



Looking at violence in the Nordic Countries: statistical sources, variations, improv- ing measurement

Jukka-Pekka Takala and Yaira Obstbaum

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Preface

This report reviews and discusses violence statistics and their problems and possible improvements from various angles. The report is based on the work of the “statistical” subproject of the Nordic Project on Violence financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers and carried out by the Nordic councils for crime prevention and the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology.

The Statistics Subproject was to look at three related but originally separate subprojects of the original overall plan:

1. *To describe and compare violence with the help of extant statistics;*
2. *To chart variations in violence in the Nordic countries;*
3. *To develop instruments of measuring violence in intimate relations including violence in the family.*

With the resources available, the subproject was unable to carry out any of these tasks in a truly systematic and comprehensive manner. However, we hope that the variable material we were able to produce on all these themes can contribute to better accounting for violence and be of help when devising methods for preventing violence. The report describes levels and trends in violence. It touches on problems and solutions in their measurement. Some suggestions are tentative, others are more firmly established and the reader can turn to the research and web pages that are referred to in the reports.

The report includes various types of sections. A few sections were written as study papers for the project. For instance, Arnt Even Hustad gives a brief but thorough overview of Norwegian statistical sources and their central results. Lotta Nilsson reviews Swedish sources for data on violence in intimate relations. Martti Lehti shows that Finnish homicides have been historically more variable than one might think when looking only at their constant features, such as the role of alcohol or the relatively high homicide rate.

One key section is a revised version of a presentation of Felipe Estrada and co-authors at the Stockholm Criminology Symposium 2008, which summarizes the comparative statistical overviews. Like this, also many other sections are partially based on recordings and notes taken of oral presentations and the slides presented at the project’s two-day seminar in April 2008. The editors of this report first wrote up most of these sections but they are attributed to the original presenter. In some cases, the presenter substantially revised the text. Some sections are accounts of different aspects of discussions written up by the editors. Where possible and appropriate, the commentator is identified in brackets.

Jukka-Pekka Takala from Finland chaired the subproject. Other participants of the project group were Flemming Balvig from Denmark, Guðbjörg S. Bergsdóttir from Iceland, Felipe Estrada and, before him, Mikael Rying from Sweden, and Arnt Even Hustad from Norway. The main working seminar was also attended by Nicolay B. Johansen and Leif Petter Olaussen from Norway, Lotta Nilsson from Sweden, and Martti Lehti from Finland, all of whom gave presentations. Yaira Obstbaum from Finland joined the project to record the seminar, to write up many sections and to co-edit this publication. The project manager of the overall Nordic Project on Violence, Regina Järg-Tärno from Finland, provided irreplaceable help at all stages. Finally, also the lead author of the plan for the Nordic Project on Violence, Hannu Takala from Finland, contributed to discussions at the seminar and gave helpful comments on this report.

We wish to thank all those mentioned and many others who in one way or another have contributed to this project.

Helsinki April 2009

Jukka-Pekka Takala & Yaira Obstbaum

Summary

This report reviews and discusses violence statistics and their problems and possible improvements from various angles.

Overviews of statistical sources about the extent and effects of violence in the Nordic countries are given.

The most reliable violence statistics, those on homicides and violent mortality, show that in a global comparison, all the Nordic countries are relatively non-violent. However, the Finnish homicide rates are two or more times higher than those of the other four countries and Western Europe. Finland's homicide rate per 100,000 population is at about 2.5 while the rate for the others is around 1. In all the countries, the homicide rate has been relatively stable during the past 15–20 years, although it may have slightly declined in several of them.

The most widely known and used source on the extent of violence are police statistics. Unlike homicides, the number of police-recorded assaults have increased considerably and fairly consistently during the past 25 years (and even earlier) in all the countries looked at. The police statistics on assaults cannot, however, be considered very reliable instruments of historical or cross-country comparison. One reason is that crime definitions and statistical accounting practices vary significantly from country to country and affect the statistical numbers. The other major reason is that only a part of violent crimes is reported to the police. This unreported proportion is large and its size varies not only from country to country but also from time to time.

Victimization surveys that ask about the people's experience of being targets of violence (and other crimes) also often ask whether the offence was recorded by the police. These data provide information about the extent of reporting and non-reporting. The surveys tend to be consistent in revealing that the respondents have reported an increasing proportion of violence to the police.

The victimization survey can in principle be a reliable instrument for measuring violence since it should obtain information also about violent crimes that are not reported to the police. Furthermore, using similar questionnaires and other collection methods in different times and in different countries would provide for comparisons between different times and countries. In practice, the surveys are very sensitive instruments and many details in their design and execution can go wrong jeopardizing their reliability and comparability.

Even so, all the four larger Nordic countries have a tradition of large scale population surveys that are fairly comparable inside the country. All these seem to consistently indicate that during the past 15–25 years violence

has either been stable or has declined. While seemingly contradictory with the police-recorded increase in violence, this result is actually consistent with it, since the surveys also show that the proportion of violence reported to the police has increased significantly.

This in broad terms neat picture should not lead to the minimization of the problems of violence or the possibility that, at least in some contexts, violence has increased or may have increased. Violence at the workplace, particularly, work-related violence against women in the health and social services, has increased both in the statistics and in the surveys. Furthermore, surveys are considered to be poor in reaching to (or getting responses from) those members of society who are most often victimized.

Hence, more comprehensive and integrated instruments of measuring violence should be developed. Analysing the kinds of violence that are reported to police is important. Likewise, violence-related visits to the health and social sector should be made a more integral part of violence statistics. Specialized studies are needed. The report includes a short review on the usability of international surveys that are not dedicated to crime or violence but nevertheless include relevant questions about violence. They include surveys on working conditions and on schools as well as the Eurobarometer. In principle, these instruments are a good addition to sparse internationally comparable data. However, even a brief study reveals some existing problems that weaken the reliability of some of them.

Since a large proportion of violent victimizations are repeat victimizations, the data systems on violence should be readier to recognize repeat victimization. Preventing repeat victimization would be preventing a huge part of total victimization events.

The project also wanted to look at variations in violence (between countries, regions, historical periods, or other factors), partly to develop ideas potentially helpful for prevention efforts. For instance, Martti Lehti showed that while the Finnish homicide rate has been high compared with Scandinavian rates, the perpetrator and victim populations today are different from those until about the last third of the 20th century. The analysis supports the idea that to bring down the Finnish homicide rate the alcohol abusing and marginalized (largely male) population should be functionally integrated in society.

The project discussed the advantages and disadvantages of past and current methods and systems of measuring violence in intimate relations, including violence in the family.

Regarding different surveys, various views were presented. While for many purposes it is important to obtain information of violent events during the respondents' whole life or adult life, it would also be important to have stronger instruments giving information about violence in the recent past (such as during the past 12 months). This is important for being able to monitor the development of the situation in a more practical time perspective, and to consider appropriate measures for influencing the situation. It was also pointed out that research so far has almost exclusively been con-

ducted on male violence against women. The Norwegian survey on violence between spouses published in 2005 is a rare exception – and indicates that while women are clearly more often the victims of serious violence in their intimate relations, the proportion of male victims of serious violence is also considerable. In addition, research of children as victims of violence should be promoted. (Another subproject of the Nordic Project on Violence has dealt with this issue.)

There was wide agreement that the information from different authorities and agencies that deal with the victims or perpetrators of intimate and domestic violence should be made better use of. This serves not only knowledge production but also helps the directing and guiding of measures that prevent violence and alleviate its consequences.

Sammandrag

Denna rapport ger en överblick av våldsstatistiken och diskuterar därtill hörande problem samt eventuella förbättringar sett från olika synvinklar.

Här ges alltså en överblick av sådana statistiska källor som handlar om omfattning och påverkan av våldet i de nordiska länderna. Den mest pålitliga våldsstatistiken gäller brott med dödlig utgång och dödsorsaksstatistiken om våldsdödlighet. De visar att alla de nordiska länderna är relativt icke våldsamma i en internationell jämförelse. Dödligt våld i Finland är emellertid två eller över två gånger vanligare än i de andra fyra länderna och västra Europa. I Finland är antalet våldsbrott med dödlig utgång per 100 000 invånare ungefär 2,5 medan antalet i de andra länderna är ungefär 1. För alla nordiska länder gäller att det dödliga våldets nivå har förblivit stabil under de senaste 15–20 åren även om vi har sett en aning nedgång här trots allt.

Den mest kända och frekvent använda källan för omfattningen av våld är polisens statistikuppgifter. I motsats till dödligt våld har antalet polisanmälda misshandel i alla länder som man undersökt ökat märkbart under de senaste 25 åren (och t.o.m. tidigare). Polisens statistik över misshandel kan emellertid inte vara särskilt pålitliga instrument i en historisk jämförelse mellan länderna. En orsak till detta är att brottsdefinitionerna och den statistiska bokföringen i praktiken varierar från land till land och detta påverkar de statistiska siffrorna. En annan betydande orsak är att bara en del av våldsbrotten rapporteras till polisen. Den icke rapporterade delen är omfattande och storleken varierar inte bara från land till land men också från en tid till en annan.

Offerundersökningar som frågar personer om deras erfarenheter av att blivit offer för våld (och övriga brott) frågar också ofta om gärningen blivit registrerad hos polisen. Dessa uppgifter ger information om omfattningen av det som rapporteras och det som inte rapporteras. Offerundersökningarna avslöjar konsekvent att svarspersonerna hade rapporterat ett ökande antal våldsfall till polisen.

Offerundersökningen kan i princip vara ett tillförlitligt instrument för att mäta våldet eftersom det också torde innehålla information om sådana våldsbrott som inte blivit rapporterade till polisen. Vidare kunde det att man använder sig av samma frågeformulär med identiska insamlingsmetoder olika tider och i olika länder göra det möjligt att jämföra olika tider och länder. I praktiken är sådana undersökningar dock ytterst känsliga instrument och små detaljer i utformningen och utförandet kan gå på tok och riskera tillförlitligheten och jämförbarheten.

Trots detta har alla fyra nordiska länder en tradition av storskaliga befolkningsundersökningar som är rätt så jämförbara inom landet. Alla dessa undersökningar tycks peka på att våldet varit vare sig stabilt eller minskat

under de senaste 15–25 åren. Även om detta ytligt verkar stå i motsats till den ökning som skett i polisanmälda våldsfall, är detta resultat faktiskt helt förenligt med polisdata eftersom undersökningarna också visar att andelen polisanmälda fall har ökat märkbart.

Denna allmänt sett vackra bild skall inte leda till en underskattning av våldsproblemen eller till förnekandet av den möjligheten att våldet i några sammanhang har stigit eller kanske har stigit. Våldet på arbetsplatserna, särskilt när det gäller kvinnor i hälso- och socialservicen, har ökat både i statistiken och i frågeundersökningarna. Dessutom anses offerundersökningar vara dåliga på att nå ut till dem som är de allvarligaste våldsoffren i samhället (eller få svar av dem).

Därför borde mera omfattande och integrerade instrument utvecklas för att mäta våldet. Viktigt vore att analysera det sorts våld som rapporteras till polisen. På samma sätt borde våldsrelaterade besök på hälso- och socialsektorn bli en mera integrerad del av våldsstatistiken. Specialundersökningar behövs. I rapporten ingår en kort översikt över hur man kan utnyttja sådana internationella frågeundersökningar, som inte fokuserar på brott och våld, men trots allt tar upp relevanta frågor om våld. De handlar om enkätundersökningar om arbetsmiljö och skolor och också Eurobarometern. I princip är dessa instrument ett fint tillägg till de knappa internationellt jämförbara uppgifterna. En helt kort studie också kan avslöja en del existerande problem som försvagar tillförlitligheten i några av dem.

Eftersom en stor del av våldsoffren har utsatts för övergrepp upprepade gånger borde de systemen som uppdaterar uppgifter om våld bli mera alerta på att känna igen upprepade offersituationer. Genom att förebygga upprepad utsatthet för våld kan man förhindra en stor del av det totala antalet offersituationer.

Projektet ville också se på variationerna i våldet (länderna, regionerna, historiska perioder eller andra faktorer emellan) för att delvis kunna utveckla idéer till potentiell hjälp för förebyggande åtgärder. Martti Lehti till exempel visade på att medan antalet brott mot liv i Finland har länge varit högt jämfört med Skandinavien i övrigt, avviker dock förövaren och offret idag från tiden före ungefär tredjedelen i slutet av 1900-talet. Analysen stöder idén om att för att få ned antalet våldsdåd med dödlig utgång i Finland måste man på ett funktionellt sätt integrera alkoholmissbrukande marginaliserade människor (närmast män) i samhället.

Projektet diskuterade fördelar och nackdelar med aktuella och tidigare metoder och system för att mäta våldet i närrelationer inklusive våldet i familjen.

När det gäller olika enkätundersökningar presenterades olika åsikter. Emedan det av olika orsaker är viktigt att få uppgifter om våldssituationer under svararens hela livsperiod (eller dennes vuxna liv), är det också viktigt att ha metoder för att få uppgifter om våldssituationer under den närmaste gångna tiden (som t.ex. under de senaste 12 månaderna). Detta är viktigt för att följa utvecklingen under en mera praktisk tidsperiod och att överväga lämpliga åtgärder för att påverka situationen. Det påpekades också att forsk-

ningen hittills nästan uteslutande handlat om mäns våld mot kvinnor. Den norska undersökningen om våld mellan makar, som publicerats 2005, utgör ett undantag – den visar att medan kvinnor klart utgör merparten av offer för grovt våld i nära relationer, så är andelen män som offer till allvarligt våld också betydlig. Dessutom borde undersökning av barn som offer till våld gynnas (ett annat delprojekt i det Nordiska projektet har handlat om just detta).

Det var allmänt överenskommet att informationen från olika myndigheter och organisationer, som har att göra med offer eller utövare av våld i hemmet och nära relationer, borde utnyttjas bättre. Detta tjänar inte bara ett kunskapsproduktionssyfte, utan hjälper också att inrikta och vägleda åtgärder som förebygger våld och lindrar konsekvenserna.

Yhteenveto

Tämä raportti käsittelee tilastotietoja, niiden ongelmia ja kehittämismahdollisuuksia eri näkökulmista.

Raportti luo katsauksen pohjoismaisiin tilastolähteisiin väkivallan laajuudesta ja vaikutuksesta. Luotettavimmat väkivaltatilastot ovat henkirikostilastot sekä kuolinsyytilastojen tiedot väkivaltaan kuolleista. Ne osoittavat, että kansainvälisesti verraten kaikissa Pohjoismaissa esiintyy suhteellisen vähän väkivaltaa. Suomen väkivaltakuolemien määrä on kuitenkin vähintään kaksinkertainen muihin Pohjoismaihin ja Länsi-Eurooppaan verrattuna. Suomessa väkivaltaan kuolee noin 2,5 henkeä vuodessa 100 000 henkeä kohti kun vastaava luku näissä vertailumaissa on noin 1. Kaikissa Pohjoismaissa väkivaltakuolemien lukumäärä on viimeisten 15–20 vuoden aikana ollut verrattain vakaa, vaikka se lieneekin jopa vähentynyt joissakin maissa.

Tunnetuin ja eniten käytetty väkivallan laajuudesta kertova lähde ovat poliisin tilastot. Toisin kuin henkirikokset, ovat poliisille ilmoitetut väkivaltatapaukset lisääntyneet kaikissa tutkituissa maissa huomattavasti ja johdonmukaisesti 25 viime vuoden aikana (ja myös ennen tätä). Poliisin väkivaltatilastoja ei kuitenkaan voi pitää luotettavina lähteinä historiallisen tai maitten välisen vertailun välineenä. Tämä johtuu osittain siitä, että väkivaltarikosten määritelmät ja tilastokirjaamisen käytännöt eroavat maasta toiseen, mikä vaikuttaa tilastotietoihin. Toinen tärkeä syy on se, että vain osa väkivallanteoista ilmoitetaan poliisille. Poliisin tietoon tulemattomien tapausten osuus on suuri, ja se vaihtelee maasta toiseen ja ajankohdasta toiseen.

Uhritutkimuksissa ihmisiltä kysytään, ovatko he joutuneet väkivallan (tai muiden rikosten) uhriksi, ja usein myös siitä, onko asiasta ilmoitettu poliisille. Vastaukset antavat tietoa siitä, miten suuri osa ilmoitetaan ja miten suuri jätetään ilmoittamatta. Näiden kyselytutkimusten johdonmukaisten tulosten mukaan vastaajat ilmoittavat väkivaltatapaukset poliisille yhä useammin.

Uhritutkimus voi periaatteessa olla luotettava keino selvittää väkivallan kokonaislaajuutta, sillä se tavoittaa myös sellaisia tapauksia jotka eivät tule poliisiin tietoon. Lisäksi samanlaiset kyselylomakkeet ja yhdenmukaiset tietojenkerräämiskeinot eri aikoina ja eri maissa voisivat mahdollistaa vertailun eri maiden ja eri ajankohtien välillä. Käytännössä uhritutkimus on kuitenkin hyvin herkkä menetelmä ja lukuisat yksityiskohdat tutkimuksen suunnittelussa tai toteutuksessa saattavat mennä pieleen, jolloin luotettavuus ja vertailukelpoisuus kärsivät.

Kaikilla neljällä isommalla Pohjoismaalla on laajojen väestökyselyiden perinne, joka tuottaa maan sisällä suhteellisen vertailukelpoisia tietoja. Kaikki tutkimukset osoittavat, ettei väkivalta ole 15–25 vuoden aikana lisääntynyt vaan joko pysynyt vakaana tai vähentynyt. Vaikka tulos saattaa näyttää olevan ristiriidassa poliisitilastojen kanssa – kun niissä väkivaltatapaukset ovat lisääntyneet

tulokset ovat itse asiassa yhtäpitäviä, koska kyselytutkimukset osoittavat myös, että poliisille ilmoitettu väkivalta on lisääntynyt merkittävästi.

Tilanteesta yleisesti ottaen muodostuva kaunis kuva ei kuitenkaan saa johtaa väkivaltaongelmien vähättelyyn, tai sen mahdollisuuden unohtamiseen, että väkivalta ainakin joissain tilanteissa on lisääntynyt tai on saattanut lisääntyä. Työpaikkaväkivalta varsinkin terveys- ja sosiaalipalvelujen naisten kohdalla on sekä tilastoissa että kyselyiden mukaan lisääntynyt. Lisäksi tiedetään, että kyselytutkimukset eivät useinkaan tavoita vakavimman väkivallan uhreja (tai saa heiltä vastauksia).

Väkivallan mittaamiseksi kaivataankin tästä syystä kattavien ja integroitujen keinojen kehittelyä. Poliisin tietoon tulleita väkivaltatapauksia olisi tärkeää analysoida. Myös sellaiset käynnit terveydenhuollossa ja sosiaalisektorilla, joihin liittyy väkivaltaa, pitäisi saada elimellisemmäksi osaksi väkivaltatilastoja. Lisäksi tarvitaan erityistutkimuksia. Raporttiin sisältyy lyhyt katsaus sellaisten kansainvälisten kyselytutkimusten käyttökelpoisuuteen, jotka eivät keskity rikoksiin tai väkivaltaan mutta jotka silti sisältävät väkivaltaan liittyviä kysymyksiä. Esimerkkejä näistä ovat työympäristöissä ja kouluissa suoritettut tutkimukset sekä Eurobarometri. Nämä lähteet tuovat periaatteessa hyvän lisän niukkoihin kansainvälisesti vertailukelpoihin tietoihin. Valitettavasti monissa niistä on kuitenkin luotettavuutta heikentäviä ongelmia.

Suuri osuus väkivallan uhreista on toistuvasti uhreiksi joutuneita, joten väkivaltatietojärjestelmien tulisi entistä tehokkaammin tunnistaa toistuvasti uhriksi joutuvat. Toistuvasti uhriksi joutumisen ehkäisy ehkäisisi kaikista väkivaltatapatumista valtavan suuren osan.

Projekti halusi myös tarkastella väkivallan vaihtelua (maiden, alueiden, historiallisten ajanjaksojen yms. välillä) osittain kehittääkseen ehkäisykeinoja mahdollisesti edistäviä ideoita. Martti Lehti osoitti esimerkiksi, että vaikka Suomen henkirikollisuus on pitkään ollut korkea muihin Pohjoismaihin verrattuna, niin tyypillinen tekijä ja uhri eroavat nykyään 1900-luvun kahden ensimmäiseen kolmannekseen verrattuna. Analyysi tukee myös ajatusta, jonka mukaan Suomen henkirikosuolleisuuden vähentämiseksi alkoholisoituneet ja syrjäytyneet (ja suurelta osin miespuolisen) väestönsosat tulisi saada elimellisesti mukaan rakentamaan yhteiskunnalliseen toimintaan.

Projekti käsitteli myös lähisuhde- ja perheväkivaltaa mittaavien erilaisten käytössä olleiden ja olevien menetelmien ja järjestelmien vahvuuksia ja heikkouksia.

Erilaisista kyselytutkimuksista esitettiin useita näkökantoja. Vaikka mones-takin syystä on tärkeää saada tietoja väkivaltatilanteista vastaajan koko elämän tai aikuiselämän ajalta, olisi myös tärkeää saada tehokkaampia keinoja hankkia tietoa väkivaltatapatumista viime ajalta (esimerkiksi viime 12 kuukauden ajalta). Tämä mahdollistaisi tilanteen seuraamisen käytännöllisemmän aikajänteen puitteissa ja myös toimenpiteiden etsinnän tilanteeseen puuttumiseksi. Lisäksi huomautettiin, että tutkimukset ovat tähän asti keskittyneet miltei yksinomaan miesten naisia kohtaan harjoittamaan väkivaltaan. Vuonna 2005 julkaistu Norjan tutkimus parisuhdekumppaneiden välisestä väkivallasta on harvinainen poikkeus – ja osoittaa, että vaikka naiset muodostavat selvän enemmistön vaka-

van parisuhdeväkivallan uhreista, myös varteenotettava määrä miehiä kärsii vakavasta parisuhdeväkivallasta. Tämän lisäksi on tuettava tutkimusta lapsista väkivallan uhreina. (Toinen tähän pohjoismaiseen projektiin kuuluva alaprojekti käsittelee tätä asiaa.)

Yleisesti oltiin sitä mieltä, että eri viranomaisten ja toimijoiden keräämiä tietoja lähisuhde- ja perheväkivallasta tulisi hyödyntää entistä tehokkaammin. Tämä ei pelkästään paranna tietoaamme, vaan auttaa samalla paremmin kohdistamaan toimenpiteitä väkivallan ehkäisemiseksi ja sen seurausten lieventämiseksi.

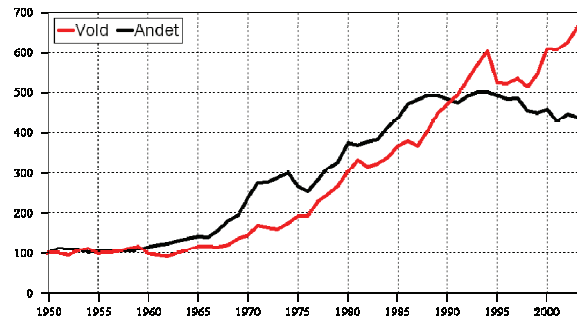
1. Violence, its development and available sources in the Nordic countries

1.1 Denmark

Flemming Balvig¹

The picture of violence in Denmark is very different depending on which kind of source we use. **Police statistics** show that the amount of violence has been growing since the 1960s. The curves for violence reported to the police and of the reporting of other crimes used to follow each other. Both reporting to the police of any crime and reporting to police of violent crime has increased steadily, but since 1990, the number of violent offences reported to the police has grown much faster than other crimes.

Antal politillemeldte tilfælde af vold og anden straffelovskriminalitet i Danmark 1950-2004 (indeks)



Note: Vold omfatter samtlige vold, med undtagelse af 527, 55 og 14-246.
Kilde: Kriminalstatistik udgivet af Danmarks Statistik, Årsrapport om Politets Arbejdsstatistik Årsrapport Nr.

Figure 1.1 The index of violent crimes (vold) reported to the police compared to the index of other crimes (andet) reported to the police in Denmark 1950–2004.

There has been an increase in violence in police statistics despite the fact that the consumption of alcohol, which is known to have a strong connection to violent crime, has been stable since 1980. But of course the way of its consumption may vary.

The increase in police statistics mainly has to do with an increase in the reporting of minor violence, although also the reporting of aggravated vio-

¹ This section is based on notes taken of the author's oral presentation and the slides presented at the April 2008 seminar.

lence has increased somewhat since the 1990s. This development seems mainly a result of increased reporting to the police; it is not so much evidence of increased violence.

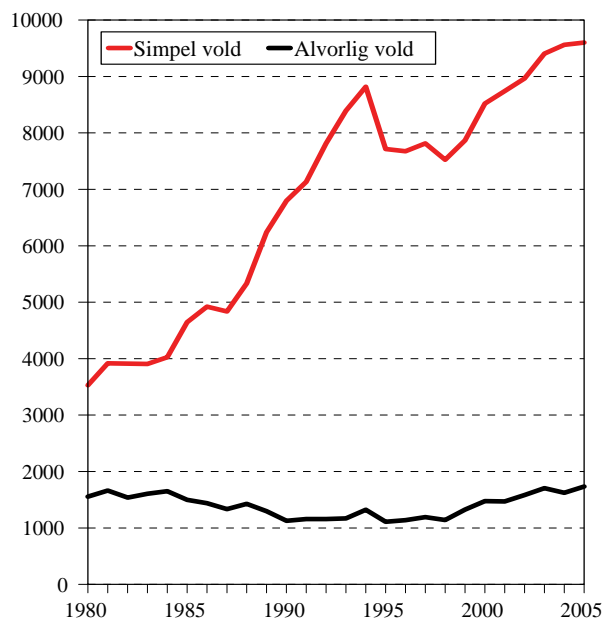


Figure 1.2 Common assaults (*simpel vold*) and aggravated assaults (*alvorligt vold*) reported to the police in Denmark 1980 – 2005.

Victim Surveys have been carried out in Denmark since 1971. However, they are not very comparable across time since different surveys have measured violence in different ways. Since 1987 several studies, which are comparable, has been accomplished, and they show that the general risk of being victimised to violence has been very stable from 1987 to 2008 (about 2–3 percent). The relative risk of violence experienced at the work place has increased in Denmark from 1995 to 2005. In 1995, only one-fifth of the victims had experienced violence in connection with work; ten years later 30 per cent were victimized at work (Table 1.1).² The victims studies show, that the reporting rate has increased.

Table 1.1 Percentage of types of victims out of all the victims of violence in two Danish victimization surveys.

	1995/96	2005/06*
Pct. ofre udsat flere gange	28 %	35 %
Pct. ofre med skade	56 %	52 %
Pct. hvor der er anvendt våben/redsk	13 %	19 %
Pct. i forbindelse med arbejdet	19 %	30 %
Pct. hvor det er anmeldt politi	36 %	44 %

² See Balvig, F., & Kyvsgaard, B. (2006). *Volden i Danmark 1995 og 2005*. København: Københavns Universitet; Justitsministeriet; Det Kriminalpræventive Råd; Rigspolitichefen.

Self report studies have been carried out among youth in Denmark in 1979, 1989/1990, 1999 & 2005³. The most important trend is that violence among youth is decreasing at a general level from 1979 to 2005. From 1999 to 2005 there is a decrease of violence committed by boys while there is a small increase for girls.

Insurance statistics do not give a very good picture about the development in violence in Denmark according to Balvig. It is too much affected of change in law and in the application rate.

Health statistics. Denmark has national health registers that include all kinds of health service since 1995. Emergency room data is available since 1980 but until 1995 it is available only from some places, such as Odense and Aarhus. The number of visits to the emergency room because of violence had risen in Odense from 1980 to about 1987 but since then been rather stable. If the visits are seen in relation to the development to how many cases of violence are reported to the police we see that the development in how many cases of violence are reported to the police has since the end of the 1980s grown much steeper than have the emergency room visits. Like the victim studies this indicate that the increase in police reported violence the last twenty years is primarily caused by an increase in the reporting rate.

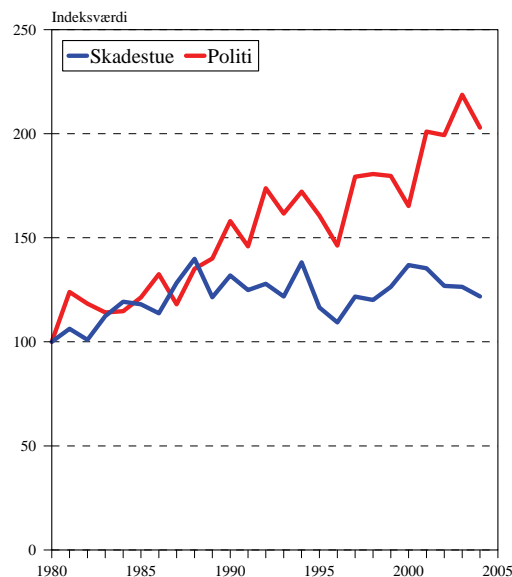


Figure 1.3 The number of visits to the emergency room compared to the amount police recorded violence in Odense 1980–2005

Karen Helweg-Larsen & Marie Louise Frederiksen found in national health care data that between 1995 and 2006 women's violence related visits to the

³ See more in Balvig, Flemming & Kyvsgaard, Britta (1986): *Kriminalitet og ungdom*. (Oernes samfund. Copenhagen 1986); Balvig, F. (1999): *RisikoUngdom – Ungdomsundersøgelse 1999*. Copenhagen, Det Kriminalpræventive Råd.. [Youth at Risk – Youth Study 1999]; www.dkr.dk

emergency room increased by 39 per cent.⁴ However, comparing national data from 1995–2006 with the police data, the rise in police-recorded assaults is still much larger. The local data is available since 1980, while we have national data only since 1995. Furthermore, the local figures have been thoroughly researched both in Odense and Århus and they are hence much more reliable than the national statistics over the whole period.

In conclusion, it seems that the amount of violence is not increasing in Denmark. If we talk about “special groups”, marginalized persons for an example, there might be an increase in violence, but in a general level violence is not increasing.

1.2 Norway⁵

Arnt Even Hustad

1.2.1 Kriminalstatistikk i Norge

Hva er gjort tidligere?

Falck, Hanns Von Hofer og Anette Storgaard; Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950–2000. Report 2003:3. Departement of Criminology, Stockholm University. Stockholm 2003 (2003)

1. Rapporten tok utgangspunkt i en tidligere analyse av fellesnordisk kriminalstatistikk som gjaldt fra 1950 til 1980 (Hofer, Hanns Von (red.): Tekniske rapporter nr. 30. Rapport från Nordiska utskottet for kriminalstatistik (NUK): København: Nordisk statistisk sekretariat. 1982 (Nordic Criminal Statistics; 1982).
2. Vårt arbeid avgrenses til å omhandle vold og seksualisert vold. Rapportene nevnt over har imidlertid også omhandlet ran, tyverier og narkotikalovbrudd.⁶

Metodisk sammenlikning av nordisk kriminalstatistikk

I ”Nordic Criminal Statistics (1950–2000) (Falck m.fl. 2003) inngår følgende i definisjonen av vold:

⁴ Mænds vold mod kvinder: Omfang, karakter og indsats mod vold – 2007. Redigeret af Karin Helweg-Larsen og Marie Louise Frederiksen i samarbejde med Ligestillingsafdelingen. Minister for Ligestilling & Statens Institut for Folkesundhed 2007.

⁵ This is a written paper prepared for the project by the author.

⁶ Se også: Hofer, Hanns von: Nordic Criminal Statistics 1950–1995. Departement of Criminology. Stockholm 1997

Hofer, Hanns von: Crime and Reactions to Crime in Scandinavia. Journal of Scandinavian studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention. Vol 5 no2 2004

1. Begåtte drap (homicide), mens drapsforsøk holdes utenom. Sammenlikning av drapstall har likevel vist seg vanskelig fordi legemsbeskadigelse med døden til følge inngår i noen lands drapstall og ikke i andres.
2. Legemsfornærmelse og legemsbeskadigelse (assault and serious assault) inngår.
3. Voldtekt er tatt med som eneste lovbrudd blant seksualforbrytelsene.
4. Utelatt er vold mot offentlig tjenestemann og trusler.

Hovedproblemet ved reaksjonsstatistikken har vært å samle et vidt spekter av straffereaksjoner inn til mindre kategorier til sammenlikning mellom landene.

Med fengselsstraff mener man alle former for sanksjoner som medfører frihetsberøvelse, bøter og andre straffereaksjoner som "restkategori." Tallene referer til straffelovgivningen i hvert enkelt land.

Komparative analyser kan i følge rapporten inndeles etter tre formål:

1. Sammenlikning av kriminalitetsbildet mellom land: kan besvare spørsmål som om hvor stor plass vold har i hele bildet av anmeldte lovbrudd. Et annet spørsmål som kan besvares er kjønn og aldersprofil på voldsdømte i de ulike landene.
2. Nivåsammenlikninger: kan besvare hvilket av landene som har høyest registrert vold og om hva slags straffereaksjoner som gis. Man kan også spørre om hvordan utviklingen i registrert vold er mellom landene. Men før slike spørsmål besvares er følgende faktorer med på å bestemme svarene vi får:
 - Oppdagelsesrisiko og motivasjon for anmeldelse
 - Juridiske forutsetninger som ulikheter i straffelov og straffeprosesslovgivning og
 - Ulike rutiner for hvordan data innsamles og for hvordan statistikken utarbeides og kvalitetssikres.
3. Utviklingstall mellom land: Når trender skal sammenliknes over tid, er det strengt tatt ikke nødvendig å vite det faktiske kriminalitetsnivået på bestemte tidspunkt. I stedet blir et viktig å forstå hvordan endringer i statistikkgrunnlaget for det enkelte land har hatt innvirkning på utviklingen. Poenget med slike målinger vil være å komme nærmest mulig den faktiske utviklingen, uten at feilkilder i tallgrunnlaget får innvirkning på resultatene. Med andre ord må sammenlikninger etter tidsserier vise kontinuitet og det må være samsvar mellom kurvene for hvert land som inngår i sammenlikningen.
 - Det må kontrolleres for både det strafferettslige og metodiske grunnlaget før sammenlikning av statistikken mellom landene gjennomføres: Kriminalstatistikken i de nordiske landene er bygd opp rundt gjeldende straffelov og straffeprosesslov, men lovverket er ulikt utformet med ulik begrepsbruk og ulike definisjoner mellom de nordiske landene.

- Registreringsrutinene kan også være forskjellige og gir utfordringer for sammenliknbare tall mellom landene. Dette gjør seg særlig gjeldende for sammenlikning av kriminalitetsnivået.

Av dette kan det imidlertid la seg gjøre å sammenlikne utviklingstall mellom landene (Falck, von Hofer og Storgaard 2003).

En annen innfallsvinkel som kan vurderes er statistikk på dødsårsaker, hvor man for drap muligens kan sammenlikne både etter nivå og utvikling.

1.2.2 Vold i Norge: Våre kilder

- To sentrale kilder, begge fra Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB):
- Den offisielle kriminalstatistikken og
- de periodiske levekårsundersøkelsene om selvrapportert utsatthet for vold.

Utenom dette: Utvalgsundersøkelser blant skoleungdom og innen bestemte målgrupper (såkalte kliniske eller selekterte utvalg).

1.2.3 Sentrale trekk i statistikken fra SSB:

Noen grupper utsettes for mer vold enn andre: Man antar at 1,5 % av befolkningen utsettes for 75% av alle voldshendelsene per år. Om vi kunne unngå to voldshandlinger mot samme person pr. år ville mer en halvparten av alle voldshendelsene blitt borte (Norges Forskningsråd 1999). Hvem er disse?

Om man tar med alle typer vold, også på arbeidsplassen, tror man at flere kvinner enn menn utsettes for vold. Vold på arbeidsplassen blir imidlertid sjeldent tatt med i en tradisjonell forståelse av problematikken og den blir sjeldent anmeldt til politiet. I de norske levekårsundersøkelsene antar man også at det underrapporteres om vold fra arbeidsplassen.

Man antar at det er mest faktisk vold (registrert+mørketall=faktisk) i hjemmet, noe mindre på gata og på arbeidsplassen. Ifølge levekårsundersøkelsene er det de eldre som frykter volden mest. Samtidig er eldre minst utsatt.

1.2.4 Volden har tre arenaer

Volden finner sted på tre arenaer; i hjemmet, arbeidsplassen og på offentlig sted.

- Barn som er eksponert for vold har i den senere tid kommet mer fram i lyset-også disse som ofre for vold.
- Barn er klart underrepresentert som ofre i kriminalstatistikken og fraværende som informanter i levekårsundersøkelsene.
- Det har blitt anslått at cirka 220 000 arbeidstakere har opplevd vold på arbeidsplassen i løpet av yrkesaktiv alder. Størst risiko er det i helse og sosialsektoren, hotell og restaurant, drosje/kollektivtransport. Nøkkelord

for disse utsatte posisjonene er penger, makt, omsorg og service (Verdikommisjonen 1999). En kan videre skille mellom personifisert (klientrelasjon) og ikke-personifisert vold i vinnings hensikt eller som spontan vold. Man antar at mørketallene er store for vold på arbeids-plassen.

- På gata rammer den gjentatte volden grupper som uteliggere og prostituerte; allerede belastede grupper. Vi har noen omfangsunder-søkelser på vold i hjemmet, noe på seksualisert vold og utnytting av barn. Lite på vold i institusjoner (Unntak fra KRUS).
- Vi har relativt mye kvalitativ kunnskap om hjelpebehov og tilbud på offersida av hele bildet (fra Alternativ Til Vold og fra Nasjonalt Kunnskapssenter om Vold og Traumatisk Stress)

1.2.5 Kriminalstatistikken

I Norge presenteres Kriminalstatistikken som Norges Offisielle Statistikk av SSB (www.ssb.no).

I første instans har man statistikk for anmeldte lovbrudd. Her er telleenheten lovbruddet og her finnes tilgjengelig tidsserier fra 1993 til 2006. På anmeldtnivå er det også for 2006 presentert statistikk på ofre.

Blant siktede er tidsseriene fra 1960 til 2006. Norsk kriminalstatistikk over siktede omfatter rettkraftige avgjørelser der en person er funnet skyldig og dømt for lovbruddet. Der en person er siktet for flere lovbrudd, fanges det lovbruddet med høyest strafferamme opp i statistikken. I statistikken er det derfor liten forskjell på tallene for siktede og straffede.

I statistikken for straffede kan man imidlertid se utviklingen i antall straffereaksjoner for vold, altså med en annen telleenhet enn personer. Dette er statistikk som vi senere kan ta inn i vårt bidrag, om ønskelig.

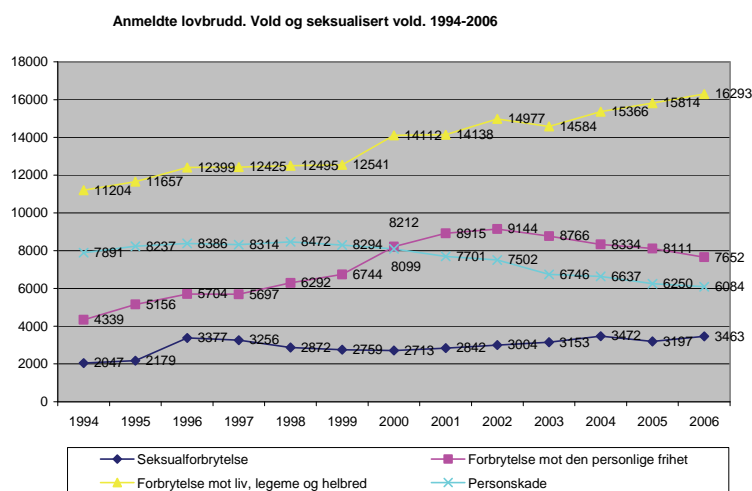


Figure 1.4 Anmeldt vold og seksualkriminalitet

I figuren under vises utviklingen for anmeldt vold i Norge fra 1994 til 2006. I disse tallene kan det se ut som om volden har økt betydelig i 12-årsperioden:

Kriminalstatistikken følger norsk straffelov, spesiallovgivning og straffeprosesslov.

Den har høye mørke-tall og mange usikkerhetsmomenter, og kan derfor gi misvisende inntrykk av trender og utviklingstrekk. Dette beror blant annet på:

- Folks villighet til å anmelde lovbrudd
- På politiets innsats og registreringsrutiner
- Det er primært de grove tilfellene av vold og trusler som anmeldes, og som dermed også «havner» i kriminalstatistikken. Mindre alvorlige former for overgrep, som også er mest utbredt, blir i mindre utstrekning fanget opp.

Selv om registrerte forbrytelser mot liv, legeme og helbred stiger i kriminalstatistikken, *øker ikke antall ofre i levekårsundersøkelsene for selvrappor-tert utsatthet for vold*. Dette vil vi komme tilbake til.

Det er kapittel 22 i Straffeloven, forbrytelser mot liv legeme og helbred (se figuren over) som vi ofte sikter til når vold omtales i Norge. Kapitlet er inndelt i paragrafer som også kriminalstatistikken følger: Utviklingen for de ulike delene av kap. 22 ser slik ut fra 1994 til 2006:

Kap. 22. Anmeldte lovbrudd. Liv legeme og helbred. 1994–2006

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Liv legeme og helbred i alt	11 204	11 657	12 399	12 425	12 495	12 541	14 112	14 138	14 977	14 584	15 366	15 814	16 293
Legemsfor- nærmelse	8 363	8 959	9 601	9 614	9 678	9 375	10 448	10 776	11 547	11 374	12 155	12 494	12 795
Legemsbe- skadigelse	2 509	2 321	2 418	2 442	2 448	2 760	3 235	2 984	2 985	2 788	2 849	2 939	3 163
Grov legems- beskadigelse	39	40	42	30	31	37	44	31	26	16	35	22	22
Uaktsom legem- beskadigelse	24	21	22	25	34	33	27	29	44	42	27	46	47
Drapsforsøk	54	53	70	48	47	61	66	52	64	54	57	61	52
Drap	33	42	43	38	38	33	48	37	46	51	36	33	33
Uaktsomt drap	23	48	36	36	37	45	38	34	37	35	45	41	31
Annet	159	173	167	192	182	197	206	195	228	224	162	178	150

- Fra 1994–2006 har legemsfor nærmelsene økt med 45 prosent, legemsbeskadigelsene med 53.
- For de svært grove tilfellene; drap og grov legemsbeskadigelse er tallene uendret. Antallet drap varierer fra år til år, men ut fra drapsstatistikken kan vi ikke si at det er blitt flere drap i løpet av de siste 20 årene.
- I løpet av de siste syv årene har også antallet anmeldte legemsbeskadigelser, som er mer alvorlig enn legemsfor nærmelsene, ligget relativt stabilt rundt 3 000 tilfeller i året.

1.2.6 Levekårsundersøkelsene: Unge enslige er mest utsatt for vold

Å bli utsatt for vold har klar sammenheng med alder: I alle levekårsundersøkelsene fra Statistisk sentralbyrå er ofrene langt flere blant de yngste enn blant de eldre-både for menn og kvinner.

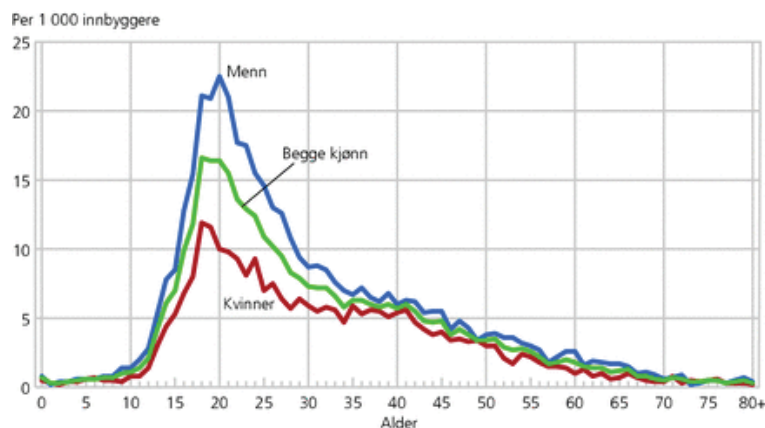
- Den siste undersøkelsen (2004) viser at mer enn 7 prosent av alle i aldersgruppen 16–24 år, med noe overvekt av menn, hadde opplevd å bli utsatt for vold i løpet av det siste året (Levekårsundersøkelsen 2004).
- Jo eldre man er, jo mindre risiko er det for å bli voldsoffer.
- I alderen 67 år og over var den tilsvarende andelen 0,5 prosent.
- Blant de som er 24 år og eldre, er det de enslige, også de med forsørgeransvar for barn, som er mest utsatt for vold.
- De enslige i aldersgruppen 16–66 år var blitt utsatt for mer enn halvparten av alle tilfeller av vold og trusler, selv om de kun utgjorde en tredel av alle i denne aldersgruppen i levekårsundersøkelsene 1997–2004.

1.2.7 Kriminalstatistikken: Anmeldte ofre

Fra politianmeldelsene ser ofrene ut til å være noe eldre jo grovere fysisk vold de er utsatt for-men risikoen for å bli utsatt er aller høyest i løpet av de første årene etter at man er blitt myndig.

Dette gjelder for både menn og kvinner, men i alderen 18–29 år er voldsrisikoen dobbelt så stor for menn som for kvinner.

Fra midten av 20-årene reduseres utsattheten systematisk med stigende alder for begge kjønn vist her:



Kilde: Ofre for lovbrudd anmeldt, Statistisk sentralbyrå.

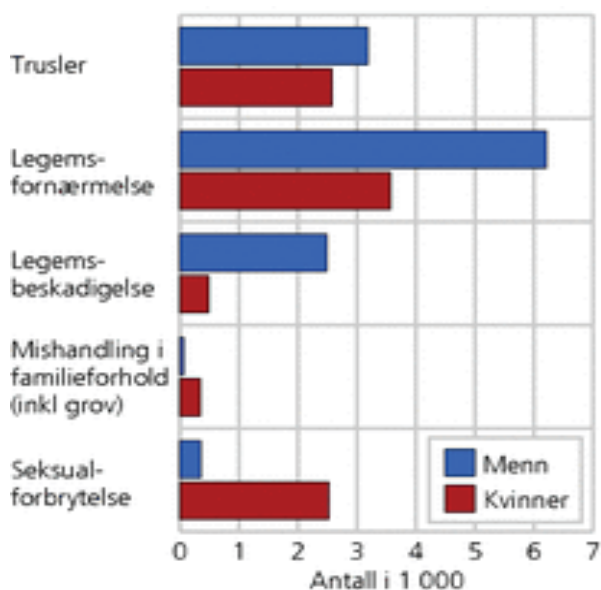
Mer enn halvparten av alle ofre for vold og trusler er under 30 år, og tre av fire er under 40 år.

Andelen ofre under 30 år er noe lavere blant kvinner enn blant menn (henholdsvis 49 og 57 prosent).

Det er relativt sjelden at barn registreres som fornærmede i straffesaker, og i løpet av hele 2006 registrerte politiet kun 337 ofre for vold og trusler i alderen 0–9 år.

Menn utgjør en langt større andel av de utsatte for legemsbeskadigelse (84 prosent) enn for de mindre grove legemsfornærmelsene (63 prosent) og truslene (55 prosent).

Kvinner er på den annen side svært overrepresentert blant ofrene for seksualforbrytelser (88 prosent kvinner).



Kilde: Ofre for lovbrudd anmeldt, Statistisk sentralbyrå.

Ut fra anmeldelsene er menn med andre ord nesten like mye overrepresentert blant ofrene for grov fysisk vold – som kvinner er overrepresentert blant ofrene for seksualforbrytelser. Mishandling (inkludert grov) i familieforhold (85 prosent kvinner) og drap er imidlertid unntak fra denne sammenhengen.

Figuren under viser antall personoffer etter kjønn og hovedlovbrudd i 2006.

I *levetårundersøkelsene* er andelen av ofre og aldersfordelingene, samlet sett, relativt like for menn og kvinner. Vi finner imidlertid noen tydelige kjønnsforskjeller når voldsopferne beskriver hva de har blitt utsatt for:

- Kvinner opplever i større grad å bli utsatt for vold i nære relasjoner og på steder i sitt nærmiljø.
- Menn blir i større grad utsatt for vold på kveldstid og i helgene, fra helt eller delvis ukjente voldsutøvere og ute på offentlige steder.

- Ifølge den siste levekårsundersøkelsen skjedde nærmere halvparten av alle voldshandlinger mot kvinner, og mindre enn hvert femte voldsovergrep mot menn, i tilknytning til private boliger.
- Det motsatte gjelder for utelivet, da 57 prosent av alle voldstiltfeller mot menn og 11 prosent av alle tiltfeller av vold mot kvinner skjedde på offentlige steder. (Levekårsundersøkelsene).

1.2.8 Flere går til politianmeldelse

Politiet hadde fått kjennskap til 30 prosent av alle tiltfeller av vold og trusler i de siste levekårsundersøkelsene, men kun halvparten av disse tiltfellene oppgis å være anmeldt. Totalt ble det anmeldt 25 600 voldslovbrudd i løpet av 2006, hvorav nesten 12 800 var legemsfor nærmelser, og 7 300 var trusler.

I hele perioden fra 1987 til 2004 var det rundt 5 prosent av den voksne befolkningen som oppga at de hadde vært ofre for vold eller trusler om vold i løpet av det siste året. Hvis vi kun ser på andelen av befolkningen som er utsatt for vold, er det heller ikke signifikante forskjeller mellom levekårsundersøkelsene i 1983 og 2004 (se figur 4). Ut fra den siste levekårsundersøkelsen er det tilsvarende 180 000 personer som opplever vold eller trusler hvert eneste år, hvorav halvparten blir utsatt for minst ett tiltfelle av vold. Tilsvarende 50 000 av disse får synlige merker eller kroppsskader av den volden de blir utsatt for.

1.2.9 Hvorfor stiger anmeldelsene for vold?

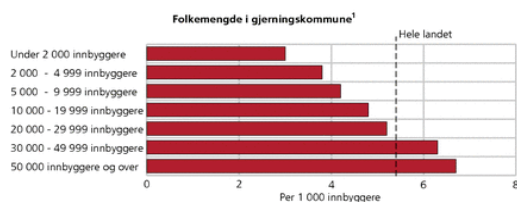
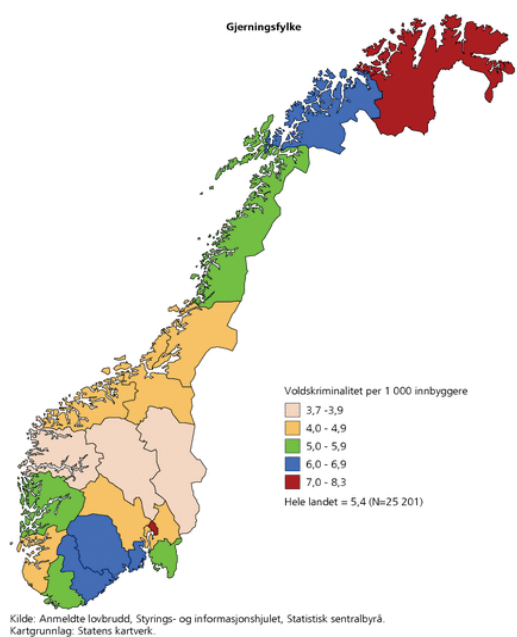
At antallet voldslovbrudd har vist en sammenhengende økning i kriminalstatistikken de siste 25 årene-uten at vi ser den samme utviklingen i offerundersøkelsene-kan forklares på flere måter:

- Vi vet at anmeldte voldssaker i dag registreres mer omfattende, og at langt flere tiltfeller derfor kommer med i kriminalstatistikken fra tidligere.
- Undersøkelser av ulik kriminalstatistikk viser at sannsynligheten for å bli et voldsoffer er høyest hvis du selv er tatt for å ha utøvd vold mot andre (Gundersen 2000). Dette kan indikere at en del av voldsofrene i kriminalstatistikken tilhører grupper som i liten grad blir representert i levekårsundersøkelsene.
- Selv om mye av økningen i den anmeldte voldskriminaliteten kan forklares med endringer i politiets registrering og oppdagelse, samt ofrenes anmeldelsestilbøyelighet, kan man med andre ord ikke helt utelukke at det også kan ha blitt flere voldsepisoder i samfunnet. Men ut fra både levekårsundersøkelsene og kriminalstatistikkene ser det ut til at en slik økning av vold eventuelt må ha skjedd innenfor relativt isolerte grupper. (Stene 2004, Levekårsundersøkelsene).

1.2.10 Mest vold i byer, men ikke kun et urbant problem

Ut fra gjennomsnittet for alle levekårsundersøkelsene i perioden 1983–2004 er det mer enn dobbelt så stor risiko for å bli utsatt for vold blant folk som bor i tettsteder med mer enn 20 000 innbyggere-sammenliknet med dem som bor i de mest spredtbygde strøkene. I alle de fire undersøkelsene de siste tiårene er det imidlertid like store andeler av volds ofre blant de bosatte i de nest største som i de største tettstedene.

Ser vi på anmeldelsene er det også her en klar statistisk sammenheng mellom hvor vold skjer og befolkningstetthet: I forhold til befolkningstettheten var det mer enn dobbelt så mange voldslovbrudd i kommuner med mer enn 50 000 innbyggere-sammenliknet med de minst befolkede kommunene med færre enn 5 000 innbyggere. Det finnes imidlertid noen klare unntak, der en del mindre urbane distrikter har vel så mye vold som byene. Dette blir for eksempel illustrert ved at Finnmark og Oslo er de gjerningsfylkene, relativt til folkemengden, som i mange år har hatt mest anmeldt voldskriminalitet. Dette gjelder også når vi undersøker hvor ofrene for disse lovbruddene bor, men da skiller finnmarkingene-både menn og kvinner-seg i større grad ut som de mest utsatte for vold og trusler.



¹ N = 25 201, herav 27 med uoppgitt kommune.

Kilde: Anmeldte lovbrudd, Styrings- og informasjonshjulet, Statistisk sentralbyrå.

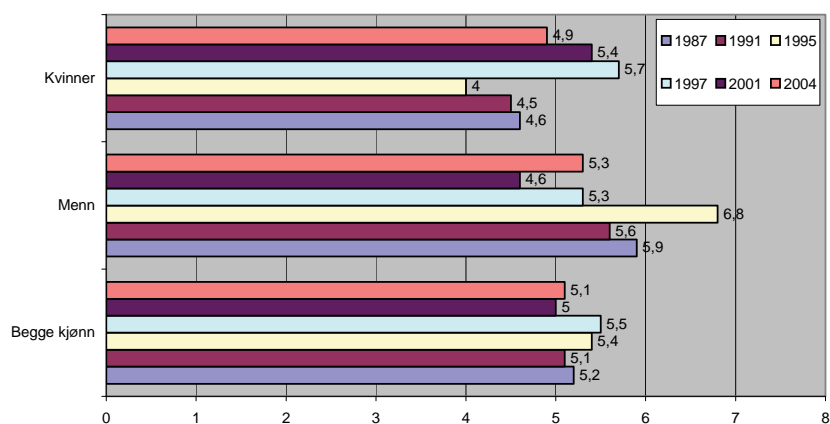
Byfolk blir heller ikke tatt for å utøve vold i betydelig større grad enn andre. En undersøkelse av hovedlovbruddene til de siktede i 2001 viser at 72 kommuner – sett i forhold til innbyggertallet – hadde en større andel registrerte voldsutøvere enn det vi finner i Oslo. Av kommunene med relativt flere voldsutøvere enn Oslo, finner vi blant annet 12 av de 19 kommunene i Finnmark. Andre storbykommuner som Stavanger, Kristiansand og Drammen er lenger ned på den rangerte listen, og mer enn 200 av landets 435 kommuner hadde da en høyere andel anmeldte voldsutøvere enn Trondheim og Bergen. (Etterforskede lovbrudd).

Til tross for den relativt klare statistiske sammenhengen mellom utbredelsen av vold og steder hvor mange mennesker bor og møtes, kan vi altså ikke entydig si at vold øker med urbanitet. Dette fordi både offerundersøkelser og anmeldelsene til politiet antyder at en del mellomstore byer – og en del mindre kommuner, spesielt i nord – har vel så stort omfang av voldsproblematikk som de aller største byene og kommunene i Norge. Ulike statistikker fra de siste årene viser med andre ord at vold og trusler verken er et særskilt eller et utpreget urbant levekårsproblem. Figuren under viser anmeldt vold etter fylke og folkemengde i gjerningskommunene. Figuren viser årlig gjennomsnitt for 2005 og 2006.

1.2.11 Levekårsundersøkelsene

Levekårsundersøkelsene er basert på representative utvalg av normalbefolkningen over 15 år (svarprosent: ca. 65%) har blitt spurt om offeropplevelser i løpet av de siste 12 månedene. Spørsmålene omhandler vold med og uten synlige merker eller kroppsskade og trusler som var så alvorlige at man ble redd.

LKU: Utsatt for vold eller trusler etter kjønn. 1987-2004. Prosent av befolkningen 16 år og over



I kontrast til de trendene man finner i kriminalstatistikken, viser dette materialet at andelen ofre har vært på omtrent samme nivå i en årrekke +/- 5,5% siden tidlig på 1980-tallet:

1.2.12 Frykt følger ikke alltid risiko

Levekårsundersøkelsene fra 1983 til 1997 viste en viss økning, fra 8 til 11 prosent, i andelen personer fra 16 år og over som hadde opplevd å være urolige for vold eller trusler om vold. De fem undersøkelsene som ble gjennomført i denne perioden, viser at kvinner, og da spesielt de eldste, var mest urolige.

I de to siste undersøkelsene var det imidlertid færre som oppga at de hadde opplevd frykt, og andelen som hadde vært engstelige for å bli utsatt for overgrep, er nå på samme nivå som på 1980-tallet 8 prosent. Det ser med andre ord ut til at de aller fleste, og flere, føler seg trygge i sitt nærmiljø.

Også i dag er det langt flere kvinner enn menn som opplever frykt, men kvinner er mindre urolig for vold og trusler etter tusenårsskiftet enn på 1980- og 1990-tallet. De eldste kvinnene ser ut til å føle seg tryggere, og det er nå kvinner mellom 16 og 24 år som opplever mest frykt. Nesten hver femte kvinne i denne aldersgruppen hadde, når hun i løpet av den siste tiden forut for undersøkelsen i 2004 hadde gått alene på stedet der hun bor, opplevd å være noe eller svært urolig for å bli utsatt for vold eller trusler om vold.

Frykt for å bli utsatt for lovbrudd har ikke nødvendigvis sammenheng med sannsynligheten for å bli et offer for kriminalitet, noe som er tydeligst for de eldste. Men det at kvinner i større grad enn menn blir utsatt for vold i sine nærmeste omgivelser, kan være noe av forklaringen på at langt flere kvinner enn menn sier at de har følt seg truet i sitt nærmiljø. Det er også en klar sammenheng mellom uro og utsatthet etter hvilken familiesituasjon man er i. Selv om det er store forskjeller mellom andelen med uro og andel utsatte, er det stort sett de mest utsatte gruppene som er mest urolige – hvis vi ser menn og kvinner hver for seg og sammenlikner de ulike familiefasene og aldersgruppene: Andelene utsatte og urolige er høyere blant de unge som lever i par, enn for de enslige, som igjen er høyere enn for de mer voksne par og de som lever i barnefamilier. Enslige kvinnelige forsørgere er ett unntak fra denne sammenhengen, da de er relativt mer utsatt enn de er urolige for å bli utsatt for vold (Stene 2005).

Forskjellene mellom kjønnene er imidlertid svært store og andelen kvinner som er urolig for vold og trusler er langt høyere enn andelen kvinner som er utsatt for dette. Den største forskjellen mellom risiko for å bli utsatt og omfang av frykt, finner vi blant de eldste kvinnene.

1.2.13 Kriminalstatistikk vs. levekårsundersøkelsene. Hvorfor ulike konklusjoner?

På grunnlag av data fra levekårsundersøkelsene, kan man ikke si at volden i det norske samfunnet har økt i løpet av de to siste tiårene.

Det antas at folk har blitt mer villige til å anmelde mindre alvorlige tilfeller av trusler og fysiske angrep enn de var før. På den annen side kan det

også hende at volden faktisk har økt, uten at dette har nedfelt seg i det data-materialet som levekårsundersøkelsene har skaffet til veie.

1.2.14 Annen nyere norsk forskning på vold

Det går et viktig skille mellom studier basert på utvalg fra normalbefolkningen og studier av utvalgte grupper (såkalte kliniske eller selekterte utvalg). I Norge har det vært gjort flere undersøkelser av vold-og overgrep-sopplevelser som bygger på selekterte utvalg, herunder studier av mishandlede kvinner, utenlandske kvinner ved krisesenterne og pasienter ved ulike helseinstitusjoner.

Data er også innhentet i flere spørreskjema-undersøkelser basert på utvalg av normalbefolkningen⁷. Med få unntak har utsatthet for vold og overgrep bare vært ett av mange temaer som er blitt belyst, og respondentene har derfor bare blitt stilt noen få spørsmål om dette.

Forekomsttallene i foreliggende studier er ikke sammenlignbare. Dertil er det for store forskjeller når det gjelder utvalg, forskningsdesign og operasjonisering av voldsbegrepet.

1.2.15 Oslo-undersøkelsen "Den skjulte volden"

Undersøkelsen bygger på analyser av selvrapporterte data fra et tilfeldig utvalg av Oslobefolkningen i alderen 24–55 år. Drøyt fire tusen menn og kvinner fylte ut spørreskjemaer (responsrate: 56%), som i hovedsak handlet om ulike typer volds-og overgrepsopplevelser. Hensikten var å avdekke omfanget av slike opplevelser, finne ut om ofrene hadde en tendens til å skille seg ut med hensyn til sosiodemografiske kjennetegn og ulike indikatorer på livsstil og levesett. Krenkelser og overgrep fra partnere og tidligere partnere ble viet særskilt oppmerksomhet.

Drøyt halvparten av mennene og nær fire av ti kvinner hadde mottatt alvorlige voldstrusler og/eller blitt utsatt for grov fysisk vold én eller flere ganger etter fylte 16 år.

I underkant av hver tiende respondent hadde vært utsatt for dette i løpet av det siste året, hvorav de fleste hadde vært ofre tidligere i livet.

Andelen ofre for vold (noen gang) varierte mellom ulike områder i byen, høyest blant bosatte i sentrumsnære deler av Oslo, lavest i sentrumsfjerne områder på vestkanten.

Relativt sett var det langt flere ofre i vanskeligstilte grupper (personer med dårlig råd, sosialhjelpsmottakere, arbeidsledige og uføre/attførings-trygdede) enn i utvalget for øvrig.

Andelen ofre var også markant forhøyet blant personer som ofte drakk seg beruset.

⁷ Blant annet studier av innbyggerne i Drammen kommune, av 40–42-åringene bosatt i Akershus og Buskerud, unge mennesker i Oslo/Akershus-området og skoleungdom fra hele landet.

Blant menn oppga flere unge enn middelaldrende at de noen gang var blitt truet eller utsatt for fysisk vold. Blant kvinner gikk sammenhengen med alder svakt i motsatt retning.

Om gjerningspersonens kjønn og relasjon til offeret sa undersøkelsen dette:

Menn sto i hovedsak bak både mennenes og kvinnenes offeropplevelser. Betydelig flere menn enn kvinner var blitt truet eller påført vold av en fremmed person. Kvinner var i langt større utstrekning ofre for en partner eller tidligere partner.

Andelen ofre for vold fra fremmede gjerningspersoner var betydelig høyere i vanskeligstilte grupper enn i utvalget for øvrig.

Mannlige ofre for «fremmedvold» var også mye mer tilbøyelige enn menn ellers til å drikke mye, være hyppig beruset og til å besøke offentlige skjenkesteder ofte. Blant kvinner skilte ofrene seg kun ut ved at de drakk seg ofte beruset.

For begge kjønn var utsatthet for «fremmedvold» relatert til en aggressiv og konfliktbefordrende atferd overfor andre. Videre hadde en forhøyet andel av både de mannlige og de kvinnelige ofrene blitt fysisk angrepet også i andre typer relasjoner.

Undersøkelsen ser et hovedskille mellom episodisk partnervold, som er mindre alvorlig, forholdsvis utbredt og som har en uklar kjønnsprofil og patriarkalsk terrorisme, som forekommer sjeldnere og som ligger tett opptil det vi vanligvis betegner som kvinnemishandling.

Langt flere kvinner (12%) enn menn (3%) var noen gang utsatt for grove former for fysisk vold fra en partner eller tidligere partner. Det var også flere kvinner (14%) enn menn (8%) som, ut fra egne vurderinger av hva fysisk vold handler om, svarte bekreftende på spørsmål om de noen gang var blitt utsatt for vold av partner. Omtrent like mange menn og kvinner oppga at de var blitt utsatt for partnervold i løpet av det siste året, men ytterst få (2–3%) var blitt påført grov og/eller høyfrekvent vold.

Kvinnelige ofre for partnervold var mer alvorlig rammet enn mannlige ofre, ikke bare i fysisk forstand, men også med hensyn til å ha vært utsatt for alvorlige trusler, grove krenkelsers og kontroll fra en partner.

For begge kjønn var utsatthet for partnervold nært relatert til lav utdanning, dårlig råd, svak tilknytning til arbeidsmarkedet samt avhengighet av offentlige stønader. Videre skilte både mannlige og kvinnelige ofre seg ut ved å være mer tilbøyelige til å ha en aggressiv framferd overfor andre mennesker, og ved å være generelt mer utsatt for alvorlige trusler og grov vold. De var også mer tilbøyelige til å rapportere om gjentatte samlivsbrudd og hyppige beruselser.

Om seksuell vold, omfang og overgrepstyper sa undersøkelsen dette:

16 prosent av kvinnene og to prosent av mennene oppga at de var blitt truet eller tvunget til sex, utsatt for voldtekt eller voldtektsforsøk minst en gang etter fylte 16 år. I løpet av det siste året var to prosent av kvinnene og nesten ingen menn blitt utsatt for noe av dette.

Majoriteten av både kvinnelige og mannlige ofre var blitt utsatt for krenkelser av en person de kjente. Seksuell vold fra en partner var det kun kvinner som beskrev.

Tre relasjonskategorier dominerte i de kvinnelige ofrenes beskrivelser av hva de var blitt utsatt for – fremmede, bekjente og partnere. I tillegg var en betydelig andel av offeropplevelsene knyttet til bruk av alkohol i forbindelse med en fest, et utelivsbesøk eller på nachspiel.

Ofrene for seksuell vold hadde markert forhøyet forekomst av andre offeropplevelser, både i barndommen og i voksen alder, og rapporterte oftere enn kvinner ellers om krenkelser fra en partner så vel som vold fra en fremmed utøver. Forekomsten av seksuell trakasering varierte langs de samme sosiale skillelinjene som forekomsten av ofre partnervold og vold fra fremmede.

Kvinner oppga mye oftere enn menn at de var engstelige for å bli utsatt for vold, og at de av den grunn følte seg utrygge eller unngikk bestemte områder i eget bostedsstrøk. For kvinner var andelen utrygge høyest i aldersgruppen 24–30 år og blant dem som var bosatt i sentrumsnære bydeler. Blant menn var det ingen slike sammenhenger. Egne opplevelser som offer for trusler eller vold var relatert til høy grad frykt for begge kjønn. Andre grupper som hadde et høyt fryktnivå var personer som var bosatt på Oslos østkant, med ikke-vestlig bakgrunn og med økonomiske problemer. Sistnevnte sammenheng gjaldt uansett alder, kjønn, etnisk bakgrunn, bosted i Oslo og egne offeropplevelser.

Om kontakten med politi, fagfolk og hjelpeinstanser sa undersøkelsen dette:

Både kvinner og menn: Om lag en av seks sa de noen gang hadde kontaktet politi, fagfolk eller hjelpeinstanser på grunn av egne offeropplevelser. For begge kjønn var politi og lege/legevakt de instansene flest hadde tatt kontakt med.

Kvinner oppga imidlertid at de hadde tatt kontakt med instanser for psykososial bistand i større utstrekning enn menn. Kjønnforskjellen særlig markant blant de grovest rammede. I denne gruppa oppga drøyt halvparten av mennene og fire av ti kvinner at de ikke hadde kontaktet noen instans. Ofre som ikke hadde søkt hjelp skilte seg ikke fra dem som hadde kontaktet fagfolk eller hjelpeinstanser når det gjaldt alder, utdanning, indikatorer på økonomiske levekår eller opplevelse av eget sosialt nettverk.

1.3 Sweden

*Felipe Estrada*⁸

The trends in violence Sweden are strikingly alike those in Denmark and Norway. There is a strong public debate about the “growth in violence”. There is talk in the media about a “violence mentality”. The media singles out cases about good kids’ violence such as the Ricardo case and also the Jokela tragedy in Finland. However, a growth in violence is mainly not supported by empirical evidence. In Sweden, a debate has risen anew in spring 2008 as criminologists are accused of being negligent and interpreting data falsely.⁹ It is said that criminologists more often than not claim that there, according to research, is no increase in violence. This is a real challenge for criminology: how to report data but not to sound indifferent towards those who have indeed suffered from crime or violence.

Statistics of police-recorded crime are available in Sweden since 1950 (crime statistics based on court records, of course, go much longer back, to the 18th Century). They show the number of violent crimes reported to the police and the number of crimes that are prosecuted. They do not show the age of the victim or the perpetrator or other information about the victim or the perpetrator. There is a time series on both crimes reported to the police and on crimes that are prosecuted. The amount of crime reported to the police has increased since the 1970s. All kinds of assault are reported more often. Additionally the numbers of completed and attempted homicides are growing in crime statistics. Also the reporting of violence towards minors has grown since the 1990s.

Problems with crime statistics: Only a fraction of assaults are reported to the police (about 30 percent according to Swedish victimisation studies). Also there might be an inconsistency over time in what kind of violence is seen as aggravated and what as minor. There should be more research on this.

Cause of death statistics are available since (1956–). There is a special database on lethal violence since 1990. Lethal violence has decreased in Sweden during this period. This can of course be partly explained by health care being more effective nowadays and thus enabling more people to survive after being subjected to severe violence. Nevertheless, can the decrease of violent deaths solely be attributed to better health care? If not – to what degree is the lessening of violent death a product of more effective health care, and to what degree should we look for other explanations? At what point in time should we start assuming that health care has grown effective enough to play a central part in the decrease of violent death; is it 30 years ago or merely 10 years ago?

⁸ This section is based on notes taken of the author’s oral presentation and the slides presented at the April 2008 seminar. The author has checked the text.

⁹ Expressen 2008-04-13: Problemet med kriminologerna.

Health care data: Good health care data of inpatient treatment in hospitals is available in Sweden for a long period of time. Information about outpatient treatment is, however, something that has been recorded only recently. It is a common assumption that, because of advances in medical techniques during the past decades, the treatment of persons subjected to violence has to some degree moved from hospitals to outpatient settings. However, because of inconsistencies in record keeping, this is hard to verify.

Victim Surveys: Swedish victim surveys have been carried out since 1978 and they cover population between 16–84 years of age. Victim surveys show a quite stable picture of the violence situation. The number of violent incidents (physical violence or violent threats) per person has not increased. The small percentage of persons that is subjected to the vast majority of all violence that occurs in Sweden has not increased between the 1990s and the year 2000 according to the studies. However, victimization to violence at the workplace has increased markedly and mainly among females.

BRÅ has conducted *surveys on victimization and self-reported crime among 15-year-old schoolchildren* in 1995 and 2005. There are questions about whether the respondents have conducted violent acts (have you hit someone? Did the injuries require medical attention/care in a hospital? Have you carried a knife?) There are also questions about victimisation (have you been assaulted/hit?)

Here are some results from the study: The prevalences for violence in general have been stable from 1995 to 2005. The prevalences for use of striking weapons have been stable (2 percent). The prevalences for having hit someone are also stable (10 percent). Victimization to severe violence is stable (6 percent.). The prevalences for becoming victim of violent threats is stable (11 percent). A problem with the survey is that a lot of violence goes undetected because of young people who are not included in school studies (truancy or school homes, hospitalisation, and institutionalisation).

The Swedish National Safety Survey (Nationella trygghetundersökningen, NTU), the most recent crime victimization study, was reported in March 2008. The percentage of persons that were subjected to violence has been stable. There are problems with victimisation studies, because they have their own “dark figure”, which may be high and changing over time. It is not impossible that some of the violence that does come to light in victimization surveys is caught up in police statistics, but it is hard to know to which degree this happens.

It is important to remember that there are roughly three different types of violence: violence at home, violence at work and violence on the streets. These do not necessarily follow the same trends. Their occurrence also varies between sexes, ages, regions and times. Thus, different measures are needed to follow these different types of violence.

In the crime statistics violence is increasing and this is especially because of an increase in minor violence. The increase of minor violence is also supported by studies on the content in police reports, such as Lotta

Nilsson's studies on violence against women and children,¹⁰ Felipe Estrada's study on violence in schools¹¹ and Sven Granath's study on aggravated assault and manslaughter.¹²

The increase in minor violence reported to the police might reflect a change in the people's values so that they see more cases as violence than they did before, but of course there might be other interpretations as well. The matter should be investigated and discussed further.

The number of women who say they are victims of more crime than before has increased. Many of them are working in health care and schools. One should ponder whether this is a real increase or have the employees learned to see their working place as a risky environment. In working place violence, seen in police statistics, the issue of repeated victimisations is a big issue. Police statistics do not show people, but the number of acts, so the assessing of repeated victimisation of the same persons should be done by investigating the matter by a separate study.

In crime statistics, one should also take into account cohort differences; it is not sufficient to look only at the number of crimes relative to total populations. Social workers might say that there are more children coming to them with problems. This is most certainly true, since there are more teenagers now in Sweden than earlier.

In conclusion:

Victim surveys show no increase in violence. According to hospital data on severe violence and lethal violence there is also no increase. Violence might however, be increasing in some very visible groups. The increase in alcohol use and polarization make violence frequent and more visible among certain groups.

It is crucial to use multiple sources when assessing the violence levels. There are many sources for this in Sweden. Alternative violence indicators show a picture of a more stable situation. The growth in assaults reported to the police is the biggest indicator on the possibly growing violence, when the large media attention is not taken into account. This has occurred especially after the 1990s and the situation is quite similar in the rest of Scandinavia.

There should be more analyses of police reports to understand the nature of the reported crime that has increased. It is important especially to study working place violence. In addition, the possibly altering importance of alcohol to violence should be studied.

¹⁰ Brottsförebyggande rådet (2000:15): Barnmisshandel. En kartläggning av polisanmäld misshandel av små barn. Författare: Lotta Nilsson. Brå-rapport 2000:15. Stockholm: Fritzes

¹¹ Estrada, Felipe (1999). *Ungdomsbrottslighet som samhällsproblem*. Utveckling, uppmärksamhet och reaktion. Avhandlingsserie nr 3. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Kriminologiska institutionen.

¹² Granath, S. (2007). *Rättsliga reaktioner på ungdomsbrott 1980–2005*. Stockholm: Kriminologiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.

We should in all ways try to counteract policies relying on impressions about violence that are not based on tested and critically assessed knowledge.

1.4 Finland

*Jukka-Pekka Takala*¹³

When it comes to *homicide and lethal assault per capita*, Finland sticks out with its high numbers in a Nordic and an old EU perspective. The Finnish lethal assault rate is 2.5 times higher than that of the EU15 before the 2004 enlargement on average and at the same level as the average of the new member states. The violent mortality rate of Finnish women is higher than that of men in the other Nordic countries¹⁴.

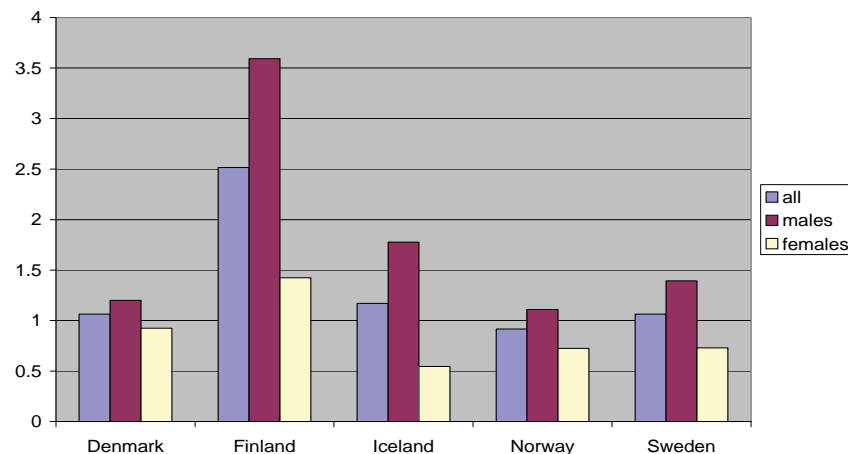


Figure 1.5 Deaths due to homicide and lethal assault, per 100,000, average for 1996–2005. Source: WHO/Europe, *European Health for All Database*, October 2008 note: Denmark 1996–2001.

Assaults registered annually by the police have increased from under 15,000 to nearly 30,000 between 1980 and 2006. However according to the Finnish National Safety Survey violence the prevalence for violent victimisation has dropped.

¹³ This section is based on notes taken of the author's oral presentation and the slides at the April 2008 seminar. The author has checked and revised the manuscript before publication.

¹⁴ Homicide is a good measure on violence over time, since almost 100 percent of all homicides are recorded in the Nordic countries. More information of the special traits of Finnish homicide is found in Martti Lehti's paper: *The Constant and Changing Features in Finnish Homicides*, that is found in an appendix.



Figure 1.6 Assaults registered by the police in Finland 1980–2006 (N)

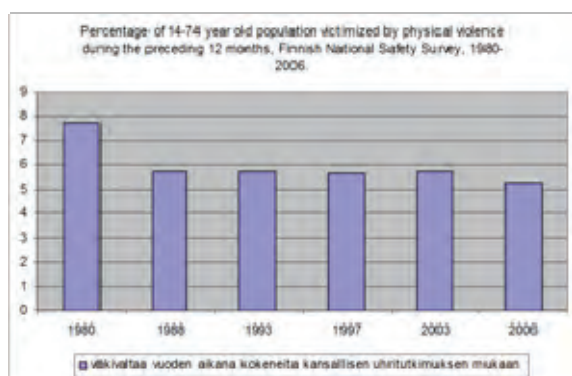


Figure 1.7 Percentage of 14–74 year old population victimized by physical violence during the preceding 12 months. Finnish National Safety Survey, 1980–2006

The Finnish police recorded assault rate (about 30,000 annually) is close to that of Sweden (that has 70–80,000 assaults annually and almost twice as many inhabitants) but about twice as high as in Denmark. National victim surveys also show higher prevalence of victimisation of physical violence in Finland than in the other Nordic countries, but the surveys use different questions and different methodologies in different Nordic countries so the results might not be very comparable. In the International Crime Survey (that uses the same questions and methodology across participating countries), violence rates in Finland have been about the same as in Denmark and Sweden (in the 2005 sweep in the EU countries, Finland's rate was actually lower than DK and SE, but the methodology may not have been comparable in that sweep). Could it still be that Finland is a bit more violent not only in lethal crime, but also in other types of violence? This is of course possible: the International Crime Survey cannot be taken as the final word on relative levels of everyday violence between countries. It may be even probable that the level of serious violence (also other than homicide) is higher in Finland than in the other Nordic countries.

Is violence in Finland increasing over time? This is not likely. On the contrary, Finland is probably experiencing a decrease. Violent death has been decreasing since the 1990s and the surveys don't show any increase.

Increase is occurring only in police reported violence, and this probably has to do more with an increase in reporting than in an increase of actual violence. Workplace violence is the only type of violence of which we can be sure that violence has increased. In addition, workplace violence that leads to injury has become more prevalent. One contributing factor might be the aftermath of the economic depression in the early 1990s and problem clients. It is important to understand that even one problematic customer/ client in a store or in health care station can be a source of many violent experiences, victimizing several clerks, nurses or social workers.

Central sources on the prevalence and incidence of violence in Finland:		
Source	Type	Accessibility
Review of crime in Finland	Annual review, a digest of various statistical sources	www.optula.om.fi, National Research Institute of Legal Policy (NRILP)
Police registered crime	Monthly statistics	www.tilastokeskus.fi Statistics Finland
Homicide Review	Web publication appearing 1-2 times annually; Based crucially on a special homicide database (2002-)	www.optula.om.fi, National Research Institute of Legal Policy
Cause of death statistics	Based on death certificates identifying intentional violence by another person as the cause of death	www.tilastokeskus.fi Statistics Finland
National Safety/Victimization survey	Population survey on victimization to accidents and crime. 1980, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2006	www.optula.om.fi, (NRILP, crime) www.ktl.fi (National Public Health Institute, accidents)
National Safety/Security Survey	Population survey on opinions on safety and on crime victimization. 2003, 2006. Much briefer instrument on crime than previous	www.stm.fi, Ministry of the Interior and provincial governments

Figure 1.8 Central sources on the prevalence and incidence of violence in Finland

One should use multiple sources when assessing the violence rate in Finland especially when it comes to minor violence and assault.

1.5 Iceland

*Guðbjörg S. Bergsdóttir*¹⁵

When looking into statistics on violence in Iceland it must be emphasized that the country is small and figures consequently sensitive for changes.

Statistics from *the Icelandic Police data base* on number of violent breaches is available nationwide since 1999. The data is gathered by the

¹⁵This section is based on notes taken of the author's oral presentation and the slides at the April 2008 seminar.

National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police. Table 1.2 indicate that violence occurs quite frequently in absolute numbers in Iceland. More homicides have been committed in Iceland in 2000–2007 than 1990–1999 (see figure 1.9).

Table 1.2 Violence breaches per 100,000 inhabitants in Iceland 2000–2006, main breaches

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Minor assault	492,3	466,7	430,4	422,3	374,5	409,6	390,1
Major assault	21,2	24,4	13,3	17,0	20,3	19,8	18,7
Manslaughter	2,9	3,2	2,4	2,8	2,1	0,3	2,3
Homicide	1,8	0,4	1,4	0,0	1,0	1,0	0,0
Total	518	495	448	442	398	431	411

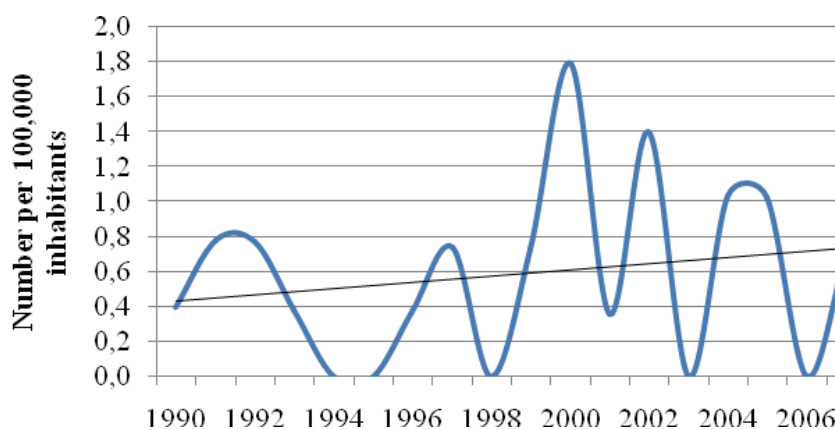


Figure 1.9 Number of homicides committed in Iceland during 1990–2006 per 100,000 inhabitants

Hospital data and Emergency room data are gathered when individuals arrive because of injuries that might be caused by physical violence. In these cases the individuals are asked how they got their injuries along with other specifying questions.

One shelter, *Kvennaathvarfið*, is for women who have been subjected to intimate violence. The shelter keeps records of the number of individuals arriving since 1982.

The first Victim Survey on violence was conducted in 1996 by the Ministry of Justice. Participants were asked about their own experience but the survey had partly the same questions as a Danish study conducted few years earlier. According to the survey 21% of women in Iceland had experienced violence but the figure was only 16% among Danish women. 59% of young Icelandic men (18–24 years old) had experienced violence during the last five years¹⁶. Iceland participated in the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) in 2005. According to the survey 16% of the respondents had ex-

¹⁶ Dómsmálaráðuneytið. 1997. Skýrsla dómismálaráðherra um orsakir, umfang og afleiðingar heimilisofbeldis og annars ofbeldis gegn konum og börnum. Reykjavík.

perienced violence or been threatened during the last five years. 45% of these persons had experienced violence and 55% only a threat of violence¹⁷. National victim survey will be conducted in 2008 and 2009 and will most likely be conducted regularly in the future.

Self report studies among youth aged 11–16 have been conducted in 1992, 1997, 2000, 2003 and 2006. Research based on data from 1997 showed that almost half of the boys had kicked, hit or grapped someone's neck last 12 months and more than quarter said they had injured someone over the same period. Only one of every twenty girls said they had injured another individual last 12 months¹⁸.

In conclusion: Data on violence in Iceland and researches concerning this matter is available only for a short period. Last decade information on violence has more often and more regularly been gathered in Iceland. In conclusion there will be more information on development and frequency of violence for a longer term in few years.

1.6 A special case: workplace violence

Violence experienced at the working place seems, according to multiple sources and type of data, to be increasing in most Nordic countries. This section draws on the lively discussion that arose during the seminar on working place violence as well as discusses some issues in more depth.

In Finland, workplace violence is the only type of violence of which we can be sure that it has increased during the past few years. Also workplace violence that leads to injury has become more prevalent. One contributing factor might be the aftermath of the economic depression and problem clients. It is important to understand that even one problematic customer/ client in a store or in health care can be a source of many violent experiences. (Takala)

The European working conditions survey (EWCS) gives basic information about violence experiences at the workplace. The survey has been conducted in At least four Nordic countries are included in this survey. Unfortunately, the some of the key questions in this survey were clearly different in different countries. The English model of one question spoke of “bullying/harassment”. The version used in Sweden used “trakasseri” which seems about the same as “harassment”. However, In Finland the question was about ”osaklig behandling” (being treated inappropriately), which is clearly a much wider concept.¹⁹ The material is thus not comparative.

¹⁷ Rannveig Þórisdóttir, Helgi Gunnlaugsson og Vilborg Magnúsdóttir. Brotápolar, lögreglan og öryggi borgaranna. 2005. Reykjavík, Háskólaútgáfan.

¹⁸ Þórólfur Þórlindsson, Bryndís Björk Ásgeirsdóttir, Þórólfur Þórlindsson, Inga Dóra Sigfúsdóttir og Jón Gunnar Bernburg. 2000. *Umfang ofbeldis meðal íslenskra unglinga og félagslegir skýringarþættir*. Reykjavík, Rannsóknir og greining..

¹⁹ Hannu Takala, ”Käännösvirhe selittää osin tutkimustuloksia” [Research results partly explained by a translation error]. *Helsingin Sanomat* 27.2.2008.

Trends could of course be compared according to these surveys, but not prevalences.

The way and the context where question are asked have an impact on what prevalence of workplace violence the surveys show. For an example we know, that violence against women surveys that mention the word “violence” tend to get lower prevalence, than those that approach the matter using other concepts. We should work on contextualizing the violence. (Hustad)

The media has grown exceedingly interested in workplace violence and there are many dramatic stories about workplace violence becoming more common. In reality most of this violence can, however, be tracked to a growth in violence against people working in the social, health and service sectors. (Olaussen)

We know that employees nowadays are expected to document and report violence that occurs. It is not only a “subjective” feeling among employees that lowers the tolerance for violence, but also requirements that come from the managerial level. It is not only a question of having a “Thinner skin”: Maybe, violent behaviour, today to a lesser degree than before, is seen as a “normal part of the work environment and is thus more often reported.

Conclusions: We should work on having trend indicators on violence at the workplace. At the moment there are too few longitudinal studies. Work related violence and its different explanatory hypotheses should be looked into in more detail.²⁰

1.7 The trends of violence in the Nordic countries: reconciling divergent indicators

Felipe Estrada, Flemming Balvig, Arnt Even Hustad, Jukka-Pekka Takala²¹

This section is a recapitulation and summary of the main violence trends in the Nordic countries.

1.7.1 Mortality statistics in Scandinavia

Mortality statistics are official statistics that are highly comparable. Especially in the Nordic countries the reason for lethal outcomes are clarified with a very high reliability.

Figure 1.10 shows the rate (per 100,000 inhabitants) for homicide and lethal assault in Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway between 1994 and 2003. The source is the WHO Europe’s database Health for All.

²⁰ See Estrada Felipe, Nilsson Anders & Wikman Sofia (2007). The Increase in Work-Related Violence: An Analysis Based on Swedish Victim Surveys. *Nordisk tidskrift for Kriminalvidenskab* Marts 2007 - 94.

²¹ This chapter builds on a paper presented by its first author, Felipe Estrada, at the Stockholm Criminology Symposium 2008.

(The curves represent 5-year moving averages, because homicide numbers particularly in Iceland are so small that one-year figures curve would be bouncy.) We see that the prevalence for Finland is considerably higher than for the other Nordic countries. As a comparison one can point out that the average homicide rate in the EU is 1.2, in the USA it is 5.6, in the European region it is: 7.5 but in Honduras 44.9.

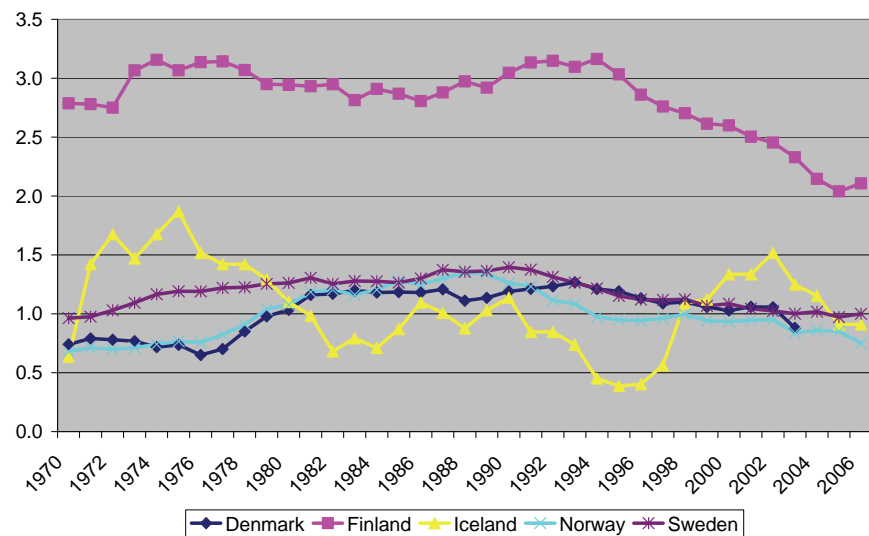
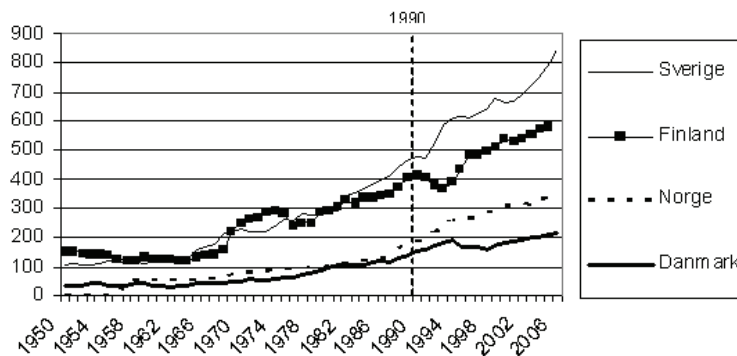


Figure 1.10 Death due to homicide and lethal assault 1970–2006 per 100,000 population. 5-year moving annual average.

1.7.2 Violence in Scandinavian police statistics

Crime statistics in Scandinavia show a substantial increase in police reports of violence and also an increase in the number of juveniles suspected of assault. Figure 1.11 shows an increase in police recorded assault in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark.



Kilde: Faick m. fl. (2003, Figur 2, s.31), opdateret af Dave Sørensen (fore-løbigt)

© Flemming Balvig

Figure 1.11 Police reported violence in Scandinavia 1980–2006

Why are we seeing this kind of an increase, although violence is not increasing according to victimization studies? Has the dark figure become smaller – are people nowadays reporting things that they didn't previously report? What could such an increase in violence reporting result from? It would be essential to study the subjective side of the crime problem. Has society's view of violence changed? Does society have stricter norms against violence? It would be important to study what kind of normative conceptions about violence. There should be studies of the media, of politics and the exercise of control in schools

There are many indicators that would support the hypothesis of increased reporting of violence. These are, among others: Increased media attention, the altered political view of violent crime, a shift in what society views as an appropriate response and a documented increasing proportion of less serious incidents among violent crimes reported to police

Because of police statistics being so sensitive to many kinds of change, we should therefore attempt to verify trends in violence using sources that are less affected by shifts in the response to crime

1.7.3 Stable trends in lethal violence, hospitalization data, victim surveys and self-report studies

The trends in lethal violence show a rather stable trend. This is seen in Figure 1.10 above and Figures 1.12 and 1.13 for Denmark and Sweden. Stability is also true for most hospital data.

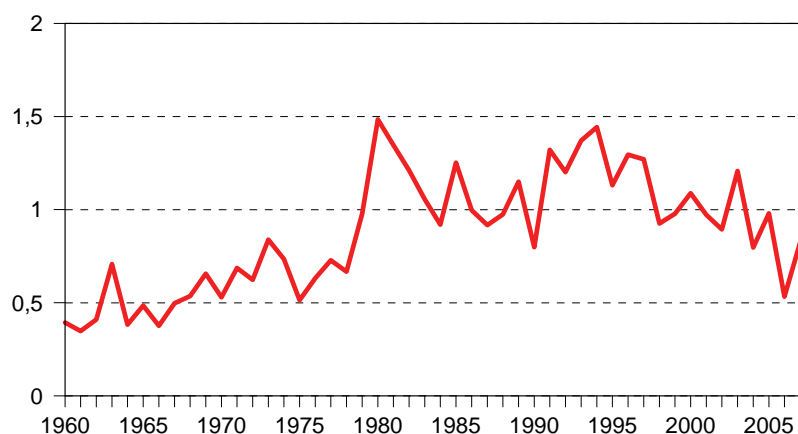


Figure 1.12 Lethal violence in Denmark 1960–2006

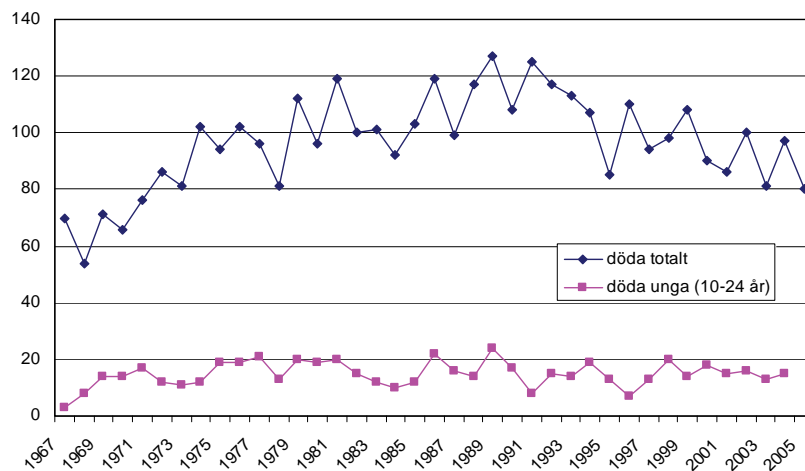


Figure 1.13 Lethal violence in Sweden: 1967–2005

Self report studies on juveniles show the same trends in Sweden and in Finland 1995–2005. The studies indicate stable levels of self-reported violence and victimization. Studies made on juveniles in Denmark 1979 & 1999 show that juvenile violence decreased between 1979 and 1999. The study was repeated in 2005 and that showed no alteration in the level of violence. Despite this, the police statistics in the Nordic countries show an increase in the number of juveniles suspected of violent offences. The same is true for the general population.

To summarize, it seems that the most important measure showing an increase in violence is the increase in police statistics. Other sources show no increase or possibly a decrease. Both these statements are true in all the Nordic countries for which there are data. Such a development should be subjected to a lot of research that would illuminate the problem from many different angles.

2. Learning about and from variations in violence

One of the subtasks of this subproject was *variations in violence*. The idea was to examine what interesting differences there are in violence and what one could learn from them. The project participants were asked to look at whatever variations in violence they thought might be interesting and potentially instructive. They could certainly be variations between countries but also variations between regions within individual countries or between types of regions within the whole area. They could be differences between historical periods, but also between age groups, birth cohorts, genders, social groups. Even apparent (but not necessarily actual) variations in violence when measured using different instruments could have been discussed. The basic idea behind looking at variations was that variations may be instructive when considering ways to prevent violence.

In the ideal case, we could learn what actually makes the low crime region (or low crime time or low crime social setting) to have low crime and try to put the same mechanisms in place in a high crime setting to reduce crime there, too.

The discussions on variation were less about reporting well-established research results than about spelling out individual ideas and observations and debating their plausibility and the need to research them more thoroughly. This is also how this section of the report should be taken: as a description of thoughts and ideas that need further work.

There is one exception to this preliminary nature of the discussion of variability in this report: Martti Lehti's presentation *The constant and changing features in Finnish homicides* which turned into an article that takes up the largest part of this chapter.

2.1 Variations between countries

This project has shown that the Nordic states have fairly similar trends in violence. One point of interest in this project has been to see in what ways the Nordic countries differ from each other when it comes to violence. To examine these variations in violence is important from a crime preventive view. To examine differences can help us find situational or societal preventive factors that could be adapted to other countries. Contrastingly, one might find violence instigating factors in some country that could be influenced by policies that are used in other countries. There are for an example few robberies of valuable goods transports in Finland, but these have been

much more common in Sweden, which might have to do with different opportunity structures for crime. The occurrence of lethal violence is radically more frequent in Finland than in the other Nordic countries. Alcohol is related to violence in all the countries, but the link seems strongest in Finland. However, the Finnish experiment with legal prohibition of alcohol seems to have been counterproductive as violence rates went up during Prohibition. Football violence is a serious problem in Sweden, but so far not a big question in Finland.

2.2 Other variations

The type and amount of violence can also vary at different times of the day, on different weekdays and in different regions. There are also alternations between different societal groups that alter over time. (Felipe Estrada). For instance, one could look at four different types of variation in a country's violence.

1. Gender difference: The difference between males and females is decreasing. This occurs in two ways:
 - a. Boys are less violent than before
 - b. Girls show more violent behaviours than before.
2. Age. Violence has traditionally occurred mostly among younger people. Now the age for violence is becoming higher. This is true for most kinds of crime. Reasons might be sought in polarisation (delinquent subgroups, etc) but also perhaps in the development in the whole society of youth becoming a longer period in life.
3. Polarisation. Those that are vulnerable in other ways, too, face a growing amount of violence and other crime. The violence prevalence among the poor has increased very much and among rich a slight decrease can be distinguished. Because of there being so little poverty, these developments do not show in overall violence prevalences, but basic prevalences show a stagnation in violence.
4. A racialization of Nordic violent crime. This occurs in Sweden but not in Finland, probably due to the small amount of immigrants and guest workers in Finland.

Points 1–3 can be seen to have a connection to alcohol. Young women and young men have altered their drinking habits. Alcohol also produces (or is apart of) polarisation.

In Norway, the mainly rural province of Finnmark has the highest rates of reported violent crime in Norway (Hustad). "Village life in fishing communities along the coast of Finnmark is still characterized by often hard and risky work and little room for leisure activities during weekdays, and concentration of leisure time and social life during weekends, frequently with (heavy) consumption of alcohol –which again increases the prevalence of

fighting in Finnmark county.” (Leif Petter Olaussen). Correspondingly, Lehti draws attention to the high homicide rates in Finland’s most sparsely populated Northern and Eastern areas. Hence, high rates of violence are not only an urban phenomenon.

Growth in violence is highly correlated to the growth of restaurant licensed to serve alcohol. Violence has increased on Friday, Saturday and Sunday in places where licensing has increased. (Olaussen) The number of violence and drinking places should be related to ALL kinds of violence, but can also be related to working place violence? This is debatable, but not completely improbable.

Discussion: Are the attitudes against violence changing? For an example the number of young boys participating in wrestling and boxing are very small nowadays and boxing is mostly not considered a “good” sport. Can this mirror an attitude change?

2.3 The Constant and Changing Features in Finnish Homicides²²

Martti Lehti

The topic of this paper is variations in violent crime in Finland, or more exactly, the changing and constant characteristics of Finnish homicides in the last hundred years.

If we take three statistical variables: the sex of the offenders, the percentage of intoxicated offenders, and the difference between the Finnish and Swedish homicide death rates, we get a very unchanging as well as a fairly gloomy picture of the Finnish homicides in the 20th century.

2.3.1. Masculinity

First, the sex division. We have comparable data on the persons convicted of homicides from the year 1891 onwards, and during the whole period since then in every decade about 90 to 98 percent of them have been men; and as you can see from this slide (Figure 2.1), the percentage of males has been the higher the higher the crime rate has been. Thus, almost all the fluctuations in the general homicide rate have been fluctuations in the male crime rate only.

²² This article is based on the author’s presentation notes and slides and checked and revised by him for this publication.

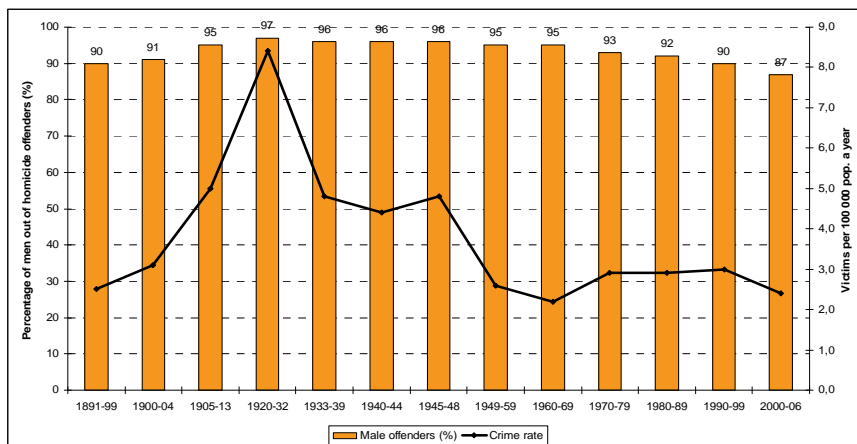


Figure 2.1 Percentage of men of persons convicted of homicides in Finland, 1891–2006
Statistics Finland

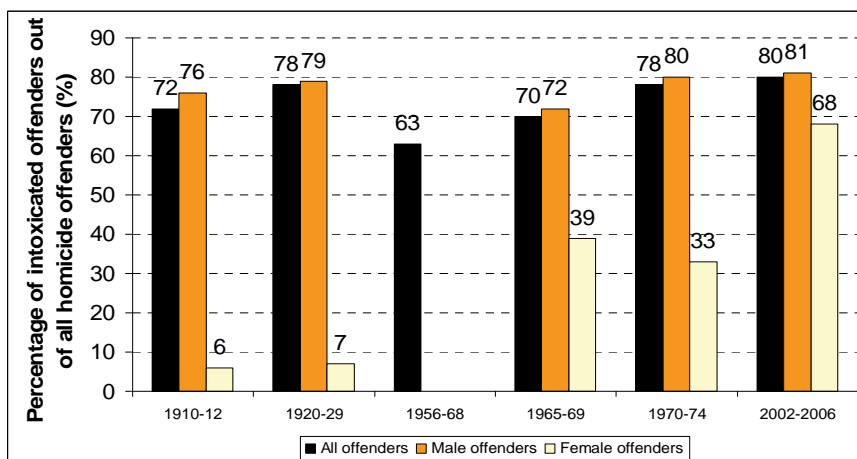


Figure 2.2 Percentage of intoxicated homicide offenders in Finland in 1910–2006. National Research Institute of Legal Policy

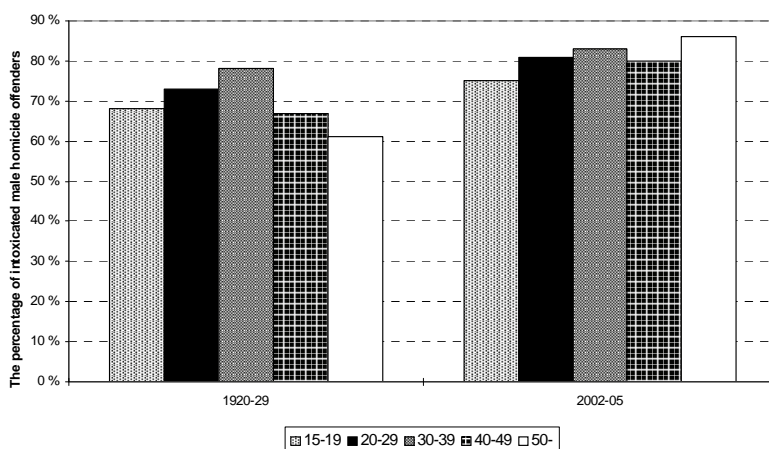


Figure 2.3 The percentage of intoxicated offenders out of all male homicide offenders in Finland in 1920–29 and 2002–05 by age group (Lehti 2001; National Research Institute of Legal Policy)

2.3.2. Close linkage between alcohol intoxication and male violent behavior

Also here we have a very stable situation, since the beginning of the 20th century in every decade 75 to 80 percent of men who have committed homicides have been drunk. The percentage has been and is more or less the same in all male offender age groups.

For women the situation has actually changed radically, especially during the last three decades. But because women have committed and commit so few homicides, this has not had much effect on the general situation.

2.3.3. The gap between Finnish and Scandinavian homicide rates

And then the third permanent feature, the difference between the Finnish and Scandinavian homicide rates or at least between the Finnish and Swedish homicide rates. If we exclude the exceptionally turbulent period in Finnish history from the 1905 Revolution till the end of the 1940s, the Finnish homicide death rate has been in every decade since the mid-18th century about 2.5 times higher than the Swedish one. This is a pretty remarkable fact, if we consider the transformations which both the Finnish and the Swedish societies have undergone during the period.

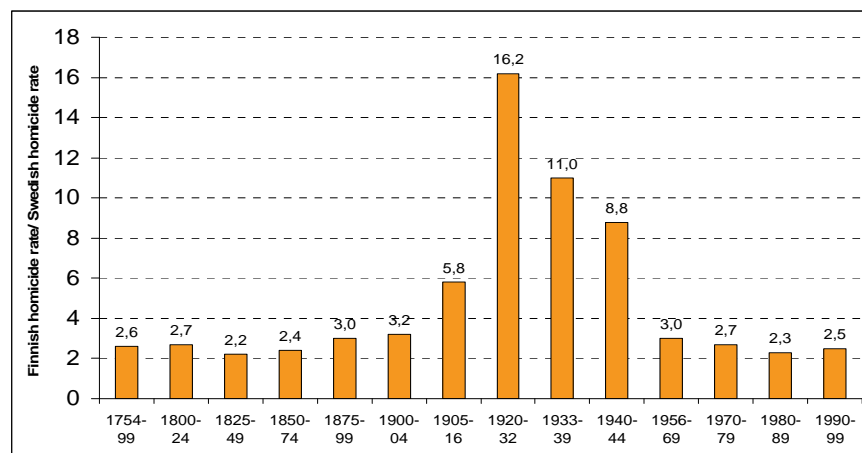


Figure 2.4 The difference between the Finnish and Swedish homicide death rates in 1754–1999 (Finnish rate/Swedish rate) Verkko; Statistics Finland

Thus, according to these statistics we could think that not much has happened in Finnish homicides at least since the late 18th century. However, in spite of the apparent constancy of these statistics, they today refer to a totally different social and cultural phenomenon than they did only fifty years ago.

2.3.4 Demographic Change

First, the age structure of homicides has changed profoundly. In the 18th century, the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, homicides

were a type of juvenile crime in Finland, while today they are mostly crimes between middle-aged men. The change took place in a very short period of time from the mid-1930s till the beginning of the 1950s.

Figure 2.5 shows the male homicide offending rates by the offender's age group at the end of the 19th century and today. The general male homicide offending rate was identical in the two periods, but as we can see, the homicide commission rate of the young adult men in their twenties is today only about half of that a hundred years ago, while the current rates of 30 to 40-year-old men are about double of those of the late 19th century. The same change has taken place also in the age structure of the victims, both male and female; the mortality of young men and women is today substantially lower than it was a hundred years ago, while the mortality of especially middle-age women has increased (Figures 2.6 and 2.7).

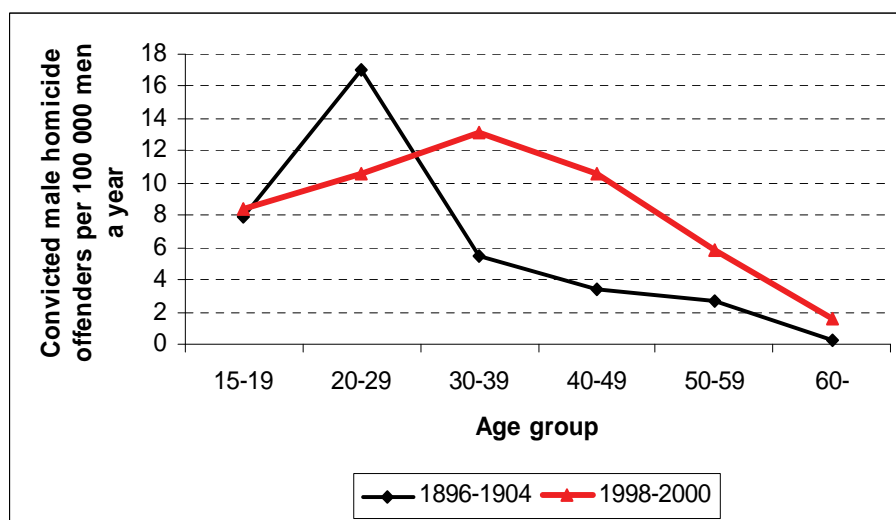


Figure 2.5 Male homicide offending rate by age group in 1896–1904 and 1998–2000 Statistics Finland

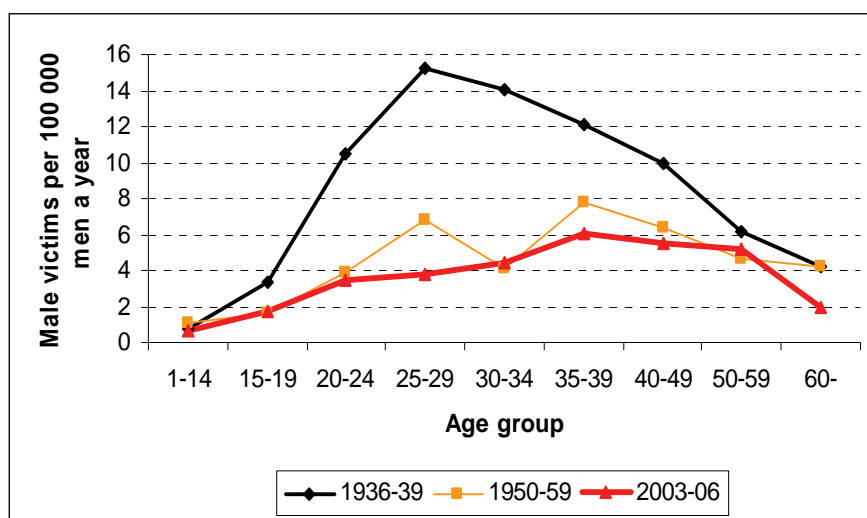


Figure 2.6 Male homicide mortality in Finland in 1936–39, 1950–59 and 2003–2006 Statistics Finland

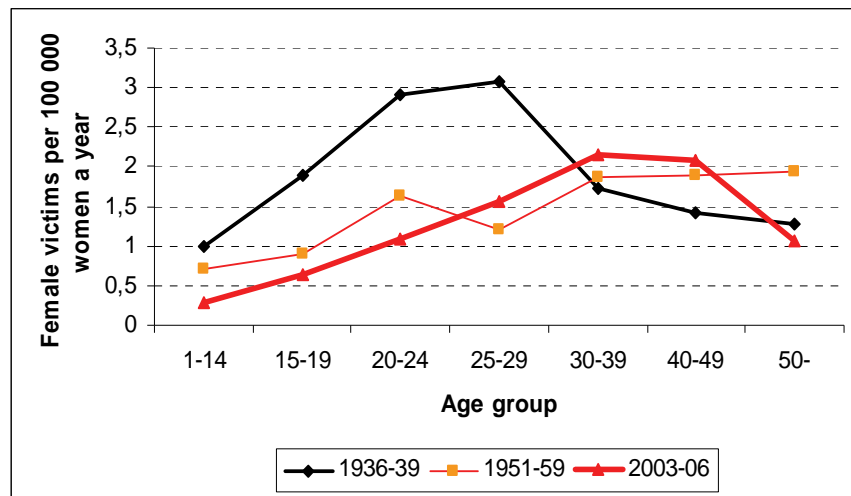


Figure 2.7 Female homicide mortality in Finland in 1936–39, 1951–59 and 2003–2006. Statistics Finland

This change in age-structure has been mirrored in several other important characteristics of homicides.

2.3.5 Location of homicides

For example, in the location of the crimes: during the last fifty years, homicides have moved from public places to private apartments. In the first half of the 20th century, the majority of homicides were still committed in streets, roads and dancing halls, today 70 percent take place in private apartments.

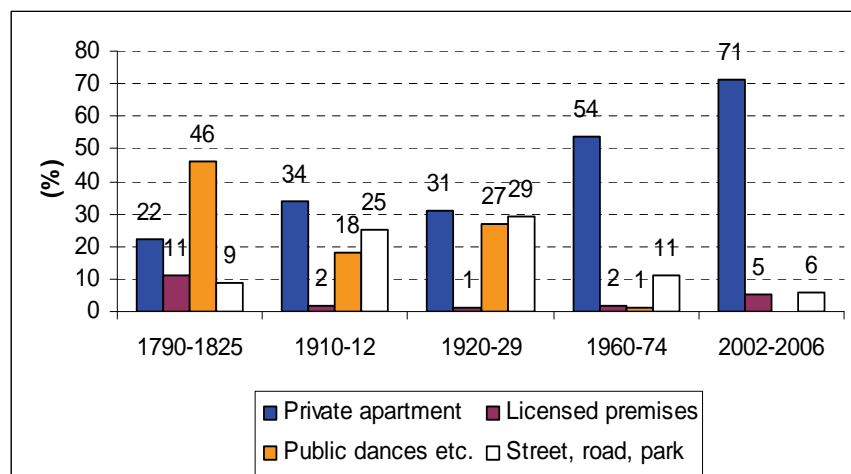


Figure 2.8 The location of homicides in Finland in 1790–2006, %

2.3.6 Type structure of homicides

The type structure of homicides has changed correspondingly. During the last fifty years homicides have been concentrating to cases involving a close

previous relation between the parties. The proportion of crimes between intimate partners and between family members has increased, as well as the actual number of intimate partner homicides. At the same time both the number and proportion of crimes between non-relatives have decreased radically.

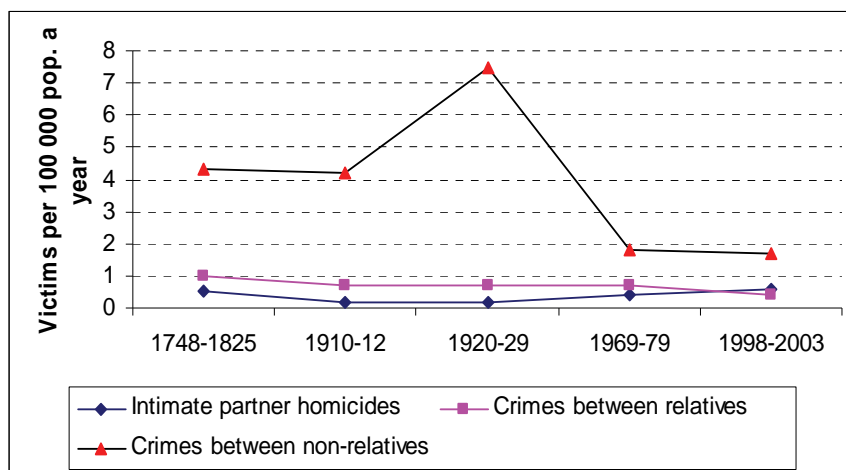


Figure 2.9 Crime rates of different homicide types in Finland in 1748–2003

2.3.7 Male and Female Homicide Mortality

The effects of the changing age structure can be seen also in the diverging trends of male and female homicide mortality; from the late 19th century till today the homicide mortality of adult women (or more exactly middle-aged women) has increased over 2.5 fold while the mortality of adult men has decreased substantially.

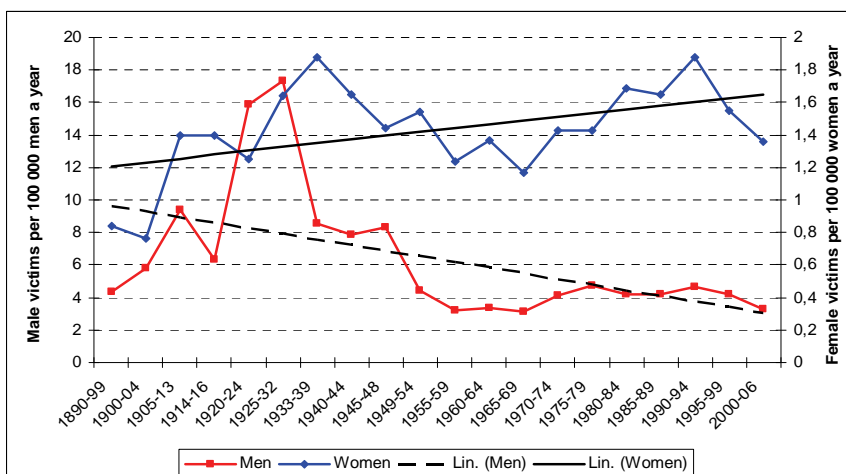


Figure 2.10 Male and female homicide mortality in Finland, 1890–2006
Statistics Finland

2.3.8 Social Background

Also the social background of Finnish homicides is today totally different from that of fifty years ago. In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the problem group of male violence was the industrial workers, both in relative terms as well as in the actual numbers of committed crimes. And in general the social background of especially juvenile homicide offenders was much more heterogeneous than today.

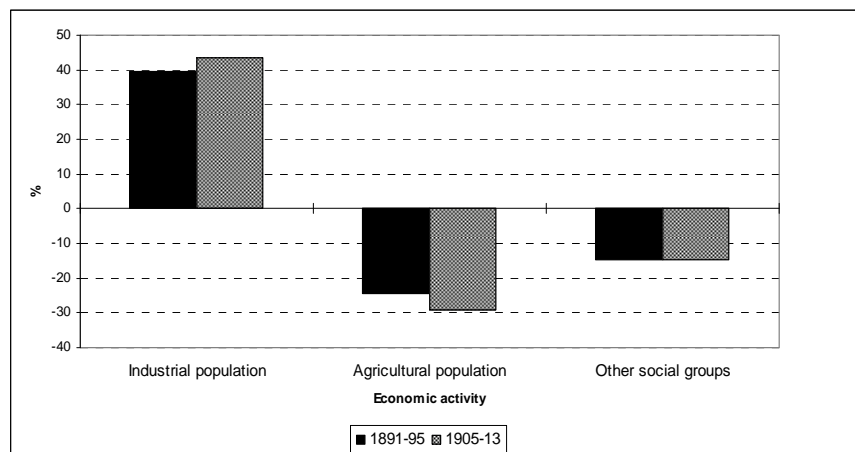


Figure 2.11 Male homicide offending rate by economic group in Finland in 1891–1913 (the proportion of sentenced male offenders compared with the proportion of adult male population; $I=0$) (Statistics Finland)

Since the Second World War the crime rates of all employed population groups (especially those of blue-collar industrial workers) have dropped substantially; at the same time the crime rates of socially marginalized population groups remained high and even increased. As a result homicides have become more or less solely a crime type of socially marginalized men and women. The Figures 2.12 and 2.13 show the homicide levels of different socio-economic groups in Finland at the end of the 1990s. Both the crime rate and death rate of the unemployed working-age men and women are ten-fold compared to all the other socio-economic groups; and this group actually commits also the majority of the crimes as well as makes up most of the victims.

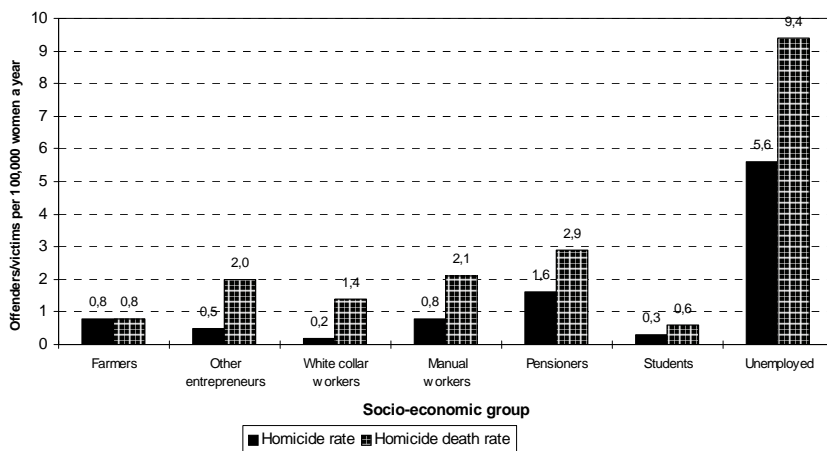


Figure 2.12 Homicide offending rate of 15 to 64 year old women by socio-economic group in Finland in 1998–2000. Statistics Finland

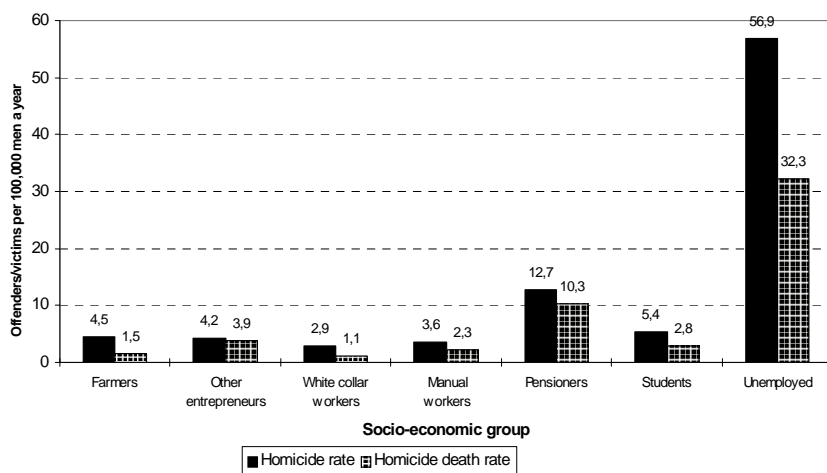


Figure 2.13 Homicide offending rate of 15 to 64 year old men by socio-economic group in Finland in 1998–2000. Statistics Finland

A similar social marginalization process of homicides can be seen amongst juvenile offenders. Figure 2.14 shows the socio-economic background of their families before the Second World War and today. Perhaps even more telling is the change in their criminal record data, given in Figure 2.15. In spite of wider criminalizations, much harsher Penal Code sanctions and much harsher sentencing practices in the 1910s and 1920s, and despite the fact that criminal records then included all types of convictions, only about 20 percent of the teenage male offenders and practically none of the female offenders had earlier criminal records. Today when crime records include only unconditional or suspended prison sentences over 50 percent of the boys and 25 percent of the girls who commit homicides have earlier criminal records (and 15 percent have actually been in prison at least once be-

fore). These are extremely high percentages considering the age of the offenders and the current Finnish sentencing practices.

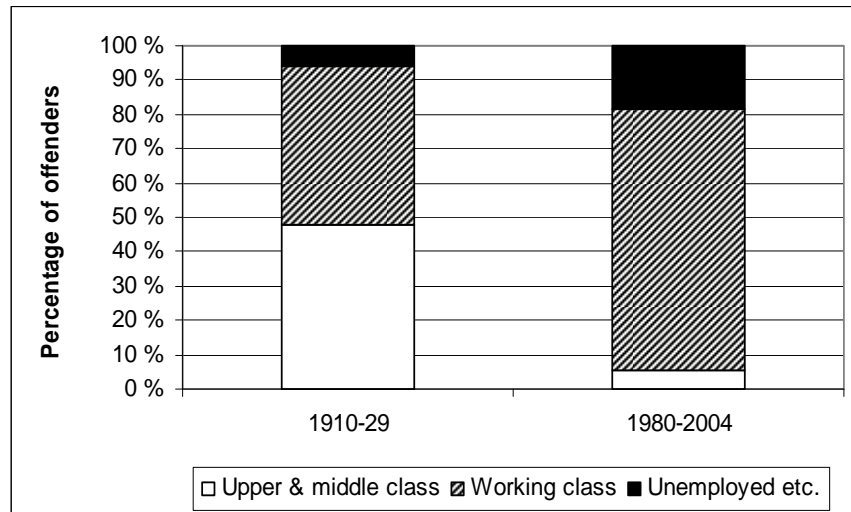


Figure 2.14 The socio-economic status of the parents of juvenile (< 21 year old) homicide offenders. National Research Institute of Legal Policy

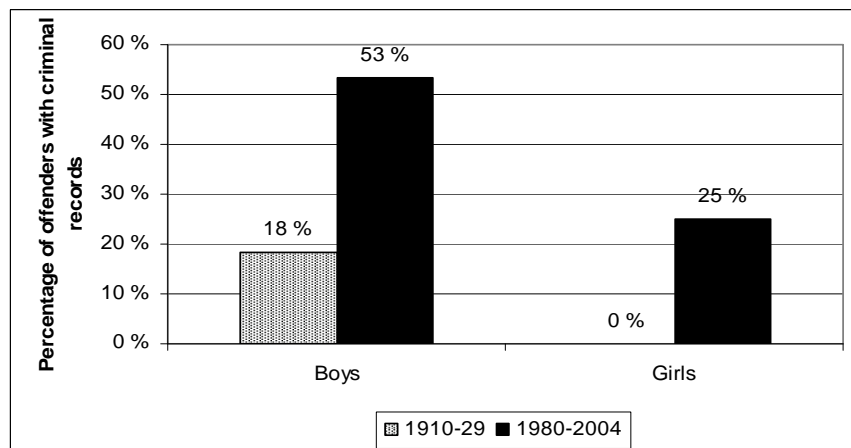


Figure 2.15 The criminal records of juvenile homicide offenders National Research Institute of Legal Policy

2.3.9 Geographic Division

Regional variations of homicide rates have also been considerable; in general, in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century homicides went hand in hand with social and economic progress; the highest rates were to be found in the most modernized and the most rapidly growing areas; at the beginning of the 19th century in Ostrobothnia, and from the late 19th century till the Second World War in the new forest industrial towns, in the major lumber producing rural communes, and in the main export seaports.

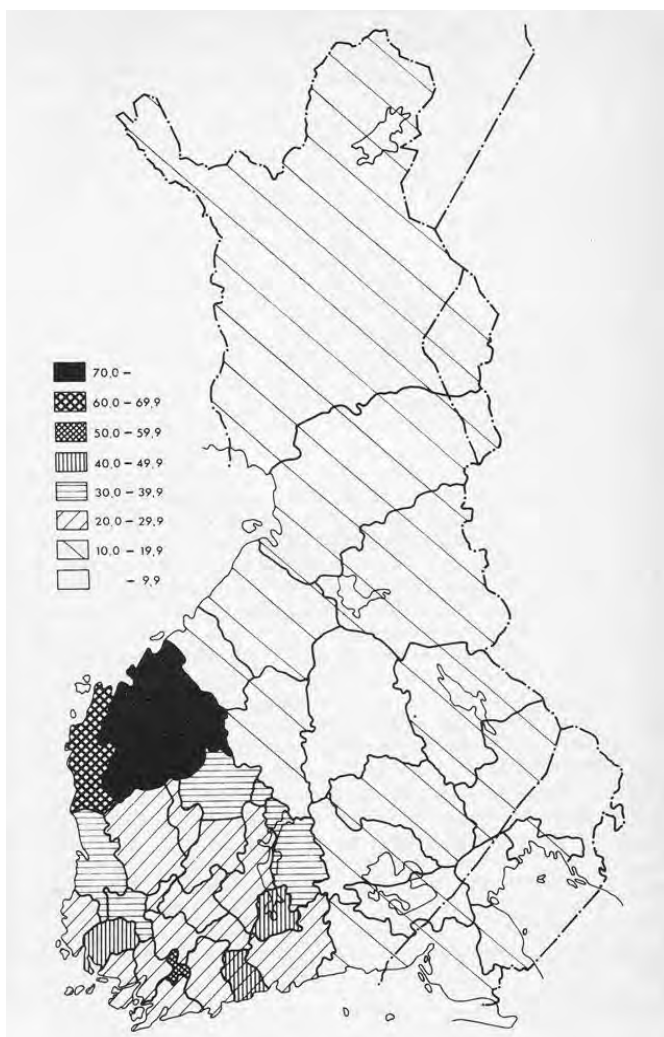


Figure 2.16 Homicide rates by deaneries, 1816-65 (Heikki Ylikangas 1976, 19; Oiva Turpeinen)

In the last few decades again, the highest rates have been found in the economically and demographically most depressed cities and communes, especially in eastern and northern Finland, but also in Satakunta as well as Päijät-Häme and Kymenlaakso in the south east.

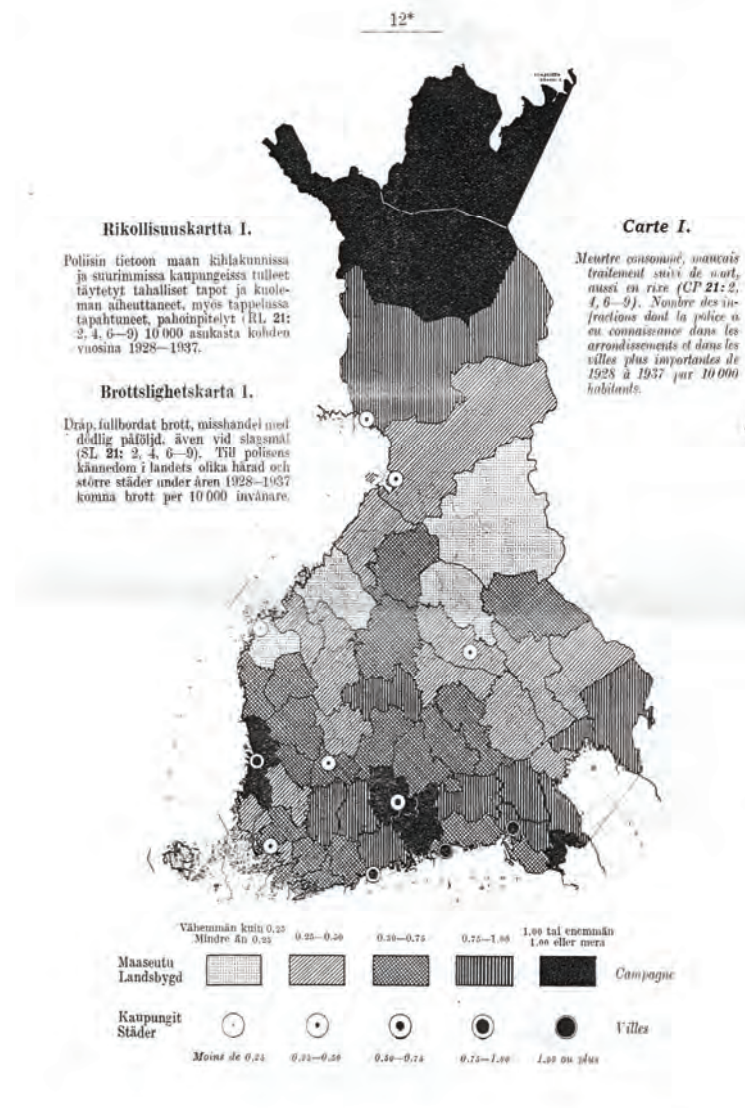


Figure 2.17 Homicide rates by court districts in 1928-37
 (Veli Verkko; Statistics Finland)

To sum all this up; if we merely look at the percentages of intoxicated male offenders, we have a very stable link between alcohol consumption, intoxication and male homicidal behaviour in Finland during the last hundred years, but the substance of this linkage has changed radically during the last fifty years.

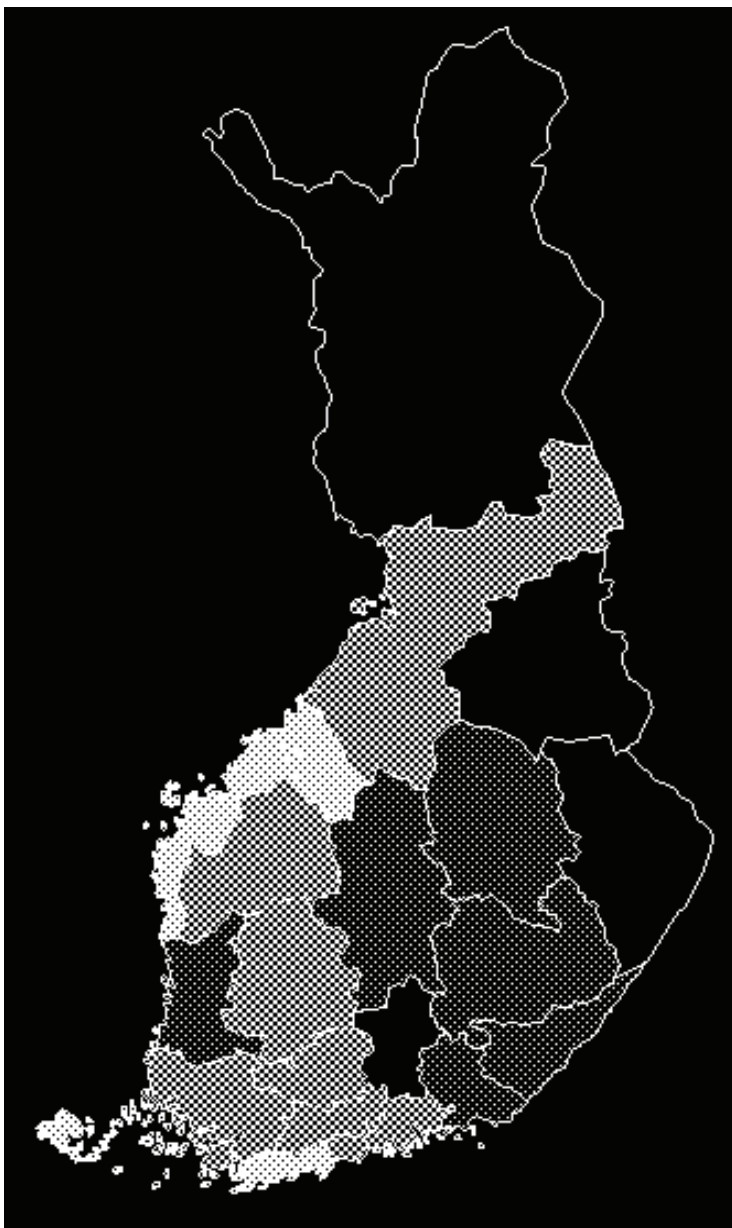


Figure 2.18 Homicide rates by provinces, 2000–2006
Statistics Finland; National Research Institute of Legal Policy

The figures of the pre-war years refer to the weekend-fun violence of the juveniles at that time, which was a socially fairly heterogeneous and widely spread cultural phenomenon; homicides were rare accidents in the flow of this general leisure-time violence.

The figures of today again refer to a very different kind of phenomenon: to the violence between socially marginalized middle-aged male and female alcohol abusers.

3. Measuring violence in intimate relationships

3.1 Våld i nära relationer, källor i Sverige²³

Lotta Nilsson

3.1.1 Inledning

Befintliga källor i Sverige för att belysa och mäta våld är statistik och registerdata från rättsväsendet och hälso- och sjukvården samt regelbundet återkommande frågeundersökningar. Dessa källor kan i olika mån användas för att belysa utsatthet för våld i nära relationer. Definitionen av våld och kategoriseringen av relationen mellan offer och gärningsman varierar dock mellan dem, vilket påverkar på vilket sätt de kan användas och hur de kan komplettera varandra.

Vad gäller rättsväsendet finns den *officiella kriminalstatistiken* där de brott som kommer till rättsväsendets kännedom registreras. Den omfattar uppgifter om anmälda brott, uppklarade brott, misstänkta personer och lagförda personer. Beträffande hälso- och sjukvården är *dödsorsaksregistret* och *patientregistret över slutenvård* relevanta datakällor i detta sammanhang, i vilka övergrepp av annan person registreras som dödsorsak eller som orsak till skada.

Det genomförs två nationella årligen återkommande frågeundersökningar där det bland annat ställs frågor om utsatthet för våld, dels Statistiska centralbyråns (SCB) undersökningar av levnadsförhållanden, dels Brottsförebyggande rådets (Brå) nationella trygghetsundersökning. Förutom dessa två undersökningar finns Statens folkhälsoinstituts årliga folkhälsoenkät, där antalet frågor om utsatthet för våld och hot dock är mycket begränsat och inte omfattar någon fråga om relationen mellan offer och gärningsman, varför denna källa inte tas upp närmare nedan.²⁴

Utöver dessa källor som bidrar med regelbundna mätningar av utsatthet för våld genomförs även enstaka undersökningar om utsatthet för våld, i vissa fall avgränsade till specifika gruppers utsatthet.

²³ Artikeln skrevs för projektet.

²⁴ I vissa lokala och regionala liknande folkhälsoundersökningar återfinns dock en sådan fråga.

3.1.2 Källor för att mäta våld i nära relationer

Rättsväsendet och kriminalstatistiken

I den officiella kriminalstatistiken, som Brå ansvarar för, redovisas anmälda brott, uppklarade brott, misstänkta personer och lagförda personer. De tre förstnämnda kategorierna är baserade på de brottskoder som polisen använder medan den sistnämnda är baserad på lagrum i brottsbalken. Den redovisade enheten i statistiken över anmälda (och uppklarade) brott är brott, vilket det bör tas hänsyn till om kompletterande källor används som är baserade på individdata.

De brottstyper som är relevanta när det gäller våld i nära relationer kan, beroende på hur våld definieras, vara dödligt våld, grov kvinnofridskränkning och grov fridskränkning, misshandel, hot, ofredande samt sexualbrott.

Beträffande det dödliga våldet redovisas inte relationen mellan gärningsmannen och offret i kriminalstatistiken, vilket innebär att det krävs specialstudier av brottsanmälningar eller domar för att belysa hur det dödliga våldet i nära relationer ser ut. Sådana studier har gjorts när det gäller dödligt våld mot kvinnor i nära relationer.

Fridskränkningarna är enligt den juridiska definitionen begångna av en närstående person till offret. När det gäller dessa brott kan kriminalstatistiken således användas för att belysa aspekter av våld i nära relationer. Beträffande grov fridskränkning kan målsägande även vara ett barn.

Vad gäller misshandel redovisas brotten fördelat på misshandel mot barn²⁵ respektive mot personer 18 år och äldre (fördelat på misshandel mot kvinnor respektive mot män). Vad gäller relationen mellan offer och gärningsman redovisas om de är obekanta eller bekanta med varandra.²⁶ Sedan år 2008 fördelas brotten av bekanta inomhus fördelas på om de begåtts i en nära relation eller inte.²⁷ Innan dess krävdes specialstudier, till exempel av brottsanmälningar eller domar, för att fånga upp den misshandel som skedde i nära relationer. En kartläggning baserad på brottsanmälningar har visat att den polisanmälda misshandeln mot kvinna av bekant till största delen består av misshandel av en partner eller före detta partner till kvinnan, (Brå, 2002). När det däremot gäller misshandel mot man av bekant finns inte motsvarande studier gjorda varför brottskategorin inte direkt kan anses säga något om våld mot män begränsat till i nära relationer.

När det gäller hot och ofredande finns inte heller studier som kan användas för att uppskatta hur stor del av dessa brott som begås inom nära relationer. Beträffande sexualbrott framgår inte relationen mellan offer och gärningsman av statistiken.²⁸ En ännu ej publicerad studie av anmälda våld-

²⁵ I sin tur fördelat på åldersgrupperna 0–6 respektive 7–14 år samt fördelat på kön.

²⁶ I statistiken redovisas även om brottet begåtts inomhus eller utomhus. Det går också att ta fram uppgifter med den grova misshandeln särredovisad.

²⁷ Med nära relation avses att offret och gärningsmannen är eller har varit gifta eller sammanboende under äktenskapsliknande förhållanden eller, utan att bo tillsammans, har gemensamma barn.

²⁸ Med undantag av sexuellt tvång, utnyttjande mm. av barn under 15 år, då antalet brott i nära relation särredovisas.

täkter kommer emellertid att visa hur stor andel av våldtäkter som begås i nära relationer.²⁹

Mot bakgrund av ovanstående går det att konstatera att kriminalstatistiken har stora begränsningar vad gäller att belysa och beskriva våld i nära relationer. För att fånga upp denna del av den polisanmälda misshandeln behövs specialstudier. Utöver detta finns den generella begränsningen att kriminalstatistik enbart fångar upp en mindre del av det faktiska våldet. Dessutom är mörkertalet sannolikt särskilt stort vad gäller våld i nära relationer (Brå, 2008; SCB, 2004).

Hälso- och sjukvårdsdata

Två relevanta källor baserade på hälso- och sjukvårdsdata för att belysa utsatthet för våld är dels dödsorsaksregistret (DOR), dels patientregistret över slutna vård (PAR), som Epidemiologiskt Centrum (EPC) vid Socialstyrelsen ansvarar för. I båda dessa register kan "övergrepp av annan person" registreras som yttre orsak till antingen dödsfallet eller skadan. I vissa fall kodas även relationen mellan den avlidna respektive skadade personen och den som begått övergreppet.

Dödsorsaksregistret

I dödsorsaksregistret registreras uppgifter om samtliga avlidna som vid tiden för dödsfallet var folkbokförda i Sverige, oavsett om dödsfallet inträffade i Sverige eller utomlands (Socialstyrelsen, 2006).

Patientregistret över slutna vård

I patientregistret över slutna vård finns information om samtliga vårdtillfällen där patienten skrivits ut från svenskt sjukhus. Registret omfattar även information om icke folkbokförda som vårdats vid svenska sjukhus. Då registret är begränsat till slutna vård omfattar det i princip enbart allvarlig fysisk misshandel (Estrada, 2005; Socialstyrelsen, 2006).

Frågeundersökningar

Frågeundersökningar fångar upp mer av den faktiska utsattheten för våld i nära relationer än vad kriminalstatistiken gör, men vissa gruppers utsatthet och vissa typer av utsatthet underskattas. Det finns en tendens till överrepresentation i bortfallet av socialt marginaliserade grupper i befolkningen, till exempel tunga missbrukare eller tungt kriminellt belastade personer. Dessutom är våld i nära relationer sannolikt särskilt underskattat, eftersom det kan finnas ett motstånd mot att berätta om just denna typ av utsatthet. Utöver att

²⁹ Av en tidigare studie framgår andelen av fullbordade våldtäkter som begåtts i en nära relation (Brå, 2005). Sedan dess har dock den juridiska definitionen av våldtäkt utvidgats i och med en förändring av sexualbrottslagstiftningen, vilket sannolikt inneburit en förändrad struktur bland annat vad gäller relationer mellan offer och gärningsmän.

välja att inte svara av olika skäl kan också de tillfrågade oavsiktligt utelämnade händelser (Brå, 2008; SCB, 2004).

Undersökningar av levnadsförhållanden

SCB:s undersökningar av levnadsförhållande (ULF) genomförs årligen och baseras på ett slumpmässigt urval av befolkningen på ca 7500 personer i 16–84-årsåldern. ULF omfattar bland annat ett avsnitt om trygghet med exempelvis frågor om utsatthet för våld och hot, om platsen för detta samt om förövarens kön. Frågorna om våld är indelade i tre grovhetsgrader.³⁰ Redovisningsenhet är framför allt personer, men även händelser redovisas.

Vart sjunde och åttonde år görs en fördjupning av området trygghet, då det ställs en rad följdfrågor om utsatthet, till exempel om relationen till förövaren och om händelsen är polisanmäld. De kategorier som används för att beskriva relationen är följande; helt okänd, enbart känd till namn eller utseende, tillfälligt bekant eller nära bekant. Nära bekant fångar upp mer än vad i nära relation oftast definieras som, det vill säga partner eller före detta partner och i vissa fall familjemedlem eller släkting, men är den kategori som är relevant att använda i detta sammanhang. För att begränsa den något kan även variabeln för platsen för våldet användas, det vill säga att man avgränsar kategorin till våld av nära bekant i bostad.³¹

Att ULF integreras med de europeiska SILC-undersökningarna³² innebär att det sker förändringar som kommer att påverka jämförbarheten över tid. De årligen återkommande frågorna kommer att finnas kvar, men det är osäkert hur många av fördjupningsfrågorna som kommer att kunna behållas.

Nationella trygghetsundersökningen

Brå:s nationella trygghetsundersökning (NTU) är en annan årligen återkommande frågeundersökning om bland annat utsatthet för brott. Undersökningen bygger på ett rikstäckande slumpmässigt årligt urval av 20 000 personer i 16–79-årsåldern.³³ NTU är, till skillnad från ULF, utformad för att vara ett komplement till kriminalstatistiken.

De typer av våldsbrott som omfattas av NTU är hot, misshandel, sexualbrott och trakasserier.³⁴ ³⁵ En rad följdfrågor ställs till den som svarat att

³⁰ Våld som krävde besök hos läkare, tandläkare eller sjuksköterska; våld som ledde till synliga märken eller kroppsskada men som inte krävde besök hos läkare, tandläkare eller sjuksköterska och våld som inte ledde till synliga märken eller kroppsskada.

³¹ Egen eller annans bostad.

³² Statistics on Income and Living Conditions.

³³ Det första år som NTU genomfördes, år 2006, gjordes emellertid inte en fullskalig undersökning med avseende på urvalsstorleken.

³⁴ Även personrån omfattas, vilket dock inte är relevant i detta sammanhang.

³⁵ Frågorna lyder som följer:

Hot: Blev du under förra året hotad på ett sådant sätt att du blev rädd?

Misshandel: Slog, sparkade eller utsatte någon dig för någon annan typ av fysiskt våld så att du skadades eller så att det gjorde ont under förra året?

Sexualbrott: Tvingade, angrep eller ofredade någon dig sexuellt under förra året? Detta kan gälla både allvarliga och mindre allvarliga händelser, till exempel hemma, på jobbet, i skolan eller på någon allmän plats. Trakasserier: Trakasserier kan vara att vid upprepade tillfällen t.ex. bli förföljd eller få oönskade besök, telefonsamtal meddelanden och liknande. Blev du trakasserad vid flera tillfällen under förra året?

den blivit utsatt för brott. När det gäller relationen till gärningsmannen används kategorierna helt okänd, bekant och närstående. Med närstående avses partner, före detta partner, förälder/styvförälder, annan familjemedlem eller släkting och nära kamrat/vän. För misshandel, sexualbrott och trakasserier ställs även frågor om allvarlighetsgraden. Liksom i ULF är den huvudsakliga redovisningsenheten personer, men även händelser redovisas i NTU.

Enstaka studier om utsatthet för våld i nära relationer

Vissa enstaka studier om utsatthet för våld, och som omfattar våld i nära relationer, har också genomförts. Ett exempel på detta är Slagen dam, en frågeundersökning från 1999/2000 om mäns våld mot kvinnor, som riktades till ett urval på 10 000 kvinnor i 18–64-årsåldern (Lundgren, 2001). I denna undersökning användes en vidare definition av våld än i ULF och NTU. År 2007 genomförde utredningsinstitutet Handu en undersökning om mäns våld mot kvinnor med funktionshinder. Undersökningen var i viss mån utformad på ett liknande sätt som Slagen dam, för att möjliggöra vissa jämförelser (Handu, 2007).

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3.2 Norway

*Nicolay B. Johansen*³⁶

Information on research on violence in intimate relationships and many statistics in Norway can be found through Statistisk sentralbyrå³⁷. The victimization studies (Levekårsundersøkelse) for violence have been integrated from the years 1997–2004. This gives more robust information and gives possibilities to make analyses on a more detailed level. There are also other cross-sectional studies on the matter. One in 2003 in Oslo and another in 2005

There has been a panel investigation in 1992 where the respondents were followed until 1997. The investigation asked both men and women about perpetration and victimisation of violence. Mostly the results showed sporadic violence that did not occur very often. It is hard to make record of severe violence in these types of studies.

Svej Mossige & Kari Johanssen have conducted a recent vast cross sectional study about violence against children. It is available online. Very few respondents said that they had been subjected to violence from both parents. In this study only the immediate family (nuclear family) was studied. There has been much discussion in Norway about the fact that also females are perpetrators of violence against their children.

The definition of the “intimate” offender tends to vary in the research. Sometimes it only indicates a partner or only someone living at the same address. Studies should also include children, partners that do not live at the same address, etc. The ambivalent nature of the “intimate” offender makes studies hard to compare. In addition, the definition of violence varies from study to study.

Discussion: Lotta Nilsson from Sweden stated that it is not possible today to use the social service statistics in Sweden for violence research, since it is not registered whether a person in contact with the social services is exposed to violence or not.. This is an important question also in Norway. In Norway there has been much discussion about making the social service statistics better and utilising them more for research purposes. This would demand much efforts and collaboration between researcher and practitioners. Mostly the discussion has been about using the social statistics for finding children that are clients of the social service and that potentially could have been subjected violence, but this is neither inquired nor recorded.

³⁶ The section is based on notes taken on Johansen’s presentation at the April 2008 seminar.

³⁷ www.SSB.no/statistikkbanken

3.3 Iceland³⁸

Guðbjörg S. Bergsdóttir

Few researches have been conducted on domestic violence in Iceland. The first one was carried out in 1979, based on data from the emergency room. Two other noteworthy studies have been conducted that concerns this matter. Results from a victim survey on violence carried out in 1996 showed that 1,3% of women in Iceland and 0,8% of men had experienced violence from spouse in the last 12 months. 14% of women in Iceland and 4% of men had experienced spouse violence in their lifetime³⁹. Another victim survey, carried out in 2005, showed that 1,6% had experienced violence from a spouse or ex-spouse in the last five years⁴⁰.

Two extensive researches are in process. The University Hospital in Iceland conducted research in 2007 but results haven't been published. In 2008 Iceland will participate in *The International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS)*.

Kvennathvarfið, shelter for women victims of abusive spouse, ex-spouse or another family member, keeps register on the number of visits since 1982. Police data on domestic violence is available since 1999. The definition of domestic violence in the Icelandic police statistics has been altered. Earlier a case was registered as domestic violence mainly if the violence occurred in the home, but since process procedures were published in 2005 every case should be recorded as domestic violence if the violence occurs between related or emotionally related individuals. Figure 3.1 indicate number of domestic violence incidents reported to the police 2000–2007.

³⁸ Based on notes taken on Guðbjörg's presentation at the April 2008 seminar.

³⁹ Dómsmálaráðuneytið. 1997. Skýrsla dómsmálaráðherra um orsakir, umfang og afleiðingar heimilisofbeldis og annars ofbeldis gegn konum og börnum. Reykjavík.

⁴⁰ Rannveig Þórisdóttir (2007, ágúst). *Heimilisofbeldi: Hvað geta gögn lögreglu sagt okkur?* Fyrirlestur fluttur á ráðstefnu Jafnréttisstofu, Reykjavík.

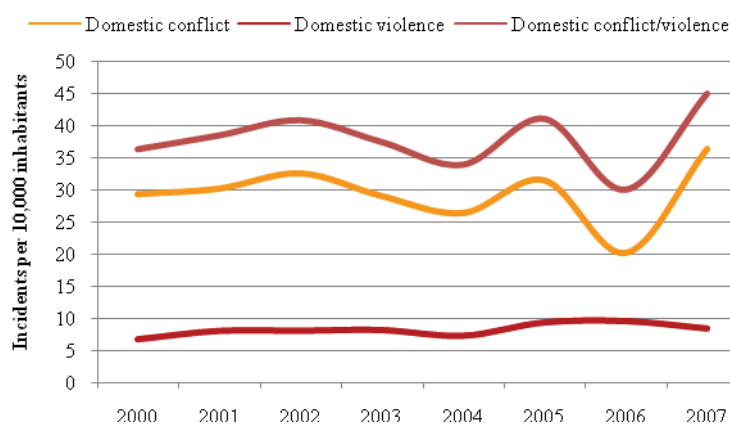


Figure 3.1 Number of domestic conflict or domestic violence incidents reported to the police in Iceland 2000–2007

In 2008 a research based on reports from the police data base will be conducted. Reports on domestic violence incidents from 2006 and 2007 will be reviewed and some information on these cases recorded. The purpose is to know more about domestic violence in Iceland and to realize how it appears in the police data. 32 variables will be collected concerning the incident, the offenders and the victims.

Conclusion: Information available on domestic violence in Iceland is improving, especially when three extensive researches, carried out in 2007 and 2008, have been published.

3.4 Finland

*Jukka-Pekka Takala*⁴¹

3.4.1 Surveys

The prevalence of intimate violence that surveys find depends greatly on the questions posed and on how they are framed, that is, in which context they are posed. Descriptions of concrete acts (*have you been shoved, grabbed, slapped, hit with a fist?* etc) usually elicit much higher rates of violence than just asking whether you had been a victim of violence or the threat of violence. But even similar concrete questions produce wildly different rates depending on how they are introduced or framed. A Finnish example: both the traditional National Victimization Survey (conducted since 1980) and the Violence Against Women (VAW) survey (conducted twice, 1997 and 2005) use rather similar multi-item batteries

⁴¹ Based on notes taken on the author's presentation and the slides at the April 2008 seminar, checked and revised by him.

of descriptions concrete acts to ask about victimization to violence. Nevertheless, the dedicated VAW survey brings forth many times higher annual rates of domestic violence against women than the general victimization survey (Figure 3.2).⁴² These are similar to differences found elsewhere between “crime surveys” and “VAW surveys”. Nevertheless, even higher rates than in VAW surveys are found in “family violence studies” using the Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) type of questions (which contain quite similar behavioural items as the VAW studies).⁴³ Figure 3.3 presents typical annual prevalences of domestic violence in these different kinds of surveys.

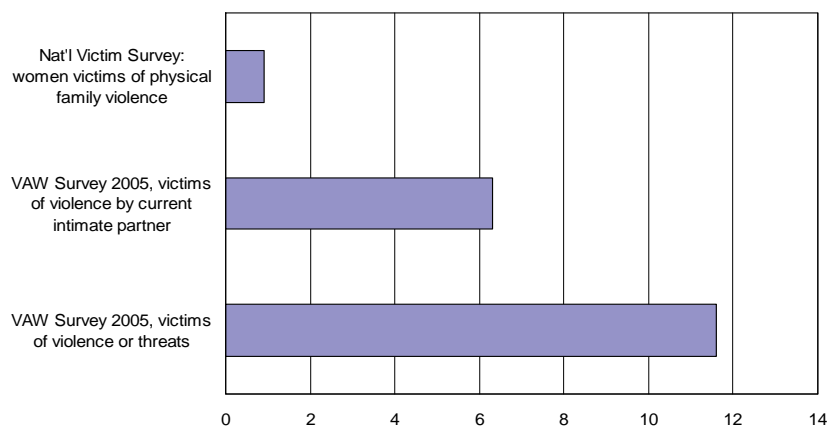


Figure 3.2 Female victims of violence or threat, results from National Victim Survey and Violence Against Women survey, 2005/2006, %

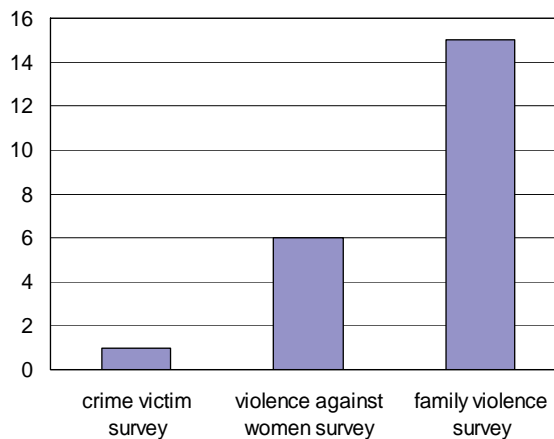


Figure 3.3 Typical yearly victimization rate for physical intimate partner violence, %

⁴² Piispa, M., Heiskanen, M., Kääriäinen, J., & Sirén, R. (2006). *Naisiin kohdistunut väkivalta 2005 [Violence against women 2005]*. Publications 225. Helsinki: National Research Institute of Legal Policy; Sirén, R., Kivivuori, J., Kääriäinen, J., & Aaltonen, M. (2007). *Suomalaisten kokema väkivalta 1980–2006 [Violent victimization in Finland, 1980–2006]*. Research Communications 74. Helsinki: National Research Institute of Legal Policy.

⁴³ See, for instance, Straus, M. A. (1999). The controversy over domestic violence by women: A methodological, theoretical, and sociology of science analysis. In X. B. Arriaga & S. Oskamp (Eds.), *Violence in intimate relationships* (pp. 17–44). Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

In Finland, standard CTS surveys on a regular population survey have not been conducted (the instrument has only been used in assessing some clinical samples), but it is highly likely that even here such a survey would find higher domestic violence than the other survey types. Unlike the VAW survey, the CTS questionnaire does not use the term “violence,” which probably is a loaded term that lowers the rate.

The first Finnish VAW survey was conducted in 1997.⁴⁴ Later, surveys modelled on the Finnish one were carried out in Sweden and in Norway.⁴⁵ Denmark has taken part in the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) –the only Nordic country to do so.

Using these surveys, then, we might, in principle at least, be able to compare Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish rates of domestic and intimate violence with each other, and compare Denmark with the other (non-Nordic) participants of the IVAWS study. However, there are actually many differences between the three studies based on the Finnish example, so that comparisons must be done very cautiously. For instance, the Finnish rates of violence by the woman’s current partner were much higher than those in Sweden, but this finding is undermined by the fact that the Swedish survey omitted the items about *slapping* and *prevention of movement*, that in the Finnish survey accounted for a great proportion of the violence. Nevertheless, looking at a relatively serious item, *hit you with a fist or a hard object or kicked you*, included in both surveys, the Finnish rates are still higher.⁴⁶

Conclusion: Regarding comparability between surveys, an interesting challenge would be to make general victimization surveys and dedicated domestic or intimate violence surveys more comparable in some ways at least. Even now, the rates of the most serious forms of violence causing injury are not as different as the rates of overall violence. It would help if data on some of the concrete events were more similar in detail. Now, the typical VAW survey asks specifics (injury etc) of victimization in lifetime perspective only, which makes it difficult to track changes in a few years’ perspective. It should be considered adding specifics of events in 12 months

Another issue is that the other Nordic countries should follow Norway’s (and Iceland’s) example and carry out surveys (also) about males’ violent victimization by their partners.

⁴⁴ Heiskanen, M., & Piispa, M. (1998). Usko, toivo, hakkaus: kyselytutkimus miesten naisille tekemästä väkivallasta.. Oikeus 1998:12. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus; Heiskanen, M., & Piispa, M. (1998). Faith, hope, battering: A survey of men’s violence against women in Finland. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.

⁴⁵ Lundgren, E., Heimer, G., Westerstrand, J., & Kalliokoski, A.-M. (2001). Slagen dam: Mäns våld mot kvinnor i jämställda Sverige – en omfångsundersökning. Umeå: Brottsoffermyndigheten; ---. (2002). Captured queen: Men’s violence against women in “equal” Sweden – a prevalence study. Umeå: Brottsoffermyndigheten; Haaland, T., Clausen, S.-E., & Schei, B. (Eds.). (2005). Vold i parforhold – ulike perspektiver: resultater fra den første landsdekkende undersøkelsen i Norge. NIBR-rapport 2005:3. Oslo: Norsk institutt for by- og regionforskning.

⁴⁶ Takala, J.-P. (2006). Väkvallan totuudet ja tulkinat: Löydyn kuningattaren tapaus. Haaste,1, 28–29.

Another challenge is to develop health care data collection systems to better provide indicators of the prevalence of domestic and intimate violence. Body charts that can be used in prosecution could also be used for research purposes. In Finland *body charts* on injuries are made according in emergency rooms and also in (other) general health care to the so called Malmi model. This helps to identify whether the injuries have occurred because of violence (nose injuries, etc) or not.

3.4.2 Administrative data

Statistics on homicide and violent mortality: Based on the mortality statistics, in recent years, annually 15 women and 3 men have on average been killed by their married or cohabiting spouse. This, however, excludes intimate partners who are not married to each other or do not live in the same address. The Homicide Monitoring System, founded in 2002 and maintained by the National Research Institute of Legal Policy and the Police College, carries also information of other intimate and romantic relations that the victim and the perpetrator may have had, according to the police investigation. This system shows somewhat higher numbers: about 22 women and 5 men were killed annually by their present or ex married or cohabiting spouse or present or ex boy/girlfriend.⁴⁷ By the way, no woman was recorded to have killed her former partner, while killing an ex partner is a fairly typical type in male to female intimate homicides.

The relationship between the offender and perpetrator is also found in emergency room statistics in those cases when the medical staff or the patient has determined that the cause of injury has been violence.

Table 3.1 The relation between the victim and the perpetrator in cases of partner and domestic violence. Malmi Hospital Emergency Clinic 2003. Source of information: Noponen 2007

Perpetrator	Victim			
	Woman (N=86)		Man (N=19)	
Spouse	19	22 %	3	16 %
Ex-spouse	7	8 %		
Partner	22	26 %	5	26 %
Ex-partner	3	3 %		
Own child	6	7 %	1	5 %
Brother/sister	1	1 %	3	15 %
Boyfriend/girlfriend	23	27 %	7	37 %
Ex-boyfriend/ex-girlfriend	5	6 %		

Alcohol in Finnish intimate partner violence Alcohol and lethal intimate partner violence are closely intertwined. Alcohol dependency among the perpetrators is common and so is alcohol dependency among the victims.

⁴⁷ This and other pieces of information based on the Homicide Monitoring System were provided by Martti Lehti in publications and personal communications.

The offender is also often drunk when committing an act of violence in an intimate relation.

Table 3.2 The perpetrator's and the victim's use or abuse of alcohol in cases of lethal violence for women in close relationships in Sweden 1990–2004. (Source: Rying)

	1990–1994		1995–1999		2000–2004		Totalt	
	Antal	Andel	Antal	Andel	Antal	Andel	Antal	Andel
Gärningsman påverkad	44	54	34	40	32	39	110	44
Offer påverkad	36	44	29	35	22	27	87	35
Gärningsman alkohol- missbrukare	32	39	33	39	28	34	93	38
Offer missbrukare	22	27	27	32	16	19	65	26

Table 3.3 The perpetrator's and the victim's intoxication in cases of lethal violence for women in close relationships in Finland 2002–2004

Gärningsman berusad	78 %
Offer berusad	72 %
Båda berusade	71 %
Båda nyktra	15 %

Source: Martti Lehti 2005

Table 3.4 The perpetrator's and the victim's alcoholism in cases of lethal violence for women in close relationships in Finland 2002–2004

Gärningsman missbrukare	51 %
Offer missbrukare	49 %
Både missbrukare	43 %
Ingendera missbrukare	35 %

Source: Martti Lehti 2005

The significance of use or abuse of alcohol in lethal intimate partner violence is a lot stronger in Finland where the perpetrator has been drunk in 78 percent of the lethal intimate partner violence cases and the victim in 72 percent of the cases in deaths occurring between 2002 and 2004.

3.5 Denmark

Denmark is the only Nordic country that has participated in the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS). The survey encompasses 12 questions on intimate violence.⁴⁸

- 1) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde truet med at skade dig fysisk på en måde, som skræmte dig?
- 2) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde kastet noget efter dig eller slået dig med noget, så du kom til skade eller blev bange?

⁴⁸ Balvig, Flemming og Britta Kyvsgaard (2006): Vold og overgreb mod kvinder. Dansk rapport vedrørende deltagelse i International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS). København: Københavns Universitet/Justitsministeriets Forskningsenhed, februar 2006.

- 3) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde skubbet eller taget fat i dig eller vredet din arm om eller hevet dig i håret på en måde, så du kom til skade eller blev skræmt?
- 4) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde slået dig med flad hånd, sparket dig, bidt dig eller slået dig med knytnæve?
- 5) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde forsøgt at kvæle eller tage kvælertag på dig, brænde eller skolde dig med fuldt overlæg?
- 6) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde brugt eller truet med at bruge kniv eller pistol mod dig?
- 7) Hvis du ser bort fra seksuelle overgreb, har nogen mand så nogensinde været fysisk voldelig mod dig på en måde, som ikke allerede er blevet nævnt?
- 8) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde tvunget dig til samleje ved brug af vold eller trusler om vold? Husk at medregne ægtemænd og andre seksuelle partnere. Her skal du ikke medregne forsøg på at tvinge dig.
- 9) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde forsøgt at tvinge dig til samleje ved brug af vold eller trusler om vold? Dette gælder forsøg, som ikke resulterede i nogen form for samleje.
- 10) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde rørt ved dig seksuelt på en måde, som du ikke havde lyst til, og som gjorde dig meget ubehageligt til mode?
- 11) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde tvunget eller forsøgt at tvinge dig til at have sex med en anden, herunder at blive tvunget til at have sex for penge eller i bytte for varer?
- 12) Efter at du er fyldt 16 år, har nogen mand nogensinde været seksuelt voldelig mod dig på en måde, som jeg ikke allerede har nævnt?

Comparing the most recent IVAWS study to other Danish violence against women studies shows that the prevalence for intimate partner violence during the last 12 months has lessened in Denmark.

In Denmark violence against women studies have been conducted since 1987. The same problem can be found in Denmark as in the other countries: depending on how the violence is framed, the prevalence for violence is different. Comparing the studies is thus not completely possible.

Denmark has good police statistics time series for violence, but using police statistics to measure intimate partner violence is of course problematic. Hospital data is not used well enough in Denmark according to Balvig.

Listed below there are internet sites where the most important Danish violence against women studies and databases on violence against women can be found.

- www.det-nationale-voldsobservatorium.org (DNV) Focuses on violence against women also in other contexts than in close relationships, however most of the content is naturally on violence in close relationships since most of the violence against women occurs in close relationships. A database.
- www.lige.dk The Minister for gender Equality. Different kinds of reports.
- The Danish victimisation study is found at the Danish Ministry of Justice site: www.justitieministeriet.dk Danish victim surveys. These are phone surveys that also include children's victimisation and rapes.

3.6 How to improve measurement of violence in intimate relationships?⁴⁹

3.6.1 *Victimisation surveys*

Victimisation studies (surveys) are the most important ways to measure violence in intimate relationships (Balvig). There should be discussion about using the lifetime prevalence as a measure. ("Have you ever in your life been subjected to..."). There are many problems in using a retrospect on one's whole life when asking about being subjected to violence. This could lead to the reporting also in events from the childhood, which might be problematic if the analysis of the data only uses information obtained from the respondent's adulthood.

However, it was commented that violent incidents in the childhood are not insignificant since these might label the respondent's entire life. The main problem is however, that a researcher shouldn't make the mistake of analysing events in the childhood with background variables from the person's adulthood (for an example occupation or regional data).

It was suggested that the more studies should include at least the prevalence for victimisation during the last 12 months and additionally during the last 5 years and 10 years. It should be noted that typical violence situations last for years. So the last 12 months may not be enough.

A conflict tactics scale-approach defines violence using an aggregate of many different ways of asking about violence. It was agreed that such a way of conceptualising violence is more fruitful than just relying on a single question about violence. Conflict tactics scale could be used as an "upper limit" to what can be used.

It is however, equally important to for every country to produce statistics that are comparable over time, and thus to use the same questions in a country.

⁴⁹ This section is based on the vast discussion that arose on the difficulties in measuring violence in intimate relationships.

So comparing trends between countries should again be more important than getting a precise Nordic comparison. We should more be concerned about the WHY questions. Why is violence situation changing in some cases or according to some measurements and why is it not changing? What explanations can we give to the trends on the level of the culture, the “present day”, the changes in institutions, changes in cohorts, changes in attitudes, changes in policies, etc? We use too little time to give explanations. Because our countries are so alike, we could actually learn from asking a little different question.

In many situations violence is used by both parties at least in some degree. How should this be measured? It is for many reasons important to focus on the consequences of violence. The severity, injuries, bleeding, psychological fears, help-seeking and practical measures are all parts of this. On the other hand we are also interested to find incidents that are harsh but are not reported.

All experts agreed on the fact that non-reporting in victimisation and self-report studies are an especially big issue when it comes to intimate violence.

It would be interesting to ask whether one has sought help and to integrate this with hospital data. Also it might be interesting to call persons that have sought help and ask them about the situation that lead to the injury. (Balvig)

It might be more of a problem than we think that people are not answering mail surveys in the home truthfully, because of fear. Phone surveys might give a more accurate picture. (Nilsson)

3.6.2 Other measures of intimate violence

In Norway the statistical bureau gives the ID number of both the victim and the perpetrator and it is possible to connect both the offender and the victim to any type of reported crime. This information is available since 2004. But this does not enable us to find perpetrators, such as boyfriends, that do not live at the same address as the victim.

According to these classifications victim and offender must be formally related for the case to be reckoned as family violence if they do not live at the same address. Despite the problems, this registering practice is a major improvement, and would be very useful also in other countries.

Other good measures are also: Repeated visits to shelters, the number of repeated emergency calls to the same family, serious injuries to the face in hospitals and primary care. There should be conscious focus on serious domestic violence.

There is in fact little difference between the number of female and male victims in police recorded assault in a dwelling. 52% in Swedish police recorded assaults that took place inside (*inomhus*) were against women, 48 % against men.

In conclusion, it can be said that particularly in intimate partner violence it is crucial to use multiple sources for identifying the violence. There should also be more instruments on identifying the impact of violent situations on children. Cooperation between the health care, the social care, the police and the academic sector is important.

4. Assessing different ways of measuring violence

4.1 Main sources

How much violence is there? When scrutinising the different data sources that are available for assessing the amount and seriousness of violence it is important to keep in mind that crime always contain a so called dark figure of cases that are not reported to the police. Criminologists thus use a variety of different sources that all have their strengths and weaknesses.

Three types of sources are central in measuring violence: 1. Data from the criminal justice system, particularly police recorded data on crimes on violence; 2. Population surveys that ask the respondents either about acts of violence that they have been subjected to (victim surveys) or about acts of violence that they themselves have committed (self-reported crime surveys); 3. Health care data about persons seeking help and receiving care or treatment for injuries caused by violence. In the project, it was felt that in addition to these three “traditional” sources also the social welfare services information should better be utilized as an additional source for measuring violence.

4.1.1 Police statistics.

There has been an increase in the amount of particularly minor violence reported to the police in all the Nordic countries. Scholars believe that this mainly has to do with an increase in reporting of violence by the public, i.e., a greater proportion of violence events than earlier are reported to the police. This change might mirror normative changes in society. For one, the threshold of regarding something as violence worth reporting seems to be lower than it used to be. For another, serious victimization may not be an equally shameful experience as earlier so that people feel more comfortable in reporting it to the authorities. Furthermore, increased surveillance in Nordic societies might to some degree explain the increase in violence reported to the police, minor as well as aggravated. Surveillance has increased for instance through increased video monitoring and expanding security and guarding services, while the number of police officers has remained relatively stable in all the Nordic countries.

However, researchers disagree to which extent the increase in police statistics should be attributed to marginalized persons and to which extent to the “general population”. (Estrada). Surveillance in public places has

increased and this might increase reporting of violence committed by marginalized people. (Takala, H). People might be getting tired of aggressive people who are drunk and simply report this to the police. Thus, it would be minor violence that causes much of the increase in the police statistics. (Olaussen).

It is also important to keep in mind that – even with increasing willingness to report to the police – police statistics will still show only a fraction of assaults that are revealed by the population surveys. For instance, about 30 percent of assaults uncovered in Swedish victimisation studies are reported to the police. Similarly, the Finnish general victimization survey gives an annual number of persons physically victimized by some violent act that is almost ten times higher than is the number of police recorded assaults (about 5.3 vs. 0.6 per cent of the population). There is underreporting also in the opposite direction. Only part of the crimes that the police has registered seem to turn up in victimization surveys. In a Finnish police record check, less than one-half of those offenses the police already knew of were reported in the simulated crime victimization survey conducted for the purposes of the study.⁵⁰ Comparable results have been obtained in other countries as well.

Also there might be an inconsistency over time in what in different time periods is seen as aggravated violence and what as minor. There should be more research on this.

The number of women who report being victims of violence in the workplace seems to be increasing. This has been seen in several surveys and also in police-recorded crime. The increase is mostly that of women working in health care and at schools. It is worth asking whether the higher number of reports reflects an increase in violence or whether it is a product of the employees learning to see their working place as a risky environment or becoming more conscious of the need to identify and report violence. Studies have shown that many employees have grown more reluctant to see violent situation as a “natural” part of the work and are hence more prone to report violent incidents. In working place violence, seen in police statistics, the issue of repeated victimisations is an important question. Police statistics show the number of violent acts and not the number of persons victimised of or perpetrating violent acts, so the assessing of repeated victimisation of the same persons should be done by investigating the matter by a separate study. Also it is important to note that one single perpetrator might repeatedly cause violence in the same working place environment.

In crime statistics one should always take into account cohort differences (per capita calculations with the whole population as the baseline are not enough). Social workers in Sweden might say that there are more

⁵⁰ Niemi, H. (1985). *Uhritutkimuksen käyttökelpoisuus* Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisu, no. 72). Helsinki.

children coming to them with problems. This is most certainly true, since there are more teenagers at the moment in Sweden than earlier.

When it comes to police statistics, it is also questionable whether prevalences from them can be compared between countries. “Assault” is for an example not understood in a same way in all Nordic countries. The prevalences for lethal violence are however comparable between countries. The legal definitions of violence resulting in death are somewhat different, but presumably cover approximately similar types of acts (for instance, the Norwegian crime of *drap* seems to cover cases that in Sweden and Finland would be distributed between the crimes of *mord* and *dråp*).

4.1.2 Victim surveys

Victim surveys are an established criminological method. They are surveys in which respondents are asked questions about whether or not they have been subjected to violence and many questions relating to the details of the experienced violence. The interrogation method varies from mailing surveys to telephone and face-to-face interviews. The sample may be a randomised sample or contain a specific group. The time period for retrospection varies from 12 months to the respondent’s lifetime.

Victim surveys are carried out regularly in the Nordic, and most western countries. Victim surveys have already for decades been the main method for criminologist to get information about the dark figure in violent crime. It is a recognised indispensable complement to police statistics both for researchers, decisions makers and also for the police⁵¹. Victim surveys need to be assessed critically, however. There is a problem in their coverage: Researchers are fairly unanimous that those that are at the highest risk of violence are poorly caught by the victim surveys. These are the homeless and the marginalized, but also others (Takala, J-P). Police statistics might catch a proportionately larger amount of those that have a high risk of being violence victims. In addition, the health statistics catch a great deal of aggravated violence. (Balvig)

Victim surveys have a problem with comparability over time in and between countries. Different questions are asked in different surveys in different countries and also in the same countries at different times. Trends that are obtained from violence surveys can be compared between countries but prevalences from surveys are not always comparable.

The International Crime (Victimization) Survey has been conducted six times since 1988, and all the Nordic countries, including Iceland, have participated at least once. This survey series has the advantage of using the same questions (within the limitations posed by translation) and the

⁵¹ See for example Van Dijk, J.J.M., van Kesteren, J.N. & Smit, P. (2008). Criminal Victimization in International Perspective, Key findings from the 2004–2005 ICVS and EU ICS. The Hague, Boom Legal Publishers; Moore S (1996) Investigating Crime and Deviance, Second Edition.

same overall methodology (also within some tolerance) in all the countries. The problems with this survey are that the questions of violence are brief and the sample sizes are low, normally 2000 respondents.

4.2 Are there violence surveys that are comparable across the Nordic countries?

Jukka-Pekka Takala and Yaira Obstbaum

The estimates of the extent of violence vary extensively between different surveys, even when the goal is to measure the same thing; however, some surveys are more comparable than others.

First, some surveys are international in design. The one most directly relevant with overall victimization to violence is the International Crime Survey, which asks a general population sample about their victimization to various offences, violence included. Several other surveys international surveys whose focus is not on crime or violence contain also questions on violence.

4.2.1 *The International Crime Survey*

A series of surveys known as the International Crime Survey (ICS, sometimes also called International Crime Victims Survey, ICVS) was started in 1989 and has the longest track record as a standardized international victimization survey. There have so far been five main sweeps of the ICS: 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004/2005. By 2005, these surveys had been done once or more in over 79 different countries (in 38 countries nationwide). All the Nordic countries have participated at least at some points in time. The survey measures levels of victimization and how citizens feel about their security and safety.

For the EU area, the 2005 sweep of the ICS, called EU-ICS, was financed by the European Union and run by a consortium including Gallup Europe that administered the actual interviews.⁵² That study reported the highest prevalences for crime victimization to one or more crimes for Estonia and Holland. Also Belgium, Luxembourg and in the United Kingdom and all the Nordic countries except Finland reported five-year prevalences that were higher than the European average.

There were some methodological problems in the conducting of the latest survey in the EU area, however. For instance, the survey used a new Finnish translation, which was awkward at places. Furthermore, the

⁵² van Dijk, J., Manchin, R., Kesteren, J. v., Nevala, S., & Hideg, G. (2007). *The burden of crime in the EU: A comparative analysis of the European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS) 2005*. EUICS Consortium; Gallup Europe. (www.europeansafetyobservatory.eu)

information was gathered from households with a traditional fixed landline phone. This did not take adequately into account that, in several countries, landline phone use has drastically declined in favor of mobile phones. This is particularly true among younger persons who are also the most likely to report of victimization; hence using landline phones only in these countries is a recipe for obtaining low but misleading victimization rates. In Finland an additional mobile phone sample was later interviewed. However, the sample could not be regarded completely comparable, for instance with regard to the time of interviewing.

In the 2005 sweep, Finland was the only Nordic country where the victimization rate fell under the European average both when one analyses victimization “ever” or during the past five years. However, the ICS results that indicate a decrease in the number of assaults and violent threats from the year 2000 to the year 2005 and a decrease of up to 60 percent in violent threats experienced by women do not respond to the picture that other surveys give of the violence situation in Finland. This might be a result of the problems in the sample.

In Iceland and Norway the prevalences were considerably high in comparison to the other Nordic states. An explanation for this might well be found in the fact that both measuring were carried out solely by national experts (in contrast to most other countries where the interviews were carried out by a polling firm) and that the sample was chosen in a very stringent manner plus that the interviews were carried out quite close to the retrospective time that was the object of the study (last year).

In 2000, the last sweep before the problematic 2005 study, three Nordic countries participated. The 12 month rate for assaults and threats of assault was 3.6% in Denmark, 4.2% in Finland, and 3.8% in Sweden.⁵³

Fear of crime in ICS

Citizens’ anxiety about their safety outside their residence after dark is, according to the ICS and EU-ICS at a low level in the Nordic states compared to the other European states. This is a result that seems to persist during different measurement years (1992, 1996 and 2000). For example, in Poland there were twice as many anxious respondents as in Finland.

What is interesting however is that the level of anxiety does not mirror the true probability of being victimized of violence in a country. For instance, the Finnish rates for violent victimizations were (in pre 2005 surveys) somewhat higher than the European average but the levels of anxiety for violent victimization are low. Fear of crime is on the whole very low in the Nordic states. The levels of anxiety for being victimized for burglary quite elastically followed the true vicimisation risk for property crime in each country contrary to what is true for anxiety of violence.

⁵³ Kesteren, J.N. van, Mayhew, P. & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2000) Criminal Victimization in Seventeen Industrialised Countries: Key -findings from the 2000 international Crime Victims Survey. The Hague, Ministry of Justice, WODC. Onderzoek en beleid, nr. 187.

(Finns are also not very anxious about being victims of burglary. This, however, is consistent with the true risk, which is also low.)

4.2.2 *The European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)*

The European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), which has been conducted every 5 years since 1990 in the European Union area plus a few other countries. The most recent 2005 survey was done in 25 EU member states and 6 other countries including Norway. The 2005 survey includes questions about physical violence, threats of violence as well as bullying and harassment experienced at work.

Unfortunately, the Finnish version of one of the key questions deviates starkly from the English language model. The Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian versions seem to be truer to the original while they also have differences in wording that affect the prevalences.

The different language versions of the questionnaire are available from the European Working Conditions Surveys (EWCS) pages of the Eurofound website (<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/>). The English language model questions were these: "Over the past 12 months, have you or have you not, personally been subjected at work to...? B – physical violence from people from your workplace; C – physical violence from other people." The Danish version: "Er De i løbet af de sidste 12 måneder på arbejdet personligt blevet udsat for... ? B – fysisk vold begået af personer på Deres arbejdsplads ; C – Fysisk vold begået af andre personer." The Finnish language version used in Finland: "Oletteko viimeisen 12 kuukauden aikana työssänne henkilökohtaisesti kohdannut...? B – ruumiillista väkivaltaa työpaikallanne työskentelevien ihmisten taholta C – ruumiillista väkivaltaa muiden ihmisten kuten asiakkaiden, matkustajien, oppilaiden jne. taholta." The Swedish language version in Finland: "Har Ni under de senaste 12 månaderna på jobbet personligen utsatts för ... ? B – Fysiskt våld från personer på Er arbetsplats; C – Fysiskt våld från andra personer." The Norwegian version: "Har du i ditt arbeide i løpet av de siste 12 måneder blitt utsatt for...? B – fysisk vold begått av personer som arbeider på din arbeidsplass ; C – fysisk vold fra andre personer." The Swedish (Sweden) version: "Har du eller har du inte under de senaste 12 månaderna på jobbet personligen utsatts för ... ? B – Fysiskt våld från personer på Din arbetsplats C – Fysiskt våld från andra personer."

The most striking difference is that in the Finnish version of the item asking about violence by other people than those from the respondent's workplace ("physical violence from other people") was extended to give examples of who these other people may be: "physical violence from other people, *such as customers, passengers, pupils, etc.*" This is a well-known method to prompt the respondent to recall more victimization incidents than the simple question. The Swedish language version used in Finland for Swedish-speaking respondents followed the original model and omitted the prompting examples. However, the overwhelming majority responded to the Finnish questions. Hence, the very high Finnish rates for this question are not comparable to the other Nordic rates.

A possible subtler difference relates to the interpretation of the earlier question about violence from "people from your workplace". Either this could mean strictly people who work at the respondent's workplace or it could also encompass people who happen to be at the workplace. The Finland-Finnish and the Norwegian versions are explicit that the question is about people who work at the same

workplace. The other versions' wording is "personer på Deres arbejdsplads" or similar, which is rather more ambivalent and might translate "people at your workplace". Hence, it is possible that the respondents in Finland and Norway thought of only about violence by their colleagues while those in Denmark and Sweden sought for possible perpetrators from a wider set of people. This would inflate the Danish and Swedish rates compared to Finland and Norway. The results also would suggest that in Finland and Norway violence from colleagues is much lower. However, this result must be taken with a large amount of salt.

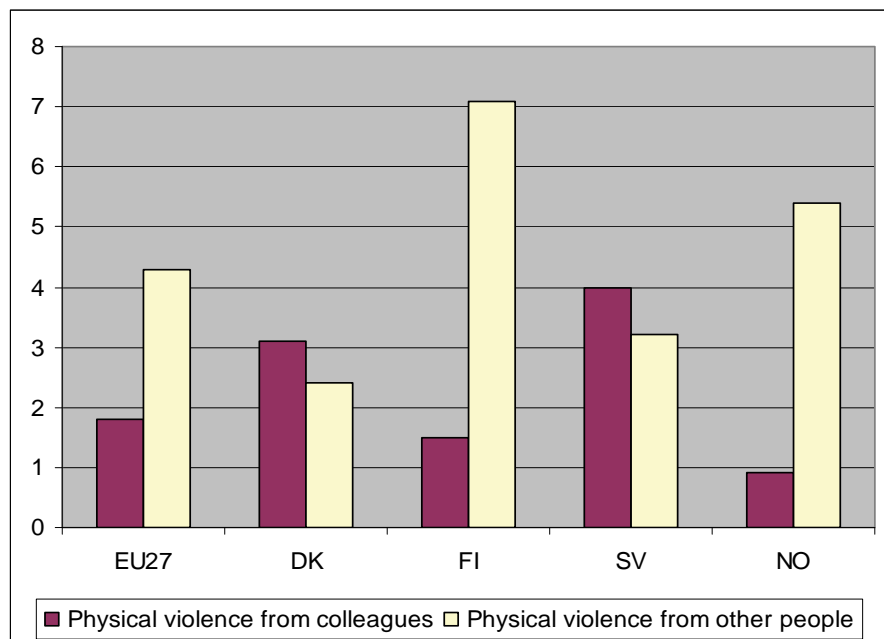


Figure 4.1 Rate of annual victimization to physical violence at work from colleagues and from other people in the Nordic countries.⁵⁴

Source: European Working Conditions Survey 2005.

4.2.3 Survey on Health Behaviour in School-aged Children

The survey of Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) is a cross-national research study coordinated by the WHO Regional Office for Europe. It contains questions on participation in physical fights and on being a victim or perpetrator of bullying. All the Nordic countries participate. Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden since the mid 1980s, Iceland joined in the 2005/06 study. This survey concerns 11, 13, and 15-year-old children.⁵⁵ The results on fighting are interesting in that, unlike on most indicators of violence, Finland (and particularly Finnish boys) has the lowest fighting rates among the Nordic countries while Denmark has most of the highest rates.

⁵⁴ Note that the questions in different languages had differences that likely influenced the rates of violence returned by the study. See the text for explanation.

⁵⁵ Inequalities in Young People's Health: HBSC International Report from the 2005/2006 Survey. Edited by Candace Currie and others. Copenhagen: WHO Regional office for Europe

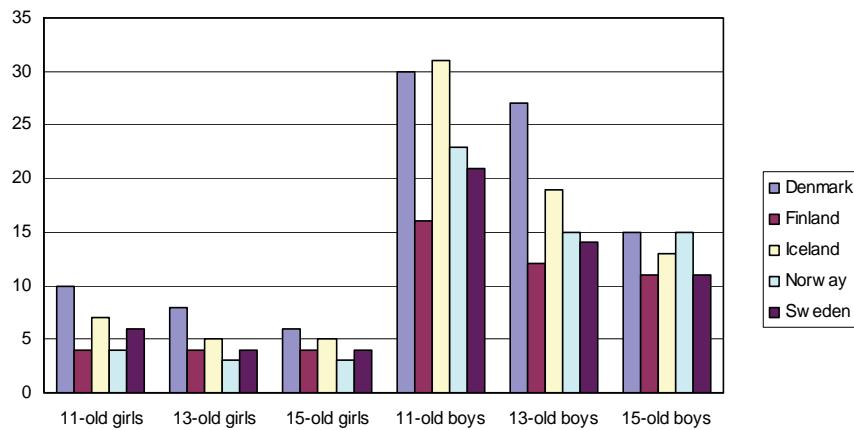


Figure 4.2 School-aged children who have been involved in a physical fight at least three times in the last 12 months, %, 2005/06

The results on being a bully and a victim of bullying are more mixed. However, the Danish children also score consistently high in perpetration of bullying, while Finnish and Norwegian children “compete” with the Danish ones for the top position in victimization to bullying. Children in Sweden and Iceland seem to report somewhat lower rates of both bullying and being bullied.

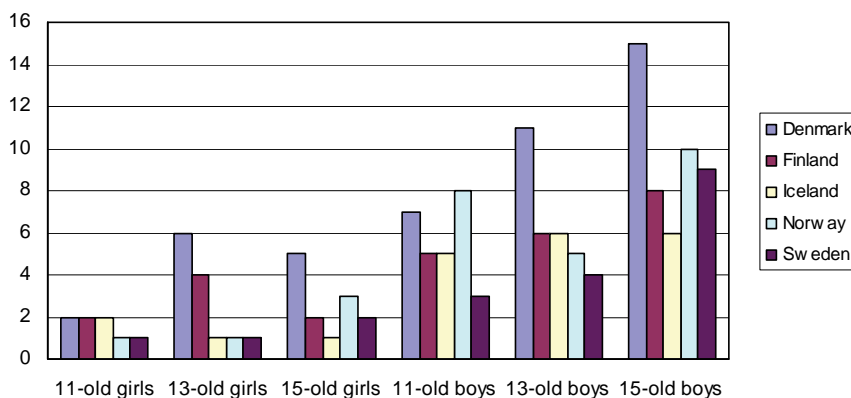


Figure 4.3 Children who have bullied others at school at least twice in the past couple of months, %

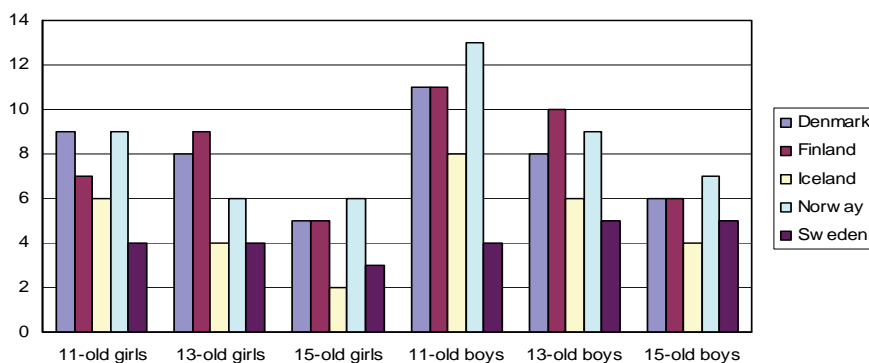


Figure 4.4 Children who have been bullied at school at least twice in the past couple of months, %

4.2.4 Eurobarometer

Eurobarometer is a series of public opinion surveys regularly performed on behalf of the European Commission in the EU member states, thus including Denmark, Finland and Sweden but not covering Iceland or Norway. In an article, Hannu Takala reviews the use of Eurobarometer in assessing crime and crime policies in the European Union member states.⁵⁶ In 1999, Eurobarometer surveys studied the people's views on violence against women and against children using partly similar questions. For example, it asked how common the respondents believed the problems to be. In general, violence against children was considered a more common problem, but there were national variations. The questionnaires included several questions on definitions of violence and acceptance of its use. On average some 60 per cent of the EU15 population believed that violence against children is never acceptable and is always punishable according to the law; the results on domestic violence against women were similar. –The study on violence against women had also questions on how familiar the problem is in work environments, in neighbourhoods and in the circle of friends and family members. It asked if the respondent did know a victim or a perpetrator in their environments. These questions do not tell how common the problem is, as the responses are obviously influenced by how openly people discuss the problem in their social circles. According to the results, people know more victims and perpetrators in societies where violence against women has been on the political agenda for a long time; this includes the Nordic EU member states.

4.3 Health care and social services data

Health care data are in principle a good additional measure, besides survey data and police-recorded data, to measure violence, particularly when focusing on serious violence resulting in the need of medical attention. However, many factors contribute to how many people are recorded as to have sought medical services because of violence. On the one hand there is the amount of violent injuries that occurs. On the other hand there are regional variations in the number of hospitals and possibilities for care. Also the cultural understanding of injuries might vary over time. It is believed that most people visiting doctors nowadays don't have big injuries. Since the availability of medical services has improved over a long period, people today may be willing to seek medical care for lesser injuries than they would have done in earlier times. The development of medical treatment methods has also made it possible to treat injuries bet-

⁵⁶ Takala, H. (2007). Kriminaalipolitiikka ja rikollisuus Eurobarometreilla mitaten. *Haaste*, 7(4), 18–2

ter in outpatient settings even in types of cases that would earlier have required inpatient care. Thus, inpatient care may reflect different degrees of injuries at different historical times. Furthermore, a serious problem in using health care data in assessing the extent of violence has to do with the uncertainty of how often violence is being accurately recorded as the cause of injuries. Injuries resulting from intentional violence may be misclassified as caused by accidents or non-intentional acts, and, of course, also vice-versa. It is generally believed that people are more reluctant to report violence as the cause of injuries than accident. Data from inpatient (hospital) care is more widely available than from outpatient treatment. Hospital data also covers a longer time-frame.

Social service data. Both police data and surveys fail to include some people who are victims of violence (even serious violence) while some of these people seek social welfare services. It would be beneficial to develop the register keeping in social service when it comes to violence. This would be beneficial not only as an additional measure of violence but also as a way to extend services relating to violence.

4.4 Suggestions for further research

The above mentioned trends and knowledge gaps give rise to many questions that should be subjected to further research. One should do more research on the explanations to the trends. One should try to explain *why* violence is decreasing or stable. (Balvig).

Why has reporting to the police increased? Has the dark figure become smaller – are we now reporting things we didn't previously report? (This certainly might be part of the explanation as population surveys clearly indicate that, over the years, there has been an increase in the proportion of violent victimization events that come to be known by the police, either by the victims' own reporting or via other routes.) However, is it possible that some types of violence could be growing, without victimization surveys or self-report studies catching it (special groups that are left out from surveys but caught by surveillance cameras? the types of violence being altered? etc.) It is possible that several explanations are true simultaneously, each accounting for (an unknown proportion of) the increased reporting.

Has there occurred a polarisation of violence in the sense that a larger proportion of the population commits and experiences less violence than earlier while a small minority is responsible for a greater proportion of violence than earlier may have happened in all Nordic countries? According to a great deal of research there seems to be a very small percentage of the population that is responsible (and in many ways also subjected to) a large part of the total violence in a society. Surveys have found this to be true especially in youth crime but also in self-report studies of adults

(See more in chapter 3 in this report)⁵⁷. More research should be done on this group.

Has society's view of violence changed? There is good evidence that in Europe there has been a “civilizing process” in violent crime during the past several hundred years. Despite temporary reversals, homicide rates have declined in Europe over several centuries, unequivocally at least since the early seventeenth century. This has been linked to several possible explanations: increasing self-control, enhanced social control and, or relative decline of (male) culture of honour and increasing rejection of violence as a means of settling disputes.⁵⁸ Have we also experienced a similar decline in the acceptance of violence during the past few decades? Maybe violence is now perceived as more illegitimate and improper than just a decade or two ago. Physical integrity may have been strengthened as an important value in our contemporary culture.

Are societies adopting stricter norms against violence in accordance to the civilisation assumption? This should be investigated further. There are many arguments that support the thought of a more condemning view and of a society more sensitive to violence and less tolerant of violence. Some possible or likely consequences that should be explored in greater depth:

- more reporting of violence to the police → this has happened in all Nordic countries
- higher reporting on violence in the media → this has happened in all Nordic countries
- trends towards tougher punishment for violent crime → this has happened in all Nordic countries where, for instance, legal punishments for crimes of violence have been made stricter during the past few decades.
- More equality between the sexes in the amount of violence experienced. → There might now be more equality between the sexes in how they interpret their experiences as violence. This is true especially for women who experience violence at their work place and might be more sensitive to interpreting incidents as violence that needs reporting instead of seeing these incidents as a natural and unavoidable part of their working environment.

⁵⁷ Kivivuori, Janne (toim.) (2002): Nuoret rikoksen tekijöinä ja uhreina. OPTL:n julkaisuja 188/2002

⁵⁸ Manuel Eisner, “Modernization, Self-Control and Lethal Violence. The Long-term Dynamics of European Homicide Rates in Theoretical Perspective,” *Br J Criminol* 41, no. 4 (September 1, 2001): 618–638. See also I. Heikki Ylikangas, Petri Karonen, and Martti Lehti, *Five centuries of violence in Finland and the Baltic Area*, The history of crime and criminal justice series, 99-3362712-0 (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2000); Dag Lindström, “Homicide in Scandinavia: Long-Term Trends and Their Interpretations,” in Sophie Body-Gendrot and Pieter Spierenburg, eds., *Violence in Europe : historical and contemporary perspectives* (New York: Springer, 2008).

The role of the media in forming our assumptions about violence should be investigated further. Violence reporting has undergone a great change lately and we know that what is said about violence in the media very highly influences how people think about violence. This has an impact on among other things fear of violence and attitudes against violence on a general level but also on individual policy makers' opinions and decisions. *How does the impact of the media influence our perceptions of violence?* Is the reporting of violence in the media increasing more than actual recorded violence? This has been investigated to some extent⁵⁹ and it has been found that media does take up crime in a high degree. It has been argued that the media could have a strong impact on the fact that fear of crime and violence is growing while the amount of violence according to most studies is quite stable.

How has the perception of violence changed among politicians and policy makers/policies? What impact has the media had on these perception changes? It is important that policy makers be aware of what sources they rely on in their decision-making. We should be critical of policies relying on uncritical impressions about violence.

Are there some types of violence that really have increased or is all the increase in violence reporting to be ascribed to the increase in people's willingness to report crime to the police? The growth in assaults reported to the police is namely the most powerful indicator that we have on that violence or violence of some kind (namely minor violence) might be growing [police statistics also show higher rates of aggravated assault and attempts of homicide, at least in Finland]. There should be more analyses of police reports to understand the nature of the reported crime that has increased.

It is important particularly to study work place violence. We should work on having trend indicators on violence at the workplace. Now there are too few longitudinal studies. Work related violence and its different explanatory hypotheses should be looked into in more detail.

Especially young people might think that violence is more common / less common than it is in reality. It would be very important to look at how these social misunderstandings among youth are not only constructed but also deconstructed, as they were in the Danish Ringsted experiment⁶⁰ that won the European Crime Prevention Award in 2006. The Ringsted example is being implemented on a larger scale elsewhere in Denmark and projects emulating it have been put in place or are being planned in other countries, such as Finland and Slovakia.

⁵⁹ Kivivuori, Janne & Kemppe, Sari & Smolej, Mirka. ETUSIVUJEN VÄKIVALTA. Väikivalta iltapäivälehtien etusivuilla, todellisuudessa ja ihmisten peloissa 1980–2000. OPTL:n julkaisuja 196/2002.

⁶⁰ See more in Balvig, Flemming, Holmberg, Lars & Sørensen, Anne- Stina (2005): Ringstedforsøget – Livsstil og forebyggelse i lokalsamfundet. Jurist og Økonomiforbundets Forlag.

A culture that is moving towards a stricter view against violence could be a tool for crime prevention. Underlining the violence-condemning part of our culture could and should be part of justice education in schools.

Alcohol and other substances

The role of alcohol or use of other substances in violence should always be given a lot of attention. Alcohol is very clearly involved in a great deal of cases of violence. However, while researchers are unanimous that alcohol is an important factor, some also point to the difficulties of pinpointing the exact mechanisms through which increased alcohol consumption is linked to increase in violence. For instance, the average alcohol consumption in Southern Finland is among the highest in the country while simultaneously the homicide rate in this area is much lower than in Eastern and Northern Finland where the alcohol consumption per capita is lower. Also the possibly altering importance of alcohol over time to violence should be studied. (i.e. alcohol could be connected to violence in different ways at different times. It could for an example be more connected to poverty at some historical time period than during another time.)

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