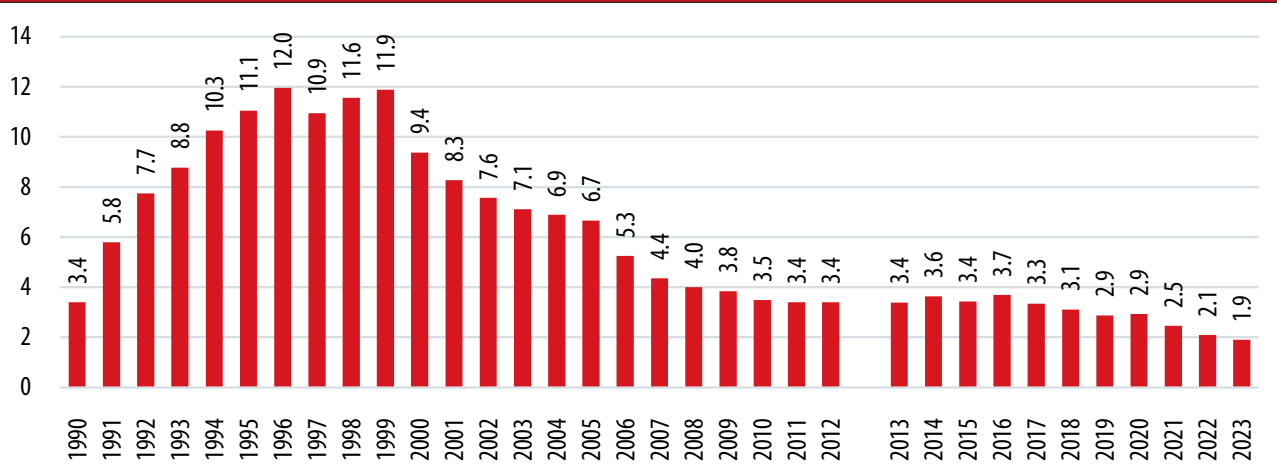
CAR THEFT AND VEHICLE SEIZURE

Chart 11. Number of crimes of car theft and short-term vehicle seizure between 1990 and 2023



- In the 1990s, the rate of car theft increased at a rapid pace – by an average of 20% per year. The highest rate was recorded in 1999 – almost 75,000. This was over five times more than in 1990. Since 2000, the trend of these crimes has been decreasing – in the first decade of the 21st century, the rate of car theft decreased by almost 1/4. In the second decade – by almost half.
- The highest number of crimes of short-term seizure of a motor vehicle was in 1999 (almost twice as many as in 1990). Since 2000, this number has been decreasing, on average by more than 10% per year. By 2023, the rate was seven times lower than at the end of the 20th century and thirteen times lower than in 1990.
- The ratio of car theft and short-term vehicle seizure to total property crimes has not exceeded 4% since 2009, and in 2022–2023 it was approximately 2%.

Chart 12. Car theft and short-term vehicle seizure in total property crimes in 1990–2023



TRAFFIC OFFENCES

Chart 13. Number of offences of driving under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants between 2001 and 2023

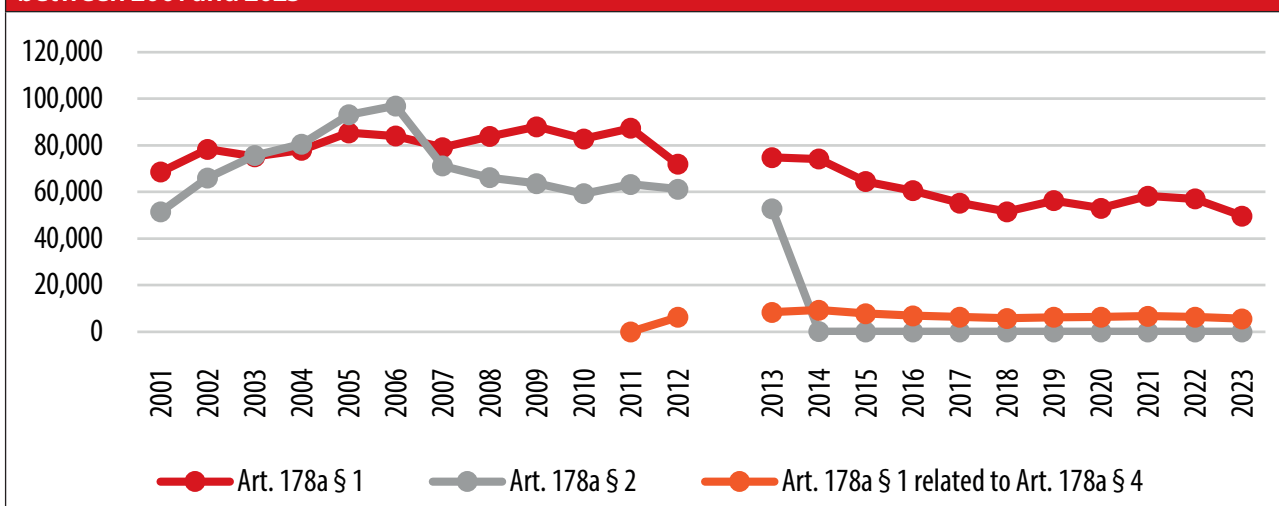


Chart 14. Percentage of traffic offences in total offences identified in the years 1990–2023

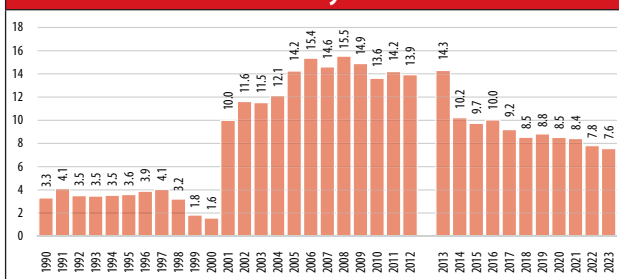


Table 5. Structure of traffic offences

Offences	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Art. 178a § 1	74,877	52.8	49,736	83.2
Art. 178a § 2	52,911	37.3	2	0.0
Art. 178a § 1 related to Art. 178a § 4	8,405	5.9	5,639	9.4
Other	5,713	4.0	4,435	7.4
TOTAL	141,906	100.0	59,812	100.0

- At the turn of the 21st century, the number of traffic offences per 100,000 population decreased by almost half. Between 2000 and 2001, this ratio increased almost sevenfold. On the other hand, between 2013 and 2014, there was a more than 1.5 decrease in

these rates, with a further increase in the following years. These observations largely explain changes in legal regulations (see “Selected changes in the law...”).

- Traffic offences in the years 1990–2023 accounted for nearly 9% of all recorded offences. Until 2000, this share oscillated between 1.5–4%. After 2000, there was an almost systematic increase. At that time, this rate exceeded 10%, and in some years even 15%. Since 2018, the percentage of traffic offences has fallen below 10%.
- The predominant form of traffic offense is driving a vehicle under the influence of alcohol (Article 178a §§ 1 and 2 of the Penal Code). In 2023, this reached 83% of traffic offences. In 2013, this number exceeded 90%, with almost half of them being cycling under the influence of alcohol, which was then classified as a crime.
- The rate of the repeated offence of driving under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants when banned from driving due to a previous conviction is increasing. The number of offences committed under Article 178a § 4 of the Penal Code in the analysed period is very similar, while the ratio of these offences to total offences increased 1.5 times.

DRUG OFFENCES

Chart 15. Drug offences per 100,000 population in 1990–2023

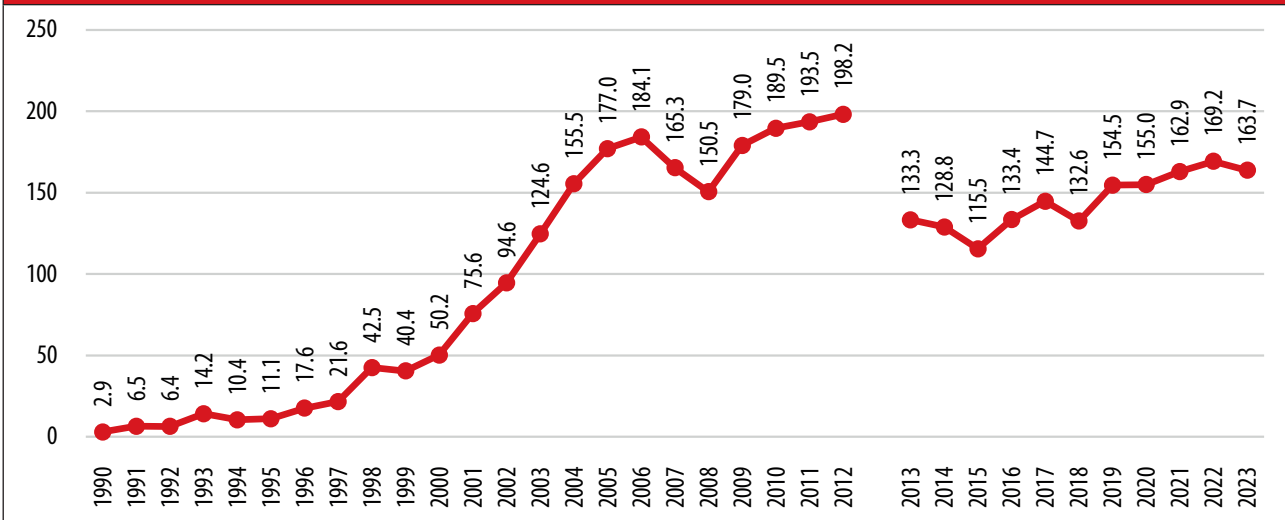


Table 6. Structure of drug offences

Offences	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Art. 53	257	0.5	290	0.5
Art. 54	191	0.4	291	0.5
Art. 55	845	1.6	436	0.7
Art. 56d	3,364	6.6	5,246	8.5
Art. 58	6,034	11.8	2,301	3.7
Art. 59	11,695	22.8	11,698	19.0
Art. 60		0.0		0.0
Art. 61	23	0.0	52	0.1
Art. 62	26,849	52.3	39,653	64.2
Art. 62a		0.0		0.0
Art. 62b		0.0	724	1.2
Art. 63	2,023	3.9	1,001	1.6
Art. 64	34	0.1	20	0.0
Art. 68	4	0.0		0.0
TOTAL	51,319	100.0	61,712	100.0

- Almost two-third of drug offences relate to possession, one in five is providing another person with an intoxicant, and one in ten is in drug trafficking.
- Compared to 2013, there was an increase in the crime of drug possession by approximately 10 p.p. The percentage of crimes relating to providing a narcotic drug to another person and human trafficking decreased slightly (by over 9 p.p.).
- In the early 1990s, drug crime rates were negligible. This is certainly due to the fact that drug possession was not penalised during this period. Until 1997, the only measure was confiscation. In 1997, a new law penalising drug possession with imprisonment came into force, and in 2001, it was amended, making even the possession of small amounts for personal use, illegal. Changes in the law are quite visible in changes in statistics. In 1998, the rate of drug crime doubled compared to the previous year. From that moment on, it grew almost systematically and at a significant pace, with the exception of 2008–2009, until 2012.
- The decrease between 2012 and 2013 is certainly the result of changes in the method of police registration and the failure to include criminal acts of minors. In recent years (with the exception of 2023), an upward trend has been visible again.

INTERNET CRIMES

Chart 16. Ratio of crimes related to the Internet and computer network to total crimes confirmed in 2013–2023

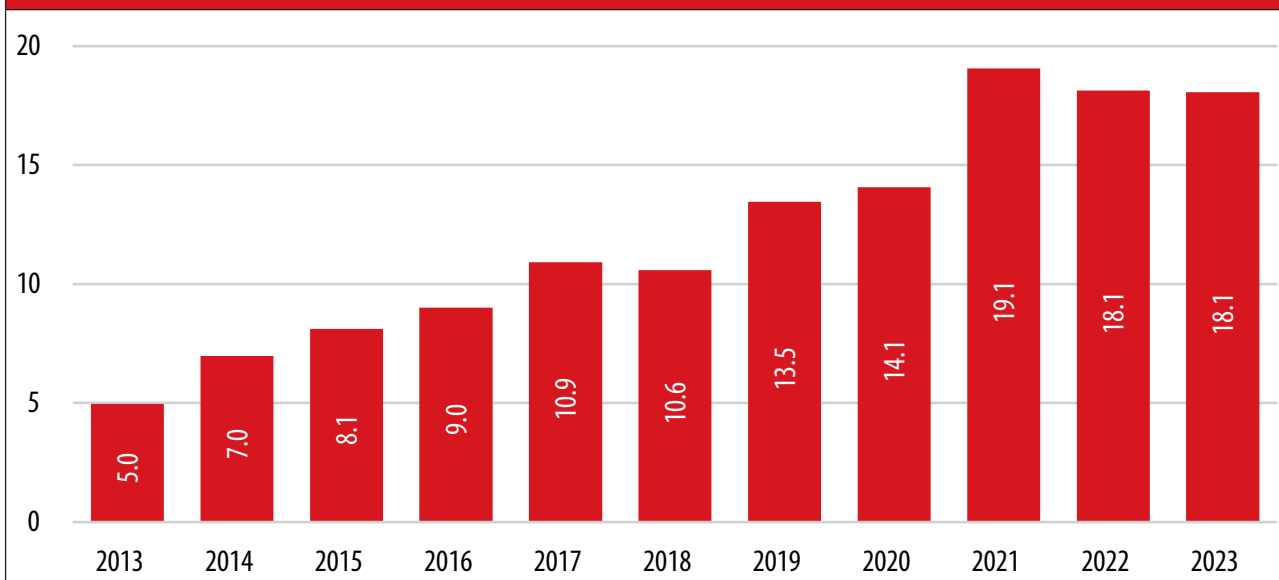


Table 7. Structure of Internet crimes in 2013 and 2023

Crimes	2013	2023
Criminal threat (Art. 190 § 1 of the Penal Code)	0.6	1.2
Persistent harassment (Art. 190a §§ 1–3 of the Penal Code)	0.8	1.6
Public presentation of pornographic content (Art. 202 §§ 1–4c of the Penal Code)	4.1	1.0
Unlawful acquisition of information (Art. 267 §§ 1–4 of the Penal Code)	2.2	3.8
Theft with burglary (Art. 279 § 1 of the Penal Code)	0.8	4.0
Fraud (Art. 286 §§ 1–3 of the Penal Code)	59.0	59.9
Computer fraud (Art. 287 §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code)	2.5	11.6
Money laundering (Art. 299 of the Penal Code)	0.0	0.3
Other	30.0	16.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

- The structure of Internet crimes changed between 2013 and 2023. The percentage of computer fraud increased by 9 p.p. In 2023, more burglaries were recorded, an increase of 2.3 p.p. The rate of public

presentation of pornographic content decreased from over 4% to 1%. The differences for other crimes are not so visible.

- The ratio of Internet crimes to the total crimes recorded up until 2022 increased almost systematically. Between 2013 and 2022, the increase was almost fourfold (from 5% to 18.1%).
- In the last year under analysis (2023), the rate of online crimes stabilised at the same level as the year before.
- The crime most often committed in this way is fraud. In 2023, it accounted for almost 60% of all identified Internet crimes. In second place, although with a much lower percentage (11.6%), was computer fraud. Approximately 4% of these crimes were burglary and unlawful acquisition of information. Persistent harassment is slightly more than 1.5%, while criminal threat and public presentation of pornographic content is about 1%.

ECONOMIC CRIMES

Chart 17. Ratio of economic crimes to total crimes confirmed in the years 2000–2023

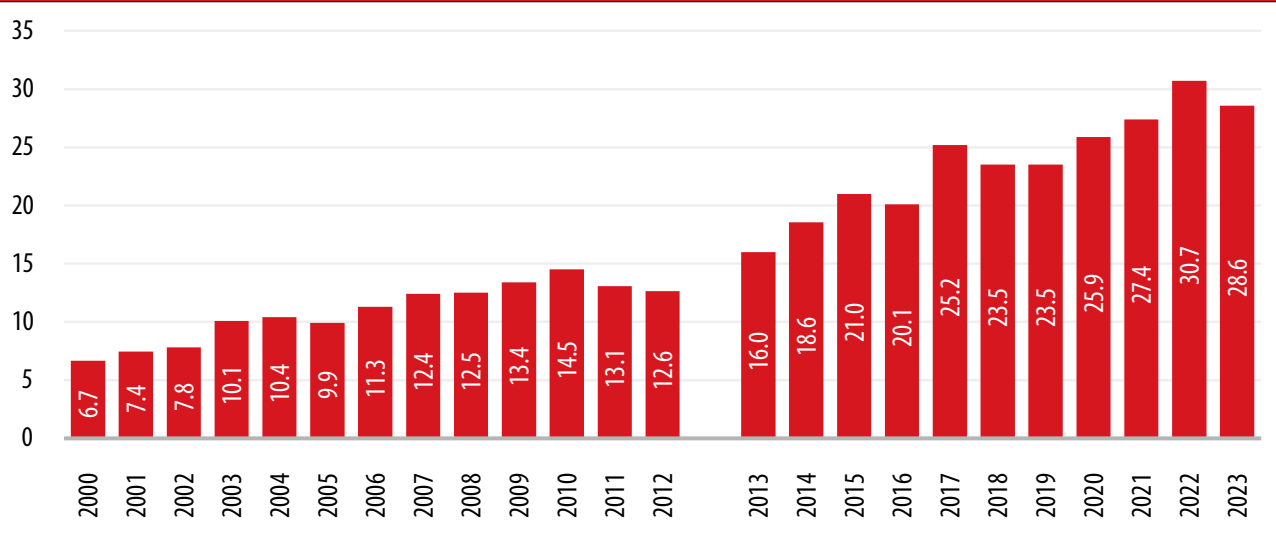


Table 8. Structure of economic crimes in 2013 and 2023

	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Economic fraud	61,255	38.6	133,616	59.1
Relating to economic turnover	9,180	5.8	6,813	3.0
Economic counterfeiting	20,375	12.8	42,983	19.0
Fiscal crimes	2,085	1.3	2,665	1.2
Corruption	14,664	9.2	3,669	1.6
Under the Act on Copyright and Related Rights	8,057	5.1	2,734	1.2
Relating to the environment	4,101	2.6	2,698	1.2
Theft of energy, computer program	16,434	10.4	1,157	0.5
Other	22,503	14.2	29,955	13.2
TOTAL	158,654	100.0	226,291	100.0

- In 2023, 15% fewer economic crimes were identified than in 2022, while at the same time this was 40% more than in 2013.
- Economic crimes accounted for 16% of crimes in 2013, and about 29% in 2023 of all crimes reported by the police.
- Comparing the structure of economic crimes, in 2013 and 2023 the percentage of theft of energy and computer programmes apparently decreased by about 10 p.p. and corruption by 7 p.p.
- On the other hand, the largest increase in the ratio of these crimes in to total crime was in economic fraud – from 39% in 2013 to 59% in 2023.

CORRUPTION OFFENCES

Chart 18. Ratio of corruption offences to total offences reported in 2000–2023

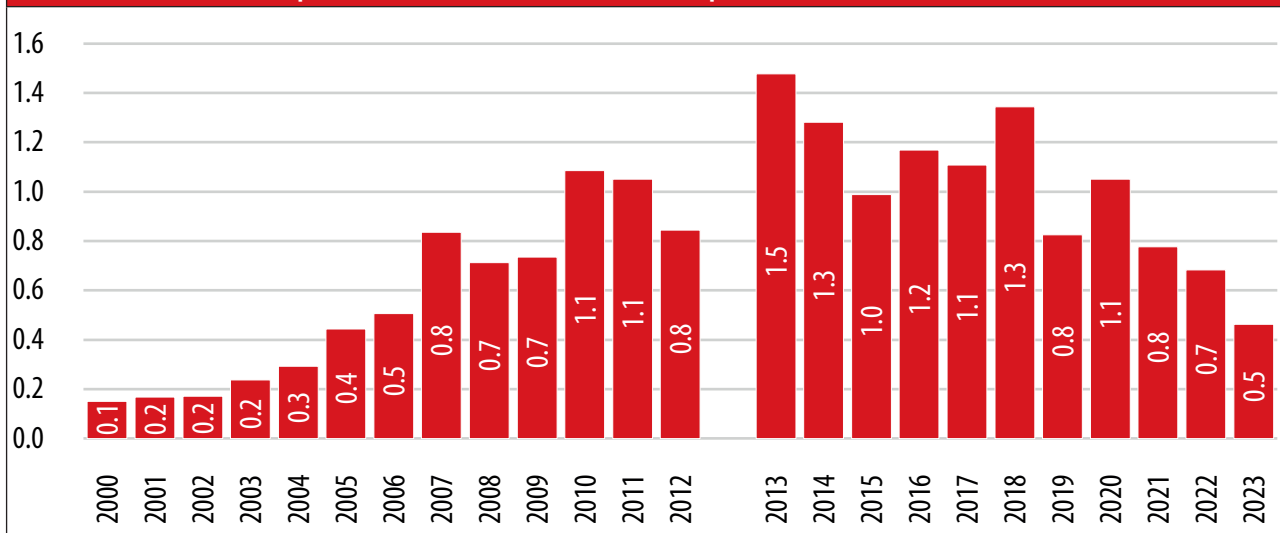


Table 9. Structure of corruption offences in 2013 and 2023

	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Taking a bribe by an official (Art. 228)	3,457	23.6	1,395	38.0
Bribery (Art. 229)	2,507	17.1	1,340	36.5
Paid patronage (Art. 230)	893	6.1	113	3.1
Abuse of power by an official (Art. 231)	7,310	49.9	685	18.7
Electoral corruption (Art. 250a)	16	0.1		0.0
Economic corruption (Art. 296a)	372	2.5	136	3.7
Sports corruption (Art. 296b)	109	0.7		0.0
TOTAL	14,664	100.0	3,669	100.0

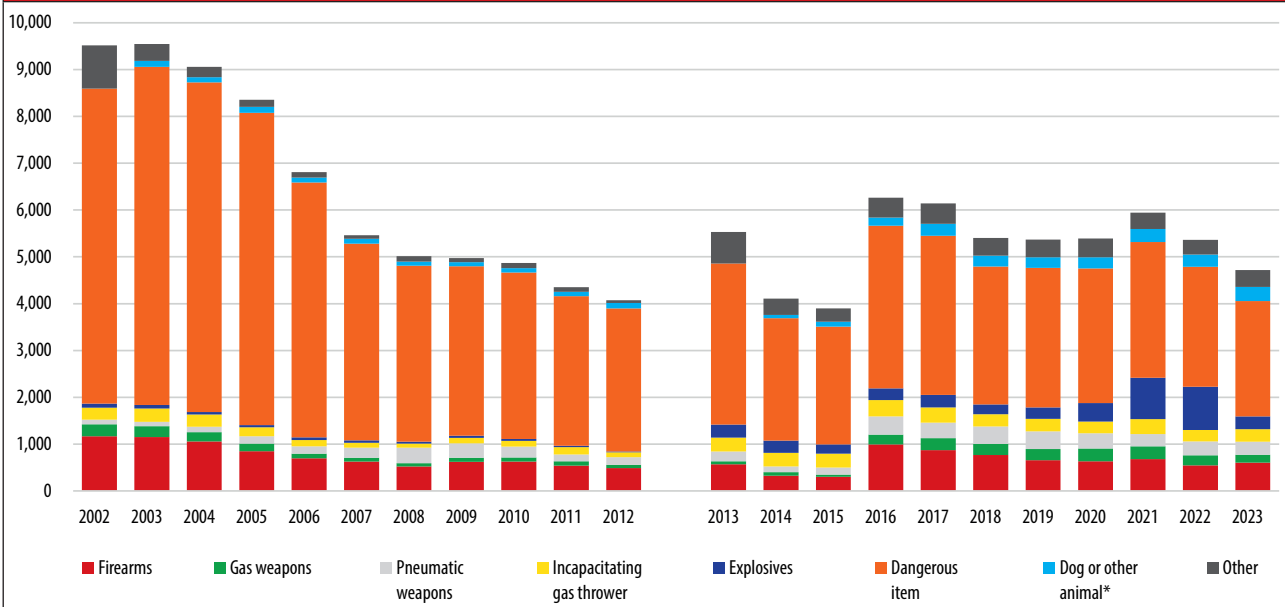
- The structure of corruption offences has changed compared to 2013. The percentage of crimes related to abuse of power by an official decreased more than two and a half times, and the percentage of paid patronage crimes decreased twice. On the other hand, the rate of crime of taking a bribe by

a person performing a public function increased more than one and a half times. The rate of bribery increased more than twofold.

- Corruption offences account for a negligible percentage of all crimes identified. In the years 2000–2023, this was on average less than 1%.
- In 2023, 3,669 corruption crimes were identified, which is nearly 40% down on last year and almost four times down on 2013.
- Almost three-quarters are two types of crime: taking a bribe by an official (i.e. accepting or promising to accept a financial or personal benefit) and bribery (i.e. granting or promising to give a financial or personal benefit to a person performing a public function).
- Almost one in five crimes was abuse of power by an official. Paid patronage and economic corruption accounted for less than 4%.

CRIMES INVOLVING WEAPONS OR OTHER DANGEROUS OBJECTS

Chart 19. Number of crimes by type of weapon or dangerous item used in 2002–2023



* Not registered in 2002.

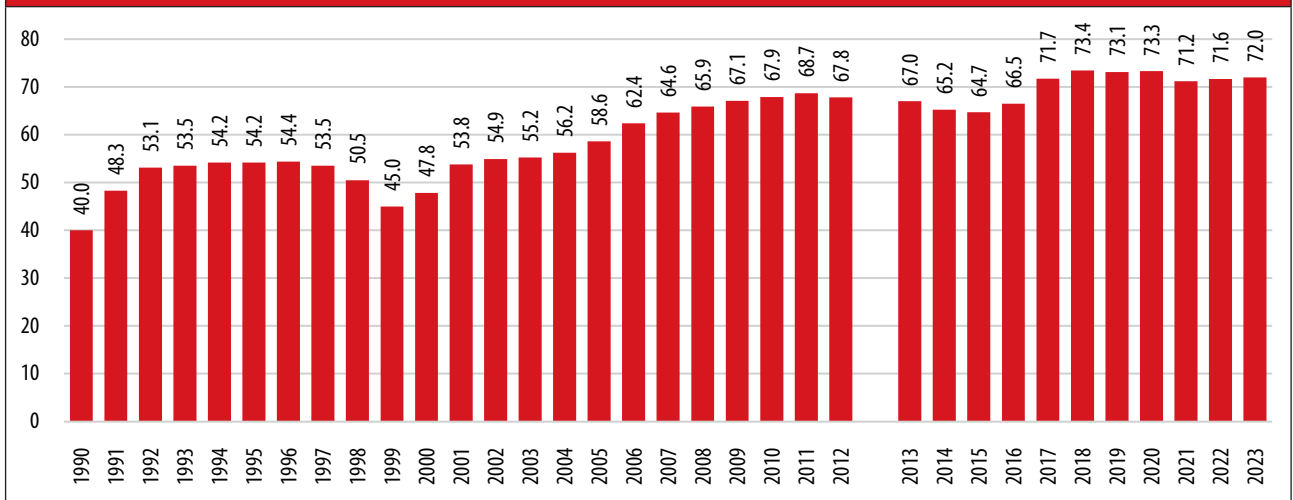
- The number of crimes involving weapons or other dangerous objects decreased by 15% between 2013 and 2023. This category includes the following items listed in police statistics: firearms, pneumatic weapons, incapacitating gas throwers, explosives, dangerous tools (e.g. knife, dagger, knuckles, other sharp tools, e.g. “tulip”, machete), dog or other animal, and other weapons (e.g. electric weapons, stun guns, weapons of unknown type). Since 2002, in more than 80% of cases, the weapon used was not firearms or gas weapons, but other dangerous tools (e.g. baseball bats, knives).
- Comparing the structure of these crimes for 2013 and 2023, the rate of crimes committed using firearms and gas weapons increased by two and a half times (by 2.5 p.p.).

Table 10. Structure of crimes involving the use of weapons or other dangerous objects in 2013 and 2023

Weapon	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Firearms	568	10.3	603	12.8
Gas weapons	67	1.2	169	3.6
Other	4,897	88.5	3,948	83.6
TOTAL	5,532	100.0	4,720	100.0

CRIME DETECTION

Chart 20. Crime detection in 1990–2023 (in %)



- The lowest detection rate was in 1990: only 40% of crimes were solved. After a temporary increase, the detection rate dropped again in 1999, when the rate was 45%. Since 2000, the detection rate has been increasing.
- The highest overall detection rate was recorded in 2018, when the police solved 73.4% of crimes.
- Between 2017 and 2013, the overall detection rate remained at an all-time high level of over 70%.
- In 2023, 72% of crimes were solved.
- Compared to 2013, in 2023 the detection rate of crimes listed in the table increased.
- The biggest difference between 2013 and 2023 concerns robbery and burglary – in this case, the detection rate increased by approximately 25 p.p.
- The detection rate of homicides increased by approximately 4 p.p.
- The detection rate of theft of someone else's belongings increased by 16 p.p.

Table 11. Crime detection by type (in %)

Crimes	2013	2023
Homicide	94.9	98.8
Causing bodily injury	85.1	88.9
Getting involved in a brawl	73.1	84.9
Robbery offences	57.8	82.6
Theft of someone else's belongings	28.8	45.1
Car theft	20.2	24.2
Burglary	28.8	53.7

CRIMES REPORTED
data
Table 12. Crimes reported in 1970–2023* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	TOTAL		City		Rural areas	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1970	424,217	1,304.2	308,733	1,806.7	115,484	748.1
1971	475,411	1,449.2	343,217	1,976.7	132,194	856.1
1972	379,086	1,146.4	275,843	1,563.8	103,243	669.1
1973	355,125	1,064.4	262,580	1,446.9	92,545	608.3
1974	339,542	1,007.8	250,459	1,354.8	89,083	585.9
1975	340,440	1,000.6	257,730	1,354.3	82,710	551.7
1976	324,181	943.4	248,366	1,275.4	75,812	509.2
1977	344,506	992.9	265,572	1,328.7	78,935	536.6
1978	355,492	1,017.8	272,319	1,349.6	83,173	563.9
1979	337,302	956.7	258,646	1,255.3	78,658	536.9
1980	337,935	949.8	258,192	1,230.7	79,737	546.2
1981	379,762	1,057.8	299,336	1,403.2	80,426	552.0
1982	436,206	1,204.1	341,934	1,578.9	94,272	647.0
1983	466,205	1,274.8	366,506	1,671.9	99,699	680.6
1984	538,930	1,460.0	422,067	1,898.4	116,863	796.0
1985	544,361	1,463.2	432,280	1,922.4	112,081	761.6
1986	507,913	1,356.0	402,185	1,768.7	105,728	718.4
1987	508,533	1,350.2	411,078	1,787.8	97,455	664.3
1988	475,273	1,255.3	384,353	1,657.6	90,920	619.6
1989	547,589	1,442.4	456,784	1,958.8	90,805	620.1
1990	883,346	2,317.3	746,805	3,173.1	136,541	936.3
1991	866,095	2,264.6	723,179	3,054.6	142,916	980.9
1992	881,076	2,296.6	727,068	3,052.7	154,008	1,058.7
1993	852,507	2,216.7	704,752	2,967.7	147,755	1,004.4
1994	906,157	2,351.0	738,206	3,094.2	167,951	1,143.6
1995	974,941	2,526.6	782,923	3,279.4	192,018	1,305.0
1996	897,751	2,324.7	728,735	3,049.5	169,016	1,148.1
1997	992,373	2,567.6	803,850	3,361.4	188,523	1,280.0
1998	1,073,042	2,775.1	878,157	3,669.5	194,885	1,322.6
1999	1,121,545	2,901.5	930,811	3,893.3	190,734	1,293.5
2000	1,266,910	3,278.2	1,049,763	4,392.8	217,147	1,472.3
2001	1,390,089	3,597.4	1,123,590	4,705.7	266,499	1,805.1
2002	1,404,229	3,672.9	1,129,859	4,785.9	274,370	1,876.1
2003	1,466,643	3,839.9	1,183,652	5,027.5	282,991	1,931.4
2004	1,461,217	3,827.2	1,172,666	4,992.1	288,551	1,964.3

Years	TOTAL		City		Rural areas	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
2005	1,379,962	3,616.1	1,096,948	4,677.7	283,014	1,923.9
2006	1,287,918	3,377.5	1,015,348	4,339.0	272,570	1,850.2
2007	1,152,993	3,025.0	912,283	3,906.8	240,710	1,630.3
2008	1,082,057	2,838.9	843,553	3,619.6	238,504	1,610.3
2009	1,129,577	2,960.6	884,784	3,798.3	244,793	1,647.4
2010	1,151,157	3,014.5	907,309	3,896.7	243,848	1,636.2
2011	1,159,554	3,003.8	899,767	3,844.3	259,787	1,718.1
2012	1,119,804	2,906.0	860,171	3,682.2	259,633	1,711.1
2013	992,978	2,579.0	741,680	3,184.3	245,565	1,614.4
2014	867,855	2,255.1	659,790	2,838.5	207,877	1,364.1
2015	799,779	2,079.8	612,195	2,638.5	187,508	1,229.4
2016	748,459	1,947.8	573,288	2,476.5	175,141	1,146.4
2017	753,963	1,962.3	583,352	2,522.5	170,611	1,115.4
2018	768,049	1,999.4	587,518	2,543.9	180,531	1,178.6
2019	796,557	2,075.1	606,214	2,629.4	190,343	1,241.5
2020	765,408	1,995.6	571,215	2,483.4	194,193	1,264.9
2021	820,846	2,150.9	618,075	2,706.9	202,771	1,322.8
2022	862,992	2,281.4	656,573	2,909.7	206,419	1,352.4
2023	792,014	2,100.9	600,409	2,674.8	191,605	1,256.3

* For the years 2013–2016, in some cases, there is no data on the class of the locality or, as in 2016, the crime was committed in another country.

Table 13. Structure of offences (in absolute numbers and in %)

Offences	2002		2023	
	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
Relating to public safety and in transport (without Article 178a) ^a	21,192	1.5	16,944	2.1
Article 178a	144,412	10.3	49,738	6.3
Relating to life and health	33,866	2.4	13,187	1.7
Relating to freedom, sexual freedom and decency ^b	47,756	3.4	34,348	4.3
Against family and care	48,026	3.4	46,639	5.9
Against the credibility of documents	71,395	5.1	59,296	7.5
Against property	890,085	63.5	405,263	51.2
Relating to the activities of state institutions and local government	14,717	1.0	16,929	2.1
Relating to the Justice System	14,641	1.0	26,691	3.4
Under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction ^c	36,178	2.6	61,713	7.8
Other offences	81,961	5.8	61,266	7.7
TOTAL	1,404,229	100.0	792,014	100.0

^a In 2002, this is the sum of traffic offences, not including Article 178a of the Penal Code, given in the tabulogram of the National Police Headquarters. In 2023, due to the change in the registration system and the lack of the “traffic offences” category, offences classed as traffic offences in 2002 were recorded under: Article 160 §§ 1–3 of the Penal Code, Article 173 §§ 1–4 of the Penal Code, Article 174 §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code, Article 177 §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code, Article 179a of the Penal Code, Article 179b of the Penal Code, and Article 180 of the Penal Code.

^b Offences relating to freedom, sexual freedom and decency include acts relating to liberty (Chapter XXIII of the Penal Code), including since June 2011 Article 190a of the Penal Code: persistent harassment (stalking), and offences relating to the freedom of sexual decency (Chapter XXV of the Penal Code), including since 2010 Article 200a of the Penal Code: pornography using the Internet or a telecommunications network, and Article 200b of the Penal Code: public promotion or praise of paedophilic behaviour.

^c For 2023, data were provided on the basis of the Drug Prevention Act of 2005 in force this year. In the police statistics in 2023, one offence under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction of 1997 was recorded. This case is included in the table.

Table 14. Crimes relating to life and health per 100,000 population

Years	TOTAL	Homicide	Causing bodily harm	Brawling	Other
		Art. 148	Art. 156 and Art. 157	Art. 158 §§ 1–3	
1990	40.7	1.9	27.3	10.3	1.2
1991	52.6	2.5	33.9	14.5	1.7
1992	56.1	2.6	36.0	15.8	1.7
1993	67.0	2.9	43.3	18.9	1.9
1994	76.0	3.0	47.9	23.9	1.2
1995	80.9	2.9	49.0	27.5	1.5
1996	84.5	2.9	50.2	30.0	1.4
1997	91.7	2.8	53.1	33.6	2.2
1998	90.3	2.8	50.4	33.7	3.4
1999	85.2	2.7	46.2	33.0	3.3
2000	91.7	3.3	47.7	37.2	3.5
2001	86.8	3.4	43.9	37.2	2.3
2002	88.6	3.1	43.9	37.1	4.5
2003	84.5	2.7	41.0	36.7	4.1
2004	86.2	2.6	41.4	37.6	4.6
2005	83.2	2.2	39.4	36.5	5.1
2006	85.0	2.1	38.9	37.4	6.6
2007	83.6	2.2	39.0	37.6	4.8
2008	85.2	2.0	37.4	37.7	8.1
2009	83.1	2.0	39.6	34.4	7.1
2010	80.9	1.8	41.1	31.1	6.9
2011	81.5	1.7	43.1	31.4	5.3
2012	77.2	1.5	40.2	29.6	5.9
2013	53.4	1.5	29.9	17.1	4.9
2014	52.5	1.4	30.4	15.1	6.4
2015	44.9	1.3	26.0	12.2	5.9
2016	46.9	1.2	28.9	12.4	4.9
2017	48.7	1.3	29.9	11.4	6.6
2018	45.6	1.4	27.4	10.0	7.2
2019	43.2	1.4	26.8	8.7	6.3
2020	36.6	1.7	22.8	6.9	5.1
2021	35.1	1.6	21.7	6.0	5.8
2022	35.2	1.3	22.9	6.1	4.9
2023	35.0	1.5	22.4	6.1	5.0

Table 15. Crimes causing loss of life (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Total homicide	Causing fatal bodily injury	Involvement in a fatal brawl	Infanticide
		Art. 148 Penal Code	Art. 156 § 3 Penal Code, Art. 157 1969 Penal Code	Art. 158 § 3 Penal Code, Art. 158 § 3 1969 Penal Code	Art. 149 Penal Code
1990	1,125	730	263	82	50
1991	1,492	971	359	109	53
1992	1,471	989	296	127	59
1993	1,584	1,106	301	121	56
1994	1,646	1,160	292	142	52
1995	1,653	1,134	317	160	42
1996	1,605	1,134	298	129	44
1997	1,602	1,093	283	183	43
1998	1,510	1,072	264	136	38
1999	1,406	1,048	204	123	31
2000	1,621	1,269	187	118	47
2001	1,598	1,325	149	98	26
2002	1,459	1,188	150	93	28
2003	1,293	1,039	144	85	25
2004	1,191	980	133	59	19
2005	1,100	837	161	90	12
2006	1,049	816	150	73	10
2007	1,059	848	125	73	13
2008	973	759	121	80	13
2009	972	763	123	76	10
2010	893	680	130	73	10
2011	840	662	112	60	6
2012	767	582	113	63	9
2013	724	570	102	51	1
2014	652	526	81	41	4
2015	586	495	60	29	2
2016	548	456	64	27	1
2017	596	513	52	27	4
2018	637	531	71	34	1
2019	610	524	59	22	5
2020	714	641	50	20	3
2021	691	625	46	18	2
2022	578	499	65	13	1
2023	618	559	31	25	3

Table 16. Causing bodily harm (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Causing serious bodily harm	Unintentionally causing bodily injury	Causing serious bodily harm with fatal outcome	Violation of the function of a body organ	Slight violation of bodily functions	Unintentional impairment of bodily functions
		Art. 156 § 1 Penal Code, Art. 155 § 1 1969 Penal Code	Art. 156 § 2 Penal Code, Art. 155 § 2 1969 Penal Code	Art. 156 § 3 Penal Code, Art. 157 1969 Penal Code	Art. 157 § 1 Penal Code, Art. 156 § 1 1969 Penal Code	Art. 157 § 2 Penal Code, Art. 156 § 2 1969 Penal Code	Art. 157 § 3 Penal Code, Art. 156 § 3 1969 Penal Code
1990	10,415	537	92	263	7,041	2,244	238
1991	12,956	690	121	359	8,411	3,091	284
1992	13,795	684	120	296	8,507	3,944	244
1993	16,646	773	118	301	9,823	5,361	270
1994	18,454	870	131	292	11,519	5,389	253
1995	18,901	853	108	317	11,683	5,711	229
1996	19,371	849	119	298	12,057	5,791	257
1997	20,506	813	93	283	12,631	6,401	285
1998	19,496	747	96	264	11,798	6,343	248
1999	17,849	568	99	204	10,609	6,131	238
2000	18,429	556	108	187	10,899	6,434	245
2001	16,968	525	110	149	9,951	5,997	236
2002	16,775	465	112	150	9,910	5,903	235
2003	15,669	473	96	144	9,356	5,355	245
2004	15,814	560	74	133	9,210	5,570	267
2005	15,047	564	77	161	8,746	5,214	285
2006	14,834	489	91	150	8,391	5,445	268
2007	14,848	484	90	125	8,199	5,704	246
2008	14,274	465	79	121	8,084	5,297	228
2009	15,101	513	73	123	8,310	5,861	221
2010	15,695	440	67	130	8,417	6,437	204
2011	16,447	465	73	112	8,248	7,299	250
2012	15,478	504	62	113	7,942	6,625	232
2013	11,510	421	55	102	6,836	3,928	168
2014	11,693	392	68	81	6,530	4,431	191
2015	9,994	376	50	60	5,626	3,711	171
2016	11,087	395	53	64	6,175	4,184	216
2017	11,479	326	49	52	6,013	4,781	258
2018	10,534	314	49	71	5,477	4,423	200
2019	10,291	382	47	59	5,313	4,306	184
2020	8,758	274	42	50	4,511	3,731	150
2021	8,263	278	49	46	4,042	3,726	122
2022	8,644	250	45	65	4,286	3,837	161
2023	8,458	294	36	31	4,279	3,673	145

Table 17. Brawling (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Brawling	Involvement in a brawl resulting in serious bodily injury	Involvement in a fatal brawl	Involvement in a brawl with a gun, knife, or other dangerous object
		Art. 158 § 1 Penal Code, Art. 158 § 1 1969 Penal Code	Art. 158 § 2 Penal Code, Art. 158 § 2 1969 Penal Code	Art. 158 § 3 Penal Code, Art. 158 § 3 1969 Penal Code	Art. 159 Penal Code, Art. 159 1969 Penal Code
1990	3,935	3,181	177	82	495
1991	5,553	4,414	260	109	770
1992	6,060	4,925	219	127	789
1993	7,285	6,009	272	121	883
1994	9,223	7,552	366	142	1,163
1995	10,600	8,836	364	160	1,240
1996	11,575	9,868	270	129	1,308
1997	13,005	11,103	265	183	1,454
1998	13,034	11,175	246	136	1,477
1999	12,756	11,221	114	123	1,298
2000	14,363	12,711	112	118	1,422
2001	14,369	12,754	123	98	1,394
2002	14,194	12,706	117	93	1,278
2003	14,010	12,767	110	85	1,048
2004	14,338	13,157	101	59	1,021
2005	13,911	12,789	96	90	936
2006	14,266	13,384	100	73	709
2007	14,327	13,574	68	73	612
2008	14,380	13,682	88	80	530
2009	13,141	12,458	91	76	516
2010	11,883	11,310	82	73	418
2011	12,008	11,524	67	60	357
2012	11,416	10,894	75	63	384
2013	6,571	6,241	51	51	228
2014	5,797	5,447	45	41	264
2015	4,708	4,430	45	29	204
2016	4,776	4,513	34	27	202
2017	4,385	4,123	32	27	203
2018	3,845	3,613	29	34	169
2019	3,533	3,283	29	22	199
2020	2,801	2,606	36	20	139
2021	2,450	2,253	27	18	152
2022	2,463	2,263	27	13	160
2023	2,452	2,226	34	25	167

Table 18. Offences relating to sexual freedom and decency (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)*

Years	TOTAL	In absolute numbers				Per 100,000 population	
		rape			sexual intercourse with a minor	rape	sexual intercourse with a minor
		total	Art. 197 §§ 1, 2 Penal Code, Art. 168 § 1 1969 Penal Code	Art. 197 §§ 3, 4 Penal Code, Art. 168 § 2 1969 Penal Code	Art. 200 § 1		
1990	ND	1,840	1,709	131	824	4.8	2.2
1991	ND	1,921	1,727	194	907	5.0	2.4
1992	ND	1,919	1,698	221	1,151	5.0	3.0
1993	ND	1,976	1,724	252	1,476	5.1	3.8
1994	ND	2,039	1,770	269	1,492	5.3	3.9
1995	ND	2,267	2,026	241	1,477	5.9	3.8
1996	ND	1,985	1,798	187	1,737	5.1	4.5
1997	ND	2,260	2,054	206	2,210	5.8	5.7
1998	ND	2,174	1,964	210	1,875	5.6	4.8
1999	ND	2,029	1,740	289	1,659	5.2	4.3
2000	4,469	2,399	2,008	391	1,506	6.2	3.9
2001	4,716	2,339	2,016	323	1,448	6.1	3.7
2002	4,652	2,345	2,088	257	1,453	6.1	3.8
2003	4,828	2,322	2,033	289	1,786	6.1	4.7
2004	5,132	2,176	1,962	214	1,904	5.7	5.0
2005	4,798	1,987	1,773	214	1,697	5.2	4.4
2006	4,902	2,001	1,829	172	1,687	5.2	4.4
2007	5,031	1,827	1,707	120	1,882	4.8	4.9
2008	5,045	1,611	1,526	85	1,683	4.2	4.4
2009	5,851	1,530	1,429	101	1,657	4.0	4.3
2010	4,890	1,567	1,473	94	1,532	4.1	4.0
2011	5,923	1,498	1,361	137	1,533	3.9	4.0
2012	5,386	1,432	1,266	166	1,344	3.7	3.5
2013	5,630	1,256	1,124	132	1,078	3.3	2.8
2014	5,705	1,249	1,115	134	980	3.2	2.5
2015	3,540	1,144	1,012	132	954	3.0	2.5
2016	5,463	1,383	1,238	145	984	3.6	2.6
2017	5,379	1,262	1,117	145	994	3.3	2.6
2018	7,078	1,326	1,116	210	1,048	3.5	2.7
2019	17,050	1,354	1,217	137	1,126	3.5	2.9
2020	8,617	1,034	888	146	972	2.7	2.5
2021	7,888	1,081	899	182	1,055	2.8	2.8
2022	7,794	1,066	906	160	1,127	2.8	3.0
2023	8,853	1,040	831	209	1,089	2.8	2.9

* In the years 1990–1999, there is no data on the total number of crimes of this type.

Table 19. Crimes relating to the family and guardianship (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	TOTAL		Abuse of a family member		Evasion of alimony	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	Art. 207 Penal Code		Art. 209 Penal Code	
			in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	26,522	69.6	12,846	33.7	13,558	35.6
1991	36,643	95.8	16,407	42.9	20,069	52.5
1992	36,613	95.4	14,348	37.4	22,104	57.6
1993	39,381	102.4	15,422	40.1	23,739	61.7
1994	47,707	123.8	19,580	50.8	27,874	72.3
1995	49,254	127.6	21,609	56.0	27,193	70.5
1996	49,368	127.8	20,352	52.7	28,349	73.4
1997	53,074	137.3	21,799	56.4	30,394	78.6
1998	53,981	139.6	21,885	56.6	31,037	80.3
1999	51,498	133.2	22,710	58.8	28,487	73.7
2000	53,709	139.0	23,308	60.3	29,967	77.5
2001	53,032	137.2	24,200	62.6	28,264	73.1
2002	48,026	125.6	23,921	62.6	23,280	60.9
2003	46,262	121.1	23,388	61.2	22,061	57.8
2004	40,322	105.6	22,610	59.2	16,728	43.8
2005	34,636	90.8	22,652	59.4	10,994	28.8
2006	35,501	93.1	24,543	64.4	9,982	26.2
2007	3,5475	93.1	22,800	59.8	11,814	31.0
2008	32,954	86.5	21,167	55.5	11,133	29.2
2009	39,766	104.2	20,505	53.7	18,718	49.1
2010	38,540	100.9	18,759	49.1	19,304	50.6
2011	37,998	98.6	18,832	48.9	18,775	49.1
2012	32,379	84.0	17,785	46.2	14,262	37.0
2013	35,019	91.0	16,650	43.2	18,166	47.2
2014	34,289	89.1	17,411	45.2	16,664	43.3
2015	27,751	72.2	14,191	36.9	13,368	34.8
2016	24,098	62.7	14,513	37.8	9,398	24.5
2017	32,892	85.6	15,824	41.2	16,885	43.9
2018	85,899	223.6	15,269	39.7	70,412	183.3
2019	69,861	182.0	16,416	42.8	53,194	138.6
2020	57,654	150.3	16,259	42.4	41,135	107.3
2021	56,566	148.2	16,278	42.7	40,021	104.9
2022	47,972	126.8	14,494	38.3	33,235	87.9
2023	46,639	123.7	14,110	37.4	32,253	85.6

Table 20. Property crime (in absolute numbers)					
Years	TOTAL	Burglary	Theft	Robbery*	Fraud
1990	748,082	431,056	158,785	16,217	ND
1991	620,708	355,896	139,507	17,094	ND
1992	591,239	330,741	125,074	17,715	ND
1993	561,001	314,338	134,089	21,034	ND
1994	582,548	304,293	180,514	23,574	ND
1995	619,138	304,899	211,602	26,858	ND
1996	564,093	305,703	157,479	26,257	ND
1997	683,214	324,017	184,368	30,063	ND
1998	747,030	355,176	211,651	34,225	ND
1999	803,995	369,235	243,537	44,775	42,291
2000	925,433	364,786	309,846	53,533	80,368
2001	904,623	325,696	314,820	49,862	92,826
2002	890,085	304,625	314,929	47,808	96,314
2003	932,393	294,654	336,143	51,688	109,630
2004	901,860	266,591	339,086	48,636	99,013
2005	811,971	221,020	324,144	42,150	85,184
2006	706,703	173,762	280,709	35,182	82,122
2007	621,413	141,606	241,104	27,637	73,332
2008	577,088	124,066	214,414	26,159	73,505
2009	591,261	135,383	211,691	26,458	76,476
2010	608,731	140,085	220,455	27,218	86,366
2011	618,643	135,611	230,247	26,231	90,618
2012	598,899	127,691	230,751	24,564	84,409
2013	528,606	126,553	197,498	10,699	93,375
2014	459,790	115,521	151,943	9,435	101,684
2015	428,781	102,435	129,576	7,787	114,061
2016	382,328	87,775	114,891	7,444	97,388
2017	364,635	67,552	97,552	6,053	117,999
2018	341,373	69,024	90,538	5,222	105,623
2019	371,053	77,145	93,556	4,885	124,252
2020	365,099	80,449	89,850	4,465	122,780
2021	413,729	78,982	100,738	4,089	153,309
2022	425,753	74,520	114,420	4,013	144,200
2023	405,263	68,185	110,443	3,942	146,553

* This category of robbery offences includes robbery, robbery theft, and extortion.

Table 21. Property crime (per 100,000 population)

Years	TOTAL	Burglary	Theft	Robbery*	Fraud
1990	1,962.5	1,130.8	416.6	42.5	ND
1991	1,623.0	930.6	364.8	44.7	ND
1992	1,541.1	862.1	326.0	46.2	ND
1993	1,458.7	817.3	348.7	54.7	ND
1994	1,511.4	789.5	468.3	61.2	ND
1995	1,604.5	790.1	548.4	69.6	ND
1996	1,460.7	791.6	407.8	68.0	ND
1997	1,767.7	838.3	477.0	77.8	ND
1998	1,932.0	918.6	547.4	88.5	ND
1999	2,080.0	955.2	630.0	115.8	109.4
2000	2,394.6	943.9	801.8	138.5	208.0
2001	2,341.1	842.9	814.7	129.0	240.2
2002	2,328.1	796.8	823.7	125.0	251.9
2003	2,441.1	771.4	880.1	135.3	287.0
2004	2,362.1	698.2	888.1	127.4	259.3
2005	2,127.7	579.2	849.4	110.5	223.2
2006	1,853.3	455.7	736.1	92.3	215.4
2007	1,630.3	371.5	632.6	72.5	192.4
2008	1,514.0	325.5	562.5	68.6	192.8
2009	1,549.7	354.8	554.8	69.3	200.4
2010	1,594.1	366.8	577.3	71.3	226.2
2011	1,605.8	355.0	602.7	68.7	235.2
2012	1,554.2	331.4	598.8	63.7	219.1
2013	1,372.9	328.7	512.9	27.8	242.5
2014	1,194.8	300.1	394.7	24.5	264.2
2015	1,115.0	266.4	337.0	20.2	296.6
2016	995.0	228.4	299.0	19.4	253.4
2017	949.0	175.8	253.9	15.8	307.1
2018	888.7	179.7	235.7	13.6	275.0
2019	966.6	201.0	243.7	12.7	323.7
2020	951.9	209.8	234.3	11.6	320.1
2021	1,084.1	207.0	264.0	10.7	401.7
2022	1,125.5	197.0	302.5	10.6	381.2
2023	1,075.0	180.9	293.0	10.5	388.8

* This category of robbery offences includes: robbery, robbery theft, and extortion.

Table 22. Theft of a car and seizure of a vehicle (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	Theft of a car		Short-term vehicle seizure*	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	14,691	38.5	10,732	28.2
1991	18,610	48.7	17,349	45.4
1992	29,664	77.3	16,143	42.1
1993	34,452	89.6	14,759	38.4
1994	45,999	119.3	13,768	35.7
1995	54,807	142.0	13,626	35.3
1996	50,799	131.5	16,657	43.1
1997	56,871	148.5	17,859	46.6
1998	65,399	170.9	20,935	54.1
1999	74,514	192.8	21,024	54.4
2000	68,062	176.1	18,640	48.2
2001	59,458	153.9	15,393	39.8
2002	53,674	140.4	13,657	35.7
2003	54,291	142.1	12,035	31.5
2004	51,150	134.0	10,963	28.7
2005	45,292	118.7	8,776	23.0
2006	30,529	80.1	6,606	17.3
2007	21,284	55.8	5,751	15.1
2008	17,669	46.4	5,439	14.3
2009	17,271	45.3	5,430	14.2
2010	16,539	43.3	4,720	12.4
2011	16,575	43.4	4,422	11.5
2012	16,230	42.1	4,127	10.7
2013	14,661	38.1	3,235	8.4
2014	13,791	35.8	2,901	7.5
2015	12,036	31.3	2,649	6.9
2016	11,448	29.8	2,649	6.9
2017	10,047	26.1	2,143	5.6
2018	8,745	22.8	1,867	4.9
2019	8,672	22.6	1,994	5.2
2020	8,784	22.9	1,907	5.0
2021	8,383	22.0	1,781	4.7
2022	7,376	19.5	1,511	4.0
2023	6,333	16.8	1,387	3.7

* Offences under Article 289 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 214 of the Penal Code of 1969 are included.

Table 23. Burglary in individual facilities according to modus operandi (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Type of objects					
		residences ^a	attics and storage facilities ^b	summer cottages ^c	car ^d	commercial facilities ^e	other
1990	431,056	41,789	55,471	ND	122,197	91,994	119,605
1991	355,896	30,525	41,653	ND	96,879	83,736	103,103
1992	330,741	25,212	32,317	ND	94,369	72,988	105,855
1993	314,338	24,479	28,687	ND	102,434	60,841	97,897
1994	304,293	26,687	30,433	ND	96,660	44,968	105,545
1995	304,899	26,841	35,170	16,461	96,000	37,648	92,779
1996	305,703	28,212	37,733	16,827	96,218	39,250	87,463
1997	324,017	31,057	39,130	19,750	97,861	42,694	93,525
1998	355,176	33,679	40,458	23,031	106,998	47,439	103,571
1999	369,235	35,593	38,733	23,478	109,224	50,284	111,923
2000	364,786	35,136	42,291	23,730	107,364	43,787	112,478
2001	325,696	34,760	37,407	24,037	91,862	37,142	100,488
2002	304,625	32,861	34,429	23,064	89,181	33,406	9,1684
2003	294,654	32,476	32,696	21,084	90,695	28,670	89,033
2004	266,591	37,115	29,680	18,025	67,204	26,281	88,286
2005	221,020	33,195	26,130	15,202	55,469	21,978	69,046
2006	173,762	26,521	20,089	12,909	39,141	16,328	58,774
2007	141,606	23,048	14,596	10,934	29,892	12,955	50,181
2008	124,066	20,892	10,589	9,189	23,729	11,537	48,130
2009	135,383	22,194	10,783	9,089	24,746	13,849	54,722
2010	140,085	24,123	13,818	10,368	22,351	14,036	55,389
2011	135,611	25,544	14,027	12,321	17,482	12,043	54,194
2012	127,691	26,825	14,217	12,185	16,247	10,622	47,595
2013	118,472	19,290	13,681	17,321	16,557	10,055	41,568
2014	106,903	17,883	12,493	16,264	14,803	8,469	36,991
2015	94,680	16,471	11,315	13,532	11,729	8,497	33,136
2016	79,930	24,789	9,912	8,617	9,829	9,098	17,685
2017	67,713	21,147	7,785	5,512	7,321	9,111	16,837
2018	69,148	19,567	6,711	5,905	6,206	12,555	18,204
2019	71,392	18,401	6,174	5,236	5,496	14,424	21,661
2020	67,083	16,167	ND	5,384	4,031	14,771	26,730
2021	66,841	15,970	ND	4,788	3,927	15,058	27,098
2022	60,809	16,281	ND	3,674	3,367	13,893	23,594
2023	56,368	13,600	ND	3,282	2,824	14,289	22,373

^a Since 2004, the “dwellings” category has been divided into two categories: 1) independent building, 2) multi-family building.

^b The data includes theft and burglary of a basement. From 2020, the police stopped showing this category.

^c Until 1995, the police statistics did not make a distinction between theft and burglary of summer cottages. Since 2004, the “summer cottages” category has been divided into two categories: 1) holiday cottage, summer house, 2) allotment garden, arbor/allotment garden area.

^d Cars – until 2013, theft from trucks and taxis was not included.

^e Since 2004, the category “commercial facilities” has not been used, and other types of facility have been introduced, such as: 1) shopping centre, 2) shop, boutique, 3) marketplace, bazaar, 4) kiosk, stall, 5) warehouse, wholesaler.

* Data on crimes in the years 2013–2019 come from police statistics collected by registration unit, however since 2020 the police have been presenting data on the 30 most common, specific types of objects for crimes found in the theft with burglary group. Therefore, the presented numbers in general differ from those given in previous tables.

Table 24. Robbery (in absolute numbers)*

Years	TOTAL	Robbery	Robbery using a weapon, knife or other dangerous object	Robbery theft	Extortion
		Art. 280 § 1 Penal Code, Art. 210 § 1 1969 Penal Code	Art. 280 § 2 Penal Code, Art. 210 § 2 1969 Penal Code	Art. 281 Penal Code, Art. 209 1969 Penal Code	Art. 282 Penal Code, Art. 211 1969 Penal Code
1990	16,217	13,158	1,909	468	682
1991	17,094	12,897	2,625	588	984
1992	17,715	11,848	3,006	735	2,126
1993	21,034	13,358	3,382	735	3,559
1994	23,574	14,694	3,763	695	4,422
1995	26,858	15,505	4,113	634	6,606
1996	26,257	15,838	3,906	628	5,885
1997	30,063	19,161	4,159	668	6,075
1998	34,225	22,009	3,910	728	7,578
1999	44,775	30,573	4,870	1,154	8,178
2000	53,533	36,339	5,554	1,362	10,278
2001	49,862	34,442	5,328	1,438	8,654
2002	47,808	33,927	4,721	1,697	7,463
2003	51,688	37,136	5,046	1,904	7,602
2004	48,636	34,671	4,721	1,895	7,349
2005	42,150	30,564	4,014	1,769	5,803
2006	35,182	24,828	2,995	1,649	5,710
2007	27,637	19,406	1,998	1,362	4,871
2008	26,159	18,170	1,729	1,186	5,074
2009	26,458	17,693	1,706	1,184	5,875
2010	27,218	16,223	1,922	1,214	7,859
2011	26,231	14,910	1,616	1,203	8,502
2012	24,564	14,117	1,366	1,202	7,879
2013	10,699	7,822	1,139	1,032	706
2014	9,435	6,546	986	1,127	776
2015	7,787	5,130	865	1,130	662
2016	7,444	4,884	763	1,145	652
2017	6,053	3,801	651	996	605
2018	5,222	3,193	518	1,038	473
2019	4,885	2,871	527	1,064	423
2020	4,465	2,576	475	1,044	370
2021	4,061	2,149	441	1,111	360
2022	4,013	2,059	403	1,188	363
2023	3,942	1,966	369	1,233	374

* Article 280 § 1, Article 281, Article 282 include minor cases.

Table 25. Traffic offences* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	In absolute numbers	Per 100,000 population	Including**		
			Art. 178a § 1	Art. 178a § 2	Art. 178a § 1 in conjunction with Art. 178a § 4
1990	29,141	76.4			
1991	35,568	93.0			
1992	30,753	80.2			
1993	29,578	76.9			
1994	32,030	83.1			
1995	35,005	90.7			
1996	34,863	90.3			
1997	40,202	104.0			
1998	34,442	89.1			
1999	20,505	53.0			
2000	19,894	51.5			
2001	138,817	359.2	68,623	51,490	
2002	163,012	426.4	78,321	66,091	
2003	168,827	442.0	75,239	75,662	
2004	177,296	464.4	77,988	80,555	
2005	196,486	514.9	85,447	93,124	
2006	197,712	518.5	84,029	96,926	
2007	168,359	441.7	79,149	71,233	
2008	167,984	440.7	83,872	66,202	
2009	168,148	440.7	88,056	63,706	
2010	156,744	410.5	8,2861	59,283	
2011	164,551	430.8	87,430	63,312	
2012	155,906	404.6	71,916	61,277	
2013	141,906	368.6	74,877	52,911	8,405
2014	88,626	230.3	74,216	171	9,386
2015	77,916	202.6	64,522	57	7,813
2016	75,047	195.3	60,609	40	6,902
2017	69,299	180.4	55,334	25	6,335
2018	65,551	170.6	51,601	54	5,834
2019	70,284	183.1	56,351	7	6,234
2020	65,175	169.9	53,042	18	6,334
2021	69,147	181.2	58,234	12	6,736
2022	67,437	178.3	57,109	8	6,409
2023	59,812	158.7	49,736	2	5,639

* Traffic offences consist of offences under Article 160 §§ 1–3 of the Penal Code, Article 173 §§ 1–4 of the Penal Code, Article 174 §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code, Article 177 §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code, Article 178a §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code, Article 179a of the Penal Code, and Article 180 of the Penal Code. Until 2012, the tables of the Police Headquarters included data for the category of "road crimes". In 2013, due to the change in the system, this category ceased to exist. The data from 2013 onwards are comparable to previous years, with the proviso that until 2012, the data on traffic offences were more detailed and, for example, a distinction could be made under Article 178a of the Penal Code between driving a motor vehicle and rail traffic. Since 2013, it has not been possible to break the records into such detailed data.

** Article 178a of the Penal Code was introduced into the Penal Code in 2000.

Table 26. Drug-related offences (in absolute numbers)

Years	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997 ^a
Act of 31 January 1985 on the Prevention of Drug Addiction								
Art. 26 § 1	312	1,677	1,595	3,534	2,994	2,701	2,564	3,237
Art. 26 § 2	62	25	26	28	39	64	51	88
Art. 26 § 3	8	10	10	15	7	15	19	16
Art. 27	557	589	521	1,280	387	392	459	614
Art. 28	34	60	94	123	85	97	135	82
Art. 29	1	6	23	21	20	69	97	122
Art. 30	10	24	45	207	107	215	397	747
Art. 31	116	47	62	51	181	329	441	1,007
Art. 32	5	30	66	198	180	402	2,617	1,416
TOTAL	1,105	2,468	2,442	5,457	4,000	4,284	6,780	7,329

Years	1997 ^b	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Act of 24 April 1997 on Counteracting Drug Addiction								
Art. 40	87	574	361	400	408	319	297	350
Art. 41	34	190	143	152	292	230	230	220
Art. 42	25	186	349	323	295	336	354	795
Art. 43 ^c	100	1,957	1,714	1,417	1,809	1,931	2,064	2,323
Art. 44	1	66	57	60				
Art. 45	338	3,997	3,986	4,542	6,324	7,996	8,548	10,573
Art. 46	288	6,665	6,319	8,736	12,549	12,486	16,488	17,778
Art. 46 ^a					22	76	11	33
Art. 47	11	88	61	66	115	104	159	178
Art. 48	36	1,380	1,896	2,815	6,651	11,960	18,681	26,163
Art. 49	113	1,307	728	897	741	726	756	928
Art. 50	5	22	14	10	24	14	17	15
TOTAL	1,038	16,432	15,628	19,418	29,230	36,178	47,605	59,356

Years	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Act of 29 July 2005 on Counteracting Drug Addiction							
Art. 53	456	270	198	183	174	202	181
Art. 54	144	127	137	118	192	422	254
Art. 55	661	486	537	697	880	803	752
Art. 56 ^d	2,814	2,627	3,268	2,431	2,969	3,797	3,484
Art. 58	10,426	11,608	9,746	8,685	12,001	12,354	13,240
Art. 59	20,906	19,332	17,099	13,822	16,980	18,449	18,410
Art. 60	163	55	19	11	40	20	20
Art. 61	151	107	121	189	126	68	114
Art. 62	30,899	34,778	31,260	30,548	34,122	35,064	36,846
Art. 62a							
Art. 62b ^e							
Art. 63	924	760	593	664	729	1,164	1,199
Art. 64	31	41	17	25	42	16	18
Art. 68	3	11	12	9	33	16	17
TOTAL	67,560	70,202	63,007	5,7382	68,288	72,375	74,535

Years	2012*		2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Act of 29 July 2005 on Counteracting Drug Addiction								
Art. 53	251		257	278	234	284	354	269
Art. 54	419		191	176	221	212	271	259
Art. 55	843		845	873	748	660	750	603
Art. 56 ^d	3,395		3,364	3,377	2,074	1,964	2,051	2,020
Art. 58	13,193		6,034	5,180	4,067	4,426	4,174	3,554
Art. 59	18,706		11,695	10,372	8,872	9,730	12,121	10,870
Art. 60	6			1	1		1	
Art. 61	92		23	38	25	40	41	35
Art. 62	37,421		26,849	27,235	28,143	31,580	33,658	31,330
Art. 62a	119							
Art. 62b ^e								150
Art. 63	1,855		2,023	2,026	1,895	2,191	2,172	1,808
Art. 64	22		34	24	33	160	19	20
Art. 68	36		4	1	1	3		
TOTAL	76,358		51,319	49,581	44,419	51,251	55,612	50,918

Years	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Act of 29 July 2005 on Counteracting Drug Addiction					
Art. 53	280	377	295	302	290
Art. 54	255	272	349	307	291
Art. 55	586	609	479	420	436
Art. 56 ^d	1,864	1,976	2,021	2,404	5,246
Art. 58	4,748	3,680	3,718	3,427	2,301
Art. 59	10,952	10,876	11,352	12,244	11,698
Art. 60			1	2	
Art. 61	36	36	36	64	52
Art. 62	37,574	38,713	41,298	42,464	39,653
Art. 62a					
Art. 62b	1,029	905	878	1,052	724
Art. 63	1,977	1,972	1,730	1,287	1,001
Art. 64	19	15	25	17	20
Art. 68	2		1	4	
TOTAL	59,322	59,431	62,183	63,994	61,712

^a Data on the Act on the Prevention of Drug Addiction for the period from 1 January to 31 October 1997, i.e. until the date on which it came into force.

^b Data on the Act on the Prevention of Drug Addiction for the period from 1 December to 31 December 1997.

^c In the years 2001–2004, the data also include offences under Article 44 of the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction of 1997.

^d The data also include offences under Article 57 of the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction of 2005.

^e The data relate only to Article 62b §§ 1 and 2. Therefore, they do not cover proceedings discontinued pursuant to § 3.

* In the case of data on drug offences for 2012, the number of offences identified under Article 62 most likely did not include proceedings discontinued under Article 62a. This way of thinking seems to be confirmed by the data published on the website of the National Police Headquarters (Crimes under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction by Units of Administrative Division in Poland – Crimes Identified, Crimes Detected, Detection Rate – 1999–2020) – where the sum of drug crimes for Poland corresponds to the sum of crimes given in the table. This means that the number of offences under Article 62 of the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction for 2012 is the sum of the values given in the table for Article 62a and Article 62b. The lack of data for the remaining years makes it impossible to draw similar conclusions. In subsequent years, data on proceedings discontinued under Article 62a might have been included in the data on offences under Article 62. However, these are only assumptions.

Table 27. Economic crimes (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Economic fraud	Relating to economic turnover	Economic counterfeiting	Fiscal crimes	Corruption	Under the Act on Copyright and Related Rights	Relating to the environment	Theft of energy, computer programmes	Other
2000	84,260	31,200	12,220	13,947	4,110	1,899	4,064	214	ND	16,606
2001	103,521	42,091	10,918	16,857	5,378	2,331	9,590	259	ND	16,097
2002	109,698	44,954	9,995	17,031	4,910	2,408	11,991	141	ND	18,268
2003	147,658	65,055	10,961	21,595	4,691	3,490	11,270	3,938	7,284	19,374
2004	152,148	52,918	11,959	23,737	3,829	4,279	13,976	4,003	15,165	22,282
2005	136,801	45,627	12,751	19,363	2,837	6,127	9,735	4,314	19,654	16,393
2006	145,314	44,807	12,877	23,839	1,863	6,520	10,504	4,505	22,376	18,023
2007	143,108	38,618	12,069	21,988	1,929	9,631	12,422	4,296	24,866	17,289
2008	135,305	40,488	13,511	16,681	1,701	7,706	9,748	4,298	23,586	17,586
2009	151,265	49,137	13,422	15,921	1,881	8,305	18,516	4,833	25,294	13,956
2010	166,970	54,524	14,046	20,218	2,048	12,487	20,983	4,467	22,728	15,469
2011	151,655	55,501	11,255	20,870	2,586	12,192	10,551	4,482	18,911	15,307
2012	141,483	54,785	9,895	16,768	2,101	9,463	10,481	4,660	15,757	17,573
2013	158,654	61,255	9,180	20,375	2,085	14,664	8,057	4,101	16,434	22,503
2014	161,135	71,578	11,409	22,020	1,725	11,120	7,751	3,146	10,068	22,318
2015	167,741	87,685	8,881	22,474	1,822	7,897	9,473	3,168	5,980	20,361
2016	150,386	73,309	7,044	27,014	2,008	8,745	7,829	3,607	5,092	15,738
2017	189,871	92,192	6,494	38,604	2,446	8,347	17,046	2,398	3,882	18,462
2018	180,739	85,275	6,077	34,274	2,399	10,323	14,295	2,084	3,188	22,824
2019	187,367	103,556	6,450	32,200	3,035	6,577	7,399	2,206	2,223	23,721
2020	198,163	106,392	5,256	34,309	2,433	8,038	11,267	2,065	2,053	26,350
2021	224,775	139,098	5,611	40,475	2,534	6,370	3,279	2,270	1,650	23,488
2022	265,116	136,904	5,902	43,326	2,963	5,889	981	2,159	2,269	64,723
2023	226,291	133,616	6,813	42,983	2,665	3,670	2,734	2,698	1,157	29,955

Table 28. Corruption offences (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Taking a bribe by an official	Bribery	Paid protection	Abuse of power by an official	Electoral corruption	Economic corruption	Sports corruption
		Art. 228	Art. 229	Art. 230	Art. 231	Art. 250a	Art. 296a	Art. 296b
2000	1,899	491	794	57	557			
2001	2,331	613	1,061	103	554			
2002	2,408	526	875	146	861			
2003	3,490	629	1,173	296	1,392	0	0	0
2004	4,279	944	1,397	424	1,505	4	1	3
2005	6,127	1,855	1,979	472	1,790	5	10	15
2006	6,520	2,100	2,238	737	1,385	18	36	2
2007	9,631	2,632	3,173	545	2,996	99	169	5
2008	7,706	2,276	3,131	753	1,367	18	43	106
2009	8,305	2,805	2,653	637	2,083	0	86	15
2010	12,487	4,558	2,955	962	3,252	18	73	658
2011	12,192	4,049	3,666	1,197	2,971	157	42	99
2012	9,463	2,689	2,868	1,123	2,598	35	104	34
2013	14,664	3,457	2,507	893	7,310	16	372	109
2014	11,120	3,513	1,920	643	4,861	5	76	102
2009	8,305	2,805	2,653	637	2,083	0	86	15
2010	12,487	4,558	2,955	962	3,252	18	73	658
2011	12,192	4,049	3,666	1,197	2,971	157	42	99
2012	9,463	2,689	2,868	1,123	2,598	35	104	34
2013	14,664	3,457	2,507	893	7,310	16	372	109
2014	11,120	3,513	1,920	643	4,861	5	76	102
2015	7,897	2,049	1,603	599	3,206	100	231	109
2016	8,745	4,356	1,767	458	2,124	6	34	
2017	8,347	3,091	1,751	566	2,762	9	168	
2018	10,323	7,151	1,777	322	1,019	7	47	
2019	6,577	1,790	2,062	724	1,734	39	228	
2020	8,038	3,508	1,521	1,483	1,476	19	31	
2021	6,370	3,102	1,775	406	1,004	4	79	
2022	5,889	1,744	1,314	1,608	1,212	1	10	
2023	3,669	1,395	1,340	113	685		136	

Table 29. Crimes* related to the Internet or other computer network according to *modus operandi* in 2013–2023*** (in absolute numbers and in %)**

Years	TOTAL offences identified	Internet and network crimes	
		in absolute numbers	%
2013	1,061 237	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
2020	765,408	107,728	14.1
2021	820,846	156,403	19.1
2022	862,992	156,532	18.1
2023	792,014	142,969	18.1

* The data refer to crimes described according to the following *modus operandi* values: I. Nature of the place: 1) Internet or other computer network; 2) cyberspace. II. Tools of crime: 1) an online "store"; 2) online auction; 3) webcam; 4) computer; 5) computer data carrier (disk, streamer tape, floppy disk, CD); 6) computer network (e.g. Internet). III. Object of the attack: 1) online store; 2) computer network (e.g. the Internet). IV. The perpetrator claims to be an employee of an online store. V. The perpetrator claims to be a participant in an online auction. VI. The perpetrator commits a crime under the guise of buying, selling, through a portal/website. VII. The perpetrator commits fraud in an online auction. VIII. The perpetrator commits a crime by destroying computer records. IX. The perpetrator overcomes computer passwords. X. The perpetrator overcomes the computer code. XI. The perpetrator's behaviour towards the victims: 1) makes contact via the Internet; 2) makes threats via the Internet, telephone. XII. Other features of behaviour: 1) connects to a network distributing an Internet signal; 2) impersonates an existing website in order to obtain data in an unauthorised way (phishing); 3) unlawfully modifies the computer data recording; 4) uses special computer software; 5) breaks, bypasses the security of the computer server; 6) hacks into a computer system (hacking); 7) intercepts data on the Internet in an unauthorised way, e.g. sniffing; 8) checks or disseminates content prohibited by law on the Internet; 9) publishes an advertisement on the Internet. XIII. Nature of the object: 1) online auction; 2) an online store. XIV. Type of facility: 1) Internet network (Internet); 2) another computer network.

** Data by registration unit, not by administrative breakdown.

*** Data in this regard have been available since 2013. However, they may not fully reflect the phenomenon of Internet crime due to the fact that it is not obligatory to specify, at the time of registration, in the *modus operandi* field the features related to the Internet or computer systems, as well as due to the possibility of multiple choice.

Table 30. Offences involving the use of weapons or other dangerous objects (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Type of dangerous object							
		firearms	gas weapons	pneumatic weapons	incapacitating gas throwers	explosives	dangerous item	dog or other animal*	other
2002	9,515	1,170	254	98	255	87	6,730	0	921
2003	9,543	1,149	234	95	283	74	7,224	125	359
2004	9,059	1,058	196	115	266	48	7,043	111	222
2005	8,351	849	163	154	196	43	6,671	126	149
2006	6,809	699	98	155	135	58	5,443	102	119
2007	5,460	631	77	215	109	51	4,198	103	76
2008	5,012	525	69	328	92	39	3,757	89	113
2009	4,972	621	91	305	118	45	3,620	87	85
2010	4,869	631	85	234	122	38	3,558	93	108
2011	4,353	541	96	141	161	25	3,196	95	98
2012	4,070	490	70	162	102	22	3,053	114	57
2013	5,532	568	67	211	292	280	3,440	0	674
2014	4,108	325	74	127	288	262	2,611	72	349
2015	3,896	301	51	149	293	201	2,517	102	282
2016	6,263	996	208	391	344	252	3,474	171	427
2017	6,139	874	256	331	323	270	3,398	253	434
2018	5,401	768	235	373	262	212	2,941	237	373
2019	5,367	659	236	378	268	245	2,978	224	379
2020	5,390	635	274	321	252	396	2,872	240	400
2021	5,941	682	270	263	321	881	2,900	278	346
2022	5,361	548	215	293	247	923	2,561	261	313
2023	4,720	603	169	281	265	272	2,463	307	360

* Not registered in 2002.

Table 31. Crime detection rate (in %)*	
Years	Detection rate for all crimes reported
1990	40.0
1991	48.3
1992	53.1
1993	53.5
1994	54.2
1995	54.2
1996	54.4
1997	53.5
1998	50.5
1999	45.0
2000	47.8
2001	53.8
2002	54.9
2003	55.2
2004	56.2
2005	58.6
2006	62.4
2007	64.6
2008	65.9
2009	67.1
2010	67.9
2011	68.7
2012	67.8
2013	67.0
2014	65.2
2015	64.7
2016	66.5
2017	71.7
2018	73.4
2019	73.1
2020	73.3
2021	71.2
2022	71.6
2023	72.0

* Since 2013, detection not including juvenile acts.

Table 32. Crime detection in selected offences by voivodships in 2023 (in %)

Voivodeships	Homicide	Brawling	Causing bodily harm	Robbery*	Burglary	Theft of someone else's belongings	Car theft
Lower Silesian Voivodeship	100.0	78.1	81.8	76.3	46.7	41.1	30.6
Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship	100.0	94.7	93.6	94.6	67.7	62.1	45.3
Lublin Voivodeship	100.0	88.3	94.1	94.4	60.3	60.7	74.3
Lubuskie Voivodeship	95.7	83.9	85.3	71.3	50.1	48.1	28.0
Lodz Voivodeship	94.7	78.1	85.3	78.3	48.5	45.0	29.7
Lesser Poland Voivodeship	100.0	87.8	86.7	84.0	67.3	45.5	46.3
Masovian Voivodeship	99.0	84.5	87.6	67.8	42.1	32.9	10.5
Opole Voivodeship	100.0	85.1	89.2	85.4	46.0	48.8	61.4
Subcarpathian Voivodeship	100.0	75.4	87.7	86.6	51.1	53.0	57.6
Podlaskie Voivodeship	100.0	83.2	92.9	85.5	61.2	60.6	63.3
Pomeranian Voivodeship	100.0	79.4	84.1	84.8	56.5	44.7	18.7
Silesian Voivodeship	97.3	85.2	88.6	87.1	58.0	52.9	35.6
Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship	100.0	80.0	87.6	84.1	72.0	53.0	41.3
Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship	95.5	94.3	94.6	89.7	61.6	59.2	34.4
Greater Poland Voivodeship	100.0	94.9	97.6	90.0	48.6	42.3	35.1
West Pomeranian Voivodeship	100.0	94.1	89.8	94.0	52.1	51.3	41.2
POLAND	98.8	84.9	88.9	82.6	53.7	45.1	24.2

* The category of robbery includes: robbery, robbery theft and extortion.

Table 33. Crime detection* of selected offences in selected cities in 2023 (in %)

Cities	Brawling	Causing bodily harm	Robbery**	Burglary	Theft of someone else's belongings	Car theft
Gdansk	60.0	71.6	71.6	54.8	33.1	14.5
Katowice	66.7	89.0	79.7	52.2	47.5	42.1
Cracow	82.9	71.3	75.6	68.4	34.6	41.9
Lodz	55.9	74.3	66.7	38.7	33.6	23.4
Poznan	77.3	96.0	81.2	20.0	22.9	24.9
Szczecin	90.3	90.4	96.6	54.9	49.5	27.6
Warsaw	73.7	78.2	55.1	30.5	25.1	7.2
Wroclaw	60.4	57.9	50.7	31.5	25.7	9.2

* Homicide detection is not included due to insufficient numbers.

** The category of robbery includes: robbery, robbery theft and extortion.

Chapter II

SUSPECTS

Paweł Waszkiewicz

Introduction

Compared to the previous edition of the *Atlas of Crime*, the most important change in this chapter is the greater attention devoted to the category of “suspected foreigners.” The aim is to enable analysis of this issue on the basis of verifiable data presented in a broader context. The decision to look more closely at suspected foreigners is primarily linked to the pan-European migration crisis of 2015, the migration crisis on the Polish–Belarusian border that began in 2021, and Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

The topic of foreigners suspected of committing a crime often appears in public debate, and not only in Poland. When reading the data presented in this chapter, it should be remembered that a change in police statistics in 2012 was also important for recording categories of persons with citizenship other than Polish. Until then, data on suspects’ citizenship had been collected on an optional basis, which means the size of this group was previously underestimated.

While post-2012 police statistics regarding suspected foreigners are relatively accurate, it is difficult to determine precisely the total number of foreigners in Poland. Statistics and estimates from different sources differ by factors of several. Unambiguously verifiable data are available from the Central Statistical Office (GUS), but they are limited in scope. This is because data from the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) are based on pension and disability insurance, which include only adults who are legally employed in Poland. As of June 2023, this group comprised almost one million people. At the same time, according to ZUS data, the “500+” benefit was paid to over 300,000 children of foreigners. The number of foreigners in Poland in mid-2023 was therefore over 1.3 million people. The Border Guard, in turn, registers those who legally enter Poland from outside the Schengen Area and those who legally leave Poland at the EU’s external borders. According to these figures, from Russia’s invasion of Ukraine on 24 February

2022 to the third quarter of 2023, 1.7 million more people entered Poland across the border with Ukraine than left for Ukraine. Of course, not only Ukrainian citizens reside in Poland—although they are undoubtedly the largest group of foreigners—and not every Ukrainian crossing into Poland remains on its territory. Another way of estimating the largest group of foreigners in Poland was adopted by Selectivv. Using mobile devices, it assigned users to the category “Ukrainians” on the basis of geolocation data, device language, visits to Ukraine, and the use of Ukrainian SIM cards. According to this methodology, in February 2023, there were more than 3.1 million Ukrainian users of mobile phones or tablets in Poland. A report by the Warsaw Enterprise Institute estimates the number of “migrants” in Poland in 2023 at between 3.5 and 4 million people. This means that the number of foreigners in Poland in 2023 was certainly more than 1.3 million and probably less than 4 million. Averaging between these two values yields a relatively safe estimate of 2.65 million foreigners. All available data indicate that this is more likely an underestimate than an overestimate of the number of foreigners residing in Poland.

A reliable presentation of the figures requires explaining their sources: police statistics and data from GUS. This allows the presentation of both absolute numbers (the total number of suspects in each category) and percentages. For 1990–2012, police data come from the Police Crime Statistics System TEMIDA of the National Police Headquarters; for 2013–2023, from the National Police Information System (KSIP). When interpreting the data, one should keep in mind the changes in how police statistics were kept in Poland and the scope of data collected as a result of legislative changes. Since 2013, the Police have changed how they register data on suspects, which limits the possibility of comparisons between the period before the change and later years (2013–2023). This applies most strongly to data on minors. Since 2013, the Police have collected data on minors only on the basis of reliable

information about the conclusion of juvenile proceedings by a family court. At the same time, family courts are not obliged to provide such information to the Police. This leads to differences between the definition of a “suspect” who is a minor and suspects from other age groups. Moreover, even with this narrow definition, the data collection method does not allow us to determine the scale of the phenomenon. This is particularly evident when comparing 2013–2014, when the number of suspected minors almost halved (from 25,804 to 17,880). These limitations should be kept in mind when analysing the data.

The changes in the number of suspects from 1990 to 2023 cannot be fully explained by a single factor. They appear to result from several parallel long-term processes and specific events. Over the past 35 years, there have been no demographic changes on a scale that could fully explain such large swings in the number of suspects. Although at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries a large cohort born in the early 1980s entered the age at which prevailing social and legal norms are most often violated, year-to-year differences do not explain the overall magnitude of change. By contrast, the marked decline in the number of suspects beginning in 2005 may be explained, to some extent, by Poland’s accession to the European Union in 2004, which was accompanied by the opening of labour markets and mass economic emigration. In this group (estimated at one million to three million people), the vast majority were young people.

The data for 2020–2021 should also be interpreted in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Undoubtedly, the restrictions introduced at that time reduced the number of suspects. However, this downward trend continued in the next two years, despite the simultaneous arrival in Poland of a large number of refugees from Ukraine and economic migrants from Africa and Asia.

The structure of the charges in 2023 is significantly different from that of two decades ago. Some trends are also visible when comparing 2023 with 2019. The biggest change concerns those suspected of driving a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol

or intoxicants. In 2023, there were more than three times fewer such suspects than in 2002, largely due to a change in the material scope of this offence (see “Selected changes in the law...”). Nevertheless, there was an almost 10% decrease in the absolute number of suspects of this offence compared to 2019, which cannot be explained by the 2013 change. By contrast, the higher number of suspects for non-payment of alimony in 2018–2019 results directly from legislative action, i.e., an amendment to Article 209 of the Penal Code. The premise of “persistence” was replaced by a clearly defined criterion for arrears (amount and period), and the scope of criminalisation was extended to include acts that did not expose the entitled person to the inability to satisfy basic life needs. In addition, the group of entities obliged to notify law enforcement authorities of this crime was expanded. As a result, the number of suspects returned to—and even exceeded by several thousand—the level recorded in 2002. After a sharp increase, a gradual decline was observed in 2020–2023.

Over 24 years, there have been two significant shifts in suspects’ age structure. These trends are also visible when comparing 2013 with 2019 and 2023, which suggests they do not result from the statistical changes introduced in 2013. The group of the youngest suspects decreased more than fourfold – by over 10 p.p. The size of the second-youngest group (ages 17–20) also decreased markedly—3.5 times since 2000 and by one-third since 2019. At the other end of the age range (30–49 years), there was a significant increase: this group gradually grew until it exceeded half of all suspects. A similar process also applies to the 50+ age group: the number of suspects increased from 34,541 in 2000 to 47,030 in 2023. Although the absolute increase is not large, the percentage share of this group has doubled. Nevertheless compared to 2019, this age group decreased by 8.5%.

The absolute number of homicides, and especially the rate per 100,000 population, is often considered the most objective way to compare safety. In terms of suspects, there was a steady increase from 1990 to 2001, followed by a decline, with small deviations, until 2016,

when the lowest number of homicides recorded by the Police in the period was also noted. At that time, more than three times fewer people (406) were charged with murder than in 2001 (1,274). After 2016, the number of murder suspects increased, although it remained much lower than in 1990. This is also reflected in the rate per 100,000 population: in 2023 it was three times lower than in 2001 and slightly higher than in 2016.

The impact of legislative changes on the number of suspects is probably best illustrated by theft and drug offences. The rate of theft suspects was relatively high throughout the last decade of the 20th century. In the middle of that decade, there was a sharp increase to over 65,000 suspects in 1995, followed by a one-third decrease a year later. The next peak occurred almost ten years later in 2004 (62,256 suspects, 163.1 per 100,000 population). The number then fell until 2009, only to increase significantly over the next four years, until the threshold between misdemeanour and crime was changed again in 2013. Since 2021, there has been a noticeable resurgence in the number of theft suspects (38,389 suspects in 2023). Given the connection between this trend and legislative changes, it can be assumed that another change in the value of stolen goods, which came into force at the end of 2023, will result in a significant reduction in the number of theft suspects in 2024, as in 1996 and 2013.

This chapter presents data on suspects only. Therefore, it is best to review the data in conjunction with the data on the number of crimes committed and the detection rate of individual crimes presented in Chapter I.

Important clarifications

Suspect – according to Article 71 § 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, “A person shall be considered a suspect if the order has been made about presenting the

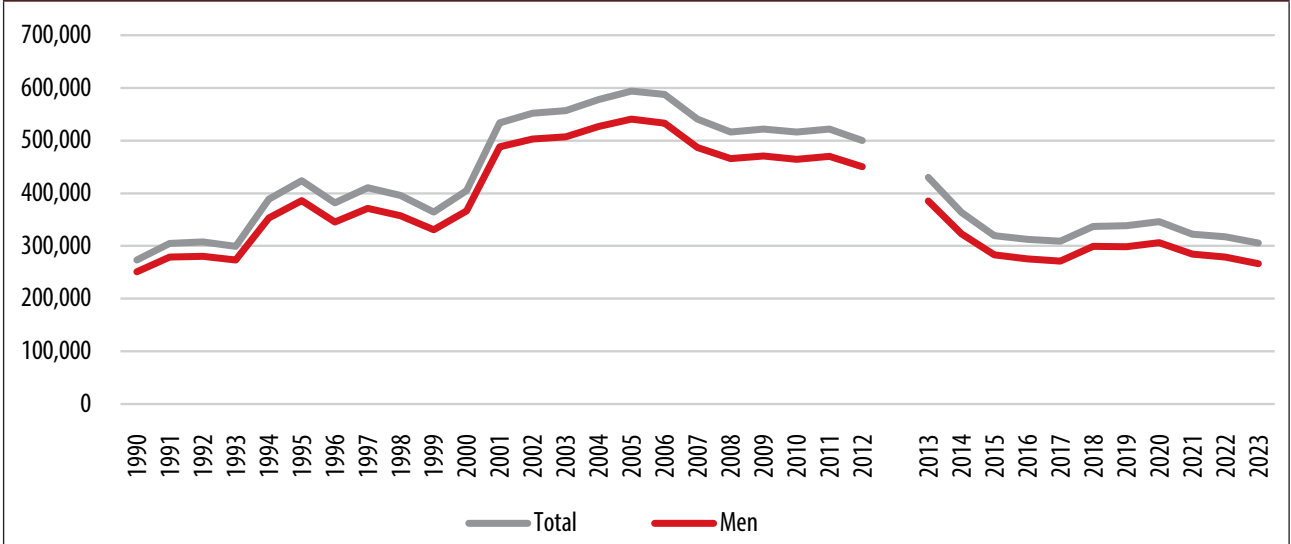
charges to the person, or the charges have been presented to the person directly (without the order) in relation to interrogating him as a suspect.” Therefore, this does not mean an unequivocal statement that the person is the perpetrator, but only a subjective finding of the authority that, on the basis of the collected evidence, there are grounds to charge a specific person with a criminal act, penalised at the time of commission. However, this status may change in the course of criminal proceedings, i.e. the proceedings may be discontinued in whole or in part, which may apply to some suspects (§ 220 of the Internal Regulations of the Office of Common Organizational Units of the Public Prosecutor’s Office – Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1115, consolidated text). Upholding charges at further stages, including in the form of an indictment, is also not the same as perpetration.

Suspected person – in the Polish legal system, the term “suspected person” is alongside “suspect,” although it is not defined in the applicable regulations. This is not a gender-neutral synonym for a suspect, but a term for a person who is of interest to law enforcement authorities, although they have not (yet) been charged. Due to this nature, figures on “suspect persons” are not collected. Thus, it is not possible to determine the number of suspected persons, but by nature this is a larger group than the group of suspects.

Data about the suspect – variables such as age, are recorded as of the date of the alleged act. If a suspect is accused of committing more than one act of the same qualification in one decision on the presentation of charges, such a suspect is registered in the statistics once. If, however, the same person is charged in another case, he or she will be registered again. Therefore, the number of suspects differs from the number of crimes.

SUSPECTS IN TOTAL

Chart 1. Suspects in the years 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers)



- From 1990 to the mid-2000s, the number of suspects increased markedly. At its peak in 2005, the absolute number of suspects was more than double that in 1990.
- From 2005 to 2017, the number of suspects fell markedly; it then rose in 2017–2019, before declining again in 2020–2023.
- In the last year of the analysed period (2023), the number of suspects was almost equal to that of 1991.
- Another notable change is the increase in the share of female suspects. In 1990, fewer than one in ten suspects were female (8.3%); 35 years later, this figure had risen by more than 4 percentage points to 12.8%.

SUSPECTS BY TYPE OF CRIME

Table 1. Suspects by type of offence

Offences relating to:	2002		2019		2023	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Life and health	34,829	6.3	15,831	4.7	12,436	4.1
Property	195,811	35.5	87,047	25.7	91,588	30.0
Sexual freedom and decency	2,688	0.5	2,697	0.8	2,806	0.9
Family and care	45,215	8.2	64,222	19.0	42,283	13.8
Credibility of documents	22,845	4.1	7,459	2.2	6,158	2.0
The Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction	13,461	2.4	33,859	10.0	35,155	11.5
Public safety and transport (without Article 178a)	18,034	3.3	17,845	5.3	13,830	4.5
Art. 178a (drink-driving)	140,270	25.4	52,618	15.5	45,656	15.0
Other	79,148	14.3	57,006	16.8	55,664	18.2
TOTAL	405,275	100.0	338,584	100.0	305,576	100.0

- The biggest change concerns those suspected of driving a motor vehicle while intoxicated. In 2023, this number was more than three times lower than in 2002.
- There are fewer and fewer suspects of offences against life and health. Over a period of twenty years, their absolute number has fallen by almost a factor of three, and their share of all suspects by one-third.
- The share of suspects of property offences remains broadly stable—about one-third of all suspects; in absolute terms, however, the 2023 count was more than twice that of 2002.
- The share of suspects of offences against the family and guardianship has increased significantly, although it is much lower than in 2019. The vast majority in this category are persons charged with non-payment of alimony (maintenance).
- Since the beginning of the 21st century, both the number and the share of suspects for drug offences have grown. They are now more than 2.5 times as numerous as in 2002 and account for over four times the share. This trend holds even when comparing 2019 with 2023.

SUSPECTS BY AGE

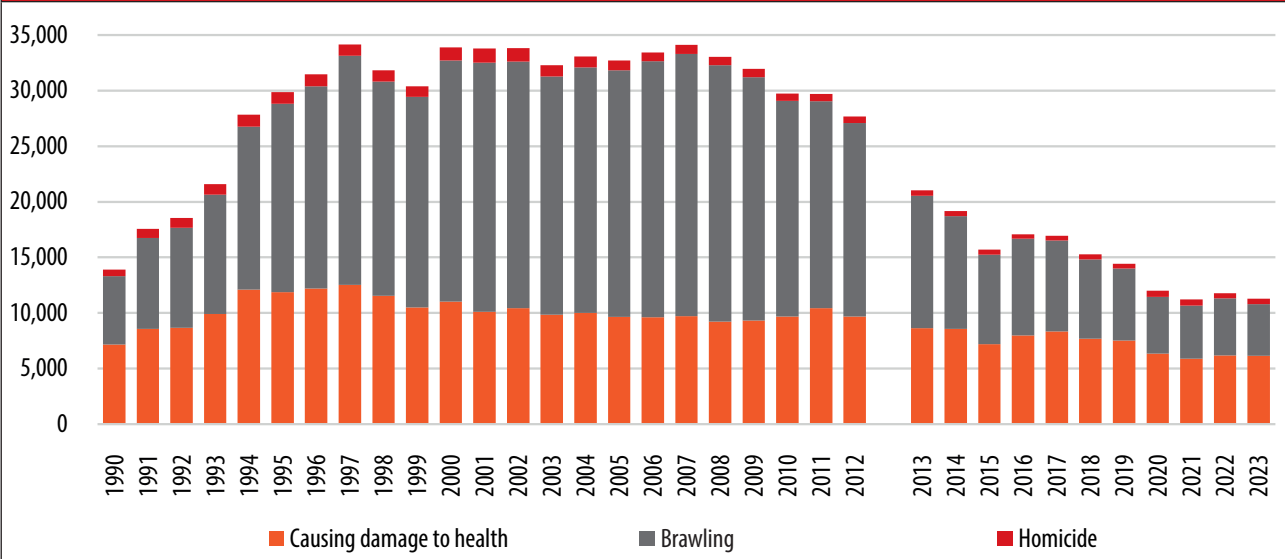
Table 2. Suspects by age in selected years

Age	2000		2013		2019		2023	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
13–16	56,345	13.9	25,804	6.0	10,666	3.2	8,783	2.9
17–20	69,013	17.0	54,783	12.7	29,666	8.8	21,301	7.0
21–24	53,454	13.2	52,839	12.3	36,641	10.8	27,611	9.0
25–29	47,718	11.8	60,774	14.1	48,641	14.4	41,263	13.5
30–49	144,204	35.6	161,943	37.7	161,542	47.6	159,585	52.2
50+	34,541	8.5	73,919	17.2	51,428	15.2	47,030	15.4
TOTAL	405,275	100.0	430,062	100.0	338,584	100.0	305,573	100.0

- The group of the youngest suspects has decreased more than fourfold – by more than 10 p.p.
- The second-youngest group (ages 17–20) has also decreased markedly—3.5 times since 2000 and by one-third since 2019.
- The cohort of thirty- and forty-year-old suspects (ages 30–49) grew steadily until it exceeded half of all suspects.
- The oldest group (50+) increased from 34,541 in 2000 to 47,030 in 2023. Although the absolute rise is modest, this group's percentage share has doubled.

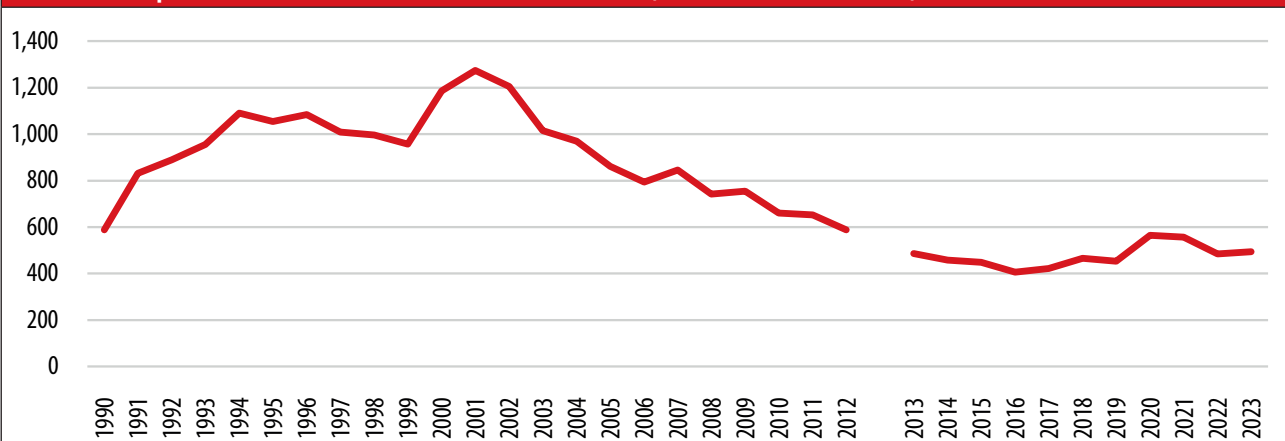
CRIMES RELATING TO LIFE AND HEALTH

Chart 2. Suspects of crimes relating to life and health in the years 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers)



- Since 1990, the number of suspects for offences against life and health has moved in line with the total number of suspects. After a sharp rise in the 1990s, the figures stabilised and, from 2007 onward, have declined steadily.
- In 2020—the pandemic year—the absolute number of suspects in this category fell below the 1990 level and continued to decrease over the next three years. This drop was much greater than the gradual decline in Poland’s resident population.

Chart 3. Suspects of murder between 1990 and 2023 (in absolute numbers)

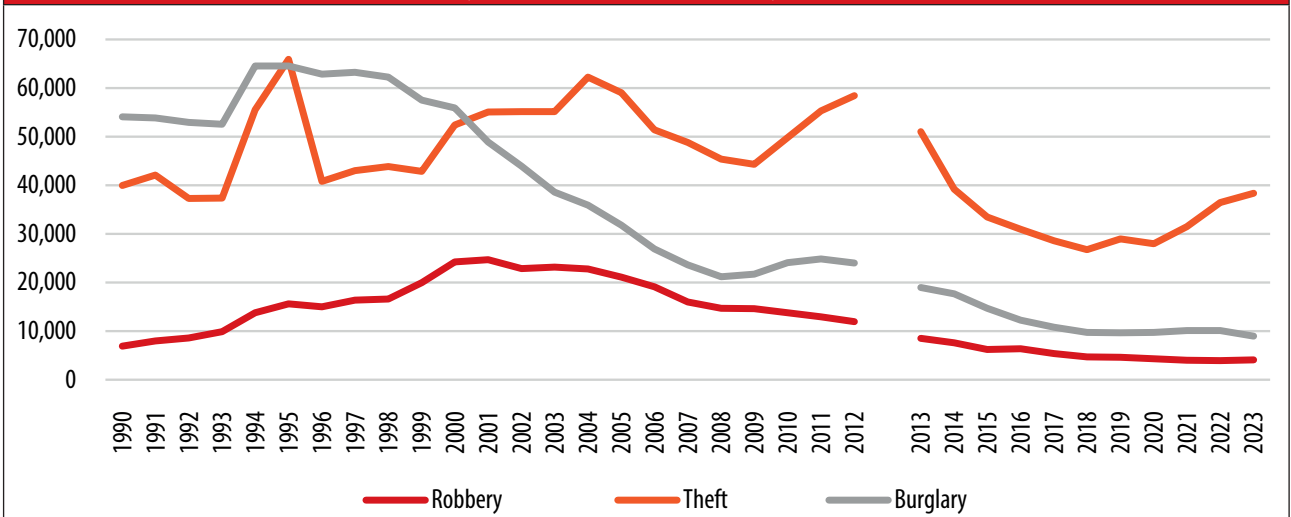


- In the case of the number of suspects of murder, there is a progressive increase from 1990 (588) to 2001 (1,274), from which this number fell with minor deviations until the lowest value (406) in 2016. After 2016, the number of suspects of murder increased, but it still remains much lower than in the 1990s.

PROPERTY CRIMES

A. Robbery offences and theft

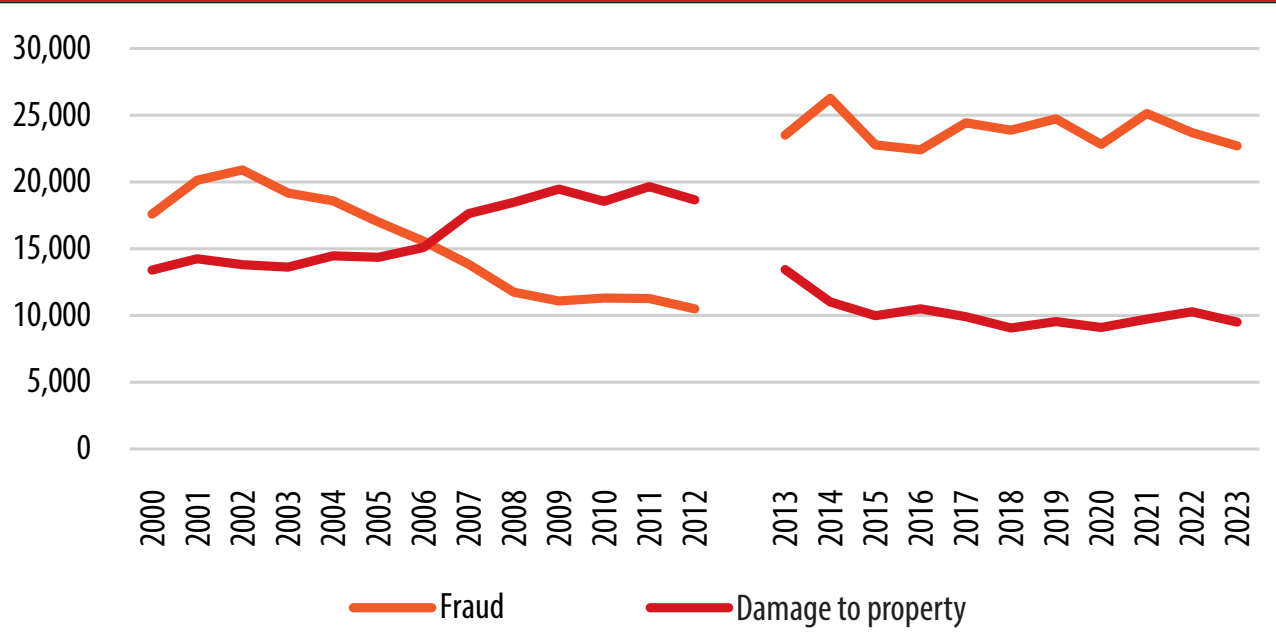
Chart 4. Persons suspected of robbery and theft crimes in the years 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers)



- The number of robbery suspects rose sharply in the 1990s, peaking in 2001 at 24,680 suspects (63.9 per 100,000 population). Since 2001, it has declined steadily, reaching a low in 2022 (3,935; 10.4 per 100,000). In 2023, the count rose slightly to 4,092.
- The number of theft suspects has fluctuated over the past 34 years, directly reflecting legislative changes (see “Selected changes in the law...” and the “Introduction”).
- The largest shifts concern burglary. In 1990–1994 and 1996–2000, the number of suspects for aggravated theft (burglary) exceeded those for simple theft. The peak came in 1994—64,544 suspects (167.5 per 100,000). Since 2000, burglary suspects have fallen markedly, reaching a low in 2023: 9,008 (23.9 per 100,000). A likely key driver of this trend is the several-fold decline in car thefts in Poland from the late 1990s to the mid-2010s.

B. Fraud and damage to property

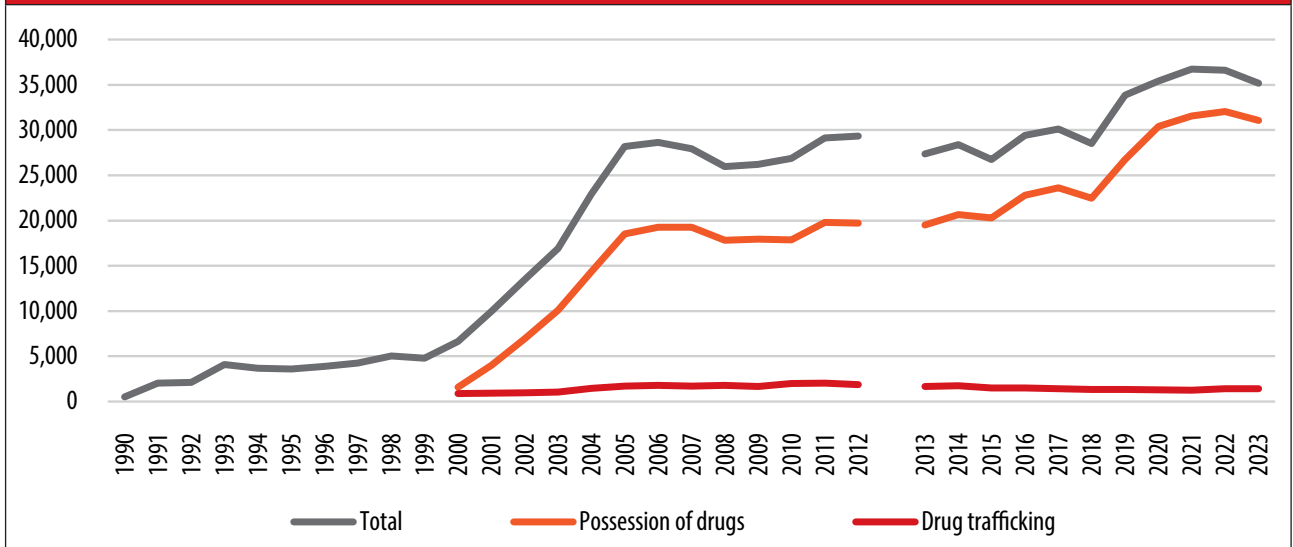
Chart 5. Persons suspected of fraud and damage to property between 2000 and 2023 (in absolute numbers)



- Due to the lack of relevant data for the period 1990–1999 on suspects in fraud offences (Article 286 §§ 1 and 3 of the Penal Code) and destruction of property (Article 288 of the Penal Code), which precludes comparison with 2000–2023, data are presented for the last 24 years only. Even within this period there are changes that are difficult to interpret—especially between 2012 and 2013, when the number of suspected fraudsters more than doubled ($\approx 2.5\times$). This was not accompanied by a change of comparable scale in the number of frauds recorded in police statistics or in detection rates. Therefore, the most reliable comparisons are for 2013–2023. Over this span, the number of suspected fraudsters is relatively stable—just over 22,000 to 26,000 per year. By contrast, the number of suspects for destruction of property (criminal damage) has been gradually declining.

DRUG OFFENCES

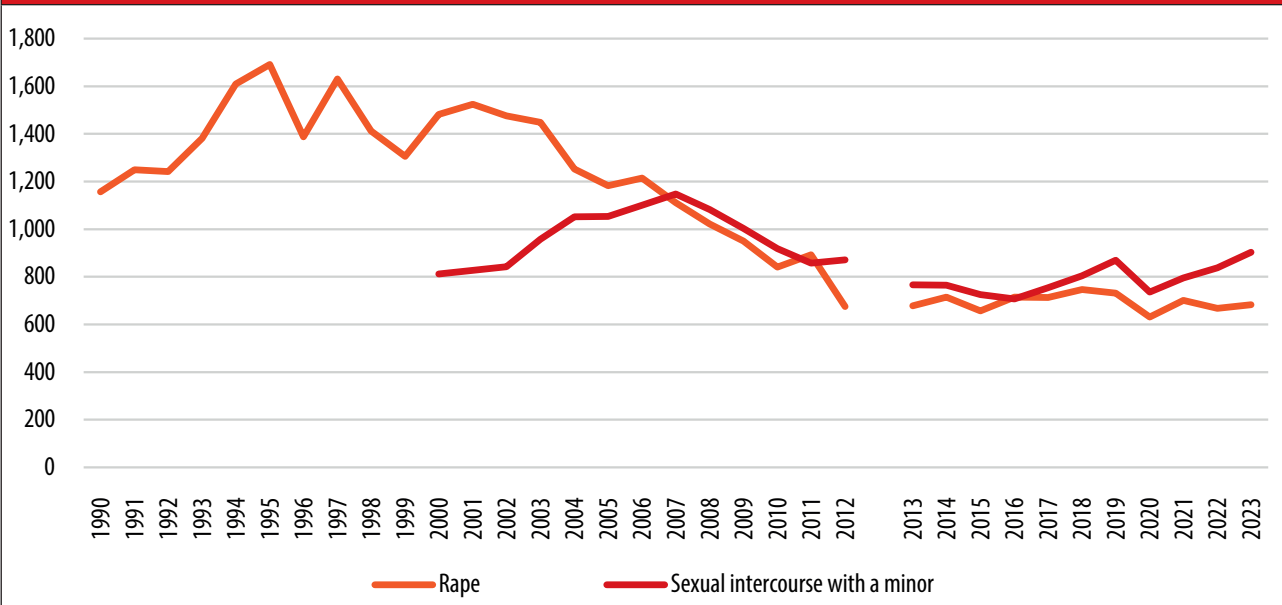
Chart 6. Suspects under the Drug Prevention/Counteracting Acts 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers)



- Legislative changes (see “Selected changes in the law...”), in particular in the years 1998–2000, are clearly visible in the number of drug crime suspects. In principle, each of these changes expanded the scope of criminalisation, which resulted in an increase in the number of suspects.
- The graph shows clearly that over 95% of drug crime suspects are people who possess them (probably mainly for personal use, and partly addicted to them). The rise in the total number of suspects is driven largely by growth in this category.
- The number of suspects in possession of criminalised narcotic substances was gradually increasing even before fentanyl and the “new” methamphetamine appeared on a wider scale in Poland.

RAPE AND SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH A MINOR

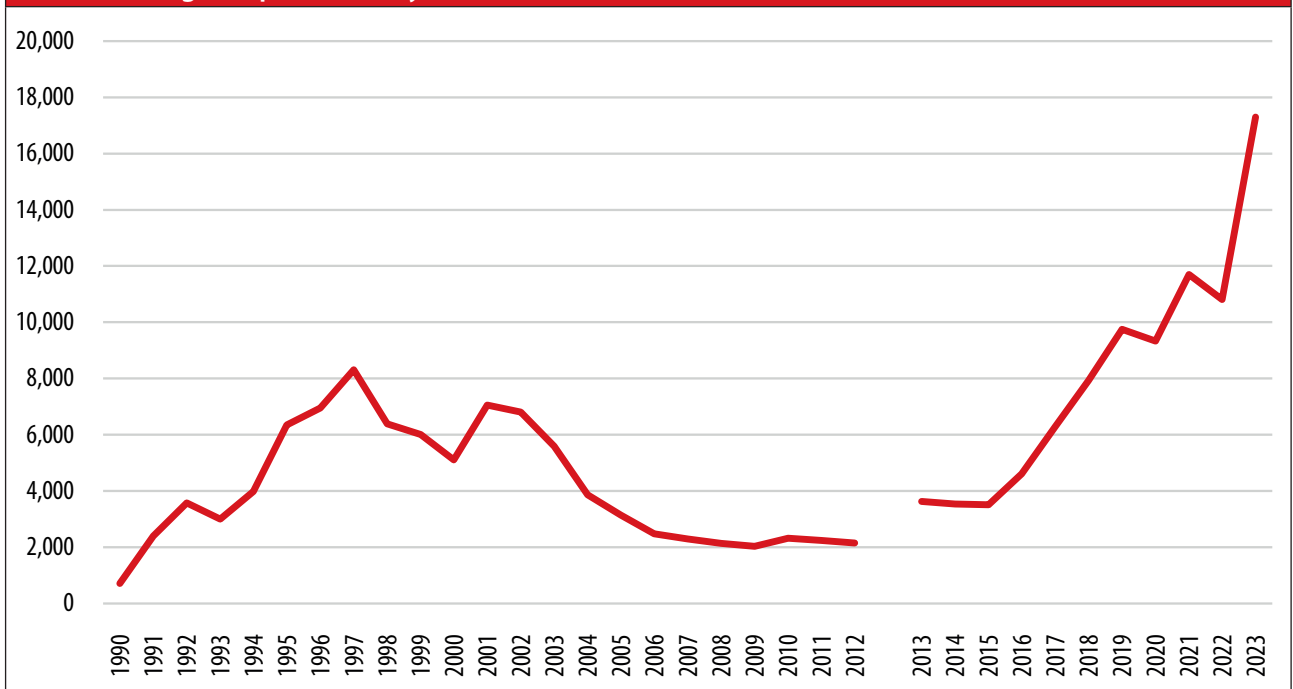
Chart 7. Persons suspected of rape and sexual intercourse with a minor between 1990 and 2023 (in absolute numbers)



- The number of rape suspects in the first two decades of the analysed period changed significantly. The number stood at 1,157 suspects in 1990 peaked at 1,692 in 1995, and then steadily declined to between 657 and 747 suspects per year. This represents a reduction in the absolute number of suspects by more than 2.5 times, which corresponds to changes in the number of rapes recorded in police statistics (see Chapter I).
- The number of suspects of sexual intercourse with a minor has remained seemingly stable, especially since 2013. However, this masks fluctuations between 707 and 904 suspects in the period up to 2023. Given the nature of the offence—above all the severity of harm to victims—these are not minor differences, even in statistical terms.

FOREIGNERS

Chart 8. Foreign suspects in the years 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers)



- According to police statistics, the number of suspected foreigners in the early 1990s was low – 719 persons in 1990. Within a few years—likely tied to the growth of tourism and trade—it increased more than tenfold, reaching 8,306 in 1997. It then declined gradually to just over 2,000 in 2008–2012. Since 2012, the figure has risen steadily, reaching its 34-year high in 2023: 17,290.
- Because the total number of suspects has fallen over the past three decades, the share of foreigners among all suspects has increased. In 2023, about one in eighteen suspects in Poland was a foreigner.
- Using a very conservative estimate of the number of foreigners in Poland allows a comparison of rates. If there were 17,290 suspects among 2.65 million foreigners in 2023, that equates to 652 suspects per 100,000 foreigners. For the total population of 37.7 million, 305,576 suspects correspond to 811 per 100,000 inhabitants. On this basis—and given that the assumed number of foreigners is more likely underestimated than overstated—foreigners were less likely to be recorded as suspects than Polish citizens.

SUSPECTS
 selected data

Table 3. Suspects by gender between 1990 and 2023 (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Men	Women	Percentage of women
1990	273,375	250,733	22,602	8.3
1991	305,031	278,657	26,374	8.6
1992	307,575	280,383	27,192	8.8
1993	299,499	273,646	25,853	8.6
1994	388,855	353,386	35,469	9.1
1995	423,896	386,461	37,435	8.8
1996	381,911	345,774	36,137	9.5
1997	410,844	371,256	39,588	9.6
1998	396,055	357,742	38,313	9.7
1999	364,272	331,037	33,235	9.1
2000	405,275	366,402	38,873	9.6
2001	533,943	488,196	45,747	8.6
2002	552,301	503,056	49,245	8.9
2003	557,224	506,993	50,231	9.0
2004	578,059	526,810	51,249	8.9
2005	594,088	540,764	53,324	9.0
2006	587,959	532,920	55,039	9.4
2007	540,604	487,257	53,347	9.9
2008	516,626	465,996	50,630	9.8
2009	521,699	470,899	50,800	9.7
2010	516,154	464,433	51,721	10.0
2011	521,942	470,331	51,611	9.9
2012	500,539	450,587	49,952	10.0
2013	430,101	385,649	44,452	10.3
2014	363,616	322,814	40,802	11.2
2015	319,399	283,390	36,009	11.3
2016	312,423	275,788	36,635	11.7
2017	309,015	271,459	37,556	12.2
2018	336,886	299,063	37,823	11.2
2019	338,584	298,643	39,941	11.8
2020	346,122	306,529	38,341	11.1
2021	322,197	284,700	37,496	11.6
2022	317,427	278,675	38,752	12.2
2023	305,576	266,430	39,158	12.8

Table 4. Suspected foreigners (in absolute numbers and as a percentage of total suspects)

Years	Suspected foreigners	
	in absolute numbers	percentage of suspects
1990	719	0.3
1991	2,402	0.8
1992	3,575	1.2
1993	3,010	1.0
1994	3,983	1.0
1995	6,349	1.5
1996	6,956	1.8
1997	8,306	2.0
1998	6,390	1.6
1999	6,017	1.7
2000	5,106	1.3
2001	7,061	1.3
2002	6,815	1.2
2003	5,591	1.0
2004	3,870	0.7
2005	3,146	0.5
2006	2,478	0.4
2007	2,293	0.4
2008	2,141	0.4
2009	2,034	0.4
2010	2,319	0.4
2011	2,242	0.4
2012	2,152	0.4
2013	3,636	0.8
2014	3,541	1.0
2015	3,518	1.2
2016	4,613	1.5
2017	6,286	2.1
2018	7,935	2.4
2019	9,755	2.9
2020	9,336	3.0
2021	11,698	3.6
2022	10,808	3.4
2023	17,290	5.4

**Table 5. Suspects of crimes relating to life and health in the years 1990–2023
(in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)**

Years	Causing bodily harm ^a		Involvement in a brawl ^b		Homicide ^c	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	7,165	18.9	6,166	16.2	588	1.6
1991	8,578	22.4	8,162	21.3	832	2.2
1992	8,668	22.6	8,992	23.4	889	2.3
1993	9,926	25.8	10,720	27.9	955	2.5
1994	12,118	31.4	14,620	37.9	1,091	2.8
1995	11,883	30.8	16,918	43.8	1,054	2.7
1996	12,213	31.6	18,153	47.0	1,085	2.8
1997	12,520	32.7	20,609	53.8	1,009	2.6
1998	11,557	30.2	19,263	50.3	997	2.6
1999	10,502	27.2	18,929	49.0	957	2.5
2000	11,037	28.6	21,652	56.0	1,186	3.1
2001	10,129	26.2	22,369	57.9	1,274	3.3
2002	10,431	27.3	22,175	58.0	1,206	3.2
2003	9,857	25.8	21,402	56.0	1,015	2.7
2004	10,008	26.2	22,081	57.8	970	2.5
2005	9,665	25.3	22,163	58.1	861	2.3
2006	9,637	25.3	22,992	60.3	794	2.1
2007	9,706	25.5	23,570	61.8	845	2.2
2008	9,233	24.2	23,043	60.5	742	1.9
2009	9,328	24.4	21,863	57.3	755	2.0
2010	9,686	25.4	19,381	50.8	660	1.7
2011	10,430	27.1	18,598	48.3	652	1.7
2012	9,692	25.2	17,382	45.1	588	1.5
2013	8,626	22.4	11,924	31.0	486	1.3
2014	8,570	22.3	10,132	26.3	458	1.2
2015	7,207	18.7	8,043	20.9	448	1.2
2016	7,987	20.8	8,689	22.6	406	1.1
2017	8,357	21.8	8,178	21.3	421	1.1
2018	7,684	20.0	7,145	18.6	465	1.2
2019	7,532	19.6	6,458	16.8	453	1.2
2020	6,347	16.5	5,105	13.3	564	1.5
2021	5,907	15.5	4,771	12.5	557	1.5
2022	6,206	16.4	5,105	13.5	485	1.3
2023	6,152	16.3	4,659	12.4	494	1.3

^a Includes offences under Articles 156 and 157 of the Penal Code.

^b Includes offences under Articles 158 and 159 of the Penal Code.

^c Includes offences under Article 148 of the Penal Code.

**Table 6. Persons suspected of robbery and theft crimes between 1990 and 2023
(in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)**

Years	Robbery offences ^a		Theft ^b		Burglary ^c	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	6,920	18.9	39,950	110.6	54,081	147.7
1991	8,012	20.9	42,138	110.2	53,861	140.8
1992	8,582	22.4	37,340	97.3	52,940	138.0
1993	9,912	25.8	37,406	101.0	52,585	133.0
1994	13,797	35.8	55,514	144.0	64,544	167.5
1995	15,607	40.4	65,929	170.9	64,530	167.2
1996	15,035	38.9	40,778	105.6	62,875	162.8
1997	16,428	42.9	43,056	112.4	63,250	165.2
1998	16,616	43.4	43,867	114.6	62,277	162.7
1999	19,983	51.7	42,903	111.0	57,508	148.8
2000	24,266	62.8	52,425	135.7	55,956	144.8
2001	24,680	63.9	55,118	142.6	48,888	126.5
2002	22,909	59.9	55,142	144.2	43,951	115.0
2003	23,212	60.8	55,179	144.5	38,603	101.1
2004	22,793	59.7	62,256	163.1	35,920	94.1
2005	21,151	55.4	59,026	154.7	31,778	83.3
2006	19,137	50.2	51,387	134.8	26,926	70.6
2007	15,975	41.9	48,848	128.2	23,675	62.1
2008	14,717	38.6	45,412	119.1	21,175	55.6
2009	14,611	38.3	44,303	116.1	21,741	57.0
2010	13,809	36.2	49,819	130.5	24,106	63.1
2011	12,967	33.7	55,344	143.7	24,860	64.5
2012	11,988	31.3	58,422	151.6	24,037	62.4
2013	8,532	22.2	51,016	132.5	18,973	49.3
2014	7,605	19.8	39,205	101.9	17,679	45.9
2015	6,235	16.2	33,509	87.1	14,748	38.4
2016	6,384	16.6	30,936	80.5	12,304	32.0
2017	5,386	14.0	28,567	74.3	10,823	28.2
2018	4,723	12.3	26,756	69.7	9,778	25.5
2019	4,647	12.1	28,977	75.5	9,668	25.2
2020	4,372	11.4	27,962	72.9	9,793	25.5
2021	4,010	10.5	31,515	82.6	10,168	26.6
2022	3,935	10.4	36,472	96.4	10,166	26.9
2023	4,092	10.9	38,389	101.8	9,008	23.9

^a Includes offences under Articles 280, 281 and 282 of the Penal Code (robbery, robbery theft and extortion).

^b Includes offences under Article 278 of the Penal Code.

^c Includes offences under Article 279 of the Penal Code.

Table 7. Persons suspected of fraud and damage to movable property between 2000 and 2023

Years	Fraud ^a		Damage to movable property ^b	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
2000	17,588	45.5	13,406	34.7
2001	20,112	52.0	14,250	36.9
2002	20,880	54.6	13,806	36.1
2003	19,171	50.2	13,611	35.6
2004	18,564	48.6	14,449	37.8
2005	17,007	44.6	14,365	37.6
2006	15,576	40.8	15,071	39.5
2007	13,822	36.3	17,620	46.2
2008	11,726	30.8	18,458	48.4
2009	11,079	29.0	19,446	51.0
2010	11,289	29.6	18,551	48.6
2011	11,278	29.3	19,659	51.0
2012	10,488	27.2	18,647	48.4
2013	23,499	61.0	13,423	34.9
2014	26,270	68.3	11,020	28.6
2015	22,756	59.2	9,980	26.0
2016	22,393	58.3	10,490	27.3
2017	24,428	63.6	9,905	25.8
2018	23,873	62.1	9,039	23.5
2019	24,733	64.4	9,537	24.8
2020	22,801	59.4	9,097	23.7
2021	25,108	65.8	9,709	25.4
2022	23,689	62.6	10,287	27.2
2023	22,713	60.2	9,497	25.2

^a Includes offences under Article 286 § 1 and 3 of the Penal Code.

^b Includes offences under Article 288 of the Penal Code.

Table 8. Persons suspected of rape and sexual intercourse with a minor between 1990 and 2023 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	Rape ^a		Sexual intercourse with a minor ^b	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	1,157	3.1	ND	0.0
1991	1,249	3.3	ND	0.0
1992	1,242	3.2	ND	0.0
1993	1,381	3.6	ND	0.0
1994	1,609	4.2	ND	0.0
1995	1,692	4.4	ND	0.0
1996	1,388	3.6	ND	0.0
1997	1,631	4.3	ND	0.0
1998	1,412	3.7	ND	0.0
1999	1,306	3.4	ND	0.0
2000	1,481	3.8	812	2.1
2001	1,524	3.9	827	2.1
2002	1,476	3.9	842	2.2
2003	1,449	3.8	957	2.5
2004	1,253	3.3	1,052	2.8
2005	1,183	3.1	1,053	2.8
2006	1,215	3.2	1,101	2.9
2007	1,111	2.9	1,148	3.0
2008	1,021	2.7	1,082	2.8
2009	950	2.5	1,004	2.6
2010	841	2.2	918	2.4
2011	893	2.3	857	2.2
2012	675	1.8	871	2.3
2013	678	1.8	766	2.0
2014	714	1.9	765	2.0
2015	657	1.7	725	1.9
2016	715	1.9	707	1.8
2017	713	1.9	754	2.0
2018	747	1.9	805	2.1
2019	731	1.9	870	2.3
2020	631	1.6	736	1.9
2021	701	1.8	795	2.1
2022	668	1.8	837	2.2
2023	683	1.8	903	2.4

^a Includes offences under Article 197 of the Penal Code.

^b Includes offences under Article 200 § 1 of the Penal Code.

Table 9. Suspects under the Drug Prevention/Counteracting Acts 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	TOTAL		Including drug possession ^a		Including drug trafficking ^b	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	504	1.3		0.0		
1991	2,021	5.3		0.0		
1992	2,104	5.5		0.0		
1993	4,081	10.6		0.0		
1994	3,672	9.5		0.0		
1995	3,597	9.3		0.0		
1996	3,860	10.0		0.0		
1997	4,231	11.0		0.0		
1998	5,018	13.0		0.0		
1999	4,777	12.4		0.0		
2000	6,639	17.2	1,571	4.1	890	2.3
2001	9,952	25.8	4,001	10.4	936	2.4
2002	13,461	35.2	6,940	18.2	951	2.5
2003	16,914	44.3	10,091	26.4	1,022	2.7
2004	22,969	60.2	14,382	37.7	1,455	3.8
2005	28,170	73.8	18,531	48.6	1,715	4.5
2006	28,634	75.1	19,253	50.5	1,778	4.7
2007	27,936	73.3	19,255	50.5	1,700	4.5
2008	25,971	68.1	17,809	46.7	1,796	4.7
2009	26,204	68.7	17,954	47.1	1,667	4.4
2010	26,865	70.4	17,843	46.7	1,985	5.2
2011	29,146	75.7	19,787	51.4	2,025	5.3
2012	29,340	76.1	19,725	51.2	1,876	4.9
2013	27,371	71.1	19,501	50.6	1,652	4.3
2014	28,397	73.8	20,661	53.7	1,757	4.6
2015	26,741	69.5	20,305	52.8	1,515	3.9
2016	29,411	76.5	22,788	59.3	1,515	3.9
2017	30,114	78.4	23,624	61.5	1,392	3.6
2018	28,528	74.3	22,472	58.5	1,325	3.4
2019	33,859	88.2	26,755	69.7	1,342	3.5
2020	35,439	92.4	30,418	79.3	1,291	3.4
2021	36,724	96.2	31,545	82.7	1,231	3.2
2022	36,628	96.8	32,032	84.7	1,408	3.7
2023	3,5155	93.3	31,043	82.3	1,404	3.7

^a Offences under Article 48 §§ 1–2 of the Drug Prevention Act of 1997 (2000–2004) and Article 62 §§ 1 and 3 of the Drug Prevention Act of 2005 (2005–2023) are included.

^b Offences under Articles 42–44 and 47 of the Drug Prevention Act 1997 (2000–2004) and Articles 55–57 and 61 of the Drug Prevention Act 2005 (2005–2023) are included.

Chapter III

CRIMINAL LAW RESPONSE TO OFFENCES

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Introduction

In previous editions of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland*, the third chapter was titled “Convictions and sentences” and included mainly data on the types of penalties imposed by a final judgment for individual crimes. For several reasons, in this edition, we decided to modify the form and the scope of the presented data. Firstly, at the time the data were compiled (February–September 2024), data on final convictions from 2021–2023 were still unavailable and had to be replaced in this respect by statistical data on convictions handed down in the first instance (non-final) appearing in the court statistical reports of the Ministry of Justice (this is marked in dark grey in the tables). However, the data in these reports did not always cover exactly the same articles and paragraphs, and thus, for example information was not included on the crime of causing serious bodily harm. Secondly, reaching for a new source of data – statistical reports of the Ministry of Justice contained new information not available elsewhere – e.g. on aggrieved persons registered by courts by gender. Thirdly, we eventually decided that some data should be given more attention (e.g. on preparatory proceedings conducted and supervised in organisational units of the prosecutor’s office), some should be presented in a slightly different form and in a different place, and some should be omitted altogether. The new name of this chapter – “Criminal law response to offences” – indicates an attempt to quantitatively illustrate the response of law enforcement and the judiciary to detected crime. It is worth analysing data on what penalties are imposed by courts for crimes in view of data on changing crime and data on the changing response of law enforcement authorities, including in particular decisions made by prosecutors.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, out of all crimes committed in a given area (here in Poland), only some will be covered by the response of law enforcement authorities and registered, and an even smaller

portion will be detected, i.e. at least one potential perpetrator will be identified. Some of the proceedings conducted against these detected perpetrators will not end, for various reasons, with a case against them going to court, and others from among of those referred to the courts will not end with a conviction. In addition, as described in more detail in Chapter VI, although the police are undoubtedly the main institution dealing with prosecution, including the registration of crimes and offences, they are not the only one. Therefore, the data of prosecutor’s offices to which cases conducted by these various services are sent are particularly worth analysing. The number of criminal cases received by prosecutor’s offices is largely consistent with the total number of crimes registered by the police, because it is this service that conducts the vast majority of criminal proceedings.

Pursuant to Article 2 of the Act of 28 January 2016 on the Public Prosecutor’s Office (Journal of Laws 2024, item 390, consolidated text), the basic tasks of the prosecutor’s office are to prosecute crimes and protect the rule of law. In accordance with Article 3 § 1 item 1, these tasks are carried out, among others, by conducting or supervising preparatory proceedings in criminal cases and performing the function of a public prosecutor before courts. It is the conduct and supervision of preparatory proceedings in criminal cases that is also quantitatively the main activity of the prosecutor’s office – while a total of 1,113,206 cases (repertory Ds) were received in 2023, only 105,222 related to civil law, commercial law, labour law and social security law and family law (repertory Pc), and 53,888 to administrative law (repertory Pa). This means that criminal cases received by the organisational units of the prosecutor’s office account for 88% of all cases they receive, while the other categories of cases, i.e. civil and administrative cases, account for only 8% and 4% of all these cases, respectively.

The most common way to end proceedings for crimes in prosecutor’s offices is not to refer an indictment to the courts, but to discontinue the proceedings – in 2023, such decisions accounted for 37% of

all final decisions, and in 1990 there were even 62% of them. Another important category, which has a very similar effect for the victims, is the decision to refuse to initiate an investigation. In 2023, only 19% of cases were referred to court – either with an indictment or with a request for sentencing without a trial, and in 1990 there were even fewer such decisions – 12%.

Another key statistical unit from the point of view of the analysis of criminal policy, apart from the number of crimes, suspects and criminal proceedings conducted and supervised by the prosecutor's office, is the number of people tried by criminal divisions of common courts in criminal cases. This category corresponds to the number of persons against whom the courts have completed criminal cases for crimes in the first instance. In order to analyse the criminal policy of these courts, it is crucial to show both the number of decisions understood in this way and their type. The number of judgments is directly related to the number of criminal proceedings referred to the courts by the prosecutor's office. When a crime case goes to court, in the vast majority of cases it will end with the conviction of the defendant. Acquittals, discontinuances and conditional discontinuances are very rare. The majority of people convicted are men, while women account for only about 11% of all those convicted. In the analysed period, the share of convicts who were temporarily detained decreased significantly, and the share of those convicted for a consecutive time increased.

Currently, the most frequently imposed punishment for crimes is a fine, imposed in almost one in three cases. Community service is also often imposed in 27% of cases. Absolute imprisonment has increased in recent years and is now 23% in 2023. This structure of penalties imposed by courts was shaped to the greatest extent by the amendment to the Criminal Code and certain other acts of 20 February 2015 (Journal of Laws, item 396), which significantly limited the possibility of giving suspended prison sentences in favour of wider use of the penalty of community service and fines (see "Selected changes in the law...").

Data on the number of convictions for crimes should include information on the share of those sentenced in the so-called consensual procedures. The number of applications for sentencing without a trial and voluntary submission to punishment since their introduction with the new criminal codification of 1997 steadily increased until 2015, after which, as a result of the above-mentioned amendment, it was often impossible to impose the sentence most convenient from the defendant's point of view, a suspended sentence, and the share of consensual decisions fell to approximately 20%.

Unfortunately, the statistical reports on judgments and convictions in the first instance, which are the sources of the analysed data for the years 2021–2023, do not contain data on the age of convicted persons, which is why this data could not be included in this edition of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland*. On the other hand, these reports contain interesting and previously data, never released before, on the share among convicted persons of those who were in custody at the time a judgment was issued in the first instance, which can be treated as a kind of indicator of harsh treatment of the defendants. Pre-trial detention understood in this way has been used very little. These data should be compared to data on the decrease in the share of pre-trial detainees among the total number of people imprisoned in Polish prisons (see Chapter IV). Of course, this change was largely related to the change in the number of crimes and convictions in this period – the most quantitative increase in acute crime, but not the most serious, i.e. the theft or burglaries mentioned above. In cases of these crimes, pre-trial detention is used very rarely.

The second, previously unanalysed piece of information is the percentage of people who have been convicted before at least once (and not only responding under the conditions of recidivism) among all convicts in the first instance, which almost tripled between the year 2005 (from which this information is available) and the year 2023. This means that the decrease in crime and the number of convictions after 2004 included to

a much greater extent one-time offenders than those who offended repeatedly for various reasons.

The last of these “new” interesting pieces of information available in reports on non-final convictions is the number and gender of victims of the crime that led to the conviction. While, as mentioned, the perpetrators of crimes are mostly men, the percentage of men among the victims is only slightly higher (53% to 47%). The share of women perpetrators convicted in the case of fraud is higher than average – 26%, bribery – 25% or falsification of documents – 21%, and much lower in the case of sexual and violent crimes.

The extent of the sentences imposed for individual offences depend on a great many factors, including the statutory threat set out in the criminal provisions. For murder, the most serious crime, only absolute imprisonment was imposed. In addition 7% of convictions in 2023, it was life imprisonment, and in 18.5% – imprisonment for 25 years. Other crimes carrying the most severe penalties were: rape with particular cruelty or collective rape, robbery with the use of a weapon, knife or other dangerous object, rape of the basic type and robbery of the basic type, and sexual intercourse with a person up to 15 years of age. The most lenient treatment was given to persons convicted of driving under the influence of alcohol, falsifying documents and bribery.

Important clarifications

The following principles regarding processing data on final judgments and convictions of adults are followed in court statistics:

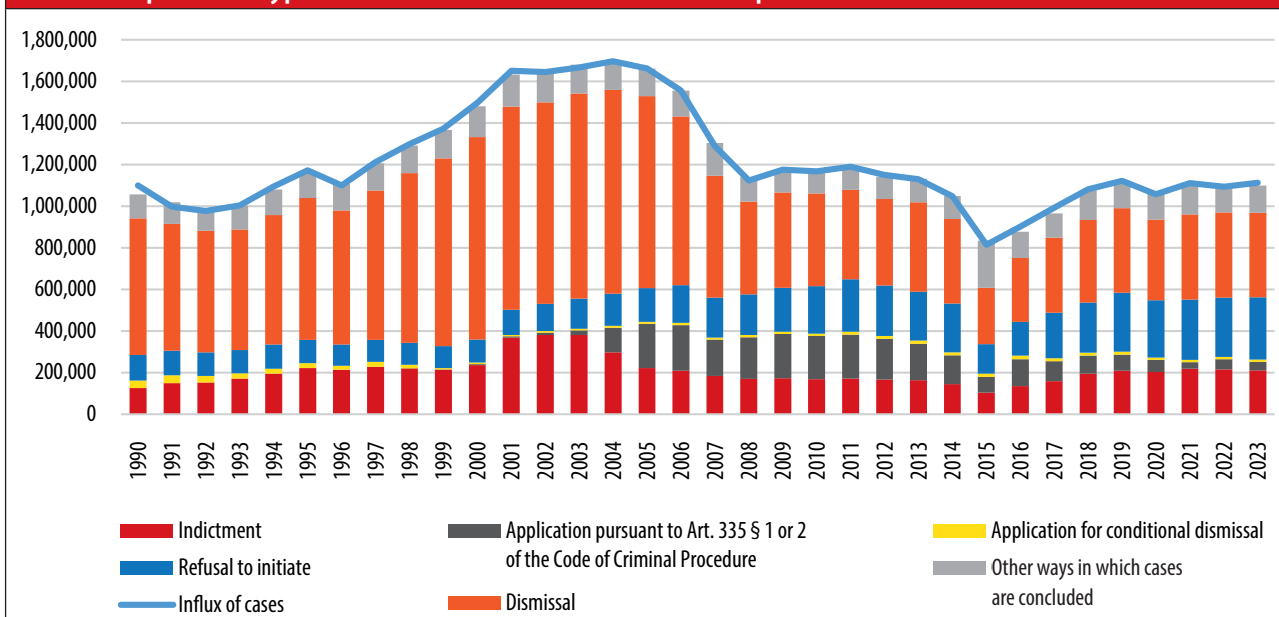
- A statistical unit is considered to be a conviction of a person or another ruling issued in relation to one person issued in a given calendar year; those convicted more than once in the same year are treated as two or more convictions.
- If the defendant is convicted of two or more offences, the statistics include a conviction for one offence – for the crime that carries the higher penalty; if the sanctions are equal, the offence for which the higher penalty was imposed is taken into account; when the penalties imposed are the same, the statistics take into account the conviction for the offence that is more socially harmful.

The court statistics of final judgments issued in relation to adults, and the number of convicted persons do not include:

- adolescents in relation to whom the court orders educational, correctional and therapeutic measures pursuant to Article 10 § 4 (Article 9 § 3 of the Penal Code of 1969).

CASES IN PROSECUTOR'S OFFICES

Chart 1. Impact and types of termination of criminal cases in prosecutors' offices



- The number of criminal cases received and handled by prosecutors' offices in Poland increased in the 1990s in line with the number of crimes registered by the police (see Chapter I) from about one million cases in 1990 to almost 1.7 million in 2004. Subsequently, similarly to the number of crimes, it fell to approximately one million in 2014.
- In 2015, there was a clear decline in the number of criminal cases registered by the prosecutors' offices related to the change in the philosophy adopted with regard to conducting criminal cases introduced that year and then quickly reversed (see "Selected changes in the law...") – to about 800,000 cases. In the following years, these numbers returned to the level of approximately 1.1 million cases and have remained at that level.

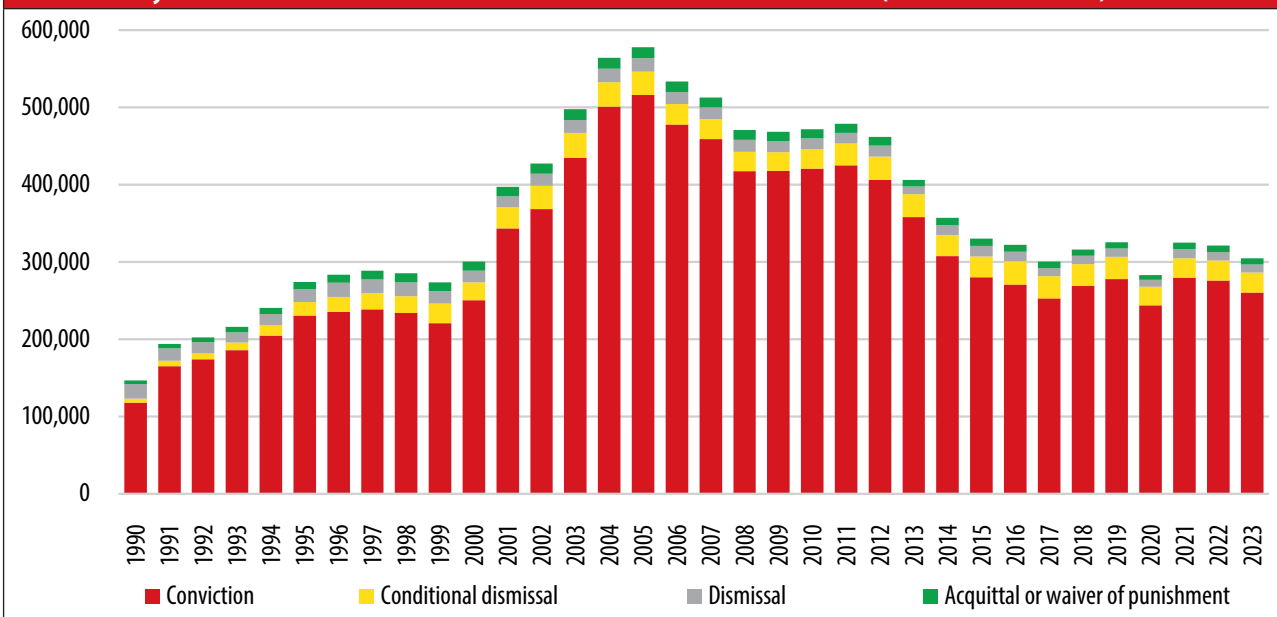
Table 1. Structure of cases handled in prosecutors' offices in 1990, 2004 and 2023

Cases	1990		2004		2023	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
TOTAL	1,056,781	100.0	1,696,787	100.0	1,099,217	100.0
Indictment	125,775	11.9	297,477	17.5	209,945	19.1
Application pursuant to Article 335 § 1 or 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure			117,573	6.9	41,512	3.8
Application for conditional dismissal	35,061	3.3	9,045	0.5	10,452	1.0
Refusal to initiate	124,265	11.8	155,251	9.1	299,689	27.3
Dismissal:	656,491	62.1	979,353	57.9	406,582	36.9
– including due to the failure to identify the perpetrators			681,860	40.2	153,675	14.0
Other ways in which cases are concluded	115,189	10.9	138,088	8.1	131,037	11.9

- The most common form of termination of preparatory proceedings by the prosecutors' offices is dismissal (37% in 2023) and refusal to initiate proceedings (27% in 2023), and not, as indicated in the basic tasks of this institution, referring the case to the court with an indictment or a motion for a sentence for the defendant as agreed with the defendant without a hearing (in the so-called consensual procedure introduced in 1998), which together accounted for only 23% of all decisions concluding cases of this kind in 2023.
- Compared to 2004, when the highest number of cases in prosecutors' offices in the analysed period was recorded, in 2023 the percentage of cases ending in dismissal decreased significantly, especially due to failure to identify perpetrators, and the percentage of refusals to initiate proceedings increased. This may indicate an improvement in the efficiency of the work of law enforcement agencies in detecting perpetrators, the development of techniques and tools for detecting perpetrators, and a decrease in the social harmfulness of reported crimes – as there is a greater number of those described by prosecutors as not eligible for prosecution.

JUDGMENTS

Chart 2. Ways in which criminal cases are concluded in common courts (structure of trials)*



* Non-final judgments in cases of public and private prosecution in district and regional courts were taken into account. Judgments under the Penal Fiscal Code were not taken into account.

- With the increasing number of indictments and motions for sentencing without a trial, the number of convictions increased significantly – more than 3 times – between 1990 and 2005 (from 146,340 to 577,798), and then decreased – in line with the decreasing number of cases referred by prosecutors to criminal courts (to 304,387 in 2023).

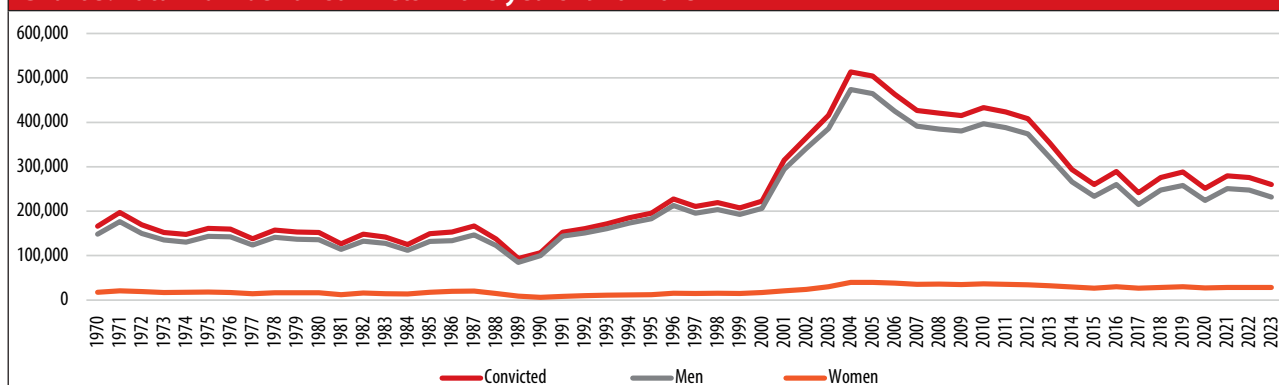
Table 2. Structure of judgments in 1990, 2005 and 2023

	1990		2005		2023	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
TOTAL	146,340	100.0	577,798	100.0	304,387	100.0
Conviction	117,570	80.3	515,822	89.3	260,258	85.5
Conditional dismissal	5,205	3.6	30,364	5.3	25,825	8.5
Dismissal	19,231	13.1	17,425	3.0	10,541	3.5
Acquittal or waiver of punishment	4,334	3.0	14,187	2.5	7,763	2.6

- Throughout the analysed period, the most common way to end criminal cases in courts was to issue a judgment of conviction – in 2023, judgments of this kind accounted for 85.5% of all decisions. In that year, only in 8.5% of cases did the courts issue a decision conditionally dismissing proceedings, and in 3.5% of cases definitively dismissing them. Acquittals and convictions with waiver of punishment were issued very sporadically – in a total of 2.6% of cases.
- In the analysed period, the percentage of convictions did not change significantly, but the percentage of conditional dismissals increased, and the percentage of ordinary dismissals decreased.

TOTAL CONVICTIONS

Chart 3. Total number of convicts in the years 1970–2023



- The number of people convicted in the years 1970–1990 oscillated between 100,000 and 200,000. After a characteristic decrease in the number of convictions in the years 1989–1990 related to the period of political transformation, it systematically increased to 513,410 in 2004, and then decreased to the same degree – to 260,034 in 2015.
- The last decade has been a period of relative stabilisation of this number – at the level of about 250,000–280,000. The percentage of women convicted has undergone some changes: in the period of the People’s Republic of Poland, it remained at a rather stable level of approximately 11%. After the political transformation, it fell to 6% and then steadily increased to 11% again in 2023. These changes were related to changes in the structure of crime – its rapid growth in the 1990s was mainly due to typically “male” crime, such as robberies, burglary, or drug crime.
- The number of applications for conviction without trial and voluntary submission to punishment increased systematically after 1998. In 2000, the percentage of convictions as a result of such procedural agreements was only 11.5%, by 2010 it had reached more than half, and after 2015, as a result of the signal changes in the law, it dropped to approximately 20%.

Chart 4. Number of applications and judgments in consensual procedures in the years 1999–2023

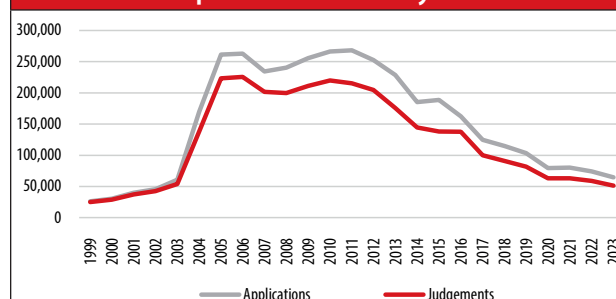


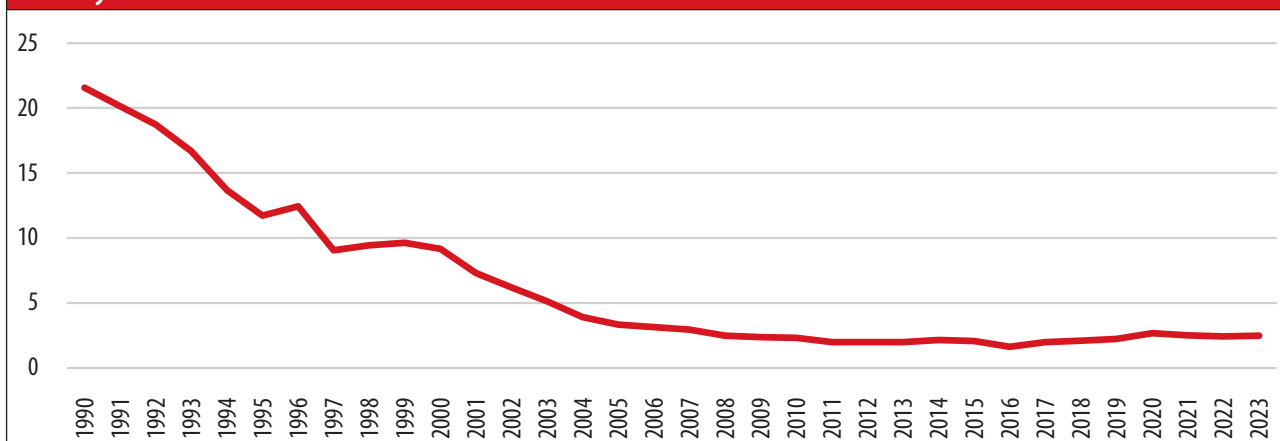
Table 3. Number of applications and decisions under consensual procedures in 2000, 2010 and 2023

Applications and decisions	2000	2010	2023
Applications for sentencing without a trial (Article 335 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)	4,812	226,605	45,791
Applications for voluntary submission to punishment (Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)	25,443	39,529	18,719
Decisions – conviction without trial (Article 335 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)	28,777	183,049	33,425
Decisions – on voluntary submission to punishment (Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)*		36,773	17,684
Percentage of judgments in consensual modes among convictions in the first instance (in %)	11.5	52.2	19.6

* Convictions under the Penal Fiscal Code are not taken into account. Until 2004, rulings under Article 335 and Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure were reported together.

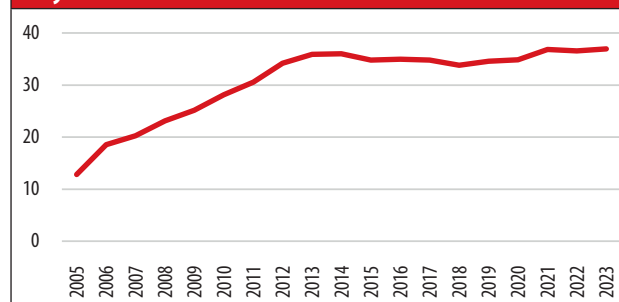
SELECTED DATA ON CONVICTS

Chart 5. Percentage of persons temporarily detained at the time of conviction in the first instance in the years 1990–2023



- The percentage of convicts who were pre-trial detainees at the time of the judgment issued in the first instance fell significantly between 1990 and 2011 (from almost 22% to only 2%) and remained at this low level in subsequent years.
- The percentage of people who had already been convicted at least once increased significantly from 2005, when it was less than 13%, to 37% in 2023.

Chart 6. Convicts previously convicted in years 2005–2023



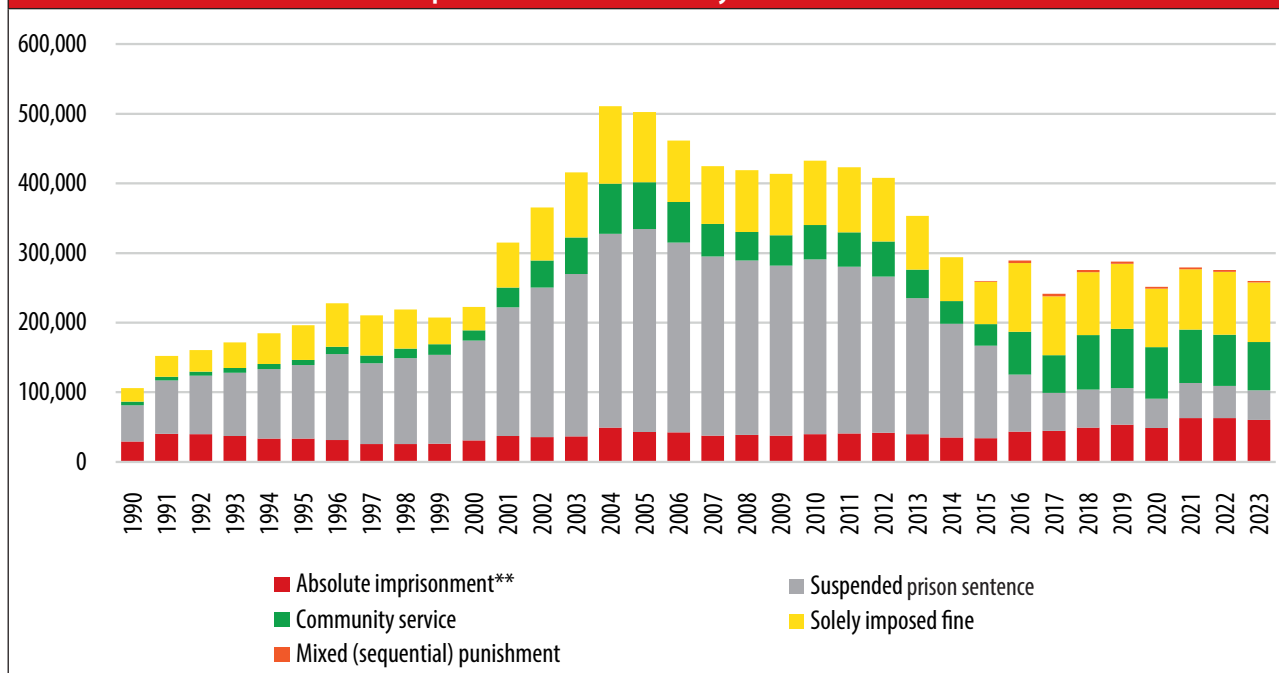
- The perpetrators of crimes are mainly men – they account for as much as 89% of all convicts. However, among the victims of the same crimes, the proportions of men and women are very similar – with the number of men being only a few percent higher.

Table 4. Persons convicted and victims of crime by gender in 2023

Persons	TOTAL	Women		Men	
		N	%	N	%
Convicts	260,258	28,375	10.9	231,883	89.1
Victims	232,670	108,719	46.7	123,951	53.3

TOTAL SENTENCES IMPOSED

Chart 7. Structure of sentences imposed for crimes in the years 1990–2023*



* Due to the low number of sentences, punitive measures (additional penalties) solely imposed were not taken into account, they were added to the total number of convictions.

** A penalty of 25 years of imprisonment and life imprisonment is included.

- In 2023, the most frequently imposed penalty for all offences was a fine (32.9%), followed by community service (26.7%) and imprisonment (23.2%), while in general, from the mid-1990s to 2015, more than half of the convictions included a suspended prison sentence, and the percentages of absolute imprisonment, community service and fines were much lower.

Table 5. Structure of sentences imposed for crimes in selected years (in %)

Years	TOTAL*	Imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed penalty
1990	106,464	27.4	48.9	4.9	18.3	
2005	504,281	8.6	57.8	13.3	20.0	
2015	260,034	13.1	51.2	12.0	23.4	0.4
2023	260,258	23.2	16.2	26.7	32.9	0.9

* Due to the small number of sentences, punitive measures (additional penalties) solely imposed were not taken into account, they were added to the total number of convictions.

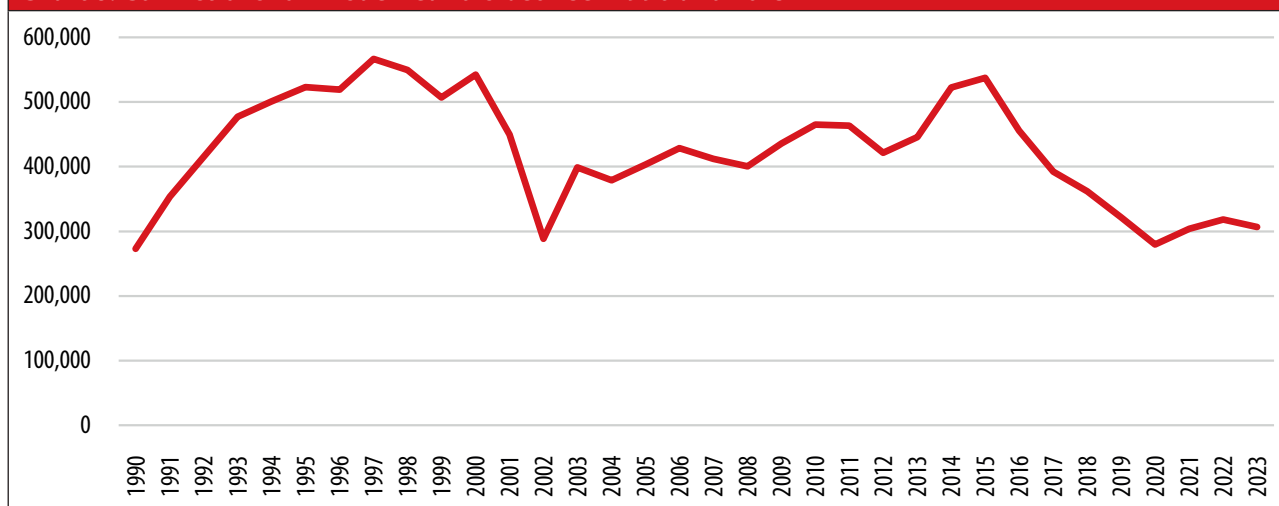
- The average amount of individual types of penalties is currently as follows: 124 offences per day for a fine, which corresponds to an average of PLN 2,439, less than nine months of community service (unfortunately, there is no data on the average number of hours of community service per month), suspended prison sentences of 8.3 months, almost 14 months of absolute imprisonment, and as part of a mixed penalty – 3.5 months of imprisonment and less than a year of community service.

Table 6. Average length of individual penalties in 2023

Penalty	Number of sentences imposed	Medium size
Fine	85,576	124 times the daily rate PLN 2,439
Community service	69,420	8.7 months
Suspended prison sentence	42,290	8.3 months
Absolute Imprisonment	60,348	13.8 months
Mixed (sequential)	2,373	3.5 months' imprisonment and 1.7 months' community service

CONVICTIONS FOR MISDEMEANORS

Chart 8. Convictions for misdemeanors between 1990 and 2023*



* Until 16 October 2001, cases from misdemeanour colleges, and from 17 October 2001, cases from courts.

In addition to the criminal cases discussed in this chapter, the criminal divisions of common courts also deal with misdemeanor cases, i.e. most often proceedings referred to the courts by uniformed services as a result of failure to accept a ticket by a person identified as the perpetrator. The number of these cases ended with the perpetrator being punished increased from the beginning of the 1990s, from 273,000 to 542,000 in 2000. This was followed by an almost twofold decrease related to the abolition of petty offence colleges – to 289,000 in 2002, followed by a period of steady increase – to 456,000 cases in 2016, and then a decrease – to 307,000 in 2023.

Misdemeanor cases in 2023 ended with a penalty in 95% of cases. Only 2.5% of defendants were acquitted, and 2% of the cases were discontinued. In these proceedings, 90% of the persons convicted were fined, only 6.5% were given community service, 2.5% were given a reprimand, and 0.7% were held on remand.

Table 7. Ways in which misdemeanor cases were concluded in 2023

Manner of conclusion of cases	N	%
TOTAL	322,492	100.0
Penalties imposed	306,564	95.1
Dismissals	6,217	1.9
Acquittals	7,952	2.5
The penalty was waived	1,759	0.5

Table 8. Convictions for offences in 2023 by type of penalties

Penalties were imposed	N	%
TOTAL	306,564	100.0
Fine	276,795	90.3
Community service	19,971	6.5
Reprimand	7,584	2.5
Remand	2,214	0.7

Over 50% of all offences considered in courts include traffic offences, and 20% – offences regarding property, i.e. mainly theft of low-value property.

Table 9. Convictions for misdemeanors in 2023 by type of misdemeanor		
Penalties were imposed	N	%
TOTAL	306,564	100.0
Road	163,040	53.2
Relating to property	59,749	19.5
Relating to public order and peace	15,408	5.0
Relating to state institutions, local government, and social issues	12,910	4.2
Relating to public decency	10,668	3.5
Relating to Act on Upbringing in Sobriety	9,502	3.1
Relating to safety of persons and property	5,311	1.7
Relating to people	3,175	1.0
Relating to health	2,610	0.9
Other	24,191	7.9

CRIMINAL LAW RESPONSE TO OFFENCES

data

Table 10. Impact and manner of conclusion of cases in prosecutors' offices (in absolute numbers)

Years	Cases received	Total	Completed cases						
			indictment	conclusion under Article 335 § 1 or 2	application for conditional dismissal*	refusal to initiate	dismissal		other manner of conclusion
							total	due to the failure to identify the perpetrators	
1990	1,100,836	1,056,781	125,775	ND	35,061	124,265	656,491	ND	115,189
1991	998,073	1,018,656	149,284	ND	37,933	118,413	608,594	445,945	104,432
1992	977,510	980,393	151,974	ND	31,113	113,924	584,782	422,807	98,600
1993	1,003,795	1,003,768	170,644	ND	26,163	111,742	579,404	414,099	115,815
1994	1,094,542	1,080,815	194,006	ND	24,532	116,644	621,825	441,277	123,808
1995	1,172,784	1,169,345	222,007	ND	22,419	112,997	682,086	479,184	129,836
1996	1,100,692	1,106,680	213,087	ND	20,052	101,032	645,020	447,129	127,489
1997	1,211,669	1,206,879	227,446	ND	23,442	105,885	719,520	499,930	130,586
1998	1,298,860	1,291,089	220,135	462	16,880	105,937	815,892	575,670	131,783
1999	1,372,661	1,366,572	213,403	2,336	6,480	105,064	902,941	664,159	136,348
2000	1,496,432	1,480,637	236,420	4,338	7,091	110,556	973,807	714,389	148,425
2001	1,651,115	1,633,348	367,642	6,097	7,133	121,492	976,329	701,713	154,655
2002	1,644,763	1,647,246	380,912	10,572	7,578	131,548	968,924	681,937	147,712
2003	1,667,696	1,680,193	380,632	21,657	8,223	144,818	986,197	693,616	138,666
2004	1,696,880	1,696,787	297,477	117,573	9,045	155,251	979,353	681,860	138,088
2005	1,662,800	1,661,485	221,542	212,361	10,539	161,966	923,193	618,936	131,884
2006	1,556,611	1,555,731	208,584	219,975	10,285	180,625	812,338	519,591	123,924
2007	1,289,372	1,304,326	182,918	175,591	9,437	192,013	586,231	301,127	158,136
2008	1,124,296	1,140,551	169,085	200,444	10,795	196,388	445,019	167,199	118,820
2009	1,176,482	1,176,483	172,595	212,351	10,895	212,296	458,069	181,690	110,277
2010	1,167,796	1,170,068	168,598	207,169	11,667	228,803	445,809	181,625	108,022
2011	1,189,666	1,187,030	170,970	211,107	13,928	251,842	430,396	171,344	108,787
2012	1,150,499	1,142,529	165,940	195,212	15,286	242,691	415,433	159,730	107,967
2013	1,130,082	1,133,037	163,197	174,757	15,589	235,808	429,919	149,784	113,767
2014	1,048,111	1,049,190	144,335	137,891	14,129	235,860	406,466	137,376	110,509
2015	814,227	834,287	102,696	76,792	15,444	141,526	271,018	81,102	226,811
2016	901,883	877,580	135,050	128,345	17,629	162,475	308,142	93,128	125,939
2017	992,196	966,089	158,271	95,503	14,963	218,895	360,399	106,106	118,058
2018	1,081,358	1,076,123	194,255	87,299	14,089	240,602	397,471	108,009	142,407
2019	1,122,076	1,119,768	209,101	77,443	13,727	283,330	406,770	122,150	129,397
2020	1,057,665	1,059,199	203,028	57,735	10,680	276,907	387,521	123,049	123,328
2021	1,111,383	1,111,505	219,074	30,884	10,792	290,101	409,160	153,828	151,494
2022	1,093,318	1,100,301	214,491	49,926	9,980	286,611	408,988	163,874	130,305
2023	1,113,206	1,099,217	209,945	41,512	10,452	299,689	406,582	153,675	131,037

* Until 31 August 1997 – conditionally discontinued.

Source: Prosecutors' Offices Statistical reports Pk-1k.

Table 11. Judgments (in absolute numbers)					
Years	TOTAL*	Conviction	Conditional dismissals	Dismissals	Acquittal or waiver of punishment
1990	146,340	117,570	5,205	19,231	4,334
1991	193,951	164,922	6,945	15,981	6,103
1992	202,423	174,109	7,470	14,320	6,524
1993	215,980	185,615	9,795	13,491	7,079
1994	240,343	204,487	13,854	14,140	7,862
1995	273,892	230,393	17,655	16,541	9,303
1996	283,245	235,443	19,264	18,430	10,106
1997	288,701	238,391	21,321	17,699	11,120
1998	284,923	234,068	21,492	17,967	11,496
1999	273,346	220,562	25,494	16,070	11,220
2000	300,123	250,154	23,399	15,130	11,440
2001	397,044	343,471	26,944	14,194	12,288
2002	427,046	368,240	30,124	15,619	13,063
2003	497,531	434,812	31,959	16,383	14,377
2004	564,196	500,799	31,713	17,227	14,457
2005	577,798	515,822	30,364	17,425	14,187
2006	533,216	477,833	26,521	15,401	13,461
2007	512,579	459,010	25,854	14,959	12,756
2008	470,815	417,184	25,227	15,330	13,074
2009	468,299	417,629	24,128	14,193	12,349
2010	471,558	420,810	24,913	14,252	11,583
2011	478,484	424,996	28,179	13,883	11,426
2012	461,819	405,870	30,478	14,242	11,229
2013	412,199	357,817	29,867	10,024	8,321
2014	357,131	307,407	27,418	12,616	9,690
2015	330,087	280,028	26,959	13,446	9,654
2016	322,204	270,644	29,966	12,591	9,003
2017	300,370	252,915	28,617	10,517	8,321
2018	315,876	268,720	28,543	10,406	8,209
2019	325,369	277,893	28,623	10,720	8,133
2020	282,856	243,673	23,928	9,389	5,866
2021	324,724	279,444	25,239	11,808	8,233
2022	320,915	275,705	25,876	11,127	8,207
2023	304,387	260,258	25,825	10,541	7,763

* Non-final judgments in cases of public and private prosecution in district and regional courts were taken into account. Those adjudicated under the Penal Fiscal Code were not taken into account.

Source: MS-S6r and MS-S6o statistical reports.

Table 12. Conviction without trial and voluntary submission to punishment (in absolute numbers)

Years	Applications			Decisions		
	total	for conviction without trial (Article 335 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)	for voluntary submission to punishment (Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)	total	for conviction without trial (Article 335 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)	on voluntary submission to punishment (Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure)*
1999	26,069	2,856	23,213	25,079		
2000	30,255	4,812	25,443	28,777		
2001	39,740	6,252	33,488	37,069		
2002	45,622	9,194	36,428	42,414		
2003	60,723	18,061	42,662	54,102		
2004	169,613	111,626	57,987	138,241		
2005	261,392	210,615	50,777	223,380	174,777	48,603
2006	262,958	222,648	40,310	225,446	186,229	39,217
2007	234,386	185,193	49,193	201,469	154,031	47,438
2008	240,265	202,161	38,104	199,753	163,146	36,607
2009	255,714	220,048	35,666	211,151	176,866	34,285
2010	266,134	226,605	39,529	219,822	183,049	36,773
2011	268,284	226,573	41,711	215,388	177,589	37,799
2012	252,777	210,764	42,013	204,521	166,708	37,813
2013	228,441	188,704	39,737	175,754	139,226	36,070
2014	185,363	148,755	36,608	144,499	111,388	33,111
2015	188,858	157,859	30,999	138,233	110,500	27,733
2016	162,327	140,970	21,357	137,837	118,293	19,544
2017	124,674	103,149	21,525	99,853	79,569	20,284
2018	114,823	93,653	21,170	90,850	70,728	20,122
2019	103,285	81,818	21,467	81,822	61,303	20,519
2020	79,339	61,988	17,351	63,042	46,499	16,543
2021	80,372	59,350	21,022	63,186	43,633	19,553
2022	74,201	53,860	20,341	58,867	39,734	19,133
2023	64,510	45,791	18,719	51,109	33,425	17,684

* Convictions under the Penal Fiscal Code were not taken into account. Until 2004, decisions under Article 335 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and Article 387 of the Code of Criminal Procedure were reported together.

Source: Courts Statistical reports: MS-S5r and MS-S5o.

Table 13. Convictions by public prosecution (in absolute numbers)							
Years	TOTAL	Men	Women	Years	TOTAL	Men	Women
1970	166,049	148,405	17,644	1997	210,600	195,693	14,907
1971	197,334	176,685	20,649	1998	219,064	203,710	15,354
1972	169,321	150,020	19,301	1999	207,607	192,944	14,663
1973	152,176	135,247	16,929	2000	222,815	206,041	16,774
1974	147,469	130,073	17,396	2001	315,013	294,422	20,591
1975	161,286	143,143	18,143	2002	365,326	341,237	24,089
1976	159,363	142,208	17,155	2003	415,933	386,180	29,753
1977	137,847	123,788	14,059	2004	513,410	473,926	39,484
1978	157,463	141,312	16,151	2005	504,281	464,485	39,796
1979	153,026	136,592	16,434	2006	462,937	424,845	38,092
1980	151,958	135,861	16,097	2007	426,377	391,261	35,116
1981	126,403	114,132	12,271	2008	420,729	384,784	35,945
1982	148,456	132,480	15,976	2009	415,272	380,695	34,577
1983	141,768	127,679	14,089	2010	432,891	396,595	36,296
1984	125,132	111,741	13,391	2011	423,464	388,239	35,225
1985	149,414	132,099	17,315	2012	408,107	374,062	34,045
1986	153,037	133,386	19,651	2013	353,208	320,969	32,239
1987	166,753	146,515	20,238	2014	293,852	266,150	29,203
1988	137,159	122,699	14,460	2015	260,034	233,188	26,846
1989	93,373	84,849	8,524	2016	289,512	259,820	29,692
1990	106,464	100,189	6,275	2017	241,436	215,038	26,398
1991	152,333	144,021	8,312	2018	275,768	247,612	28,156
1992	160,703	151,091	9,612	2019	287,978	258,031	29,947
1993	171,622	160,772	10,850	2020	251,369	224,314	27,055
1994	185,065	173,327	11,738	2021	279,444	250,999	28,445
1995	195,455	183,196	12,259	2022	275,705	247,389	28,316
1996	227,731	212,586	15,145	2023	260,258	231,883	28,375

Source: For the years 1970–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 14. Convictions by type of sentence (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL*	Absolute imprisonment**	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	106,464	29,140	52,030	5,230	19,487	
1991	152,333	40,635	76,579	5,291	29,714	
1992	160,703	39,671	84,350	5,405	31,259	
1993	171,622	36,989	91,295	6,389	36,920	
1994	185,065	33,659	99,856	7,223	44,308	
1995	195,455	33,324	105,796	7,306	49,997	
1996	227,731	31,303	123,669	10,612	62,082	
1997	210,600	25,806	116,159	10,934	57,689	
1998	219,064	25,942	123,410	13,263	56,400	
1999	207,607	26,171	127,437	15,648	38,209	
2000	222,815	30,748	143,497	14,796	33,699	
2001	315,013	37,076	184,819	28,507	64,475	
2002	365,326	35,898	214,485	39,156	75,698	
2003	415,933	36,698	233,055	52,763	93,274	
2004	513,399	49,129	278,338	71,887	111,491	
2005	504,281	43,136	291,409	67,254	100,968	
2006	462,937	42,549	272,653	57,918	88,407	
2007	426,377	37,764	257,141	47,091	82,988	
2008	420,729	38,615	250,774	40,643	89,011	
2009	415,272	38,030	243,974	43,524	88,236	
2010	432,891	39,706	251,087	49,692	92,329	
2011	423,464	41,075	239,076	49,611	93,571	
2012	408,107	41,815	224,185	50,730	91,296	
2013	353,208	39,786	195,348	41,287	76,759	
2014	293,852	35,381	162,938	32,763	62,761	
2015	260,034	34,022	133,076	31,096	60,756	1,084
2016	289,512	43,783	81,673	61,542	98,776	3,738
2017	241,436	44,589	54,819	53,854	84,721	3,453
2018	275,768	49,577	54,302	78,172	90,491	3,226
2019	287,978	53,443	52,491	84,992	93,843	3,173
2020	251,369	48,611	41,974	74,012	84,081	2,619
2021	279,444	63,105	50,150	76,909	86,391	2,694
2022	275,705	62,854	46,243	73,456	90,302	2,655
2023	260,258	60,348	42,290	69,420	85,576	2,373

* Due to the low number of sentences, punitive measures (additional penalties) solely imposed were not taken into account, they were added to the total number of convictions.

** A penalty of 25 years of imprisonment and life imprisonment is included.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 15. Convictions for selected crimes by type of sentence in 2023 (in %)

Crimes	In absolute numbers	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
TOTAL	260,258	23.2	16.2	26.7	32.9	0.9
Violation of the function of a body organ or damage to health (Article 157 § 1 of the Penal Code)	2,453	23.5	23.0	25.8	26.9	0.7
Brawling (Article 158 § 1 of the Penal Code)	3,081	19.9	24.8	28.5	25.6	1.2
Brawling involving a weapon, knife or other dangerous object (Article 159 of the Penal Code)	162	48.1	27.8	13.6	5.6	4.9
Driving a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or under the influence of an intoxicant (Article 178a § 1 of the Penal Code)	36,661	2.9	12.2	17.3	67.5	0.1
Repeated driving of a motor vehicle under the influence of alcohol or under the influence of an intoxicant (Article 178a § 4 of the Penal Code)	6,506	65.8	11.1	14.5	7.4	1.0
Rape (Article 197 § 1 of the Penal Code)	340	84.7	5.9	0.0	0.3	9.1
Other sexual activity (Article 197 § 2 of the Penal Code)	125	38.4	47.2	9.6	2.4	2.4
Rape with particular cruelty or collective rape (Article 197 §§ 3 and 4 of the Penal Code)	194	95.9	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sexual intercourse with a minor under the age of 15 (Article 200 § 1 of the Penal Code)	680	62.2	19.1	3.4	1.2	13.8
Abuse of a family member (Article 207 § 1 of the Penal Code)	9,288	26.5	46.7	19.7	5.3	1.8
Failure to pay maintenance (Article 209 §§ 1 and 1a of the Penal Code)	26,366	26.1	6.9	59.0	7.8	0.2
Taking of a bribe by an official (Article 228 of the Penal Code)	92	25.0	57.6	4.3	10.9	2.2
Bribery (Article 229 of the Penal Code)	612	10.0	70.3	1.5	16.0	2.3
Forgery or alteration of documents (Article 270 § 1 of the Penal Code)	2,863	16.3	16.1	10.3	67.1	0.1
Theft (Article 278 § 1 of the Penal Code)	26,990	32.5	8.6	37.0	21.3	0.5
Burglary (Article 279 § 1 of the Penal Code)	7,218	58.0	22.2	12.0	3.7	4.2
Robbery (Article 280 § 1 of the Penal Code)	1,782	68.2	10.3	7.9	2.6	10.9
Robbery using weapon, knife or other dangerous object (Article 280 § 2 of the Penal Code)	378	93.1	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fraud (Article 286 § 1 of the Penal Code)	19,120	24.3	19.5	29.0	26.6	0.6
Offences under the Drug Prevention/Counteracting Acts	19,595	18.4	13.3	21.0	44.8	2.3

Source: MS-S6r and MS-S6o statistical reports.

Table 16. Persons convicted and victims in selected crimes by gender in 2023 (in %)*

Crimes	Convictions			Victims		
	in absolute numbers	women	men	in absolute numbers	women	men
TOTAL	260,258	10.9	89.1	232,670	46.7	53.3
Homicide (Article 148 §§ 1–4 of the Penal Code)	357	10.6	89.4	708	43.1	56.9
Violation of the function of a body organ or damage to health (Article 157 § 1 of the Penal Code)	2,453	5.0	95.0	3,046	21.7	78.3
Brawling (Article 158 § 1 of the Penal Code)	3,081	6.2	93.8	3,110	10.0	90.0
Brawling involving weapon, knife or other dangerous object (Article 159 of the Penal Code)	162	8.6	91.4	167	10.2	89.8
Driving a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or under the influence of an intoxicant (Article 178a § 1 of the Penal Code)	36,661	7.9	92.1	484	33.1	66.9
Repeated driving a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or under the influence of an intoxicant (Article 178a § 4 of the Penal Code)	6,506	2.4	97.6	192	36.5	63.5
Rape (Article 197 § 1 of the Penal Code)	340	0.0	100.0	438	86.5	13.5
Other sexual activity (Article 197 § 2 of the Penal Code)	125	0.0	100.0	165	93.3	6.7
Rape with particular cruelty or collective rape (Article 197 §§ 3 and 4 of the Penal Code)	194	6.2	93.8	300	81.0	19.0
Sexual intercourse with a minor under the age of 15 (Article 200 § 1 of the Penal Code)	680	1.5	98.5	883	84.7	15.3
Abuse of a family member (Article 207 § 1 of the Penal Code)	9,288	4.3	95.7	16,498	75.8	24.2
Failure to pay maintenance (Article 209 §§ 1 and 1a of the Penal Code)	26,366	5.4	94.6	33,963	54.8	45.2
Taking of a bribe by an official (Article 228 of the Penal Code)	92	17.4	82.6	27	44.4	55.6
Bribery (Article 229 of the Penal Code)	612	24.5	75.5	99	22.2	77.8
Forgery or alteration of documents (Article 270 § 1 of the Penal Code)	2,863	20.9	79.1	1,572	50.6	49.4
Theft (Article 278 § 1 of the Penal Code)	26,990	15.9	84.1	12,345	37.0	63.0
Burglary (Article 279 § 1 of the Penal Code)	7,218	7.6	92.4	11,229	35.5	64.5
Robbery (Article 280 § 1 of the Penal Code)	1,782	6.6	93.4	2,072	29.5	70.5
Robbery using weapon, knife or other dangerous object (Article 280 § 2 of the Penal Code)	378	3.7	96.3	727	32.0	68.0
Fraud (Article 286 § 1 of the Penal Code)	19,120	25.5	74.5	29,240	46.9	53.1
Offences under the Drug Prevention/Counteracting Acts	19,595	6.5	93.5	643	32.2	67.8

* Data on victims of individual types of crimes by gender combine the numbers of adults and minors of the same sex. Data on victims include persons with the rights of victims in ongoing proceedings, which in the case of homicides, but also the so-called “victimless crimes”, such as driving a motor vehicle under the influence of alcohol, or most drug offences, means that the data do not correspond exactly to the common understanding of the victim of the crime and are therefore not reliable. This is marked in dark grey. In the case of some crimes, large differences in the number of persons convicted and victims indicate that the presented statistics apply only to victims who are natural persons, and not, for example, to shops or other enterprises that may also be victims of crimes, but whose gender is indeterminate.

Source: MS-S6r and MS-S6o statistical reports.

Table 17. Homicide convictions* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Life imprisonment	25 years in prison	Absolute imprisonment
1990	242		20	222
1991	373		34	339
1992	413		29	384
1993	496		34	462
1994	482		23	459
1995	477		28	449
1996	591	1	61	529
1997	506	3	50	453
1998	484	2	39	443
1999	542	8	67	467
2000	461	12	49	400
2001	568	20	113	435
2002	555	19	89	447
2003	556	18	92	445
2004	743	27	108	608
2005	643	34	131	478
2006	537	30	98	407
2007	370	9	70	289
2008	487	10	109	368
2009	483	24	93	366
2010	526	27	96	397
2011	460	26	102	331
2012	486	24	99	348
2013	458	25	77	355
2014	377	23	66	288
2015	357	6	64	286
2016	349	22	68	259
2017	311	15	82	214
2018	293	24	41	227
2019	331	19	74	228
2020	289	11	49	219
2021	386	18	66	300
2022	380	23	63	293
2023	357	25	66	264

* Convictions under Article 148 §§ 1–3 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 148 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. In 2003, one person was given a suspended prison sentence; in 2006, two people were given sentences involving independent penal measures; in 2007, punitive measures were imposed on two people; in 2010, punitive measures were imposed on six people; in 2011, penal measures were imposed against on one person; in 2012, 15 people were sentenced to independent penal measures; in 2019, one person was given a suspended prison sentence; in 2020, one person was given a suspended prison sentence, and nine people were sentenced to independent penal measures; in 2021, two people were given suspended prison sentences; in 2022, one person was sentenced to independent penal measures; in 2023, independent penal measures were imposed on two people.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

**Table 18. Convictions for violating the function of a body organ or damage to health*
(in absolute numbers)**

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine
1990	2,229	213	1,798	67	151
1991	3,921	413	3,239	56	213
1992	4,294	486	3,550	51	207
1993	4,818	520	4,029	45	224
1994	4,857	434	4,152	51	220
1995	4,865	434	4,137	61	233
1996	5,582	349	4,553	113	567
1997	5,468	295	4,542	84	547
1998	5,455	264	4,507	113	571
1999	4,978	317	4,094	150	415
2000	4,883	363	4,115	111	293
2001	4,584	401	3,887	80	214
2002	4,518	430	3,770	109	207
2003	5,243	454	4,144	275	370
2004	6,275	580	4,578	522	560
2005	5,592	446	4,262	418	436
2006	4,982	399	3,868	347	349
2007	4,118	417	3,105	275	290
2008	4,549	423	3,427	301	380
2009	4,162	423	3,075	282	351
2010	4,094	397	3,002	305	390
2011	4,127	411	3,053	316	343
2012	4,023	458	2,960	287	317
2013	3,758	372	2,711	340	335
2014	3,684	422	2,528	348	375
2015	3,189	377	2,054	358	395
2016	3,580	571	1,281	863	830
2017	3,425	659	988	888	849
2018	3,516	770	983	865	866
2019	3,388	696	893	794	964
2020	2,782	617	713	711	710
2021	2,579	629	642	630	654
2022	2,471	546	615	636	648
2023	2,453	577	563	632	661

* Convictions under Article 157 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 156 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted. The mixed penalty was also not taken into account (in 2015 = 5, 2016 = 34, 2017 = 38, 2018 = 32, 2019 = 40, 2020 = 30, 2021 = 24, 2022 = 26, 2023 = 18).

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 19. Convictions for brawling* (in absolute numbers)					
Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine
1990	1,263	197	921	64	81
1991	2,738	395	2,049	89	205
1992	3,636	519	2,761	83	273
1993	4,408	550	3,492	82	284
1994	4,955	562	4,058	71	264
1995	5,603	513	4,701	66	323
1996	8,933	590	5,901	482	1,959
1997	9,092	415	5,424	591	2,662
1998	9,247	419	5,234	753	2,837
1999	8,087	443	5,088	886	1,670
2000	9,066	510	6,580	666	1,309
2001	9,680	723	7,187	786	980
2002	10,160	691	7,811	850	805
2003	10,771	704	8,295	925	843
2004	13,833	994	10,094	1,502	1,135
2005	13,183	891	10,101	1,239	898
2006	12,324	866	9,460	1,178	754
2007	11,308	808	8,766	951	737
2008	12,810	967	9,850	1,029	902
2009	11,659	983	8,878	962	767
2010	10,842	864	8,213	1,010	753
2011	9,762	825	7,285	919	729
2012	9,322	829	6,946	855	692
2013	8,225	861	5,969	826	569
2014	6,334	642	4,465	729	476
2015	5,399	569	3,560	603	665
2016	5,863	755	2,333	1,493	1,233
2017	5,166	856	1,491	1,523	1,247
2018	4,764	831	1,261	1,344	1,251
2019	4,557	885	1,162	1,315	1,133
2020	3,491	655	802	1,064	939
2021	3,564	731	867	1,042	880
2022	3,242	682	792	1,009	730
2023	3,081	612	765	878	788

* Convictions under Article 158 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 158 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted. The mixed penalty was also not taken into account (2015 = 2, 2016 = 48, 2017 = 52, 2018 = 77, 2019 = 62, 2020 = 31, 2021 = 42, 2022 = 27, 2023 = 37).

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

**Table 20. Convictions for brawling involving a weapon, knife or other dangerous object*
(in absolute numbers)**

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine
1990	193	27	147	5	14
1991	485	47	407	5	25
1992	774	81	659	5	29
1993	825	90	686	10	38
1994	823	103	690	4	26
1995	886	108	755	6	17
1996	1,200	124	971	8	97
1997	1,162	96	980	9	77
1998	1,334	96	1,134	10	94
1999	1,217	101	1,018	30	68
2000	1,168	123	1,007	11	27
2001	1,055	162	857	10	26
2002	1,052	158	885	5	4
2003	1,007	180	807	2	18
2004	1,130	221	881	8	20
2005	969	199	748	5	15
2006	716	144	570	1	1
2007	479	119	347	4	9
2008	529	128	396	1	4
2009	481	108	372	0	1
2010	438	111	325	0	2
2011	378	88	283	1	6
2012	366	96	266	0	4
2013	378	88	283	0	2
2014	216	67	147	0	2
2015	255	70	161	1	23
2016	256	90	125	19	17
2017	222	77	89	21	32
2018	254	96	73	50	29
2019	208	84	73	26	19
2020	205	104	59	23	14
2021	225	89	77	26	28
2022	192	91	59	15	14
2023	162	78	45	22	9

* Convictions under Article 159 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 159 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Mixed penalty is not included (2015 = 0, 2016 = 5, 2017 = 3, 2018 = 6, 2019 = 6, 2020 = 5, 2021 = 5, 2022 = 13, 2023 = 8). In 2005, punitive measures were imposed on two people.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 21. Convictions for driving a motor vehicle under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Independent penal measures
2001	41,905	336	19,877	4,030	17,645	17
2002	62,362	560	32,527	6,652	22,606	17
2003	64,860	584	32,169	8,037	24,037	33
2004	71,162	649	32,923	9,953	27,325	312
2005	73,175	597	35,847	9,413	27,156	162
2006	68,657	745	36,593	7,288	23,906	125
2007	70,866	1,060	40,119	5,899	23,703	85
2008	68,367	768	36,864	5,164	25,454	117
2009	74,056	902	38,101	6,433	28,477	143
2010	73,105	842	35,460	7,083	29,705	15
2011	69,171	669	30,873	6,750	30,873	6
2012	62,412	517	26,248	6,556	29,083	8
2013	55,792	501	22,473	6,103	26,713	2
2014	52,724	407	21,294	5,646	25,374	3
2015	44,230	403	16,702	5,137	21,986	1
2016	47,953	661	10,088	9,720	27,458	2
2017	37,769	845	7,157	7,661	22,074	4
2018	37,591	822	6,750	7,198	22,787	6
2019	38,704	885	6,645	7,427	23,721	7
2020	36,453	802	5,477	7,146	23,010	3
2021	40,640	1,442	5,759	7,710	25,662	28
2022	42,364	1,267	5,452	7,558	28,028	25
2023	36,661	1,047	4,474	6,349	24,738	26

* Convictions under Article 178a § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 were taken into account. The mixed penalty is not taken into account (2015 = 1, 2016 = 24, 2017 = 28, 2018 = 28, 2019 = 19, 2020 = 15, 2021 = 29, 2022 = 24, 2023 = 21).

Source: For the years 2001–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 22. Convictions for repeated driving of a motor vehicle under the influence of alcohol or intoxicants* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
2010	1,174	283	869	7	15	
2011	10,117	2,962	7,055	42	57	
2012	12,532	3,824	8,592	38	78	
2013	11,444	3,664	7,676	34	70	
2014	11,133	4,279	6,760	17	77	
2015	9,142	4,140	4,689	155	146	12
2016	8,691	5,316	1,468	1,030	651	226
2017	7,265	5,157	705	829	418	156
2018	6,735	4,859	596	768	374	137
2019	6,701	4,717	655	838	364	126
2020	6,512	4,569	638	871	343	91
2021	7,605	5,314	773	967	472	72
2022	7,421	5,102	780	1,030	442	61
2023	6,506	4,282	725	945	482	65

* Convictions under Article 178a § 4 of the Penal Code of 1997 were taken into account. Penal measures imposed spontaneously (2011 = 1, 2018 = 1, 2019 = 1, 2021 = 7, 2022 = 6, 2023 = 7) were not taken into account.

Source: For the years 2010–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 23. Convictions for rape* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	533	389	144	0	0	0
1991	720	477	243	0	0	0
1992	764	548	216	0	0	0
1993	769	525	244	0	0	0
1994	764	500	264	0	0	0
1995	700	441	259	0	0	0
1996	773	491	282	0	0	0
1997	708	429	278	0	1	0
1998	760	414	344	0	2	0
1999	612	344	265	0	3	0
2000	608	389	218	0	1	0
2001	616	389	226	0	1	0
2002	656	450	203	0	3	0
2003	655	367	283	2	3	0
2004	984	604	376	1	3	0
2005	885	496	380	0	0	0
2006	711	394	315	0	0	0
2007	675	386	287	0	0	0
2008	735	466	267	0	0	0
2009	729	431	298	0	0	0
2010	638	375	262	0	0	0
2011	581	340	239	0	0	0
2012	578	334	242	0	0	0
2013	554	249	304	0	1	0
2014	509	258	250	0	0	0
2015	491	254	230	0	2	5
2016	527	290	204	6	2	24
2017	519	326	138	6	3	46
2018	507	334	124	8	6	35
2019	572	392	111	8	4	57
2020	457	318	82	5	4	48
2021	501	332	99	18	8	42
2022	530	365	104	15	11	35
2023	465	336	79	12	4	34

* Convictions under Article 197 §§ 1–2 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 168 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Spontaneously imposed punitive measures (2021 = 2) are not taken into account.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 24. Convictions for rape with particular cruelty or collective rape* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence
1990	94	93	1
1991	149	138	11
1992	133	125	8
1993	161	156	5
1994	263	240	23
1995	214	195	19
1996	259	239	20
1997	200	180	20
1998	227	188	39
1999	195	149	46
2000	168	144	24
2001	303	274	29
2002	315	274	41
2003	335	270	62
2004	279	232	47
2005	247	204	43
2006	154	130	24
2007	147	131	16
2008	152	140	12
2009	127	115	12
2010	135	114	21
2011	124	111	13
2012	145	131	14
2013	142	129	13
2014	127	108	19
2015	93	82	10
2016	152	139	13
2017	126	117	9
2018	126	119	7
2019	149	143	6
2020	124	118	6
2021	146	141	5
2022	140	136	4
2023	194	186	8

* Convictions under Article 197 § 3, Article 197 § 4 in connection with Article 197 §§ 1–3 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 168 § 2 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Other penalties and punitive measures were not taken into account (in 2003, one person was given a sentence of restriction of liberty and two persons were fined).

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 25. Convictions for sexual intercourse with a minor under the age of 15* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	194	83	111	0	0	
1991	311	138	173	0	0	
1992	385	144	241	0	0	
1993	412	157	255	0	0	
1994	448	161	287	0	0	
1995	428	173	255	0	0	
1996	527	207	320	0	0	
1997	493	175	318	0	0	
1998	542	174	366	2	0	
1999	527	230	294	3	0	
2000	455	240	212	1	2	
2001	525	289	235	0	1	
2002	501	268	230	2	1	
2003	574	314	255	4	1	
2004	818	433	383	0	2	
2005	749	395	353	0	1	
2006	716	398	314	2	2	
2007	653	298	350	4	1	
2008	789	345	435	5	4	
2009	735	310	419	4	2	
2010	715	295	416	4	0	
2011	648	276	371	1	0	
2012	619	223	388	8	0	
2013	610	244	359	7	0	
2014	598	200	394	4	0	
2015	613	213	387	11	1	1
2016	606	207	331	21	8	39
2017	518	262	179	22	4	51
2018	585	307	163	27	4	84
2019	568	347	119	18	3	81
2020	520	314	115	25	0	66
2021	639	364	146	25	6	97
2022	646	364	133	23	8	118
2023	680	423	130	23	8	94

* Convictions under Article 200 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 176 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. For the years 2005–2017, convictions incorrectly registered as Article 200 of the Penal Code were also taken into account.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 26. Convictions for family abuse* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed	Spontaneously imposed penal measures	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	8,999	980	7,866	98	55	0	
1991	10,908	1,275	9,492	73	68	0	
1992	10,356	1,179	9,053	66	58	0	
1993	10,415	1,133	9,154	67	61	0	
1994	10,601	1,024	9,453	55	69	0	
1995	11,226	1,105	9,998	66	57	0	
1996	13,226	984	11,997	98	145	2	
1997	12,563	814	11,484	102	163	0	
1998	14,149	723	12,799	343	279	5	
1999	13,793	792	11,665	866	467	3	
2000	13,384	903	11,385	774	321	1	
2001	13,065	1,114	11,061	643	245	2	
2002	13,319	1,050	11,337	695	236	1	
2003	13,834	1,082	11,621	889	240	2	
2004	16,972	1,501	13,952	1,169	300	50	
2005	16,074	1,338	13,641	832	226	37	
2006	16,171	1,662	13,566	722	199	22	
2007	15,280	1,585	12,848	650	175	22	
2008	15,011	1,541	12,509	721	220	20	
2009	14,025	1,697	11,487	632	197	12	
2010	13,485	1,536	11,058	698	192	1	
2011	13,153	1,559	10,848	584	161	1	
2012	12,318	1,489	10,171	521	134	3	
2013	11,601	1,419	9,586	463	133	0	
2014	11,269	1,369	9,258	508	134	0	
2015	10,769	1,385	8,557	640	162	0	25
2016	10,837	2,050	6,533	1,689	357	14	194
2017	9,967	2,374	5,258	1,762	331	38	204
2018	10,596	2,645	5,389	1,931	405	226	226
2019	10,515	2,778	5,028	2,117	368	4	220
2020	9,497	2,595	4,305	1,993	390	6	208
2021	12,135	3,363	5,775	2,256	512	2	227
2022	10,960	3,034	5,153	2,055	506	1	211
2023	9,288	2,457	4,338	1,826	493	4	170

*Convictions under Article 207 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 184 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 27. Convictions for failure to pay maintenance* (in absolute numbers)						
Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	7,563	1,852	5,426	256	29	
1991	12,464	3,042	9,149	237	36	
1992	15,322	2,961	12,054	262	45	
1993	16,161	2,544	13,275	306	36	
1994	16,321	2,361	13,669	255	36	
1995	15,386	2,232	12,851	254	49	
1996	19,521	1,710	15,191	2,457	163	
1997	19,129	1,514	14,057	3,321	237	
1998	20,677	1,568	14,463	4,319	324	
1999	19,455	1,390	14,169	3,565	330	
2000	20,984	1,812	15,975	2,994	203	
2001	20,527	1,664	15,649	3,061	153	
2002	17,360	1,265	13,282	2,671	142	
2003	17,699	1,042	12,332	4,156	169	
2004	18,065	851	11,897	5,115	197	
2005	10,946	463	8,053	2,275	149	
2006	7,870	359	6,033	1,386	92	
2007	8,922	418	7,185	1,221	97	
2008	9,960	550	7,982	1,308	118	
2009	12,096	614	9,575	1,776	129	
2010	17,874	852	13,803	3,051	168	
2011	16,138	1,053	12,286	2,663	136	
2012	12,271	1,005	9,102	2,022	142	
2013	13,910	1,203	9,946	2,588	173	
2014	12,965	1,294	8,785	2,705	181	
2015	10,746	1,177	6,717	2,642	191	19
2016	9,742	1,381	3,155	4,655	484	67
2017	7,711	1,216	1,658	4,319	477	41
2018	42,218	4,528	5,127	29,036	3,422	105
2019	49,131	6,739	4,648	33,480	4,130	130
2020	36,337	6,063	2,977	24,491	2,712	94
2021	34,317	7,636	2,594	21,726	2,285	75
2022	29,399	7,256	2,154	17,712	2,206	67
2023	26,366	6,870	1,808	15,555	2,069	61

* Convictions under Article 209 §§ 1 and 1a of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 186 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. The increase in the number of convictions in the years 2009–2011 could have been the result of the extension of the group of entities entitled to file applications for the prosecution of the crime of non-payment of alimony as of 1 October 2008. The huge increase in the number of these crimes since 2018 is the result of an amendment to the Act of 23 March 2017. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 28. Convictions for taking of a bribe by an official* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	56	22	31	1	2	
1991	71	12	57	0	2	
1992	85	14	65	0	6	
1993	95	3	92	0	0	
1994	93	6	86	0	1	
1995	91	10	80	0	1	
1996	90	8	79	0	3	
1997	95	6	87	0	2	
1998	115	11	94	0	10	
1999	116	6	104	0	6	
2000	104	13	89	0	2	
2001	101	10	87	2	2	
2002	152	31	119	1	1	
2003	121	23	94	2	2	
2004	307	35	268	1	3	
2005	361	41	315	0	5	
2006	447	54	388	3	1	
2007	315	36	265	2	7	
2008	434	23	402	2	7	
2009	353	30	310	2	9	
2010	364	31	327	4	2	
2011	346	25	308	3	10	
2012	304	31	263	2	8	
2013	278	18	254	2	4	
2014	253	16	230	3	4	
2015	219	10	200	1	8	0
2016	338	20	290	1	23	0
2017	294	16	257	3	18	0
2018	253	26	206	0	21	0
2019	233	25	184	2	19	3
2020	133	20	94	2	13	4
2021	234	51	134	15	31	3
2022	165	38	101	7	17	2
2023	92	23	53	4	10	2

* Convictions under Article 228 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 239 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Sentences for spontaneous penal measures were not taken into account, due to the number of individual numbers.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 29. Convictions for bribery* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	190	13	129	3	45	
1991	194	11	150	2	31	
1992	203	8	161	2	32	
1993	261	13	205	16	27	
1994	205	14	151	0	40	
1995	197	19	151	1	26	
1996	365	10	294	1	60	
1997	327	9	266	4	48	
1998	326	8	279	3	36	
1999	305	12	258	3	32	
2000	395	18	354	3	19	
2001	444	36	397	2	9	
2002	448	40	393	1	14	
2003	647	35	586	0	26	
2004	1,025	43	944	2	34	
2005	1,364	61	1,266	3	34	
2006	1,464	80	1,339	10	34	
2007	2,167	103	1,992	5	65	
2008	2,134	73	2,005	10	45	
2009	2,304	109	2,131	9	53	
2010	2,009	91	1,857	9	52	
2011	1,975	106	1,798	11	60	
2012	1,644	86	1,484	5	69	
2013	1,720	97	1,519	23	80	
2014	1,433	72	1,280	9	72	
2015	1,213	75	1,042	5	90	1
2016	1,228	104	930	21	146	26
2017	1,015	93	731	21	137	33
2018	871	108	610	18	112	23
2019	834	104	589	20	93	28
2020	676	82	469	10	95	20
2021	629	68	393	12	139	16
2022	615	67	414	22	93	19
2023	612	61	430	9	98	14

* Convictions under Article 229 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 241 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 30. Convictions for forgery or alteration of documents* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	120	12	97	4	7	
1991	393	35	345	6	7	
1992	1,057	85	930	3	39	
1993	3,038	155	2,794	14	75	
1994	4,499	244	4,128	16	111	
1995	4,992	264	4,582	11	135	
1996	6,537	311	5,293	46	887	
1997	6,547	229	5,359	73	886	
1998	7,297	256	5,486	122	1,433	
1999	12,446	259	7,694	519	3,974	
2000	13,257	309	8,653	626	3,669	
2001	12,776	376	8,531	695	3,150	
2002	12,727	345	8,142	872	3,359	
2003	14,214	374	7,775	1,234	4,813	
2004	16,213	436	7,934	1,641	5,972	
2005	15,869	421	8,758	1,367	5,253	
2006	14,004	401	7,426	1,117	4,994	
2007	11,534	306	6,102	821	4,265	
2008	11,105	293	5,507	726	4,519	
2009	10,425	274	5,238	624	4,253	
2010	10,118	282	4,915	653	4,263	
2011	7,292	234	3,827	447	2,780	
2012	7,024	236	3,615	439	2,734	
2013	6,482	226	3,188	462	2,604	
2014	5,920	226	2,799	520	2,375	
2015	5,633	203	2,470	440	2,520	0
2016	6,625	256	1,553	606	4,192	18
2017	5,245	258	951	500	3,527	9
2018	5,408	280	794	512	3,804	18
2019	4,550	241	771	511	3,022	4
2020	4,054	215	763	439	2,636	1
2021	5,155	130	2,711	230	2,075	4
2022	3,520	141	498	255	2,622	1
2023	2,863	179	462	296	1,922	2

* Convictions under Article 270 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 265 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted. The Act of 5 September 2009, which came into force on 8 June 2010, introduced a minor case, due to which the amount of penalties could be reduced the following years.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 31. Convictions for theft* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	7,502	2,722	4,460	143	177	
1991	9,617	3,918	5,349	101	249	
1992	7,774	3,125	4,377	77	195	
1993	6,295	2,528	3,538	70	159	
1994	6,190	2,119	3,841	74	156	
1995	7,017	2,068	4,672	88	189	
1996	7,043	1,269	3,978	346	1,450	
1997	6,784	1,120	3,358	432	1,874	
1998	9,303	1,419	4,912	579	2,393	
1999	13,651	1,582	8,666	996	2,404	
2000	16,685	2,217	10,884	1,244	2,333	
2001	19,872	2,718	13,340	1,622	2,190	
2002	22,002	2,703	15,033	2,053	2,211	
2003	26,362	2,940	17,152	3,263	3,006	
2004	35,998	4,113	22,941	5,263	3,618	
2005	37,718	4,049	26,046	4,981	2,601	
2006	31,330	3,889	21,782	3,627	1,996	
2007	27,840	3,432	19,522	2,937	1,916	
2008	27,703	3,648	18,859	2,877	2,235	
2009	26,557	3,474	17,828	2,967	2,264	
2010	30,456	4,072	20,095	3,870	2,419	
2011	33,874	4,524	22,397	4,426	2,520	
2012	36,990	5,102	24,017	5,112	2,757	
2013	32,125	5,109	20,104	4,657	2,255	
2014	25,253	4,245	14,652	4,553	1,803	
2015	21,939	4,187	11,174	4,576	1,968	34
2016	25,022	5,745	5,090	9,363	4,440	384
2017	20,223	5,521	2,587	7,922	3,904	288
2018	19,563	5,515	2,177	7,651	4,005	214
2019	21,323	6,077	2,144	8,311	4,545	244
2020	20,822	5,928	1,861	8,473	4,387	172
2021	22,200	7,933	2,367	8,029	3,701	157
2022	25,439	8,590	2,486	9,537	4,678	135
2023	26,990	8,782	2,324	9,991	5,744	123

* Convictions under Article 278 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 203 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 32. Convictions for burglary* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	27,115	14,005	13,110	0	0	
1991	33,492	17,914	15,578	0	0	
1992	33,256	16,698	16,558	0	0	
1993	33,070	15,213	17,857	0	0	
1994	33,422	13,186	20,236	0	0	
1995	32,887	11,932	20,955	0	0	
1996	39,004	11,495	27,507	1	1	
1997	35,541	9,694	25,821	1	25	
1998	35,925	9,218	26,366	159	178	
1999	32,420	8,234	22,211	1,067	904	
2000	32,424	8,979	21,912	918	615	
2001	30,158	9,175	19,878	726	379	
2002	28,411	7,895	19,475	709	332	
2003	29,725	7,884	20,737	798	306	
2004	34,874	9,931	23,491	1,052	394	
2005	28,744	8,048	19,670	774	251	
2006	22,585	6,431	15,469	542	142	
2007	16,893	4,471	11,893	419	107	
2008	16,280	4,489	11,194	436	156	
2009	15,676	3,971	11,138	435	132	
2010	18,423	4,498	13,164	608	153	
2011	19,551	4,765	14,000	641	145	
2012	19,659	4,792	13,993	709	165	
2013	17,308	4,607	11,847	722	132	
2014	15,635	4,272	10,457	756	150	
2015	13,410	3,909	8,475	792	166	65
2016	13,955	5,188	5,784	1,717	498	755
2017	10,832	5,038	3,414	1,289	420	651
2018	10,009	4,673	2,918	1,374	482	562
2019	9,981	4,588	2,845	1,517	536	494
2020	8,553	4,046	2,254	1,392	465	395
2021	8,312	4,566	2,166	944	255	379
2022	7,897	4,559	1,890	815	239	393
2023	7,218	4,185	1,600	864	265	301

* Convictions under Article 279 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 208 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. In the Penal Code of 1969, Article 208 penalised two types of acts: audacious theft and burglary, and in the Penal Code of 1997 (in Article 279 § 1) only burglary. The crime of audacious theft was partly transferred to the category of theft, and partly to robbery, and where the value was up to PLN 250 and no violence was used against a person – to the category of misdemeanours. In the data for the years 1990–1998, it is also impossible to identify the number of convictions for the crime of audacious theft under Article 208. In the years 1998–2023, convictions under Article 283 in conjunction with Article 279 § 1 were upheld. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 33. Convictions for robbery* (in absolute numbers)						
Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	2,874	2,760	114			
1991	3,676	3,443	233			
1992	3,476	3,146	330			
1993	3,826	3,219	607			
1994	4,036	3,182	854			
1995	4,374	3,317	1,057	0	0	
1996	5,623	4,152	1,460	1	10	
1997	5,267	3,369	1,886	1	11	
1998	5,248	3,223	2,002	9	14	
1999	6,330	3,330	2,953	30	17	
2000	7,380	3,934	3,416	15	15	
2001	8,690	5,243	3,429	5	13	
2002	9,016	4,958	4,042	8	8	
2003	10,020	4,857	5,121	31	11	
2004	13,607	6,651	6,904	35	17	
2005	11,663	5,322	6,302	18	21	
2006	9,870	4,885	4,947	22	16	
2007	7,072	3,267	3,781	11	13	
2008	7,693	3,595	4,063	25	10	
2009	7,303	3,520	3,755	21	7	
2010	7,418	3,645	3,727	31	15	
2011	6,495	3,086	3,348	48	13	
2012	6,187	3,030	3,110	34	12	
2013	5,399	2,680	2,681	25	13	
2014	4,586	2,242	2,287	46	19	
2015	3,848	1,934	1,787	51	24	51
2016	4,126	2,244	1,128	228	47	478
2017	3,222	1,986	527	185	34	463
2018	2,948	1,895	435	171	33	414
2019	2,738	1,821	365	133	44	374
2020	2,262	1,582	237	120	29	291
2021	1,969	1,380	173	105	37	274
2022	1,685	1,212	150	88	29	206
2023	1,782	1,215	183	141	46	195

* Convictions under Article 280 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 210 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. The data for the years 1995–2023 included convictions for robbery of minor gravity under Article 210 § 11 of the Penal Code of 1969 and Article 283 in conjunction with Article 280 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 34. Convictions for robbery using a weapon, knife or other dangerous object* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence
1991	688	688	0
1992	732	701	31
1993	810	776	34
1994	855	787	68
1995	957	903	54
1996	1,088	1,016	72
1997	909	821	88
1998	990	898	92
1999	1,361	1,199	162
2000	1,122	992	128
2001	1,363	1,234	128
2002	1,232	1,108	124
2003	1,114	936	178
2004	1,456	1,243	211
2005	1,101	937	164
2006	1,058	899	158
2007	771	672	99
2008	668	567	101
2009	663	541	122
2010	661	548	112
2011	784	655	128
2012	666	535	131
2013	653	530	123
2014	536	428	108
2015	512	426	86
2016	531	472	59
2017	458	423	35
2018	379	350	29
2019	383	362	20
2020	300	271	26
2021	356	337	18
2022	361	348	13
2023	378	352	26

* Convictions under Article 280 § 2 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 210 § 2 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. There were no convictions for fines and mixed penalties. Spontaneously imposed penal measures and the penalty of restriction of liberty (2020 = 1) were omitted due to insufficient numbers.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 35. Convictions for fraud* (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	375	217	150	3	5	
1991	673	335	319	3	16	
1992	1,032	444	558	2	28	
1993	1,361	497	843	3	18	
1994	1,500	463	1,001	7	29	
1995	1,715	437	1,239	2	37	
1996	2,217	455	1,481	37	244	
1997	2,290	421	1,496	31	342	
1998	3,197	545	2,222	62	368	
1999	7,104	793	6,062	48	201	
2000	11,992	1,439	10,261	56	235	
2001	18,238	2,435	15,465	120	217	
2002	22,587	2,709	19,449	150	278	
2003	27,079	3,009	23,303	236	529	
2004	35,284	4,042	29,722	573	907	
2005	35,613	3,898	30,641	426	625	
2006	32,534	3,751	27,909	334	516	
2007	27,424	3,089	23,396	316	603	
2008	28,928	3,306	24,758	240	608	
2009	28,555	3,363	24,434	257	485	
2010	30,354	3,202	26,346	290	516	
2011	28,403	3,137	24,426	310	529	
2012	26,567	3,205	22,522	331	505	
2013	23,782	3,236	19,546	426	574	
2014	22,569	3,137	18,280	502	649	
2015	22,340	3,315	16,994	929	1,065	36
2016	25,029	4,194	12,782	3,892	3,911	249
2017	22,225	4,774	8,343	4,539	4,289	279
2018	22,649	5,560	7,187	5,054	4,595	253
2019	22,576	5,229	6,529	5,499	5,106	213
2020	19,177	4,437	4,891	5,168	4,527	152
2021	21,519	5,141	4,485	6,227	5,516	134
2022	20,249	4,969	4,052	5,820	5,252	148
2023	19,120	4,638	3,725	5,543	5,086	118

* Convictions under Article 286 § 1 of the Penal Code of 1997 and Article 205 of the Penal Code of 1969 were taken into account. The data for the years 2021-2023 take into account the entire Article 286 of the Penal Code, i.e. also (non-final) convictions for offences under Article 286 §§ 2 and 3 of the Penal Code, which constitute on average approximately 5% of all convictions under this article. Criminal measures imposed spontaneously due to insufficient numbers were omitted.

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 36. Convictions for offences under the acts on the prevention/counteracting of drug addiction (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Absolute imprisonment	Suspended prison sentence	Community service	Solely imposed fine	Spontaneously imposed penal measures	Mixed (sequential) penalty
1990	231	30	62	14	125	0	
1991	421	32	111	8	270	0	
1992	993	72	210	17	694	0	
1993	2,235	97	250	17	1,871	0	
1994	1,862	97	249	32	1,484	0	
1995	1,864	100	268	29	1,465	2	
1996	1,739	141	379	45	1,174	0	
1997	1,457	165	464	47	781	0	
1998	1,662	252	921	112	377	0	
1999	2,264	420	1,445	117	281	1	
2000	2,878	572	1,856	154	294	2	
2001	4,300	1,024	2,778	195	300	3	
2002	6,407	1,319	4,140	418	530	0	
2003	9,878	1,527	6,321	994	1,035	1	
2004	16,660	2,341	10,125	1,990	2,095	109	
2005	20,219	2,208	12,951	2,528	2,461	71	
2006	20,381	2,395	13,036	2,460	2,416	74	
2007	20,801	2,149	13,362	2,191	3,010	89	
2008	20,632	2,424	12,812	1,966	3,361	69	
2009	20,033	2,219	12,571	1,940	3,253	50	
2010	20,602	2,321	12,484	2,222	3,573	2	
2011	21,055	2,224	12,293	2,370	4,162	6	
2012	19,140	2,066	11,140	2,123	3,807	4	
2013	18,191	1,881	10,427	2,257	3,625	1	
2014	17,464	1,738	9,417	2,303	4,005	1	
2015	16,403	1,820	8,303	2,136	4,109	2	33
2016	19,446	2,457	5,639	3,857	7,219	1	273
2017	17,603	2,667	3,962	3,654	6,908	2	410
2018	18,103	3,022	3,536	3,718	7,438	3	386
2019	20,295	3,418	3,571	4,099	8,726	14	467
2020	20,606	3,368	3,247	4,448	9,072	10	461
2021	22,209	3,541	3,234	4,949	10,050	11	422
2022	21,444	3,594	2,842	4,579	9,890	17	517
2023	19,595	3,612	2,607	4,113	8,785	24	451

Source: For the years 1990–2020: data of the National Criminal Register on final convictions. For the years 2021–2023: the MS-S6r and MS-S6o courts statistical reports on non-final convictions.

Table 37a. Misdemeanours – penalties imposed – structure of types of offences (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	TOTAL traffic offences	Causing a threat to road safety after consuming alcohol (Article 86 §§ 1 and 2 of the Penal Code)	Driving a motor vehicle after consuming alcohol (Article 87 §§ 1 and 2 of the Penal Code)	Other offences relating to safety and order in transport
1990	273,056	192,222	23,601	141,507	27,114
1991	353,409	241,782	25,202	182,515	34,065
1992	415,398	274,124	25,557	199,119	49,448
1993	477,331	309,382	30,636	213,469	65,277
1994	500,946	324,248	36,193	215,282	72,773
1995	523,022	330,413	44,570	209,640	76,203
1996	519,396	300,869	43,106	184,295	73,468
1997	566,400	333,557	48,420	203,456	81,681
1998	549,340	312,895	53,524	181,092	78,279
1999	507,158	286,964	57,839	155,528	73,597
2000	542,165	295,427	60,933	158,735	75,759
2001	449,496	183,609	59,074	37,270	87,265
2002	288,588	105,363	40,492	16,356	48,515
2003	398,879	131,916	52,085	19,064	60,767
2004	378,881	146,652	50,099	18,780	77,773
2005	403,284	189,270	47,886	21,406	119,978
2006	428,748	208,319	46,602	24,630	137,087
2007	411,982	202,251	47,646	23,823	130,782
2008	400,663	217,017	47,942	23,153	145,922
2009	435,595	242,566	48,954	26,132	167,480
2010	464,854	265,866	49,033	28,090	188,743
2011	463,400	266,742	46,579	33,053	187,110
2012	421,428	224,636	41,109	33,582	149,945
2013	445,707	254,053	23,096	38,586	177,046
2014	522,276	307,409	43,524	66,083	197,802
2015	537,274	324,885	49,542	50,758	224,585
2016	455,556	258,949	48,082	35,882	174,985
2017	392,233	217,908	49,079	27,282	141,547
2018	362,076	201,751	47,782	23,695	130,274
2019	321,404	167,334	43,536	22,901	100,897
2020	279,548	135,650	33,122	17,274	85,254
2021	303,855	132,989	30,587	17,391	85,011
2022	318,397	160,684	29,736	20,362	110,586
2023	306,564	163,040	25,730	20,484	116,826

Source: Statistical reports on the case law in misdemeanour cases MS-S7r. Until 16 October 2001, cases from the colleges for petty offences, and from 17 October 2001 cases from the courts.

Table 37b. Misdemeanours – penalties imposed – structure of types of offences (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Disturbance of peace or public order (Article 51 of the Penal Code)	Offences harmful to health	Offences relating to property	Offences in violation of the Act on Upbringing in Sobriety	Other
1990	273,056	18,237	7,981	6,780	2,198	45,638
1991	353,409	26,991	6,764	13,129	3,097	61,646
1992	415,398	32,905	6,153	18,392	6,411	77,413
1993	477,331	39,638	5,359	22,208	6,372	94,372
1994	500,946	41,548	5,932	21,608	4,996	102,614
1995	523,022	43,906	6,262	23,718	5,748	112,975
1996	519,396	41,275	5,209	51,612	5,509	114,922
1997	566,400	43,592	4,339	56,054	7,416	121,442
1998	549,340	41,200	3,518	62,333	12,399	116,995
1999	507,158	36,289	3,290	65,262	12,493	102,860
2000	542,165	39,003	3,257	81,536	17,602	105,340
2001	449,496	37,656	2,757	88,885	25,889	110,700
2002	288,588	22,162	2,533	73,700	25,685	59,145
2003	398,879	32,937	747	108,336	33,876	91,067
2004	378,881	29,136	504	88,564	25,857	88,168
2005	403,284	27,743	607	76,134	27,476	82,054
2006	428,748	27,865	507	70,852	32,664	88,541
2007	411,982	27,015	432	63,412	30,079	88,793
2008	400,663	25,179	386	45,320	18,034	94,727
2009	435,595	25,920	316	57,209	18,100	91,484
2010	464,854	25,811	303	65,096	17,105	90,673
2011	463,400	25,085	842	71,633	17,332	81,766
2012	421,428	25,179	296	74,199	17,564	79,554
2013	445,707	23,353	253	77,804	16,020	74,224
2014	522,276	23,861	251	94,227	18,462	78,066
2015	537,274	23,557	374	92,416	17,572	78,470
2016	455,556	23,019	333	81,111	16,504	75,640
2017	392,233	20,219	205	68,790	12,696	72,415
2018	362,076	17,807	170	65,260	10,436	66,652
2019	321,404	16,651	869	63,022	10,321	63,207
2020	279,548	15,601	2,444	52,237	10,842	62,774
2021	303,855	16,060	22,148	46,372	11,029	75,257
2022	318,397	14,979	20,371	49,627	9,991	62,745
2023	306,564	13,443	2,610	59,749	9,502	58,220

Source: Statistical reports on the case law in misdemeanour cases MS-S7r. Until 16 October 2001, cases from the colleges for petty offences, and from 17 October 2001 cases from the courts.

Table 38. Misdemeanours – penalties imposed – structure of penalties (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Placed on remand	Community service	Fine	Reprimand
1990	273,056	64	755	269,593	2,644
1991	353,409	436	866	348,411	3,696
1992	415,398	657	1,419	406,909	6,413
1993	477,331	1,050	2,244	465,612	8,425
1994	500,946	965	2,440	487,965	9,576
1995	523,022	1,353	2,116	508,585	10,968
1996	519,396	796	3,446	502,468	12,686
1997	566,400	872	3,032	547,947	14,549
1998	549,340	260	2,921	529,289	16,033
1999	507,158	254	4,677	482,422	17,527
2000	542,165	278	7,708	515,524	16,510
2001	449,496	306	9,108	416,755	19,439
2002	288,588	5,840	14,426	249,687	17,400
2003	398,879	8,583	28,323	339,532	21,939
2004	378,881	5,085	34,690	320,266	18,554
2005	403,284	3,773	35,524	346,397	17,266
2006	428,748	3,175	36,598	370,788	18,048
2007	411,982	2,535	31,372	363,537	14,404
2008	400,663	1,813	24,964	362,516	11,336
2009	435,595	1,634	28,030	394,115	11,742
2010	464,854	1,629	30,391	420,258	12,514
2011	463,400	1,736	33,619	415,200	12,774
2012	421,428	1,605	30,587	376,515	12,721
2013	445,707	1,817	30,739	401,135	12,016
2014	522,276	2,589	37,062	469,640	12,985
2015	537,274	2,583	34,403	485,716	14,651
2016	455,556	2,708	29,507	410,952	12,394
2017	392,233	2,245	24,111	354,732	11,146
2018	362,076	2,099	21,327	327,973	10,684
2019	321,404	2,059	20,289	289,900	9,259
2020	279,548	1,171	17,665	251,968	8,744
2021	303,855	1,375	17,172	270,618	14,690
2022	318,397	1,322	17,698	287,793	11,584
2023	306,564	2,214	19,971	276,795	7,584

Source: Statistical reports on the case law in misdemeanour cases MS-S7r. Until 16 October 2001, cases from the colleges for petty offences, and from 17 October 2001 cases from the courts. The category "other punishment" was not specified due to insufficient numbers.

Chapter IV

PEOPLE IN PRISON

Joanna Klimczak

Introduction

This chapter contains basic statistical information on people in prison in Poland, on bases such as (a conviction, being held on remand, punishment for misdemeanours), gender, age and type of crime committed, and the number of foreigners in prisons. Data on convicts according to the system and the length of the sentence served are also included. This chapter also includes statistics on the employment status of prisoners, the number of conditional early releases and passes to leave the prison, permits to work outside the prison, and cases of prisoner auto-aggression.

The structure of the prison population is subject to the same influences as the social factors mentioned in the first chapter in relation to confirmed crime. As a result, there is an increase in the percentage of older prisoners visible in 2023. In the same way as society, the prisoner population is “aging”. In recent years (especially since 2021), there has been an increase in the number of foreigners in prison. Although it is still relatively low in relation to the total number of imprisoned foreigners (3% in 2023), the increasing trend indicates that the geopolitical situation in our region is also impacting the situation in prisons. There are also more and more women serving prison sentences – in 2023, this number increased by 40% when compared to 2013.

Legislative changes are undoubtedly a factor shaping the prisoner population, for example an the amendment to the Penal Code of 2015, which caused an increase in the percentage of the penalty of restriction of liberty among the total penalties imposed. (See “Selected changes in the law...”). However, this change also resulted in an increased number of alternative sentences served in prisons – in 2023 there were more than three times as many as in 2013.

The most important changes also include a spectacular decline in both applications for conditional early release and releases granted on this basis. The number of applications in 2012–2023 decreased from 47,000

to 20,000. In 2023, the number of convicts released on parol was four times lower than in 2013 – only 5,025 people.

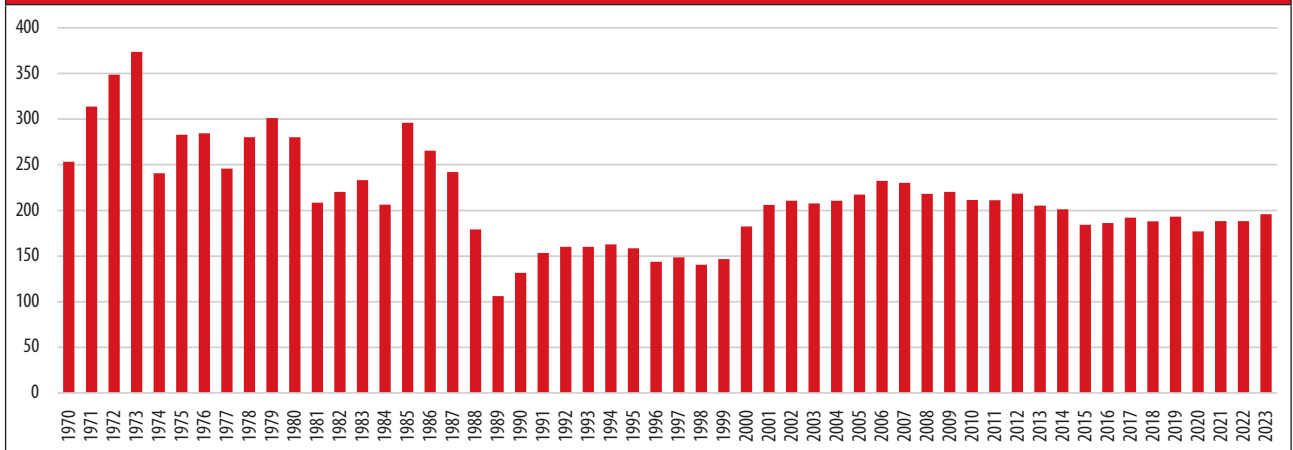
It is worth bearing in mind that the data on the prison population are presented as of December 31 each year. The main source of the presented data is penitentiary statistics compiled by the Information and Statistics Bureau of the Central Board of the Prison Service of the Ministry of Justice.

Important clarifications

- Persons in prison are understood as persons with convictions, those in temporary custody, and those convicted.
- Convicted persons are persons who have been sentenced to absolute imprisonment by a court, persons serving a prison sentence in place of an unexecuted fine or community service, and persons whom the court has ordered to serve a prison sentence that was originally suspended.
- People held on remand are people whom a court has ordered be detained pending the start of a trial, and prior to 4 August 1996 persons in relation to whom a prosecutor applied a preventive measure in the form of pre-trial detention.
- People with convictions are people in relation to whom a court, and prior to 28 August 1998 also the council for petty offences, ordered be detained for misdemeanours.
- The imprisonment rate (per 100,000 population), or prisonisation rate, is the quotient of the number of people in prison and the number of people in a given year (multiplied by 100,000). The rate was calculated on the basis of information on the number of people in prison as of 31 December of a given year and the number of inhabitants of the country as of 30 June of a given year – which corresponds to the average number of inhabitants of Poland in a given year.

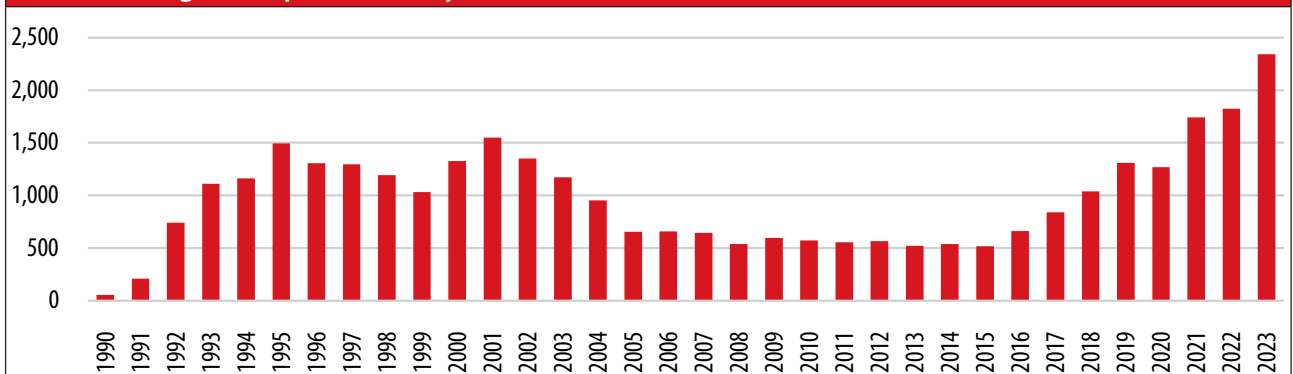
TOTAL PEOPLE IN PRISON

Chart 1. Total persons in prison between 1970 and 2023 (per 100,000 population)



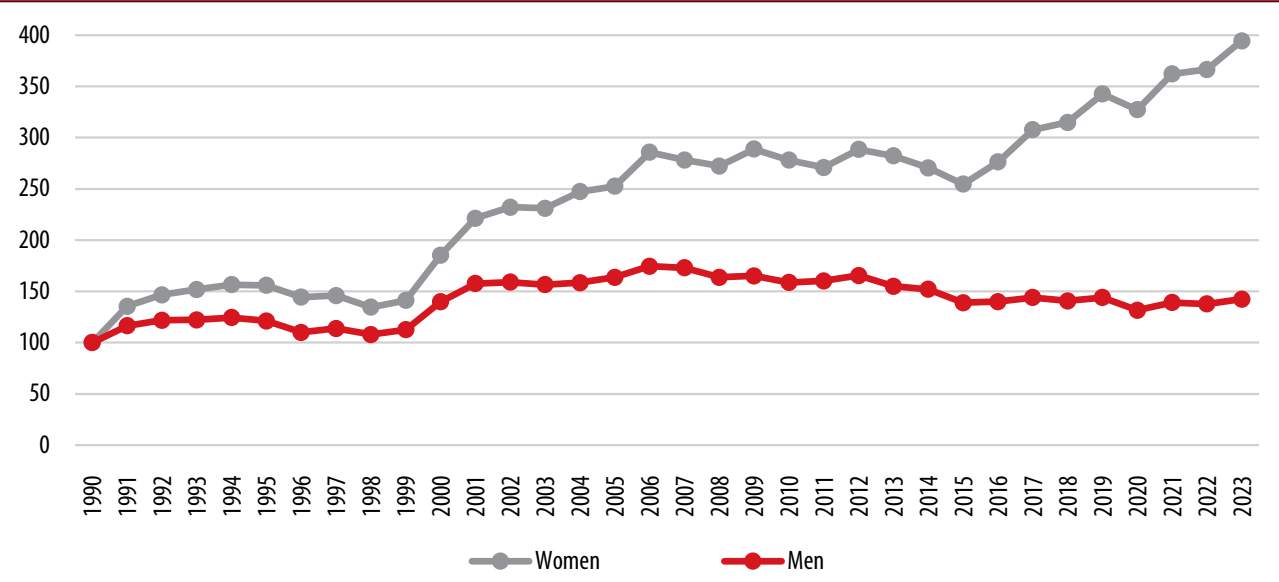
- In 2023, the number of people in prison was 5% lower than in 2013.
- The number of people in prison was highest in 1973, when there were 374 people imprisoned per 100,000 inhabitants of Poland.
- Between 2001 and 2014, the imprisonment rate remained at 200 (the highest number was 233 in 2006). Since 2015, this ratio has been lower than 200. In 2023, 196 people were imprisoned per 100,000 Polish residents.
- The changes in the number of persons in prison were a direct result of some changes in the law, e.g. the introduction of Article 178a of the Penal Code (the amendment came into force on 15 December 2000). (Compare "Selected changes in the law...").
- In 2023, there were 2340 foreigners in prison – four and a half times more than in 2013 and at the same time the highest number in the analysed period. However, the percentage of foreigners in prison is still low, compared to the prison population. Up until 2021, it oscillated between 1% and 2%, and in 2022–2023 it was 3%.
- Nearly half of foreigners in prison (46%) in 2023 were people held on remand, and this number was 42% in 2013.

Chart 2. Foreigners in prison in the years 1990–2023 (in absolute numbers)



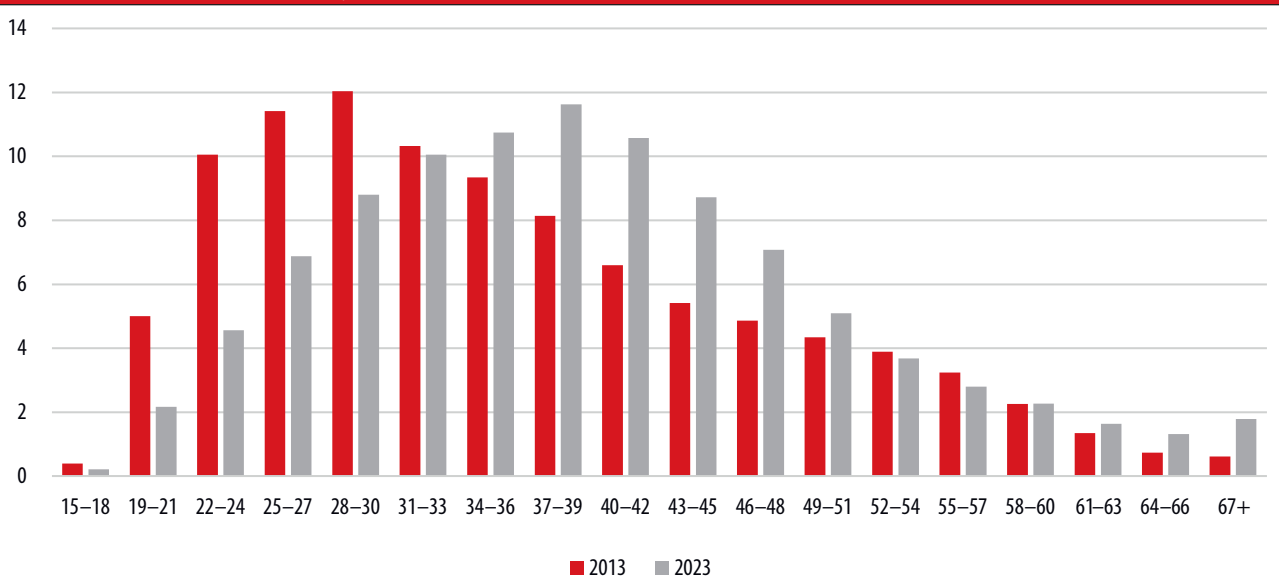
PEOPLE IN PRISON BY SEX AND AGE

Chart 3. People in prison by sex, rate of increase from 1990 to 2023 (1990 = 100)



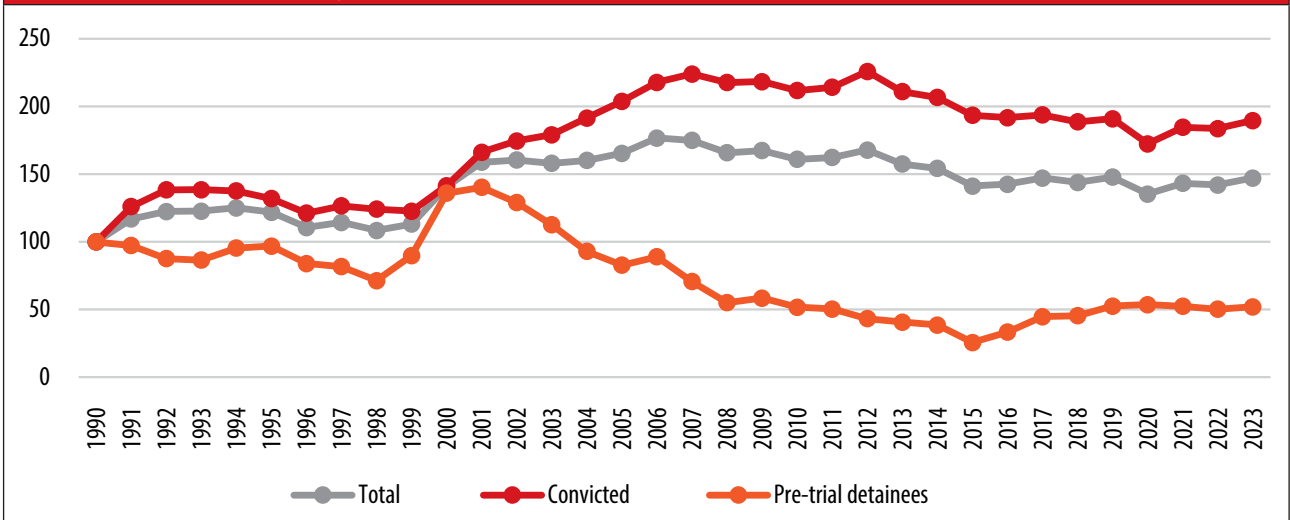
- In 2023, the number of women in prison was almost four times higher than in 1990 and 40% higher than in 2013.
- The proportion of men in prison decreased from 98% in 1990 to 95% in 2023. At the same time, since 2015 it has remained at a similar level, which is half as high as in 1990.
- In 2013, 39% of the prison population were aged 15–30, and in 2023 this figure was 23%.
- The number of people over 67 years of age increased from 0.6% in 2013 to nearly 2% in 2023.
- The average age of the people in prison in 2013 was 36, and in 2023 – 39.

Chart 4. Persons in prison by age in 2013 and 2023 (in %)



PEOPLE IN PRISON BY BASIS OF DETENTION

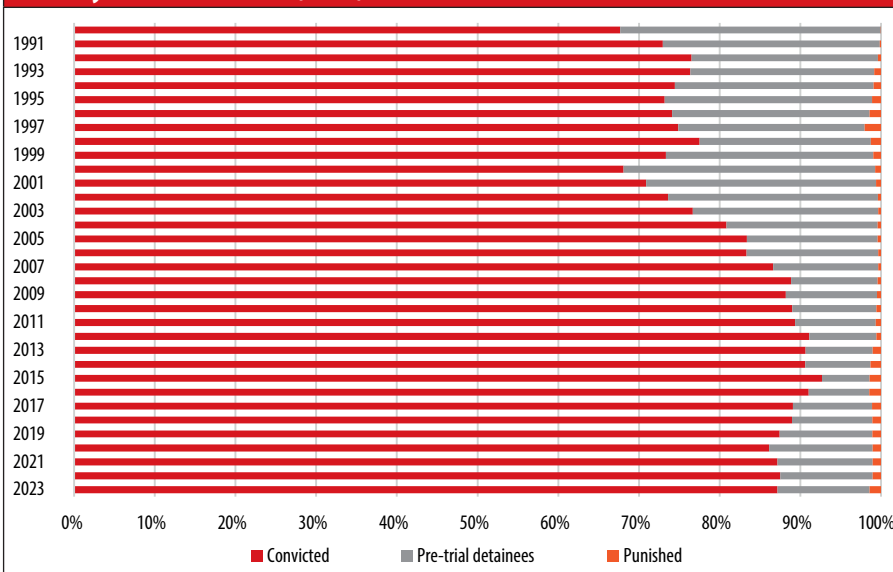
Chart 5. People in prison by the basis for detention, rates from 1990 to 2023 (1990 = 100)*



* People convicted of misdemeanours are not included.

- In 2023, the rate of increase in the number of convicts almost doubled compared to 1990, and at the same time was 10% lower than in 2013.
- The rate of increase in the number of pre-trial detainees in 2023 was half of that in 1990.

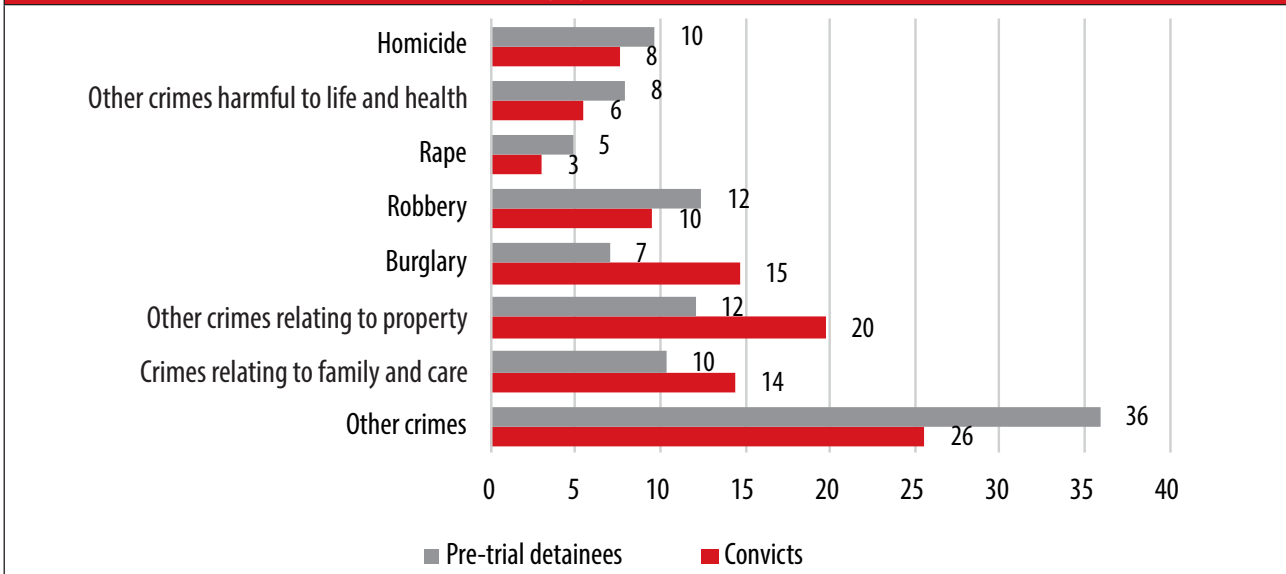
Chart 6. Persons in prison by basis of detention in the years 1990–2023 (in %)



- Convicts are the largest group among persons in prison – as of 2019 this group was approximately 90%, and in the years 2012–2018 (apart from 2017) – over 90% of the prison population.
- In 2023 pre-trial detainees accounted for 11% of the prison population, which is about twice as much as in 1990–2003.
- The percentage of persons convicted for misdemeanours in the analysed period did not exceed 2%.

PEOPLE IN PRISON BY TYPE OF CRIME

Chart 7. Convicted and pre-trial detainees by type of crime in 2023 (in %)



- Property crime is the main reason for imprisonment (in 2023, 45% of convicts and 31% of pre-trial detainees were in prison for this reason).
- 14% of convicts and 18% of pre-trial detainees were in prison for crimes harmful to life and health.
- Among those convicted of property crime, one in three (33%) served a prison sentence for burglary, and one in five (22%) for robbery.

- 58% of people in prison for crimes harmful to life and health were convicted of homicide. The percentage of pre-trial detainees is similar (55%).
- The crime structures of women and men in prison are similar to those of people convicted of crimes in general.
- Half of women in prison (51%) and 43% of men in prison, are in prison for property crime. Men were more likely to serve sentences for burglary and robbery, and women for other acts against property.
- One in five women and 13% of men were imprisoned for a crime harmful to life or health, of whom 70% of women and 54% of men were in prison for homicide.
- Men were more likely than women to be imprisoned in connection with crimes relating to family and care and rape.
- Young offenders (under 21) constitute about 1.5% of the imprisoned population.
- For the majority of young people, the reason for imprisonment was property crime (61%), most often robbery. They were slightly more often imprisoned for crimes relating to life and health other than homicide – in total, 17% of all young offenders were imprisoned for these crimes.

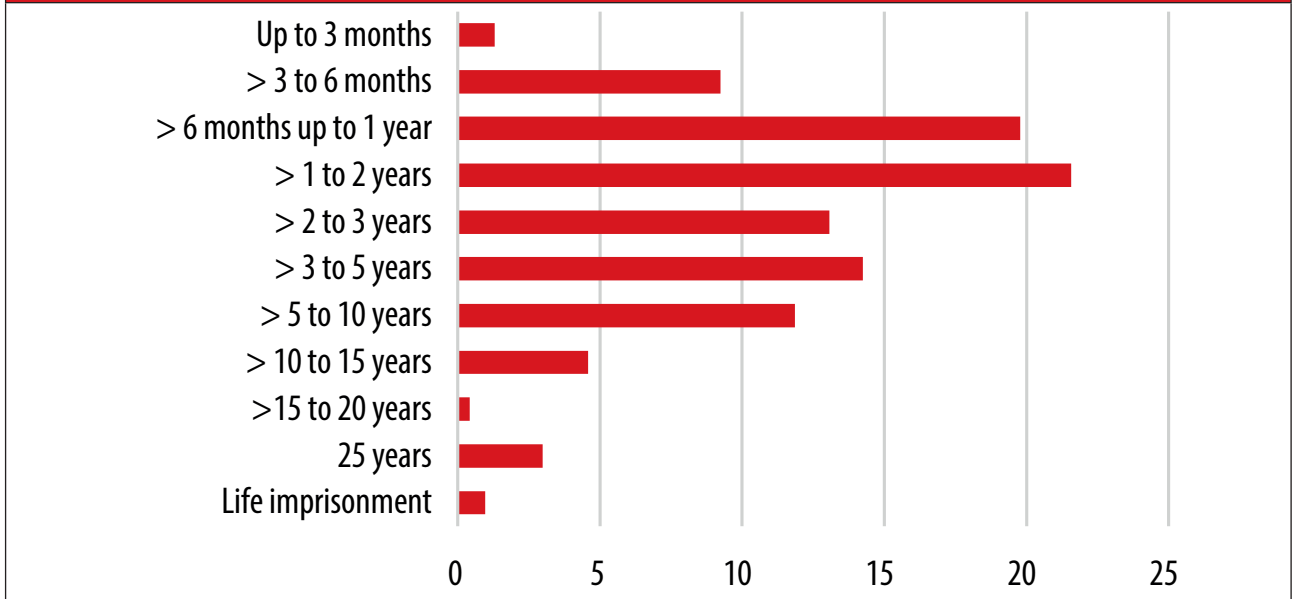
Table 1. Persons in prison by crime type in 2023 (in %)

Crime type	Women	Men	Young people
Homicide	14.2	7.2	7.9
Other crimes harmful to life and health	6.0	5.5	9.1
Rape	0.6	3.2	3.6
Crimes relating to family and care	10.8	14.6	3.0
Burglary	8.4	15.0	13.3
Robbery	8.4	9.6	24.8
Other property crimes	34.6	18.8	23.1
Other offences	17.0	26.1	15.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

CONVICTS

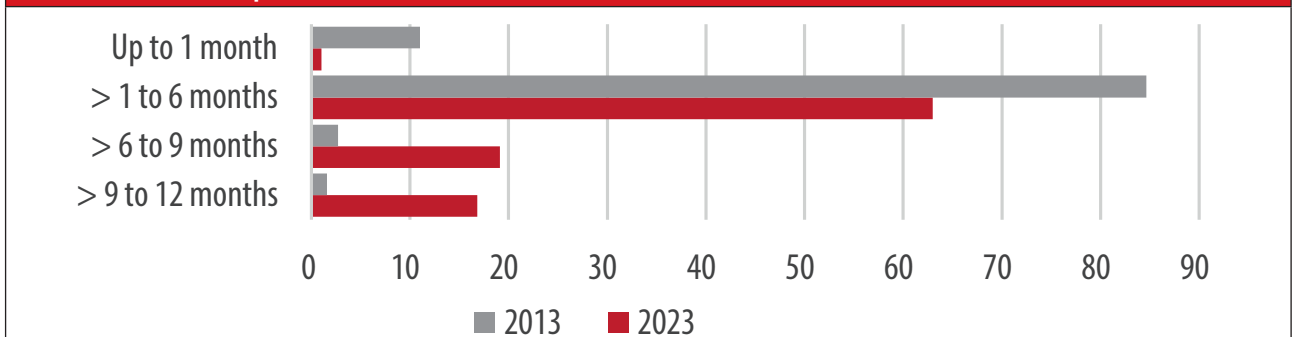
length of sentence served

Chart 8. Basic prison term in 2023 (in %)



- In 2023, the most common prison sentence was up to one year, and this was the case for 30% of convicts, which is almost the same as in 2013 (28%).
- The percentage of convicts serving a sentence of more than one to two years has decreased – in 2013 it was 32% of convicts, and in 2023 – 22%.
- In both 2013 and 2023, one in seven convicts were serving a sentence of more than two to three years.
- In 2023, 35% of convicts were serving a prison sentence of more than three years. Compared to 2013, the share of such convictions increased by 8 p.p.

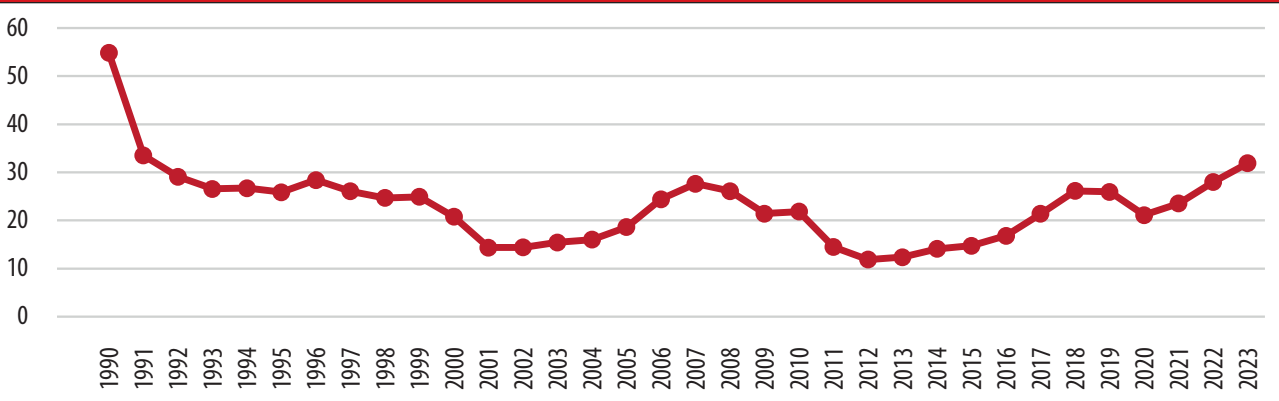
Chart 9. Substitute prison terms in 2013 and 2023 (in %)



- In 2023, the number of people serving a substitute sentence was more than three times higher than in 2013, which was certainly influenced by the aforementioned legislative changes (see “Selected changes in the law...”).
- Comparing the years 2013 and 2023, the structure of convicts serving a substitute sentence changed in terms of duration. In 2013, almost all substitute penalties (96%) were penalties not exceeding six months. In 2023, the percentage of substitute penalties not exceeding six months was 64%. In 2023, the percentage of substitute penalties exceeding six months was nine times higher than in 2013.

EMPLOYMENT AND PRISON REGIME

Chart 10. Paid employment of persons in prison in the years 1990–2023 – percentage of all convicted and punished



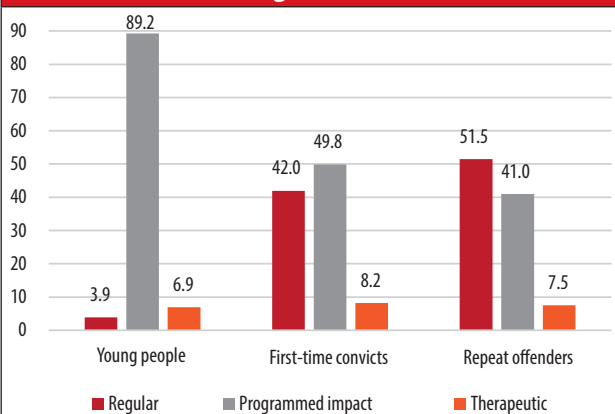
- In 2023, the percentage of prisoners in paid employment was more than twice as high as in 2013. With regard to the 1990 rate, the number of convicts reached a record law of approximately 34,000, which translates into the level of this indicator.
- In 2013, one in eight convicts worked for pay, and in 2023 – one in three.

Table 2. Penalty execution system

System of execution	2013		2023	
	N	%	N	%
Regular	24,931	34.9	30,421	47.4
Programmed impact	42,038	58.9	28,707	44.8
Therapeutic	4,457	6.2	4,991	7.8
TOTAL	71,426	100.0	64,119	100.0

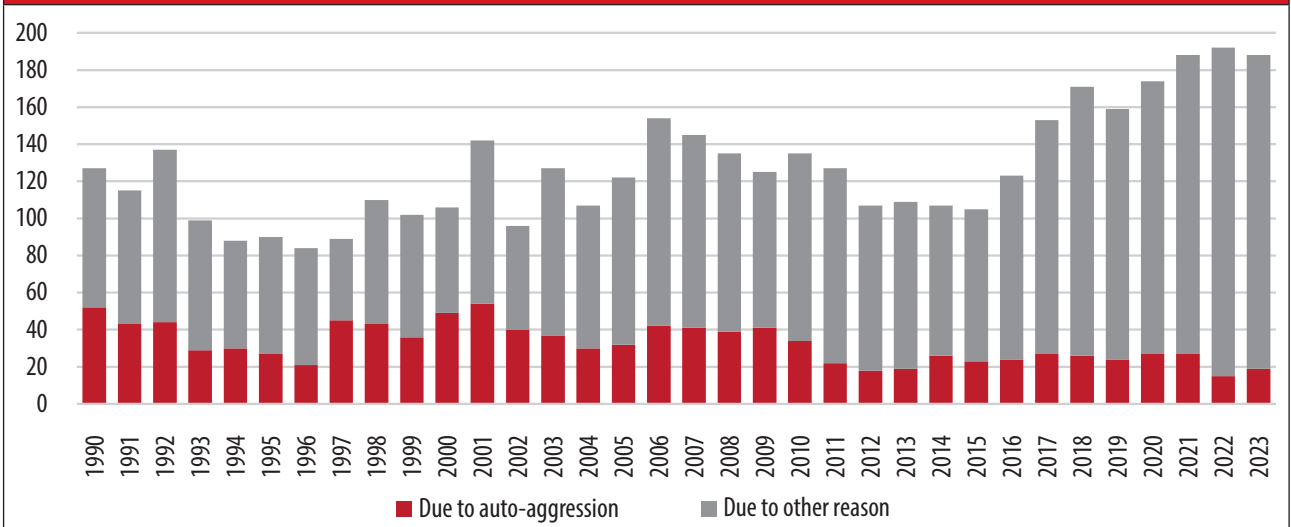
- In 2023, nearly half of convicts (47%) served their sentence in the regular system.
- In 2013, the majority of convicts served their sentences in the programmed impact system (59%), while in 2023, the percentage of convicts participating was 45%.
- In the therapeutic system, 8% of convicts served their sentences in 2023, which is 2 p.p. more than in 2013.
- In 2023, 89% of young people served their sentences in a programmed system.
- Half of those convicted for the first time served their sentence in the programmed system, and 42% in the regular system.
- Repeat offenders most often served their sentences in the regular system (52%), followed by the programmed system – 41%.
- In 2023, 7% of young offenders served their sentences in the therapeutic system, and this percentage was 8% for both first-time convicts and repeat offenders.

Chart 11. Execution regime in 2023



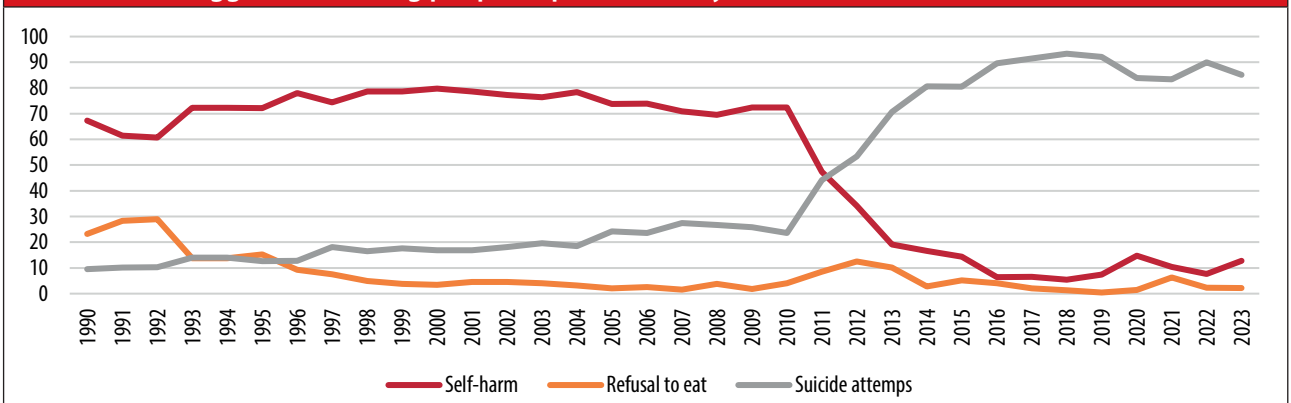
AUTO-AGGRESSION AND DEATHS

Chart 12. Deaths of people in prison between 1990 and 2023 (in absolute numbers)



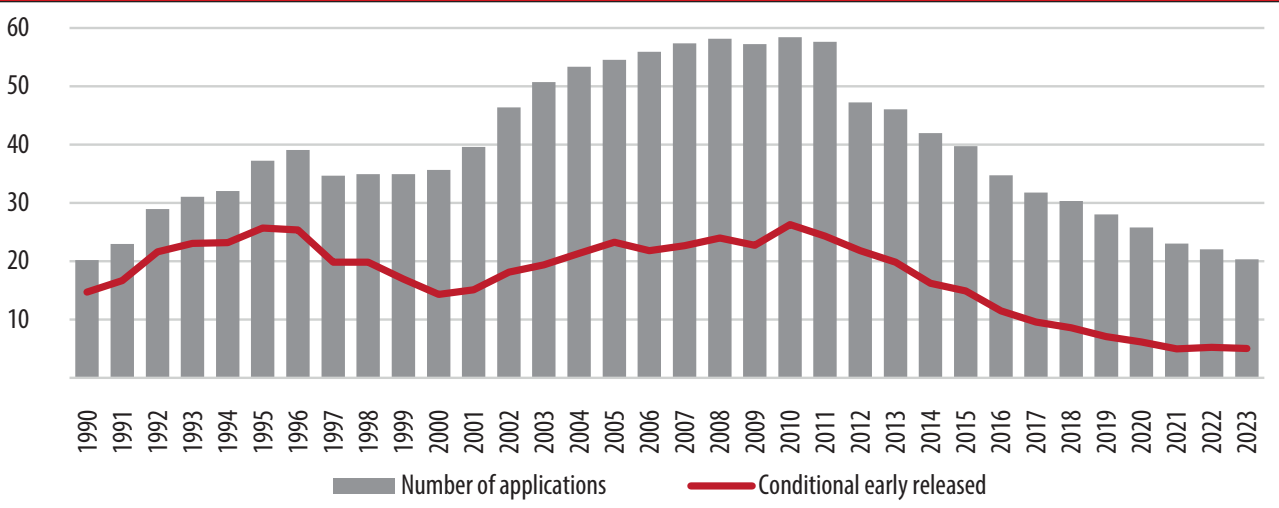
- In 2023, the number of deaths among those in prison was 70% higher compared to 2013, and in 2022 it was the highest in the analysed period 192 people died in that year.
- The share of deaths due to auto-aggression is decreasing. In 2022–2023, the percentage of deaths caused in this way among people in prison was the lowest in the analysed period – it did not exceed 10%.
- With the simultaneous increase in the number of deaths among prisoners and the decrease in the share of deaths due to self-harm, the question remains of the cause of the increased mortality of prisoners. It is possible that this is related to the increasing average age in the prison population.
- In 2023, the number of cases of auto-aggression was half of what it was in 2013 and eight times lower than in 2000.
- Until 2010, the dominant form was self-harm (cases of health disorder for a period of not less than seven days), which accounted for 61 to 80% of all accidents. Since 2011, this percentage has been decreasing (in 2023 it was 13%), and the most common form of self-aggression is suicide attempts – 85% in 2023.
- Refusal to eat in 2023 accounted for 2% of self-destructive events.

Chart 13. Auto-aggression among people in prison in the years 1990–2023 (in %)



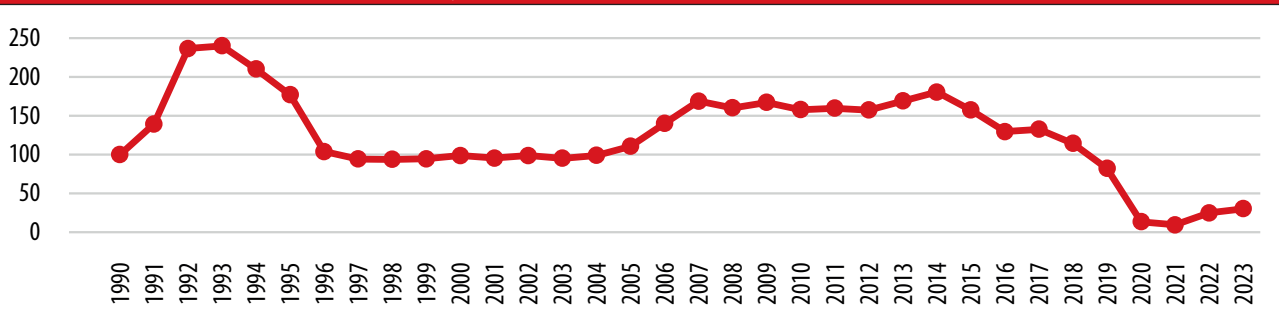
PASSES AND PAROLE

Chart 14. Conditional parole between 1990 and 2023 (in thousands)



- Since 2011, the number of applications for conditional early release has been steadily decreasing. In 2023, the number of prisoners who applied for conditional early release was half that recorded in 2013.
- Comparing the years 2013 and 2023, the number of paroled prisoners decreased fourfold. In 2023, 5,000 people, which is approximately 8% of the total number of convicts, benefited from this form of probation. For comparison, in 2013, nearly 20,000 prisoners (28% of the total number of convicts) benefited from this measure.
- In 2023, 80% fewer passes were issued than in 2013; 18,000 prisoners benefited from them.
- In the years 2007–2015, the number of passes in the range of 170,000–190,000 per year.
- The year 2015 began with a sharp decline in the number of passes issued. The biggest difference occurred between 2019 and 2020, when the number of passes fell by more than 80% (from 91,000 in 2019 to 15,000 in 2020). The decrease in the number of passes in 2020 was probably related to restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Since 2022, the number of passes has been increasing, although it is still almost three times lower than in 2019.

Chart 15. Passes – growth rate in the years 1990–2023 (1990 = 100)



PEOPLE IN PRISON data

Table 3. People in prison (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	In absolute numbers	Rates per 100,000 population	Years	In absolute numbers	Rates per 100,000 population
1970	82,436	253.4	1997	57,382	148.5
1971	102,902	313.7	1998	54,373	140.6
1972	115,343	348.8	1999	56,765	146.8
1973	124,685	373.7	2000	70,544	182.5
1974	81,075	240.6	2001	79,634	206.1
1975	96,242	282.9	2002	80,467	210.5
1976	97,748	284.5	2003	79,281	207.6
1977	85,262	245.7	2004	80,368	210.5
1978	97,849	280.2	2005	82,955	217.4
1979	106,243	301.3	2006	88,647	232.5
1980	99,638	280.1	2007	87,776	230.3
1981	74,807	208.4	2008	83,152	218.2
1982	79,783	220.2	2009	84,003	220.2
1983	85,295	233.2	2010	80,728	211.4
1984	76,164	206.3	2011	81,382	211.2
1985	110,182	296.2	2012	84,156	218.4
1986	99,427	265.5	2013	78,994	205.2
1987	91,140	242.0	2014	77,371	201.1
1988	67,824	179.1	2015	70,836	184.2
1989	40,321	106.2	2016	71,528	186.1
1990	50,165	131.6	2017	73,822	192.1
1991	58,619	153.3	2018	72,204	188.0
1992	61,409	160.1	2019	74,130	193.1
1993	61,562	160.1	2020	67894	177.0
1994	62,719	162.7	2021	71,874	188.3
1995	61,136	158.4	2022	71,228	188.3
1996	55,487	143.7	2023	73,822	195.8

Table 4. People in prison by basis of detention (in absolute numbers and in %)

Years	TOTAL*	Convicts	Percentage of total	Pre-trial detainees	Percentage of total	Punished
1990	50,165	33,942	67.7	16,200	32.3	23
1991	58,619	42,788	73.0	15,749	26.9	82
1992	61,409	46,987	76.5	14,188	23.1	234
1993	61,562	47,030	76.4	14,020	22.8	512
1994	62,719	46,684	74.4	15,453	24.6	582
1995	61,136	44,779	73.2	15,686	25.7	671
1996	55,487	41,110	74.1	13,595	24.5	782
1997	57,382	42,978	74.9	13,231	23.1	1,173
1998	54,373	42,130	77.5	11,551	21.2	692
1999	56,765	41,656	73.4	14,565	25.7	544
2000	70,544	48,006	68.1	22,032	31.2	506
2001	79,634	56,422	70.9	22,730	28.5	482
2002	80,467	59,248	73.6	20,896	26.0	323
2003	79,281	60,773	76.7	18,240	23.0	268
2004	80,368	64,975	80.8	15,055	18.7	338
2005	82,955	69,191	83.4	13,416	16.2	348
2006	88,647	73,914	83.4	14,415	16.3	318
2007	87,776	76,033	86.6	11,441	13.0	302
2008	83,152	73,859	88.8	8,926	10.7	367
2009	84,003	74,116	88.2	9,460	11.3	427
2010	80,728	71,867	89.0	8,389	10.4	472
2011	81,382	72,692	89.3	8,159	10.0	531
2012	84,156	76,657	91.1	7,009	8.3	490
2013	78,994	71,595	90.6	6,589	8.3	810
2014	77,371	70,125	90.6	6,238	8.1	1,008
2015	70,836	65,664	92.7	4,162	5.9	1,010
2016	71,528	65,079	91.0	5,396	7.5	1,053
2017	73,822	65,769	89.1	7,239	9.8	814
2018	72,204	64,045	91.0	7,360	10.2	799
2019	74,130	64,811	87.4	8,520	11.5	799
2020	67,894	58,487	86.1	8,692	12.8	715
2021	71,874	62,644	87.2	8,495	11.8	735
2022	71,228	62,339	87.5	8,149	11.4	740
2023	73,822	64,336	87.2	8,430	11.4	1,056

* All the above data as at 31 December of a given year.

Table 5. People in prison by gender (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Years	Women		Men	
	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population	in absolute numbers	per 100,000 population
1990	934	4.8	49,231	264.6
1991	1,266	6.4	57,353	307.3
1992	1,370	7.0	60,039	320.9
1993	1,419	7.2	60,143	320.8
1994	1,463	7.4	61,256	326.2
1995	1,456	7.3	59,680	317.7
1996	1,349	6.8	54,138	288.0
1997	1,363	6.9	56,019	298.0
1998	1,257	6.3	53,116	282.6
1999	1,319	6.6	55,446	295.2
2000	1,729	8.7	68,815	366.5
2001	2,067	10.4	77,567	413.4
2002	2,168	11.0	78,299	422.8
2003	2,159	11.0	77,122	417.0
2004	2,309	11.7	78,059	422.4
2005	2,359	12.0	80,596	436.6
2006	2,668	13.5	85,979	466.4
2007	2,598	13.2	85,178	462.5
2008	2,542	12.9	80,610	437.9
2009	2,697	13.7	81,306	441.3
2010	2,597	13.2	78,131	423.7
2011	2,529	12.7	78,853	422.8
2012	2,695	13.6	8,1460	436.8
2013	2,636	13.3	76,358	409.8
2014	2,527	12.7	74,844	401.9
2015	2,379	12.0	68,457	367.9
2016	2,581	13.0	68,947	370.8
2017	2,873	14.5	70,949	381.7
2018	2,940	14.8	69,264	372.7
2019	3,200	16.1	70,930	382.0
2020	3,056	15.4	64,838	349.5
2021	3,382	17.2	68,492	371.3
2022	3,422	17.5	67,806	370.9
2023	3,683	18.9	70,139	385.1

Table 6. People in prison by gender and age groups in 2013 and 2023 (in absolute numbers and in %)

Age	2013						2023					
	total	%	men	%	women	%	total	%	men	%	women	%
15–18	304	0.4	295	0.4	9	0.3	154	0.2	148	0.2	6	0.2
19–21	3,913	5.0	3,840	5.1	73	2.8	1,578	2.2	1,495	2.2	83	2.3
22–24	7,862	10.1	7,644	10.1	218	8.4	3,320	4.6	3,095	4.5	225	6.3
25–27	8,927	11.4	8,704	11.5	223	8.6	5,007	6.9	4,710	6.8	297	8.3
28–30	9,413	12.0	9,137	12.1	276	10.7	6,404	8.8	6,079	8.8	325	9.0
31–33	8,071	10.3	7,791	10.3	280	10.8	7,315	10.1	6,942	10.0	373	10.4
34–36	7,306	9.3	7,079	9.4	227	8.8	7,820	10.7	7,469	10.8	351	9.8
37–39	6,366	8.1	6,142	8.1	224	8.7	8,460	11.6	8,054	11.6	406	11.3
40–42	5,158	6.6	4,968	6.6	190	7.3	7,696	10.6	7,320	10.6	376	10.5
43–45	4,230	5.4	4,067	5.4	163	6.3	6,345	8.7	6,057	8.8	288	8.0
46–48	3,803	4.9	3,660	4.8	143	5.5	5,152	7.1	4,895	7.1	257	7.2
49–51	3,393	4.3	3,236	4.3	157	6.1	3,709	5.1	3,541	5.1	168	4.7
52–54	3,041	3.9	2,898	3.8	143	5.5	2,677	3.7	2,553	3.7	124	3.5
55–57	2,529	3.2	2,426	3.2	103	4.0	2,034	2.8	1,939	2.8	95	2.6
58–60	1,767	2.3	1,694	2.2	73	2.8	1,650	2.3	1,580	2.3	70	1.9
61–63	1,048	1.3	1,009	1.3	39	1.5	1,189	1.6	1,135	1.6	54	1.5
64–66	571	0.7	543	0.7	28	1.1	958	1.3	920	1.3	38	1.1
67+	482	0.6	463	0.6	19	0.7	1,298	1.8	1,240	1.8	58	1.6
TOTAL	78,184	100.0	75,596	100.0	2,588	100.0	72,766	100.0	69,172	100.0	3,594	100.0

Table 7. Convicted and punished by the system of execution of sentences (in absolute numbers)								
Classification group	System of execution of sentences	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Young offenders	regular	0	0	0	4	48	40	43
	programmed impact	9,961	12,263	13,146	3,418	3,188	3,062	2,969
	therapeutic	905	1,228	664	196	216	185	170
Punished for the first time	regular	4,964	6,843	7,855	10,935	13,630	15,556	16,318
	programmed impact	9,337	10,621	12,178	18,349	17,932	18,427	19,980
	therapeutic	1,176	1,661	870	1,535	1,675	1,817	1,982
Repeat offenders	regular	9,593	11,273	12,338	13,385	15,240	16,403	17,948
	programmed impact	10,888	10,859	11,315	11,840	11,860	12,414	13,147
	therapeutic	1,668	2,145	1,200	1,377	1,523	1,634	1,674
Total	regular	14,558	18,116	20,193	24,324	28,918	31,999	34,309
	programmed impact	30,185	33,743	36,639	33,607	32,980	33,903	36,096
	therapeutic	3,749	5,034	2,734	3,108	3,414	3,636	3,826
TOTAL		48,492	56,893	59,566	61,039	65,312	69,538	74,231
		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Young offenders	regular	46	24	47	70	43	58	51
	programmed impact	2,858	2,537	2,394	2,113	1,870	1,930	1,599
	therapeutic	153	165	143	130	128	114	100
Punished for the first time	regular	16,926	15,705	15,945	13,816	11,850	11,877	9,526
	programmed impact	20,465	19,853	19,819	19,436	20,596	21,892	20,222
	therapeutic	2,088	2,108	2,218	2,094	2,118	1,906	2,149
Repeat offenders	regular	18,619	18,417	18,563	17,886	16,810	17,276	15,354
	programmed impact	13,365	13,547	13,565	14,863	17,893	20,372	20,217
	therapeutic	1,814	1,870	1,849	1,931	1,915	1,722	2,208
Total	regular	35,591	34,146	34,555	31,772	28,703	29,211	24,931
	programmed impact	36,688	35,937	35,778	36,412	40,359	44,194	42,038
	therapeutic	4,055	4,143	4,210	4,155	4,161	3,742	4,457
TOTAL		76,334	74,226	74,543	72,339	73,223	77,147	71,426

		2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Young offenders	regular	60	63	64	51	35	33	33
	programmed impact	1,381	1,050	961	872	691	664	480
	therapeutic	93	88	73	63	64	72	51
Punished for the first time	regular	9,668	8,998	9,006	9,047	9,233	10,211	9,530
	programmed impact	18,498	16,837	15,923	16,060	15,060	14,367	12,075
	therapeutic	2,118	1,094	2,056	2,247	2,230	2,242	1,814
Repeat offenders	regular	16,258	15,240	15,740	15,933	16,025	17,273	16,826
	programmed impact	18,981	19,241	18,879	18,792	18,049	17,272	14,865
	therapeutic	2,270	2,336	2,355	2,455	2,487	2,626	2,360
Total	regular	25,986	24,301	24,810	25,031	25,293	27,517	26,389
	programmed impact	39,860	37,128	35,763	35,724	33,800	32,303	27,420
	therapeutic	4,481	4,518	4,484	4,765	4,781	4,940	4,225
TOTAL		71,133	66,674	66,132	66,583	64,844	64,610	59,202
		2021	2022	2023				
Young offenders	regular	41	24	23				
	programmed impact	513	455	531				
	therapeutic	45	43	41				
Punished for the first time	regular	10,265	10,025	10,175				
	programmed impact	11,796	11,718	12,086				
	therapeutic	2,073	1,948	1,987				
Repeat offenders	regular	19,322	19,493	20,223				
	programmed impact	14,827	15,152	16,090				
	therapeutic	2,853	2,848	2,963				
Total	regular	29,628	29,542	30,421				
	programmed impact	27,136	27,325	28,707				
	therapeutic	4,971	4,839	4,991				
TOTAL		63,379	63,079	65,392				

Table 8. Convicted, pre-trial detainees, women and juveniles by type of offences in 2023 (in absolute numbers and in %)

Type of offences	Convicted ^a by type of crime (executed sentences)		Pre-trial detainees by type of offence (executed sentences in absolute numbers) ^b		Imprisoned women (executed sentences in absolute numbers) ^c		Imprisoned young offenders (executed sentences in absolute numbers) ^d	
	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
Homicide	4,682	7.6	733	9.6	482	14.1	74	7.9
Other crimes against life and health	3,394	5.5	601	7.9	206	6.0	85	9.1
Rape	1,861	3.0	367	4.8	20	0.6	34	3.6
Crimes against family and care	8,837	14.4	784	10.3	370	10.8	28	3.0
Burglary	8,991	14.6	533	7.0	286	8.4	124	13.3
Robbery	5,855	9.5	943	12.4	288	8.4	231	24.7
Other crimes against property	12,096	19.7	915	12.0	1,181	34.6	216	23.1
Other offences	15,697	25.6	2,727	35.9	579	17.0	142	15.2
TOTAL	61,413	100.0	7,603	100.0	3,412	100.0	934	100.0

^a Decisions executed on the basis of the Penal Code of 1969 and 1997 have been taken into account. Due to a change in the MS ZK-5 report form, since 2012 the number of executed sentences has been included in the penitentiary statistics. For this reason, this number differs from the number of convictions.

^b Due to the change in the printing of the MS ZK-5 report, since 2012 the penitentiary statistics show the number of executed decisions (temporary detentions). For this reason, their number differs from the number of pre-trial detainees.

^c Due to the change in the printing of the MS ZK-5 report, since 2012 the penitentiary statistics show the number of sentences executed in the case of women. For this reason, this number differs from the number of imprisoned women.

^d Due to the change in the printing of the MS ZK-5 report, since 2012 the number of executed sentences has been shown in the penitentiary statistics. For this reason, this number differs from the number of imprisoned juveniles. Article 115 § 10 of the Penal Code of 1997 provides that a young offender is an offender who is under 21 years of age at the time of committing the offence, and 24 years of age at the time of adjudication in the first instance.

Table 9. Convicts by length of sentence being served (in absolute numbers)

Length of the basic sentence^a	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Up to 3 months	14	30	122	115	199	90	105	174	159	186
> 3 to 6 months	291	470	690	859	958	1,070	725	900	970	989
> 6 months to 1 year	3,163	5,286	6,373	7,092	7,470	7,593	7,158	7,666	7,646	7,108
> 1 to 2 years	8,770	12,365	13,562	13,515	13,010	12,279	11,190	11,681	12,099	11,962
> 2 to 3 years	7,902	9,743	10,099	9,231	8,864	8,124	6,794	6,584	5,980	6,088
> 3 to 5 years	7,349	8,207	8,748	8,591	8,325	7,542	7,251	7,528	6,919	6,654
> 5 to 10 years	4,064	3,996	4,304	4,386	4,556	4,386	4,345	4,551	4,639	4,614
> 10 to 15 years old	1,224	1,221	1,239	1,293	1,431	1,493	1,597	1,772	1,799	1,967
25 years	755	684	641	643	628	633	667	671	763	786
Life imprisonment ^b							2	7	19	34
TOTAL	33,532	42,002	45,778	45,725	45,441	43,210	39,834	41,534	40,987	40,388
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Up to 3 months	182	205	250	353	449	633	760	987	744	681
> 3 to 6 months	1,312	1,377	1,583	1,860	2,629	3,088	3,845	4,958	4,666	5,002
> 6 months to 1 year	7,725	8,586	8,665	8,704	9,683	10,400	12,290	13,311	13,639	14,923
> up to 2 years	14,675	17,548	16,989	17,210	18,587	20,675	21,747	21,806	21,867	21,997
> 2 to 3 years	7,185	9,020	9,881	9,641	10,040	10,143	10,530	10,433	9,446	9,000
> 3 to 5 years	7,402	9,135	10,492	10,921	10,285	10,271	10,234	9,966	9,028	8,652
> to 10 years	5,082	5,686	6,223	6,393	6,823	6,672	6,705	6,465	6,257	5,826
> to 15 years	2,231	2,412	2,621	2,763	850	2,896	3,046	3,227	3,096	2,973
25 years	861	950	1,042	1,115	1,172	1,244	1,288	1,357	1,396	1,515
Life imprisonment	45	59	84	120	133	158	185	204	220	245
TOTAL	46,700	54,978	57,830	59,080	62,651	66,180	70,630	72,714	70,359	70,814
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Up to 3 months	678	656	774	574	568	585	830	736	714	757
> 3 to 6 months	4,620	4,709	5,260	4,559	4,515	4,133	4,391	4,030	3,862	4,276
> 6 months to 1 year	14,353	14,711	15,124	14,189	14,021	12,588	11,385	10,727	9,716	9,857
> 1 to 2 years	21,754	22,049	22,843	22,188	21,136	19,571	18,020	16,381	14,199	12,427
> 2 to 3 years	8,706	8,759	9,817	9,477	9,126	8,554	8,763	9,131	8,978	8,287
> 3 to 5 years	8,197	8,448	9,148	8,897	8,706	8,190	8,790	9,960	10,417	10,534
> to 10 years	5,393	5,254	5,250	5,184	5,172	5,149	5,459	6,351	7,057	7,674
> to 15 years	2,844	2,812	2,831	2,733	2,671	2,543	2,512	2,517	2,622	2,715
> 15 to 20 years ^c						1	10	38	76	110
25 years	1,517	1,575	1,645	1,672	1,716	1,727	1,759	1,769	1,771	1,832
Life imprisonment	263	287	317	338	351	380	396	423	444	460
TOTAL	68,325	69,260	73,009	69,811	67,982	63,415	62,316	62,085	59,856	58,929

	2020	2021	2022	2023
Up to 3 months	692	832	721	743
> 3 to 6 months	4,149	4,897	4,850	5,295
> 6 months to 1 year	8,765	10,389	10,086	11,333
> 1 to 2 years	10,198	10,996	11,256	12,362
> 2 to 3 years	7,046	6,798	7,132	7,492
> 3 to 5 years	9,407	8,708	8,436	8,168
> to 10 years	7,660	7,511	7,297	6,791
> to 15 years	2,710	2,703	2,690	2,625
> 15 to 20 years old	143	168	200	240
25 years	1,795	1,773	1,736	1,706
Life imprisonment	479	495	534	555
TOTAL	53,044	55,270	54,938	57,310

^a Due to the change in the printing of the MS ZK-5 report, as of 2012 the penitentiary statistics show the number of executed sentences, not the number of people.

^b Life imprisonment was introduced in 1995.

^c Under The Act of 20 February 2015 amending the Penal Code, the possibility of imposing a penalty of up to 20 years of imprisonment in the event of an extraordinary aggravation of the penalty was introduced (Article 38 § 2 of the Penal Code).

Table 10. People given a substitute penalty (in absolute numbers)*						
Years	TOTAL	Up to 30 days	> 30 to 180 days	> 180 to 270 days	> 270 days to 12 months	> 12 months
1998	1,143	309	694	73	33	34
1999	1,268	310	859	56	24	19
2000	1,306	368	798	87	35	18
2001	1,444	421	908	68	28	19
2002	1,418	447	895	37	25	14
2003	1,693	530	1,041	67	46	9
2004	2,324	640	1,527	115	32	10
2005	3,011	657	2,194	120	35	5
2006	3,284	647	2,515	95	24	3
2007	3,319	638	2,565	93	21	2
2008	3,500	576	2,817	64	43	
2009	3,302	435	2,691	164	12	
2010	3,542	481	3,013	44	4	
2011	3,432	462	2,888	78	4	
2012	4,037	356	3,596	65	20	
2013	2,377	262	2,012	65	38	
2014	2,681	301	2,271	73	36	
2015	2,701	266	2,302	88	46	
2016	3,259	199	2,777	199	84	
2017	4,246	167	3,243	507	329	
2018	4,803	135	3,661	618	389	
2019	6,693	146	4,945	933	669	
2020	6,178	125	4,429	960	664	
2021	8,069	127	5,528	1,363	1,051	
2022	8,126	123	5,450	1,433	1,120	
2023	7,791	82	4,908	1,489	1,312	

* A substitute penalty is a penalty imposed by the court if the convicted person, despite being able, does not pay the fine on time or does not take up a substitute form of its execution specified in Article 45 of the Executive Penal Code. The substitute penalty may not exceed 12 months of imprisonment or the upper limit of the penalty of imprisonment for a given offence, and if the law does not provide for a penalty of imprisonment for a given offence, the upper limit of the substitute penalty of imprisonment may not exceed 6 months. Due to the change in the printing of the MS ZK-5 report, as of 2012 the penitentiary statistics show the number of executed sentences, not the number of people. Convictions under the Penal Code of 1969.

**Table 11. Imprisoned people doing paid work
(in absolute numbers)**

Years	TOTAL	Convicted and punished	Pre-trial detainees
1990	20,437	18,629	1,808
1991	15,653	14,370	1,283
1992	14,880	13,742	1,138
1993	13,623	12,632	991
1994	13,589	12,628	961
1995	12,862	11,758	1,104
1996	12,841	11,902	939
1997	12,320	11,509	811
1998	11,240	10,572	668
1999	11,299	10,507	792
2000	10,952	10,071	881
2001	8,857	8,181	676
2002	9,270	8,588	682
2003	9,933	9,432	501
2004	10,883	10,461	422
2005	13,418	12,965	453
2006	18,644	18,138	506
2007	21,471	21,093	378
2008	19,605	19,364	241
2009	16,183	15,979	204
2010	15,956	15,797	159
2011	10,663	10,621	42
2012	9,179	9,162	17
2013	8,968	8,949	19
2014	10,052	10,028	24
2015	9,850	9,843	7
2016	11,146	11,136	10
2017	14,251	14,243	8
2018	16,969	16,953	16
2019	17,055	17,037	18
2020	12,527	12,511	16
2021	14,926	14,913	14
2022	17,660	17,650	10
2023	20,874	20,868	7

Table 12. Auto-aggression and deaths of prisoners (in absolute numbers)

Years	Auto-aggression of the people in prison				Deaths*		
	total	self-harm	refusal to eat	suicide attempts	total	due to auto-aggression	other reason
1990	2,500	1,684	579	237	127	52	75
1991	3,366	2,070	954	342	115	43	72
1992	3,585	2,177	1,038	370	137	44	93
1993	1,865	1,348	256	261	99	29	70
1994	1,630	1,178	224	228	88	30	58
1995	1,303	940	199	164	90	27	63
1996	1,116	871	103	142	84	21	63
1997	1,029	765	78	186	89	45	44
1998	1,153	906	57	190	110	43	67
1999	958	753	36	169	102	36	66
2000	1,134	904	39	191	106	49	57
2001	1,130	889	51	190	142	54	88
2002	948	733	43	172	96	40	56
2003	664	507	27	130	127	37	90
2004	730	572	23	135	107	30	77
2005	773	570	16	187	122	32	90
2006	795	587	20	188	154	42	112
2007	633	449	10	174	145	41	104
2008	715	497	27	191	135	39	96
2009	818	592	15	211	125	41	84
2010	622	450	25	147	135	34	101
2011	433	205	37	191	127	22	105
2012	281	96	35	150	107	18	89
2013	266	51	27	188	109	19	90
2014	217	36	6	175	107	26	81
2015	215	31	11	173	105	23	82
2016	220	14	9	197	123	24	99
2017	244	16	5	223	153	27	126
2018	223	12	3	208	171	26	145
2019	215	16	1	198	159	24	135
2020	142	21	2	119	174	27	147
2021	174	18	11	145	188	27	161
2022	130	10	3	117	192	15	177
2023	141	18	3	120	188	19	169

* Deaths of inmates are included, except for those that occurred while using passes or permits to temporarily leave the prison.

Table 13. Passes (in absolute numbers)*

Years	Number of passes	Number of people using passes
1990	110,150	
1991	153,639	
1992	260,845	
1993	264,637	
1994	231,620	
1995	195,249	
1996	114,606	
1997	103,991	
1998	103,450	
1999	104,168	32,957
2000	108,974	29,168
2001	105,397	34,592
2002	108,977	35,531
2003	105,109	26,062
2004	109,119	35,524
2005	122,158	40,196
2006	154,582	32,434
2007	185,998	58,166
2008	176,590	57,215
2009	184,348	59,047
2010	174,124	58,617
2011	176,125	60,159
2012	173,560	56,914
2013	186,301	57,156
2014	198,976	58,877
2015	173,390	54,758
2016	142,899	46,982
2017	146,261	49,161
2018	126,212	44,042
2019	90,674	22,199
2020	14,912	6,794
2021	10,690	5,834
2022	27,656	10,430
2023	33,473	17,985

* Permits for therapeutic, cultural and educational activities taking place outside the prison are also included. Between 2001 and 2019, the number of people using passes and permits included: 1) the number of people in prison using passes; 2) the number of persons using permits outside the prison.

Table 14. Conditional early release (in absolute numbers and in %)

Years	Number of applications	Number of people on parole	Percentage of conditionally released in the number of applications	Percentage of people paroled among imprisoned convicts
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
2020	25,767	6,158	23.9	10.5
2021	23,028	4,973	21.6	7.9
2022	22,012	5,209	23.7	8.4
2023	20,305	5,025	24.7	7.8

Table 15. Foreigners in prison (in absolute numbers)

Years	TOTAL	Convicted	Temporarily detained	Punished
1990	56	6	50	
1991	209	18	191	
1992	742	39	697	6
1993	1,109	113	993	3
1994	1,161	255	903	3
1995	1,496	447	1,043	6
1996	1,307	434	871	2
1997	1,296	449	836	11
1998	1,193	427	756	11
1999	1,032	389	641	2
2000	1,327	386	937	4
2001	1,550	436	1,108	6
2002	1,349	458	886	5
2003	1,173	436	734	3
2004	952	386	564	2
2005	655	316	336	3
2006	659	295	363	1
2007	646	278	368	0
2008	539	284	255	0
2009	595	272	322	1
2010	572	279	290	3
2011	555	276	276	3
2012	566	313	253	0
2013	521	299	220	2
2014	537	303	229	5
2015	519	307	206	6
2016	662	334	288	40
2017	840	377	433	30
2018	1,037	505	512	20
2019	1,310	610	680	20
2020	1,267	669	595	3
2021	1,741	829	896	16
2022	1,824	880	935	9
2023	2,340	1,235	1,077	28

Chapter V

JUVENILES

Justyna Włodarczyk-Madejska

Introduction

Until 2012, the basic source of data on juvenile delinquency was police statistics, and since 2013 it has been court statistics. The source change was explained in the previous edition of the *Atlas*. To reiterate, until the end of 2012, criminal acts of minors were shown in police statistics at the time of filing a motion to initiate proceedings with the family and juvenile division of the district court. Since the beginning of 2013, in turn, data in this regard has been presented by the police after obtaining information about the initiation and completion of proceedings by a family judge. The problem is that no one has imposed an obligation on the family and juvenile court to provide such data to law enforcement authorities. This means that police data on juveniles from 2013 are not comparable to previous data, and the analyses conducted and conclusions reached on this basis may not be fully reliable. To a large extent, they contain selective information, and thus contribute to the distortion of the image of the phenomenon under study. Also, on the website of the National Police Headquarters, these data, with the exception of the year 2013, are not published. On this website we can find the following information: “The police have ceased to present data on offences committed by minors and persons who committed them. Presenting «juvenile delinquency» only from materials held by the police may significantly distort the image of this problem.”¹

Importantly, when writing about court statistics, this term includes both statistical reports prepared by the Ministry of Justice and data on final judgments of minors prepared by the National Criminal Register. Although available until 2023, in the case of juveniles the ministerial reports (MS-S16/18) concern primarily

the number of juvenile cases, not the juveniles themselves. On the other hand, the last available data from the National Criminal Register, at the time this edition went to print, ended in 2020. Therefore, this chapter will not be a simple supplement to the previous edition of the *Atlas*, as this is simply impossible. It will provide an overview of the most important, up-to-date data on juvenile delinquency.

Some of the analysed periods are shorter or have some gaps, which is due to both the availability of data and the differences in their preparation over several decades. The sources of knowledge were both the *Statistical Yearbooks* of the Central Statistical Office and the statistics of the Statistical Management Information Department of the Ministry of Justice.

In this chapter, the reader will find, first of all, information about juveniles with regard to whom the courts have legally adjudicated educational or correctional measures, taking into account the premises constituting the basis for initiating proceedings – manifestations of demoralisation and committing punishable acts (which we refer to as “juvenile delinquency”), but also about their cases heard by family divisions and juvenile district courts.

In the analysis of the issue of juvenile delinquency, based on statistical data, it is necessary to take into account legislative changes that could have had a significant impact on the number of juveniles and their cases included in the statistics. These changes, at least the most important ones, are described in the section “Selected changes in the law...”. In the case of minors, two things are of particular importance: the first is the change in the method of registering data in the court system, which took place in 2013 and began to be visible in court statistics from 2014. The aim is to standardise the proceedings in juvenile cases – to abandon the investigation and to standardise the manner in which the proceedings are conducted, regardless of the reason for their initiation (demoralisation or a criminal act). This change significantly reduced

¹ Police website, available at: <https://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przestepczosc-nieletni/50256,Przestepczosc-nieletnich-1990-2013.html> [accessed on: 2 August 2024].

the number of cases handled by the courts – in principle, ceased to be held in explanatory proceedings. The second change is related to the entry into force of the Act on Support and Rehabilitation of Juveniles of 9 June 2022, which significantly expanded the definition of a punishable act. This definition covers all offences and fiscal offences (and not only a handful of selected ones, as before). Therefore, a (statistical) increase in juvenile delinquency can be expected in 2022–2023. Due to the lack of data on final judgments issued in the case of minors for these years, it is difficult to confirm this assumption. However, it is worth noting that the number of cases handled in the family and juvenile divisions of district courts increased by 1/4 between 2021 and 2023. During this period, the number of cases for criminal offences increased by almost 50%. This decline could be explained by the COVID-19 pandemic, which in fact caused some stagnation in the courts, which translated into a lower number of cases handled. But, as shown for example by criminal cases, this took place primarily in 2020. A year later, the number of criminal cases handled was very similar to that in 2019 preceding the pandemic, and sometimes higher (in regional and appellate courts).

Another important change is the introduction of a lower age limit for minors showing signs of demoralisation. This limit was set at ten years of age. This means that a minor, according to the new Act on Support and Rehabilitation of Juveniles, showing signs of demoralisation cannot be a person under ten years of age (as had been the case). Although in turn these are again only assumptions, this may mean that some cases of younger people have been excluded from custody and civil proceedings. This would of course reduce the scale of juvenile delinquency, but to a very minimal extent. Statistics of final judgments show that the percentage of people under ten years of age among all minors is about 1%. From 2022, this change will allow for a slightly more accurate calculation of the juvenile crime rate – the number of juveniles legally judged by the court per 100,000 residents of a certain age. It will be possible

to carry out estimates in this respect both for demoralisation (this will apply to the group between 10 and 18 years of age) and criminal acts (for the group of 13–16 years of age). Until 2022, this rate could only be calculated in relation to juveniles committing criminal acts, and they account for approximately half of all juveniles who have been legally adjudicated.

The last of the key changes (introduced by the Act on Support and Rehabilitation of Juveniles) relevant to this publication and the data contained in that act, is a change to the structure of educational measures that the court may impose with respect to a juvenile. The catalogue of measures now includes placement in a district educational centre. Importantly, these centres were created on the basis of some of the correctional facilities operating to date – some of the facilities were simply transformed into these centres. Therefore, it is obvious that there is a change not only in the number of juvenile institutions themselves, but also in their wards. The structure of measures imposed on minors will probably also change slightly, but we will only be able to say this on the basis of data on final judgments for 2022–2023, i.e. in the next edition.

The conclusion from the conducted analyses is that juvenile delinquency is changing. Importantly, juvenile cases for criminal offences that go to court rarely end with a ruling on a measure. Almost half of them are discontinued, or proceedings are not initiated. At certain times, a juvenile is treated as an adult on the basis of Article 10 § 2 of the Penal Code, and thus are given a prison sentence.

A juvenile whose case goes to the family and juvenile division of the district court is statistically a 15-year-old boy living in the city, but firstly, girls are more and more visible in court statistics, and secondly, the age structure of juveniles is changing – the share of both the youngest and the oldest is increasing. Property crime is definitely decreasing. In turn, rates of crime harmful to life and health, violating freedom, sexual freedom and morality, and drug crime are increasing. Statistical data also show a certain change in the

structure of the measures imposed – namely, despite the general decrease in the number of juveniles and the number of measures imposed, the number of juveniles placed in a probation centre has been increasing in recent years.

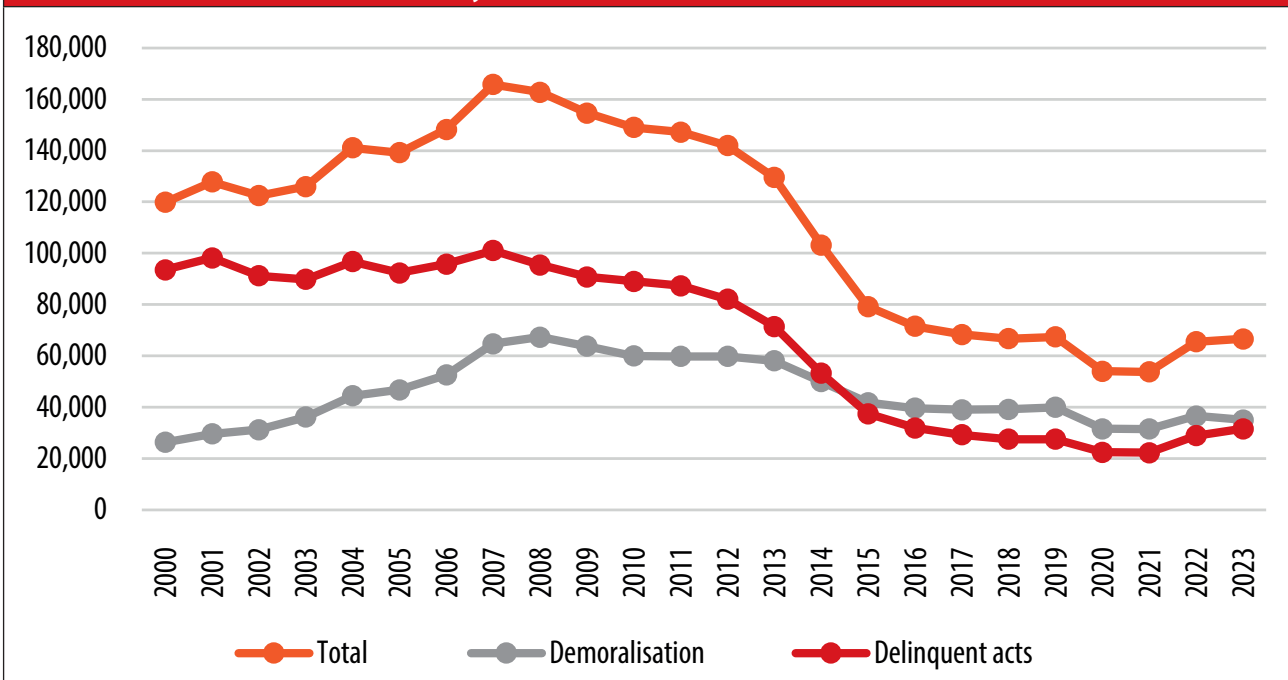
Important clarifications

The following principles are used in court statistics to compile data on legally adjudicated juveniles on whom the court has imposed educational or corrective measures:

- The statistical unit is the rulings made against one juvenile in a calendar year.
- If measures have been imposed on a juvenile for two or more crimes, the statistics include all criminal acts committed by that juvenile.
- If measures have been imposed on a juvenile due to manifestations of demoralisation, the statistics include the number of people against whom the manifestations were the basis for the measures ruled.
- If more than one measure has been imposed on a juvenile, the statistics include all measures imposed on the juvenile.
- In court statistics, self-imposed educational measures and educational measures imposed together with a correctional facility (in absolute or suspended form) are listed. This chapter only takes into account self-imposed educational measures.
- Due to the source of the analyses – statistics of final judgments – when using the term “juveniles”, we people on whom the court has imposed educational or corrective measures in connection with criminal acts or manifestations of demoralisation. The exception here is juveniles on whom penalties were imposed.
- The partial age coefficients of juveniles were calculated per 100 thousand people in the appropriate age groups, based on data from Statistics Poland on the population status as of 30 June of a given year. Calculation of these coefficients was possible only for those juveniles who were convicted of committing a criminal act.

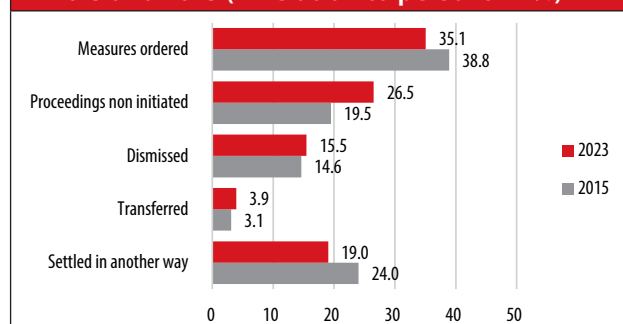
JUVENILE CASES IN GENERAL

Chart 1. Juvenile cases settled* in the years 2000–2023



* Cases settled are all juvenile cases (both for delinquent acts and demoralisation) settled by the court of first instance (including transfers to another court).

Chart 2. Method of settling of juvenile cases in 2015 and 2023 (in relation to persons in %)



- At the beginning of the 21st century, the number of juvenile cases settled in family and juvenile divisions of district courts reached about 120,000–140,000 per year. The highest increase (to over 160,000) was visible in 2007–2008. Subsequently, the number of cases dealt with decreased almost systematically from year to year, until 2021.
- The most visible change took place in 2015 – the number of settled cases was almost 1.5 times lower than in 2014, which is certainly due to the changes in the method of registering juvenile cases (mentioned in the introduction).
- In 2023, the number of settled cases was 1/4 higher than in 2021. This increase is particularly visible in cases of criminal offences – these increased by almost 50%.
- In 2023, for one in six juveniles whose case went to court, the proceedings were discontinued, and for 1/4 not initiated at all. Only 1/3 of the minors whose cases were dealt with were issued a decision ending the proceedings (such as a warning or supervision by a probation officer).
- In 2023, proceedings were discontinued and not initiated more often than in 2015. Less frequently, they also ended with a ruling imposing a juvenile measure.

TOTAL JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Chart 3. Juveniles on whom educational and correctional measures were legally imposed in connection with demoralisation or a criminal act committed in the years 1983–2020

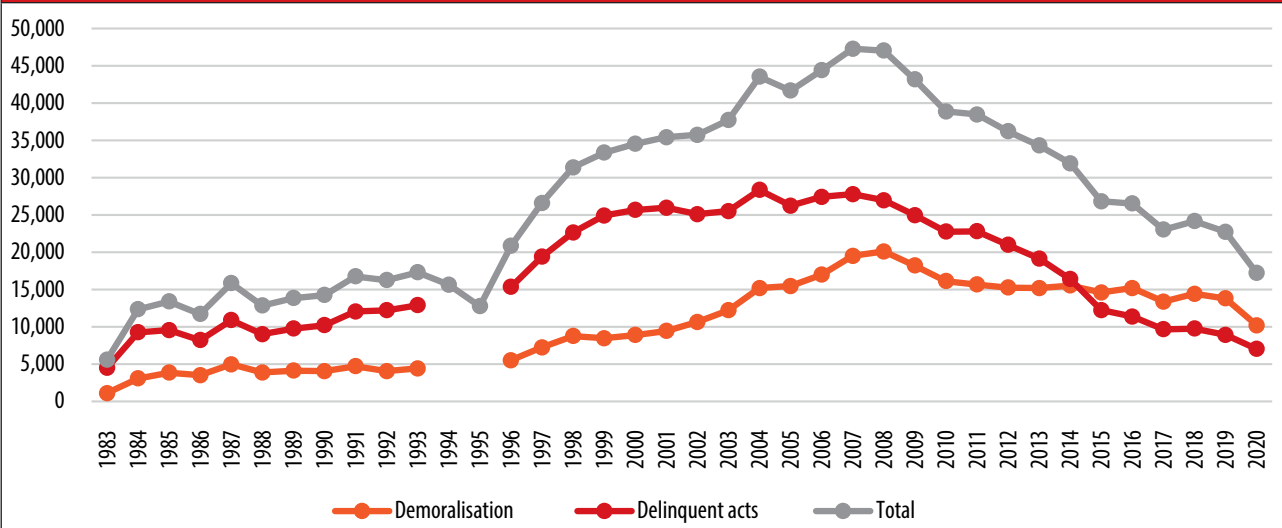
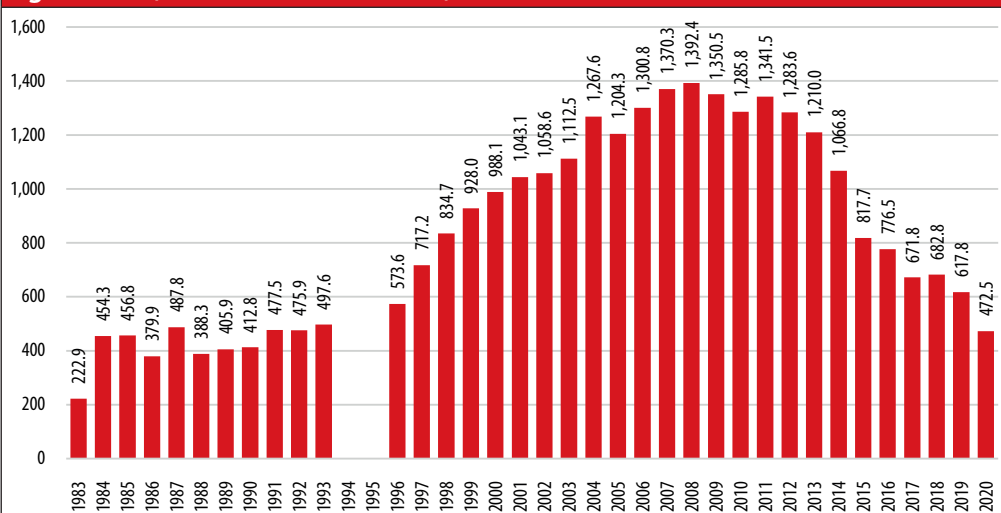


Chart 4. Juveniles committing criminal offences per 100,000 inhabitants aged 13–16 (between 1983 and 2020)



- In the 1980s, the average number of juveniles who had been legally convicted, on whom a court had imposed educational or correctional measures, was about 12,000, and in the 1990s – 21,000. In the first decade of the 21st century, this average was more than twice as high, reaching 41,000, and in the second decade – it reached 28,000.
- The peak of juvenile delinquency in the analysed period was in the years 2004–2009 – over 40,000 cases each year. Since 2007, in turn, there has been an almost systematic decline, down to 17,000 in 2020.
- In 2020, 473 juveniles committed criminal offences per 100,000 Polish residents aged 13–16 (juvenile rate). This value is similar to the value of the coefficient from 1992 (despite the fact that at that time the number of juveniles legally convicted on the basis of a criminal act was almost twice as high). This can be explained primarily by the demographic decline – in the 1990s, there were more young people aged 13–16 than in 2020, by over 40%.

JUVENILES BY SEX AND AGE

Chart 6. Juveniles by sex between 1984 and 2020 (in absolute numbers)

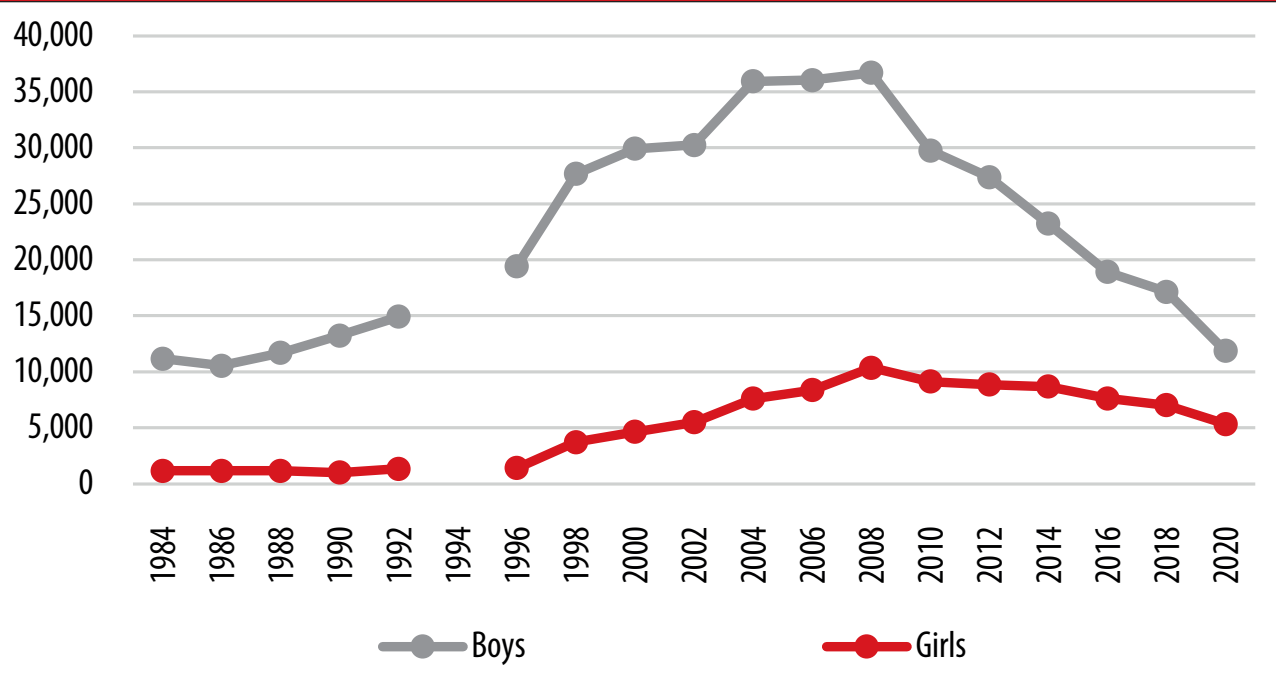


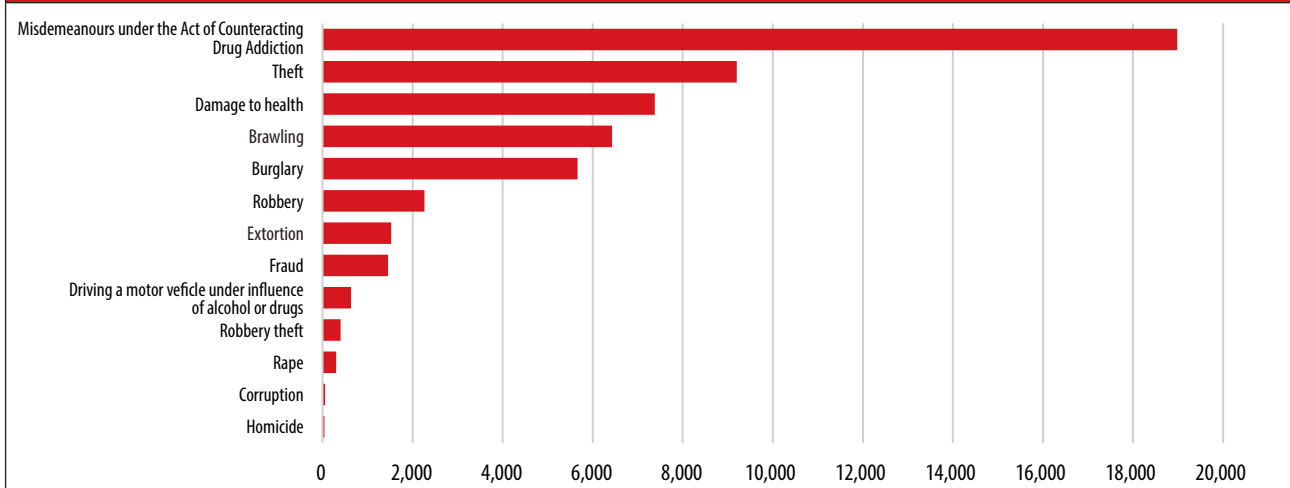
Table 1. Age structure of minors in 2000 and 2020 (in %)

Age	2000	2020
Up to 9 years old	0.8	1.1
10 years old	1.1	2.2
11 years old	2.3	4.2
12 years old	3.9	7.1
13 years old	14.4	17.6
14 years old	19.4	19.8
15 years old	25.8	22.6
16 years old	30.0	19.8
17 years old	2.3	5.4
Over 17 years old	0.0	0.1
ND	0.0	0.1

- The majority of juvenile delinquents are boys. They account for nearly 70%. However, this percentage has been steadily decreasing year by year, starting from 1996, when it exceeded 90%. This means a threefold increase in the percentage of delinquent girls.
- Between 2000 and 2020, the number of delinquent boys decreased 2.5 times, while the number of delinquent girls increased by 15%.
- Juveniles legally convicted are usually between 14 and 16 years old. However, the structure of their age is changing. In 2000, most of them were 16-year-olds (almost one in three), and in 2020 – 15-year-olds (one in four). The share of the youngest minors – no more than 12 years old (almost twice) and the oldest minors (17 years old) is growing.

STRUCTURE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Chart 7. Criminal acts attributed to a juvenile in a decision closing the proceedings in the years 2015–2023 (in absolute numbers)



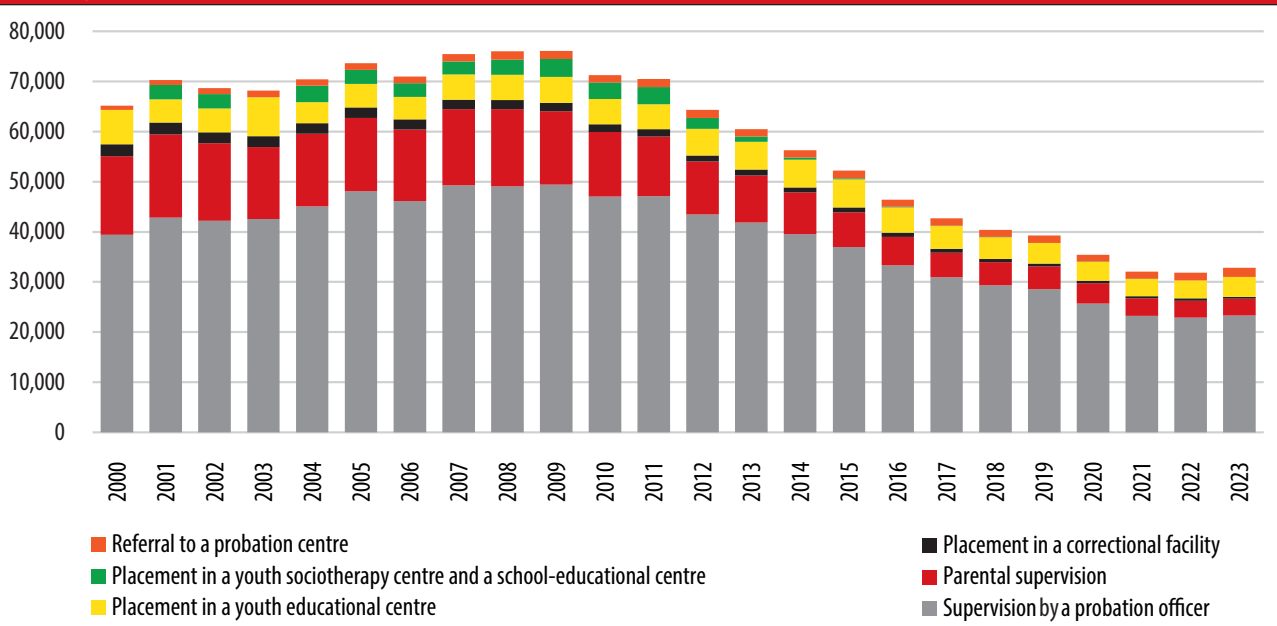
- Juvenile delinquency is primarily acts concerning property. The most frequent crime is crime relating to life and health, and the third is crime relating to freedom, sexual freedom and decency.
- In 2020, compared to 2000, the percentage of property crime decreased significantly – in 2020, one in two juveniles was legally convicted for crimes of this kind, while in 2000 this number was almost 3/4.
- In 2020, the percentage of life- and health-related crimes increased more than 1.5 times, crimes relating to freedom, sexual freedom and decency quadrupled, and drug crimes increased than 6.5 times.
- In the years 2015–2023, the selected punishable acts that were the basis for issuing a judgment against a juvenile were most often drug offences and theft. This number decreased by about 3 p.p. between 2015 and 2023.

Table 2. Structure of juvenile delinquency in 2000 and 2020 (in absolute numbers and in %)

Type of juvenile delinquency	2000		2020	
	N	%	N	%
Relating to public safety and transport	289	1.1	122	1.7
Relating to life and health	3,716	14.5	1,664	23.7
Relating to freedom, sexual freedom and decency	823	3.2	842	12.0
Relating to family and care	50	0.2	127	1.8
Relating to property	18,488	72.0	3,563	50.8
Against honour and inviolability	527	2.1	264	3.8
Relating to the activities of state institutions	64	0.2	190	2.7
Against public order	109	0.4	15	0.2
Offences under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction	470	1.8	831	11.8
TOTAL minors	25,667		7,015	

RESPONSE TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY UNDER JUVENILE DELINQUENCY LAWS

Chart 8. Juveniles according to the educational and correctional measures implemented in the years 2000–2023



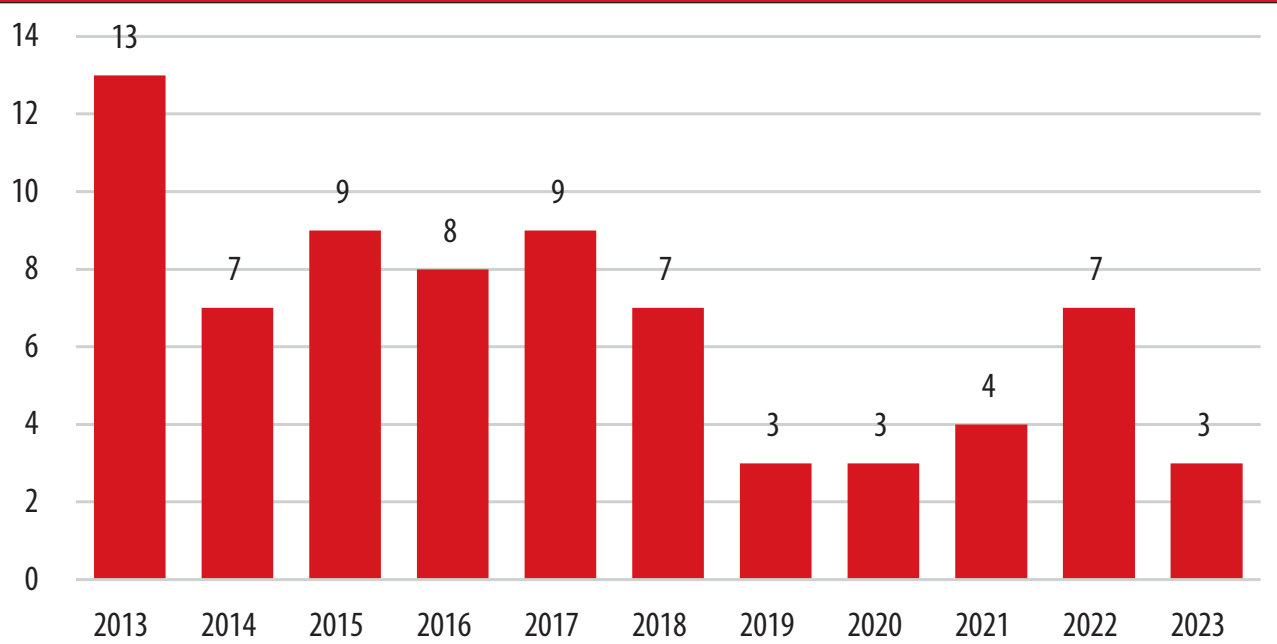
- Courts most often impose educational measures on minors. In 2020 this was the case in over 99% of cases. Correctional measures are imposed sporadically, in about 1% of cases.
- The three principal educational measures are warning, obligation to conduct a specific procedure, and supervision by a probation officer.
- The tendency of judges to order probation supervision has remained basically unchanged since 1990. The year 2020, on the other hand, shows that compared to the 1990s, the share of orders for specific procedures has increased fourfold and warnings have tripled.
- The data on measures taken against minors show an overall decrease – this is quite obvious given the decrease in the number of minors. Despite this, in 2023 there was an increase in the number of juveniles placed in a probation centre (by more than 100% compared to 2000). The reason may be greater availability of these centres.
- In 2022–2023, there is also a visible increase in the number of juveniles placed in youth education centres between 2022 and 2023 by 12%, which may be due to the changes introduced by the new Act on Support and Rehabilitation of Juveniles, namely the transformation of some juvenile detention centres into district education centres. In Chart 8, educational centres (youth and district) are in one category.

Table 3. Structure of some educational measures imposed on juveniles in selected years (in %)

	1990	2000	2010	2020
Warning	9.3	24.3	23.5	27.6
Order for a specific procedure	5.1	9.2	20.4	21.4
Supervision by a probation officer	29.5	28.7	29.8	29.7
Parent/guardian supervision	15.5	14.9	10.0	5.9
Probation centre	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.7
Care and educational institution	2.1	2.6	0.1	
Educational institution/youth education centre	2.9	1.8	2.5	3.7

RESPONSE TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY UNDER THE CRIMINAL CODE

Chart 9. Juveniles tried in district or regional courts pursuant to Article 10(2) of the Penal Code in the years 2013–2023 (in absolute numbers)



- It is very rare for juveniles to be judged as adults before district and regional courts. There are only a few cases of this kind per year.
- In the previous edition, the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 6*, the data published in this regard were incorrect. The source was reports of the Ministry of Justice, which are created on the basis of information provided by individual district and regional courts. Our doubts were due to the high number of minors treated as adults, especially since 2016 – over 150 per year (except for 2018).
- As a result of an audit carried out by the Statistical Department of Management Information of the Ministry of Justice, it was possible to verify data from all courts from 2013 to 2023, which is why only these data are published in this edition.
- The reason for the errors in the court statistics was mistakes on the part of the courts due to excessive workload (as a result, it was difficult to fill in all the details of the ruling in the electronic office system), too close location of individual fields in these systems (which makes it difficult to choose the right one), high turnover of court employees (which adversely affects the use of registration systems in courts).

JUVENILES IN DETENTION CENTRES

Chart 10. Juvenile detention centres in selected years (in absolute numbers)

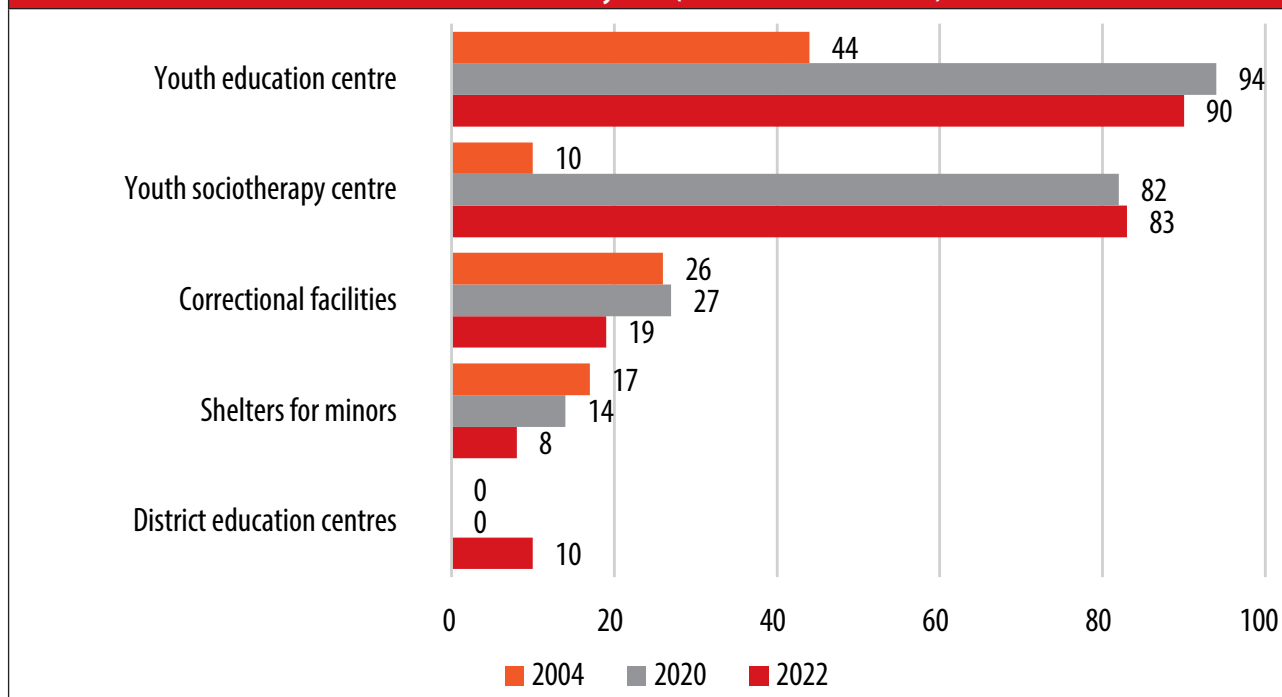


Table 4. Juvenile detention facilities in 2022 (in absolute numbers)

Detention facilities	N
District education centres	10
Correctional facilities	19
Shelters for minors	8
Youth education centres	90
Youth social therapy centres	83

- Between 2004 and 2020, the number of youth education centres doubled. In the case of youth social therapy centres, the increase was eightfold. An additional juvenile detention centre was opened, and the number of shelters for minors was reduced from 17 to 14.
- These numbers have changed completely in recent years, due to the changes introduced by the new Act on Support and Rehabilitation of Juveniles, described in the introduction. In 2022, there were ten district educational centres, 19 correctional facilities, and eight shelters for juveniles. The number of

functioning youth education centres decreased by four, and the number of youth social therapy centres increased by one.

- In 2020, pupils at youth education centres, like pupils at youth social therapy centres, accounted for approximately one in four juveniles legally tried in the court. The share of juvenile detention centres and shelters was negligible.
- A comparison of the years 2004 and 2020 shows that the number of pupils in these centres has increased significantly, while the number of pupils in the other two types of institutions has decreased.

Table 5. Share of juveniles in individual institutions in 2004 and 2020 (in %)

Individual institutions	2004	2020
Correctional facilities	3.2	2.2
Youth education centres	5.9	25.3
Shelters for minors	1.4	0.4
Youth social therapy centres	2.7	25.5

JUVENILES
data
Table 6. Juvenile cases resolved (in absolute numbers and in %)*

Years	TOTAL	Demoralisation		Criminal acts	
		in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
2000	119,840	26,322	22.0	93,518	78.0
2001	127,836	29,599	23.2	98,237	76.8
2002	122,417	31,209	25.5	91,208	74.5
2003	125,971	36,131	28.7	89,840	71.3
2004	141,126	44,413	31.5	96,713	68.5
2005	139,150	46,800	33.6	92,350	66.4
2006	148,285	52,537	35.4	95,748	64.6
2007	165,760	64,733	39.1	101,027	60.9
2008	162,768	67,324	41.4	95,444	58.6
2009	154,593	63,791	41.3	90,802	58.7
2010	148,985	59,954	40.2	89,031	59.8
2011	147,199	59,848	40.7	87,351	59.3
2012	141,915	59,829	42.2	82,086	57.8
2013	129,548	58,118	44.9	71,430	55.1
2014	103,216	49,944	48.4	53,272	51.6
2015	79,249	41,817	52.8	37,432	47.2
2016	71,581	39,646	55.4	31,935	44.6
2017	68,315	39,045	57.2	29,270	42.8
2018	66,752	39,170	58.7	27,582	41.3
2019	67,431	39,924	59.2	27,507	40.8
2020	54,064	31,637	58.5	22,427	41.5
2021	53,748	31,499	58.6	22,249	41.4
2022	65,522	36,604	55.9	28,918	44.1
2023	66,606	35,031	52.6	31,575	47.4

* The table includes data from the following repertoires: Npw, Now, Nk (until 2014), Npw, Now, Nk, Nkd (for 2014) Nkd (since 2015).

**Table 7. Juveniles by grounds for initiating proceedings
(in absolute numbers and in %)**

Years	TOTAL	Demoralisation		Criminal acts	
		in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
1983 ^a	5,562	1,085	19.5	4,477	80.5
1984	12,332	3,072	24.9	9,260	75.1
1985	13,391	3,846	28.7	9,545	71.3
1986	11,698	3,499	29.9	8,199	70.1
1987	15,845	4,950	31.2	10,895	68.8
1988	12,850	3,850	30.0	9,000	70.0
1989	13,850	4,100	29.6	9,750	70.4
1990	14,250	4,050	28.4	10,200	71.6
1991	16,750	4,700	28.1	12,050	71.9
1992	16,250	4,050	24.9	12,200	75.1
1993	17,300	4,400	25.4	12,900	74.6
1994 ^b	15,650				
1995	12,750				
1996	20,850	5,500	26.4	15,350	73.6
1997	26,612	7,225	27.1	19,387	72.9
1998 ^c	31,388	8,739	27.8	22,649	72.2
1999	33,356	8,447	25.3	24,909	74.7
2000	34,545	8,878	25.7	25,667	74.3
2001	35,417	9,441	26.7	25,976	73.3
2002	35,744	10,633	29.7	25,111	70.3
2003	37,727	12,206	32.4	25,521	67.6
2004	43,535	15,193	34.9	28,342	65.1
2005	41,682	15,454	37.1	26,228	62.9
2006	44,397	16,978	38.2	27,419	61.8
2007	47,293	19,503	41.2	27,790	58.8
2008	47,046	20,089	42.7	26,957	57.3
2009	43,174	18,221	42.2	24,953	57.8
2010	38,876	16,118	41.5	22,758	58.5
2011	38,477	15,670	40.7	22,807	59.3
2012	36,227	15,247	42.1	20,980	57.9
2013	34,319	15,184	44.2	19,135	55.8
2014	31,912	15,524	48.6	16,388	51.4
2015	26,836	14,599	54.4	12,237	45.6
2016	26,544	15,189	57.2	11,355	42.8
2017	23,028	13,371	58.1	9,657	41.9
2018	24,168	14,414	59.6	9,754	40.4
2019	22,725	13,805	60.7	8,920	39.3
2020	17,202	10,187	59.2	7,015	40.8

^a From 13 May 1984.

^b For the years 1994–1995, detailed data are missing.

^c For 1998, data from the National Register of Criminal Records were given.

**Table 8. Place of residence of juveniles*
(in absolute numbers and in %)**

Years	TOTAL	City		Village	
		in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
2004	43,535	30,940	71.1	12,595	28.9
2005	41,682	29,617	71.1	12,065	28.9
2006	44,397	31,243	70.4	13,151	29.6
2007	47,293	31,462	66.5	15,827	33.5
2008	47,046	31,934	67.9	15,109	32.1
2009	43,174	29,457	68.2	13,715	31.8
2010	38,876	26,541	68.3	12,334	31.7
2011	38,477	26,378	68.6	12,098	31.4
2012	36,227	24,717	68.2	11,503	31.8
2013	34,319	23,305	67.9	11,011	32.1
2014	31,912	20,868	65.4	11,041	34.6
2015	26,836	17,140	63.9	9,691	36.1
2016	26,544	17,574	66.2	8,965	33.8
2017	23,028	15,327	66.6	7,695	33.4
2018	24,168	16,619	68.8	7,545	31.2
2019	22,725	16,107	70.9	6,616	29.1
2020	17,202	12,087	70.3	5,112	29.7

* In the years 2006–2020, data for cities and rural areas do not take into account cases where the place of residence was registered as indeterminate or abroad.

Table 9. Punishable offences attributed to a juvenile in the decision closing the proceedings (in absolute numbers)

Offences	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Homicide	7	20	6	2	1	2	2	1	3
Damage to health	1,329	1,143	1,087	855	768	534	484	570	586
Brawling	1,179	1,087	948	659	621	483	461	457	495
Offences under the Act on Counteracting Drug Addiction	2,656	2,649	2,498	2,419	2,271	1,938	1,729	1,395	1,333
Rape	56	35	38	45	20	22	30	26	29
Corruption	8	4	13	6	7	5	4	7	3
Theft	2,102	1,344	1,028	916	889	658	547	675	989
Burglary	1,492	949	817	699	426	337	361	343	233
Robbery	563	369	380	185	190	154	136	127	157
Theft	100	49	61	51	45	22	27	22	19
Extortion	503	235	165	141	157	87	51	72	79
Fraud	191	129	183	95	103	155	254	184	155
Driving while intoxicated or under the influence of alcohol	132	95	74	69	92	61	43	31	27
TOTAL	22,309	18,994	18,362	16,674	15,581	12,028	11,741	14,102	14,898

Table 10. Structure of educational measures imposed on juveniles (in absolute numbers and in %)*

Years	TOTAL educational measures	Reprimand		Order for a specific procedure		Supervision by a probation officer		Parent/guardian supervision	
		in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
1990	21,713	2,022	9.3	1,107	5.1	6,414	29.5	3,365	15.5
1991	22,021	2,592	11.8	1,251	5.7	7,142	32.4	4,060	18.4
1992	23,400	2,905	12.4	1,402	6.0	6,183	26.4	4,298	18.4
1993	24,090	3,222	13.4	1,242	5.2	7,176	29.8	4,296	17.8
1994	29,007	3,014	10.4	1,043	3.6	6,526	22.5	4,014	13.8
1995	37,905								
1996	37,197	5,734	15.4	1,831	4.9	11,485	30.9	6,237	16.8
1997	39,324	7,044	17.9	2,716	6.9	10,302	26.2	5,738	14.6
1998	40,862	8,107	19.8	2,983	7.3	9,608	23.5	5,594	13.7
1999	39,707	10,425	26.3	3,743*	9.4	12,186	30.7	6,654	16.8
2000	44,829	10,874	24.3	4,130	9.2	12,866	28.7	6,668	14.9
2001	46,987	10,673	22.7	4,925	10.5	13,631	29.0	6,663	14.2
2002	46,123	10,711	23.2	5,257	11.4	13,380	29.0	6,371	13.8
2003	46,160	11,704	25.4	6,052	13.1	14,183	30.7	6,319	13.7
2004	54,099	14,774	27.3	6,833	12.6	16,136	29.8	6,714	12.4
2005	51,560	13,937	27.0	7,824	15.2	15,217	29.5	6,304	12.2
2006	55,212	14,768	26.7	9,310	16.9	16,259	29.4	6,662	12.1
2007	60,640	16,054	26.5	11,291	18.6	17,003	28.0	6,895	11.4
2008	58,744	15,550	26.5	11,263	19.2	17,087	29.1	6,590	11.2
2009	53,613	13,919	26.0	10,786	20.1	15,740	29.4	5,686	10.6
2010	50,063	11,742	23.5	10,210	20.4	14,941	29.8	5,025	10.0
2011	48,868	12,020	24.6	10,302	21.1	14,397	29.5	4,547	9.3
2012	45,093	11,230	24.9	10,570	23.4	13,388	29.7	4,140	9.2
2013	39,601	10,381	26.2	9,825	24.8	12,728	32.1	3,750	9.5
2014	37,926	10,258	27.0	8,239	21.7	11,765	31.0	3,023	8.0
2015	33,610	8,482	25.2	7,060	21.0	9,865	29.4	2,213	6.6
2016	30,199	8,221	27.2	7,153	23.7	9,977	33.0	2,198	7.3
2017	29,323	7,352	25.1	6,778	23.1	8,498	29.0	1,811	6.2
2018	28,287	7,802	27.6	6,661	23.5	9,031	31.9	1,958	6.9
2019	27,965	7,636	27.3	5,935	21.2	8,590	30.7	1,764	6.3
2020	21,342	5,885	27.6	4,577	21.4	6,336	29.7	1,256	5.9

* Data from the National Register of Criminal Records were given in the Statistical Yearbooks of the Central Statistical Office – 499.

**Table 11. Structure of educational measures imposed on juveniles – continuation
(in absolute numbers and in %)**

Years	Probation centre		Care and education facility		Youth education centre		Corrective measures imposed	
	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%	in absolute numbers	%
1990	125	0.6	463	2.1	635	2.9	1,785	12.5
1991	124	0.6	527	2.4	826	3.8	1,774	10.6
1992	92	0.4	551	2.4	684	2.9	1,718	10.6
1993	72	0.3	486	2.0	708	2.9	1,524	8.8
1994	33	0.1	238	0.8	422	1.5	1,585	10.1
1995							1,946	15.3
1996	171	0.5	714	1.9	928	2.5	1,915	9.2
1997	163	0.4	791	2.0	825	2.1	1,944	7.3
1998	209	0.5	660	1.6	926	2.3	1,620	5.2
1999	243	0.6	964	2.4	997	2.5	1,624	4.9
2000	306	0.7	1,178	2.6	802	1.8	1,509	4.4
2001	398	0.8	1,407	3.0	173	0.4	1,498	4.2
2002	530	1.1	1,225	2.7	1,021	2.2	1,542	4.3
2003	465	1.0	1,400	3.0	907	2.0	1,455	3.9
2004	453	0.8	685	1.3	1,466	2.7	1,464	3.4
2005	498	1.0	281	0.5	1,765	3.4	1,306	3.1
2006	564	1.0	189	0.3	1,625	2.9	1,255	2.8
2007	524	0.9	79	0.1	1,472	2.4	1,259	2.7
2008	666	1.1	46	0.1	1,499	2.6	1,042	2.2
2009	595	1.1	34	0.1	1,463	2.7	1,009	2.3
2010	510	1.0	43	0.1	1,256	2.5	978	2.5
2011	634	1.3	34	0.1	1,267	2.6	755	2.0
2012	582	1.3	8	0	1,536	3.4	736	2.0
2013	564	1.4	5	0	1,465	3.7	583	1.7
2014	562	1.5	2	0	1,373	3.6	209	1.3
2015	583	1.7			1,339	4.0	399	1.5
2016	564	1.9			1,317	4.4	305	1.1
2017	477	1.6			970	3.3	267	1.2
2018	501	1.8			1,103	3.9	210	0.9
2019	549	2.0	0	0	967	3.5	119	0.4
2020	366	1.7	0	0	779	3.7	96	0.4

Table 12. Juvenile detention centres* (in absolute numbers)

Years	Correctional facilities	Youth education centres	Youth social therapy centres	Shelters for minors	District education centres
1990	27	50		21	
1991	27	52		21	
1992	27	51		21	
1993	27	50		21	
1994	27	47		21	
1995	28	48		20	
1996	28	47		20	
1997	26	47		18	
1998	26	45		18	
1999	26	47		18	
2000	26	48		18	
2001	26	52		18	
2002	26	49		18	
2003	26	51		18	
2004	26	44	10	17	
2005	26	51	14	18	
2006	26	55	48	18	
2007	26	61	49	18	
2008	26	66	53	18	
2009	26	70	58	19	
2010	27	73	62	18	
2011	27	79	67	18	
2012	27	85	67	15	
2013	27	94	72	15	
2014	27	94	73	15	
2015	27	95	76	15	
2016	27	94	79	15	
2017	27	95	80	15	
2018	27	95	81	15	
2019	27	94	83	14	
2020	27	94	82	14	
2021**					
2022	19	90	83	8	10

* With the exception of data for youth education centres and youth social therapy centres (as of 30 September), the remaining data are for 31 December.

** No data for 2021.

Table 13. Juveniles in institutions* (in absolute numbers)					
Years	Correctional facilities	Youth education centres	Shelters for minors	Youth social therapy centres	District education centres
1990	1,457	3,062	671		
1991	1,430	3,062	790		
1992	1,462	3,250	437		
1993	1,478	3,051	461		
1994	1,349	2,702	600		
1995	1,451	2,779	519		
1996	1,562	2,729	593		
1997	1,440	2,823	657		
1998	1,422	2,699	586		
1999	1,508	2,855	630		
2000	1,622	2,866	601		
2001	1,322	3,303	609		
2002	1,385	3,083	581		
2003	1,431	3,184	611		
2004	1,398	2,570	594	1,174	
2005	1,475	3,195	542	1,323	
2006	1,439	3,394	609	3,184	
2007	1,419	3,649	475	2,591	
2008	1,357	4,000	469	3,004	
2009	1,230	4,188	516	3,559	
2010	1,219	4,433	422	3,419	
2011	1,100	4,427	348	3,661	
2012	958	4,918	345	4,001	
2013	902	4,880	269	4,021	
2014	807	4,872	180	4,125	
2015	753	4,754	183	4,224	
2016	618	4,492	149	4,509	
2017	561	4,615	142	4,742	
2018	491	4,520	121	4,855	
2019	415	4,478	86	4,337	
2020	386	4,352	74	4,381	
2021**					
2022	284	4,427	101	4,673	110

* With the exception of data for youth education centres and youth social therapy centres (as of 30 September), the remaining data are for 31 December.

** No data for 2021.

Chapter VI

LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Paweł Ostaszewski

Introduction

The data presented in the first two chapters, both in this edition of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland* and in the previous ones, include statistical information on crimes and suspects collected by the police, the largest of the Polish uniformed services. However, it is not the only service tasked with investigating crimes and ensuring public safety and order in Poland. In this *Atlas*, we decided to present data on this type of services to provide a picture not only of crime, but also of what tools the state has at its disposal to react to crime. Therefore, in this edition of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland*, we present selected data on the police and 14 other formations: the Border Guard, the Prison Service, the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau, the Military Police, the Customs and Tax Service, the State Protection Service, the Road Transport Inspection, the Marshal's Guard, the Railway Protection Guard, the Forest Guard, the State Fisheries Guard, the State Hunting Guard, the Park Guard in national parks and municipal guards. Officers of these services are entitled to use coercive measures and firearms in accordance with Article 2(1) of the Act on Coercive Measures and Firearms.¹ Of the formations listed in this provision, only the following are not included in these analyses: security personnel, referred to in the Act on the Protection of Persons and Property,² as they do not constitute a uniform formation, inspectors of the regional water inspectorate, who were included in this catalogue only in mid-2024, and officers of four Polish special services (the Internal Security Agency, the Foreign Intelligence Agency, Military Intelligence Service and the Military Counterintelligence Service), which refused to provide any statistical data on their functioning, citing the nature of the

tasks carried out and the need to protect the security of these formations.

Due to other tasks and the lack of authorisation to use coercive measures and weapons, we do not analyse the functioning of other, often uniformed formations, such as: the State Emergency Medical Services, the State Fire Service, the Volunteer Fire Service, the Maritime Search and Rescue Service, the State Water Holding Polish Waters and the Polish Army (except for the Military Police) or the Social Fisheries Guard.

The aim of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7* is to collect and present available statistical data on the registered threats and violations of the legal order as well as the functioning of law enforcement agencies and the judiciary. Therefore, we planned to collect and present basic information on the number of officers and civilian employees of selected formations, actions taken in the field of investigating perpetrators of crimes and misdemeanour (initiated proceedings for crimes, fiscal crimes and fiscal misdemeanours and misdemeanours) and the number of owned company vehicles and firearms units, as well as cases of use and exploitation of these weapons. Pursuant to Article 7(1) of the Arms and Ammunition Act,³ a firearm is any portable barrel weapon that throws, is designed to throw or can be adapted to throw one or more projectiles or substances as a result of the action of a propelling material. On the other hand, the use of firearms, in accordance with Article 4(7) of the Act on Coercive Measures and Firearms, includes firing a shot at a person using penetrating ammunition, and the exploitation of firearms, in accordance with Article 4(10) of the above-mentioned Act, refers to firing a shot with penetrating ammunition at an animal, object, or in any other direction that does not pose a threat to a person. The purpose was to collect data on the use of this special and most dangerous means of direct coercion, which, in accordance

¹ Act of 24 May 2013 on Coercive Measures and Firearms (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 383, as amended).

² Act of 22 August 1997 on the Protection of Persons and Property (Journal of Laws of 2021, item 1995).

³ Act of 21 May 1999 on Weapons and Ammunition (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 485).

with Article 6, item 2 of the Act on Coercive Measures and Firearms, is used or only if the use of other means of direct coercion has turned out to be insufficient to achieve the objectives of this use or is not possible due to the circumstances of the event. This makes it possible to estimate the number of the most serious situations in which the officers of the analysed services found themselves and in which they decided to use this most serious means of coercion.

The *Statistical Yearbooks of the Republic of Poland* present data on crime registered by the police and the Public Prosecutor's Office in completed pre-trial proceedings, as well as on initiated and completed pre-trial proceedings in cases conducted by the National Fiscal Administration, Border Guard, Trade Inspection Authorities, the Forest Guard and the State Hunting Guard,⁴ which can be a good supplement to the information discussed here.

We asked all of the above-mentioned services to provide the data we were interested in, including the Customs and Tax Service through the Head of the National Tax Administration at the Ministry of Finance, the Forest Guard through the Director of the General Directorate of State Forests, the Park Guard in National Parks through the Department of Nature Conservation of the Ministry of Climate and Environment, and the municipal guards through the Department of Public Order Ministry of the Interior and Administration. Collecting data on the State Fisheries Guard and the State Hunting Guard required a separate approach to each of the voivodship commands of these formations, as they are not centrally managed and supervised, and combining the data received.

Other problems were caused by the collection of data on municipal and city guards. There are approximately 530 individual units of these guards in Poland (as of 2016), but basic statistical data on their functioning

are collected in the Ministry of the Interior and Administration, so we did not have to address each of them separately. Unfortunately, according to the response received from the Ministry of the Interior and Administration, this data is archived after five years from collection, and this upon request we only obtained information from 2019–2023. We added publicly available data from the website of the Ministry of Interior and Administration to this information, but information was only provided until 2016.⁵

Additional data, including the total costs of maintenance from the years 2006–2008, about the four nature conservation services, i.e. the Forest Guard, the State Fisheries Guard, the State Hunting Guard and the National Park Guard, were also provided in the information of the Ministry of the Environment and submitted to the parliamentary interpellation of Professor Jan Widacki in 2009.⁶

The data collected and presented in this chapter are, of course, only indicative, but analysis allows us to draw some general conclusions. The total number of officers in most of the analysed formations did not change significantly in the years 2000–2023. During this period, it increased significantly only in the Prison Service and in the newest services – the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau and the Marshal's Guard, for which there has been systematic recruitment since they were created. The situation was different in the case of the State Protection Service, which, although it was only formed in 2018, was transformed from the Government Protection Bureau and essentially retained its current staff. The number of municipal and city guards has

⁴ *Statistical Yearbooks of the Republic of Poland*, Warszawa 2024, <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/roczniki-statystyczne/roczniki-statystyczne/rocznik-statystyczny-rzeczypospolitej-polskiej-2024,2,24.html> [accessed on: 11 February 2025], pp. 149–155.

⁵ Ministry of the Interior and Administration, *Statistical data on municipal (municipal) guards*, <https://archiwum.mswia.gov.pl/pl/bezpieczenstwo/straze-gminne-miejskie/dane-statystyczne-doty> [accessed on: 17 October 2024].

⁶ J. Zaleski, *Response of the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Environment – under the authority of the Minister – to the inquiry No. 3294 on the costs of maintenance, full-time employment and activities of the Forest Guard, Park Guards, Fisheries Guard and Hunting Guard*, 18 March 2009, <https://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/IZ6.nsf/main/4630EEE9> [accessed on: 21 October 2024].

been decreasing – along with the decreasing number of units of these guards – since 2012, when their highest number was recorded. This is related to changes in the rights to use speed cameras. Since the guards cannot issue fines on the basis of the information recorded on such devices, in some cities and municipalities they have started to be dissolved.

Undoubtedly, the percentage of women in the ranks of each of the services is growing. It was highest in the Customs and Tax Service and the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau – 45% and 40% in 2023, and the lowest in the Marshal's Guard and the Railway Protection Guard – about 10% in each. In the Forest Guard and National Park Guard it was 3–4%. In the largest services – the police, Prison Service and Border Guard – it is already around 1/4, while at the beginning of the 21st century it was just over 10%.

There is a distinct difference between individual services in the number of proceedings for crimes and misdemeanours initiated annually (if a given service is authorised to conduct such proceedings). The highest ratio of the number of such proceedings to the number of officers was recorded for the Road Transport Inspectorate and municipal and city guards, which mainly deal with minor, but frequent violations of traffic regulations and public order. Far fewer proceedings were conducted by specialised services, such as the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau or the Border Guard.

We do not present here detailed data on individual crimes and misdemeanours investigated by each of the analysed services, but it is necessary to point out that while all services other than the police collectively examine only approximately 2.5% of all crimes, in some categories these are all or almost all crimes. For example, in the case of offences under Articles 264 and 264a of the Penal Code, it is the Border Guard that conducts almost all proceedings. In the case of offences under Articles 270–276 of the Penal

Code, it will be the National Fiscal Administration, and in the case of offences under the military part of the Penal Code, it will be the Military Police.

The share of civilian employees to officers also varies between individual formations – in the police, Border Guard, Prison Service, Central Anti-Corruption Bureau or municipal and city guards it is approximately one in four or five officers. It is much lower in protection formations such as the State Protection Service, the Marshal's Guard or the Railway Protection Guard, where there are no auxiliary tasks related to conducting proceedings for crimes or misdemeanours – approximately one in ten officers. An interesting example is the Road Transport Inspectorate, which employs two and a half times more civilian employees than uniformed inspectors, because it is civilian employees who handle proceedings for offences registered by the Inspectorate's speed cameras.

With regard to the firearms used by individual services, three basic models can be observed. The police and the Forest Guard are equipped with about two firearms for each officer, i.e. short personal weapons of each officer and additional firearms of a different type – intermediate (pistols and machine guns), long (rifles) and shotguns for use for specialised purposes. There are cases of use and exploitation of these weapons in these services. The second model can be observed in the Prison Service, where most officers do not carry personal weapons, and they are used only for special purposes – during convoys, in the external protection of facilities and by intervention squads. Therefore, the total number is several times lower than the number of officers, and use or exploitation is very rare. The third model is characteristic of formations such as the Railway Protection Guard, the Road Transport Inspectorate, the Forest Guard, the State Fisheries Guard and the State Hunting Guard – there is approximately one short, personal firearm for each officer, but there are hardly any cases of their use or exploitation.

POLICE

Description: A uniformed and armed formation serving the community and intended to ensure the safety of people, maintain public safety and order, detect and prevent crimes and offences, investigate their perpetrators and conduct counter-terrorist activities. Its predecessor was the Citizens' Militia. It is headed by the Chief Commander of the Police, appointed and dismissed by the Prime Minister. The police are supervised by the minister competent for internal affairs. The police include the following services: 1) criminal, 2) investigatory, 3) internal affairs, 4) prevention, 5) counter-terrorism, 6) combating cybercrime and 7) support. It is equipped with various types of cars and other vehicles, as well as boats, planes, helicopters, dogs and service horses.

The Police Act of 6 April 1990 (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 145, as amended).

Website: <https://policja.pl/>

- For the reasons indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the data on criminal proceedings initiated by the police (see Chapter I) and misdemeanours is not provided here in tabular form, but it is worth noting that for example, in 2023 there were registered 716,439 proceedings for offences and fiscal offences and 448,657 proceedings for misdemeanours.
- The number of police officers in the last twenty-four years has oscillated at the level of approximately 99-100,000, of which the majority, in 2023 no fewer than three quarters are men. However, the share of women more than doubled in the analysed period – in 2000 it was only 10.7%. On the other hand, since around 2008, there have been about 25,000 civilian employees in the Polish police, which is approximately four police officers. Women are definitely predominant among civilian employees of the police – in 2023, they accounted for 73% of this professional group.
- A simple conversion of the number of proceedings for crimes and misdemeanours conducted by the police into the number of all officers in 2023 gives the number of 12 – this is the number of cases that the average police officer would have to deal with annually, if, of course, there were no specialisations in this service and many tasks other than investigating perpetrators of crimes and misdemeanours.
- In 2023, the Polish police were equipped with 22,000 motor vehicles, i.e. one for approximately every four officers and 212,000 firearms, i.e. more than two items per police officer. In the same year, there were only 13 cases of use of a firearm by a police officer, i.e. in which a shot was discharged in the direction of a person, and 159 cases of a shot being discharged but not in the direction of a person direction, mainly as a warning shot. These figures, in relation for example to the total number of police officers, seem to be very low and confirm the low level of danger in Poland, including indirectly the very rare use of firearms by perpetrators of crimes in Poland (see also Chapter I – crimes with the use of weapons), against whom police officers would be forced to use their service weapons.

Table 1. Police officers and civilian employees by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2000	100,254	9,653	10.7			
2001	101,246	10,168	11.2			
2002	99,502	9,817	10.9			
2003	99,919	9,961	11.1			
2004	100,770	10,581	11.7	19,664	11,413	58.0
2005	100,654	11,212	12.5	20,181	12,574	62.3
2006	99,083	11,113	12.6	20,939	13,120	62.7
2007	98,337	11,444	13.2	20,798	13,390	64.4
2008	100,640	12,761	14.5	23,514	15,332	65.2
2009	98,955	12,833	14.9	25,179	16,033	63.7
2010	97,535	12,813	15.1	24,874	16,645	66.9
2011	97,474	13,330	15.8	25,361	17,040	67.2
2012	96,322	13,806	16.7	24,895	16,998	68.3
2013	97,762	14,529	17.5	25,989	17,602	67.7
2014	98,861	14,984	17.9	25,118	17,376	69.2
2015	98,892	15,227	18.2	25,139	18,019	71.7
2016	99,987	15,590	18.5	25,072	17,739	70.8
2017	98,771	15,843	19.1	24,916	17,666	70.9
2018	98,720	16,263	19.7	24,733	17,592	71.1
2019	98,820	16,359	19.8	24,779	18,027	72.8
2020	97,931	16,747	20.6	24,746	17,906	72.4
2021	100,557	18,124	22.0	24,633	17,951	72.9
2022	101,000	18,759	22.8	24,540	17,934	73.1
2023	96,716	19,448	25.2	24,477	17,819	72.8

Table 2. Police service vehicles and firearms in 2023

Company vehicles	22,267
Firearms units	211,740
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	13
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	159

BORDER GUARD

Description: A uniformed and armed formation designed to protect the state border, control border traffic, prevent and counteract illegal migration, identify, prevent and detect crimes and offences within the scope of its competence and prosecute perpetrators, ensure security in international communication and public order within the territorial range of the border crossing and issue permits to cross the state border. The Border Guard is headed by the Commander-in-Chief, who reports to the minister competent for internal affairs. The Border Guard conducts border activities, performs operational, reconnaissance and administrative and order activities, conducts preparatory proceedings and performs activities at the request of the court and prosecutor's office and other competent state authorities. The Border Guard has land units equipped with cars and other vehicles, air troops using planes and helicopters, and naval units that use appropriately adapted boats and ships. It also uses animals, i.e. service dogs and service horses.

The Act of 12 October 1990 on the Border Guard, Journal of Laws of 1990 No. 78, item 462, as amended.

Website: <https://www.strazgraniczna.pl/>

- In 2023, almost 15,000 officers served in the Border Guard, and this number has been only slightly fluctuated since 2005, when the relevant information was collected. In this analysed period, however, the share of female officers increased distinctly – from 12% in 2005 to 32% in 2023, i.e. almost three times.
- The number of civilian employees of the Border Guard decreased slightly in the analysed period – from 3,802 in 2005 to 3,375 in 2023. In 2023, there was one employee for every five officers. The Border Guard initiates far fewer proceedings for crimes and misdemeanours than the police – on average approximately 10,000 per year, which clearly indicates that it is not the conduct of such cases that is the main activity of this formation.
- The Border Guard did not provide data on the number of firearms owned, but reported that in 2023 it recorded 69 cases of the exploitation of firearms and not a single case of the use of such weapons. It had 2,721 company vehicles, i.e. one for about five officers.

Table 3. Border Guard officers and civilian employees by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2005	15,794	1,942	12.3	3,802	2,100	55.2
2006	16,371	2,346	14.3	3,886	2,161	55.6
2007	16,293	2,538	15.6	3,917	2,228	56.9
2008	16,467	2,836	17.2	4,052	2,322	57.3
2009	16,169	2,984	18.5	4,174	2,412	57.8
2010	15,687	3,034	19.3	3,882	2,279	58.7
2011	15,283	3,157	20.7	3,754	2,235	59.5
2012	14,568	3,171	21.8	3,736	2,227	59.6
2013	14,350	3,356	23.4	3,550	2,142	60.3
2014	14,635	3,516	24.0	3,484	2,093	60.1

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2015	14,760	3,616	24.5	3,465	2,097	60.5
2016	14,886	3,704	24.9	3,445	2,095	60.8
2017	14,890	3,814	25.6	3,428	2,095	61.1
2018	14,853	3,921	26.4	3,385	2,067	61.1
2019	14,718	4,038	27.4	3,377	2,058	60.9
2020	14,496	4,128	28.5	3,369	2,061	61.2
2021	14,845	4,378	29.5	3,359	2,069	61.6
2022	15,098	4,587	30.4	3,378	2,093	62.0
2023	14,858	4,762	32.1	3,375	2,097	62.1

Table 4. Proceedings initiated by the Border Guard for crimes, fiscal crimes, misdemeanours and fiscal misdemeanours

Years	Criminal proceedings initiated	Proceedings for misdemeanours initiated	TOTAL
2011	7,340	1,827	9,167
2012	7,476	1,881	9,357
2013	6,130	1,926	8,056
2014	6,101	2,173	8,274
2015	8,421	3,101	11,522
2016	8,486	4,354	12,840
2017	7,738	6,079	13,817
2018	7,057	6,698	13,755
2019	6,220	6,006	12,226
2020	5,269	3,669	8,938
2021	8,247	3,363	11,610
2022	5,662	2,907	8,569
2023	6,549	2,550	9,099

Table 5. Service vehicles and firearms of the Border Guard in 2023

Company vehicles	2,721
Firearms units	Not available
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	69

PRISON SERVICE

Description: A uniformed, armed and apolitical formation carrying out tasks in the field of execution of prison sentences and pre-trial detention, concerning persons sentenced to imprisonment or temporarily detained, as well as persons against whom prison sentences and coercive measures resulting in deprivation of liberty are executed, ensuring respect for their rights, especially humane living conditions, respect for dignity, health care and religion. Its tasks include conducting penitentiary and rehabilitation activities for persons sentenced to imprisonment, performing pre-trial detention in a manner that ensures the proper course of criminal proceedings, protecting the community against perpetrators of crimes or fiscal crimes incarcerated in prisons and detention centres, ensuring order and security in prisons and detention centres, and providing legal education of young people related to prevention of crime. It is headed by the Director General of the Prison Service, who is subordinate to the Minister of Justice. The Prison Service has specialised units (Prison Service Intervention Group), which are used for escorting prisoners and in the event of situations threatening safety in penitentiary units. The Prison Service also uses service dogs. The Prison Service has the authority to perform operational and reconnaissance as well as administrative and order activities.

The Act of 9 April 2010 on the Prison Service (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1683, as amended).

Website: <https://www.sw.gov.pl/>

- The number of Prison Service officers increased by 22% from 2001 to 2023 – from 22 to almost 27,000. Interestingly, in the analysed period (2001–2023), the number of people in prison fell from almost 80,000 to fewer than 74,000 people – see Chapter IV. It is worth noting, however, that the increase in Prison Service personnel took place after a period of significant increase in the prison population, which took place in the years 2000–2006, and was therefore an attempt to adapt to the conditions of overcrowding of prisons.
- In the analysed period, the percentage of women among officers also increased – from 14.6% to 24.5%, and among civilian employees of this formation – from 44.5% to 58%. The ratio of civilian employees to officers of the Prison Service is much lower than in the case of the police or the Border Guard, and is approximately one in ten. Different tasks also result in fewer service vehicles and service weapons. The vehicles are used only to transport inmates, and only some security officers are armed on a daily basis. Therefore, in 2023, there were three vehicles and 33 firearms per 100 officers. Of the service weapons, almost half are handguns, 30% are intermediate weapons – machine pistols and guns, and 24% are shotguns. The Prison Service did not record a single case of the use or exploitation of firearms in 2023.

Table 6. Officers and civilian employees of the Prison Service by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2001	22,092	3,232	14.6	2,042	909	44.5
2002	22,254	3,247	14.6	2,042	894	43.8
2003	22,536	3,302	14.7	2,068	916	44.3
2004	23,188	3,405	14.7	2,230	985	44.2
2005	23,688	3,526	14.9	2,242	990	44.2
2006	24,437	3,679	15.1	2,305	1,066	46.2
2007	25,735	4,030	15.7	2,414	1,110	46.0
2008	26,942	4,374	16.2	2,526	1,271	50.3
2009	27,549	4,481	16.3	2,840	1,426	50.2
2010	27,562	4,559	16.5	2,848	1,482	52.0
2011	27,566	4,648	16.9	2,875	1,492	51.9
2012	27,567	4,793	17.4	2,908	1,500	51.6
2013	27,571	4,883	17.7	2,940	1,563	53.2
2014	27,542	4,930	17.9	2,807	1,480	52.7
2015	27,185	4,929	18.1	2,750	1,453	52.8
2016	27,433	5,003	18.2	2,758	1,488	54.0
2017	27,521	5,149	18.7	2,706	1,483	54.8
2018	27,286	5,282	19.4	2,771	1,553	56.0
2019	26,890	5,445	20.2	2,729	1,545	56.6
2020	26,861	5,700	21.2	2,436	1,342	55.1
2021	26,892	5,951	22.1	2,407	1,337	55.5
2022	26,971	6,221	23.1	2,479	1,407	56.8
2023	26,936	6,587	24.5	2,502	1,453	58.1

Table 7. Service vehicles and firearms of the Prison Service in 2023

Company vehicles	770
Firearms units	8,891
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

CENTRAL ANTI-CORRUPTION BUREAU (CBA)

Description: Established in 2006 special service (as the fifth of its kind in Poland, next to the Internal Security Agency, the Foreign Intelligence Agency, the Military Intelligence Service and the Military Counterintelligence Service) to combat corruption in public and economic life, in particular in state and local government institutions, as well as to combat activities detrimental to the economic interests of the state. The head of the CBA is appointed for a four-year term of office and dismissed by the Prime Minister, after consultation with the President of the Republic of Poland, the Council for Secret Services and the Parliamentary Committee for Secret Services. CBA officers have the weapons and equipment necessary to perform their duties. The Central Anti-Corruption Bureau has operational and reconnaissance powers to prevent, recognise and detect crimes, investigate perpetrators of crimes, monitor activities to reveal cases of corruption in state institutions and local government and abuse of power by persons performing public functions, activities detrimental to the economic interests of the state, and operational and reconnaissance and analytical and information activities in order to obtain and process information relevant to combating corruption in state institutions and local government, and activities detrimental to the economic interests of the state.

The Act of 9 June 2006 on the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 184).

Website: <https://www.cba.gov.pl/>

- The number of CBA officers increased more than fivefold from the first year of its operation until 2019, but had fallen by 16% by 2023. The number of civilian employees of the CBA also steadily increased, and the average ratio to the number of officers was one to eight. Apart from the Customs and Tax Service, the CBA has the highest share of women among officers of all services – by 2006 it was about 24%, and in 2023 it increased to 40%. It was even higher among civilian employees – 72% in 2023. The CBA conducts proceedings on very specific crimes and the number is rather low – on average several times lower than the number of officers. This service did not provide data on service vehicles and service weapons and their use or exploitation.

Table 8. Officers and civilian employees of the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau by gender and criminal proceedings initiated by the Central Anti-Corruption Bureau

Years	Officers			Civilian employees			Criminal proceedings initiated
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women	
2006	188	45	23.9	14	7	50.0	24
2007	568	156	27.5	39	25	64.1	87
2008	792	225	28.4	46	31	67.4	188
2009	828	238	28.7	54	39	72.2	233
2010	797	232	29.1	62	45	72.6	173
2011	779	230	29.5	77	60	77.9	281
2012	786	237	30.2	89	68	76.4	235
2013	772	235	30.4	111	80	72.1	330
2014	764	233	30.5	115	85	73.9	223
2015	760	240	31.6	120	87	72.5	238
2016	788	262	33.2	140	104	74.3	261
2017	842	294	34.9	150	100	66.7	244
2018	1,171	407	34.8	151	105	69.5	171
2019	1,194	419	35.1	166	111	66.9	201
2020	1,172	422	36.0	172	118	68.6	177
2021	1,165	425	36.5	161	113	70.2	157
2022	1,113	416	37.4	158	115	72.8	214
2023	998	400	40.1	191	137	71.7	141

MILITARY POLICE

Description: A separate and specialised service that is part of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland, whose basic tasks include: ensuring compliance with military discipline, protecting public order on the premises and facilities of military units and in public places, protecting human life and health and military property, and detecting, exposing, investigating and preventing crimes and misdemeanours, including fiscal offences, committed by soldiers. The Military Police is headed by the Commander-in-Chief appointed by and subordinate to the Minister of National Defence. Soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces serve in the Military Police. The Military Police is divided into the investigation, prevention, and administrative, logistic and technical divisions. The Military Police has both investigative powers and operational and reconnaissance powers. The Military Police consists of the Military Police Headquarters, six Military Police Units in Bydgoszcz, Elbląg, Kraków, Szczecin, Warszawa and Żagań, two Special Units of the Military Police in Mińsk Mazowiecki and Warsaw, and the Military Police Training Centre and the Security Unit of the Military Police.

The Act of 24 August 2001 on the Military Police and Military Law Enforcement Authorities (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1266, as amended).

Website: <https://www.wojsko-polskie.pl/kgzw/>

- The Military Police did not provide data on the number of its officers, as well as the number of service vehicles and service weapons. According to the data collected by the Supreme Audit Office, the number of soldiers in the Military Police on 1 January 2011 was 3,369, and was to be subsequently reduced to 2,859. The largest number of officers of the Military Police served in the prevention division – 61.6%, followed by the investigation division – 19.9% and security – 18.2%.⁷
- One of the important tasks of the Military Police is the prosecution of crimes and offences committed by soldiers of the Polish Army, and such proceedings are conducted on average by approximately 4,000 officers per year, however there were fluctuations in the analysed period that were very large and rather difficult to explain. In the years 2012–2023, the Military Police employed an average of over 500 civilian employees, of whom approximately two-thirds were women. It did not record any use of firearms or exploitation of firearms in 2023.

⁷ Supreme Audit Office, Information on the results of the audit “Functioning of the Military Police”, 2022, <https://www.nik.gov.pl/plik/id,3736,vp,4766.pdf>, pp. 10–13 [accessed on: 14 November 2024].

Table 9. Proceedings initiated by the Military Police for crimes, fiscal crimes, misdemeanours and fiscal misdemeanours

Years	Criminal proceedings initiated	Proceedings for misdemeanours initiated	TOTAL
2001	4,123	1,543	5,666
2002	3,955	1,322	5,277
2003	3,193	1,122	4,315
2004	4,506	1,864	6,370
2005	4,735	2,203	6,938
2006	4,826	2,509	7,335
2007	5,422	2,445	7,867
2008	4,363	2,154	6,517
2009	2,939	1,544	4,483
2010	2,222	494	2,716
2011	2,262	1,007	3,269
2012	1,835	772	2,607
2013	1,529	530	2,059
2014	1,365	481	1,846
2015	1,435	434	1,869
2016	1,562	211	1,773
2017	1,904	190	2,094
2018	2,319	138	2,457
2019	2,847	125	2,972
2020	2,986	232	3,218
2021	2,839	207	3,046
2022	3,029	276	3,305
2023	3,743	278	4,021

CUSTOMS AND TAX SERVICE

Description: A uniformed and armed service dealing with tax, customs and gambling law, which is a department of the National Revenue Administration (KAS). Its primary objective is to protect the interests of the State Treasury and the customs territory of the European Union. The basis for its operations is provided for in the Act on the National Revenue Administration. It is headed by the head of this authority, who reports to the minister competent for public finances. In performing their duties, officers use specialised equipment, including service dogs. It has investigative, analytical and monitoring powers. Officers perform prevention and monitor the flow of selected goods, such as fuels. It was established as a result of the merger of the previously functioning Customs Service and the divisions of tax administration and fiscal control.

The Act of 16 November 2016 on the National Revenue Administration (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2023, item 615, as amended).

Website: <https://www.gov.pl/web/kas/sluzba-celno-skarbowa>

- The data collected and made available by the Department of Combating Crime of the Ministry of Finance from individual customs and tax offices included only the number of officers of the Customs and Tax Service, the number of civil servants employed in the National Revenue Administration and employees of customs and tax offices from 2019–2023, the total number of preparatory proceedings and explanatory activities in cases of crimes, fiscal crimes, fiscal misdemeanours and misdemeanours conducted by the National Revenue Administration in the years 2017–2023 (235,669, i.e. approximately 33,667 on average per year) the total number of fines imposed for fiscal offences and offences in the same period (417,212, i.e. 59,602 on average per year), and the number of company vehicles.
- The core of the National Revenue Administration are civil servants, of whom there were almost 50,000 in 2023; 11,000 people are officers of the Customs and Tax Service, and the other one thousand are other service employees. Evidently, this formation has a different structure from the previously discussed services, in which there were several times more uniformed officers than civilian employees. Women make up 45% of officers and almost 80% of civilian employees. The National Revenue Administration had 3,115 company vehicles in 2023. In the same year, firearms were exploited twice by officers of the Customs and Tax Service and not a single case of use (discharging a shot at a person) was recorded.

Table 10. Officers and civilian employees of the Customs and Tax Service by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2019	10,861			52,381		
2020	10,870			51,738		
2021	10,908			50,604		
2022	11,274	4,921	43.6	50,623	39,737	78.5
2023	11,324	5,113	45.2	50,820	40,043	78.8

Table 11. Company vehicles and firearms of the Customs and Tax Service in 2023

Company vehicles	3,115
Firearms units	Not available
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	2

ROAD TRANSPORT INSPECTORATE (ITD)

Description: A specialised, uniformed and armed inspection formation, whose basic tasks include inspection and ensuring compliance with the provisions of the Road Transport Act, international regulations on road transport performed by motor vehicles and road traffic regulations. It is also responsible for issuing licenses in international road transport. It is headed by the Chief Inspector appointed by the Prime Minister at the request of the minister in charge of transport.

The Act of 6 September 2001 on Road Transport (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 728, as amended).

Website: <https://www.gov.pl/web/gitd>

- The employees of the Road Transport Inspectorate are not public officials, but since 2011 it has been staffed by uniformed and armed inspectors. They been steadily increasing in number since then, and in 2023 there were almost 300, including 30% women. The Inspectorate employs about two and a half times more civilian employees – in 2023, 504 people, two-thirds of whom are women.
- The Inspectorate supervises compliance with road traffic regulations, including using speed cameras, mobile speed recording devices installed in vehicles, devices for sectional speed measurement and devices for monitoring crossing a red light. After registering a violation of the regulations (offence), it identifies the owner of the vehicle involved and sends a request for information identifying the person driving the vehicle and, according to the response, issues a fine or submits a request for punishment to the court. In the years 2014–2023, for which data were available, the Inspectorate identified an average of fewer than one million such violations per year. In 2023, there was fewer than one service vehicle and one small firearm per one officer. Not a single case of use or exploitation of a service weapon was recorded.

Table 12. Inspectors and civilian employees of the Road Transport Inspectorate by gender

Years	Inspectors			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2002	0	0		3	0	0.0
2003	0	0		4	1	25.0
2004	0	0		7	4	57.1
2005	0	0		12	8	66.7
2006	0	0		14	9	64.3
2007	0	0		33	17	51.5
2008	0	0		67	34	50.7
2009	0	0		95	50	52.6
2010	0	0		100	52	52.0
2011	32	3	9.4	352	184	52.3
2012	241	46	19.1	445	217	48.8
2013	239	44	18.4	493	254	51.5

Years	Inspectors			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2014	226	44	19.5	521	277	53.2
2015	200	35	17.5	544	281	51.7
2016	235	47	20.0	488	261	53.5
2017	218	42	19.3	577	333	57.7
2018	218	48	22.0	852	508	59.6
2019	241	59	24.5	921	533	57.9
2020	252	58	23.0	695	444	63.9
2021	279	74	26.5	737	469	63.6
2022	296	84	28.4	727	472	64.9
2023	298	88	29.5	776	504	64.9

Table 13. Violations of traffic regulations (offences) registered by the Road Transport Inspectorate, in which a notice was sent to the vehicle owner requesting information identifying the driver of the vehicle

Years	Number of violations in which a notice was sent to the owner
2014	859,481
2015	655,398
2016	887,532
2017	733,162
2018	985,212
2019	1,252,786
2020	1,161,625
2021	1,239,933
2022	816,691
2023	769,725

Table 14. Company vehicles and firearms of the Road Transport Inspectorate in 2023

Company vehicles	260
Firearms units	318
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

STATE PROTECTION SERVICE (SOP)

Description: A uniformed, armed formation subordinate to the minister competent for internal affairs, whose tasks include the protection of people and property as well as the identification and prevention of crimes directed against them. The SOP provides security for the President of the Republic of Poland, the Marshals of the Sejm and the Senate of the Republic of Poland, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the minister competent for internal affairs and the minister competent for foreign affairs, former presidents of the Republic of Poland, persons indicated in the Act who are members of the delegation of foreign countries residing on the territory of the Republic of Poland, other persons and property statutorily protected for the good of the state, as well as foreign missions of the Republic of Poland. Its predecessor was the Government Protection Bureau.

The Act of 8 December 2017 on the State Protection Service (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 325).

Website: <https://www.sop.gov.pl/>

- The State Protection Service is not authorised to investigate crimes, misdemeanours or fiscal crimes or misdemeanours. In the short period of its operation, the number of officers increased by only 5%, and the number of civilian employees decreased by 16%. The vast majority of SOP officers are men (women accounted for only 9.6% in 2017 and 12.4% in 2023), and among its civilian employees, the share of both genders is practically equal. The SOP did not provide information on the number of service vehicles and service weapons. In 2023, it did not record a single case of the use or exploitation of firearms.

Table 15. Officers and civilian employees of the State Protection Service by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2017	1,966	189	9.6	280	134	47.9
2018	1,989	201	10.1	272	130	47.8
2019	2,109	222	10.5	255	128	50.2
2020	2,153	236	11.0	258	128	49.6
2021	2,183	243	11.1	249	121	48.6
2022	2,104	239	11.4	254	126	49.6
2023	2,067	256	12.4	239	116	48.5

Table 16. Service vehicles and firearms of the State Protection Service in 2023

Company vehicles	ND
Firearms units	ND
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

RAILWAY PROTECTION GUARD (SOK)

Description: A uniformed and armed formation established by the Rail Transport Act. Persons serving in it have the status of a public official. It is headed by the Chief Commander of SOK appointed by the management board of PKP PLK. SOK officers have the right to use coercive measures and firearms. They do not have investigative powers, nor operational and reconnaissance powers. They carry out their activities primarily on railway sites, e.g. by: patrolling railway stations, trains and other railway vehicles. They may also carry out sobriety checks, monitor compliance with regulations on order on railway sites in the railway area, stop and control vehicles moving on railway sites and adjacent land, impose fines by way of a penalty notice, carry out investigations and apply to the court for punishment for the offence committed.

The Act of 28 March 2003 on Rail Transport (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 697).

Website: <https://kgsok.pl/>

- In the years 2015–2023, for which data were made available, the Railway Protection Guard employed an average of fewer than 2,800 officers and about 300 civilian employees per year. There is a very low percentage of women among SOK officers – less than 10% in 2023, although this has more than doubled since 2015.
- The number of proceedings for misdemeanours initiated by SOK increased significantly, almost fivefold, in the analysed period. Its officers perform their tasks mainly in foot patrols and on trains, and less often in official vehicles, of which there are relatively few – about one in 14 officers. As mentioned – SOK officers are armed, for example, with firearms – the average number of units in the equipment of this formation is slightly higher than the number of officers. These are mainly handguns, but about 10% of them are also submachine guns. In 2023, SOK officers used this weapon once and not a single case of its exploitation was recorded.

Table 17. Officers and civilian employees of the Railway Protection Guard by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2015	2,771	115	4.2	300	121	40.3
2016	2,765	125	4.5	309	123	39.8
2017	2,740	139	5.1	334	126	37.7
2018	2,740	147	5.4	334	137	41.0
2019	2,733	157	5.7	341	141	41.3
2020	2,746	171	6.2	328	157	47.9
2021	2,740	199	7.3	333	158	47.4
2022	2,838	249	8.8	236	140	59.3
2023	2,838	276	9.7	236	136	57.6

Table 18. Proceedings for misdemeanours initiated by the Railway Protection Guard

Years	Proceedings initiated for misdemeanours
2015	576
2016	781
2017	1,026
2018	2,488
2019	2,476
2020	1,637
2021	2,179
2022	2,433
2023	2,794

Table 19. Service vehicles and firearms of the Railway Protection Guard in 2023

Company vehicles	202
Firearms units	3,350
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	1
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

THE MARSHAL'S GUARD

Description: A uniformed and armed formation established to protect the Sejm and the Senate, subordinate to the Marshal of the Sejm. Its main task is to protect the facilities and equipment managed by the Marshal of the Sejm and to ensure the safety of people within those facilities, and monitor the authorisations of people to be in the above-mentioned facilities. In addition, the tasks of the officers of the Marshal's Guard include ensuring pyrotechnic and radiological safety, fire safety, convoys of money and documents, and performing representative functions.

The Act of 26 January 2018 on the Marshal's Guard (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1729).

- The Marshal's Guard has the shortest history of the analysed uniformed services – it was established in 2018. During the period of its operation, it did not initiate any proceedings for crimes, fiscal crimes, misdemeanours or fiscal misdemeanours. It did not own a single company vehicle, and information about the number of firearms it owned was not made available due to being restricted.
- However, according to the information provided, in 2023 not a single case of use or exploitation of firearms by its officers was recorded. It is one of the least feminised services – in 2023, women accounted for only 10% of its officers and 19% of its civilian employees. It is also one of the smallest services – in 2023, it had only 200 officers supported by 16 civilian employees.

Table 20. Officers and civilian employees of the Marshal's Guard by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2018	144	5	3.5	10	2	20.0
2019	166	7	4.2	12	4	33.3
2020	168	12	7.1	12	4	33.3
2021	207	19	9.2	12	4	33.3
2022	209	19	9.1	12	3	25.0
2023	200	20	10.0	16	3	18.8

MUNICIPAL AND CITY GUARDS

Description: Uniformed formations created by the municipal or city council. Their primary purpose is to protect public order in the city or municipality. The basis for the functioning of these formations is the Act on the Municipal Guard. These guards have the emergency number 986. They do not have such broad powers as the police, but in the course of performing their duties, guards have the powers of public officials. Individual guards are headed by commanders who report to the mayor of the city or the head of the municipality. Depending on the region, the municipal and city guards use: service cars, boats, horses and service dogs. The municipal guard does not have investigative or operational and reconnaissance powers. The Municipal Guard is equipped with means of direct coercion, i.e. a baton, pepper spray, a stun gun, and firearms, although the specific equipment depends on individual guards.

The Act of 29 August 1997 on the Municipal Guard (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2021, item 1763).

- Between 2000 and 2023, all municipal and city guards operating in Poland employed an average of approximately eight and a half thousand guards and over a thousand civilian employees. Unfortunately, data on the gender of these people or the detailed size of each of the approximately 500 guards operating in Poland are not available. However, it is worth emphasising the huge differences in these sizes – in 2023, the Warsaw Municipal Guard employed about 1,300 guards, which is one-sixth of the number of all guards in Poland.
- The number of civilian employees of these guards increased systematically in the analysed period, while the number of uniformed officers increased only until 2010, after which it began to decrease. The number of proceedings for offences initiated by the guards was subject to similar changes – the number increased significantly until around 2012, and then decreased – more than threefold. These changes were related to the change in the authorisation to use speed cameras, especially those introduced by the Act of 24 July 2015 amending the Act – Road Traffic Law and certain other acts (Journal of Laws of 2015, item 1273).
- In 2023, municipal and city guards were equipped with a total of 1,529 company vehicles, including 1,493 passenger cars and 36 motorcycles. This means about one car for every five guards. In addition, individual guards were equipped with a total of 92 mopeds and 1,007 bicycles. Firearms are not standard equipment for municipal and city guards. All guards had 71 firearms in 2023, which is less than one per hundred guards. There was not a single case of the use or exploitation of these weapons in 2023.

Table 21. Officers and civilian employees of municipal and city guards

Years	Officers	Civilian employees
2000	7,222	503
2001	7,282	513
2002	7,210	547
2003	7,389	585
2004	5,192	626
2005	8,313	680
2006	8,714	742

Years	Officers	Civilian employees
2007	8,859	896
2008	9,174	1,038
2009	9,727	1,230
2010	9,869	1,442
2011	9,833	1,424
2012	9,790	1,691
2013	9,643	1,769
2014	9,542	1,816
2015	9,346	1,776
2016	8,890	1,592
2017		
2018		
2019	8,455	1,812
2020	8,339	1,795
2021	8,160	1,818
2022	8,031	1,839
2023	7,963	1,865

Table 22. Number of proceedings initiated by municipal and city guards for crimes, fiscal crimes, misdemeanours and fiscal misdemeanours

Years	Fines imposed	Motions for punishment submitted to the court	TOTAL
2006	690,468	78,298	768,766
2007	624,189	51,627	675,816
2008	820,000	63,480	883,480
2009	1,363,484	99,403	1,462,887
2010	1,398,733	182,376	1,581,109
2011	1,403,226	177,990	1,581,216
2012	1,803,722	125,025	1,928,747
2013	1,643,985	153,883	1,797,868
2014	1,384,095	162,829	1,546,924
2015	1,153,860	145,896	1,299,756
2016	568,209	52,530	620,739
2017			
2018			
2019	624,598	54,300	678,898
2020	506,663	47,683	554,346
2021	588,807	48,704	637,511
2022	625,777	47,823	673,600
2023	612,973	49,567	662,540

Table 23. Service vehicles and firearms of municipal and city guards in 2023	
Company vehicles	1,529
Firearms units	71
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

FOREST GUARD

Description: An auxiliary body of the Forest Service established to combat crimes and offences classified as forest damage, meaning illegal use of the forest, poaching, theft of wood from the state forest, theft or destruction of the property of the forest district. It is headed by the Chief Inspector of the Forest Guard, who reports to the General Director of the State Forests. Forest Guard units are divided into stations in forest districts (subordinated to the forest inspector) and intervention groups in regional directorates of the State Forests (subordinated to the Director of the Regional Directorate of State Forests). They do not have investigative or operational and reconnaissance powers. It is an armed formation and can use coercive measures and firearms. Some of the powers of the Forest Guard are also vested in sub-foresters, foresters, supervision engineers, deputy forest inspectors and forest inspectors. The Forest Guard operates in the State Forests, and the detained persons are then handed over to the police.

The Forest Act of 28 September 1991 (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 530, as amended).

- On the basis of the answer of the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Environment of 18 March 2009 to parliamentary question no. 3294, it was established that the Forest Guard had a total of 988 posts in the years 2006–2008, and its maintenance costs in these three years were estimated at PLN 67,525 thousand. At the same time, in the years 2007–2008, the Guard discovered 102,197 misdemeanours and crimes, including 45,191 fines and 15,152 investigations into crimes.
- The number of Forest Guard officers employed in the years 2009–2023 did not change significantly, and oscillated at fewer than a thousand people. It is worth noting that women accounted for less than 3% of officers in this formation in 2023, and even less than 1% in 2009. According to the information provided by the General Directorate of the State Forests, there are no posts of “civilian employees of the Forest Guard” in the State Forests.
- The number of criminal proceedings initiated by the Forest Guard each year decreased significantly between 2009 and 2023 – from about 5,000 to about 2,600, but at the same time the number of proceedings initiated for misdemeanours increased – from 45,000 to 58,000.
- The Forest Guard has quite a large fleet of official vehicles – 547, i.e. one for fewer than two officers, and an even larger arsenal of firearms – a total of 2,670 items, half of which are personal handguns, about 30% are submachine guns and about 20% are shotguns.

Table 24. Forest Guard officers by gender and proceedings for crimes and misdemeanours initiated by the Forest Guard

Years	Officers			Proceedings initiated		
	total	including women	percentage of women	of crimes	for misdemeanours	total
2009	937	7	0.7	5,091	45,388	50,479
2010	927	8	0.9	4,925	53,226	58,151
2011	919	9	1.0	6,060	40,962	47,022
2012	958	9	0.9	4,329	47,335	51,664
2013	974	9	0.9	3,238	47,151	50,389
2014	975	10	1.0	1,610	40,656	42,266
2015	972	13	1.3	1,193	37,618	38,811
2016	964	13	1.3	3,701	34,632	38,333
2017	980	17	1.7	3,171	39,100	42,271
2018	1,001	24	2.4	2,805	37,082	39,887
2019	985	25	2.5	2,417	47,259	49,676
2020	969	25	2.6	2,347	45,421	47,768
2021	958	23	2.4	1,869	43,142	45,011
2022	962	22	2.3	3,061	59,065	62,126
2023	981	27	2.8	2,594	58,280	60,874

Table 25. Service vehicles and firearms of the Forest Guard in 2023

Company vehicles	547
Firearms units	2,670
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

STATE FISHERIES GUARD

Description: A uniformed and armed formation with powers similar to those of the police, which is classified as a nature conservation guard. It reports directly to the voivode. In each voivodeship, there is a voivodeship headquarters of the guard. The rules of its operation are codified in the Inland Fisheries Act. On a daily basis, guards wear uniforms, but in particularly justified cases, the Voivodeship Commander of the State Guard may allow them to operate in plain clothes. The guards are equipped with both weapons and means of direct coercion. In the course of their duties, they have the rights of public officials.

The Inland Fisheries Act of 18 April 1985 (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2022, item 883).

- According to the data of the Ministry of the Environment from 18 March 2009, the State Fisheries Guard had 355.5 posts in the years 2006–2008. Its total costs of maintenance in these three years amounted to PLN 18,129,449, and the number of proceedings for misdemeanours in this period (2006–2008) was 26,729.
- According to data provided by all voivodship headquarters (16), in the years 2009–2023 the State Fisheries Guard employed an average of 325 guards, with the number slightly increasing in 2013–2017 to about 340 and then falling to the level at the beginning of the analysed period. Most fishing guards employ only guards, and even administrative employees are employed in these positions. Only four out of sixteen voivodship headquarters employed individual civilian employees – accountants. Women among the officers of this service accounted for only 11% in 2023.
- The State Fisheries Guard does not have the authority to conduct proceedings for crimes, and transfers all cases of such acts to the police. Proceedings for misdemeanours (ending with the imposition of a fine, referral to the court for punishment or warning) in the analysed period 2009–2023 were conducted by about 14,000 officers per year and this number increased from fewer than 9,000 in 2009.
- All voivodship headquarters of the State Fisheries Guard had a total of 128 official vehicles, mainly off-road vehicles (88), 18 passenger cars, 17 trucks and four quads. Officers of this service also had a total of 309 firearms – only handguns.

Table 26. Officers and civilian employees of the State Fisheries Guard by gender and proceedings for misdemeanours initiated by the State Fisheries Guard

Years	Officers			Civilian employees			Proceedings initiated for misdemeanours
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women	
2009	316	23	7.3	6	5	83.3	8,964
2010	316	25	7.9	6	5	83.3	10,550
2011	313	24	7.7	7	6	85.7	12,761
2012	309	24	7.8	6	5	83.3	11,027
2013	335	30	9.0	6	5	83.3	10,886
2014	330	30	9.1	6	5	83.3	9,851
2015	339	34	10.0	6	5	83.3	10,412
2016	338	35	10.4	5	4	80.0	12,614
2017	341	36	10.6	5	4	80.0	15,269
2018	331	34	10.3	6	5	83.3	16,487
2019	325	34	10.5	6	5	83.3	16,368
2020	321	35	10.9	6	5	83.3	17,118
2021	325	36	11.1	6	5	83.3	13,951
2022	324	37	11.4	6	5	83.3	14,785
2023	314	35	11.1	6	5	83.3	14,933

Table 27. Service vehicles and firearms of the State Fisheries Guard in 2023

Company vehicles	128
Firearms units	309
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

STATE HUNTING GUARD (PSŁ)

Description: A uniformed and specialised formation with police powers, which is classified as a wildlife conservation guard. It is part of the structure of voivodeship offices and reports to the voivode. In a given voivodeship, the PSŁ is headed by the voivodeship commander of the PSŁ, appointed by the voivode, and the guards are formally employees of the voivodeship office, not public officials. Its basic tasks include: protection of game, combating poaching and all hunting damage, combating crimes and offences relating to hunting, and monitoring the legality of purchase and trade in game.

The Act of 13 October 1995 – Hunting Law (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1082).

- According to the data provided in the Sejm on 18 March 2009 by the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Environment, in the years 2006–2008 the State Hunting Guard had a total of 58.5 posts of guards; its total cost of living in the three years mentioned above amounted to PLN 2,271,468.44; The number of criminal proceedings conducted in the same three years was 447, and the number of proceedings for petty offences (2006–2008) was 392.
- According to the data collected from all 13 units for the years 2009–2023, an average of 64 people served annually in the State Hunting Guard from all thirteen voivodeship headquarters, with the number slightly increasing – from 60 in 2009 to 68.5 (individual headquarters reported partially filled posts) in 2023. It is therefore the smallest of the described uniformed services, as well as the third, after the Forest Guard and National Park Guard, in terms of the share of men among its officers – 93% officers were men in 2023.
- As in the case of the State Fisheries Guard, most of the voivodeship headquarters of the State Hunting Guard did not employ a single civilian employee. Such employees (one person each – an accountant) were employed in only five units, and not for the entire analysed period.
- It seems that conducting proceedings relating to crimes and misdemeanours is not the primary task of its officers – in the years 2009–2023, on average, they initiated only 177 proceedings for crimes and 62 proceedings for misdemeanours. These figures have changed significantly, but these changes do not reflect any clear trend.

Table 28. Officers and civilian employees of the State Hunting Guard by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2009	60	2	3.3	4	3	75.0
2010	62	3	4.8	3	3	100.0
2011	65	3	4.6	4	4	100.0
2012	61	3	4.9	4	4	100.0
2013	59	3	5.1	4	4	100.0
2014	63	3	4.8	4	4	100.0
2015	63	4	6.3	4	4	100.0
2016	61	3	4.9	4	4	100.0
2017	63	2	3.2	3	3	100.0
2018	67	3	4.5	3	3	100.0
2019	67	3	4.5	3	3	100.0
2020	64	3	4.7	4	4	100.0
2021	66	2	3.0	5	5	100.0
2022	64.5	5	7.8	3	3	100.0
2023	68.5	5	7.3	3	3	100.0

Table 29. Number of proceedings initiated by the State Hunting Guard for crimes, fiscal crimes, misdemeanours and fiscal misdemeanours

Years	Criminal proceedings initiated	Proceedings initiated for misdemeanours	TOTAL
2009	156	11	167
2010	173	14	187
2011	236	113	349
2012	254	84	338
2013	216	89	305
2014	203	79	282
2015	159	117	276
2016	183	54	237
2017	193	112	305
2018	138	63	201
2019	151	36	187
2020	155	24	179
2021	180	34	214
2022	123	35	158
2023	146	66	212

Table 30. Service vehicles and firearms of the State Hunting Guard in 2023

Company vehicles	35
Firearms units	104
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	0

GUARDS IN NATIONAL PARKS

Description: These are formations included in the National Park Service, which operate within national parks. Their basic tasks include nature protection (i.e. through patrols), ensuring the safety of visitors, raising environmental awareness, cooperation with local communities and other services. The guards can also identify and detain people suspected of committing a crime. They have the right to use coercive measures and firearms.

The Nature Conservation Act of 16 April 2004 (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 2024, item 1478).

- The response of the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Environment of 18 March 2009 to parliamentary question no. 3294 indicated that in the years 2006–2008, all national park guards had a total of 105 posts of guards, and the total cost of maintaining these formations during these three years was set at PLN 5,242,041. In the same period (2006–2008), these guards conducted 458 misdemeanour proceedings and issued 2,313 fines.
- Park guards operate in all 23 Polish national parks. A total of approximately 100 guards served in them between 2009 and 2023. Their number did not undergo significant changes in the analysed period, while the percentage of women increased from 1% to 4%. Most park guards do not employ civilian staff – they were only present in two of the formations.
- The guards conducted around 450 investigation of offences per year in the years analysed – mostly misdemeanours ending in the issuing of a fine.
- In 2023, park guards had a total of 61 vehicles on their equipment, mainly off-road vehicles, but also individual quads, motorbikes and cars. In addition, one guard reported having three service boats. In the same year, park guards had a total of 123 units of service firearms, mostly handguns, 16 shotguns and five long hunting weapons. At the same time, only two cases of its exploiting were recorded – to scare animals away from hiking trails, and not a single case of its use.

Table 31. Park Guard officers and civilian employees in national parks by gender

Years	Officers			Civilian employees		
	total	including women	percentage of women	total	including women	percentage of women
2009	99	1	1.0	0	0	ND
2010	101	1	1.0	3	3	100.0
2011	99	1	1.0	3	3	100.0
2012	100	1	1.0	3	3	100.0
2013	99	1	1.0	3	3	100.0
2014	101	2	2.0	8	5	62.5
2015	99	2	2.0	8	5	62.5
2016	99	2	2.0	8	5	62.5
2017	96	2	2.1	8	5	62.5
2018	104	2	1.9	8	6	75.0
2019	98	2	2.0	8	6	75.0
2020	95	2	2.1	8	6	75.0
2021	98	2	2.0	8	6	75.0
2022	99	3	3.0	8	6	75.0
2023	103	4	3.9	6	6	100.0

Table 32. Proceedings initiated by the Park Guard in national parks for crimes, fiscal crimes, misdemeanours and fiscal misdemeanours

Years	Criminal proceedings initiated	Proceedings initiated for misdemeanours	TOTAL
2009	118	476	594
2010	71	398	469
2011	79	518	597
2012	67	432	499
2013	46	405	451
2014	75	313	388
2015	55	401	456
2016	51	263	314
2017	41	253	294
2018	46	220	266
2019	33	301	334
2020	43	355	398
2021	44	509	553
2022	27	661	688
2023	33	429	462

Table 33. Park Guard Service Vehicles and Firearms in National Parks in 2023

Company vehicles	61
Firearms units	123
Number of incidents of use of firearms by officers	0
Number of incidents of exploitation of firearms by officers	2

Chapter VII

INTERNATIONAL POLICE AND PENITENTIARY STATISTICS

Beata Gruszczyńska

Introduction

In the international part of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7*, as in previous editions, the basis for crime data is statistics from Eurostat¹ – the European Statistical Agency of the European Commission. Eurostat databases include data on both European Union Member States and EFTA countries, i.e. Iceland, Liechtenstein,² Norway and Switzerland. Eurostat's statistical databases also collect data on candidate countries for the European Union, but due to their irregularity, they have been omitted.

In addition to Eurostat, European crime data can also be found in other sources, such as NUMBEO, Statista, European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics.³

In the case of penitentiary statistics, the current edition also uses the Eurostat database, so that in both sets the data are based on similar definitions of crimes and the rules for their collection.⁴

International comparisons of both crime statistics and penitentiary data involve the risk of misinterpretation due to a number of differences between countries, for instance in criminal codes, in the definition of crimes, the method of data collection, and socio-cultural differences, including in the perception of certain behaviours as punishable, the degree of

trust in the police, the frequency with which crime is reported, etc. For this reason, we primarily compare trends in the increase or decrease in crime between countries, rather than the rates of individual crimes.

An important element of the European crime datasets (e.g. in Eurostat), compared to the databases of individual countries, is a number of factors that can and do affect the recorded number of crimes. One example of police data collected and compiled by EUROSTAT is its compliance with the *International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS)*.⁵ Taking into account data in the ICCS system is important especially from the point of view of international comparisons. An important issue in the Eurostat database is the standard definitions of individual types of crimes. In situations where countries cannot adapt to a given definition, they have the opportunity to highlight differences, which is important in comparative analyses.⁶

In the current edition of the *Atlas*, as in the previous editions, police data covering seven types of crimes are presented, which are homicide, assault, rape, robbery, theft of someone else's property, burglary, and theft of a vehicle. Also, as before, the analysis was based on absolute numbers and coefficients per 100,000 of the above-mentioned types of crimes. The years 2018–2022 were taken into account,⁷ and the comparison was based on average annual changes in the dynamics of the volume of individual types of crimes, and not only on the differences in the values of the

¹ Eurostat is a source of crime data taking into account differences in criminal justice systems and data collection methodologies across countries; https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/crim_sims.htm [accessed on: 10 July 2024].

² Due to the small population of Liechtenstein (about 40,000), statistical data have been presented only partially, including without coefficients per 100,000 population.

³ NUMBEO: https://www.numbeo.com/crime/rankings_by_country.jsp?title=2024-mid®ion=150; Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1268504/homicide-rate-europe-country/>; European Sourcebook: <https://wp.unil.ch/europeansourcebook/printed-editions-2/7th-edition-preliminary-publication/> [accessed on: 10 July 2024].

⁴ In previous editions, the SPACE1 database was used.

⁵ ICCS is an international statistical standard for crime data collection; Eurostat, *Data Browser*, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/crim_off_cat/default/table?lang=en&category=crim.crim_off [accessed on: 10 July 2024]; Eurostat, *Crime and criminal justice (crim) Eurostat metadata*, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/crim_sims.htm#meta_update1718205066410 [accessed on: 10 July 2024].

⁶ Definitions of crimes and explanations of differences in application are presented on the above-mentioned Eurostat website, *Crime...*

⁷ 2022 is currently the last year in the Eurostat data set, and 2018 was the last year when the previous edition of the *Atlas* was compiled.

coefficients. For example, the values in chart 1 (subsection 7.1 below) are the geometric averages of the four dynamic indicators: number of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in year $(N + 1)$ /number of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in year N , where $N = 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021$. The analysed five-year period (2018–2022) was special, mainly due to the COVID-19 pandemic and a number of related consequences. The COVID-19 pandemic has undoubtedly had an impact on life and functioning around the world.⁸ In Poland, the first case of infection and illness was found on 4 March 2020.⁹

In order to take into account possible changes related to matters such as the impact of the pandemic on the recorded crime rate, the average annual changes

in 2018–2020 (period I) and 2020–2022 (period II – pandemic) are presented for comparison. In addition to the data in the form of tables and charts, there are also short comments on trends, which are only a signal and an “invitation” to conduct further deeper analyses, both statistical and criminological.

While it is clear that figures, especially crime statistics, do not directly reflect the current situation, it is worth looking at them from a comparative perspective, i.e. at the differences in the dynamics of intensity of individual types of crime between countries.

As in previous editions of the *Atlas*, we present information on the moment of registration of a crime in the statistics of individual countries (table 1).

Table 1. Moment of statistical registration of crime

Austria	C	Spain	C	POLAND	C
Belgium	A	Netherlands	B	Portugal	A
Bulgaria	C	Ireland	A	Romania	C
Croatia	B	Iceland	A	Slovakia	A
Cyprus	A	Liechtenstein	A	Slovenia	C
Czech Republic	C	Lithuania	A	Switzerland	C
Denmark	A	Luxembourg	A	Sweden	B
Estonia	B	Latvia	B	Hungary	C
Finland	C	Malta	A	Italy	A
France	A	Germany	C		
Greece	A	Norway	A		

* A – at the time of filing, B – after preliminary examination, C – after the end of the procedure.

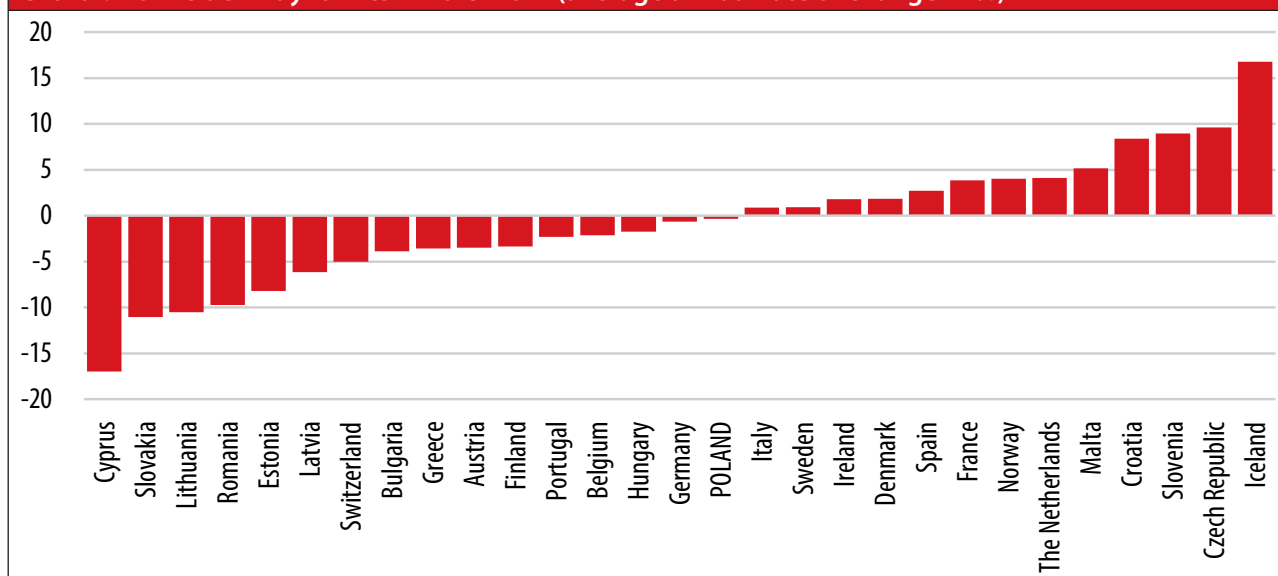
⁸ E.W. Kruisbergen et al., *The pandemic as a criminological experiment: Crime in the Netherlands during 12 months of COVID-19 measures*, “European Journal of Criminology” 2024, Vol. 21(4), pp. 556–582; D.S. Abrams, *COVID and Crime: An Early Empirical Look*, “Journal of Public Economics” 2021, Vol. 194, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2020.104344>; J.J.H. Boman M.T. Mowen, *Global crime trends during COVID-19*, “Nature Human Behaviour” 2021, Vol. 5, pp. 821–822, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-021-01151-3>.

⁹ Wikipedia, *Pandemia COVID-19 w Polsce*, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pandemia_COVID-19_w_Polsce [accessed on: 4 November 2024].

7.1. International police statistics

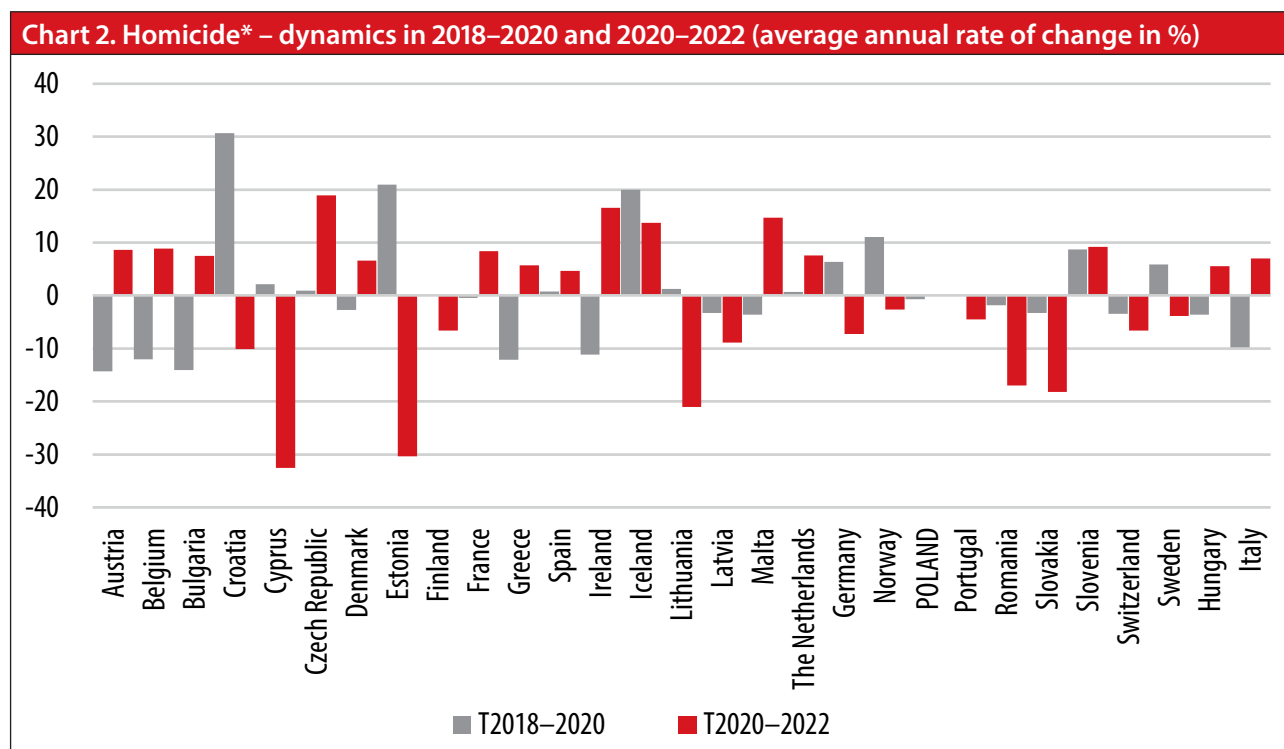
HOMICIDE

Chart 1. Homicide* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* Liechtenstein and Luxembourg were not included due to the low numbers.

- Police statistics on homicides in 2018–2022 cover 28 countries, among which the average annual homicide rate decreased by half, including the fastest in Cyprus (by more than 15% per year), Slovakia, Lithuania and Romania (by approximately 10% per year). The highest increase in homicide rates was recorded in the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Croatia (nearly 10% per year). In Poland, as in Germany, Hungary and Sweden, the rates were low – they did not exceed one per cent per year (chart 1, table 2).
- A comparison of homicide dynamics rates in the period 2018–2020 (before the pandemic) with the situation during the pandemic (2020–2022) is presented in chart 2.



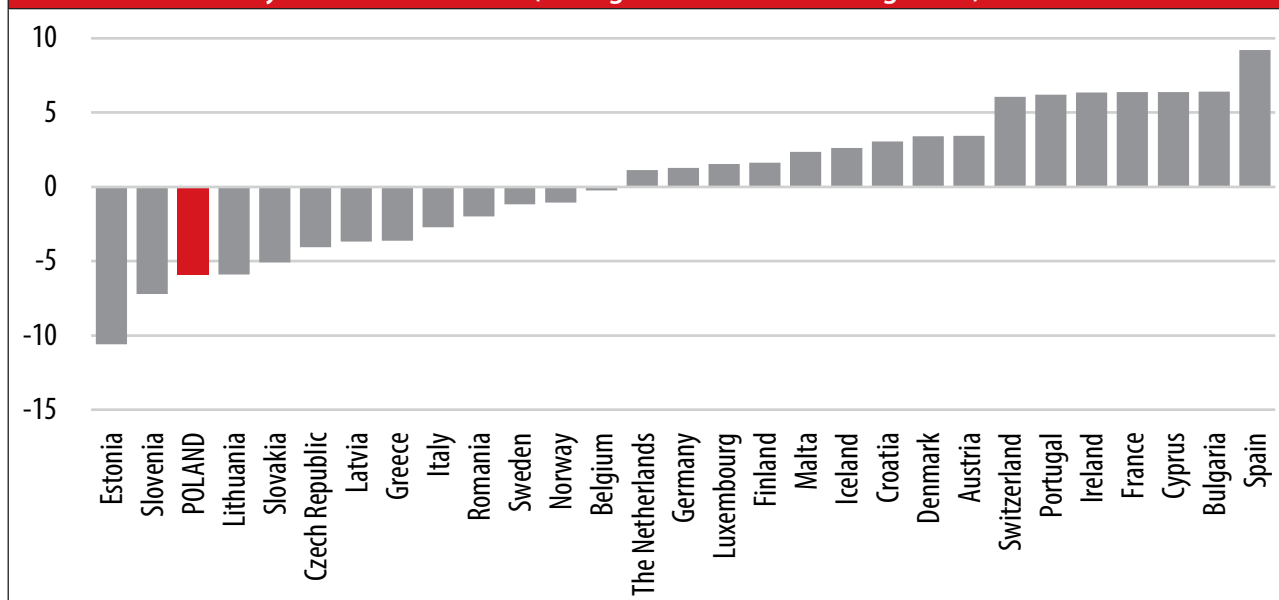
* Liechtenstein and Luxembourg are not included in the chart due to the small (single) homicide numbers.

- In 2020–2022 (the period of the COVID-19 pandemic), an increase in the number of homicides was recorded in half of the countries analysed; the highest increases were recorded in the Czech Republic (almost 20% per year), Ireland, and Malta (approximately 15%).

According to statistics, a significant decrease was recorded in Cyprus and Estonia – approximately 30%, in Lithuania – over 20% per year, and in Romania and Slovakia – approximately 18%.

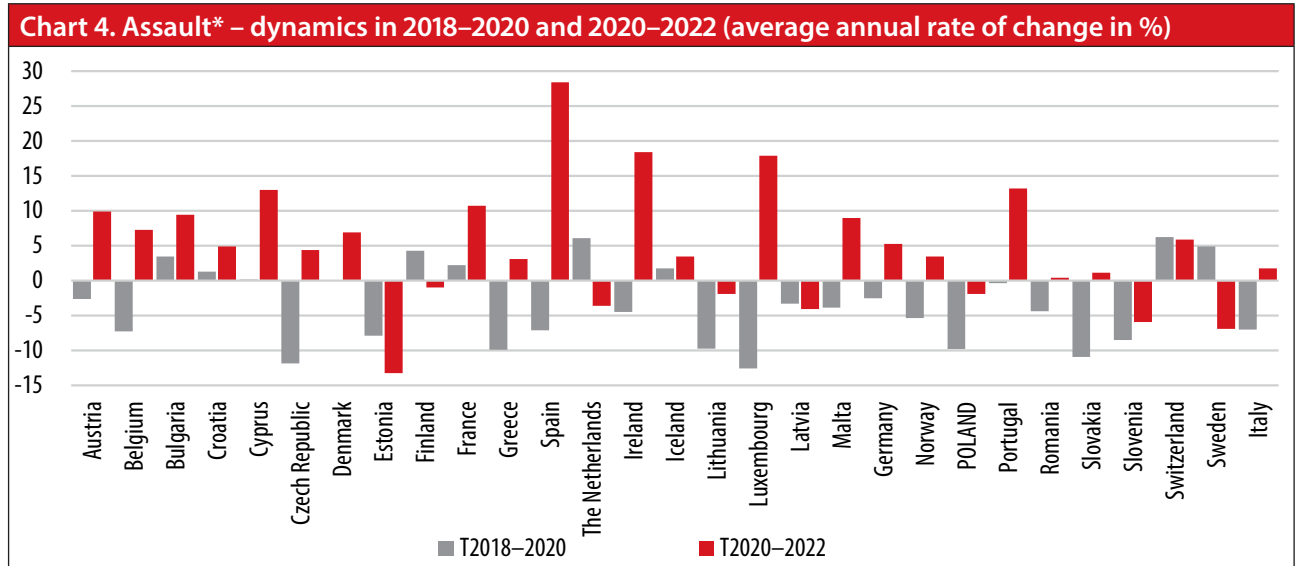
ASSAULT

Chart 3. Assault* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* No data available for Hungary; Liechtenstein is not included.

- Eurostat statistics show a significant variation in the number (per 100,000 population) of assaults in the EU and EFTA countries (in 2022: from 1.2 in Romania, 4.4 in Estonia, 5.2 in Lithuania, and 5.4 in Slovenia to over 500 in Belgium and France).
- The average annual rate of change in the rates of assault in the years 2018–2022 is shown in chart 3 and table 3, while the changes in the years 2018–2020 and 2020–2022 are illustrated in chart 4.
- The highest annual decrease in the number of assaults in the five-year period 2018–2022 took place in Estonia – over 10% per year, followed by Slovenia, Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia (from 5% to 7% per year). Increases in the number of these crimes were recorded in Spain (above 9%), and in Bulgaria, Cyprus, France, Ireland, Portugal and Switzerland – above 6% per year (chart 3).



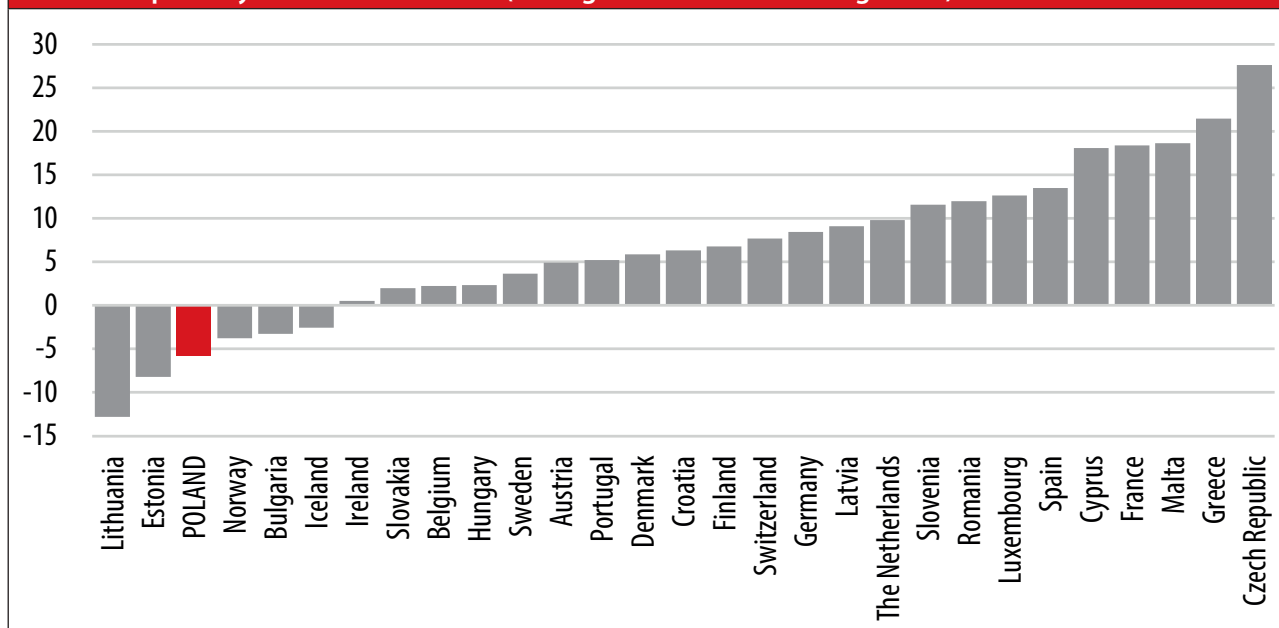
* No data available for Hungary; Liechtenstein is not included.

- Between 2018 and 2020, the intensity of assaults decreased in most countries – with the fastest rate in Luxembourg, Slovakia and the Czech Republic (over 10% per year), as well as in Greece, Lithuania and Poland by almost 10% per year.
- Eurostat data show an increase in the incidence of offences of assault during the pandemic in most of the analysed countries. The highest increase in the

intensity of these crimes was in Spain (on average over 25% per year), Ireland and Luxembourg (by nearly 18% per year), as well as in Portugal and Cyprus (approximately 13% per year). Decreases were recorded in Estonia (by more than 13% per year), Sweden and Slovenia (by around 6% per year) and, to a slightly lesser extent, also in the Netherlands and Latvia.

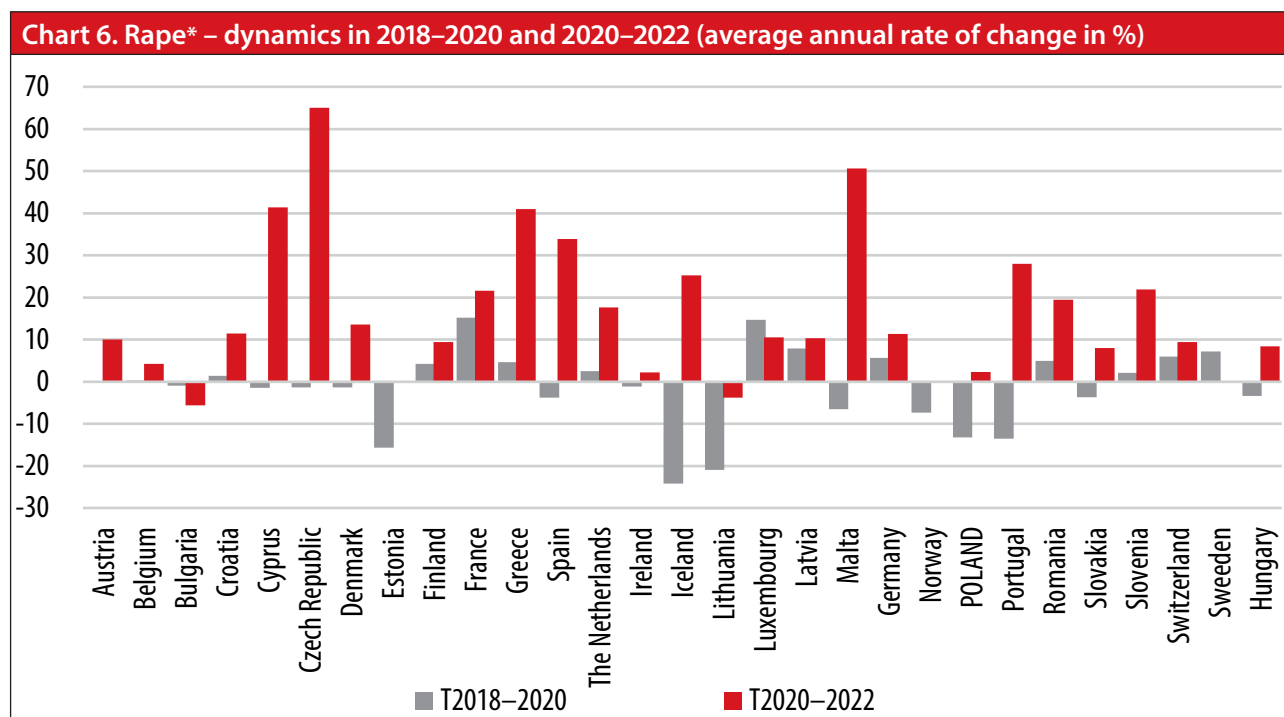
RAPE

Chart 5. Rape* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* No data available for Italy; Liechtenstein is not included.

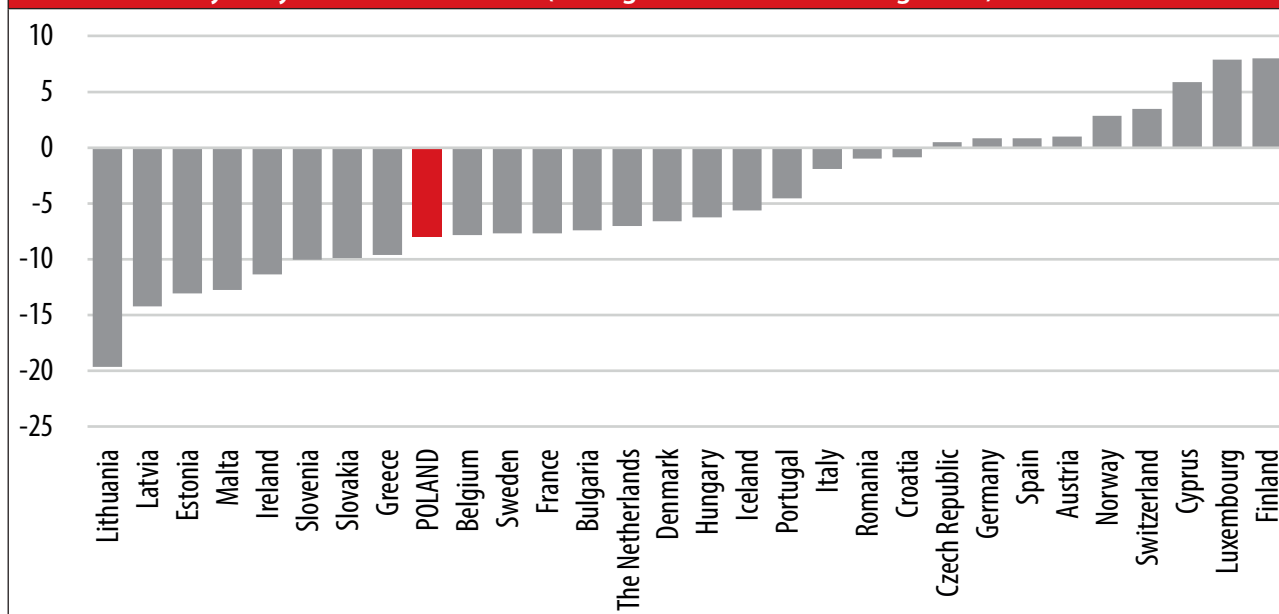
- Between 2018 and 2022, the intensity of rapes increased in the vast majority of the countries analysed. The highest increase in crimes of this kind in the five-year period 2018–2022 was recorded in the Czech Republic (over 25% per year on average), Greece (over 20%) and Malta, France and Cyprus (around 20%) per year. There was a significant drop in the incidence of rape in Lithuania (around 13% per year), Estonia and Poland (chart 5, table 4).
- During the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020–2022, there was an increase in the intensity of rape crimes in most of the countries analysed (chart 6). The highest increase, of over 65% per year, was recorded in the Czech Republic, Malta (by 50%), Cyprus and Greece – by over 40% per year, and in Spain by over 30%. A reduction in the rape crime intensity of only a few percent was recorded only in Bulgaria and Lithuania (chart 6).



* No data available for Italy; Liechtenstein is not included.

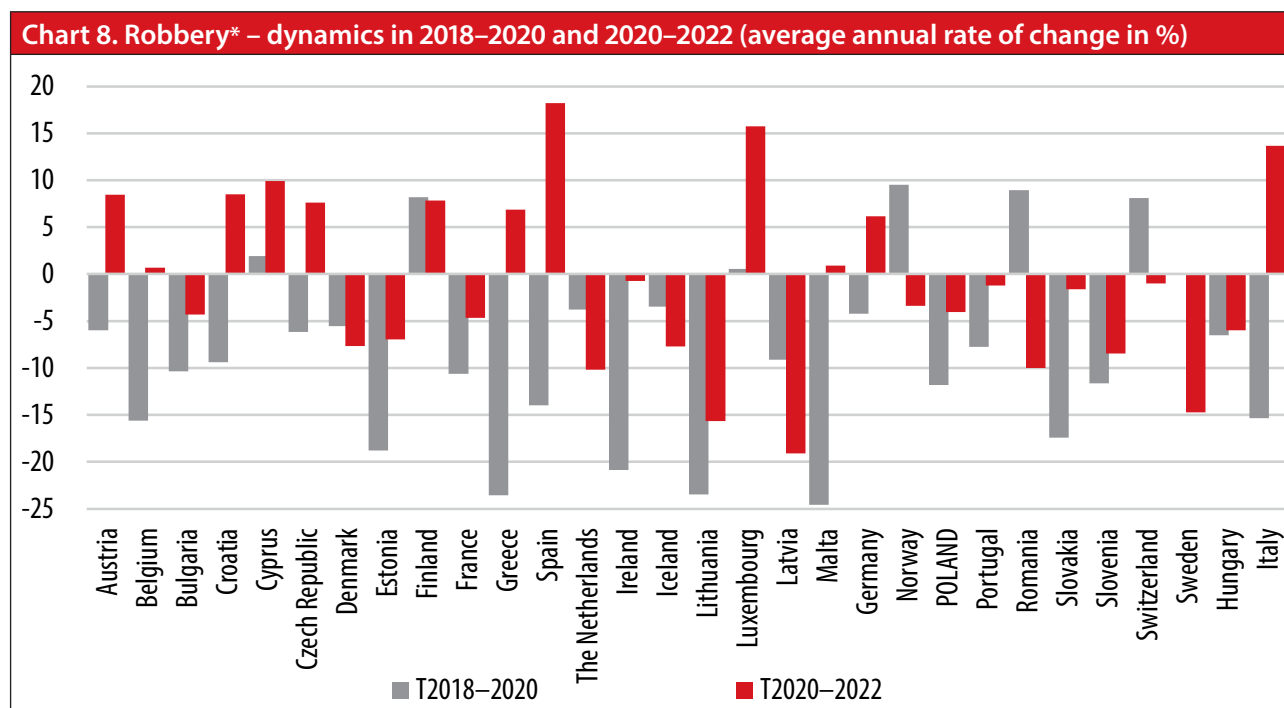
ROBBERY

Chart 7. Robbery* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* Liechtenstein was not included.

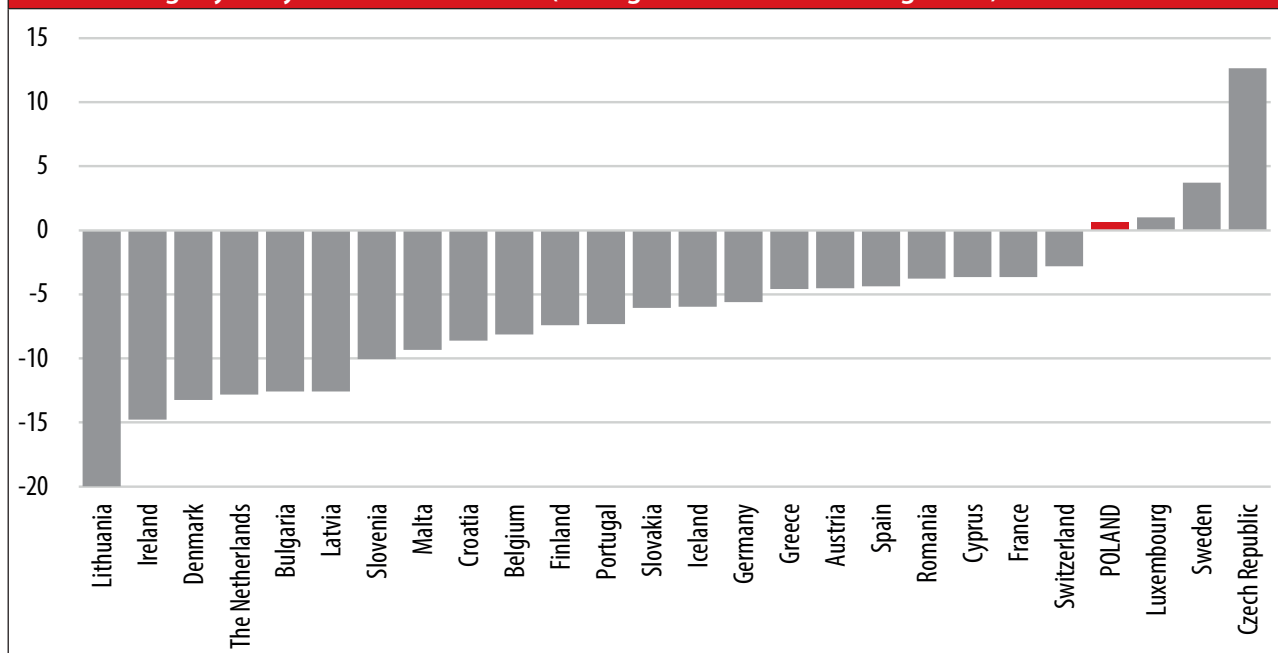
- In most of the analysed countries, the number and intensity of robberies decreased in 2018–2022. The largest decrease, by almost 20%, was recorded in Lithuania, while in Latvia it was nearly 15%, in Estonia, Malta and Ireland it was slightly lower, by over 10% per year. By contrast, growth of more than 5% per year was recorded in Finland, Luxembourg and Cyprus (chart 7, table 5).
- In the pre-pandemic period, data show a decrease in the number and intensity of robberies in the vast majority of countries. Increases were recorded only in Finland, Norway, Romania and Switzerland (chart 8).
- Between 2020 and 2022 (pandemic), the intensity of robberies increased in ten countries, including Spain and Luxembourg (by more than 15% per year) and Italy (by more than 10%). A decrease in robberies occurred in many countries (Latvia by almost 20% per year, Lithuania and Sweden by around 15%), but to a slightly lesser extent than in the pre-pandemic period (chart 8).
- There was a significant increase in robberies during the COVID-19 pandemic in Spain – by nearly 20% per year, in Luxembourg (by over 15%), and in Italy (nearly 15%). Robberies also increased in Cyprus during this period (10% per year on average), as well as in Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Finland, Greece and Norway.



* Liechtenstein was not included.

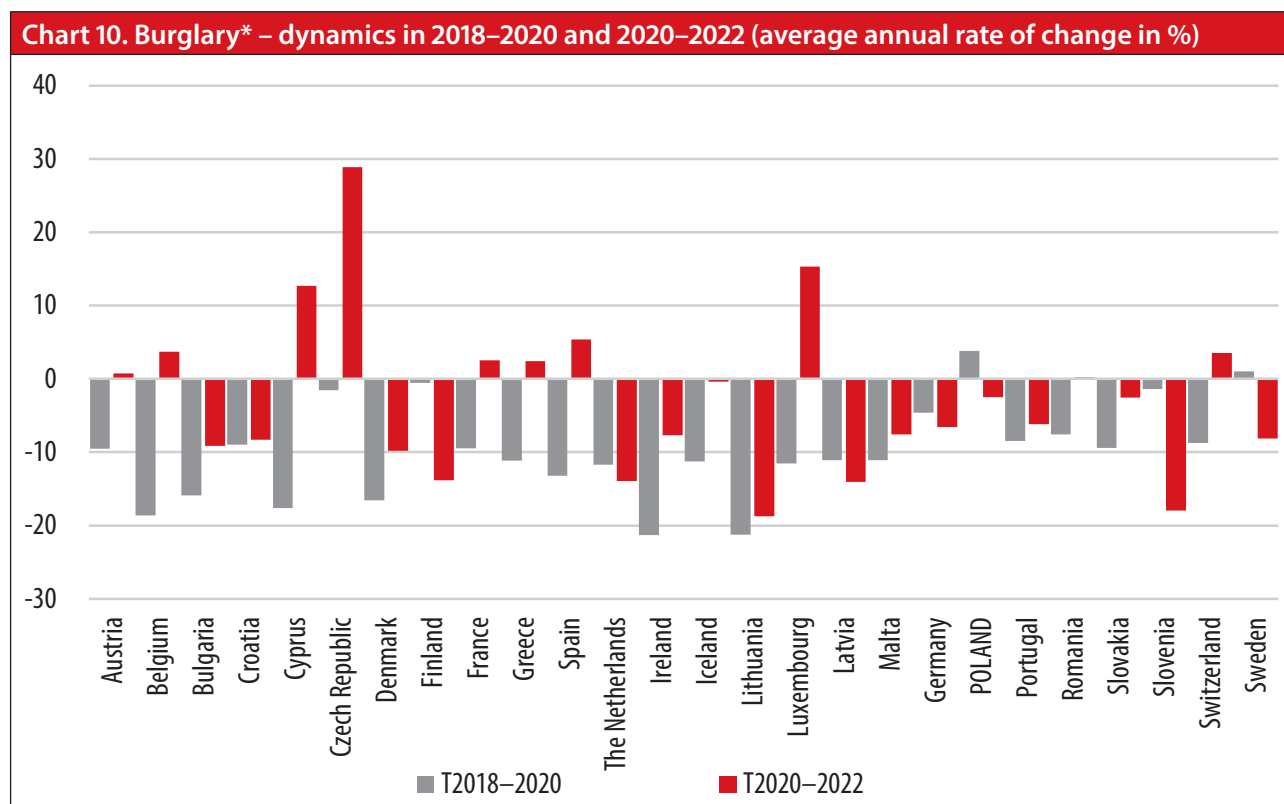
BURGLARY

Chart 9. Burglary* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* No data available for Estonia, Norway, Hungary and Italy; Liechtenstein is not included.

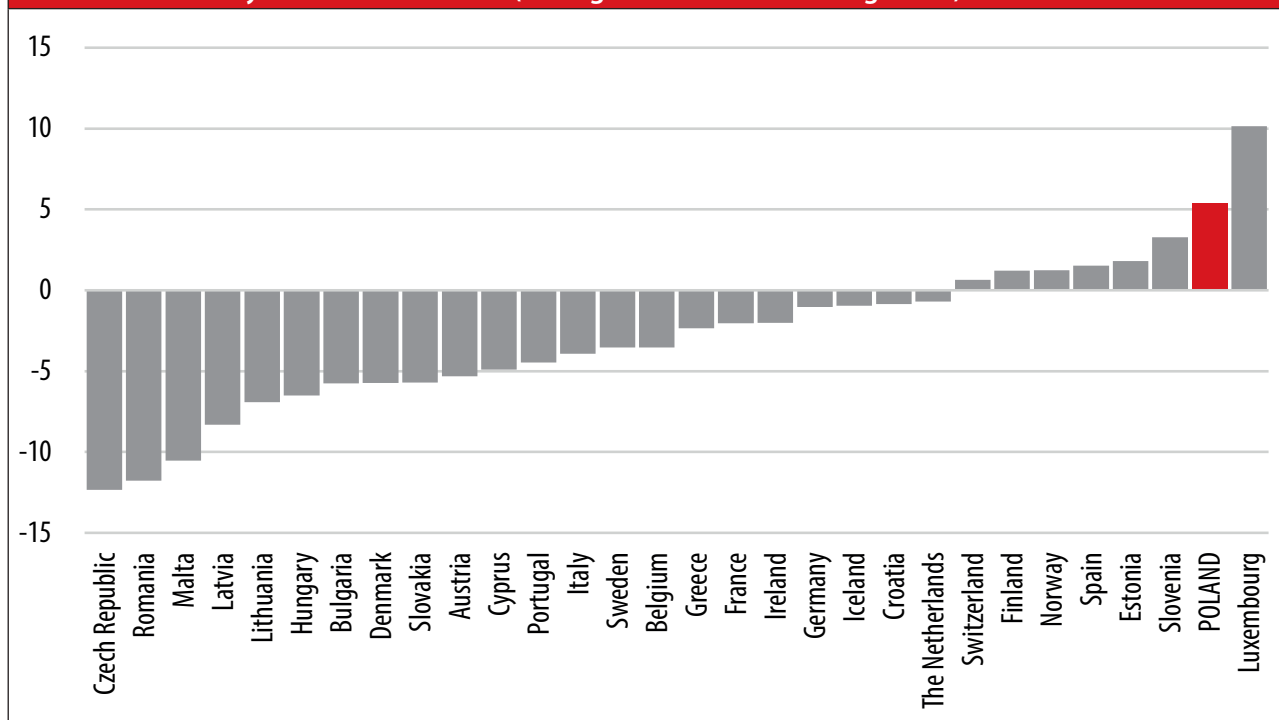
- In the five-year period 2018–2022, the number of burglaries decreased in almost all countries. Only the Czech Republic recorded a significant increase of more than 10% per year (chart 9).
- During the COVID-19 pandemic, the intensity of burglaries decreased in most countries. Increases of almost 30% per year were recorded in the Czech Republic and of more than 10% per year in Cyprus and Luxembourg (chart 10, table 6).
- In most countries, a decrease in burglaries was recorded both in the pre-pandemic period and during the pandemic. The Czech Republic was an exception, where during the pandemic the increase was very high, almost 30% per year. During this period, there was an increase of more than 10% in burglaries in Cyprus and Luxembourg (chart 10).



* No data available for Estonia, Norway, Hungary and Italy; Liechtenstein is not included.

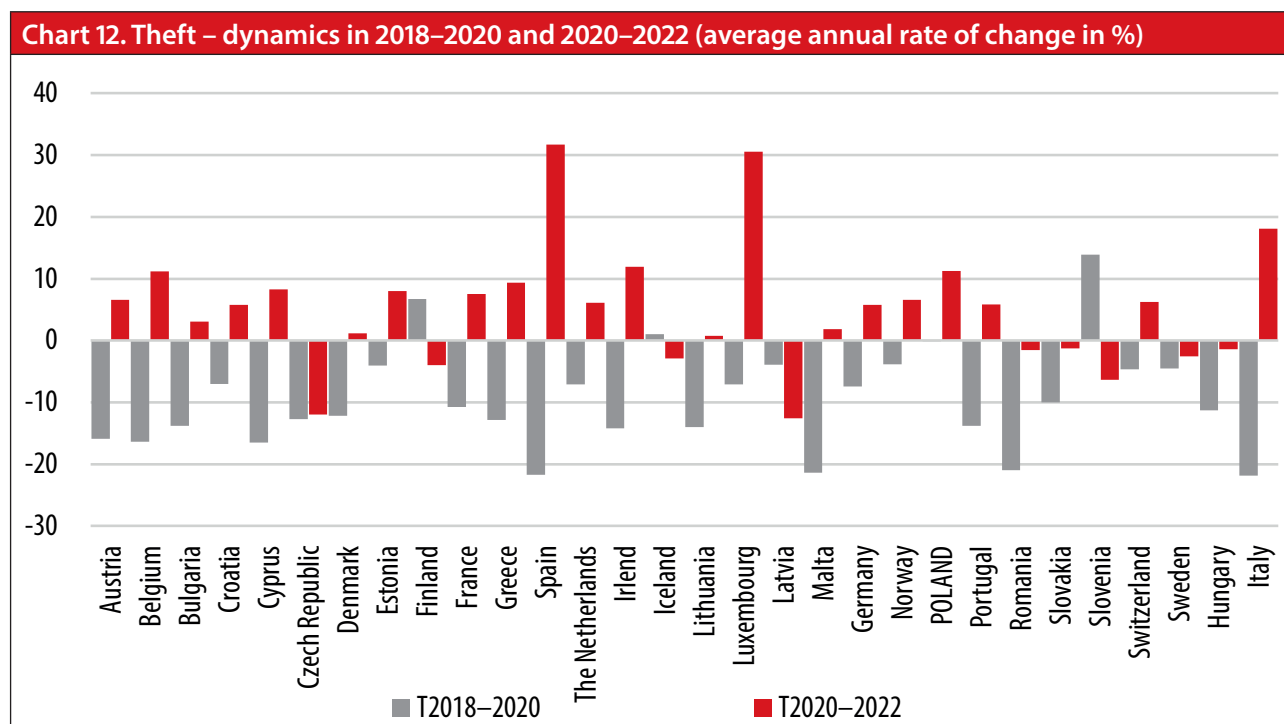
THEFT

Chart 11. Theft* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* Liechtenstein is not included.

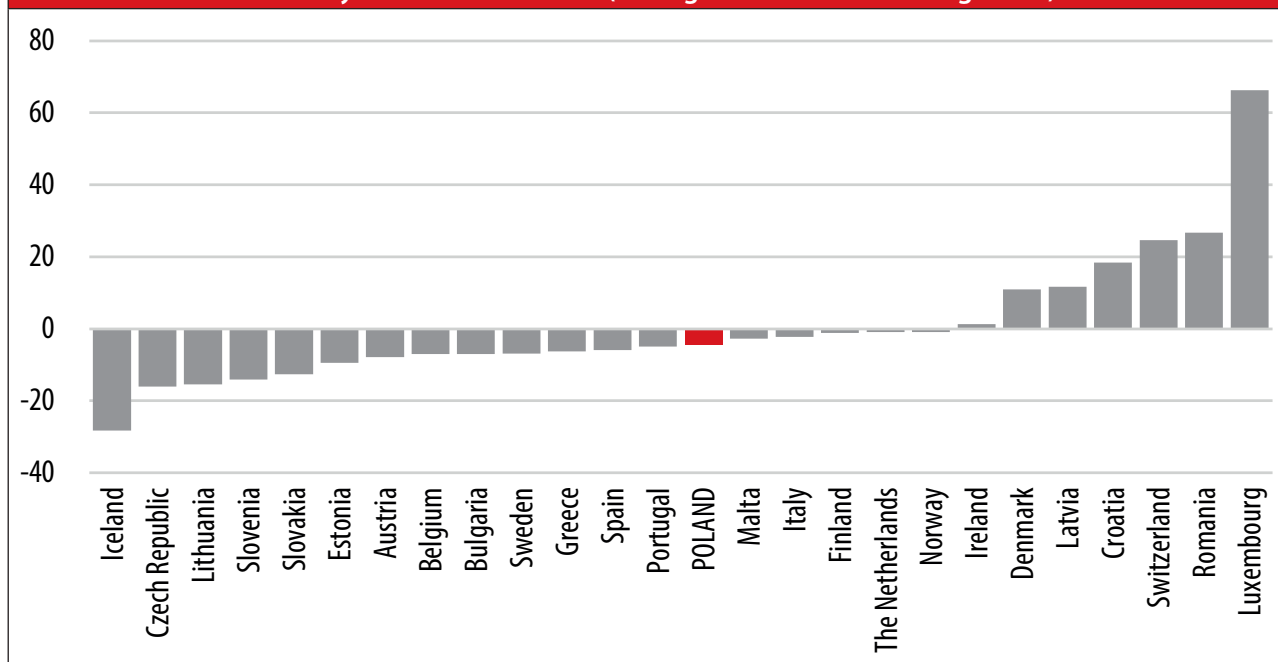
- Between 2018 and 2022, theft decreased in most countries – the fastest in the Czech Republic, Romania and Malta – by more than 10% per year. Increases were recorded in Luxembourg (10% per year), Poland (more than 5%), and Slovenia (more than 3%) and to a small extent in Estonia, Spain, Norway, Finland and Switzerland (chart 11, table 7).
- While in 2018–2020 there was a decrease in the number of thefts in almost all the countries analysed, in the pandemic period (2020–2022) theft increased in almost all countries. The highest growth was in Spain and Luxembourg, by over 30% per year, in Italy – by almost 20%, in Poland, and Belgium and Ireland – by over 10%.
- There was a decrease in the number of thefts during this period in the Czech Republic and Latvia, on average by more than 10% per year, and the intensity of thefts decreased to a small extent, in Slovenia, Finland, and Sweden (chart 12).



* Liechtenstein is not included.

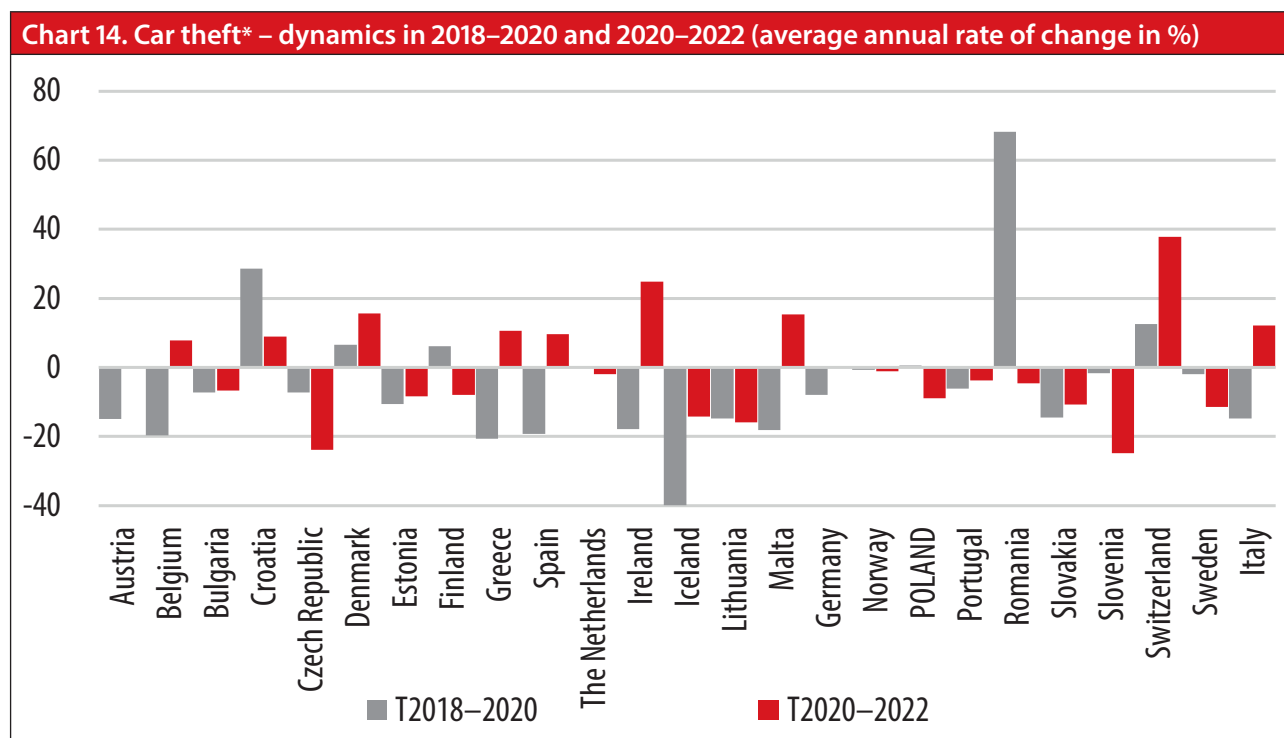
VEHICLE THEFT

Chart 13. Vehicle theft* – dynamics in 2018–2022 (average annual rate of change in %)



* The data for Germany refer to the years 2018–2021. Data not available for Luxembourg, Cyprus, France and Hungary; Liechtenstein is not included.

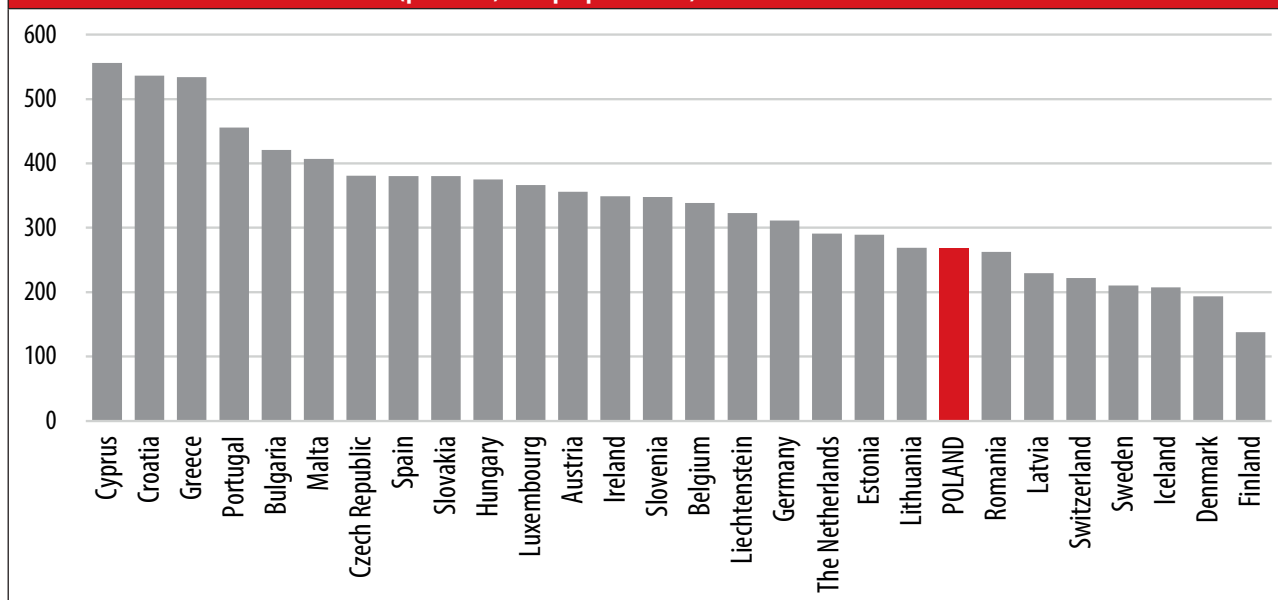
- Between 2018 and 2022, car theft (like other types of theft) decreased in most of the countries analysed, and at the fastest rate in Iceland (by almost 30% per year), followed by the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia – over 10% (chart 13, table 8).
- Significant growth, more than 20% per year, was recorded in Romania and Switzerland, as well as in Croatia (below 20%), and in Denmark and Latvia (above 10%).
- During the pandemic (2020–2022), the intensity of car theft decreased in half of the countries. The highest decreases were in the Czech Republic and Slovenia (over 20% per year). However, in Switzerland it increased by almost 40%, in Ireland – by over 20%, and in Denmark, Malta, and Italy – by over 10% (chart 14).



* The data for Germany refer to the years 2018–2021. Data not available for Luxembourg, Cyprus, France and Hungary; Liechtenstein is not included.

POLICE OFFICERS

Chart 15. Police officers in 2022 (per 100,000 population)*



* Notes on the data:

- in Belgium, the data also include operational staff (local and operational police),
- in France, the local police are included,
- in Germany, civil servants are included (not including trainees),
- in Ireland, forensic staff are included,
- in Lithuania, the number of full-time equivalent persons,
- in Latvia, only officers involved in investigations and operational activities are included,
- in Switzerland, the data have been corrected; including federal, cantonal and community police.

- According to Eurostat data – per 100,000 inhabitants – the highest number of police officers is in Cyprus, Croatia and Greece (over 500 per 100,000 population). The lowest number – in Finland – approximately

150 per 100,000, followed by Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Switzerland and Latvia. In Poland, as in Romania and Lithuania, the rates are relatively low (below 300 per 100,000 – chart 15, table 9).

INTERNATIONAL POLICE STATISTICS

data

Table 2. Homicide* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)**

Countries	Homicide in absolute numbers		Homicide per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria ^{c, h}	73	65	0.8	0.7	-3.5
Belgium ^d	192	179	1.6	1.5	-2.2
Bulgaria ^{a, d}	92	76	1.3	1.1	-3.9
Croatia ^{b, c, d, g}	24	31	0.6	0.8	8.4
Cyprus ^{b, c, h}	14	7	1.6	0.8	-17.0
Czech Republic ^b	55	79	0.5	0.8	9.6
Denmark ^d	54	59	0.9	1.0	1.8
Estonia ^{a, e, f}	25	18	1.9	1.4	-8.2
Finland	95	83	1.6	1.5	-3.4
France	696	821	1.2	1.2	3.9
Greece ^d	94	79	0.9	0.8	-3.6
Spain ^{b, c, h}	289	325	0.6	0.7	2.7
The Netherlands ^{b, c, d, i}	119	142	0.7	0.8	4.1
Ireland	39	44	0.9	0.9	1.8
Iceland	2	4	0.6	1.1	16.8
Liechtenstein	1	0	(-)**	(-)	(-)
Lithuania ^{d, f, j}	97	62	3.5	2.2	-10.5
Luxembourg ^{b, d}	3	9	0.5	1.4	29.1
Latvia	101	76	5.2	4.1	-6.1
Malta ^{a, f}	6	8	1.3	1.5	5.1
Germany ^d	632	614	0.8	0.7	-0.7
Norway ^{d, f}	25	30	0.5	0.6	4.0
POLAND ^{d, f}	265	258	0.7	0.7	0.4
Portugal ^f	81	75	0.8	0.7	-2.3
Romania ^{d, f}	267	174	1.4	0.9	-9.7
Slovakia ^b	67	42	1.2	0.8	-11.0
Slovenia ^c	9	13	0.5	0.6	9.0
Switzerland ^b	50	42	0.6	0.5	-5.0
Sweden ^{c, h}	108	116	1.1	1.1	0.9
Hungary ^f	83	85	0.9	0.9	0.9
Italy	359	322	0.6	0.6	-1.7

* Homicides include intentional homicide, honour killing, homicide in connection with a terrorist attack, euthanasia and infanticide.

** In the case of individual numbers of crimes, coefficients per 100,000 population are not calculated.

^a The data do not include infanticide.

^b The data also include attempted homicide.

^c The data include intentional and unintentional homicide.

^d The data do not include euthanasia (in the Netherlands it is not a crime).

^e The reporting unit is the number of victims, not the number of crimes.

^f The data do not include homicide in connection with a terrorist attack.

^g The data do not include femicide.

^h The data include assisted suicide or incitement to suicide.

ⁱ The data come from court files, because in police data it is not possible to separate attempted homicide from committed homicide.

^j The data include serious injury with fatal outcome.

Table 3. Assault* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Assault in absolute numbers		Assault per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria ^c	3,711	4,324	42.1	48.2	3.4
Belgium ^a	64,507	65,083	554	560.2	-0.3
Bulgaria	2,518	3,131	35.7	45.8	6.4
Croatia ^{a,b,e}	733	778	17.9	20.1	3.1
Cyprus	132	177	15.3	19.6	6.4
Czech Republic	4,967	4,171	46.8	39.7	-4.1
Denmark ^b	1,857	2,158	32.1	36.7	3.4
Estonia ^a	90	58	6.8	4.4	-10.6
Finland ^a	1,609	1,726	29.2	31.1	1.6
France	300,383	391,833	ND	577.3	6.4
Greece	1,587	1,333	14.8	12.7	-3.6
Spain	18,292	26,446	39.2	55.8	9.2
The Netherlands ^d	4,580	4,905	26.6	27.9	1.1
Ireland	4,546	6,092	93.3	120.4	6.4
Iceland ^a	122	146	35	38.8	2.6
Liechtenstein	79	102	207.3	259.5	5.8
Lithuania ^b	185	145	6.6	5.2	-5.9
Luxembourg	611	696	101.5	107.8	1.5
Latvia	646	539	33.4	28.7	-3.7
Malta ^a	183	220	38.5	42.2	2.4
Germany	136,727	144,663	165.1	173.8	1.3
Norway ^a	1,968	1,932	37.2	35.6	-1.1
POLAND	6,610	5,132	17.4	13.6	-5.9
Portugal ^a	579	741	5.6	7.2	6.2
Romania	252	227	ND	1.2	-2.0
Slovakia ^a	1,597	1,295	29.3	23.8	-5.1
Slovenia ^{a,e}	151	114	74.7	5.4	-7.2
Switzerland	585	763	6.9	8.7	6.1
Sweden	4,709	4,641	46.5	44.4	-1.2
Hungary	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Italy ^b	984	863	109.7	1.5	-2.7

* Physically attacking another person resulting in grievous bodily harm, injury, beating, mutilation, poisoning, shooting, stabbing. This does not include assault leading to death, threats, and torture.

^a The data include fatal bodily harm (death).

^b The data include sexual harm.

^c The data also include attempted assault.

^d In the case of a minor assault, all events where the victim is particularly vulnerable or when these are cases of domestic violence are taken into account.

^e The data also include minor health impairment.

Table 4. Rape* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Rape in absolute numbers		Rape per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria	1,666	2,055	18.9	22.9	4.9
Belgium	3,867	4,302	33.9	37.0	2.2
Bulgaria	113	96	1.6	1.4	-3.3
Croatia	297	357	7.2	9.2	6.3
Cyprus	28	57	3.2	6.3	18.1
Czech Republic ^a	651	1,713	6.1	16.3	27.6
Denmark	2,217	2,831	38.4	48.2	5.9
Estonia	212	152	16.1	11.4	-8.2
Finland ^a	1,393	1,823	25.3	32.9	6.8
France	19,155	38,094	28.6	56.1	18.4
Greece ^{a, e}	157	333	1.5	3.2	21.5
Spain ^b	1,700	2,865	3.6	6.0	13.5
The Netherlands	1,940	2,885	11.3	16.4	9.8
Ireland	1,030	1,102	21.3	21.8	0.5
Iceland	263	256	75.5	68.0	-2.6
Liechtenstein	5	4	(-)	(-)	(-)
Lithuania	116	67	4.1	2.4	-12.8
Luxembourg	76	131	12.6	20.3	12.6
Latvia	176	242	9.1	12.9	9.1
Malta	18	39	3.8	7.5	18.6
Germany ^{a, b}	9,036	12,558	10.9	15.1	8.4
Norway ^d	2,564	2,254	48.4	41.6	-3.8
POLAND ^a	756	590	2.0	1.6	-5.8
Portugal ^a	421	519	4.1	5.0	5.2
Romania	1,463	2,244	7.5	11.8	12.0
Slovakia	99	107	1.8	2.0	2.0
Slovenia ^a	138	218	6.7	10.4	11.6
Switzerland	626	867	7.4	9.9	7.7
Sweden ^f	7,575	9,029	74.9	86.4	3.6
Hungary	541	587	5.5	6.1	2.3
Italy ^c	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND

* Rape is defined as sexual penetration without consent or with consent as a result of intimidation, force, deception, coercion, threat, use of drugs or alcohol, abuse of power or a position of vulnerability, and giving or receiving benefits.

^a The data do not include statutory rape, understood as intercourse with a person under the legal age limit.

^b The data do not include rape without the use of force.

^c Italian law does not distinguish between rape and sexual violence.

^d In Norway, according to the new definition of rape established in the Penal Code in 2015, all cases of sexual intercourse with persons under the age of 14 are considered rape – regardless of the use of force.

^e The data do not include attempted rape.

^f Rape occurs when a person, by means of violence or the threat of violence or another 'criminal act', forces another person to have sexual intercourse or to perform or endure any other sexual act which, taking into account the degree of the violation and other circumstances, is comparable to intercourse.

Table 5. Robbery* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Robbery in absolute numbers		Robbery per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria	2,396	2,536	1.0	28.24	1.0
Belgium	16,483	12,126	144.61	104.38	-7.8
Bulgaria ^a	1,265	902	17.94	13.19	-7.4
Croatia	779	708	18.97	18.33	-0.9
Cyprus ^a	73	96	8.45	10.61	5.9
Czech Republic ^a	1,406	1,422	13.25	13.52	0.5
Denmark	1,819	1,406	31.46	23.94	-6.6
Estonia ^{a, b}	170	98	12.89	7.36	-13.1
Finland	1,700	2,329	30.84	41.98	8.0
France	91,953	68,000	137.99	100.19	-7.7
Greece ^{a, e}	4,358	2,833	40.57	27.08	-9.6
Spain ^b	60,295	63,392	129.23	133.65	0.8
The Netherlands ^d	7,785	5,955	45.31	33.85	-7.0
Ireland	2,179	1,408	45.11	27.83	-11.4
Iceland	77	66	22.1	17.54	-5.6
Liechtenstein	2	2	(-)	(-)	(-)
Lithuania	822	342	29.26	12.19	-19.7
Luxembourg ^f	449	652	74.58	101.02	7.9
Latvia	534	280	27.61	14.93	-14.2
Malta	208	132	43.72	25.34	-12.7
Germany ^{a, b}	36,756	38,195	44.4	45.89	0.8
Norway	788	904	14.88	16.66	2.9
POLAND	6,801	4,832	17.91	12.83	-8.0
Portugal	10,545	8,808	102.47	85.08	-4.5
Romania	3,275	3,070	16.77	16.12	-1.0
Slovakia	475	313	8.73	5.76	-9.9
Slovenia ^a	322	215	15.58	10.2	-10.0
Switzerland	1,644	1,941	19.38	22.21	3.5
Sweden	8,646	6,483	85.43	62.02	-7.7
Hungary	696	533	7.12	5.5	-6.3
Italy ^c	28,986	26,181	47.92	44.35	-1.9

* Theft of property with the use of force or the threat of force. Where possible, the “robbery” category should include snatching a purse and violent theft, but should not include pickpocketing and extortion.

^a The data do not include robbery of a car or other vehicle (in Estonia, provided that if no violence was used).

^b The data do not include the robbery of an establishment.

^c The data include non-violent theft. For Norway and Switzerland, the data include theft or robbery carried out with the threat of violence.

^d The data include armed robberies, robberies and non-violent burglaries.

^e Robbery is a crime relating only to a person.

^f The data also include attempted robbery.

Table 6. Burglary* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Burglary in absolute numbers		Burglary per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria ^c	58,637	49,592	664.7	552.3	-4.5
Belgium	71,176	51,698	624.4	445.0	-8.1
Bulgaria	7,664	4,340	108.7	63.5	-12.6
Croatia	10,906	7,156	265.6	185.3	-8.6
Cyprus	1,250	1,128	144.6	124.7	-3.6
Czech Republic	21,151	33,750	199.4	320.9	12.6
Denmark	54,868	31,589	949.1	537.8	-13.2
Estonia	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Finland	7,854	5,810	142.5	104.7	-7.4
France	339,333	296,218	506.3	436.4	-3.6
Greece	17,626	1,4224	164.1	136.0	-4.6
Spain	174,867	148,712	374.8	313.5	-4.4
The Netherlands	63,100	37,315	367.3	212.1	-12.8
Ireland	16,621	9,182	344.1	181.5	-14.8
Iceland	1,286	1,086	369.1	288.6	-6.0
Liechtenstein	140	138	367.3	351.1	-1.1
Lithuania	1,983	812	70.6	28.9	-20.0
Luxembourg	3,667	4,090	609.1	633.7	1.0
Latvia	4,877	2,762	252.1	147.3	-12.6
Malta ^a	1,211	896	254.6	172.0	-9.3
Germany	326,409	260,605	394.3	313.1	-5.6
Norway ^b	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
POLAND	69,148	70,256	182.1	186.6	0.6
Portugal	22,832	16,941	221.9	163.7	-7.3
Romania	30,459	25,449	156.0	133.6	-3.8
Slovakia	4,528	3,521	83.2	64.8	-6.1
Slovenia	8,397	5,605	406.3	266.0	-10.0
Switzerland	38,871	35,732	458.2	408.9	-2.8
Sweden	77,914	69,327	769.9	663.3	-3.7
Hungary	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Italy	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND

* Obtaining unauthorised access to a part of a building/apartment or other premises, including by force, with the intention of stealing things (burglary and entry). "Burglary" should include, if possible, theft from a house, apartment or other residence, factory, shop or office, from a military facility or using false keys. Theft from a car, container, vending machine, parking meter and fenced area should be excluded.

^a The data include armed robberies, robberies and non-violent burglaries of a person's home – so-called snatch and grab cases.

^b Due to changes in criminal law and police codes, it is not possible to provide data on burglary with intent to commit theft.

^c The data include attempted burglary.

Table 7. Theft* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Theft in absolute numbers		Theft per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria	118,802	97,139	1,346.6	1,081.9	-5.3
Belgium ^a	222,049	195,873	1,948.0	1,686.0	-3.5
Bulgaria ^{b,d}	36,922	28,250	523.7	413.1	-5.8
Croatia ^{a,d}	12,190	11,087	296.9	287.1	-0.8
Cyprus ^{b,g}	716	613	82.9	67.8	-4.9
Czech Republic ^d	59,438	34,774	560.2	330.7	-12.3
Denmark	182,819	146,613	3,162.3	2,496.2	-5.7
Estonia ^d	7,403	8,027	561.2	602.7	1.8
Finland ^e	118,193	124,826	2,143.9	2,249.8	1.2
France ^f	1,421 318	1,333 128	2,132.9	1,964.2	-2.0
Greece ^d	80,351	71,130	748.1	680.0	-2.4
Spain ^d	168,203	181,687	360.5	383.0	1.5
The Netherlands	233,985	233,055	1,361.9	1,324.9	-0.7
Ireland	64,473	62,282	1,334.7	1,230.9	-2.0
Iceland	3,285	3,414	942.8	907.4	-1.0
Liechtenstein	162	254	425.0	646.2	11.0
Lithuania ^d	12,833	9,628	456.9	343.1	-6.9
Luxembourg ^{b,f}	10,312	16,264	1,712.9	2,520.0	10.1
Latvia	14,047	9,621	726.2	512.9	-8.3
Malta ^{a,d}	5,109	3,584	1,074.0	688.0	-10.5
Germany ^c	1,082 478	1,043 887	1,307.5	1,254.1	-1.0
Norway	92,320	99,312	1,743.3	1,830.5	1.2
POLAND ^b	98,833	120,901	260.3	321.1	5.4
Portugal	87,569	73,365	850.9	708.7	-4.5
Romania ^d	100,407	59,293	514.1	311.4	-11.8
Slovakia ^d	17,232	13,598	316.6	250.2	-5.7
Slovenia	18,580	21,548	898.9	1,022.6	3.3
Switzerland	131,546	138,970	1,550.5	1,590.3	0.6
Sweden	334,286	298,778	3,303.1	2,858.5	-3.6
Hungary ^d	64,190	48,616	656.5	501.8	-6.5
Italy ^d	1,016 570	844,951	1,680.7	1,431.4	-3.9

* Depriving a person or organisation of property without the use of force with the intention of detaining it. It does not cover burglary, home burglary, and robbery, but it does cover theft of a motor vehicle or its parts.

^a The data include theft with the use of force or the threat of force.

^b The data do not include vehicle theft.

^c The data include ordinary theft of a vehicle, not including serious theft of a vehicle with the use of violence.

^d The data include burglary.

^e The data include burglary of a vehicle (e.g. car).

^f The data include attempted theft.

^g The data include only serious cases of theft.

Table 8. Vehicle theft* (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Theft of the vehicle in absolute numbers		Theft of the vehicle per 100,000 population		
	2018	2022	2018	2022	average annual rate of change 2018–2022 (in %)
Austria	4,257	3,124	48.3	34.8	–7.9
Belgium	14,023	10,708	123.0	92.2	–7.0
Bulgaria	2,068	1,504	29.3	22.0	–6.9
Croatia	923	1,703	22.5	44.1	18.3
Cyprus	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Czech Republic	7,027	3,468	66.2	33.0	–16.0
Denmark	776	1,195	13.4	20.4	11.0
Estonia ^a	134	91	10.2	6.8	–9.5
Finland	5,726	5,503	103.9	99.2	–1.1
France	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Greece	24,483	18,390	227.9	175.8	–6.3
Spain	30,182	24,043	64.7	50.7	–5.9
The Netherlands	27,175	26,825	158.2	152.5	–0.9
Ireland	3,723	4,109	77.1	81.2	1.3
Iceland	77	22	22.1	5.9	–28.3
Liechtenstein	5	14	13.2	35.6	28.4
Lithuania	787	403	28.0	14.4	–15.4
Luxembourg	293	2,400	48.7	371.9	66.3
Latvia	335	505	17.3	26.9	11.7
Malta	317	310	66.6	59.5	–2.8
Germany ^a	50,440	ND	60.9	ND	ND
Norway	4,062	4,018	76.7	74.1	–0.9
POLAND	10,971	9,123	28.9	24.2	–4.3
Portugal	9,864	8,096	95.9	78.2	–5.0
Romania	2,088	5,239	10.7	27.5	26.7
Slovakia	1,339	780	24.6	14.4	–12.6
Slovenia	543	302	26.3	14.3	–14.1
Switzerland	7,640	18,958	90.1	216.9	24.6
Sweden	21,803	16,971	215.4	162.4	–6.8
Hungary	3,175	ND	32.2	ND	ND
Italy	141,132	125,764	233.3	213.1	–2.2

* Theft of motor vehicles used to transport people (cars, motorcycles, buses, trucks, agricultural vehicles) is included.

^a The data also include short-term seizure of a vehicle.

Table 9. Police officers* in 2018 and 2022 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Number of police officers per 100,000 population		Number of police officers in absolute numbers	
	2018	2022	2018	2022
Austria	342.8	356.0	30,240	31,968
Belgium	362.9	338.3	41,370	39,301
Bulgaria	407.7	421.1	28,742	28,800
Croatia	492.0	536.3	20,199	20,713
Cyprus	570.1	555.8	4,927	5,028
Czech Republic	377.4	381.1	40,040	40,078
Denmark	191.1	193.5	11,050	11,364
Estonia	295.1	289.2	3,893	3,851
Finland	132.7	137.5	7,317	7,628
France	322.2	ND	215,948	ND
Greece	495.0	ND	53,166	55,821
Spain	362.5	380.3	169,139	180,376
The Netherlands ^b	293.3	291.2	50,389	51,222
Ireland	345.6	348.9	16,694	17,654
Iceland	175.9	207.6	613	781
Liechtenstein	314.8	323.1	120	127
Lithuania	293.6	268.6	8,247	7,538
Luxembourg	329.2	366.6	1,982	2,366
Latvia	244.7	229.5	4,734	4,304
Malta	481.2	407.1	2,289	2,121
Germany ^b	295.7	311.1	244,800	258,915
Norway	ND	ND	ND	ND
POLAND	259.9	268.2	98,709	100,982
Portugal	450.5	455.8	46,363	47,185
Romania	256.1	262.6	50,024	50,008
Slovakia	402.7	380.3	21,918	20,666
Slovenia	343.1	347.8	7,091	7,329
Switzerland ^a	217.0	222.0	18,413	19,397
Sweden	198.0	210.3	20,040	21,981
Hungary	403.2	375.1	39,423	36,339
Italy	ND	ND	ND	ND

* The data also include traffic police, border police and municipal police.

^a The data include police officers, security assistants, civilian personnel and cadets.

^b The data include civil servants (excluding trainees) employed by the police as of 30 June.

INTERNATIONAL COURT STATISTICS

data

Table 10. Professional judges in 2018 and 2022 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Number of professional judges per 100,000 population		Number of professional judges in absolute numbers	
	2018	2022	2018	2022
Austria ^a	4.4	4.3	388	388
Belgium	13.9	ND	1,584	ND
Bulgaria	31.5	32.0	2,223	2,188
Croatia	42.7	42.8	1,752	1,652
Cyprus ^a	13.7	7.7	118	70
Czech Republic ^a	7.2	7.1	761	744
Denmark	12.4	11.0	714	648
Estonia	17.9	18.1	236	241
Finland	19.6	18.5	1,081	1,026
France	10.9	11.3	7,277	7,691
Greece	40.5	25.8	4,349	2,698
Spain	6.5	6.2	3,010	2,918
The Netherlands	14.5	15.0	2,489	2,636
Ireland	3.3	3.5	160	177
Iceland ^a	18.7	17.0	65	64
Liechtenstein	24.5	24.9	51	64
Lithuania ^a	27.0	26.5	759	743
Luxembourg ^a	36.1	35.2	217	227
Latvia	23.9	28.3	463	531
Malta	9.3	9.0	44	47
Germany	25.8	ND	21,339	ND
Norway	16.0	ND	846	ND
POLAND	24.5	24.9	9,318	9,368
Portugal	16.9	16.7	1,743	1,728
Romania ^c	23.4	33.0	4,563	6,287
Slovakia ^d	26.2	24.2	1,427	1,317
Slovenia	43.1	41.7	890	879
Switzerland	14.4	ND	1,224	ND
Sweden ^a	8.6	8.8	867	919
Hungary	30.0	27.8	2,933	2,693
Italy ^b	11.0	17.4	6,634	10,265

^a Number of judges authorised to adjudicate in criminal cases.

^b Judges of the courts of first and third instance (both adult and juvenile), civil and criminal sectors. Both professional judges and lay judges are taken into account. The numbers refer to the positions actually filled.

^c The figures show the number of professional judges and court officials. Source: Superior Council of Magistracy.

^d The figures relate to the total number of judges, not only in criminal cases.

7.2. International penitentiary statistics

In the current edition of the *Atlas*, data on prison capacity and the number of people in prison in individual countries are presented on the basis of Eurostat statistics¹⁰ (as well as data on crime). In addition to the total number of people in prison, Eurostat information also includes data on the number of pre-trial prisoners and those serving a prison sentence for certain types of crimes, including homicide, bodily harm and rape.

As in the case of crime statistics, the penitentiary database contains supplementary and explanatory information related to the specificity of reporting and

legal systems in individual countries, the so-called metadata.¹¹

In the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7*, the data presented cover the years 2018–2022, similarly to data on crimes, i.e. they start from the last year in which statistics were available when the previous edition of the *Atlas* was being produced, and end with the latest published data, i.e. in 2022.

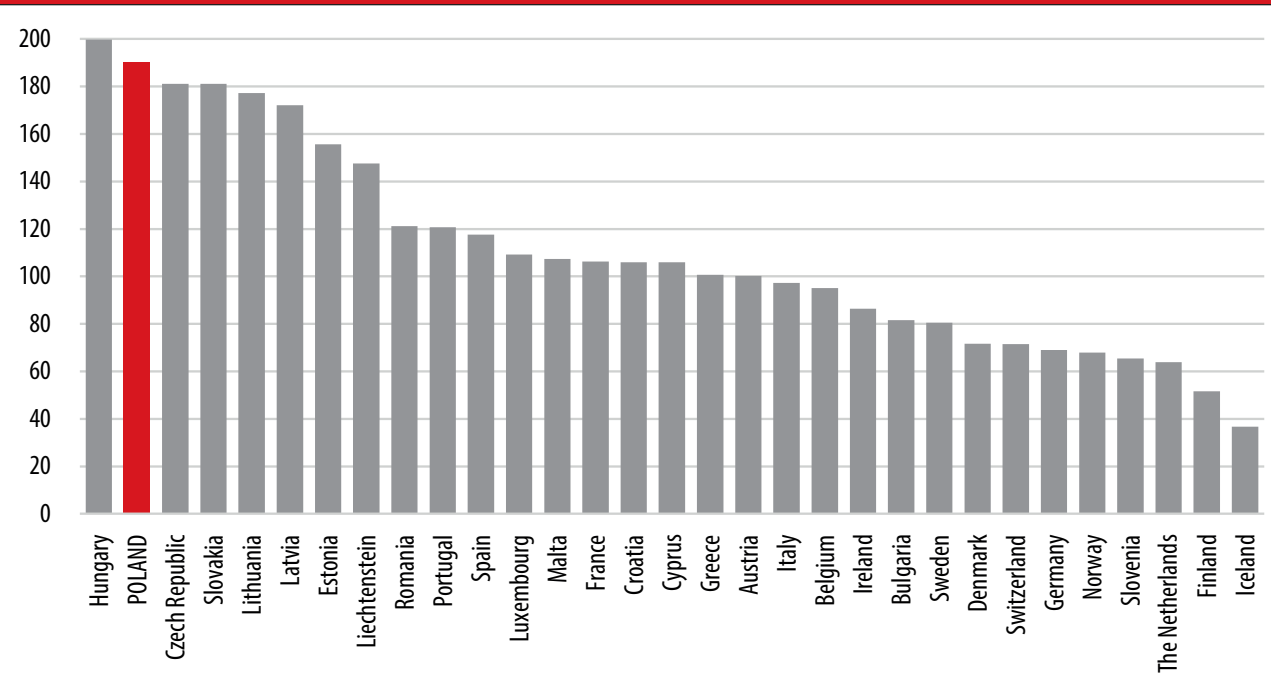
In the case of penitentiary statistics, an important issue, apart from the number of people in prison in individual countries, is (generally speaking) the conditions, including the number of places in prisons, as well as the number of staff, and such lists are also presented.

¹⁰ The Eurostat statistical database is based on uniform definitions of individual types of crimes and statistical units. In the previous edition of the *Atlas*, penitentiary data were presented on the basis of the Council of Europe's publication SPACE I Report.

¹¹ Detailed explanations of prison data are available on the Eurostat website: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Prison_statistics [accessed on: 25 February 2025].

PRISON POPULATION main findings

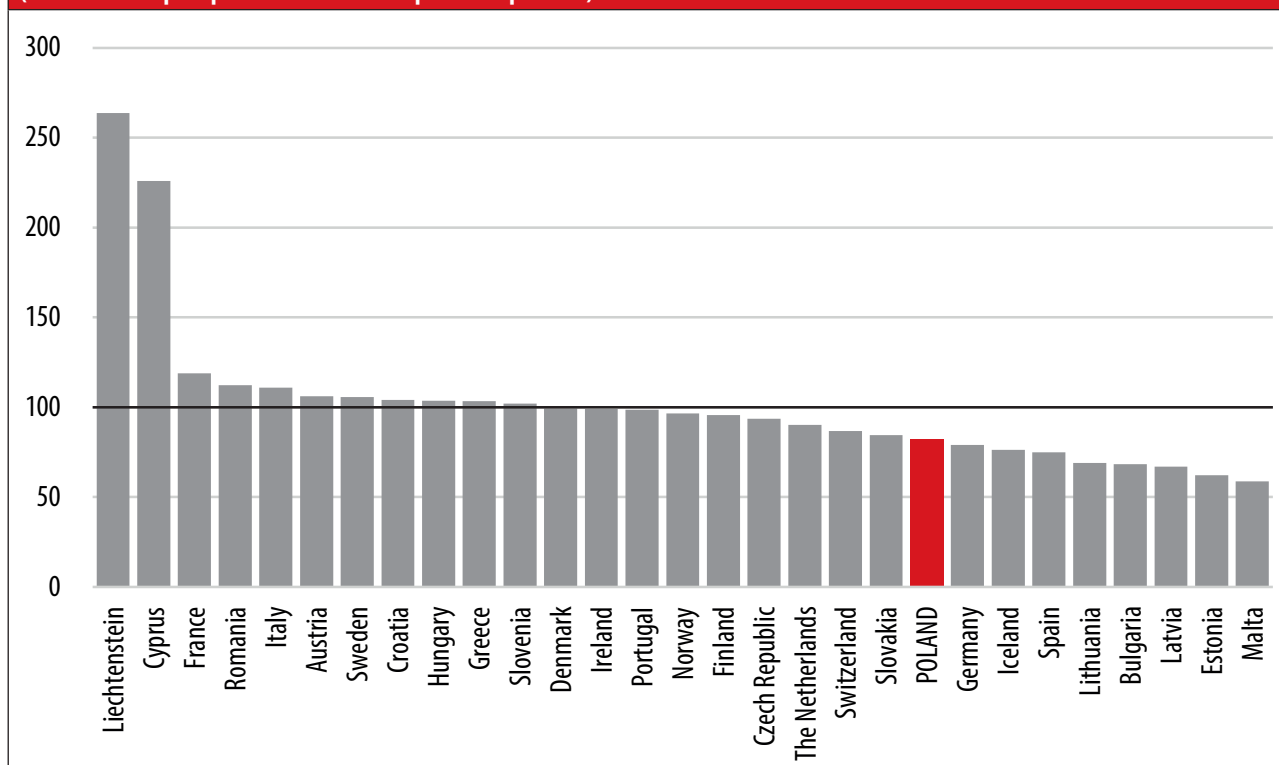
Chart 16. Imprisoned in 2022 (per 100,000 population)



- General information shows that in 2022, almost half a million people (493,728) were held in prisons in EU countries and the EFTA group, slightly more than in 2021 and slightly less than in 2018.
- As in the previous period, in 2018, in 2022 the highest rates per 100,000 population were mainly in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (former Eastern Bloc). As in previous years, in Poland and in other countries in the region, imprisonment rates were about twice as high as in many Western European countries (chart 16, table 11).
- The rate of growth of the number of people in prison in individual countries is also noteworthy. As in the case of crimes, the data in the tables show the absolute numbers of people in prison in 2018 and 2022.
- In 2022, compared to 2018, most countries recorded a decrease in the number of people in prison, the highest over 5% per year in Lithuania and Estonia, followed by Bulgaria and Germany. There was an increase in the number of people in prison in Cyprus (over 10% per year), Sweden (over 8% per year), Croatia (over 6%), Hungary and Denmark (about 4%). In Poland, as in the Netherlands, Austria, Luxembourg and Slovenia, the annual changes were very small – less than one per cent (table 12).

PRISON OVERCROWDING

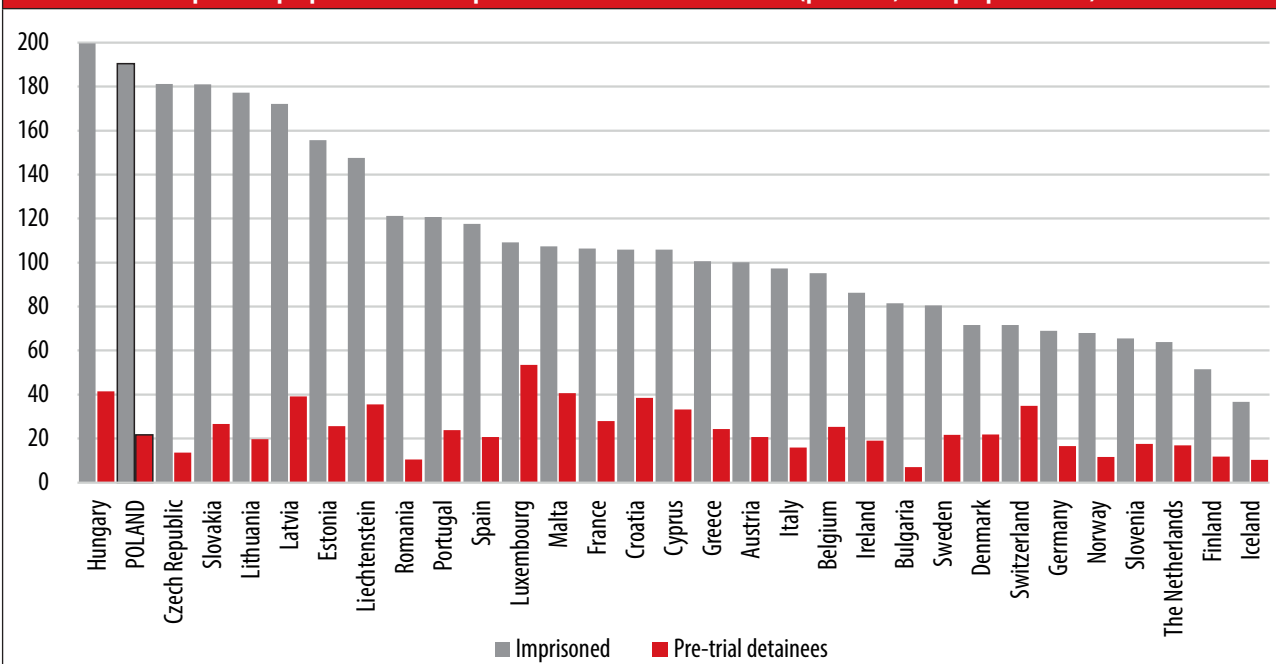
Chart 17. Number of persons imprisoned in 2022 compared to the number of prison places (number of people incarcerated per 100 places)



- A comparison of the number of people in prison with the number of prison places shows quite significant differences between countries. In 2022, 11 of the 31 countries analysed recorded overcrowding in prisons. The highest level of overcrowding was in prisons in Liechtenstein and Cyprus (more than twice as high in terms of the number of places). Approximately 20% overcrowding occurred in France, over 10% in Romania and Italy, and slightly less in Austria, Sweden, Croatia, Hungary and Greece.
- On the other hand, less than 70% of the population was recorded in prisons in Malta, Estonia, Bulgaria, Lithuania and Latvia (chart 17).

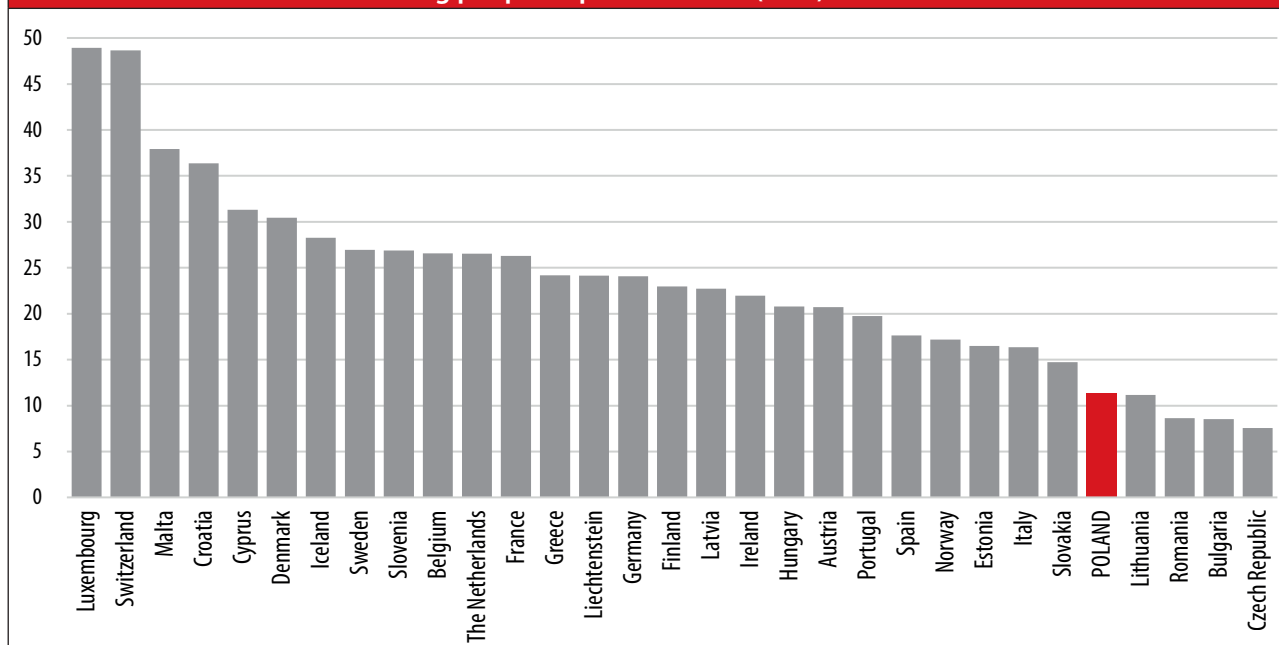
PRE-TRIAL DETAINEES AMONG PEOPLE IN PRISON

Chart 18. Total prison population and pre-trial detainees in 2022 (per 100,000 population)



- A comparison of total prison rates (per 100,000 population) in individual countries with pre-trial rates (per 100,000) shows large differences between countries, both in terms of total imprisoned persons and pre-trial detainees (chart 18, chart 19). The highest rates of imprisonment – over 160 per 100,000 population – are characteristic of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland. The lowest rates were recorded in Iceland and Finland (below 60), as well as in the Netherlands, Slovenia, Norway and Germany (below 70).
- On the other hand, the highest rates of (generally speaking) people on remand, i.e. people in pre-trial detention were recorded in Luxembourg, Hungary, Latvia, Malta and Croatia (about 40 per 100,000 inhabitants).

Chart 19. Pre-trial detainees among people in prison in 2022 (in %)



- The diversity of the situation in prisons from the point of view of the structure of incarcerated persons is also presented by the list of the percentage of pre-trial detainees in the total number of persons in prison. Almost half of the pre-trial detainees were recorded in Luxembourg and Switzerland (around 48%), and slightly fewer (around 38%) in Malta and Croatia. The lowest number of pre-trial inmates was in the Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Romania (less than 10%), followed by Lithuania and Poland (chart 19).

INTERNATIONAL PENITENTIARY STATISTICS

data

Table 11. Number of imprisoned, prison places and population per 100 places in 2022*

Countries	Number of imprisoned	Number of places in prisons	Population per 100 places
Austria	8,993	8,473	106.1
Belgium	11,050	ND	ND
Bulgaria	5,577	8,161	68.3
Croatia	4,091	3,927	104.2
Cyprus	958	424	225.9
Czech Republic	19,052	20,373	93.5
Denmark	4,208	4,238	99.3
Estonia	2,073	3,334	62.2
Finland	2,861	2,991	95.7
France	72,173	60,670	119.0
Greece	10,526	10,175	103.4
Spain	55,751	74,367	75.0
The Netherlands	11,238	12,469	90.1
Ireland	4,369	4,411	99.0
Iceland	138	181	76.2
Liechtenstein	58	22	263.6
Lithuania	4,973	7,200	69.1
Luxembourg	705	ND	ND
Latvia	3,229	4,822	67.0
Malta	559	952	58.7
Germany	57,465	72,630	79.1
Norway	3,687	3,816	96.6
POLAND	71,723	87,511	82.0
Portugal	12,502	12,673	98.7
Romania	23,082	20,571	112.2
Slovakia	9,839	11,653	84.4
Slovenia	1,380	1,354	101.9
Switzerland	6,252	7,196	86.9
Sweden	8,414	7,964	105.7
Hungary	19,347	18,691	103.5
Italy	57,455	51,767	111.0

* As of 31 January 2022.

Table 12. Total imprisoned in 2018 and 2022 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Imprisoned in absolute numbers		Imprisoned per 100,000 population	
	2018	2022	2018	2022
Austria	9,163	8,993	103.9	100.2
Belgium	10,261	11,050	90.0	95.1
Bulgaria	6,651	5,577	94.3	81.6
Croatia	3,217	4,091	78.4	105.9
Cyprus	619	958	71.6	105.9
Czech Republic	21,577	19,052	203.4	181.2
Denmark	3,635	4,208	62.9	71.6
Estonia	2,584	2,073	195.9	155.7
Finland	2,956	2,861	53.6	51.6
France	70,059	72,173	104.7	106.3
Greece	10,654	10,526	99.2	100.6
Spain	58,883	55,751	126.2	117.5
The Netherlands	11,251	11,238	65.5	63.9
Ireland	3,962	4,369	82.0	86.3
Iceland	136	138	39.0	36.7
Liechtenstein	63	58	165.3	147.6
Lithuania	6,485	4,973	230.9	177.2
Luxembourg	656	705	109.0	109.2
Latvia	3,522	3,229	182.1	172.1
Malta	635	559	133.5	107.3
Germany	65,762	57,465	79.4	69.0
Norway	3,791	3,687	71.6	68.0
POLAND	72,818	71,723	191.7	190.5
Portugal	13,021	12,502	126.5	120.8
Romania	20,792	23,082	106.5	121.2
Slovakia	10,294	9,839	189.1	181.0
Slovenia	1,346	1,380	65.1	65.5
Switzerland	6,602	6,252	77.8	71.5
Sweden	6,114	8,414	60.4	80.5
Hungary	16,303	19,347	166.7	199.7
Italy	61,131	57,455	101.1	97.3

Table 13. Imprisoned for homicide committed in 2018 and 2022 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Imprisoned for homicide in absolute numbers		Imprisoned for homicide per 100,000 population	
	2018	2022	2018	2022
Austria	365	383	4.1	4.3
Belgium	ND	ND	ND	ND
Bulgaria	832	806	11.8	11.8
Croatia	328	331	8.0	8.6
Cyprus	ND	61	ND	6.7
Czech Republic	1,110	1,036	10.5	9.9
Denmark	182	170	3.2	2.9
Estonia	329	263	24.9	19.8
Finland	479	464	8.7	8.4
France	7,542	5,042	11.3	7.4
Greece	844	784	7.9	7.5
Spain	3,717	3,557	8.0	7.5
The Netherlands	ND	ND	ND	ND
Ireland	ND	ND	ND	ND
Iceland	7	ND	2.0	ND
Liechtenstein	0	0	(-)	(-)
Lithuania	1,544	1,185	55.0	42.2
Luxembourg	ND	ND	ND	ND
Latvia	597	533	30.9	28.4
Malta	51	51	10.7	9.8
Germany	3,391	3,315	4.1	4.0
Norway	165	160	3.1	3.0
POLAND	4,391	4,344	11.6	11.5
Portugal	282	239	2.7	2.3
Romania	5,011	5,057	25.7	26.6
Slovakia	397	469	7.3	8.6
Slovenia	80	97	3.9	4.6
Switzerland	581	558	6.9	6.4
Sweden	653	913	6.5	8.7
Hungary	264	1,084	2.7	11.2
Italy	9,237	8,793	15.3	14.9

Table 14. Imprisoned for rape in 2018 and 2022 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Imprisoned for rape in absolute numbers		Imprisoned for rape per 100,000 population	
	2018	2022	2018	2022
Austria	489	521	5.5	5.8
Belgium	ND	ND	ND	ND
Bulgaria	216	178	3.1	2.6
Croatia	47	51	1.1	1.3
Cyprus	ND	40	ND	4.4
Czech Republic	541	653	5.1	6.2
Denmark	140	211	2.4	3.6
Estonia	99	83	7.5	6.2
Finland	ND	ND	ND	ND
France	7,259	9,123	10.8	13.4
Greece	281	301	2.6	2.9
Spain	3,313	4,052	7.1	8.5
Ireland	ND	ND	ND	ND
Iceland	6	ND	1.7	ND
Liechtenstein	ND	ND	ND	ND
Lithuania	327	188	11.6	6.7
Luxembourg	ND	ND	ND	ND
Latvia	127	145	6.6	7.7
Malta	12	15	2.5	2.9
Germany	1,639	1,629	2.0	2.0
Norway	398	567	7.5	10.5
POLAND	1,162	1,174	3.1	3.1
Portugal	157	208	1.5	2.0
Romania	1,847	2,726	9.5	14.3
Slovakia	135	148	2.5	2.7
Slovenia	8	16	0.4	0.8
Switzerland	214	190	2.5	2.2
Sweden	338	651	3.3	6.2
Hungary	291	1,057	3.0	10.9
Italy	ND	ND	ND	ND

Table 15. Prison staff in 2018 and 2022 (in absolute numbers and per 100,000 population)

Countries	Prison staff per 100,000 population		Prison staff in absolute numbers	
	2018	2022	2018	2022
Austria	47.7	50.0	4,206	4,489
Belgium	ND	ND	ND	ND
Bulgaria	39.0	40.2	2,748	2,746
Croatia	61.5	65.3	2,524	2,522
Cyprus	ND	43.4	ND	393
Czech Republic	106.8	103.1	11,331	10,837
Denmark	51.8	46.7	2,996	2,744
Estonia	92.0	90.2	1,214	1,201
Finland	37.9	38.1	2,087	2,113
France	56.9	60.8	38,133	41,258
Greece	42.2	40.7	4,535	4,253
Spain ^a	55.7	60.4	26,009	28,654
The Netherlands	59.7	69.5	10,249	12,220
Ireland ^b	64.6	64.6	3,118	3,268
Iceland	32.1	ND	112	ND
Liechtenstein	42.0	ND	16	ND
Lithuania	103.1	81.0	2,895	2,272
Luxembourg	ND	ND	ND	ND
Latvia	122.2	95.5	2,363	1,791
Malta	67.9	90.6	323	472
Germany	44.0	45.1	36,413	37,557
Norway	90.6	ND	4,797	ND
POLAND	43.3	37.7	16,435	14,210
Portugal	52.6	50.4	5,413	5,216
Romania	59.6	61.2	11,635	11,655
Slovakia	91.1	ND	4,959	ND
Slovenia	41.8	42.7	863	899
Switzerland	53.0	53.4	4,496	4,669
Sweden	59.8	72.4	6,050	7,569
Hungary	78.5	91.7	7,672	8,886
Italy	66.1	66.1	40,004	39,020

^a The data include adult and juvenile staff (no distinction).

^b The data include adult staff.

Chapter VIII

VICTIMISATION

Joanna Klimczak, Paweł Ostaszewski, Justyna Włodarczyk-Madejska

Introduction

In this edition of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland* we return to the presentation of data from victimisation surveys, i.e. information on the percentage of victims of crime among a representative sample of adult Poles, the level of fear of crime, assessments of the work of the police and courts, and punitive attitudes. These data were presented in the *Atlas of Crime in Poland 4* in 2009. In the fifth edition of the *Atlas*, there were no up-to-date data from such research, and in the case of the sixth edition, these data were in a separate publication (J. Włodarczyk-Madejska, P. Ostaszewski, J. Klimczak, A. Siemaszko, *Nękanie, oszukiwani, hakowani. Nowe i tradycyjne wymiary wiktyimizacji [Harassment, cheated, hacked. New and Traditional Dimensions of Victimization]*, published by the Institute of Justice, Warsaw 2021). Here we present data obtained during the Second National Victimization Survey, conducted from 26 June to 16 July 2024 at the request of the Institute of Justice in the form of a CATI telephone survey on a random sample of 5,000 adult Polish residents. The aim of the study was to estimate the current level of crime not reported to law enforcement authorities, the scale of reporting of these experiences, the level of the fear of crime, the punitiveness of society and the assessments of the work of the police and common courts.

The study used a questionnaire based on the content of questions posed in the International Victimization Survey (ICVS) and the Polish Crime Survey (PBP), which enabled comparative analyses. As in the first edition of the National Victimization Survey in 2020, in the case of the second edition we asked about victimisation experiences regarding 13 types of crime: car theft; theft of a motorcycle, scooter, moped; theft of a bicycle; burglary; robbery; other types of theft; intentional destruction of property; assault; online fraud; stealing money from a bank account or payment card; identity theft; hacking into an e-mail account, an account on social media or auction site, and stalking. Traditionally,

we were interested in victimisation experiences from the year preceding the survey. Since the survey was conducted at the turn of June and July, we asked about the 12 months preceding the day of the survey.

Fear of crime and other threats, as well as fear for one's safety, are important elements of victimisation research, which allow us to expand the picture given by the frequency with which people experience more general crime. The second National Victimization Survey used the same indicators of anxiety as in the first edition: question 1) the so-called traditional question about "Do you feel safe walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark?"; question 2) "Can the place where you live (district, housing estate, village) be called safe and peaceful?"; question 3) "Are you generally concerned that you may become a victim of crime in the next 12 months?"; 4) an additional dimension "In the place where you live (district, housing estate, village) are there abandoned, neglected, dilapidated buildings or buildings on which someone has painted some drawings or inscriptions (graffiti) without permission?"; and 5) a multiple-choice question about "What threats are you most afraid of near your place of residence?".

The indicators of punitive attitudes used in the Second National Victimization Survey were three basic questions: 1) whether "In order to reduce crime and improve the safety of citizens, it is necessary to make criminal law more stringent and punishment for crime more severe, or whether it is enough to consistently punish according to the existing law and not to make penalties more severe"; 2) whether the respondent supports the introduction of the death penalty, the penalty of flogging and the penalty of sending to a labour camp into the Polish Penal Code; and 3) a penalty that, in the opinion of the respondent, should be given to a 21-year-old man, with no previous criminal record, who is involved in a brawl and causes serious bodily harm to another person with the use of a knife. In the first edition of the National Victimization Survey, in the block of questions about support for the introduction of the

currently non-existent penalties of death, flogging and labour camp, there was one more punishment – life imprisonment without the possibility of applying for parole. In the current edition of the survey, we have dispensed with this part of the question, as this penalty was introduced into the Polish Penal Code on 1 October 2023 (The Act of 7 July 2022 amending the Penal Code and certain other acts, *Journal of Laws*, item 2600, as amended). Of course, all these four penalties should be considered inhumane. However, it is necessary to separate the reality of criminal law from human attitudes and opinions – in order to measure the punitive attitudes of society (in other words, severity exceeding the norm accepted in a given environment or the tendency to apply severe punishments), researchers need to use appropriate measures. There are at least two reasons for using questions about extremely severe penalties that do not exist under current law. First, they are still used in a surprisingly large number of countries (e.g., China, Singapore, and some US states). Second, the public's views on these penalties appear to be a good indicator of the issue being examined.

In the sample, the gender distribution was relatively even, with a slight predominance of women, dominated by middle-aged people (40–59 years) and people over 60 years of age, with higher and secondary education, as well as married people; 30% of the respondents lived in villages, the share of the rest was fairly evenly distributed among the inhabitants of cities of various sizes. The respondents most often worked professionally, about 30% were pensioners and unemployed. They lived in households usually consisting of four, two or three people.

Our study has shown that new crimes (as we have defined them) committed using new technologies are increasingly visible in our society – not only in the statistics of crime (see chapter I), but also in victimisation data. The respondents declared that they experienced or could experience this kind of crime most frequently. In some questions, we were interested in both deeds done and attempts, as in the case of stealing

money from a bank account or credit card. However, these crimes are much less often reported to law enforcement authorities than traditional crimes.

The level of safety of Polish residents is high, despite the fact that one-third of them live in an area where elements of social devastation (graffiti, abandoned and destroyed buildings) are visible. We feel much safer than at the beginning of the 1990s, and we have been afraid of the same thing for many years – dangerous drivers.

In 2024, three-quarters of the population rated the police as effective in the fight against crime. The percentage of good ratings for this formation has been increasing almost systematically since the 1990s, although in 2018–2020 they clearly declined. In 2020, the reasons for this decline can be found in the police involvement in the suppression of women's strikes. The judiciary in Poland, on the other hand, does not enjoy such a good reputation. Only 50% of the respondents gave a good assessment of the work of common courts.

Polish society is becoming less and less repressive in its attitudes. Support for the death penalty has been steadily declining (although a 6% increase was recorded between 2022 and 2024). Also, the percentage of those demanding stricter regulations and severe punishment, starting from 1996, reached the lowest percentage in 2024.

Important clarifications

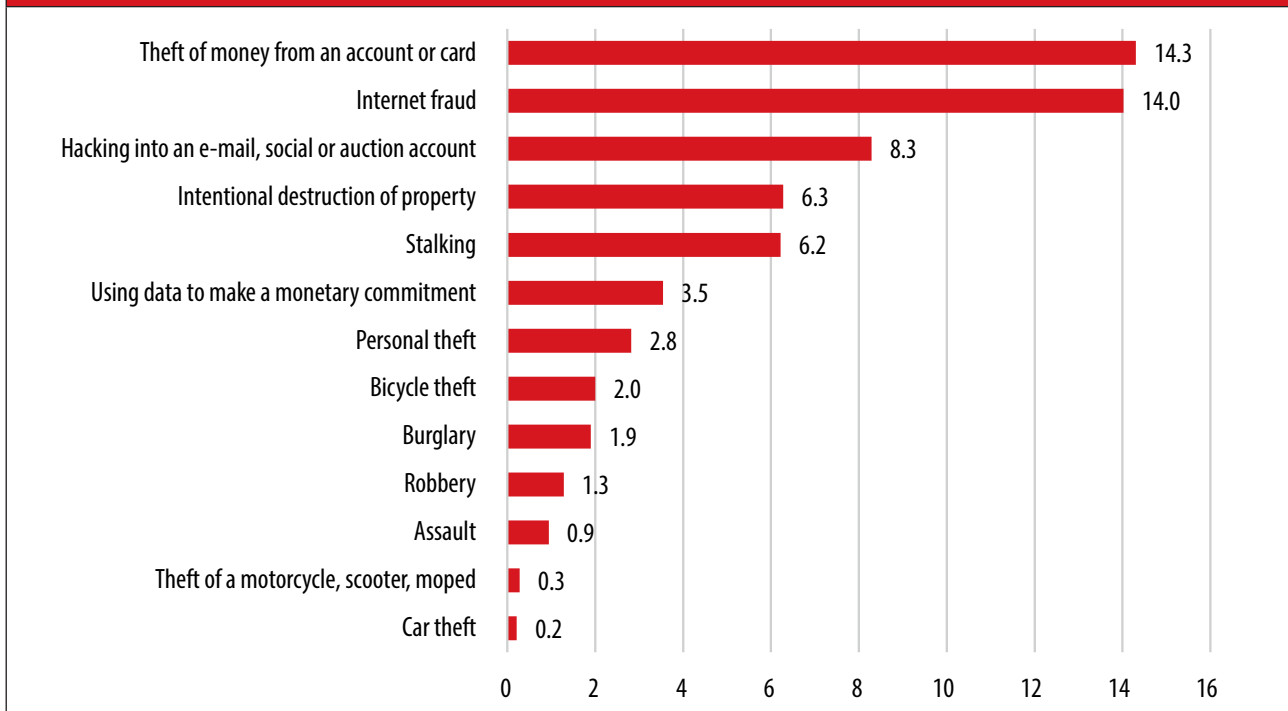
The victimisation rate is the percentage of victims of a crime of a given type among all respondents.

The reporting rate is the percentage of victims of a crime of a given type who reported at least one act to law enforcement.

The fear of crime index is the percentage of respondents who felt fear for their safety while walking alone in the evening in the area where they live.

VICTIMISATION

Chart 1. Victimization rates in 2024 (in %)



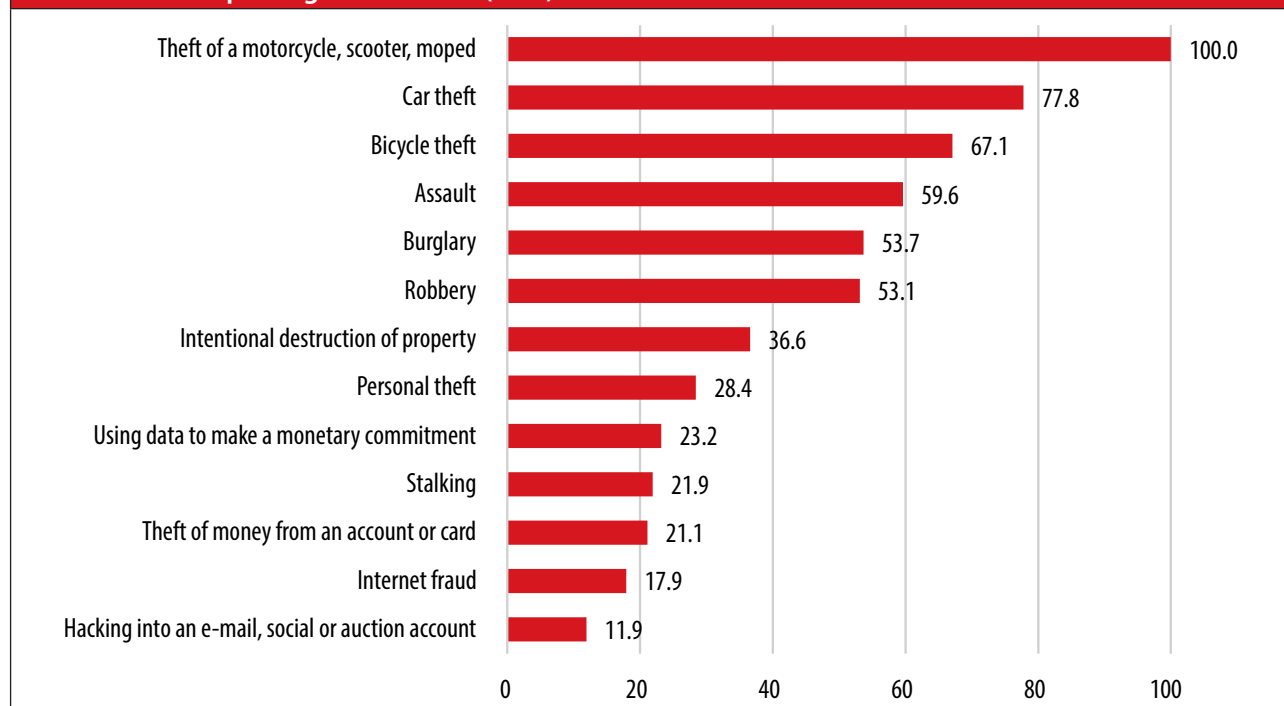
- Among the forms of crime harm, the so-called new crimes are currently the dominant type, and while at least quantitatively, the "traditional" crimes are declining in importance.
- According to the declarations of the respondents in 2024, the crimes to which they most often fell victim were theft or attempted theft from a bank account or payment card, and fraud in online shopping (14% each).
- Compared to 2020, the victimisation rate for theft or attempted theft of money from an account or card was almost nine times higher. This is most likely due to the increasing number (especially after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic) of attempts to extort data and money through fake e-mails,

phone calls and text messages. The declarations of the respondents, in the case of this crime, referred to both an attempt and commission of the crime. Therefore, it can only be assumed that the increase is in those who have been harmed in this way and not necessarily increased. The increase is in those against whom an attempt was made to steal money from an account or card.

- The victimisation rate for hacking into an e-mail, social or auction account exceeded 8% and was almost 1.5 times higher than in 2020.
- The decrease in victimisation applies to crimes of intentional destruction of property (by 0.5 p.p. compared to 2020) and stalking.

REPORTING RATES

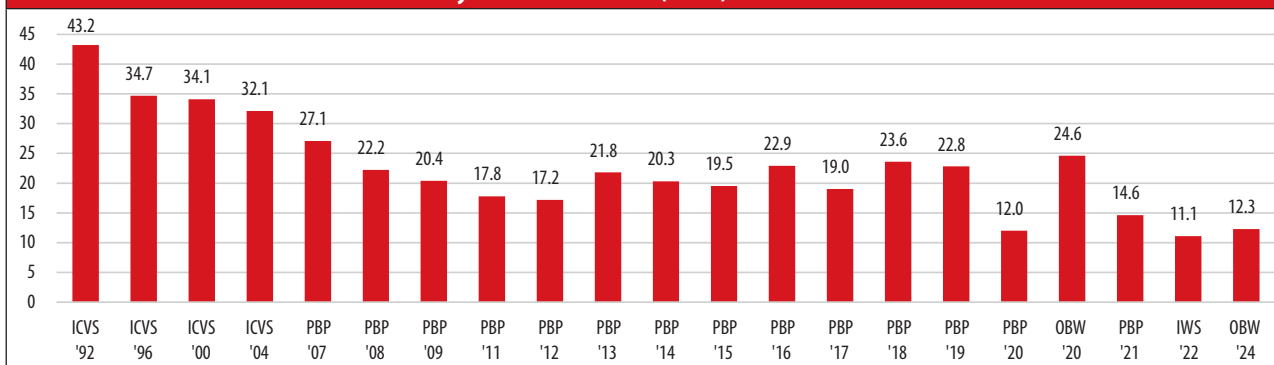
Chart 2. Police reporting rates in 2024 (in %)



- The frequency with which crime is reported to the Police is practically inversely proportional to the frequency the crime – the most frequently reported were vehicle theft, assault, burglary and robbery – over 50%.
- On the other hand, the least frequently reported were more common “new” crimes – hacking into e-mail and social media accounts, online fraud, theft from a bank account or payment card, stalking and identity theft. They were reported in only 12% to 23% of cases.

FEAR OF CRIME

Chart 3. Level of fear of crime in the years 1992–2024 (in %)



- In 2024, the vast majority of Polish residents did not feel worried about their safety (almost 88% feel very or rather safe) walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark.
- Only 12.3% admitted that they do not feel safe during such a lonely walk. Compared to the record fear of crime, recorded in 1992 (43.2%), in 2024 there was a 3.5-fold decrease in this indicator.

Table 1. "Do you feel safe walking alone in your neighbourhood after dark?" (in %)

Answers		%
Safe	very safe	31.3
	rather safe	56.4
	total	87.7
Dangerous	rather dangerous	10.3
	very dangerous	2.0
	total	12.3
TOTAL		100.0
<i>It's hard to say</i>		2.9

Table 2. "Are you generally concerned that you may become a victim of crime in the next 12 months?" (in %)

Answers	%
Yes	29.2
No	70.8
TOTAL	100.0
<i>It's hard to say</i>	5.9

- Only 29% of Poles are afraid that they may become victims of crime in the near future.

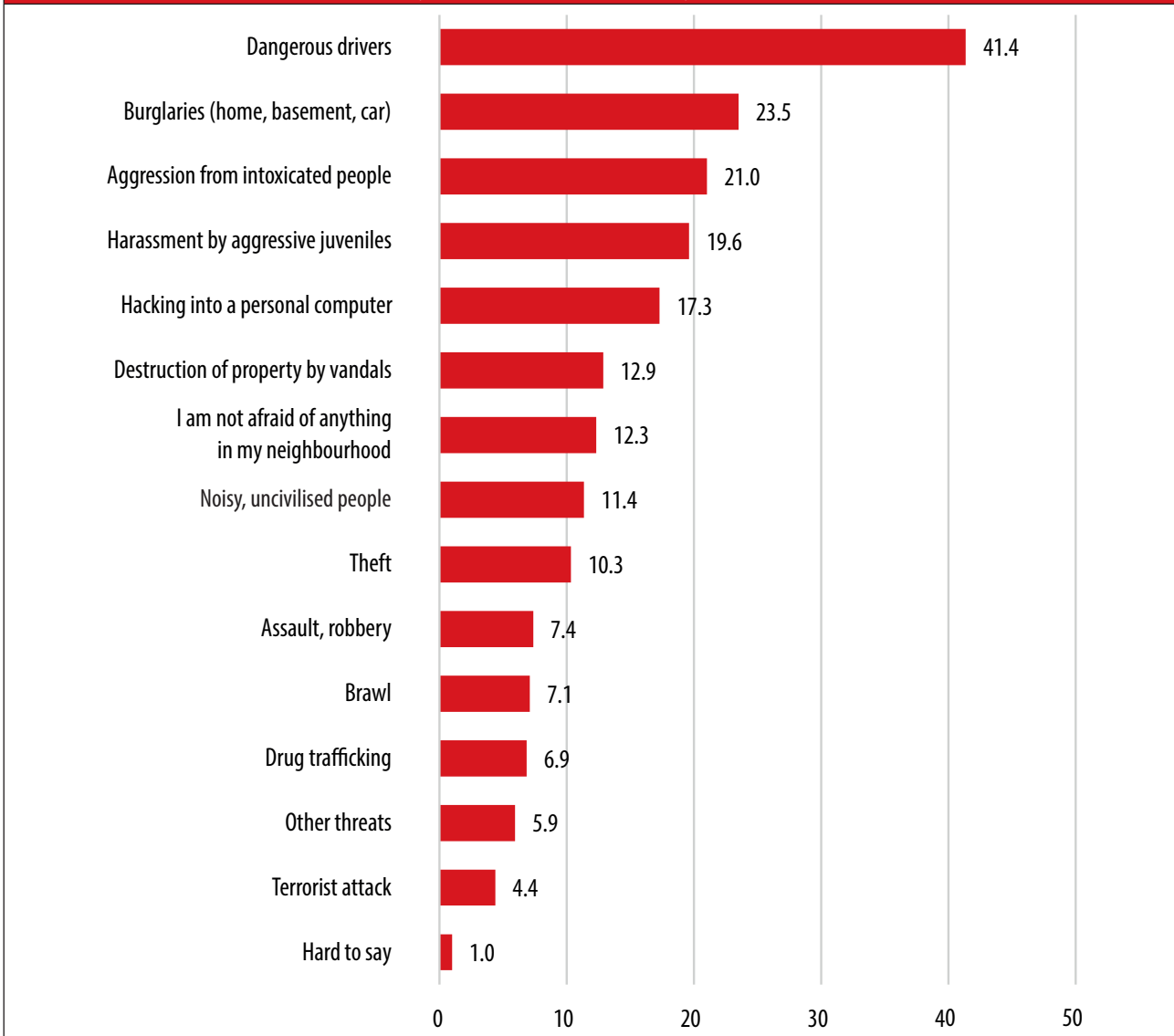
Table 3. "Can the place where you live (district, housing estate, village) be called safe and peaceful?" (in %)

Answers		%
Yes	definitely yes	41.7
	rather yes	52.0
	total	93.7
No	rather not	5.1
	definitely not	1.2
	total	6.3
TOTAL		100.0
<i>It's hard to say</i>		0.4

Table 4. "Are there abandoned, neglected, dilapidated buildings or buildings on which someone has painted some drawings or inscriptions [graffiti] without permission?" (in %)

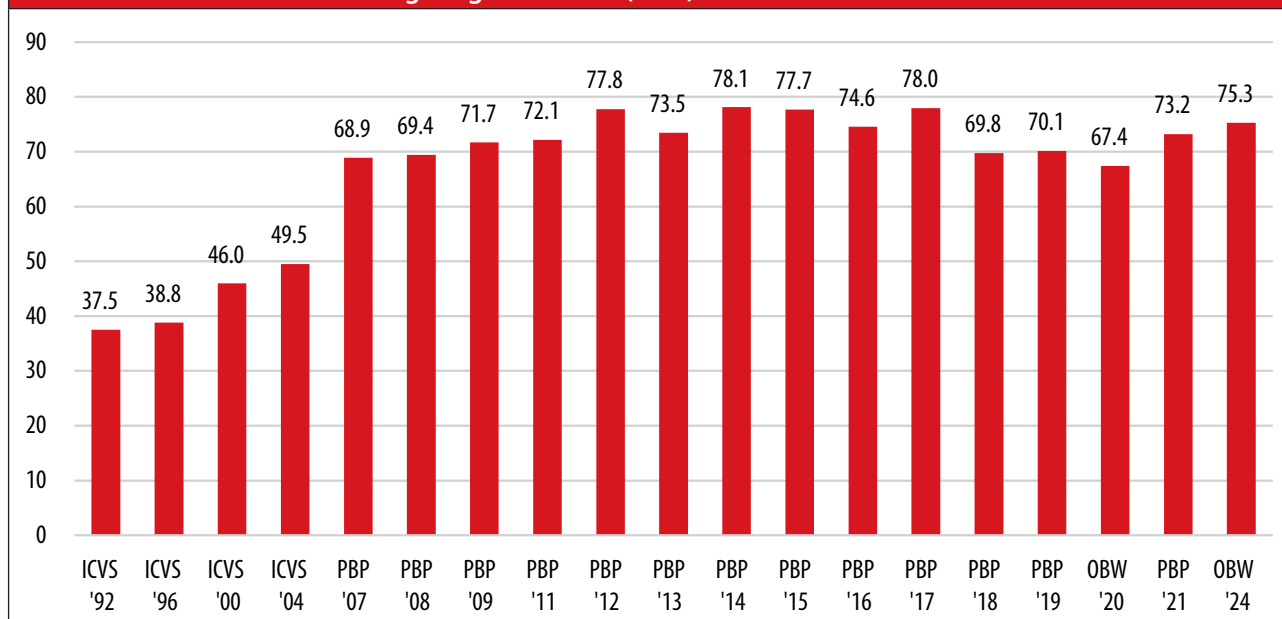
Answers	%
Yes	35.7
No	64.3
TOTAL	100.0
<i>It's hard to say</i>	1.0

- As many as 94% of respondents assessed their place of residence as safe and peaceful.
- About one-third respondents observed manifestations of social disorganisation in their immediate vicinity such as abandoned, neglected, or destroyed buildings or graffiti.
- The percentage of answers to the question about specific threats that Polish residents are afraid of has not changed significantly since 2007.
- Poles are most afraid of dangerous drivers (41.4%), followed by burglaries, aggression from intoxicated people and harassment by aggressive juveniles.
- The next position was taken by the fear of hacking into a personal computer. The lowest in this ranking was the threat of a terrorist attack and common crimes such as assault, robbery and theft, as well as drug trafficking.

Chart 4. "What and what threats are you most afraid of near your place of residence?" (in %, OBW 2024)

ASSESSMENT OF THE POLICE AND COURTS

Chart 5. Police effective in the fight against crime (in %)



- Three-quarters of the Polish society assessed in 2024 the police as effective in the fight against crime, while only less than half of the respondents approved of the work of common courts.
- The positive assessment of the work of the police increased since the beginning of the 1990s until

2017. The years 2018–2020 were a period of significant decline, after which they started to improve again – to 75% in 2024.

Table 5. "All things considered, is the police in the fight against crime in your area?" (in %)

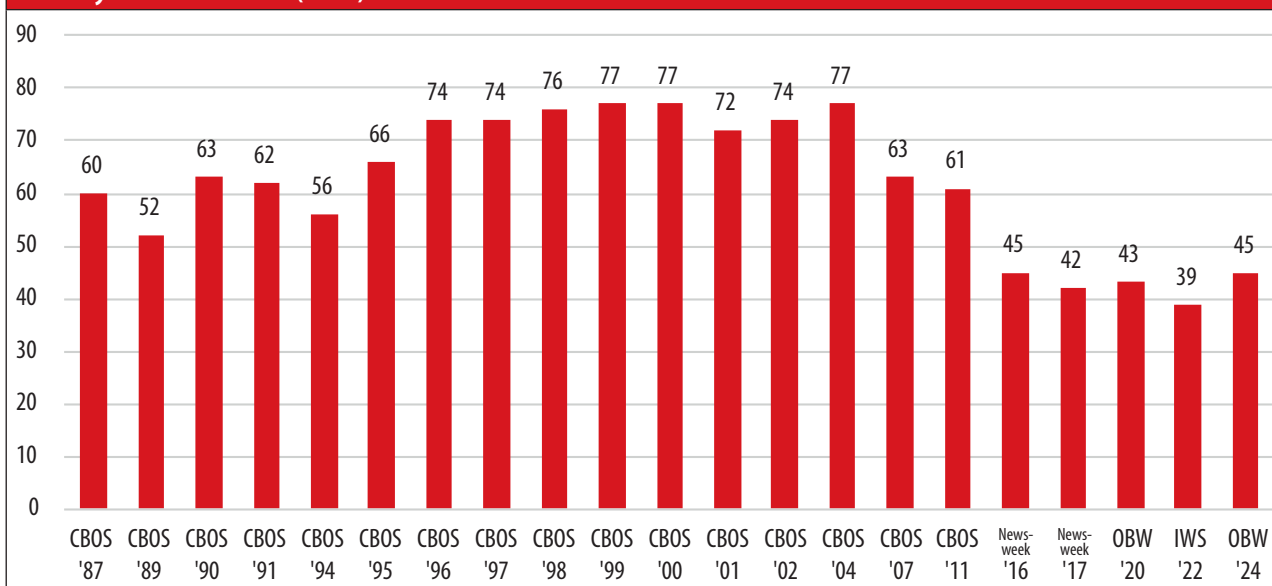
Answers		%
Effective	highly effective	9.0
	rather effective	66.3
	total	75.3
Ineffective	rather ineffective	18.7
	very ineffective	6.0
	total	24.7
TOTAL		100.0
<i>It's hard to say</i>		23.6

Table 6. "How do you assess the work of Polish common courts in general?" (in %)

Answers		%
Well	very good	3.7
	rather good	44.7
	total	48.4
Badly	rather bad	35.3
	very bad	16.3
	total	51.6
TOTAL		100.0
<i>It's hard to say</i>		23.5

PUNITIVITY

Chart 6. Percentage of supporters of the reinstatement/introduction of the death penalty in Poland in the years 1987–2024 (in %)

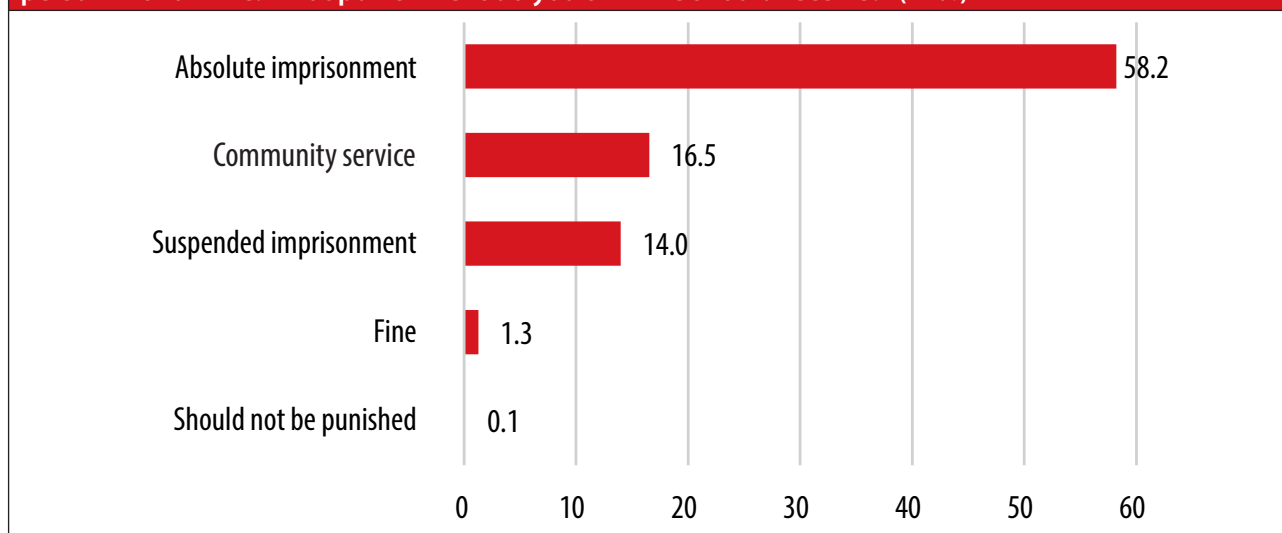


- The percentage of supporters of the death penalty in Poland has been monitored since the late 1980s, when it was abolished. From that moment on, we first observed a significant increase in support for this penalty – at the time of the greatest increase in crime, i.e. until the first years of the 21st century – when then there was a steady, systematic decline in this indicator. In 2022, the percentage of supporters of this penalty was the lowest in the analysed period, at 39%, and in 2024 it increased slightly – to 45%.
- Only 20% of the population declares support for the punishment of flogging, while two-thirds of adult Poles declare support for the punishment of placement in a labour camp.

Table 7. "If it were possible, would you be in favour of introducing into the Polish Penal Code?" (in %)

Answers		%
Death penalty	yes	44.8
	no	50.2
	it's hard to say	5.0
Flogging	yes	20.1
	no	76.6
	it's hard to say	3.3
Placement in a labour camp	yes	66.8
	no	30.5
	it's hard to say	2.7

Chart 7. "People have different views on how to punish criminals severely. For example, a 21-year-old man, with no previous criminal record, is involved a brawl and causes serious bodily harm to another person with a knife. What punishment do you think he should receive?" (in %)



- In 2024, 40% of Poles wanted stricter criminal law and harsher punishment of perpetrators of crimes, which still seems to be a high percentage. In 1996 and 2018, the share of these responses was as high as 60%.
- The most common answer to the question about the punishment that a 21-year-old knifeman should receive for a serious injury to another person was absolute imprisonment (58% of responses), which is not very high percentage for such a serious crime.
- In 2020, the percentage for this most severe penalty was very similar at 57%, and in 2022 it was slightly lower at 47%. Compared to previous surveys, the percentage in favour of fines and community service decreased, and the percentage of those favouring – "other punishment" increased. The answers varied greatly and were usually evasive, such as "punishment in accordance with the Criminal Code", "depends on additional circumstances", "difficult to say" and mentioned combinations of existing and non-existent penalties and penal measures.

Table 8. "Do you think that in order to reduce crime and improve the safety of citizens (1996–2024)?" (in %)

Answers	CBOS'96	IWS'18	OBV'20	IWS'22	OBV'24
Criminal law should be more stringent and crimes punished should be severely	62	60	46	47	40
It is enough to consistently punish according to the existing law and the penalties should not be made more severe	35	31	45	43	54
It's hard to say	3	9	9	10	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

CONCLUSIONS

Paweł Waszkiewicz

This edition of the *Atlas of Crime in Poland* presents a unique set of data on objective safety and subjective feeling of security in Poland from 1990, and in some cases from 1970 to 2023. The data come from statistics collected by the Ministry of Justice, the Central Statistical Office (GUS), Eurostat, the Police and other uniformed services in Poland, as well as from original research conducted by the Section of Economic Analysis of the Justice System of the Institute of Justice. Thanks to three types of triangulations, i.e. triangulation of data, research methods and researchers, the data presented show the state of crime and the response to it in Poland in the mid-2020s. Relying on a single source of data would limit the accuracy and reliability of such description.

Main findings

- 1.** The most important finding—borne out across almost every chapter is the unprecedented level of safety in Poland over the past three decades. In terms of crime-related safety indicators, Poland ranks among the safest European countries. This conclusion does not rely solely on statistics from security-sector institutions, which might have an interest in a particular portrayal of reality. The Second National Victimization Survey, conducted on a large, representative sample of residents in Poland (N = 5,000), yields results consistent with the other data. Despite high-profile cases of serious violation of social and legal norms regularly publicised in the media, people living in Poland report feeling safe and declare they are rarely victims of the most serious crimes.
- 2.** Socio-economic and technological changes have had a clear impact on the structure of offending. An increasing share of prohibited acts (and attempts) is committed without direct contact between perpetrator and victim. Offences are ever more often carried out on the internet—or using the internet as a tool—with consequences in the analogue world. At the same time, the most common violations (and attempted violations) of criminal law are the least likely to be reported to law-enforcement authorities. Cases reported by victims frequently remain undetected and proceedings are often discontinued because the perpetrators cannot be identified. The size of the dark figure of crime is probably due not only to doubts about police effectiveness: three in four respondents rate the Police's work as good or very good. The Second National Victimization Survey did not include a question about reasons for non-reporting to the Police. Based on other criminological and victimological studies, the main reasons are likely to be the small scale of losses and victims' embarrassment or self-blame—especially among older age groups, who may feel they contributed to the harm through a lack of caution.

Other changes visible in the results include an increasing share of property offences and a corresponding decline in the share of offences against life and health. In addition, the absolute number of drug offences – primarily those related to possession of controlled substances – has been gradually increasing for several years. The slight decline in 2023 will likely be followed by a rebound in subsequent years.

Over time, the age structure of suspects has also shifted: there are more suspects in older age groups, and fewer in younger ones. This is mainly due to demographic change—above all population ageing—as well as longer periods of good physical and mental health.
- 3.** Over the past three decades, the legislator's enormous influence on police and court statistics has been evident. Shifts in the criminalisation and penalisation of various behaviours are reflected in the data presented in the *Atlas*. This is most apparent in the successive changes to value thresholds for stolen or damaged property, which determine whether an act is classified as the a crime of theft (Article 278 of the Penal Code)

and not a misdemeanour (Article 119 of the Code of misdemeanours). The same applies to the criminalisation of driving a motor vehicle while under the influence of alcohol or other intoxicant, and to drug offences. Police and court statistics clearly show how effective such statutory adjustments are at shaping recorded figures. They do not, however, produce general deterrence: people in Poland continue to commit newly penalised acts. Typically, these changes drive an increase or decrease (alongside rising thresholds for stolen/damaged property) in the number of recorded offences and, consequently, in the number of persons punished for them. To help readers navigate the volume of data in the *Atlas*, we have included a table summarising the main legislative acts that have shaped police and court statistics.

4. In this edition of the *Atlas*, we place particular emphasis on foreigners. This is, first, because the ethnic composition of Poland's resident population has been changing steadily, and second, because public debate has repeatedly raised claims about the threat allegedly posed by foreigners. We are fully aware of the difficulties in determining the size of the foreign-resident population. Therefore—drawing on data from multiple sources (the Central Statistical Office, the Social Insurance Institution, the Border Guard and mobile-network operators)—we adopt a conservative minimum estimate of population size (see Chapter II, “The Suspects”): 2.65 million foreigners in mid-2023. A credible analysis requires such a baseline estimate.

Data collected by the Police and the Ministry of Justice do not support claims of an elevated risk to public safety from foreigners. Statistically, foreigners in Poland are less likely to be recorded as suspects than Polish citizens—both in absolute terms and relative to their share of the resident population. At the same time, the foreign-resident population is internally diverse in its recorded offending rates: some third-country national groups exhibit markedly higher rates than others. Moreover, available data indicate that foreigners are more often recorded as victims

than Polish citizens, and a substantial proportion of these incidents go unreported. Ethno-demographic changes in the coming years will likely pose challenges for Polish law-enforcement and the judiciary, but of a very different nature than blanket narratives that equate “foreigners” with a threat to the safety of Polish women and children.

5. Opinion-poll results on institutions involved in the justice system and penal policy show a steady decline in punitiveness and persistently low assessments of courts' performance. Falling punitiveness is consistent with improvements in objective—and especially subjective—feelings of safety: expectations of severe punishment typically rise when feelings of safety fall. There are, however, some signs of a shift. Notably, support for the death penalty has seen its first substantial increase in nearly 40 years (from 39% to 45% of respondents). In addition, one in five respondents would favour introducing flogging as a punishment—a view broadly in line with levels reported since the late People's Republic period. More than half of respondents rate the courts' performance poorly. Even if this is partly shaped by media portrayals, it also reflects lived experience and the objectively worsening crisis of the justice system. Its most prominent indicator is the rising average time to disposition in civil and criminal cases, which renders the constitutional right to a fair trial increasingly nominal.

In the long run, the belief that one must wait many years for a (fair) judgment poses a serious risk of eroding the public's sense of safety.

Forecast

Forecasting any phenomenon carries a high risk of error—especially in the social sphere. Nevertheless, analysing large datasets, trend lines, and the socio-economic and political context allows for cautious, more-or-less general projections.

The most likely development is a further increase in prohibited acts committed remotely—without direct

contact between perpetrator and victim. This stems both from the growing use of new technologies in everyday life and from the sense of anonymity that often accompanies perpetrators, as well as the dehumanisation of victims whom they do not meet face-to-face. These two mechanisms help enable behaviours that many offenders would not undertake in the analogue world.

Polish and international trends point to growing potential for drug offences. The availability of many controlled substances has increased dramatically. Purchasing them no longer requires risky trips to notorious neighbourhoods: offers appear on social media popular with young users, and ordering and delivery can be as convenient as on food-delivery apps. Fentanyl has not yet become a regular part of dealers' offerings in Poland, but that is likely a matter of time. The same applies to low-quality ("dirty") methamphetamine—whose high availability has contributed to the addiction epidemic in the United States. Increased availability of these two substances in Poland would likely raise both the proportion of people with severe addictions and the number of drug-related deaths, and would also be accompanied by growth in property crime, as addicted persons seek to finance subsequent doses at any cost.

The war in Ukraine is likely to have consequences not only for geopolitical security but also for public safety. The principal risk is the uncontrolled inflow of firearms and of persons proficient in their use. Some of these individuals will be traumatised by frontline experiences. They may face double exclusion in Poland: as foreigners among Polish citizens and, within their own communities, as people whose war experiences affect their physical and mental health and, consequently, their behaviour. The post-war moral climate has been described in numerous psychological and criminological studies. The combination of these elements within communities marked by war experience creates a high risk of forming armed organised criminal

groups—recruiting primarily within foreign-resident communities, though not exclusively. An unknown number of volunteers from Poland have also served at the front. At the same time, a significant number of experienced officers have left Polish law-enforcement agencies in recent years. The low level of firearms proficiency among some police officers—illustrated by media-reported incidents—is symptomatic. This raises the risk of a repeat, under different conditions, of the dynamics seen in the 1990s. The presence of large numbers of traumatised people is also likely to increase incidents of domestic violence and more common offences against life and health.

"It used to be a safe place..."

Based on available data, the scope for further improvements in Poland's safety levels appears limited¹. This does not mean that Poland will again become as dangerous for its residents as it was at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. However, the potential for a decline in prohibited acts resulting from an exceptionally favourable demographic and economic constellation has likely been exhausted. By contrast, external catalysts are becoming stronger, while law-enforcement agencies and the courts are not adequately prepared for the changes under way.

Even if the outlined scenario materialises, Poland will remain one of the safer countries in Europe. Countries of comparable size, and many of Poland's neighbours, generally face higher levels of crime and many similar processes. Against this backdrop, Poland will remain a "green island."

¹ The forecasts—and any possible errors—are mine alone as the author of *The Conclusions*. Some co-authors of this *Atlas* draw different conclusions from the same data. In their view, population ageing will play the decisive role, and the number of prohibited acts in Poland will continue to decline.

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The astute reader of the Atlas series has probably noticed that each subsequent edition has brought certain changes. It is no different now. The *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7* differs from previous editions both in terms of its structure and the group of authors. [...] in this edition, the presentation of individual issues on single pages in graphic form supplemented with short comments has returned, which will probably be the first thing that the Reader will notice and – we hope – will not only liven up the presented data, but also facilitate the reading of trends in the phenomena studied. However, we have not given up on short introductions to each chapter or on including tables – these appear both with the thematically discussed problems and at the end of each chapter in the form of annexes. Following the example of previous editions, we have made every effort to ensure that the next *Atlas* continues to serve as a key nationwide source of detailed data on crime and issues related to it.

FROM THE INTRODUCTION

The *Atlas of Crime in Poland 7* is a publication that has been awaited, as it contains quantitative data necessary for the interpretation of both the phenomenon of crime and the criminal law response to it. Since there is a problem with their availability, collecting them in one publication, even the basic ones, is very valuable. In the process of interpreting these data, it is necessary to take into account various factors that model them (such as normative changes in the areas of: substantive criminal law, procedural law, fiscal law of petty offences, administrative law, police law; legal acts created by the management of the Ministry of the Interior; institutional changes, etc.). Changes in the law may therefore have an impact [...] on the interpretation of the presented data.

FROM THE REVIEW BY PROF. DR HAB. JANINA BŁACHUT

