



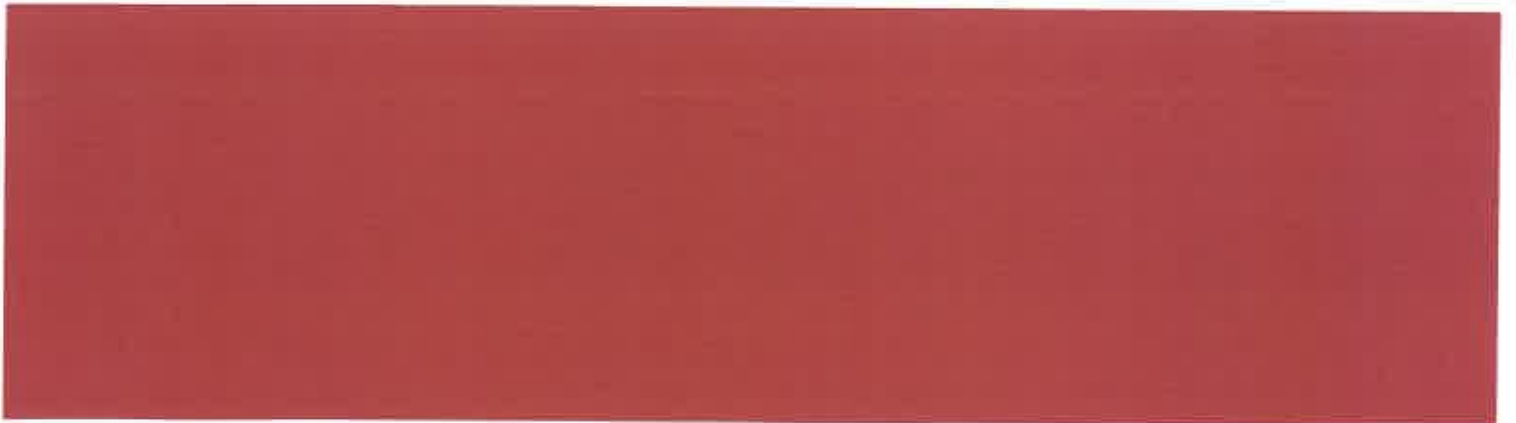
Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology  
Nordisk Samarbejdsråd for Kriminologi

## NSfKs 55. forskerseminar

Svartå Slott, Finland 2013



Methodologies and methods  
in criminology





**Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology**  
Nordisk Samarbejdsråd for Kriminologi

# **NSfKs 55. forskerseminar**

## **Svartå Slott, Finland 2013**

Rapporten indeholder de papers, der blev præsenteret på  
NSfK's forskerseminar i Finland 2013

Nordisk Samarbejdsråd for Kriminologi 2013

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Trykkeri: Fællestrykkeriet - SUN, Aarhus Universitet

Oktober 2013

ISBN: 978-82-7688-033-5

## Forord

Nordisk Samarbejdsråd for Kriminologi holdt sit 55. forskerseminar i dagene 13.-15. maj 2013. Seminaret fandt sted på et dejligt konferencested, der hedder Svartå Slot og ligger i området Vestre Nyland cirka 100 kilometer udenfor Helsinki i Finland.

Seminaret havde i alt cirka 40 deltagere, hvoraf langt størsteparten var forskere fra NSfK's medlemslande. Derudover deltog særligt indbudte forskere fra Sverige og England.

Seminarets overordnede tema var: "Methodologies and methods in criminology". I lighed med tidligere år blev præsentationerne holdt enten på et skandinavisk sprog (dansk, svensk eller norsk) eller på engelsk. Programmet var udformet på engelsk. I konsekvens heraf har kapitlerne i denne rapport engelske overskrifter.

Programmet var traditionen tro sammensat af en vekselvirkning imellem plenumforedrag og parallelle sessioner. Strukturen i denne rapport er baseret på seminarioprogrammet, dog således at plenumforedragene er samlet i kapitel 1, hvorefter præsentationerne i de parallelle sessioner er samlet, som de var i programmet.

Alle præsentationer havde en stor vægt på metodologiske aspekter samtidig med, at de præsenterede nyere forskningsresultater. Plenumforedragene havde hver især lidt længere tid til præsentation og debat og det var derfor tilstræbt, at de på den ene side tog afsæt i aktuel forskning og på den anden side lagde stor vægt på principielle metodologiske problemstillinger. I de parallelle sessioner havde flere præsentationer et mere specifikt tema, men også her blev der lagt vægt på metodespørgsmål. Det faglige udbytte af seminaret består således af to grundelementer. For det første en videnskabelig erfaringsudveksling vedrørende kriminologiens forskningsmetoder og for det andet gav det deltagerne et bredt indblik i aktuelle forskningstemaer i de nordiske lande.

NSfK siger hermed tak til alle deltagere for et både fagligt og socialt vellykket forskerseminar. Særlig tak til de mange deltagere, der delte deres erfaringer igennem spændende præsentationer på seminaret og i denne rapport.

Sidst men ikke mindst til rettes en stor tak til de finske rådsmedlemmer: Anne Alvsalo-Kuusi, Natalia Ollus og Aarne Kinnunen samt den finske kontaktsekretær Regina Järg-Tarnö for et grundigt forarbejde, som skabte grundlaget for et vellykket seminar.

Aarhus, september 2013  
Anette Storgaard,  
Rådsleder



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## **Presentations in plenary**

### **Methodological studies in the development of Finnish crime surveys: Selected examples**

*by Janne Kivivuori*

#### **Abstract**

Since a substantial and changing part of crimes remain undetected and/or unreported to the police, crime surveys (self-report surveys and victim surveys) are needed to complement official records. In Finland, core survey-based crime indicator systems operated by the NRILP have recently undergone changes. In many cases, changes in indicators have been guided by methodological research. This paper describes some of the methods studies we have conducted in the process of updating our indicator systems. Core examples include randomized controlled trials of methodological alternatives, and embedded validity threat indicators in surveys. The paper concludes by discussing the functions and uses of methods research in survey development.

#### **Methodological Studies in the Development of Finnish Crime Surveys: Selected Examples**

Since a substantial and changing part of crimes remain undetected and/or unreported to the police, crime surveys (self-report surveys and victim surveys) are needed to complement official records. Crime surveys rely generally on the validity of the survey method, and therefore all methodological concerns of surveys apply to them as well. It is known that the survey method is rather sensitive to multiple contextual factors. The list of factors which influence findings is long. The formulation of individual questions, the sequence of questions, the title, topical framework and sponsorship of the survey, the layout of the instrument, the manner of data collection, and the context in which the respondents respond to the survey – all these factors are known to influence the results generally in surveys. In addition to this, crime surveys have specific methods questions which are related to the very sensitive nature of the topic.

In this paper, I describe some of the methods work we have conducted in Finland for the purpose of developing crime survey instruments. The selected examples discussed here are related to the recent changes in the Finnish crime survey indicators. In particular, two important survey-based national indicator systems operated by the NRILP have recently undergone changes. First, the Finnish Self-Report Delinquency Survey (FSRD), a national indicator of youth crime, has undergone design changes. Second, a new

annually repeated victim survey has been developed (Finnish Crime Victim Survey, FCVS). The basic current features of the FSRD and FCVS are summarized in Appendix 1.

At the outset, I wish to underscore two things. First, in developing survey instruments, the range of design features that need to be decided is vast. It is impossible to ground every decision to empirical tests. To put this more bluntly, major design changes are (in the best of circumstances) informed by methods research, but in the final analysis, the decisions typically remain underdetermined by empirical findings. Other considerations such as cost effectiveness are also involved. Second, all methods research – as I see and define it – is built on the fundamental notion that the social reality exists independently of the research process and the operations of the researcher. Therefore, when I discuss the contextuality of findings, I do this from a positivist framework<sup>1</sup>. Knowing about the context effects increases the precision of the scientific instrument. Within the framework of crime measurement, it is futile to engage in philosophical speculations and despair about the relativity of existence.

This said, methods research has a very important function in that it creates awareness of the context-dependence of the findings. It increases reflexivity and makes the scope conditions of research visible. In this paper, I will deal with use selected methods studies as examples highlighting some of the interesting developments in methods research. First, I will describe some examples of how we have used randomized controlled trials in preparatory methods research. Second, I will discuss the use of so called in-built or embedded validity threat detectors of validity improvers which are increasingly applied in survey research. Third, I shall discuss attempts to deal with the problem, how changing violence interpretations impact crime surveys. To conclude, I shall briefly mention other important methods designs which I cannot discuss in detail for reasons of time and space.

## **Impact of supervision condition in school based delinquency survey**

The method of self-report delinquency survey has been popular among Nordic criminologists for a long time (Kivivuori & Bernburg 2011). Most of the Nordic countries have repeated national or local indicators of self-report delinquency. In Finland, the seventh sweep of the Finnish Self-Report Delinquency Survey, collected in 2012, involved a major change in data collection. Until 2008, the FSRD was based on paper & pencil data collection. In 2012 the system was shifted to Web survey mode (see Appendix 1).

Why did we change into computerized data collection? The effectiveness of computerized school surveys is related to both economic and substantial considerations. First, when the students respond in Web mode, their responses are directly stored in appropriate electronic format. The labour-intensive data entry phase is made completely unnecessary, a huge benefit. Second, computerized responding improves data quality. The Web survey mode prevents a wide range of erroneous or inconsistent response types as the path of correct responding is programmed to the data collection interface (and ranges of allowed responses can also be specified).

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<sup>1</sup> One way to define positivism is to equate it with any research that can produce unexpected and surprising results, including research which is designed to yield results which are beyond the control of the researcher (as in RCTs). Indeed, it often happens in research that the social reality 'responds' in manner which is unexpected, underdetermined and unconstructed by the theoretical approaches of the researcher (see also Kivivuori 2011, 164). As seen this way, both quantitative and qualitative data collection can represent positivism.

In school surveys, an important methods choice involves the question of supervision. Obviously, when school children respond to a survey at school, there has to be an adult supervisor present. But can the supervisor be a teacher, or should the data collection situations be supervised by external research staff? In the FSRD system, teachers have been used as data collectors. This decision was originally inspired by Icelandic methods research showing the supervision condition was not a major validity threat in paper and pencil data collection (Bjarnason 1995). But would the shift to computerized data collection change this?

To examine this question, we conducted a randomized controlled experiment. A total of 924 students responded to FSRD questions in online data collection mode. The students were randomly assigned to fill in the questionnaire either in teacher supervision or in external supervision. The findings by and large indicated that the supervision condition does not impact the results (Kivivuori et al. 2013). Figure 1 below shows a scatterplot of findings on the reported lifetime prevalence of offences. The diagonal shown indicates where the dots should be if both supervision conditions would yield exactly identical results. As can be seen, the results are remarkably close to the diagonal, indicating that the self-reports of the students appear very robust across different supervision modes. The only offence type with a significant difference was “other theft” where external supervision yielded a higher prevalence.

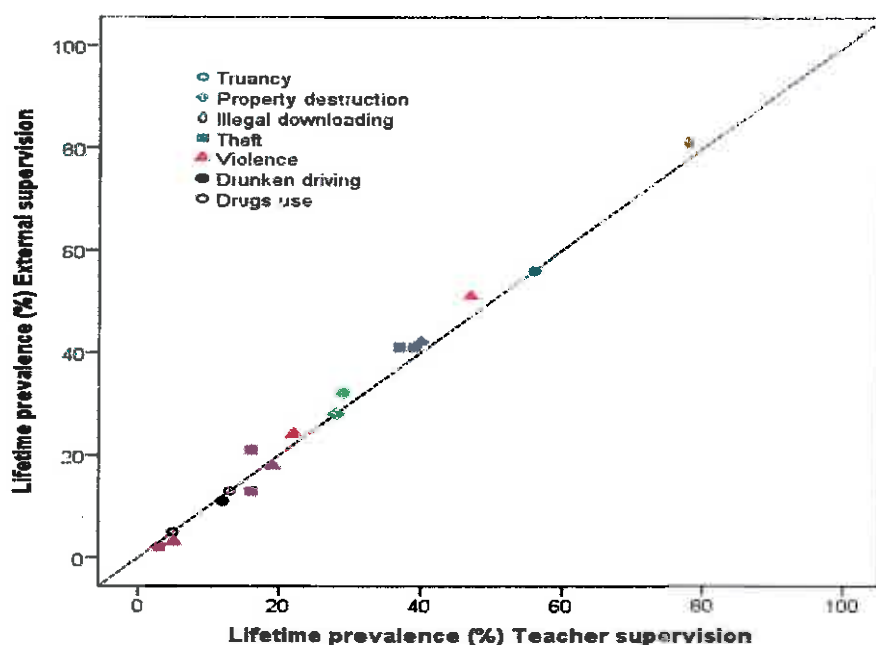


Figure 1 Lifetime prevalence of offence types in two supervision modes, Web survey responding (Based on figures reported in Kivivuori et al. 2013).

Our conclusion was that the computerized data collection is robust with respect to supervision condition. This finding thus shows that survey findings are not always very sensitive to all aspects of the social context; the method is robust in the face of at least some significant contextual variations. In the actual sweep 2012 FSRD sweep, we continued using teachers as data collectors.

## Impact of question sequence on self-reported offending

We have also used RCT designs in assessing the impact of question sequence on the prevalence of self-reported offending. In contrast with the larger supervision study (Kivivuori et al. 2013), these experiments have been conducted in smaller university student populations, during regular university courses.

Youth crime surveys typically combine questions on offending and victimization. Indeed, this is increasingly the case in questionnaire development. Therefore, it is also increasingly salient to ask, are the findings impacted by the sequence of major question topics? Does it matter in which order we ask about victimization and offending? To assess this, we have conducted an RCT among students<sup>2</sup>. The student population was randomized into two groups. One half received a survey instrument which started with offence questions followed by victimization questions, while for the others the sequence was reversed (victimization-offending). As is shown below in Table 1, it appears that questions on violent offending are impacted by question sequence. Thus, if violence questions came first, the lifetime<sup>3</sup> prevalence of making threats was 32 per cent, but if violence questions were preceded by victim questions, prevalence of threats was 20 per cent. Reported lifetime prevalence of actual violence was similarly impacted by victimization questions.

**Table 1** Impact of question sequence on self-reported lifetime prevalence of offending (N=573)<sup>a</sup>

	Offending questions preceded by:		
	[none]	Victimization	
Property destruction	34,3	32,9	ns
Shoplifting	28,1	31,1	ns
Threatened with violence	32,2	<b>20,1</b>	<.01
Violence	19,3	<b>12</b>	<.05
N	274	299	

a) University or open university students, Finland 2009-2013, four data collections.

In interpreting the findings of the above Table, it needs to be underscored that the pilot was intended to assess how violence behaves in surveys. The victim questions did not include (to a similar degree) questions about being victimized for property destruction, for instance. Lack of sequence in these offence types relates to this.

Why is the prevalence of violence reduced by victimization questions? There are probably two mechanisms: cognitive and emotive. Cognitive mechanism pertains to how the victimization questions function as cues as to what is actually meant by the researchers. It is possible that this effect screens out non-serious or trivial cases from self-reports. Emotively, it is conceivable that evoking the victim's perspective makes it harder to confess that one has caused such experiences to others.

Earlier, a similar pilot study was conducted with regard to how the placement of victimization questions impacted crime attitude questions (Kivivuori et al. 2001). As can be seen from the Table 2 below, victimization questions reduced the acceptance of neutralizing attitudes. If the respondent is first made to reflect how he or she has been victimized, this impacts his or her responses to attitude questions. He or she becomes less willing to accept neutralizing attitude statements.

<sup>2</sup> This research is a joint project by the current author and senior researcher Venla Salmi.

<sup>3</sup> For last year prevalence reporting, the difference was non-significant but to the same direction.

**Table 2** Impact of prior questions on accepting neutralizing attitudes (% agreeing with the statement N=80)<sup>a</sup>

	Attitude questions preceded by:		
	Offending questions	Victimization questions	
Youth crime is insignificant when compared with economic crime	46,3	36,8	ns
During puberty it is normal for youths to commit crimes	58,5	31,6	<.05
Offender's drunkenness should reduce punishment	40,5	15,8	<.05
I think it is OK to steal from big businesses	14,3	5,3	ns
N	42	38	

a) 9th grade students, Helsinki 2000.

Overall, the findings on question sequence effects indicate strong contextual effects (see also Enzmann 2013). In my view, the findings do not mean that the method is invalid. Knowing about context effects is an important aid in interpreting the results, for instance if different survey systems are compared (the offending-victimization questions sequence is different in various surveys, such as the FSRD and the International Self-Report Delinquency Study ISRD).

## Using in-built validity threat detectors to control for response integrity

In the analysis and study of survey method, so-called in-built validity threat detectors or improvers are increasingly used. As a family of procedures, these include a broad range of practices. First, one type of validity improving devices seeks to approximate a double blinded reporting system where the data collector cannot directly know the individual response of the respondent. These include the so called randomized response technique and the crosswise model (Jann et al. 2012). These techniques share reliance on probability calculations, and they also presuppose that the respondent understands how probability shields them. In other words, the methods are cognitively rather demanding. The crosswise model is currently being tested in the ISRD project.

Another type of validity threat detector involves the use of trap questions, such as asking about fake drugs. The most well known example is the fake drug "Relevin" incorporated to the ESPAD system (Hibell et al. 2012). There are also other types of trap questions designed to flag out jokesters (Fan et al. 2006). Traps are often useful in tackling the validity threat posed by crime exaggeration. It is known that some youths wish to exaggerate their crimes.

A third category of response integrity question relies on directly asked questions. For example, the respondents can be asked, "If you had ever used marijuana or hashish, would you have said so in this survey?". This question has been used in the ESPAD project (Hibell et al. 2012) and it has been recently incorporated to the ISRD system. In the FSRD, we asked a similar direct meta-question in regard to three offence types: shoplifting, fighting in a public place, and marijuana use<sup>4</sup>. It is potentially rewarding to use these types of meta-questions because students from different social background can manifest differential response styles in terms of veracity. This can reflect differential levels of trust towards crime related research. For instance, findings from the ESPAD project indicate that respondents from different countries differ in terms of self-reported

<sup>4</sup> These follow-ups emerged only for those respondents who reported in the primary offence question that they had not committed the offence (see also Kivivuori et al. 2013).

readiness to honest reporting (Hibell et al. 2012). Such a finding is of huge interest to internationally comparative survey research.

### The new national crime victim survey

In 2012, the NRILP launched a new national victim survey intended for annual measurements. The old national victim survey was based on a very heavy instrument and incorporated a lot of questions about accidents. The system was also very expensive. In the planning of the new system, the basic aim was to develop a lighter and less expensive system enabling annual sweeps. The data collection of the new system is based on combined mail and internet survey (Appendix 1).

Response rate. During the development of the new FCVS we conducted a relatively large scale piloting of different questionnaire types (Sirén 2011; Kivivuori et al. 2012). One question that was of particular interest was the impact of the questionnaire length. Not surprisingly, the findings corroborated the expectation that longer questionnaires yield reduced response rates.

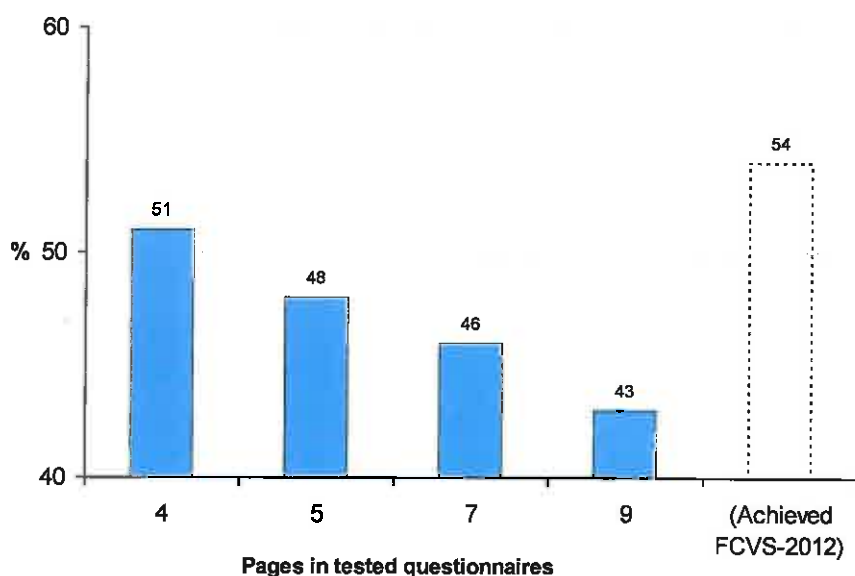


Figure 2 Response rate in mail survey, by length of questionnaire. Compared with achieved FCVS-2012 response rate. Note the truncated scale of the vertical axis.

Roughly, it appears that one additional page reduces the response rate by a couple of percentage points. It is therefore important to keep the instrument short. In the first actual sweep of the new system, we achieved a 54 per cent response rate. We are currently considering various means of improving the response rate further.

Cultural shifts in violence concept. Another methodological problem related to crime victim surveys is the question of how and whether people construe everyday conflicts as violence. Earlier, based on the old national victim survey, it had been observed that violence causing injury was stable while less serious forms of violence such as threats could

vary to a considerable degree. One conclusion from this was that the way people understand the concept of violence is a cultural variable. It is possible that people are becoming increasingly sensitive with regard to interpersonal conflict, so that the sensitivity threshold of defining conflicts as violence is changing. If the notion of violence is becoming more inclusive, this could yield higher violence prevalence levels in victim surveys, in the absence of behavioural changes.

The most important solution to this problem is to use physical injury as criterion in asking about violent victimization. Therefore, the new FCVS continues to include questions on injury-causing violence. However, the problem of cultural variation remains in other, less serious types of violence (but also in physical contact conflicts that do not result in bodily injury). In creating the new system, we gave some thought to this issue and decided to incorporate a scale of violence interpretation to the FCVS. The instrument we use is shown in Table 3 below.

**Table 3** The violence interpretation scale used in the FCVS-2012

[...about your opinion, not whether the penal code defines these as violence... indicate for all rows, how well the word 'violence' applies to the incident...]

Would you consider A's action towards B as violence?

	No	To some extent	To a large degree	Absolutely yes
A attacks B by hitting with a hard object	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A forces his/her spouse into sexual intercourse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A tries to force B into sexual intercourse without succeeding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A hits B so that a bruise results	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A hits B so that the hit does not cause a visible sign or injury	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A slaps B in the face	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A grabs or touches B in a way which is felt by B as sexually offensive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A grabs and shoves B	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A knowingly pushes B	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A threatens B with physical violence in a face-to-face situation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over the phone, A threatens to harm B physically	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A knowingly blocks a doorway so that B cannot pass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Note: here, the items are listed in the sequence of seriousness; in the questionnaire, they are in random order

At this point, we do not have any time series data on changes in the sensitivity of people to see conflicts as violence, but in the future we shall have that. In other words, we shall have a measure of whether people are becoming more or less prone to apply the concept of violence to different behaviours. The scale can also be used to examine violence interpretations cross-sectionally. It is possible and even likely that different subpopulations have different notions of violence.

## Concluding remarks

As a rule, we have found it very important and rewarding to conduct methodological preparatory studies in developing the national crime survey indicators. I have mainly concentrated here on randomized controlled trials and in-built response integrity checks because these methods appear particularly important in survey development. Needless to say, other types of methods research are also very important. I would indeed advocate a very inclusive notion of methods studies. These would incorporate at least the following:

(1) *Historical studies* of methods development are very important. They increase the reflexivity of the researchers by showing the policy-embeddedness of methods development (Kivivuori 2011) Historical studies are also important because some validity



questions may have been tackled already. We too easily forget the achievements of the past researchers.

(2) Qualitative research is important because crime surveys aim at a moving target: the changing nature of crime, and the changing cultural understandings of crime. To some extent, questions of violence semantics can be examined quantitatively, but this does not remove the need to conduct qualitative research.

(3) Study of instrument *reliability* is important as a technical analysis regarding the psychometric properties of scales. This is probably a neglected field among social science criminologists. If resources allow, it would be appropriate to conduct, for instance, more test-retest studies of the core crime checklists used in surveys.

(4) *Experimental designs*, as described in this paper, are the most robust way of specifying the causal effects of design options.

(5) *Embedded validity threat questions and response integrity checks* can and should be used to detect within-data differences in response integrity. This is crucial for the analysis of immanent validity threats in survey research. This is a field where research will proliferate in the future.

(6) *Validity studies* using multiple sources of information present the 'gold standard' of validity research in crime measurement. These come in multiple shapes. Within the survey frame, self-reports on offending and victimization can be contrasted with peer reports and (for youths) with teacher or parent reports. Also, systemic comparisons between different survey indicators of crime can be used and indeed point towards high consistency (Kivivuori 2007). Even more robust validity designs can be achieved when the criterion variable is taken from outside the survey framework. Thus, survey reports can be contrasted with official registers (Batenburg-Eddes 2012). In drugs research, biochemical markers can be used, and have been used, as measures of criterion validity.

Thus, methods research is important for several reasons. The point which I wish to emphasize here is that such research is very important both before and after the actual measurements have taken place. Pre-study relevance is obvious. Methods research first of all informs the design decisions. But after-study relevance is also considerable. Methods research reveals the context-dependent nature of survey research. Context is here meant in a very inclusive way, ranging from question formulations, survey framing and data collection to the cultural environment in which the research is taking place. The findings on contextuality should not be regarded as fundamental validity threats; instead, they support and work towards increasing objectivity and validity. Consider, for instance, the above cited finding that responding integrity is a variable within national populations and across nations. It is good to know this even though there is no means of removing this validity threat<sup>5</sup>. We should know such biases as we interpret the results. Inserting validity threat detectors to research instruments serves a very useful purpose.

Earlier I noted that the development of survey instruments also needs qualitative approaches to methods research. As a final observation, I would like to suggest that the methodological improvement of qualitative research could also benefit from applying some of the techniques used in survey instrument development. Like survey research, qualitative research is an instrument that reflects external social realities which exist independently of the research process. The unexpected findings encountered by many qualitative researchers show that they too face a 'stubborn' social reality which is not

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<sup>5</sup> Of course it might be argued that special weights could be calculated to compensate for differential response integrity in sub-populations. This is technically feasible and calls for further study.

constructed by the theories or policy interests of the researchers. Therefore, it would be possible to use some of the techniques and approaches described in this paper to improve the validity of qualitative research.

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**Appendix 1** The renewed national crime survey instruments in outline, Finland.

		<b>FSRD</b>	<b>FCVS</b>
<i>Basic design</i>	Method	Self-report and victimization survey	Victimization survey
	First sweep	1995	2012
	Targeted age group	12-13 and 15-16	15-74
	Coverage	National	National
	Sweep interval	4 years (since 2004)	Annual (planned)
	Survey language	Finnish	Finnish and Swedish
	Sampling unit	School	Individual
	Targeted sample	10754	14460
	Achieved sample	8914	7746
	Response rate (%)	83	54
	Data collection	Online	Mail and online
	Place of responding	School computer class	Home/unknown
	Variant modules	Additional predictors	3 rotating thematic modules
	Register based data attached	None	Postal code, gender, age, language
<i>Main topics covered</i>	Violence	Yes	Yes
	Robbery	Yes	Yes
	Domestic violence	Yes (disciplinary violence by parents)	Yes (intimate partner violence)
	Sexual violence	No	Yes
	Hate crime	Yes	No
	Property destruction	Yes	Yes
	Auto theft	Yes	Yes
	Other property crimes	Yes	Yes
	Drugs use	Yes	No
	Fear of crime	Yes	Yes
	Violence interpretation threshold	No	Yes
	Crime attitudes	Yes	No
	Opinions about criminal justice	No	Yes (every third year)
	Explanatory variables	Social, individual	Basic SES related

Unless otherwise mentioned, information refers to the most recent sweep (2012)

## Methods are not on their own.

### Examples from a project on prison-based drug measures

by Hedda Giertsen

#### Abstract

When we hear the word method we often think of data as statistical descriptions and calculations from the quantitative branch. I will concentrate on qualitative approaches and open up the scope of 'method' to include interpretations and discussions. Or to take it the other way around, integrate discussions on method into the entire research process.

Method means mode of investigation.<sup>1</sup> The word stems from Greek, from meta, meaning 'after', and hodos meaning 'way', i.e. after the way – or the way to follow. This is a fairly broad definition with few restrictions.

#### Method is theory

i) Data are not data by themselves. What we perceive as data or facts is what is shaped by our understanding to be data, what we agree to consider as specific data. These agreements are embedded in culture, traditions and our fundamental ways of perceiving our surroundings and ourselves. This does not mean that data is a result of mere construction, but underlines that this is a collective undertaking based on decisions and choices. In this way method is theory.

ii) Methods are also integrated parts of how we interpret what we see and hear and read. What we see as relevant data are defined and decided by our ways of understanding, and this points out what seems interesting. It is not so that first we gather data and then we interpret them. This goes along in the same process. A statement that we should approach the research field without any pre-understanding seems impossible to me.<sup>2</sup> But in a moderate way, this advice may function as a reminder to be loyal to data, not established theories.

This position is far from new, but well known in sociology. As described by Prieur<sup>3</sup> on Bourdieu, when she says: Bourdieu was against the sharp division between theory and method that has been developed in sociology. [...] For Bourdieu method was always included in the total research approach. Therefore it is impossible to state anything on his reflexions on methods without also referring to his theory (p. 109).

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<sup>1</sup> *The compact edition of the Oxford English dictionary*. Oxford university press 1971.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on this see e.g. M. H. Jacobsen: Quo Vadis, Grounded Theory? – en sociologisk tilstandsrapport over grounded theory og et forsøg på videreudvikling. I: *Liv, fortælling, tekst. Strejftog i kvalitativ sociologi*. M. H. Jacobsen, S. Kristiansen and A. Prieur (red.). Aalborg Universitetsforlag, Aalborg 2002. p. 77-108.

<sup>3</sup> A. Prieur (2002). Objektivitet og refleksivitet – om Pierre Bourdieus perspektiv på design og intervju. I: *Liv, fortælling, tekst. Strejftog i kvalitativ sociologi*. M. H. Jacobsen, S. Kristiansen and A. Prieur (red.). Aalborg Universitetsforlag, Aalborg 2002. p. 109-133.

According to Bourdieu it is also vital to see how an object of research is socially constructed and how the researcher goes along to construct his or hers objects of research. Therefore reflexivity, or objectifying ourselves, is a necessary part of the research work (ibid). This bring us to the following point:

iii) Method is theory also in the sense that what we consider as relevant data is intertwined with the discussions we want to bring up. The discussions shape our gaze, direct our attention and point out what to see as relevant.

At the same time unexpected observations may find new directions for our attention.

Here I leave these rather general considerations and turn to data and possible interpretations, taken from an on-going work and some other studies.

## **Examples from a project on measures for prisoners with drugs-problems**

This is a Nordic project where Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway take part, studying measures in three prison wings for prisoners with drug problems within three prisons in each country. From Norway Marte Rua, three master students and I take part.

The study is based on documents, observations and interviews with leaders, staff in prisons and prisoners, on how these three different groups perceive the wings. The study is divided into three stages according to the position of the interviewees. The first one deals with administrative and political leaders, this is finished. The second describes drug-handling measures seen from different kinds of staffs' point of view, going on just now. And the third is based on experiences of prisoners, which is coming.

The Norwegian section uses a relational approach and method. We are not looking for what or how prisoners 'are', but for what happens when people are placed in different kinds of social situations, or what we call social rooms. So relations are seen not just as being between people but also between people and their surroundings. So far we have established three kinds of situations of what we call social rooms: the prison room dominated by punishment and control; the rehabilitation room where e.g. the group sessions take place, and the unorganized, informal room.

Sanctions will be to be sent to isolation in another wing, followed by 'drug talks' inviting for re-motivation to continue the stay and work in the wing, or to be dismissed. Also the use of isolation is a heavy toll on people, even if the isolated stay often is short, just a few days.

I will give some examples from stage two going on now, and also include some findings from interviews with prisoners, which we have done already, as well as findings from the first stage that make fundamentals for the discussions.

Please note that the following are preliminary work-in-progress-versions, as we have not yet completed the analysis of the data.

I intend to illustrate my general view on methods as integrated in the entire research process by describing what I would call the method of using unexpected findings.

## **Unexpected findings**

In this second-and-third stage on staffs' and prisoners' views there is one observation I had not expected. It is about prisoners and critics.

## Prisoners and critics

In one of the wings, controls are the same for prisoners in the drug-handling unit as for all other prisoners: i.e. daily, random urine-tests; strip and search after short leaves from the prison (permisjon) as well as after visits; now and then there are razzias with dogs and strip and search.<sup>4</sup>

No doubt these controls infringe on fundamental and highly respected values in our society, protecting the physical and psychic integrity of the individual.

## No critics

I expected that some of the prisoners would have criticized these kinds of controls, partly because I have heard this before when the controls started many years ago. But hardly any of the interviewees did so. Some did not even mention control measures.<sup>5</sup>

Of those who did mention control measures, some described dislike with the control situation, but accepted them as necessary. Staffs confirmed our impression that prisoners hardly mentioned or criticized controls.

So one might think that there is silence in the prisons, no critique. This is not so. Critics do appear, but in other situations. There are examples of what Mathiesen (1965/2012)<sup>6</sup> has described as criticism. Critics also used to appear in a situation I had not expected. Prisoners are allowed to buy some food, tobacco etc. by means of a private and limited amount of money. They order on Sundays. On Thursdays the goods arrive. They do not always get what they order, and the shop does not hold low prices. This creates critics. One staff tells about situations where serious discussions in the groups are interrupted by complaints about goods that did not arrive.

So critics arise, but not on events that seem relevant to criticise according to fundamental, common values, rather on seemingly tiny details in the life of being locked up. How to interpret this?

i) One might look for characteristics of the inmates, peculiarities of persons while they are in prison, and individualise reasons for when critiques take place and not take place. The position as a convict, and stigmatized, eases this kind of approach.

ii) Another line of interpretations might concentrate on one of the findings, that prisoners do not criticize but agree with the control measures, perceiving them as sensible to secure drug free wings, which is what they want. Controls are unpleasant, but needed. The aim justifies the mean.

This finding could be written into a context that is tempting, but leading us astray and away from research work: That is to write this as an argument into the prison policy, underlining that prisoners join the aim and attitude of prison policy, confirming the position we found among political and administrative leaders, that rehabilitation and

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<sup>4</sup> Sanctions will be to be sent to isolation in another wing, followed by 'drug talks' inviting for re-motivation to continue the stay and work in the wing, or to be dismissed. Also the use of isolation is a heavy toll on people, even if the isolated stay often is short, just a few days.

<sup>5</sup> There may be at least three reasons for this silence: One is that the prisoners were completely indifferent to the controls. The other one is that these controls are so intimidating that prisoners avoid mentioning them not to activate the negative feelings following the experiences. Thirdly may be they did not like to talk about this to me as a female.

<sup>6</sup> T. Mathiesen (1965/2012): *The Defences of the Weak. A sociological study of a Norwegian correctional institution*. Tavistock publications. London.



control work hand in hand, and even seem to create synergetic effects: the control secures that prisoners are kept in place, sober, right at hand to be offered rehabilitation measures.

This interpretation would be to transfer the discussion into the field of prison policy, another path than research; it would be to confuse research themes with policy themes. Prieur (2002) comments on this theme:

In some cases researchers take over research objects that others have constructed for them [...] for example in the field of the sociology of social problems, where researchers easily take over the definition of problems from the social authorities. – Or one may think of the series of evaluation [...] studies where researchers may become loyal supporter of the authorities (p. 119).

I do think we should write our findings and discussions into the political contexts, but in another way, in a sociological perspective. I will return to this a bit later.

It is easy also to enter the discourse of evaluation, which is already there, and may appear safe, convenient and useful. Also the findings from our Nordic project may easily be written into an evaluation discourse: by using quotations from staff and prisoners on whether they find that measures used in the wings are giving the expected and wanted effects on prisoners' attitudes towards drugs, or not; especially compared to sentences served without any such measures.

But an evaluating approach does not encourage to look the unexpected, to reflect on premises and consequences, or to objectify ourselves.

iii) As criminologists our task is to try to understand social phenomena. They take place in certain situations. Our findings on critique in the wing are about a specific social situation and its impact on people there. A general point would be that points of critique and lack of expected critique have to do with ordinary human reactions in a peculiar situation. So what are the peculiarities of the situation?

Significant characteristics of a prison are the intention to inflict pain and the weight on security, performed by a strict hierarchical structure. Controls should be no surprise in this setting, neither much to do about. This is well known. So no critique of controls from prisoners may be seen as a result of a realistic attitude and recognition of life behind bars, which is asking for many resignations. To criticize control measures for prisoners would be a sign that they did not understand the situation they are in, that is the social room of prison. Penal authorities have built up a system that relies on control and sanctions, essential characteristics of prisons. No wonder we find these essentials mirrored in the answers. This will be the sociological interpretation of no critics on controls.

Such experiences are not relevant just for prisoners, they also apply for people outside prison. We accept controls as well as their clear message of us being suspects as of crime, to enter planes, prisons, leaving shops etc. We do not object, we adjust. We even align with the controllers, as Martin says (2012),<sup>7</sup> being anxious to enter the surveillance portal and relieved to pass: Yes, I came through, I was not caught, I am clean.

## **Critics**

How to understand when critics appear? Again the discussion should be linked to the social situation, and one answer could be: You may be subdued as a prisoner when it comes to security and control. That is terms of trade, at least terms of being imprisoned.

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<sup>7</sup> T. M. Martin (2012). Conference paper. *Resisting the Eclipse. An International Symposium on Prison Ethnography. ICCCR Annual conference 2012*. <http://www.open.ac.uk/icccr/events/prison-ethnography/>.

But you should not be subdued as an ordinary shopping customer. That is beyond the social room of prison and stigma. The shopping-situation is neutral for prisoners and as such a legitimate room for critics.

## **Comments**

We try to write events into the social situations people are placed into, the social rooms that are created.

We try to watch out for what seems confusing, points of contradictions or conflict, and what we did not expect; not leaving such findings aside, but trying to link them to the social rooms. Such findings may bring us beyond our initial frames of sorting out and transgress our former understanding, like the findings of prisoners' critics. May be we will have to establish some new and other social rooms.

To underline this method of interpretations I will give some other examples on transgressing initial frames of interpretation, when having been confronted with unexpected findings.

## **Unexpected findings II: Kin of persons accused of murder**

A master student in sociology had interviewed parents and siblings of persons accused of murder and awaiting trial. She wanted to find out the attitudes of relatives towards an eventual punishment: would they support the general societal attitude and penal law paragraphs on murder, or would affection and solidarity with their kin be dominating.

The findings were difficult to handle. She expected variations, and she found this, but not in the anticipated way. For the variations did not follow persons. Instead they took place within each and one of the interviewees or relative, so that the relative would start out to say that of course, a person who had committed a murder had to be punished, and the accused relative could be no exception. But at the end of the interview, the same person said that the relative most likely was not guilty and should not be punished.

So it was impossible to place each person in a single category according to the view on punishment. This seemed to undermine the whole thesis, until it was clear that the dual attitude was the finding. This may be linked to the situation of the kin-people: To take a position on either the general societal attitude and penal law paragraphs on one hand, or on the affection and solidarity with your kin on the other.

## **Unexpected findings III: No prisoners?**

This example is also from a master thesis. A master student in criminology wanted to ask prisoners about their experiences of being just prisoners: What was it about? So she went to a prison just outside Oslo and talked with eight prisoners serving forvaring/preventive custody and ordinary sentence. She asked her questions. But they did not answer anything about being a prisoner. Instead they talked about other activities, on how to avoid the noise, going on their own while in luftgården/the fenced yard, feeling this as a friminutt/timeout. And they talked about what they did together, having dinner, watching a film in the week-end, some sports; anything but prisoner's stuff. The student was rather desperate that the master thesis was about to slip through her fingers because of no findings. But there they were, just in front of her: The finding was that the people in prison

she had spoken with, did not see themselves as prisoners or perform this role, they did anything else at hand (Becher 2007).<sup>8</sup> Prisoner is no role to outline.<sup>9</sup>

Some years earlier Viljugrein (2000)<sup>10</sup> described a similar finding in a study on immigrant male prisoners attending school in prison; and some years later this was the theme in Ugelvik's Ph.D.-thesis (2011)<sup>11</sup> on people in custody and how they too try to slip away from a prison identity.

## Unexpected conflict, disagreement and divergence

In our study we also stopped at an event of unexpected conflicts and discussions on whether what goes on in the wings should be mentioned treatment or motivation, preparation for further health and social services after release.

Whether the group sessions in the wing should be called treatment or motivation seems to have little impact on what is in fact going on, and many prisoners found the groups relevant and efficient. The point here is which term to use, and the impact this may have on prison policy. So far we have seen three situations of disagreement.

i) Prisoners disagreed on what term to use. In a meeting with ten prisoners and a guard, Marte Rua and I experienced a heavy discussion on this, followed by what the staff calls high temperature. Why is the term so important, why the high temperature? My suggestion will be that the choice of the term is important to prisoners because it points to what is perceived as their problem. If these problems have to do with drugs, then prisoners find treatment a useful term, indicating that they are already on their way to improvement. But if you perceive that your problems are external, based in lack of housing, economic chaos, health problems etc., then the term treatment seems to lead the relevant answers astray. What is needed is help to improve one's basic living conditions.

ii) A second situation of disagreement or divergence is found among us researchers in the Nordic project, probably to the surprise of some or all of us. Some of us insist on using the term treatment to describe what goes on in the prison wings, while I find this difficult and prefer the term motivation. This disagreement is in itself a finding. It underlines that even one might think that the Nordic countries are similar in many respects, they are also different.<sup>12</sup>

iii) This divergence may be linked to the third situation of discrepancy, i.e. between prison authorities in the Nordic countries. In Norway the prison policy position is not to use the term treatment, a position that has remained since late 1970ies, because of historical experiences on injustice following in the footsteps of treatment. To motivate and

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<sup>8</sup> C. Becher (2007). *Friminutt i fengsel: en kvalitativ studie av fangerollen i fengsel*. Masteroppgave Institutt for kriminologi og rettssosiologi, Universitetet i Oslo

<sup>9</sup> H. Giertsen (2012). Hvem vil være fange? I: *Festskrift til Inger Marie Fridhov*. Norwegian Correctional Services (Kriminalomsorgens sentrale forvaltning (KSF)) and Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (Kriminalomsorgens utdanningscenter (KRUS)).

<sup>10</sup> T. Viljugrein (2002). *Skole, språk og fengsel. Undervisning av mannlige minoritetsspråklige fanger i fire norske fengsler*. Rapport nummer 1/02. Institutt for kriminologi og rettssosiologi, Universitetet i Oslo. Statens utdanningskontor i Hordaland.

<sup>11</sup> T. Ugelvik (2011). *Fangenes friheter. Makt og motstand i et norsk fengsel*. Universitetsforlaget Oslo.

<sup>12</sup> P. Hakkarinen, L. Laursen and C. Tigersted (1996): Introduction: Sisters are never alike. In: *Discussing drugs and control policy. Comparative studies on four Nordic countries*. NAD publication nr. 31.

prepare for further health and social services is now the official policy and rhetoric (Giertsen 2012).<sup>13</sup>

So was also the line in Denmark till around 2005. At this point the term treatment was re-introduced to characterize rehabilitation measures in prisons (Kolind m.fl. 2012).<sup>14</sup> In Sweden the treatment-word has been used for many years (Lindberg m.fl. 2012).<sup>15</sup> To day there are three so-called treatment institutions under the responsibility of prison authorities (ibid.). In Finland drug treatment started in the end of the 1980ies (Tourunen 2012).<sup>16</sup>

The difference in use of the terms treatment or motivation points to differences in what a prison should be and how to perceive prisoners: Whether a prison should be a place for treatment with the aspiration to cure crime and drug problems, seeing the prisoner as sick. This will bring us back to the first part of 1900, and the problems on rule of law, corruption of treatment etc.

Or whether prisons should motivate and prepare for treatment after release. The last position tunes down the importance of prisons as a place for curing, crime, drugs and people. This will also be in line with Norwegian prison policy, especially with the guaranty of return to society (which is not a guaranty in judicial meaning but a political aim). Here responsibility is handed over from the penal authorities to the municipalities: The prisoner belongs to the municipality, before during and after imprisonment.

This brings us to the position on prisons in society: how many prisons and prisoners should we have?<sup>17</sup> And on quality, how ought conditions for people in prison be?

The question on treatment or motivation for treatment after release are arguments in such discussions on prisons in society: When seen as places for repairing drugs problems it is likely that prisons will be seen as a most useful place for handling drugs problems, that they will become more accepted and more easily used. The prison-like features are brought to the background in descriptions, but not in reality.

One might have expected that rehabilitative measures in prison would replace control measures, so if social services increase, security measures will be reduced. Experiences from the Nordic countries so far, show that this does not happen. Health and social care services do not replace control measures. They all expand. The two kinds of measures seem to feed each other. Prison becomes more of a prison, and though there are more of social services, the main result is a strengthening of prisons. They will become more accepted, and this will not contribute to slow down the increase of prisoners.

In this language the prison is still presented as a place for punishment. Of course there are and should be health and social services inside prisons, based in the general public services, whether people are outside or inside some prison walls, as it is according to the import model.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> H. Giertsen: Policy on drugs in Norwegian prisons: Increased control, answers to poverties and looking for a life after release. In: *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*. vol. 29.2012. 6.

<sup>14</sup> T. Kolind, V. A. Frank, H. V. Dahl, M. Haller (2012): Prison drug treatment in Denmark: A historical outline and analysis of the political discourse. *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*. vol. 29.2012. 6.

<sup>15</sup> P. Å. Nylander, C. Holm, E. Jukić, O. Lindberg: Drug Treatment in Swedish Prisons – moving towards evidence-based interventions? In: *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*. vol. 29.2012. 6.

<sup>16</sup> J. Tourunen & A. Weckroth & T. Kaskela: Prison-Based Drug Treatment in Finland: History, Shifts in Policy Making and Current Status. In: *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*. vol. 29.2012. 6.

<sup>17</sup> In a Nordic context this question has been discussed by F. Balvig, N. Christie and T. Mathiesen.

<sup>18</sup> N. Christie (1969, 1993). Modeller for fengselsorganisasjonen. I: *Murer og mennesker: en KROM-bok om fengsel og kriminalpolitikk*. Thomas Mathiesen og Arne Heli (red.). Oslo: Pax.

These services do not blur or hide the main characteristics of the prison, which gives us clear lines in the discussions on the use of prisons. The possible consequences of the different positions should be outlined.

These are some examples on how findings in interviews and observations are intertwined with research themes, as well as what is seen as main discussions.

# **Greed and the grey area; Theoretical and methodological considerations for economic crime research and investigation**

*by Snorri Örn Arnason*

## **Introduction**

In October 2008 the three banking empires in Iceland Glitnir, Kaupthing and Landsbanki all collapsed, and were taken over by the Icelandic government. As almost five years have passed Iceland is recovering at what seems to be a faster rate than might be expected considering the scale of the disaster. Great resources were put into revealing what led to the events leading to the banking collapse and in 2010 a nine volume 2.300 page report was published by a truth commission, Althingis Special Investigation Commission. In 2009 a Special prosecutor office was established to investigate and prosecute the suspected crimes in the banking sector and those believed to be responsible. Several defendants have already been sentenced to prison and a number of people face criminal indictments. The determined approach by the authorities to these criminal offences linked to the economic crisis is in stark contrast to the approach taken by authorities in the US for example (Árnason, 2010; Gunnlaugsson, 2010 & 2012; Jännäri, 2009; SIC report, 2010).

To briefly give a backdrop to the events, the Icelandic business environment went through some dramatic changes in a short period. The most influential milestones in reshaping the formerly political and rigid business settings were Iceland entering the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994 and the privatization of the banks in 2002. These steps opened up the doors for local businesses and the financial market to grow phenomenally, both domestically and abroad (Árnason, 2010). Subsequently Iceland got on the neo-liberal bandwagon and took up a hands off policy toward the economy, based on the belief that markets should not be restrained but left to regulate themselves (Gunnlaugsson, 2012). Before the bubble burst in October 2008 and the recession set in, the unemployment rate had been 1% for many years but skyrocketed up to 9%. Not only were jobs lost, but also did a lot of people lose their life savings, some households went bankrupt and also a number of businesses. The scale of the financial losses was catastrophic and at an unprecedented level (Árnason & Þórisdóttir, 2012; SIC report, 2010).

The aim of the article is to examine the trends in economic crimes reported by the authorities from the privatization of the banks in 2002 until the year 2012, four years after the banking collapse. Some methodological issues are discussed regarding the counting of economic crimes, but the main focus is on explaining the economic crime trends as they appear in the police data. The analysis takes a look at the regulatory system in Iceland and the banking culture in view of theoretical perspectives.

## **Methodology**

The numbers presented here below are taken from the crime registry of the National police in Iceland. All economic crimes reported between the years 2002 and 2012 are counted.

From 2002 to 2009 economic crimes were reported to the Economic Crime Division of the National Commissioner in Iceland. In 2009 the Special prosecutor took office and was given the role to investigate suspicions of criminal actions in the period preceding, in connection with or in the wake of the collapse of the Icelandic banks and follow up on these investigations by bringing charges in court against those concerned ([www.serstakursaksoknari.is/english](http://www.serstakursaksoknari.is/english)). In 2012 the Economic Crime Division and the Special Prosecutor were merged into a single authority handling all cases of economic criminality. The numbers also include some serious financial violations, embezzlement for example.

Before going any further, it is worth to mention some methodological issues in regard to counting economic crimes. Firstly, the main challenges in counting economic crimes is that there is no specific legal definition on economic crimes. There are some textbook definitions but in the law there is nothing called “an economic crime”, whereas other acts of crime are generally defined in the law. Instead of going by some textbook definition, in this case, all crimes reported to or registered by the division in charge of investigating that type of crimes were counted.

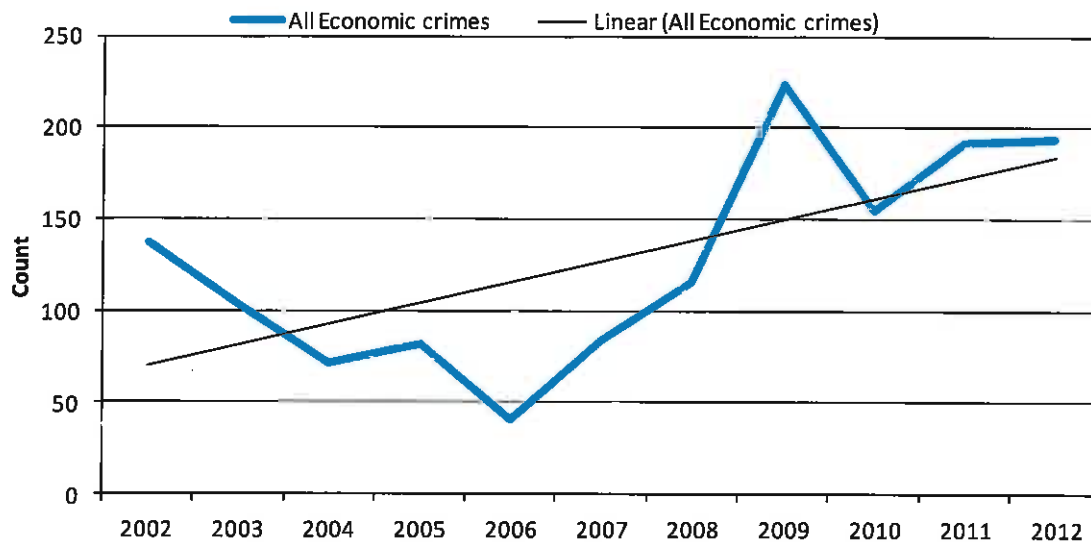
Secondly, in a single case there may be more than one, even a handful of different types of variations of tax-violations; income tax, VAT-violations, serious violations etc. The same applies for book-keeping violations and other acts of economic criminality. Thus is it right to count all the variations of offences against the same act registered in a single case, or should each crime type only be counted once? The latter one makes more sense, instead of duplicating or even multiplying a single act in a case. So in a single case, each type of crime is counted once, regardless of the number of different sub-groups and also regardless of the number of offenders. Not only that, one has also got to keep in mind that in many crimes the seriousness or the damages can be wide-ranging and this is especially true for economic crimes.

Thirdly, criminologists using police data must ponder the question, how well are these crime types registered? There is no certainty that the economic crimes registered in the police registry have been properly registered, some have not been investigated fully and the registration or definition of the act may change during the investigation. There is a reason to point out that this might put some limitations on the accuracy of these numbers.

Finally, not to mention the dark number of crimes, the crimes that are never reported or detected by the authorities. Also, the resources of the authorities at a given time can influence the number of cases reported as they may be more efficient at one time than another. Furthermore isolated incidents can influence the trends, as will be explained in more detail next as we take a look at the economic crimes reported in the years 2002-2012.

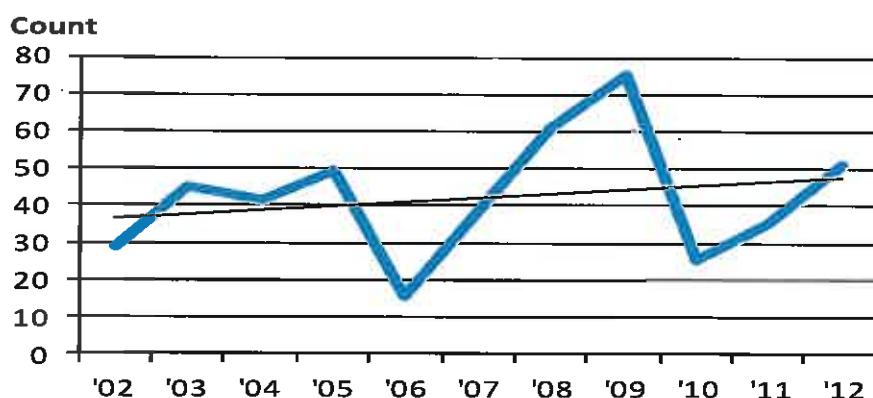
## **Reported economic crimes in Iceland in 2002-2012**

When the economic crime trend from 2002 to 2012 is examined a very interesting shift appears in the numbers. From 2002 to 2006 the number of reported economic crimes drop considerably and to only a third of the count in 2002. But after 2006 a sharp rise takes place, reaching a peak having grown five times in 2009.



Picture 1. The number of reported economic crimes in the years 2002 – 2012.

A third of all reported economic crimes in the period from 2002 to 2012 included tax-law violations. During the period between 2002 and 2008, an average of 46% of reported economic crimes were tax-violations. In the period after the banking collapse between 2009 and 2012, an average of 24% of reported economic crimes were tax-violations. Even though tax-law statutes are part of the special regulation but not of the penal code, most of them are serious violations and are hence charged as major tax-law violations within the financial violations of the penal code. Picture 2 shows the number of reported tax-law violations. In 2006 the number suddenly drops but reaches a high in 2009, then decreases again in 2010 and increases through 2012. If a trendline is drawn it shows a slow and gradual increase through the whole period.



Picture 2. Number of reported Tax-law violations

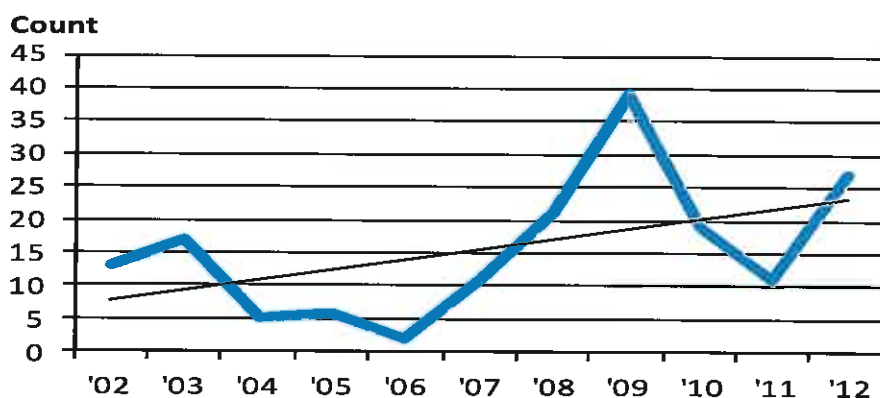
The number of reported tax law violations (picture 2) is a good example of how police data can portray a distorted crime trend, because of influence by other factors than the actual crime trend. If we examine the drop between 2002 and 2006, part of it can be explained by a dispute between the head of the economic crime division and the head of the directorate of tax-investigations (Morgunblaðið, 2008, January 18th). In 2006 the prosecutor of



Economic crimes was denied access to information by The Directorate of Tax Investigations on the basis that it didn't concern police matters. In a dispute that has no precedence in Iceland (or maybe anywhere else for that matter) the prosecutor of economic crimes received a warrant to search the offices of The Directorate of Tax Investigations to obtain the information. Because of that dispute The Directorate of Tax-investigations stopped reporting crimes to the police until the grudge was settled (Árnason, 2010). However, that explanation does not disguise the fact that there was an evident lack of economic crimes reported before the crisis and that changed dramatically after the crisis.

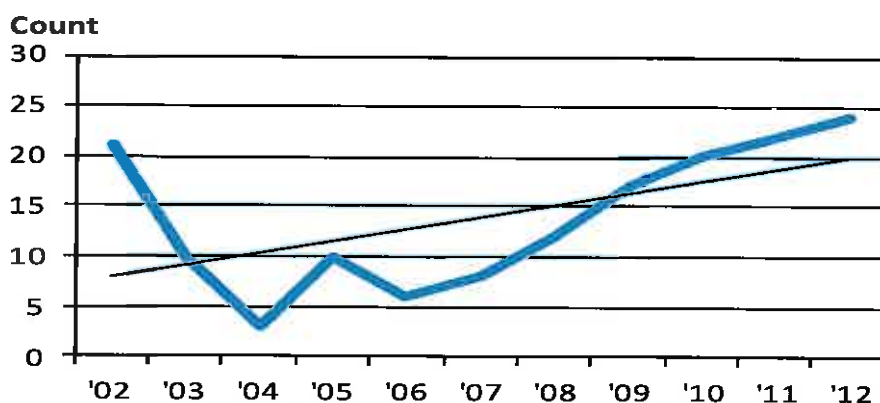
Before the banking collapse a handful of cases were reported by the Financial Supervisory Authority (FME) but after the crisis more than a hundred cases have been reported by the FME.

The second most frequent economic crime reported in the period is book-keeping violations (picture 3).



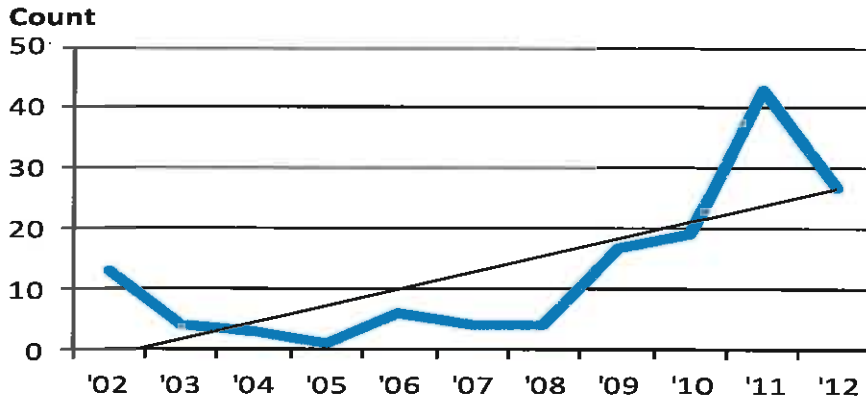
Picture 3. Number of reported Book-keeping violations

Like in the case of tax-law violations the numbers sink to rock bottom in 2006 but then reach a staggering high in 2009. After that they take a considerable plunge again. The trendline shows a clear increase, as reports multiplied three times between 2002 and 2012. Embezzlement is the third most frequently reported offence (picture 4).



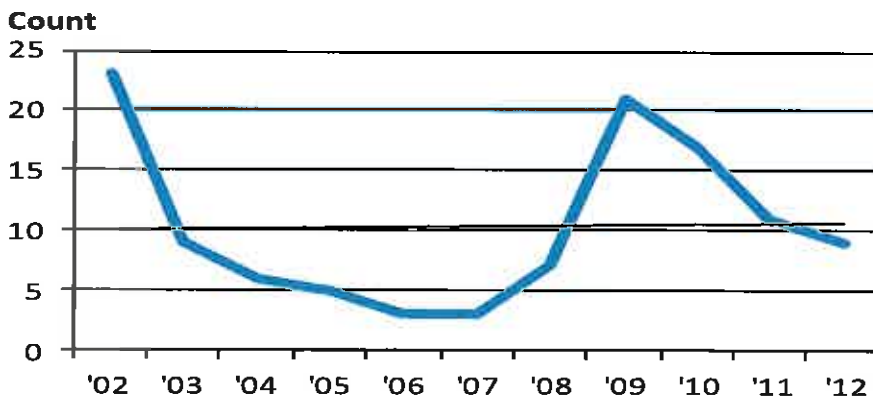
Picture 4. Number of reported Embezzlement

The number of reports go down in 2004 and 2006 but then gradually increase every year after that to 2012. The trendline shows that the number of reports grew about three times in the period. After the crash an increasing proportion of cases of mandate fraud were reported by the Special prosecutor (picture 5).



Picture 5. Number of reported Mandate frauds

Before the crisis they were very rare. The reports reach a high in 2011 but the trendline also shows that the increase is substantial. These violations have to do with commission fraud or misuse of status towards stakeholders. Illegal lending practices are amongst these offences, for example issuing loans to connected parties without securing sufficient collateral or mortgage. These offences are also the backbone of the market manipulation cases. Many of the larger cases of the Special prosecutor are of this kind. The financial losses caused by these types of crimes are measured in astronomical figures and are in effect one of the root causes of the banking collapse. Some of the larger cases of market manipulation are expected to have caused 20 billion ISK in losses, while the ones with minor losses of 10-20 million ISK are insider trading cases. Also fraud cases have been more frequently investigated after the crisis but interestingly the number goes way down between 2002 and 2008 before rising sharply in 2009. The trendline shows a rather flat linear trend so again, the numbers represented in the police data seem quite distorted (picture 6).



Picture 6. Number of reported Frauds

Other frequently reported crimes since the crisis are insider trading, laws regarding stock exchange, document falsification, violations of corporate laws and etc.

But what explains this vast shift in reports of economic crimes in the period from 2002 to 2012? What explains the decrease in numbers in the period between 2002 and 2006 and then the sharp increase, especially after the banking collapse? It is clear that the numbers do not represent very well actual trends in economic crimes in this period. There is no plausible criminological explanation for such a shift in criminality in a matter of few years. On the other hand, they describe the reality of regulation policy, supervision and subsequently the detection of economic crimes more accurately.

When the banks collapsed in October 2008 it was like a can of worms had been opened. In the blink of an eye the previously praised business tycoons were being branded as criminals and every stone was turned over to uncover their misdeeds. Behaviour and actions that were previously disregarded or viewed as „on the grey area“ – unethical at worst, were re-defined and labeled with hindsight as totally illegal. Even if they had been taking place over a lengthy period they only became the focus of intense investigation and prosecution after the banking crisis. The sharp rise of reported economic crimes in 2009 can thus be explained by a shift in regulation and a re-thinking of enforcement policy that was crystallised in the shockwave caused by the banking collapse and led to the discovery of a massive number of transgressions. If the violations discovered in the aftermath of the banking crisis had been exposed earlier, or at their onset, we might be looking at very different graphs than the ones shown above. So what was going on in the years leading up to the crash and why did all this criminal activity go unnoticed? To answer that we need to take a look at the interplay between the corporate culture in Iceland and the regulatory system.

## **The regulatory system fails and new business emperors emerge**

The SIC report on the causes of the crisis revealed that the Financial Supervisory authority (FME) and other government agencies were too poorly funded to keep up with the growth of the financial system. They lacked firmness, assertiveness and independence and there was too little co-operation between different authorities. Not only did they fail to address basic questions but also the result was a lack of initiative by authorities in launching investigations. Furthermore, the most seasoned and experienced staff was frequently lured over to the banks for a better salaried positions (SIC report, 2010; Jännäri, 2009).

Braithwaite (2010) would probably agree that these last points are perhaps the key elements that were missing in order to prevent the criminality and the consequent collapse of the banks. He argues that economic crime policies are too preoccupied with penalties and should focus more on identifying emerging hot spots and preventing them from getting worse by “kicking the tires“ of the defective vehicle, making life difficult for the firm and convincing them that interventions will escalate until the problem is fixed. The problem does not seem to have been that the regulation was insufficient, apart from some loop-holes, rather it was inadequate supervision by the regulatory agencies. However the deregulation policies or the desupervision created a “criminogenic environment“ which fostered opportunities for fraud and manipulation. The privatization process of the banking system at the beginning of this decade is also where crucial mistakes were made. Instead of spreading ownership among several institutional investors and private

households, with no one holding a controlling interest, small investor groups got controlling interests over each of the banks (Árnason, 2010).

In the end the owners of the banks and the top management were a tight knit group of driven and ambitious but young and inexperienced males. The owners were too closely connected to the management of the banks and they were also the biggest borrowers of the banks. The management of the banks was driven by greed and unrealistic profit goals, risk-taking in lending, borrowing and investment policies. Finally there was an obvious neglect for the importance of ethical guidelines (SIC report, 2010). In these years of rapid changes after the privatization of the banks the Icelandic business environment went through a period of uncertainty about how regulations were going to be implemented and this anomic condition increased the danger of illegal means being used to reach unrealistic profit goals. The new atmosphere put greater emphasis on short term financial gain than before and tougher competitive methods replaced old standards (Árnason, 2006). Passas (2000) adaptation of anomie theory to business situations, suggests that the basic goal of business to maximize profit is in itself an infinite objective and therefore unrealistic and thus increases the danger of anomic conditions. The pressure to attain desired profit levels increases the likelihood that both management and employees will engage in criminal conduct. This theory applies only too well to the Icelandic experience. But to get a more complete understanding of the events in Iceland we need to take a closer look at the corporate culture.

## **Corporate culture in Iceland**

In his report on the Icelandic banking system Jännäri (2009) stated that the banking community and the business community at large had a tendency to consider the letter rather than the spirit of the law as setting the boundaries for their actions. Complicated legal structures and webs of holding companies were established to circumvent many of the restrictions in banking and company law. This echoes the impression described by former employees of the Financial Supervisory Authority. There seems to have been a tendency in the Icelandic business sector to look at the laws as hurdles and it was a sport to find ways past them (Árnason, 2010). As mentioned earlier the top management of the banks was a tight knit group of single-minded individuals and their views were the set of guidelines in the corporate culture. The SIC report (2010) described the banking culture as driven by speed and change. Incentive schemes and bonus payments induced risk-taking and aggressiveness.

Most of all the culture was characterized by conformity, a kind of group-thinking that did not make room for any criticism of the managements course of action.

In Árnason (2006) study of middle managers of large corporations an insider described the settings with these words: „It becomes an individual world and if you live in this world you become indoctrinated into this reality. Position toward all things are from the viewpoint of the corporation, and everyone really has the same point of view of how things are and how they should be... This becomes a world, with its own set of morals, a community in a certain area of human reality“... As corporate culture is shaped by its leaders and their policies, it becomes very difficult for middle managers to stop violations, because they don't feel that they're actually doing anything wrong, the laws on the inside are the laws of their CEO. The norm seems to be to go as far as you can get away with, or as a middle manager of an oil company explained it: “They just wait to see if they get stopped and if they aren't then they just keep going”. Speaking of the price fixing conspiracy of the

oil companies another one said that frequent meetings with the other oil companys became 'a way of life' (Árnason, 2006; Árnason & Gunnlaugsson, 2008).

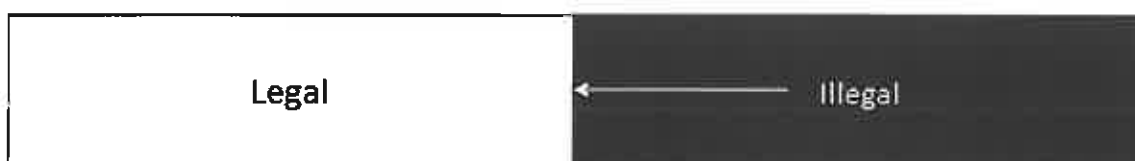
Compliance officers of the banks described in the SIC report (2010) that attempts to implement rules about gifts and travel invitations were met with little enthusiasm within the banks. For example, there was one compliance officer in each bank while there were 13 working in a travel- and entertainment department. That is more than combined staff members of compliance, internal auditing and risk management. A former compliance officer said in the report that self regulation did not receive much attention and another one symbolized it with these words: "My job was like that of a row-boat rowing against an oil-tanker".

As Sutherland (1983) argued, this indicates that internal rules and standards in the business setting can outweigh the legal framework, if they are imposed through the hierarchy of the organization. Commonly these rules or ethical guidelines tell you to go as far as you can to the limit of the "grey area" as you can get away with, in order to achieve your goals (Árnason, 2006). My earlier research of the Icelandic business environment did draw attention to this so called "grey area". It suggests that guidelines were unclear, which was a result of deregulation and desupervision. It also describes a certain mentality in the business sector illustrated in interviews with middle managers: „There is no grey area in the law, that is quite clear in my mind. But ethically you always know when you enter that grey area. Some go all the way, or as far as they can reach, while others keep themselves well within the boundaries... Even if they realized they might have been a bit on the grey area, they probably didn't sense that they were doing things that were completely illegal" (Árnason and Gunnlaugsson, 2008). Special prosecutor Olafur Thor Hauksson admitted in a newspaper interview that he faces suspects who „are not aware of when they crossed the line“ and part of the difficulty in prosecuting bankers is that the law is often unclear on what constitutes a criminal offence in when it comes to economic crimes. „Greed is not a crime, but where does greed lead“ he asked. Though it may be easy to identify violations the most difficult thing is to prove intent (www.nytimes.com, 2013). Huisman (2012) points out that it is difficult to determine between illegal and unethical behavior in the capital markets. Where this line should be drawn has been fiercly debated between different stakeholders and this debate is interesting because it offers criminologists the chance to witness processes of criminalization as they are taking place. That is very much true for the banking collapse in Iceland and the change in direction regarding criminalization of economic crimes.

#### Before the banking collapse



#### After the banking collapse



Picture 7. The „grey area“ before and after the banking collapse.

Picture 7 illustrates how these processes of drawing the fine line between legal and illegal behavior may have worked before and after the banking collapse in Iceland. Taking advantage of deregulation and desupervision and exploring every loophole, corporate managers could seek every opportunity to expand the boundaries of the “grey area” and they used all kinds of creative means to reach their ends. With the authorities not intervening they just kept going – expanding the grey area. Bending or circumventing the rules simply became a way of life. However knowing that the behavior in question was unethical at best, the acts were disguised by all sorts of means to elude the authorities. Then the banking collapse occurred and the acts and behaviour previously ignored by the authorities were discovered, re-examined and became the subject of investigations. The grey area was moved back and the CEO’s and the bankers found themselves way within the illegal zone. But this expansion of the grey area should not be regarded as an incident isolated to the period leading up to the banking crisis in Iceland. This kind of behaviour is well documented in corporate crime research and is an integral part of big business, like in the Enron case, the Savings and loans debacle and the subprime loan scandals (Black, 2010; McBarnet, 2006). Thus the lines of the legal versus the illegal or unethical are constantly being blurred and expanded by corporate managers.

An illustrative case example for this kind of behaviour is the Sterling merry-go-round. Connected parties – the majority owner of Fons and the chairman of FL Group who were business associates for many years - inflated the share price of the Sterling airline company by buying and selling it back and forth. One of the objectives may have been raising the price in order to be able to apply for loans with the company as collateral. One of the critics who raised difficult questions was a share holder in an annual share holder meeting. Three billion ISK were suspected to have vanished from FL Group accounts, without the approval of the CEO, later to appear in the accounts of Fons. Media treated this merry-go-round generally without too much scrutiny. As soon as the bank bubble burst so did the Sterling bubble. The authorities never intervened in this case until after the banking collapse. These transactions, including the 3 billion ISK in question are now being investigated as mandate fraud by the Special prosecutor. It is a similar case to many other cases only discovered or investigated after October 2008. Maybe the tentative approach by the authorities can be explained in some part by the fact that a few years earlier the prosecution of the Baugur Group, which was charged with breach of financial regulations on many counts, had backfired and been turned into a media circus. The majority owner of Baugur was also the owner of the largest private media corporation in Iceland and every opportunity was used to throw suspicion on the investigation. Even accusations of political involvement emerged. No expense was spared by the prosecution and huge amounts were spent by the defence. Most of the charges were dismissed but the defendants were handed suspended prison sentences in which no time was served.

## **Conclusion**

What does all this mean for economic crime investigations? Are white-collar criminals always aware that they have broken the law? Is it a straight-forward task to apply legal statutes to certain behaviour – with hind-sight – when it comes to white-collar crimes? These questions pose a dilemma for economic crime investigators, it may prove difficult to determine what is an illegal act or an unethical business behavior. As Gunnlaugsson (2012) points out, during the economic turmoil in the period leading up to the banking crisis, individuals may have acted in a criminal manner with the purpose of saving their own

company. However, taking into account the larger picture and the whole story many unethical or illegal acts surface that result in the bankruptcy of the financial system, and such deeds cannot justify the major losses caused to others.

What does all this mean for policy? Does self-regulation work or does the crisis call for a more stringent regulatory system? The experience in Iceland has shown that deregulation is a false policy and a more innovative economic crime prevention policy is needed. In the aftermath of the banking crisis, the Icelandic government was presented with a singular opportunity to make effective changes to the regulatory system. It was a moment where a virtual consensus for reform could be found, that only presents itself under rare circumstances such as economic crisis. I have pointed out the importance to put emphasis on co-operation between authorities and use elaborate analysis of information to assess risks and intervene before potential violations become harmful (Árnason, 2010). Serious reform efforts have not seen the light of day, but a committee will soon deliver a report with recommendations for a reformed system of economic crime investigations.

What does the future hold? It may just be that the window of opportunity for a serious reform has closed. After the parliamentary election in April 2013, there is a new government in place, with the same two parties that were in charge when the privatization of the banks took place six years prior to the collapse. Time will tell if the new government will have learned the hard lesson from the past experience. People seem to have a short term memory, history has a funny way of repeating itself and events tend to move in a cycle.

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# **Violence at the intersection of criminology and youth research: the art of understanding meanings**

*by Päivi Honkatukia*

My talk deals with methodology rather than with any specific method. I will look at how scientific knowledge is produced and argued when dealing with social problems such as violence. While doing this I will reflect the role of research knowledge also outside of the pure academic discussion.

I will explore this at the intersection between criminology and youth research, particularly in Finland. Even if young people have been studied quite a lot in criminological studies in Finland, the interaction between criminology and youth research has been rather limited. Hence, young people's offending or victimization are not usually located in the wider context of their biographies or their transitions from school to work or to independent living in general (see e.g. MacDonald & March 2005).

Criminology and youth research treat young people somewhat differently: criminology from the point of view of classical and often universalistic criminological theories, while youth research from a cultural sociological framework shaped by a youth political ethos which aims to convey or strengthen young people's views in the public discussion (e.g. Hoikkala & Suurpää 2005). The Finnish youth research is therefore closely connected with discussions on youth education and youth politics. In this context young people are seen as active actors, as members of their own communities, and advancing their agency is regarded important. While the aim is to portray young people in a positive light, it can be even claimed that negative issues such as violence and criminality have been avoided to some extent in the context of youth research (see e.g. Williamson 2002, 86; Young 2011). Having studied issues such as youth violence for a long time, I have been forced to consider how to study youth problems without labeling young people as problems.

To reflect this further in this presentation, I will analyze violence as a question at the intersection of criminology and youth research from three perspectives. First, I will present violence as a field of cultural practices involving meanings. Secondly, I will explore the question of youth violence as a social problem, or more closely what kind of a social problem it is seen today. Thirdly, I will reflect violence as a question of youth education.

## **Violence as a cultural practice**

The term violence has diverse cultural meanings even if it is also a physical and material phenomenon. Understanding these meanings is crucial since they have consequences on how violence is explained, who is regarded responsible for violent conduct and what we think about the victims of violence. Furthermore, these issues define how individuals make sense of their personal experiences, reveal them to others, as well as how violence is viewed as a social problem in the society and what kind of measures are developed to combat it.

Even a superficial glance to the meanings of violence reveals the complexity and vagueness of this concept. *First of all*, violence refers to a broad range of experiences, diverse events and acts, from homicides to bullying, to mention some rough examples. When violence is discussed, it is not always clear that we share a common understanding

of it. The researchers on violence have long discussed and revealed in their studies how the understanding of violence is constructed differently in different times, cultures and societies (Hearn 1998; Stanko 2003).

*Secondly*, even a similar conduct is viewed differently in different situations. To hit someone can be seen as normal, deviant, legal or illegal, depending on the situation. Research is a means to gain knowledge on the situational and dynamic meanings of violence. I have been involved in a research project in which we interviewed young people living in reform schools on their views on violence (Honkatukia et al. 2006; 2007). Reform schools are state owned child welfare institutions, and they place children and young people who have problems with their families or who have themselves been acting in a harmful way, for example by committing crimes. In the young people's narration violence was often portrayed as a very mundane issue. All the interviewees had some experience of it. Even if it was often not seen acceptable, it was sometimes regarded as a legitimate means to solve problems, particularly in the interaction between boys and young men (also e.g. Anderson 1999). Violence was sometimes seen as a means to bring out and resist one's powerless position in reform schools. Some interviewees felt it to be a functional means to be heard, have a say, or escape at least temporarily from a powerless position in the everyday life of the institution. As one of the young men claimed: "they (the adults) blackmail us with their rules and such, but we blackmail them with our fists. And that's all we have".

For violence to be interpreted legitimate it is important according to the interviewed young people to be in control. Even if violence often involves strong feelings, both positive emotions such as pleasure and negative feelings, being led by emotions was seen as not a right kind of violence. Violent outbursts of rage were despised as indicators of losing control. Besides being in control, the right kind of violence was often seen to be believable. Often violence conducted by girls was not seen like this, on the contrary, it raised amusement, for example.

*A third example* of the complexity and vagueness of the concept of violence is that violent practices and their meanings relate closely to young people's need to belong to a group, and fear of being left outside. For many young people who have been battered or marginalized in their families, schools and peer groups, attachment to subcultures in which offences are committed, can serve as a refuge or coping strategy in a difficult life situation. The techniques and skills of violence are learned in these youth cultural groups. (Anderson 1999; Honkatukia & Suurpää 2012)

The young people we interviewed in reform schools explained how by using violence in a correct way it is possible to gain respect and hence improve one's position among peers. Taking part in fights increases trust and loyalty between friends. By defending one's friends one can show others that one is a trustworthy and loyal member of a group. On the other hand, knowing the rules of violence, the "code of the streets" (Anderson 1999) can mean safety and predictable social surrounding.

The demands and requirements of the youth cultural memberships and contexts can contradict the dominant values in society, and in order to belong to a group in which one is appreciated, young people might sometimes prefer those values of their own peer group over those of the wider society. This can, however, cause them a deviant label and hence forward their marginalization.

These group norms, practices and meanings are often unspoken and silent knowledge which the members are unwilling to share with outsiders. Therefore, the meanings of violence do not easily turn in to be studied in research.

Violence has also specific meanings for those who end up being its targets, but at the same time assuming an identity as a victim can be problematic since victimization usually evoke feelings of shame and guilt. These feelings are intensified in a contemporary postmodern world in which individuality is valued and in which also young people are seen individually responsible for the choices they make also in terms of their safety (Cieslick & Pollock 2002, 2-4). Moreover, negative labels attached to victimization such as passivity, weakness and powerlessness might question the masculine agency (Burcar 2009; Stanko & Hobdell 1993), whereas the young women we interviewed told about how revelations on one's victimization to sexual violence can lead to a bad reputation in the peer group, bullying and isolation from the group.

Young people may find it difficult to handle these situations, when their experience of life is rather short and the ideas of morality and responsibilities can be very black and white. In this situation being a victim of violence may remain a private suffering which cannot be shared with others. This also means that the meaningful and important knowledge on violence risks to be left outside of the research practice.

## **Violence as a social problem**

In studying young people and violence it is crucial to understand not only the subjective meanings of it, but also the wider context in which violence occurs and in which its' meanings are constructed. Violence is a target of control and governance. In the western world tolerance towards violence has decreased, and many forms of violence have not only become a source of critical discussion but also condemnation (Tham et al. 2011). Forms of conduct which have previously been seen as normal behavior are now seen as criminal violence, such as corporal punishment of children, rape in marriage or violence in intimate sphere in general.

Throughout the history of youth also young people have been targets of besides admiration, but also worry, distrust and control (Kaarninen 2002). They are seen to occupy a liminal space between childhood and adulthood, which is why they are seen as a moody and distrustful group of people. They can also be regarded as a potentially violent, intimidating and threatening group. This view can be supported by statistics which indicate that violence is a phenomenon related to youth, even if it can be discussed how well statistics reach the most sensitive forms of violence.

It seems as if at the same time as we condemn violence more easily than before, also the explanations of social problems like violence have become more individualized both in research and in administrative practices. This trend reflects the wider change in mentality in how we view young people and social problems, and how we in general relate to the contemporary life. In the analyses made both in criminology and youth research it has been claimed that we have moved from welfare politics towards control and risk oriented politics, in which it is regarded important to identify risk individuals and groups to be targets of specific measures. (Garland 2001; Harrikari 2008)

In a post modern and globalised world which is constantly changing and in which traditions have been - if not totally broken, but cannot be followed in the same way as previous generations have done, we live in an era of ontological insecurity in which we do not have a firm control of our lives but are nevertheless required to make individually decisions concerning it (Giddens 1991). The growing demands on control can be seen a means to manage ontological insecurity and find safety in an uncertain world.

Several researchers have analyzed how western societies have changed from being inclusive of all members towards being more exclusive, particularly towards certain

groups in the margins, such as youth (Young 1999; Garland 2002). Some Anglo-American researchers have even claimed that the public opinion towards young people have become so intolerant that it is possible to talk about the crisis of youth or even war against youth (Giroux 2009). This has become evident in the claims of tougher control of young people which have also been implemented, also inside of the criminal justice system. The targets of this control are typically the young people in the most vulnerable positions, those who are most marginalized, belong to ethnic minorities, or those groups whose life styles deviate from the one which is regarded normal.

Even if ideas on how to govern (youth) social problems circulate around the world, the local context affects their implementation (Alasuutari et al. 2013). In Finland, the criminal justice system has thus far managed to protect itself from the control cultural features. The Finnish and more broadly Nordic criminal policy has succeeded in arguing that criminal justice is a weak means to govern social problems, and that prison hardly cures the inmates. In an international comparison there are only few underage prisoners in the Finnish prisons. Otherwise too, the sentences of young offenders have not become more severe, and there is a widely shared consensus according to which young people's offences should be diverted from the criminal process. Instead, alternative sanctions have been developed for young offenders, such as mediation. (Marttunen 2008.)

However, control based methods to regulate youth social problems have been identified in also Finland, but outside of the criminal justice system, for example in local safety planning and strategies, as well as in the regulation of public space in general. In the current atmosphere the young people do not seem to have a legitimate space just to hang out in public space, if it is not related to consumption or organized activities. Young people are not welcome to the shopping centers or spend their free time in the city by doing nothing, or worse still, if they drink alcohol. Zero tolerance campaigns against young people's public drinking and shoplifting have been launched, as well as a "graffiti war" in Helsinki, and also curfews have been discussed and implemented. (Koskela 2009; Korander & Törrönen 2005; Harrikari 2008)

Similar kind of condemnation has sometimes been involved in public discussions on youth violence. As an example the issue of youth and particularly young girls' assumingly increased willingness to commit violence can be mentioned. Individual cases are reported in the media, and in this context also experts are cited. In the discussions girls are seen to representative a new worrisome generation who cause disdain and violate important norms in the community. Girls, assumingly changed girl culture or even equality are blamed for the situation, and hence they form a kind of scapegoat or a good enemy, which hides the need for an analysis of the more complex causes or background of this development. In this atmosphere, flavored by a moral panic, this youth problem is not critically discussed, but its existence is self-evidently assumed. Rarely attention is paid to the fact that according to the research evidence it is difficult to find signs of the increase of youth violence.

Thus far it seems as if the moral panics related to this issue have lived predominantly in the media, died down to be raised again time after time. It seems as if no particular measures have been developed as based on them. On the other hand, the constant presence of this issue can silence discussion on violence experienced by girls and young women, when they are claimed to be as bad as boys. Therefore this atmosphere might have consequences on what kind of anti-violence work is financed by the society.

Measures and atmosphere based on control and discipline can have at least two negative consequences: 1) they tend to weaken young people's trust in the adult society and 2) secondly they tend to limit the possibilities of adults to understand the logic of

young people's norm breaking behavior or realities in general. (Koskela 2009; Koskela & Ruotsalo 2005.)

In the atmosphere of distrust young people might not be willing to reveal their difficult or controversial experiences to adults, but try to deal with them by themselves. Hence, difficult realities of violence remain hidden from adults. On the other hand, adults' refusal to understand young people's realities can lead to a young person's total indifference or rebellion towards the norms of the mainstream society. This connected with the cult of individualism emphasized in the contemporary media culture in which the success is measured in how much attention one is able to raise, can lead a young person to see violence as an effective means to show and have power, as the recent school shootings in Finland and elsewhere can be analyzed (Koskela 2009, 25; Kiilakoski & Oksanen 2011). Furthermore, while the gap between generations increases, the logic of infringements of norms, such as use of violence and the meanings related to it, escapes from the adult society, when one refuses to understand the choices which are regarded wrong in their youth cultural contexts. Hence, the strong emphasis on control and discipline has a potential to lose the adult society's sight of the humanity of those who transgress norms.

## **Violence and education**

From the youth research perspective, it is important to find alternatives to the above mentioned control culture, also when we discuss youth violence. Therefore I will discuss some ideas presented in the field of youth education. Youth education refers broadly to education related to adolescence, both at school and in other contexts which are important for young people. In practice, youth education is practiced in youth policy and youth work practices. The aim is to support young people's growth towards independence, contribute to their active citizenship, empower young people socially or improve their living conditions. (Nivala & Saastamoinen 2007)

In the framework of youth education, social problems are seen as questions related to the relationship between the individual and the society. The aim is to understand the nature and features of the post modern society and young people's positions in it, and their relation to contemporary trends such as globalization, individualisation, technological revolution is evaluated, as well as the impact of media culture to young people (Hoikkala & Sell 2007; Nivala ja Saastamoinen 2007). Together with this there exists a strong belief in young people's possibilities to have a say on their own issues. This means that solutions to youth social problems are searched simultaneously from the political level and in pedagogical arenas, and even concrete practices have been developed to make possible for young people to affect their issues.

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, it is possible to make a link between the ideas of youth education and criminological discussion, namely with that of cultural criminology. Cultural criminology analyses youth social problems and in particular the relationship between young people's subcultures and their control, e.g. in a way I just earlier referred to the raise of the control culture (Ferrell et al. 2008). Cultural criminology argues for cultural understanding when dealing with conflicts among young people and between youth cultures and adult society. It means that we as adults should create space for constructive dialogue, in which young people's own views would be heard and taken seriously.

Creating this kind of reciprocal dialogue does not mean that we adults should accept violence or other forms of norm breaking, but it means that if we are to really to know about the causes of this kind of behavior, we need to form space for intergenerational

discussion and avoid exaggerations by generalizations. It is crucial to form a platform for dialogue in which it is possible to listen to, understand and respect one another. For that we need to comprehend realities which are different from our own and activities which rise from this reality. It is important to understand the logic of a subculture from the point of view of its members. (Koskela & Ruotsalo 2005.)

For the research practice this aim means that we need more research information on the everyday life and living circumstances of young people. As researchers we should have willingness to learn about the meanings constructed in different youth cultural contexts. From this perspective the classic ideas by C. Wright Mills (1959) of sociological imagination and of the researcher's role as an educator are relevant. According to Mills, a researcher practicing sociological imagination can analyze individual's private troubles as subjective issues, but at the same time is able to view them also as public issues or societal questions. This is something that the researcher should be able to convey to the wider audience as well. The idea behind this is to increase freedom in society and among its members as well as reduce anxiety. The knowledge produced in research is a means to achieve this.

As I have argued earlier in my talk, violence as a vague, mutable and situational phenomenon and concept demands certain skills or craft from the researcher, from interactional skills to mastery of diverse methods as well as the ability to make believable interpretations. Even if in practice the research knowledge is always partial, it is important for a researcher to try to understand the meanings of violence thoroughly in their youth cultural contexts, as part of their biographies and transition processes to adulthood, but as important it is to analyze how the meanings of violence at this level are related to the larger societal context in which they occur.

Moreover, following the Mills'ian idea of research as a form of education, the researcher should be able to report the results of his/her studies to different audiences – to ensure that research knowledge reaches not only the academic community, but also young people themselves, the adults they interact with, officials and decision makers. In this way, an individual's private troubles are not only recognized but are given a societal explanation. At best this can alleviate an individual young person's agony when he/she is able to link the personal experience to a broader context and understand that he/she is not alone with this experience, and that he/she cannot solve the problem individually. At the same time it is possible to formulate suggestions on societal measures to change the current state of affairs.

I would like to conclude by saying that acting at the intersection of criminology and youth research does not mean working with incompatible paradigms. To see this, the classical criminological theories should not be one's only discussion companions, but one needs to have willingness and open-mindedness to cross the boundaries between different disciplines. In that way it is possible to find joint themes and interests between different approaches and have a potential to produce sensitive and usable knowledge of the meanings of violence in young people's lives.

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## **Presentations in parallel sessions**

# **Mixed methods and research ethics**

## **Gathering data on repeat violent victimisation: Linking register-based information with online sources**

*by Mirka Smolej*

### **Abstract**

The objective of my research is to explore the extent and nature of repeat violent victimization. The main data contains all incidents of violence reported to the Finnish police in 2011, where the same person has been a victim of violence a minimum of five times during the examined year. In addition to the police reports, I have sought to utilise various internet sources in order to supplement my data. Especially in cases of serious violence the incidents can quite easily be tracked down in online newspaper databases when certain personal and geographical details are known. A newspaper article may for example reveal that a certain offender has received a prison sentence and is therefore no longer abusing a certain victim. In addition to newspaper databases, I have utilised internet search engines to track down any additional information on the repeat violence examined. Through this procedure I have for example found personal blog texts, discussion threads and open Facebook profiles containing information on the people and the incidents I am researching as well as on their whereabouts approximately two years (2013) after the repeat victimisation occurred (2011). In my presentation I gave three case examples highlighting the advantages of this kind of additional data gathering and discussed some of the problems related to it, including the definition of valid information vs. voyeurism.

### **Background: repeat victimisation**

It is widely accepted in criminology that a small proportion of any population of potential targets experiences a vastly disproportionate amount of crimes because they are repeatedly victimized and that within this population an even smaller group of people experience crime chronically. We also know that not only are primary victims at risk for repeated

victimization, but that this risk also applies to people close to the primary victim. Moreover, criminal offenders and crime victims are often drawn from the same population. This phenomenon called victim-offender overlap (Lauritsen & Laub, 2007; see also Aaltonen, 2013) challenges the traditional clear-cut categorisation between victims and offenders. Thus, identifying and defining crime victims and especially repeat crime victims is a complex task.

The research paradigm of repeat victimisation was originally not so much interested in personal crime but rather in property crime - namely in burglaries- but has since developed to examine more personal victimisation as well. Several scholars (see for example Farrell, 2005) have suggested that in order to decrease the crime problem, police should focus on repeated victimizations or repeat victims instead of concentrating on the perpetrators of these crimes. By gaining information of repeat victimization of violence it is easier to assess what kind of crime prevention measures should and could be used in order to decrease the amount of violent crime in general. Indeed, most repeat victimization research relates to how it can be prevented. As research about repeat victimisation has increased particularly in the UK and US so have demands and ideas for a specific "repeat victim support" (Farrell and Pease, 1997:101).

Comprehensive analyses on repeat victimisation are currently missing in the Finnish context, and to my knowledge also very little research is available from other Nordic countries (however, see Carlsted, 2001; Jönsson, 2010). Still, an estimate based on the Finnish Victimisation Survey data states that one per cent of 15-74-year-old Finns have been victimised over ten times during the last year. In other words, one per cent of the total population experience 66 per cent of all violence in Finland. (Sirén, Aaltonen & Kääriäinen, 2010.)

## **Researching victims of repeat violence**

The objective of my research is to explore both the extent and nature of repeat violent victimization in Finland by utilizing police register data. My main interest is to find out: 1. Who is repeatedly victimised by violence in Finland, and how homogenic is this population? 2. Are victims of repeat violence victims of multiple violence or does the type of violence and the identity of the offender vary during the observed time-frame? 3. To what extent are repeat victims offenders themselves? 4. What are the situational, social, mental etc. conditions preceding and/or linked with repeat violent victimisation, and how can this information be utilised in order to prevent further violence?

My main data consist of all police reports where the same person has been a victim of violence at least 5 times during 2011. This "raw data" consists of 151 persons and of the descriptions of their victimisation experiences written by the police. In addition, I also have all violence and property crime reports from 2010 and 2011 where the same 151 repeat victims have been somehow involved (as victims, perpetrators, witnesses etc.). I have organised all register-based data chronologically so that a more comprehensive picture of the pre-conditions and implications of the studied violence is possible to attain. The main idea behind the research setting is to utilise register-based data but analyse it qualitatively by combining content analysis with narrative analysis.

## **Using internet sources as additional data**

I originally got interested in the possibility to utilise internet sources as I came across "a high-profile violence case" in my data that had been widely reported in the media. The

police records of the incident were lacking both in details and description; in fact the written section of the police report was missing for some unknown reason. Since I have previously research media texts, it was quite natural for me to turn to online newspaper databases in order to gain more information on the incident. I quickly noticed that this method was fruitful in many other cases in my data as well since a good journalist often depicts a violence case far more comprehensively than a police officer. After having the information about the victims and perpetrators name, age and about the place where the crime took place it is in many cases relatively easy to track down more information via internet. I observed for example, that un-restricted Facebook profiles, discussion board messages, blogs and public photographs could be connected with my main data and used in order to supplement it and even to gain completely new information. In the following I will present one case example of such combination of data sources.

### **The case of “Jani”**

According to the police reports, Jani is a 31-year-old carpenter from a small town in Eastern Finland. He is currently single, has two children and lives with his mother. Jani obviously leads a risky lifestyle and suffers from a severe alcohol problem. He has sixteen data entries in the police register during 2011, mostly regarding petty thefts and violent crimes. Typically he has been caught shoplifting beer and groceries in local stores or has been assaulted while spending time drinking alcohol in private apartments. Finally, he is stabbed to death by an “old drinking buddy” who had already previously assaulted Jani several times previously. This is where the police report data ends.

Through a simple newspaper database search I found out that the perpetrator of the stabbing had been ordered a psychiatric assessment by the district court. I also gained more detailed information, such as photographs and prior criminal data of the perpetrator from the newspapers. Finally I learned that he had been sentenced to psychiatric treatment instead of prison. From the popular Finnish discussion board for all “crime enthusiasts” Murha.info (Murder.info) I found a long discussion thread dedicated to the killing. In the thread people mostly wondered and speculated about the incident, but also told some interesting details about the parties involved and the circumstances. Information shared via discussion forums must of course be treated with caution since the identities and motives of people attending the thread are unknown. Bearing these reservations in mind, the contents of this thread indicated that both Jani and his perpetrator had been well-known in the small town as members of a small but a marginalised alcoholic group of petty criminals. Via this thread I also attained a link to a newspaper article which my search hadn’t tagged. It was a tabloid story about Jani’s mother with a headline stating “Triple grief: Mirja’s two sons and husband have all died as victims of homicide”. This piece of information is useful in framing the individual tragedy of a small town petty criminal and in extending it to a larger social problem. Obviously there are serious structural problems in this small town that don’t simply boil down to alcohol-induced “meaningless” violence.

### **Benefits and challenges in using internet data**

Gaining additional or completely new data via internet has many benefits in particular for researching crimes of violence. In contrast to more hidden types of crime, serious violence is not only more likely reported to the police, but also more likely reported by the media. This means that usually there is a lot of material available of a certain case via the internet

and that in cases of serious violence the data is not limited to media reports but contains also the public reactions and comments to it. These perceptions are accessible via internet in platforms of social media, such as discussion boards, Facebook and blogs. The identification (name, gender, age, place of residence etc.) of cases that is enabled by the police register data makes the combination of various data sources technically possible. It is also in many cases surprisingly easy to execute. This procedure enables to patch up register-based data and to clarify details. Another major benefit in utilising internet sources is the vast amount of public photographs that often give vital clues or additional information. For example, in a case of repeated domestic violence the police reports didn't reveal why the assaults suddenly stopped. A simple Google search by the victim's name uncovered an open Facebook account including a photo of the perpetrator stating "R.I.P" followed by the perpetrators' name and date of the funeral. Thus, especially Facebook accounts enable tracking down event in "real time". It is possible for example to find out, whether a certain couple with a vast violence history is still together or whether a certain perpetrator has been sentenced to prison or moved to another town or city.

However, combining register-based data with online sources also has significant problems. It is for example extremely time consuming and the data available via internet is by no means symmetric and balanced. Some victims share their whole lives online, whereas the most marginalised don't even have access to a computer, although the latter group is surprisingly small (only about five per cent of the victims in the police reports cannot be tracked down online at all). On the other hand, the police reports and/or the information revealed by them is not balanced either since there are large variations among individual police officers and police districts in the level of diligence in writing reports. The same problem applies regarding questions of honesty and objectivity: how can I be sure that the person is being truthful in portraying his or her life? Then again, the interpretations of a single police officer can also be biased and distorted.

An important question is, whether I really need this information as a researcher that I am able to gain via internet, or am I simply being curious and stalking the subjects of my study? It is extremely hard to draw the line between useful information and voyeurism since it is impossible to limit or choose the attained information a Google search or a Facebook account can reveal. For example, in many cases the repeat victims have posted tons of family photographs and pictures of their children online that are available to everyone. Most people will not know that a certain family portrait includes children that are seeing and experiencing constant violence in their families, but I will. Whether this is morally suspicious or problematic, I really can't tell. Still, perhaps the biggest limitations in combining register-based data with information that is gained via internet are related with administrative and judicial restrictions. According to my research permit granted by the Finnish police administration, I am not allowed to personally contact my research subjects (the victims). For example, using a snow-ball technique in gaining interviewees on repeat violence online is out of the question. In addition, according to the Finnish person register law, any type of personal data collected is considered a new person register. This means that if I would systematically collect and organise new personal data of the subjects I would be obliged to report this data as a new person register to the Finnish Data Protection Ombudsman and be held accountable for administering the information.

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# Quantitative and register-based studies of imprisonment

## Employment after imprisonment – description of a Nordic comparative study

*by Mikko Aaltonen*

### Introduction

In criminology, there is a long-lasting interest in the association between employment and crime. Most often researchers have been interested in the effects of unemployment on crime (e.g. Cantor & Land 1985; van der Geest et al. 2011), and particular attention has been devoted to the possibly recidivism-reducing effect of employment after imprisonment (Laub & Sampson 2003; Bushway & Apel 2012). However, there is much less research on the effect of imprisonment on employment. It is evident that prisoners face several barriers to employment at the time of release from prison. Time spent in prison reduces human and social capital (Western et al., 2001; Waldfogel, 1994), and potential employers might be sceptical about hiring persons with a criminal record (Pager, 2003; Cohen & Nisbett 1997). Prison might also make recidivism more likely by introducing offenders to criminal peers (Bayer, Hjalmarsson & Pozen, 2007).

On the other hand, many prisoners have little resources, bad health, drug problems and other personal and social problems (Nilsson 2003, Skardhamar 2003), factors that are likely to impact employment prospects regardless of prison stay. Given these mechanisms, comparing employment rates of ex-prisoners with the general population does not tell us much about the effects that imprisonment has on employment. The current study, *Employment after imprisonment*, looks at within-individual changes in employment and income before and after the first unconditional prison sentence in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. The aim is to replicate the prior Danish analysis by Tranæs (2008) in the three other Nordic countries, and to see whether the results differ depending on the context. The more general aim of this research project is to assess the possibilities for comparative register-based research in the Nordic countries. This paper summarizes key prior research on the topic, and outlines the research plan for the Nordic comparative analysis.

### Prior research

During the recent years, increasing number of studies have analyzed the possibly adverse effects that criminal behaviour and criminal sanctions have on later life outcomes. In the



American context, increased interest in these topics is linked to the massive increase in incarceration rates, which has also meant that reintegration of prisoners back into conventional society has become an even more burdensome task than before (Western et al. 2001). However, there are also recent Nordic studies that have compared labour market outcomes between offenders sentenced to different sanction types. Some studies have also looked separately at sentence length. Examining adult-life labour market outcomes and social exclusion in Sweden, Nilsson & Estrada (2011) found that both male and female persistent offenders (crimes committed in both childhood and adulthood) were at an increased risk of being outside the labour force or on social assistance at age 48.

Studies with American data give somewhat varying results, but overall it seems that incarceration has negative effects on employment and income. Waldfogel (1994) finds that first unconditional prison sentence decreases employment rates by 5 percentage points, and lowers income by 30%. This effect, however, is partly conditional on “breach of trust”: if the employee committed a crime while taking advantage of the trust granted to him/her by his/her employer, the observed decrease in income after prison was greater. Grogger (1995) finds effects in the similar direction for the effects of prison stay on income and employment, but only short-lived effects for other sanction types. In a more recent analysis, Loeffler (2013) uses random assignment of judges (who have rather large sentencing disparities in their use of imprisonment) as an instrument for sentence severity to estimate the effect of imprisonment on later life outcomes. Unlike the prior two analyses, he finds no effect of imprisonment on employment rates. On the other hand, he does not find any effects for recidivism rates either. In sum, the evidence seems to suggest that the effects of imprisonment are more pronounced for income rather than for employment rates as such (Western et al. 2001).

The American studies on the effects of imprisonment on labour market outcomes show that prison inmates are often in a poor position to begin with. This seems to be the case in the Nordic countries as well. Tranæs (2008) reports that the unemployment rates of incarcerated individuals are roughly two times higher than in the general population. Despite this, prison stay seems to make the labour market situation even worse. While post-incarceration unemployment rates reach pre-incarceration levels in a longer before-after comparison, the levels of benefit dependency remain higher and levels of income lower after serving a prison sentence in Denmark. The effects appear to be greater for those serving longer sentences. Landersø (2011), examining a policy reform that resulted in slightly longer sentences for violent offences, found that sometimes longer sentences can improve later labour market outcomes. He speculates that this effect could be attributed to increased rehabilitation participation among short-term prisoners, as they would not have been able to participate in these programs under the pre-reform scheme.

Recent studies have compared the effects of alternative sanctions on recidivism and labour market in both Denmark and Norway using several policy reforms. Overall, it seems that both community service and electronic monitoring have lesser impacts on labour market outcomes than incarceration. Andersen (2012) found that those sentenced to community service in Denmark have a higher long-run income and also exhibit lower rates of welfare dependency in a five-year follow-up when compared to a matched sample of offenders sentenced to prison. Skardhamar (2013a) finds similar results in Norway, and concludes that those who serve time in community service do not seem to be worse off in terms of employment after the sentence when compared to the time before. However, he also points out that those who are sentenced to community service tend to be better off in terms of several background variables, implying that there is social inequality in sentencing decisions. The studies analyzing electronic monitoring are

in line with those on community service: Andersen & Andersen (2012) find that dependency rates are less affected by community service than by incarceration when matched individuals are compared. In Norway, the effect of electronic monitoring on employment and social benefit reciprocity is negligible (Skardhamar 2013b).

In sum, these selected prior studies imply that incarceration has a negative effect on labour market outcomes. Some evidence suggests that alternative sanctions may be less harmful than incarceration, whereas the effect of sentence length on employment is somewhat inconsistent (see also Kling 2006). Most of the studies conducted so far use samples limited to one country, and cross-national comparative studies on these matters do not exist. In the following, the plan for the Nordic comparison is described.

## **Analysis plan for Nordic comparison**

There has been a marked increase in the number of register-based studies on crime in the Nordic countries during the recent years. Despite the unique availability of such data in the Nordic countries – and the apparent similarities between the countries in general - coming up with a sound comparative setting is far from an easy task (see e.g. Bäckman et al. 2011). In other words, finding comparable data in terms of labour market measures and sanctions imposed is difficult. For this reason, it was decided that the initial comparison should be based on a rather simple design that is feasible in all countries.

The plan is to examine the first unconditional prison sentence, and analyze within-individual changes in income during the years before and after incarceration. As mentioned, the design is inspired by the earlier Danish study by Tranæs (2008), with the exception that we use yearly measures. Yearly information on income is available in all countries, and focusing on the first incarceration period makes controls for “street time” (excluding time spent in prison) easier, as the individual should at least in principle have been in the labour force prior to the incarceration period. For the same reason, we only look at individuals who do not return to prison within a given time frame. The results will be disaggregated at least by type of offence in the prison conviction, and additional analysis will look at the effects of age and gender. Given the data protection issues, it is unlikely that we can pool the four data together. While this rules out some more advanced methods, we should still be able to produce reasonably comparable statistics for each country. The data will technically be a panel dataset, which requires appropriate methods to take into account correlated observations. The institutions participating in the study are the National Research Institute of Legal Policy (Finland), Stockholm University (Sweden), Statistics Norway and Rockwool Foundation Research Unit (Denmark).

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# Developing quantitative tools for measuring aspects of prisonization

By Linda Kjær Minke

Thanks to Ulla V. Bondeson Research Foundation for making this research possible.

## Background

The Scandinavian prison research includes extensive studies of prison culture and how prison affects incarcerated people.<sup>1</sup> Ulla V. Bondesons exclusive study among Swedish prisoners found that imprisonment has a counterproductive effect according to a crime preventive purpose.<sup>2</sup> Some studies have found that prisoner get socialized to a counter subculture emphasizing 'us and them'.<sup>3</sup>

A recent comprehensive prison study in a Danish closed prison observing prison life during more than a year shows that prisoners get socialized to a prison culture which emphasizes certain rule of conduct namely: Don't steal from fellow inmates, don't grass, and don't interact with guards. Prisoners describe the ideal prisoner as acting like the three wise monkeys - eyes, ears and mouth closed - minding his own business, keep to one self

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- <sup>1</sup> E.G. Aude, H.C. 1964 [1952], *Fra fængsel til frihed* [From prison to liberty], Det danske forlag, Glostrup; Cline, H. & Wheeler, S. (1968), "The Determinants of Normative Patterns in Correctional Institutions", *Scandinavian Studies in Criminology*, Vol. 2, pp. 173-184; Galtung, J. (1959), *Fængselsamfunnet – et forsøk på analyse* [Prisoner society – an attempt to analysis], Universitetsforlaget, Oslo; Lauesen, T. (1998), *Fra forbedringshus til parkeringshus* [From House of Rehabilitation to Parking place]. Hans Reitzels forlag, København; Lundström-Roche, Francesca (1985), *Women in prison – Ideals and reals*, Stockholms universitet; Mathiassen, C. (2011), *Perspektiver på kvinders dagligdag i danske fængsler* [Perspectives on the daily life among female prisoners imprisoned in Denmark, Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitetsskole, Aarhus Universitet; Mathiesen, T. (1965) *The Defences of the Weak*, Tavistock Publications, Roxell, L. (2007), *Fångar i ett nätverk? Fångelser, interaktioner och medbrottslingsskap* [Prisoners in a network? Prisons, interaktionerna and co-offending] Akademisk avhandling i allmän kriminologi. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Kriminologiska institutionen; Ugelvik, T. (2011), *Fangenens friheter: makt og motstand i et norsk fengsel* [Prisoners liberties: power and resistance in a Norwegian Prison], Universitetsforlaget, Oslo; Ødegårdshaugen, A. (2005), "En materiell prisoneringsprosess?" [a material process of prisonization?], *Materialisten nr. 2/3 2005*, pp. 37-58.
- <sup>2</sup> Bondeson, U. (1968), *Argot Knowledge as an Indicator of Criminal socialization* in *Scandinavian Studies in Criminology*, Vol. 2, pp. 73-105; Bondeson, U. (1974), *Fången i Fångsamhället* [Prisoners in Prison Societies], P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, Malmö; Bondeson, U. (1989), *Prisoners in Prison Societies*, Transaction Publishers, USA, UK.
- <sup>3</sup> Balvig, F.; Dalå, O.; Hansen-Poulsen, S.; Rømer, H.; Wolf, P. (1969), *Fængsler og fanger* [Prison and Prisoners], Jørgen Paludans Forlag, Danmark; Lindberg, O. (2005), *Kvinnorna på Hinseberg. En studie af kvinnors villkor i anstalt*, [Women at Hinseberg. A study of female prisoners], Kriminalvårdsverkets forskningskommitté Rapport 15, Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen Förlaget, Sverige.

and to be strong. Also the study showed that prisoners get prisonized to a culture emphasizing us-them not having much contact to prison officers.<sup>4</sup>

Official statistics about numbers of threats and violence among prisoners is low.<sup>5</sup> The study found that a higher number of prisoners than reported were exposed to bullying, threats and violence in prison society. Several prisoners had bruises in faces or body because of punches. The tough climate and the codex *mind your own business* and *don't grass* may explain why some prisoners in the beginning of their imprisonment experienced they reacted stronger emotional towards assaults, threats and exploitation compared to how they reacted later on. This could indicate that some prisoner experienced they turned emotional tougher/more cynical during imprisonment – or in other words: they develop an emotional tolerance towards aggressive behavior during imprisonment.<sup>6</sup>

The prison community also consists of prison officers who in one hand influence and on the other hand are influenced by prison climate. This group may also undergo a change emotional being less idealistic in relation to the purpose of influencing prisoners in a conventional direction.<sup>7</sup>

The purpose for this research is to develop quantitative tools for measuring change in attitude and norm caused by influence of prison culture.

## Research design

A pilot study among prison officers and prisoners in a closed prison helped to develop five small vignettes reflecting prison life in order to measure if norms or emotional attitude change during imprisonment/employment. The questionnaire was also tested among staff from the prison officer trainee school.

The final questionnaire consists of background information such as gender, age, ethnicity, prison regime and time spent in prison. Prison officers/trainees were asked for their motivation for being employed as prison officer. Prisoners were asked about their conviction charge. All groups were asked about their attitude to social contact among prisoners and prison staff and all groups marked their personal attitude towards the different situation reflecting prison culture in the five cases/vignettes. One case measures attitude toward a prisoner who has been beaten up; one case measures attitude of *mind your own business* codex; another case measures willingness to take contact to prison staff/prisoners; one case measures the importance of *not to grass* codex and finally one case measures if prison staff should interrupt prisoners rules.<sup>8</sup>

Because of a high amount of foreign prisoners in Danish prisons the prisoners' questionnaire was also translated into English. This strategy had some influence on the response rate.

By fulfilling the questionnaire 10 prisoners and 10 from prison staff could win a draw of EUR 20 for the prison grocery shop.

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<sup>4</sup> Minke, L. (2012), *Fængslets indre liv* [The Prisoner Community], Jurist og Økonomforbundets forlag, København.

<sup>5</sup> Direktoratet for Kriminalforsorgen (2011), *Statistik 2011* [Prison and Probation Service, Statistics 2011], Justitsministeriet, København.

<sup>6</sup> Footnote 4.

<sup>7</sup> Becker, Howard; Geer, Blanche (1957), »The Fate of Idealism in Medical School«, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 50-56.

<sup>8</sup> To have the final questionnaire (in English or Danish) you are welcome to send an email to the author of this paper: lkm@sam.sdu.dk

The questionnaire was hand distributed at the prison officer trainee school in 2012 and again in 2013 and to prison prisoners and staff in a high security prison in 2013.

## **Response rate**

The response rate among prisoners is 59 percent (N127). Lapse is mainly due to language difficulty. The response rate among prison staff is 45 percent (N79 of who 53 are prison officers). Some staff members didn't want to fulfill the questionnaire because of mistrust and suspiciousness about the research. Other staff member didn't care about the research.

In 2012 a group of prison officer trainees (N21) fulfilled a questionnaire before their first period in internship in a prison. In 2013 they went back to school. The students were asked exactly the same question again and also asked the same questions as prison officers and prisoners about attitude to contact between prisoners and prison officers. According to staff at the prison staff trainee school all except one fulfilled the questionnaire in 2012 and 2013.

In 2013 more prison staff trainees was included in the research. According to staff at the prison staff trainee school all students fulfilled the questionnaire.

All in all this include 57 prison staff trainees in this study and they will be followed up the coming three years to measure if any change according to norms and attitude can be found.

## **Final remarks**

To measure if prison culture influence norms and attitudes includes the possibility to follow the same group of people during time. It is also important to have knowledge about norms both before and after influence of prison culture. In this case trainees at the prison staff school are an excellent group to make follow up upon. When they start at prison staff school they haven't been in prison before and obviously they will go there in the nearest future.

If prison officer trainees change e.g. being more emotional cynical during time one may assume that this change is even much stronger for prisoners being under influence of prison culture much more extensive (24/7) compared to prison officers.

It is difficult to say if the draw had positive influence on the response rate but the draw signaled that time behind the walls is seen as valuable for prisoners and prison officers.

The quantitative tools which have been developed to uncover aspects of prisonization in this research has shown that how prisoners and staff members are influenced by prison culture is very complex to uncover. Comments made by prisoners and prison officers indicate that emotional change and reasons for being less idealistic in relation to the purpose of influencing prisoners in a conventional direction has to be examined more extensively by qualitative methods.

# Methodological challenges of measurement and definition

## Challenges in the collection of data on trafficking in persons

*by Anniina Jokinen & Minna Viuhko*

### Abstract

The extent and nature of human trafficking is notably hard to study. A major problem in both measuring and combating trafficking is the fact that existing data on trafficking in persons is often scarce, unreliable and non-comparable.

Our paper discusses a variety of problems related to definitions of trafficking in human beings in different countries and in different contexts, challenges in measuring the extent of trafficking, as well as difficulties in data collection. We also explore the ways in which existing data on trafficking is used and discuss how data could be used. Often the figures on the extent of trafficking are used without acknowledging the limitations of the available data. There is also a lack of information on how the data has been collected, which methods have been used and how the analysis has been done. Finally, we present some ideas on how to improve data collection methods and the quality of the data, and how to increase the transparency of research and of the data used.

The paper is based on the FIDUCIA research project (New European Crimes and Trust-based Policy) and particularly on its work package on trafficking in human beings. HEUNI is one of the 13 European partners involved in the project. FIDUCIA is designed to shed light on a number of distinctively “new” European criminal behaviours that have emerged in the last decade as a consequence of technology developments and the increased mobility of populations across Europe.

### Introduction

The extent of human trafficking is notably hard to measure. Trafficking in persons consists of three elements: the act (e.g. recruitment, transportation etc.), the means (e.g. threat, use of force, deception etc.) and the purpose or the form of exploitation. Human trafficking is thus quite a complexly defined crime where especially the exploitation can take many forms such as sexual exploitation, forced labour and removal of organs, but also forced begging and forced criminality can take place. The complex nature of the crime has an impact on our understanding and awareness of the problem, the identification of trafficking victims and the collection of data on trafficking.



A major problem in both studying and combating trafficking is the fact that existing data on trafficking in persons is often scarce, unreliable and non-comparable (e.g. Aromaa 2007). According to many sources, the cases of trafficking and/or victims that come to the attention of different authorities represent merely the tip of the iceberg (Jokinen et al. 2011, 16–17; Ollus & Jokinen 2011, Tyldum & Brunovskis 2005). At the same time, reliable statistics are essential when trying to understand the nature and extent of the trafficking phenomena and its causes and consequences, and when planning preventative efforts. Goodey (2012, 40) also notes that, if robust data is absent, there is a risk that the policy responses that are developed do not reflect realities on the ground. This can in turn mean that initiatives are misdirected and their positive impact is limited. (Ibid.)

The paper discusses the many problems in the collection of data on trafficking in persons and the challenges in using and interpreting the international statistics available on the phenomenon. We present briefly some of the existing data collection efforts on human trafficking and discuss how the transparency and quality of data could be improved.

## **Background**

This paper is based on the FIDUCIA research project (New European Crimes and Trust-based Policy) in which the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control (HEUNI) is taking part as one of 13 project partners. FIDUCIA is designed to shed light on a number of distinctively ‘new European’ criminal behaviours (such as trafficking in human beings) that have emerged in the last decade as a consequence of developments in technology and the increased mobility of populations across Europe. The central idea behind the project is that public trust in justice is important for social regulation. HEUNI is involved in the FIDUCIA work package focusing on trafficking in human beings and has produced a deliverable on enforcement statistics (D6.1 Report on enforcement statistics, including summary factsheets on the issue) within the work package. Instead of simply quoting statistics and presenting existing data collection efforts, the deliverable focuses on the problems in data collection and the challenges in interpreting trafficking statistics that have been discovered when conducting research on trafficking in persons (e.g. Jokinen et al. 2011; Viuhko & Jokinen 2009).

## **Problems in studying human trafficking**

Studying and collecting data on trafficking is very challenging in many ways. Due to its nature, trafficking in human beings is a complex and hidden crime. The dark figure is extensive, and according to many sources, the cases of trafficking and/or victims that come to the attention of different authorities represent merely the tip of the iceberg (Jokinen et al. 2011, 16–17; Ollus & Jokinen 2011, Tyldum & Brunovskis 2005).

Despite international instruments and definitions and national legislation, there are still difficulties in defining what trafficking really is. There is a lack of a common and shared understanding of the phenomenon and its different forms. This results in problems in identification of cases and victims. Victims themselves rarely come forward to seek help.

Human trafficking is also a highly politicized issue. This fact has an impact, for example, on the allocation of resources to combat, study and collect data on trafficking and on the

priorities of different actors in investigating and identifying cases and victims. And, if relevant actors do not identify potential cases and victims do not come forward, it is very difficult to collect information on the phenomenon. A considerable amount of information is still missing on trafficking in persons in the global, European and different national levels and there is much that we do not know.

## **Difficulties in data collection and measuring the extent of trafficking**

It is important to note that the methods and quality of the compilation of trafficking statistics varies considerably even in different countries at the EU-level. Some countries for example use many sources, such as NGO sources when presenting victim figures, while others only use enforcement data. Of course enforcement statistics include only known cases, while it has been established earlier that a large number of cases identified for example by NGOs do not come to the attention of the authorities. It is also noteworthy that some countries do not have any available data on trafficking or they only have partial data. In our experience, some countries do not want to share their data in the first place or the data may be confidential.

A major problem is that there is a notable lack of information on how the data has been collected (and analysed) in many existing trafficking reports. In addition, there is often very little discussion on the limitations and weaknesses of the data presented. Sometimes the figures may be presented without such discussion for political gain or further funding.

While some efforts have been made to estimate the prevalence of human trafficking using survey data, reaching possible victims is difficult. Researchers have also pointed out the problem of elusiveness of trafficking. It is extremely difficult to estimate when or how an exploitative situation morphs into trafficking or when a migrant worker in a difficult situation becomes a victim of trafficking. (e.g. Gallagher 2011; Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005.)

## **Problems of interpreting trafficking statistics**

In addition to the fact that the figures on trafficking in human beings are difficult to collect, there are also difficulties in interpreting the statistics. Trafficking statistics may include not only actual trafficking cases but also different kinds of other offences, such as human smuggling, prostitution-related crimes etc. Definitions vary between different countries and the crime does not consist of all the same elements in different countries. For example, Finland has criminalised trafficking in human beings, and the legal provision on trafficking encompasses different forms of trafficking (trafficking for sexual exploitation, trafficking for forced labour or other demeaning circumstances or removal of organs). Thus, the Finnish enforcement statistics include different forms of trafficking and excludes other crimes that resemble trafficking (such as human smuggling/arrangement of illegal immigration). As for Spain, for instance, trafficking and smuggling were punished under the same article until 2011, and so the high figures for Spain in different trafficking reports may be explained by the fact that the available statistics actually include smuggling as well as trafficking cases. Furthermore, for example Estonia criminalised trafficking only in 2012. Before that, the “trafficking figures” reported for Estonian in fact included

different offences such as facilitation of prostitution, which in Estonia was considered to be a crime similar to trafficking.

Another issue that hampers statistical comparisons between different countries is the fact that statistics are often presented as absolute figures, and not as relative figures (“rate per 100 000 population”).

It is also difficult to compare figures between different countries without taking into account the country-specific contexts that affect the way the statistics are produced and how trafficking is defined, identified and measured in the first place.

## **International data collection mechanisms**

Several trafficking-related data collection efforts have been carried out in recent years. For example, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has collected data in 2009 and 2012. The reports (see UNODC 2009 and UNODC 2012) include information on global trafficking patterns and flows and well as country-specific profiles based on national statistics. For example, the UNODC 2012 report contains information on 132 countries and territories, and it covers the years 2007–2010. The information collected focuses on the number and the profile (age, gender, nationality) of the victims detected, along with the number and profile (gender and nationality) of the persons prosecuted and convicted for trafficking in persons or related offences. Also, information on the countries of destination for victims repatriated to their own countries and on the forms of exploitation used by traffickers was collected when available.

The report over-represents trafficking for sexual exploitation and thus overestimates the proportion of women victims of trafficking. E.g. Gallagher (2011) has criticised the report and noted that the usefulness of the UNODC report as a source of information is severely constrained due to its methodological and analytical weaknesses.

Eurostat published its first report on trafficking in human beings in 2013. The report includes statistics on trafficking victims (by gender, age, and form of exploitation, also citizenship etc.), as well as on suspected, prosecuted and convicted traffickers (by gender, citizenship and form of exploitation). The data has been collected from various actors (authorities and civil society organizations) working in the field of human trafficking. The report covers the years 2008–2010 and all 27 EU Member States, as well as Croatia, Iceland, Montenegro, Norway, Serbia, Switzerland and Turkey. The report notes “that the current state of the results does not entirely comply with the stringent requirements of the European Statistics Code of Practice and further development is planned to improve the quality in future collections” (Eurostat 2013, 9). The figures in the report should be interpreted with caution and it is necessary to take the methodological notes and caveats into consideration.

Furthermore, for instance, the United States Department of State (e.g. 2011), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (e.g. 2012) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (e.g. 2012) have recently published statistics or studies on trafficking in human beings.

## **Some trafficking trends**

According to Eurostat (2013), from 2008 to 2010 the number of identified victims increased at the EU-level. At the same time, there was a decline of 17 % in the number of suspected traffickers. While the total number of prosecuted traffickers increased in 2010, nonetheless the number of convictions is decreasing at the EU-level. (Ibid.) This may be a

sign of the challenges related to the definition of human trafficking as well the investigation of cases. The increased number of victims shown in the report could indicate that the human trafficking phenomenon in the EU Member States is on the rise. However, factors such as improved identification procedures, increased awareness of the phenomenon, changes in the legislation and a higher priority in addressing human trafficking can affect these statistics.

On the international level, there is an intensifying discussion on the prevalence of different forms of trafficking. While many sources still indicate that up to 60–80 % of trafficking criminality is related to trafficking for sexual exploitation or that the majority (up to 80–90 %) of trafficking victims identified has encountered this form of exploitation, it does not mean that this is an up-to-date picture of the trafficking phenomenon as a whole. In fact, both the UNODC (2012) and IOM (2012) have noted that the proportion of identified labour trafficking cases is increasing.

## **Conclusions**

It is important to keep in mind that trafficking statistics do not necessarily say much about the activity itself but rather reflect the operation of the criminal justice system, the quality of the compilation of statistics in a specific country, and the activities, resources and priorities of the authorities and general awareness of the phenomenon of trafficking. While plenty of data collection efforts exist to measure the extent of trafficking, we want to emphasise that the available data should be used with caution, openly acknowledging also its limitations and weaknesses, especially when doing comparisons between different countries. We argue that it is in the interest of all parties to obtain as up-to-date and accurate information on trafficking in persons as possible. This is vital when planning anti-trafficking efforts and directing action and resources.

Finally, we want to make some suggestions for improving the transparency of data collection on trafficking in persons. Transparency of research and data is very important. Reports referring to trafficking data should outline in detail how the data presented was collected in the first place, which sources were used, which problems are likely to affect the results and what offences the figures include. Particularly providing contextual data from the country-specific point of view is important if any comparisons are to be made.

We also argue that it would be useful to present trafficking statistics also as a rate per 100 000 in population, instead of just quoting absolute figures. This helps making comparisons between countries if such comparisons are to be made in the first place.

To conclude, we want to highlight the fact that while more developed systems of compilation of statistics on human trafficking could be useful, existing differences in what is counted and how and what is defined as trafficking will continue to be a challenge when measuring the extent of trafficking.

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# **Concepts and dimensions of online hate: A literature review**

*by Emma Holkeri*

## **Abstract**

The rise of social networking sites in the 2000s has as its downside created avenues for online hate speech and online hate communities varying from groups of white extremists to groups glorifying school shooters. A preliminary reading through online hate literature led to a discovery that the previous literature consisted of multiple overlapping terms and meanings of online hate. In this paper, I conducted a literature review to clarify these different discussions. I distinguished the alternative concepts and dimensions of online hate based on a sample of relevant articles from various different academic fields, such as law, sociology, communication, and computer science. I analyzed the selected articles of online hate speech and online hate groups using conventional content analysis techniques. This paper is a part of an ongoing research project focusing on the issue of online hate and its effects on youth. The key finding was that the selected articles used different strategies to define online hate. The vague use of words and lack of clear concepts or dimensions was common. However, a few articles used legal definitions, referred to the work of online hate watchdog organizations, or to the Internet Service Providers definitions. The findings underline the importance of transparency when defining the subject matter of the research in question.

## **Introduction: online hate groups, hate speech, and hate crimes**

The 2000's have seen a rise of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and particularly social networking sites (SNS), such as Facebook. Social networking sites are typically seen as one type of social media along with for example video sharing sites (e.g. YouTube) and different forms of blogs (e.g. Twitter). The social networking sites and social media in general provide the users with opportunities to interact with each other, share information, and voice their opinions. (Näsi 2013; Kaplan & Haenlein 2010.) This technology has made communication instantaneous, eased social organization, and played an important part in various crises, for example the Arab Spring. Even though social media and ICT have many positive effects, these technologies have also created avenues for online hate communities. (Hawdon 2012.) These groups vary from groups of white extremists and holocaust denial to groups glorifying school shooters and other mass murderers.

The phenomenon of online hate groups is not a new one, since a study by Gerstenfeld, Grant and Chiang (2003) found that the first online hate group began in 1995. However, in the wake of the rise of social media more hate groups have emerged and they have gotten more visibility though some groups still remain hidden in the web (Hawdon 2012). According to Roversi (2008), hate sites are easy to find. He uses the phrase "dark side of the web" because of the troubling content, not because the hate sites would be hidden or encoded. At the moment there is a vast number of different hate groups, which

are also monitored by some actors, such as The Hate Directory, Anti-Defamation League and Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). According to SPLC, there were 1002 active hate groups in the United States in the year 2010 (Potok 2011), and 1007 active groups in 2012 (SPLC 2013). However, this number represents only active hate groups defined by SPLC as groups that “--- have beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics”, and therefore leaves many groups out of its scope (SPLC 2013).

In the 2000s, the online hate group research focused on extremist groups and particularly white supremacy groups. For example the recruitment strategies of the hate groups’ web sites were searched, partly because of the concern of recruitment efforts directed to children and teens (Lee & Leets 2002). More recent articles about online hate groups have widened the scope of online hate studies from traditional web sites to for example blogs and blog rings (Chau & Xu 2007) and to online role playing games such as World of Warcraft (Nakamura 2009) and other social media, though for example in a study published in 2002, Glaser, Dixit and Green interacted with individuals in selected white supremacist chat rooms instead of web sites. Some of the recent studies also offer very technical approaches (e.g. Yang, Kiang, Chen & Li 2011), and some concentrate on the visual content of online hate sites (e.g. Barnett 2007).

The theme hate speech often surfaces in the context of online hate groups. Hate groups or their members are often stereotypically seen as hate speech producers, even though hate speech usage doesn’t necessarily follow from being a hate group member. It is also sometimes forgotten that in fact they themselves may be targets of hate speech. Tynes (2006) points out that as well as hate group members, also individuals with no connections to hate groups can produce hate speech online. In the literature, there seems to be no generally accepted definition of hate speech. However, in many countries there is legislation concerning hate speech partly because of international covenants, for example United Nation’s International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Still for example in the U.S. there is no legislation concerning hate speech, and it is protected by free speech legislation.

If hate speech is punishable by law, it might be called a hate crime. However, a different issue is if online hate speech, legitimate or not, leads to physical hate crimes offline. Hate crime is a wide concept, and can include any crimes which are motivated by hate. For example in Finland in 2011 the majority of hate crimes were racist crimes (86 %) and the most common suspected crime was assault. Only 2–3 % of the hate crimes took place on the Internet. They were mostly made in Facebook or through e-mails and the most common suspected crimes were defamation and illegal threat. In the report hate crime was defined as follows: “a crime against a person, group, somebody’s property, institution, or a representative of these, motivated by prejudice or hostility towards the victim’s real or perceived ethnic or national origin, religion or belief, sexual orientation, transgender identity or appearance, or disability.” (Niemi & Sahramäki 2012.)

## **Project, problems, and research questions**

The background of this paper is closely connected to my work as a researcher in a project “Hate Communities: A Cross-National Comparison” at the University of Turku (Hate Communities 2013). The project focuses on Internet-based hate communities and more broadly on the issue of online hate and its effects on youth in two countries, Finland and the U.S. One goal of the project is to find out how many youth are aware of online hate groups and the amount of youth who participate in such groups. To meet this objective, a



general online survey of youth aged 15 to 29 was planned and launched at the first stage of the project. The survey was planned to include general questions about net usage and offline experiences, and most importantly questions about possible encounters with online hate groups and online hate speech.

However, it appeared that it was very problematic how to ask about these encounters in the questionnaire. The first problem was the charged nature of terms like “hate speech”. We discovered that for example a campaign of the Council of Europe called “The No hate speech movement” roused irritation in different Finnish online forums. The use of such charged terms would possibly cause some respondents to stop answering the questionnaire. Because we did not afford to lose respondents who themselves have generated hate material online or are part of some hate groups, our aim was to formulate the questions in as neutral a way as possible and to stay aside from the political debate concerning hate speech.

A natural way to explore some different options and wordings that could be used instead in the survey was a turn to previous literature. However, a preliminary reading through few articles on online hate revealed that there were no simple solutions to this issue. There were no repetitive or commonly accepted definitions of online hate and the different dimension options were vast. A clarification of these issues was certainly lacking in the previous literature. Therefore, I set two research questions:

RQ1: How online hate is conceptualized in the previous academic literature?

RQ2: What different dimensions of online hate are mentioned in the previous academic literature?

## **Article selection strategy**

To get a clear view of the different concepts and dimensions of online hate in relevant previous literature, I decided to make a literature review. I divided the larger theme of online hate to smaller pieces: to hate groups and hate speech online. In short, I read through the selected articles and found out what concepts and what dimensions of online hate were mentioned. In case a firm concept or clear dimensions was missing, I concentrated on what the articles implied on the subject. My plan is to later add hate crime issues to the scope as well, but in this paper that theme is excluded.

At the first phase of the literature review, I made a preliminary reading through previous articles that were referenced in the research plan of the project. I checked the reference lists of these articles and through those lists found more articles to be taken into account in my literature review. After this phase, I decided to use conventional literature review techniques, to ascertain that my sample of articles represented the core of the online hate literature. To make my article selection strategy trustworthy, I got influence from an article written by Sæbø, Rose and Flak (2007) even though the subject matter differentiated from this paper’s subject.

I decided to search major academic databases for academic journal articles that focus or touch the subject of online hate, more specifically online hate groups and online hate speech. For this paper, I chose one library database, EBSCO’s Academic Search Premier. Academic Search Premier was selected because it is one of the most important journal databases in the field of sociology. I limited the scope of the search to only academic journal articles, excluding periodicals and other writings. I decided not to use articles published before the year 2000. I used search word “online” together with search words “hate group”, “hate community” and “hate speech”. Because of the larger number of hits with search “online AND hate speech” (67 hits, 25 academic journals), a further

limitation was made to this search to capture the most relevant articles. I therefore selected the articles that had the search words on the abstract of the article, and got a more manageable amount of search results.

In respect of selecting the relevant articles from the search results, my approach differentiated from Sæbø et al.'s (2007) approach. They had created an outline concept of the issue they were concentrating with the review, and selected articles if they matched the outline concept in some level. I didn't create an outline concept since the point of the review was to be as open as possible to the different concepts and dimensions of online hate issues. That is why my criterion was simply the fact that the article contained a concept or dimension or implied one.

Therefore, the search result article was deemed relevant, in case the abstract or the article contained the concepts or dimensions of the online hate, online hate speech or online hate groups, or implications of such. I made no limitations to only full text articles, because the abstracts might contain the wanted information. I would exclude the article from the literature review if neither the abstract nor the full text contained such concepts or dimensions. This would be the case also if I was not able to retrieve the full text and the abstract didn't contain the wanted information. The article would also be excluded if it was written in a language not familiar to me (e.g. Turkish, Portuguese). If some of the search results included articles that had already been found in the previous searches, those articles would not be counted twice.

Table 1: Details of searches made to the database Academic Search Premier (EBSCO).

<b>Search Words</b>	<b>Hits</b>	<b>Academic journals</b>	<b>Relevant</b>
online AND hate group	30	9	6
online AND hate community	5	3	1
AB online AND AB hate speech	24	8	5

Altogether 29 articles were selected for the literature review, out of which 12 were selected through the strategic search and the rest, 17 articles were found in the preliminary reading phase. These articles do not, of course, represent the whole area of literature in this subject matter. For example a simple search at Google Scholar in early summer with search words "online hate speech" shows approximately 131 results, and a search with words "online hate group" 18 results. However, small changes of the search words significantly change the number of search results. For example search words "hate speech on the internet" show approximately 340 results and search words "online hate groups" 191 results. It must be noted that the Google Scholar searches might include duplicates and result in various other documents than academic journal articles.

To be able to do a qualitative analysis, where each article is carefully searched for concepts, dimensions, or hints of such, it was necessary to limit the number of the articles to a more manageable amount. The relatively small amount of the selected articles did not concentrate on the same journals or fields and represented different backgrounds. For example journals like *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice*, *Cinema Journal*, *The American Behavioral Scientist*, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, and *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, had published a part of the selected articles. Therefore, it can be argued that the articles enabled a sufficient view of the different concepts and dimensions of online hate.

After the selection of articles, I used content analysis to thematize the different concepts and dimensions of online hate. I read through the selected articles and searched for the concepts and the dimensions of online hate speech, hate groups or online hate more generally. I listed the findings next to the bibliographical facts. After that, I thematized the issues according to the themes rising from the data itself. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009). Next, I will concentrate on the different conceptualizations in the previous literature and after that I will discuss the different dimensions of online hate.

## Conceptualizing online hate

As discovered in the initial reading through the previous literature, the problem in the selected articles was that there were few exact or clear concepts of online hate, and if one was offered, it differentiated from the concepts in other articles. For example Cohen-Almagor (2009) discussed how difficult it was to determine what hate speech is, and used at the same time terms like "wound or denigrate", "false and malicious ideas", "derogatory remarks", "causing us at least some degree of mental and emotional distress" when referring to hate speech.

The vague use of words was a problem especially in the selected hate group literature. One typical word was extremist group. For example Perry (2000) used a term "extremist hate groups" in the article and Douglas (2007) used terms "online hate groups" and "online extremist groups" as parallels. Similarly in an article by Gerstenfeld et al. (2003) the words extremist group and hate group were used in a way that was not explicit and the fact if they were interchangeable according to the authors or not remained without clarification. According to Chau and Xu (2007) "there are also hate groups in blogs that are formed by bloggers who are racists or extremists". However, a citation from an article by Chen, Chung, Qin, Reid, Sageman and Weimann (2008) implicated that according to them the hate groups on the Internet did not include extremist groups:

"Terrorist organizations, extremist groups, hate groups, and racial supremacy groups are using the Web to promote their ideology, to facilitate internal communications, to attack their enemies, and to conduct criminal activities."

In the citation above, the hints towards the use of violence by these groups are obvious. Also Yang et al. (2011) suggested that hate or extremist groups aim to "persuade others to violence and terrorism". Similarly Chau and Xu (2007) hinted towards this: "Because of their tendency toward violence, association with crimes, and especially, potential influence on youths, hatred and hate groups---".

The few exact or clear concepts of hate speech in the articles were usually "borrowed" legal definitions from international covenants or national legislation (e.g. Robinson 2012; Cohen-Almagor 2009) or definitions made by private intermediaries or Internet Service Providers (e.g. Citron & Norton 2011; Henry 2009). The legal concepts are beyond the scope of this paper. The latter articles emphasized the responsibility of private intermediaries in combatting hate speech online instead of demanding legislative initiatives from the government or arguing that such government action was futile. With the intermediaries Citron and Norton (2011) meant "private entities that host or index online content". Citron and Norton provided in their article many different hate speech definitions, from which the intermediaries were supposed to select one and base their policies, for example concerning the removal of hateful content, on it. These were: 1) "speech that threatens and incites violence", 2) "speech that intentionally inflicts severe emotional distress", 3) "speech that harasses", 4) "speech that silences counter-speech", and 5) "speech that exacerbates hatred or prejudice by defaming an entire group".

Henry (2009) on the other hand quoted in her article Internet Service Providers' (ISPs) terms of service contracts. These definitions of hate speech were used by ISPs voluntarily as a basis of monitoring their sites and deciding which content would be removed. Henry quoted Verizon Wireless's Terms of Service Contract, which included a definition of hate speech: in its scope was child pornography, "obscene, sexually explicit, cruel or racist" uses of the service, or use which "espouses, promotes, or incites bigotry, hatred, or racism". I found two exact concepts of hate speech that were formulated by the authors themselves. Klein concentrated on the recruitment efforts of white racialists, and offered the following definition:

"Collectively, hate speech should be understood as the strategic employment of words, ideas, images, symbols, news items, social issues, and even pop culture that have all become the complex machinery of effective hate rhetoric – the kind that can recruit a following." (Klein 2010).

When comparing with the concept above, Jeremy Waldron's concept differentiated from it considerably. According to Waldron (2012), who defended the need for hate speech legislation in the U.S., hate speech was "both a calculated affront to the dignity of vulnerable members of society and a calculated assault on the public good of inclusiveness." These examples highlight the differences in the concepts and in the agendas or beliefs behind the concepts.

In the selected hate group literature, the few exact concepts were represented in the articles that quoted the work of NGO's in the field or directories collecting hate sites. The Hate Directory, for example, aims to identify and track Internet sites that are hate oriented. The Directory counts as hate sites web sites, blogs, mailing lists, games, podcasts, and Internet radio broadcasts etc. of

"individuals and groups that, in the opinion of the author, advocate violence against, separation from, defamation of, deception about, or hostility toward others based upon race, religion, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation." (Franklin 2010).

Douglas, McGarty, Bliuc and Lala (2005) cited the above definition of Hate Directory in their article and used it as help when sampling white supremacist sites to be used in the empirical part of their study. Barnett (2007) used the Southern Poverty Law Center's definition (cited in the introduction of this paper) of hate groups indirectly. He didn't cite the definition in the text, but based his selection of hate websites to the SPLC's Intelligence Report's list. Henry (2009) didn't use the definitions of the watchdog organizations for empirical designs. In order to assess the approaches of NGO's in relation to online hate, she cited some concepts. She for example described a hate speech blocking downloadable filter created by the watchdog organization Anti-Defamation League. The filter blocked sites that "promoted hatred or hostility toward groups--". In the same article Henry described ADL's collaboration with YouTube that resulted in YouTube adding a disclaimer that defined hate speech as "speech, which attacks or demeans a group--".

These and other definitions provided by online watchdog organizations explain what hate groups are by explaining who the victims of those hate groups are. In few of the selected articles, this view was also described (e.g. Douglas 2007; Tynes 2006). According to Douglas (2007) online hate groups "express hate towards other groups". Also Tynes (2006) stated that usually hate speech is seen as degrading speech directed against a certain group or a member of that group. This approach could be called "definition through victims". In some studies, also individuals were seen as the potential victims of hate groups. For example in a project EU Kids Online (2010) one question in the survey for 11-16 year-olds was as follows: "In the past 12 months, have you seen websites where people

discuss - - d) hate messages that attack certain groups or individuals". This extension expands the concept of online hate groups substantially.

## **Mapping the dimensions of online hate**

I used two ways to map the dimensions of online hate. The first way was to focus on different hate groups: were some groups specifically named in the articles, and how the groups were described.

Many of the selected articles concentrated on hate groups that represented white or racial supremacy. The field of white supremacy or white power was highly conceptualized in the literature in comparison with other areas of online hate. Especially many studies published in the early 2000s concentrated on white supremacy groups (e.g. Blazak 2001; Burris, Smith & Strahm 2000; Lee & Leets 2002; Douglas et al. 2005) or broader issues of racial supremacy or separation (Gerstenfeld et al. 2003). These themes were also present in more recent publications (e.g. Banks 2011; Klein 2010; Chau & Xu 2007; Yang et al. 2011; Bernardi 2007). Banks (2011), for example, concluded that most academic discussions concerning online hate speech focused on racist and xenophobic material, and that is why he decided to concentrate on those issues as well.

The following articles divided white or racial supremacy into subcategories. Gerstenfeld et al. (2003) used categories called "Christian Identity", "Holocaust Denial", "Ku Klux Klan", "Militia", "Neo-Nazi", "Posse Comitatus", "Skinhead", and "White Nationalist". The other articles that used subcategories had different mixes of the categories mentioned by Gerstenfeld et al. and some categories of their own, usually combining 4–7 categories. Barnett (2007), Duffy (2003) and McNamee, Peterson and Peña (2010) had included a category of "Black Separatists", Bowman-Grieve (2009) the category of "World Church of the Creator", and Barnett (2007) and McNamee et al. (2010) the category of "Neo-Confederate". Yang et al. 2011 used two categories that slightly differentiated from the ones used by Gerstenfeld et al: "an Aryan supremacist group" and "a White nationalist and supremacist neo-Nazi group".

Besides white supremacy, also other hate groups were mentioned in the selected articles. The above-mentioned article of McNamee et al. (2010) contained an interesting category called "General hate". According to the authors, to that category belonged for example "Border Guardians", "Jewish Defense League", and "Power of Prophecy". A study by Levin (2002) concentrated on white supremacy, but mentioned without further clarifications also "leftist environmental- and animal-liberation extremists", "a radical anti-Abortion Web", and terrorists in the context of hate groups. Douglas et al. (2005) similarly concentrated on white supremacist groups and considered racial hatred as the most common form of hate, but when speaking in general about hate groups, they mentioned the "advocacy of terrorism". Hawdon (2012) understood hate groups more broadly than most authors. He didn't offer a definition but through examples pointed out that besides racist and xenophobic groups also groups glorifying mass murderers such as school shooters, political groups from left and right, eco-terrorists and transnational jihadists could be seen as hate groups.

The second way that I used to clear the dimensions of hate was to concentrate on the victims of hate. The analysis above makes it clear that ethnicity was one reason for victimization through online hate. However, it was not the only reason. In the conceptualization section, I quoted parts of online hate definitions by NGO's. The latter parts contained information about the groups targeted with the hate. The quotations by Henry (2009) in connection with the work of ADL listed many other victimization grounds

besides race. The ADL filter quoted in the previous section saw hate sites as sites that "promoted hatred or hostility toward groups – Jews and others – on the basis of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or other immutable characteristics". Duffy (2003), who used the definition of hate groups by Hate Watch, mentioned race, religion, national origin, sexual orientation and gender as the basis of hate. Even wider was the list in YouTube's disclaimer that was made together with ADL. According to it, hate speech was "speech which attacks or demeans a group based on race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, gender, age, veteran status, and sexual orientation/gender identity". (Henry 2009)

The above discussed views of the directories and watchdog organizations are to some extent repeated also in the selected articles not citing their definitions. Hawdon (2012) interpreted that hate groups concentrate on the hatred against various different groups: "people of African descent, immigrants, gays, Muslims, Christians, and other groups." Perry (2000) claimed that most hate groups are white supremacy or anti-Semitic groups, but despite that "women, homosexuals, atheists, and other minority groups may also be on the "hit lists" of these groups." According to Tsesis (2001), in the web there were hate groups that "denigrate people based on their race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, and sexual preference". Therefore in the articles, the victims of hate tend to form a group of people who have something in common, be it for example ethnicity, gender, or disability that links them together.

## **Discussion**

In this final section I will discuss the limits of my paper, future research plans and the main findings of the analysis. One limit of this paper is the number of the selected articles. My aim is to continue the literature review of the previous studies of online hate and extend the number of databases and search words used. The main expansion will be the adding of the search word "hate crime". I am also going to concentrate on the different methods and results of the previous studies. In this paper, I concentrated on academic journal articles as the material. The third expansion is to widen the scope also to legal documents and legal definitions. Especially when speaking of the definitions of hate speech, an immense help can be retrieved from legal documents. If a country has for example made some reservations to freedom of speech concerning hate speech, these reservations must be very clearly written out in legal documents. These clauses therefore contain the concepts and dimensions of hate speech.

According to the analysis, different articles used different strategies when defining online hate. One option was to refer to NGO definitions or, especially in hate speech literature, to legal definitions or concepts created by private intermediaries or the Internet Service Providers. However, usually the articles contained only hints or implications of concepts or dimensions of online hate in the introduction sections or the method designs. This can be seen as a considerable weakness of the research area of online hate. The lack of transparent reflection about the difficulties of conceptualizing or mapping the different dimensions of the subject matter has an effect on the validity of method designs as well.

In the selected articles, exact concepts of online hate were rarely offered. However, these concepts or implications of such usually involved substantives such as hatred, extremism, racism, hostility, or bigotry, and verbs like attack, wound, denigrate, silence, threaten, harass, or defame. The concepts or implications often included the victims against whom the hate was directed. The victims of hate were usually presented as a group of people, but sometimes also individuals were included. The dimensions of online

hate were particularly scattered. They ranged from mentions of environmental extremists and school shooting fans to anti-abortion and terrorist sites. In the literature, it would be important to be careful with such claims, especially in relation to listing possible hate groups. It is for example problematic to claim that all terrorists are hate groups, because terrorism does not have an unambiguous meaning or consented content. When looking at the dimensions of different targets of hate, they were more consistent. For example ethnicity, religion, gender, and sexual orientation were repeated in the selected articles. The notions in the selected articles represent the academics' interpretations of online hate. The terminology used in the selected articles reflects the different academic disciplines and their theoretical standing points. In this paper, these academic interpretations are once again interpreted; in fact I am conceptualizing the concepts already developed in the selected articles. These discussions may considerably differ from the actual contents or experiences of online hate. The views of neither the victims of hate speech nor the ones who produce hate speech are taken into account. Therefore, research actually studying the concrete experiences of online hate and the hate sites should be encouraged. A research comparing the actual online hate environments and the views of the academics is a possible though demanding area for research that would enhance our knowledge of online hate.

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# Evaluation and assessment research

## Gang desistance – Methods in an evaluation of exit-programs

by Maria Libak Pedersen

This paper focuses on qualitative and quantitative methods in an ongoing research project on desistance from gang. The aim of the project is to locate exit-programs targeting gang members, including bikers, in the Nordic countries and to evaluate such programs carried out by the Danish National Police, and the Danish Prison and Probation Service. The project consists of three sub-studies: 1) Mapping of locale exit-programs through interviews with professionals, 2) sequential analysis of gang membership through surveys at two stages, and 3) evaluation of the preventive effect on offending and gang membership based on data from the police intelligence database and crime files. To help gang members leave their gang is a new method to prevent crime and so far no evaluation has ever been carried out.

### Indledning

At hjælpe rocker/bandedmedlemmer til at forlade deres kriminelle miljø er en relativt ny metode til bekæmpelse af kriminalitet. Der foreligger endnu kun ganske få erfaringer på området, og hverken i eller uden for Norden findes der videnskabelige undersøgelser af, hvad der virker, og hvad der ikke virker over for denne målgruppe. Det er derimod veldokumenteret, at medlemskab af en kriminel gruppering fremmer den individuelle kriminalitetsfrekvens, og at kriminalitetsfrekvensen falder ved medlemskabets ophør (se f.eks. Bendixen et al. 2006; Bjerk 2009; Esbensen and Huizinga 1993; Gordon et al. 2004; Klement et al. 2010; Krohn and Thornberry 2008; Melde and Esbensen 2012; Sweeten et al. 2012).<sup>1</sup>

I april 2011 lancerede den danske regering en rammemodel for exit-indsatser for personer, der af Rigspolitiets Nationale Efterforskningscenter (NEC) er registreret som tilknyttet en kriminel gruppering, og som ønsker at forlade den (Justitsministeriet 2011). Derfor er Danmark et godt 'laboratorium' til netop at undersøge effekten af exit-indsatser over for medlemmer af rocker/bandemiljøer. Den nationale koordinering af exit-indsatserne er forankret i NEC, mens der i politikredsene er etableret lokale exit-enheder, som skal stå for selve behandlingen af sagerne.

Foruden den nationale exit-indsats fik den danske kriminalforsorg ved satspuljeaftalen for 2010 tilført midler til at gennemføre et metodeudviklingsprojekt med en intensiv individuel indsats over for indsatte med tilknytning til rocker/bandemiljøet. I

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<sup>1</sup> Dette kaldes i forskningslitteraturen *the gang facilitation effect*.

projektet gøres der brug af psykologer og mentorer som personlig støtte til de indsatte med henblik på at gøre dem i stand til selv at generere alternativer til tilværelsen i rocker/bandemiljøet. Som led i denne indsats udvikles og afprøves forskellige resocialiserende aktiviteter for deltagere i exit og på afdelinger for rockere og bandemedlemmer. Metodeudviklingsprojektet er fortsat igangværende, og på den seneste finanslov blev der tilført yderligere midler til at styrke exit-indsatserne og mentorordningerne.

## **Formål**

Formålet med projektet er at kortlægge formaliserede exit-indsatser for rocker/bandemedlemmer i Norden, samt at evaluere den danske kriminalforsorgs og det danske politis exit-indsatser som følge af den nationale strategi på området, jf. indledning. Dette skal ske med henblik på at belyse dels 'best practice' på området, dels i hvilket omfang exit-indsatserne reelt får deltagerne til at forlade grupperingerne, og endelig i hvilket omfang det påvirker deres kriminelle karriere. Samtidig skal det på baggrund af politiets registreringer af rocker/bandemedlemmer undersøges, om exit-indsatserne fremmer den afgang fra grupperingerne, der i øvrigt har fundet og finder sted.

Det vil være af meget stor værdi at få viden om, hvilke metoder der er effektive med hensyn til at få personer til at forlade kriminelle grupperinger. Som nævnt er deltagelse i kriminelle grupperinger forbundet med en øget kriminalitetsfrekvens, mens ophør er forbundet med et fald heri. Indsatser, der kan fremme afgang fra de kriminelle miljøer, vil derfor indebære en kriminalpræventiv gevinst. Ophør vil også være relateret til forbedret livskvalitet for personerne selv, bl.a. fordi deres risiko for at blive udsat for kriminalitet mindskes (Peterson et al. 2004; Taylor et al. 2008; Thornberry et al. 2003). Der vil endvidere være en betydelig samfundsøkonomisk besparelse ved at få rocker/bandemedlemmer til at forlade deres gruppe. Nye beregninger fra Sverige viser f.eks., at en person, der i 15 år deltager i en kriminel gruppering, koster samfundet 23 mio. kr. (Lundmark and Nilsson 2012).

## **Tidligere forskning**

Der findes adskillelige videnskabelige studier af kriminelle bander, men der er hovedsageligt tale om studier af gadebander ('street gangs'), dvs. mindre organiserede grupper af unge sammenlignet med målgruppen for kriminalforsorgens og politiets exit-indsatser. De fleste kvantitative studier handler om, hvad der kendetegner unge, der indgår i gadebander, mens de kvalitative interview- og observationsstudier i højere grad handler om gadebandernes ophav, aktiviteter, dynamik og struktur (se f.eks. Decker and Weerman 2005; Gemert et al. 2008; Klein and Maxson 2006; Pedersen and Lindstad 2011). At forlade banderne er således et undersøgelsesområde, der først de senere år har fået opmærksomhed, og der findes kun få – primært amerikanske – undersøgelser om dette emne.

Ligesom kriminalitet kan bandemedlemskab tolkes ind i en livsforløbsramme, hvor der i den eksisterende forskningslitteratur fokuseres på tre stadier i livsforløbet: 1) at tilslutte sig banden, 2) at deltage i bandens aktiviteter og 3) at forlade banden (Decker and Pyrooz 2011; Pyrooz et al. 2010). Ifølge forskerne Scott Decker og David Pyrooz, der står bag størstedelen af undersøgelserne, er det vigtigt at være opmærksom på, at et bandemedlemskab er en tilstand frem for en handling. Når et bandemedlem forlader sin

bande, er der ikke blot tale om en adfærdsændring, men om et identitetsskifte, der kræver, at den pågældende redefinerer sit forhold til banden og bryder sociale og følelsesmæssige bånd til medlemmerne (ibid.). Dette kan ske pludseligt ('knifing off') eller ved gradvist at fjerne sig fra banden og det, den står for ('drifting away') (Decker and Lauritsen 2002; Pyrooz et al. 2010). Resultaterne af undersøgelserne viser, at det er en kombination af 'push' og 'pull' faktorer, der får bandemedlemmer til at forlade deres bande (Decker and Pyrooz 2011). Det vil sige, at det både er forhold i banderne, herunder kriminalitet og viktimering, samt forhold uden for banderne, såsom familie og arbejde, der får medlemmerne til at vælge en anden vej (Deane et al. 2007).

Undersøgelserne viser også, at jo længere tid det er siden, et bandemedlem forlod sin bande, desto mindre er vedkommendes tilknytning til den, hvorfor exit fra bander skal forstås og håndteres som en – ofte langvarig – proces (Pyrooz et al. 2010). I en canadisk interviewundersøgelse med tidligere bandemedlemmer i alderen 18-27 år giver de fleste udtryk for, at de havde tænkt på at forlade deres bande længe før, de gjorde det, og at det ikke var første gang, de forsøgte at forlade den (Cassell and Weinrath 2012). Informanterne blev ikke spurgt direkte om, hvordan de traf denne beslutning, men halvdelen af dem nævner, at de selv traf beslutningen om at forlade deres bande, at de gjorde det af egen fri vilje, og at de havde deres egne, private bevæggrunde. De nævner samtidig, at en af de største udfordringer ved at forlade banden var, at de mistede venner, og at de derved mistede beskyttelse og omdømme (ibid.). Af en amerikansk interviewundersøgelse med tidligere bandemedlemmer i alderen 23-30 år fremgår det, at ingen af dem havde svært ved at forlade deres bande (Bolden 2012). Mere end halvdelen af informanterne fortalte desuden, at de tidligere havde været medlemmer af andre bander, og at det ikke havde negative konsekvenser for dem at skifte fra en bande til en anden (ibid.). I begge undersøgelser taler informanterne om bandemedlemskab i teenageårene, dvs. at de har forladt bandemiljøet på et tidligere tidspunkt, end det er tilfældet for langt størstedelen af deltagerne i kriminalforsorgens og politiets exit-indsatser. Det er dog sket, at medlemmer af kriminelle bander i Danmark skifter bande, eller at tidligere medlemmer af en bande får tilbudt medlemskab af en anden, når det bliver kendt, at de forsøger at forlade miljøet.

Der findes endnu ingen videnskabelige studier af exit fra kriminelle bander såsom Hells Angels, Bandidos, Black Cobra, Bloodz m.v. Det vil sige bander, der er mere organiserede end gadebander, og hvis medlemmer er ældre og antagelig indblandet i mere omfattende kriminalitet (Klement et al. 2010). På samme måde findes der ingen evalueringer af programmer, der skal hjælpe rocker/bande-medlemmer til at forlade deres kriminelle miljø. I Norge er der ganske vist gennemført en evaluering af et bandeinterventionsprojekt (Carlsson 2005), men størstedelen af bandemedlemmerne var under 18 år ved projektets start, og erfaringerne fra projektet kan derfor ikke anvendes direkte, også fordi indsatserne afviger fra dem, der er omfattet af nærværende projekt. I Sverige har Fryshuset positive erfaringer med at hjælpe personer fri af andre destruktive miljøer, herunder nazistiske og racistiske miljøer, og en ekspertgruppe bestående af hovedsageligt eksterne forskere har vurderet, at særligt de ansattes personlige erfaringer med miljøerne har positiv betydning herfor (Brottsförebyggande rådet 2001; Ungdomsstyrelsen 2010). I 2010 udvidede Fryshuset deres tilbud til at omfatte bandemedlemmer, men der er endnu ikke gennemført nogen evalueringer af indsatsen over for disse personer.

## Undersøgelsesmetoder

Projektet består af tre delundersøgelser: 1) kortlægning, 2) forløbsanalyse og 3) evaluering.

### Kortlægning

Der skal laves en kortlægning af formaliserede exit-indsatser over for rocker/bandemedlemmer i Danmark, Norge, Sverige og Finland. I det omfang indsatserne er evaluerede, vil resultaterne af evalueringerne blive inddraget i kortlægningen. Til brug for den evaluering, projektet omfatter, skal der laves yderligere en kortlægning af lokale exit-enheder i de danske politikredse med henblik på at samle erfaringer til 'best practice' på området. Kortlægningen skal indeholde en oversigt over, hvor der er etableret exit-enheder, hvordan enhederne er organiseret, hvilke erfaringer der er gjort i forbindelse med etableringen af dem, og hvad der konkret gøres for at hjælpe rocker/bandemedlemmer til at forlade deres kriminelle miljø. Såfremt datagrundlaget bliver tilstrækkeligt stort, vil praksis i exit-enhederne blive vurderet ud fra variationer i omfang af og evne til at fastholde rocker/bandemedlemmer i indsatsen og reelt at få dem fri af deres kriminelle miljø, jf. nedenfor. Kortlægningen baserer sig hovedsageligt på interview med personer fra exit-enhederne.

### Forløbsanalyse

Når der påbegyndes en exit-indsats over for et rocker/bandemedlem afholdes en indledende samtale, hvor der udformes en samarbejdsaftale med vedkommende. Justitsministeriets Forskningskontor har udarbejdet et spørgeskema, som skal anvendes i den forbindelse. Spørgsmålene i skemaet er inspireret af en international undersøgelse af exit fra gadebander (Pyrooz et al. 2010), og de belyser deltagerens tilknytning til de kriminelle miljøer. Ved at lade rocker/bandemedlemmerne udfylde et spørgeskema, når der påbegyndes en exit-indsats over for dem, og et skema et år efter, er det muligt at undersøge forandringen og eventuelle variationer mellem exit-indsatser, herunder deres evne til at fastholde deltagerne. Disse oplysninger vil samtidig kunne vise, om exit-indsatsernes succes eller fiasko er relateret til graden af nærhed til det kriminelle miljø ved indsatsens påbegyndelse.

Foruden spørgsmål om rocker/bandemedlemmernes tilknytning til de kriminelle miljøer indeholder det første skema spørgsmål om årsager til og omstændigheder ved at forlade miljøerne, hvor det sidste skema i højere grad indeholder spørgsmål om selve indsatsen. Oplysningerne fra skemaerne sammenholdes med den samarbejdsaftale, der er indgået, samt eventuelle journaler og lignende, hvori det er beskrevet, hvad der er vægtet i indsatsen over for hver enkelt. Modellen herfor varierer, da der er forskellig praksis i politikredsene og i samarbejdet mellem politi, kommune og kriminalforsorg. Dette er med til at vanskeliggøre evalueringen, og det må forventes at opfølgningen på exit-deltagerens situation bliver tidskrævende, herunder at få dem til at besvare det sidste spørgeskema. Afhængig af den enkeltes situation vil det dog oftest være muligt at få kontakt til vedkommende via den lokale exit-enhed, en tilsynsførende eller en sagsbehandler på det tidspunkt, hvor det sidste skema skal besvares. Det skal desuden nævnes, at de exit-ansvarlige i politikredsene har vist stor interesse for at få foretaget en evaluering og velvillighed i forhold til gennemførelsen heraf.

Forløbsanalysen er planlagt til at omfatte de rocker/bandemedlemmer, der over en toårig periode indgår i en exit-indsats hos enten Kriminalforsorgen eller politiet.

## Effektevaluering

Efter en observationsperiode på et år fra, at deltagerne i en exit-indsats har udfyldt det andet og sidste spørgeskema, jf. forløbsanalysen, undersøges deres situation i forhold til ny kriminalitet og eventuel fortsat rocker/bandemedlemskab. Samtidig undersøges det, i hvilket omfang tilkomsten af exit-indsatser har fremmet afgang fra de kriminelle miljøer i forhold til den afgang, der ellers har fundet og finder sted. Dette er muligt, fordi Rigspolitiet registrerer personer, der antages at være rocker/bandemedlemmer, i deres efterretningsdatabase (PED). Når der påbegyndes en exit-indsats over for et medlem fjernes registreringen, hvilket gør det muligt at undersøge, om vedkommende registreres igen senere. På den baggrund er det udelukkende registrerede rocker/bandemedlemmer, der indgår i evalueringen. I skrivende stund er der registreret 1.609 personer med tilknytning til rocker/bandemiljøet i Danmark.

Foruden direkte adgang til Kriminalregisteret har Justitsministeriets Forskningskontor en særskilt aftale om at kunne anvende data fra PED og med mellemrum at få en opdateret version af registeret. Det skal understreges, at det grundet evalueringens særlige fokus på rocker/bandemedlemmer ikke er muligt at afgrænse en kontrolgruppe til personerne i registeret, som det almindeligvis er kravet ved effektevalueringer. Evalueringen vil dog under alle omstændigheder kunne give værdifulde informationer om exit-indsatsernes funktion og betydning for afgang fra kriminelle bander og rockergrupperinger.

## Offentliggørelse

Resultaterne fra projektet offentliggøres i tre delrapporter og en endelig rapport, som lægges på Justitsministeriets hjemmeside. De første to delrapport forventes færdig i 2014, og de vil omhandle henholdsvis kortlægningen af exit-indsatserne og resultaterne af den første del af forløbsanalysen. Den tredje delrapport om anden og sidste del af forløbsanalysen forventes færdig i 2016, mens den endelige rapport om selve evalueringen af exit-indsatserne forventes færdig primo 2017.

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# **Social Integration in Icelandic Prisons: From Incarceration to effective Community integration**

*by Snjólaug Birgisdóttir & Íris Eik Ólafsdóttir*

## **Abstract**

In today's financial environment the prison system is offered a very scarce budget for the development of new treatment opportunities due to that we need to focus on developing programs / treatments that can benefit the system as a whole instead of few individuals. This presentation will focus on social integration of inmates in Icelandic prisons. In particular we will focus on how treatment of inmates in Icelandic prisons has been shifted from individual treatment to group treatment with the focus on the inmate's integration into the community after the incarceration period.

Special interest is placed on the structure of the group, the treatment method which was in the form of a lecture along with a discussion group.

A pilot test was implemented in 3 of the Icelandic prisons and a questionnaire was placed for all those who have participated in the treatment since it started and until today and we will offer some data on the effectiveness of the treatment for the individual as well as the prison system. We will also offer some data around new developments in the group treatment and how that has will be incorporated into the prison environment.

## **Introduction**

Social workers at the Icelandic prison and probation administration have been developing new ways in offering services and treatment to inmates. This is due to the overloading amount of inmates each social worker is expected to offer services to. Until today the services and treatment offered in the prisons have not been based on reached methods but more on demand bases. This pilot project is meant to bring more evidence based practice into the Icelandic prison system. With this project we are hoping that the administration and the assigned funding will be used to develop and offer services that are more research based and more of a evidenced based practice. This pilot project is based on research based practice where a certain service/treatment method was developed and implemented and its results measured with a questionnaire.

## **Literature review and theoretical approaches**

In over crowded prisons with few treatment oportunites available group work has been shown to be very effective, particularly if the threapist is aware of the diversity in the group and the different needs of the inmates (Deane, 1972; Dixon, 2000; Moses and Smith, 2007).

When developing a program that is meant to service a large number of individuals who have very complicated and different needs one needs to search for ideology that is focused on offering individuals tools for self-improvement. The

development of this program is based on the ideology of social integration and social health.

When looking at social integration emphasis is placed on equal opportunities and rights for all human beings. In this case, becoming more integrated implies improving life chances. In particular the focus is on opportunities for individuals with diverse problems. In this case, becoming more integrated implies improving life chances. Social integration incorporates that the individual feels that he is a part of the larger society where he is tied to the society with his view of himself as well as his values and beliefs. The lack of opportunities are some of the main reasons individuals feel excluded from society if you do not have access to the basic services that society offers one feels excluded and not a valid member of society. Due to this it is very important for individuals who are finishing their imprisonment that they are educated about their opportunities and about the support that is being offered in society for them to have a positive integration after serving their time (Andrews, 2000; Correctional Service of Canada, 2006).

For a positive interaction to occur it is important that the individual's health is good. In this project we use WHO's definition of health that was put in place in 1948 where one's health is evaluated based on mental, social and physical wellbeing where the emphasis is not placed on being without symptoms but that the individual experiences general welfare (Fayers and Machi 2000; WHO, 1997).

Social Health is how we interact with people in areas around us. This can affect our physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health. To be socially healthy, you can make friends easily and work with people happily and friendly together in a group. One's support system has proven to be a strong determinant of one's health. It has been shown that those who experience strong social bonds are more likely to live longer and experience healthier life than those who do not experience these social bonds (Bartley, 2003; Ornish, 1999; WHO 2008; WHO 2011).

## **Icelandic prison system**

In Iceland there are 6 prisons with about 180 inmates. Of those are about 40% recidivists (have been in the system before). Today are only 9 young offenders 21 years or younger. There are around 240 individuals on parole at any given time in Iceland.

The Icelandic prisons are distributed around the country, there are two prisons located in and around the capital of Iceland Reykjavik. It is the Hegningarhusid which has places for fourteen inmates. It is a reception center for the Icelandic prison services and is located in the heart of Reykjavik, twelve prison guard's work at this prison. Kopavogs prison is located in Kopavogur which is a suburb of Reykjavik; it has places for twelve inmates. It is the only female prison in Iceland but male inmates are also located in this prison, due to the size of the prison and the smallness of the female inmate population. Ten prison guards work at this prison. Litla Hraun prison is located in Eyrabakka about 45 minutes south east of Reykjavik. It is Iceland's only high security prison as well as being the country's largest prison. There are places for eighty seven inmates in the prison there off are ten places for protective custody inmates. Fifty prison guards work at the prison as well as mental health staff, teachers, administrators, and other personnel. Kviabryggja prison is located in the West of Iceland in a town named Grundarfjordur. Kviabryggja prison is open prison and has places for twenty three inmates. Six prison guards work at the prison. Another open prison is operated at Sogn, it offer places for twenty inmates and ten prions guards work there on daily bases. Akureyri prison is the fifth prison and is

located in the North of Iceland and is placed within the police station in Akureyri. The prison has places for ten inmates and four prison guards work at the prison.

Other sentence serving opportunities are treatment places for children run by the Government Agency for Child Protection, Vernd half-way house, SÁÁ Alcohol and drug treatment facility, Hlaðgerðarkot Alcohol and drug treatment facility, and Sólheimar.

The Icelandic prison system employs two social workers who are meant to offer services to about 400 individuals that are either serving their sentence in prison or on probation. Due to the scarce number of social workers in the prison system and the lack of services for all those connected to the prison system the prison administration has needed to develop methods and treatment programs to deal with the large number of inmates that social workers are meant to service in an effective manner.

This development has led to social workers offering group treatment and group courses in the prisons where emphasis is placed on offering information to inmates about their legal rights during their time of their incarceration. There they are given the opportunity to access the tools needed to assist them in getting a better insight into their problems and the motivation to take matters into their own hands to change their lives. A great emphasis is put on self-help and motivating the individual to not depend on some system or other individuals to solve their problems.

This is done by teaching them to set themselves goals that are achievable and realistic. Also we focus on making a plan around positive integration into community after imprisonment. Inmates are motivated to use the time constructively as well as organize and make arrangements around things that need to be arranged for before they finish their imprisonment. Also the group meetings focus on informing inmates about the services and opportunities as well as the organized activity that are available to them at the end of their sentencing.

## **Group courses - Social integration at the end of the road**

As social workers in the Icelandic prison system do not have the possibility to offer service to all inmates the prison administration has made the decision to prioritize those who can apply for participation in the group course in the prisons. The prioritization is based on the length of the sentence. Only those with 10 months or longer sentences qualify for the group courses. Other inmates are directed towards the social services at the municipal level.

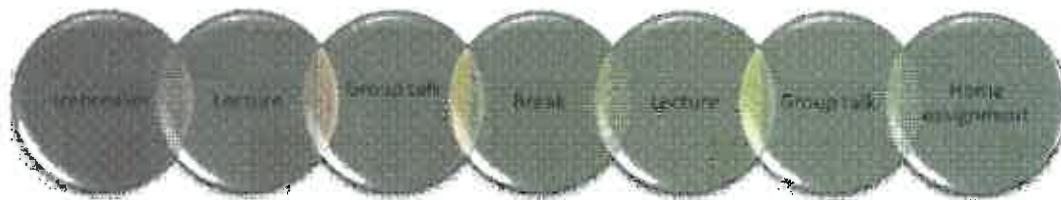
All participants do receive individual standardized intake assessment interview where information about social and criminal history are also gathered. In this assessment interview information are given about the group course and the individual's motivation towards change is evaluated.

The group course is divided into 8 group meetings that are held every other week and last for about 1 1/2 hours at a time.

## **Structure of each course**

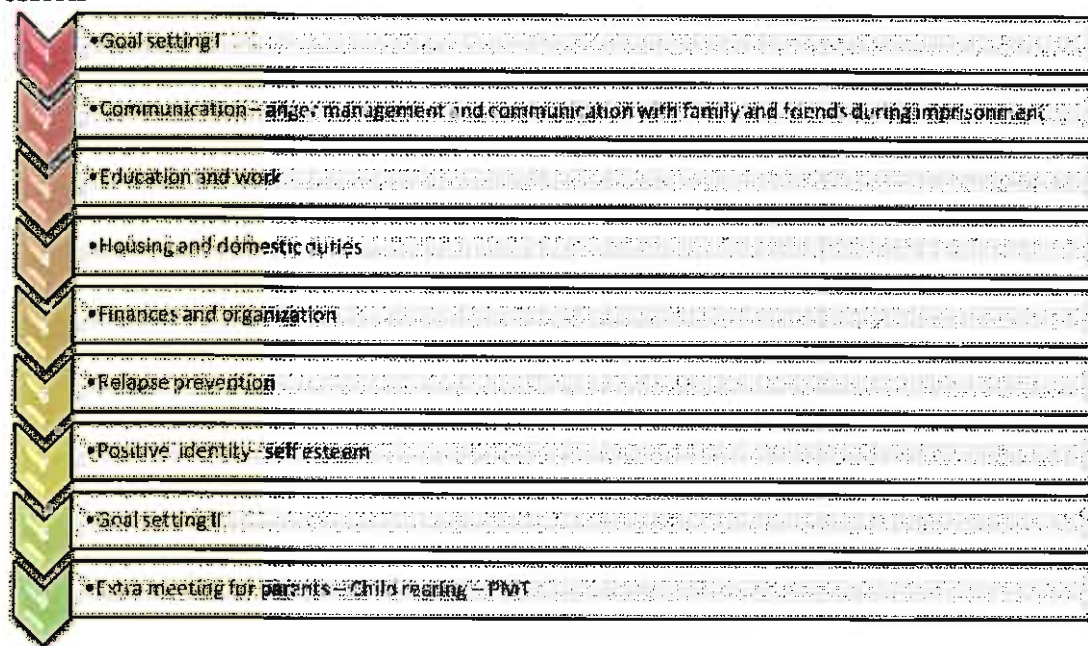
Certain tasks have been created around every meeting where the participants have specific roles, for example, two participants make arrangements for refreshments and two other participants make arrangements so that the meeting room is set up. These two tasks are assigned to different participants at the end of each meeting.

Below in figure 1 is a list that describes the structure of each meeting. Every meeting starts with an icebreaker which involves everyone at the meeting having to participate in a short game that focuses on pulling the group together and creating group cohesion. After the icebreaker comes a short lecture around the days topic that is then immediately followed by a group discussion. After the group discussion is a short break and then another short lecture about the day's topic that is also followed by a group discussion at the end. At the end of each meeting the group goes over the home assignment which all members are expected to complete before the start of the next meeting.



**Figure 1. Structure of each course.**

As shown in figure 2 the materials in the group meeting were selected based on the most frequently asked questions that inmates were bringing to social workers during their imprisonment. Also the material is based on facts and information that is crucial for inmates to gain during their time in prisons for them to have as effective integration after their imprisonment. The main goal is to improve social integration and social health during imprisonment. Another important factor is to change the focus from being placed on being in prison towards thinking about the time of release. Below are the topics of each session



**Figure 2. Agenda**

At the end of the course all participants are offered at least one individual interview with a social worker. In this interview the inmates situation is reevaluated and increased services offered if need, for example, interviews with psychologist. The inmates sentencing plan/correctional plan is reviewed and revised during this interview and then modified every 6 months after the interview. This plan can then follow the inmate onto his/hers probation period as a support material.

## **Results**

So far 140 participants have attended the course. Four inmates who have been offered a place in the course refused to attend. Over all 138 of the participants reported that they did enjoy the course. About 93% reported that they had gained a lot of information from the course but 5% reported having gained next to nothing from the course. Around 2% reported having gotten nothing out of the course. 138 participants reported that they would recommend the course to other inmates.

This is a research based practice. From the start of the courses we have asked participants to answer questionnaires about the course. All improvements or changes in the course are based on information that we gain from this questionnaire. The reason for the simplicity of this questionnaire is the fact that some of the participants have a hard time filling out or following complicated lists. The questionnaires are anonymous, and are placed in a closed envelope to increase reliability of the answers.

## **Conclusion**

Research has shown that it is important to focus on social integration of inmates. One of the major determinant of whether an individual will re-offend is how effective his or hers social integration was after serving his or her sentence. At the same time as an emphasis is placed on integration it is also to focus on the inmate's social health by offering assistance and information around financial matters, housing matters, employment and helping the individual to become an active member in society. Social workers in the Icelandic prison and probation administration have developed a policy around how services are offered to inmates. This is done by offering services in the form of group sessions instead of individual sessions. The goal of this form of treatment is to offer services to a larger number of inmates and offer services and treatment based on evidenced based practice.

Over all there have been 140 inmates who have participated in the group courses offered by social workers in the Icelandic prison system according to the participants report there is an overall enjoyment with the courses where only about 3% of participants reported that they did not gain anything from attending the courses and around 93% reported that they had gained a lot of information from the course but.

These results indicate that this form of treatment is well suited to the Icelandic prion environment and that the Icelandic prion administration should place a greater emphasis on developing and strengthening existing group courses.

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# **Christianskolen – a study on preventive effects on crime**

*by Mette Foss Andersen*

*(Please notice, that the results of the study is not official yet)*

## **Introduction and methods**

*Christianskolen* is a school for normally gifted young people in age 12 – 17 year, having different problems of social, personal and/or psychological nature, and which do not fit in in the already existing offers of educations for that group of age. Approximately 69 percent of the pupils have been charged with a crime under and/or over the age of criminal responsibility (which in Denmark is 15 years), before they begin at the school. The pupils are referred to the school from 'Psychological, Psychiatric Advice' (PPR) in the municipality of Frederiksberg in Copenhagen.

The school has focus on an integrated and holistic approach and an appreciatively pedagogy. The school has a high staffing with about one teacher or social education-worker for every two pupils. Futhermore the school helps the pupils to reabsorb to an education or other occupation, and does follow-up on reabsorbing

The purpose of the study is to examine whether the school and its work prevent crime among the pupils in comparison with a control group.

The study is done with a mix of qualitative and quantitative strategies. To measure to what extent the work of the school prevents crime among the pupils, analysis of the registered crime of the pupils before, doing and after they attended the school was made. Under the hypothesis that the school influences the criminal behavior of the pupils in a positive way, a qualitative approach was taken. Interviews were done with pupils, teachers, social education workers and the principal of school. Further observations of the daily routines of the school were done over a period of three weeks.

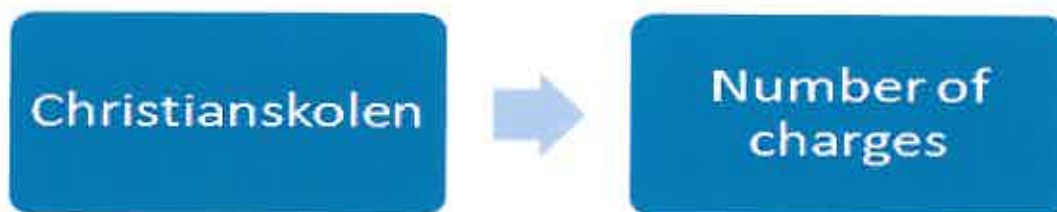
In this paper I will focus on the quantitative methods in the study, and discuss the results.

## **Design: a natural experiment**

In cause and effect questions, as illustrated in figure 1, where to explore whether there is a causal relationship among two factors, the ideal design is the experiment.



Figure 1. 'Does the program at Christianskolen has an effect on the level of crime among the pupils?'



In the archetypical experiment the population of interest, is randomly allocated in two groups, an experimental group that receive a treatment, and a control group that does not. With a perfect randomization, all individuals in the population of interest should have the same probability to receive the treatment. Then both experimental- and control group will have the same level of the outcome of interest. The ideal experiment is illustrated in figure 2.

Figure 2. A perfectly randomized experiment

### The Ideal Experiment with an Equivalent Control Group

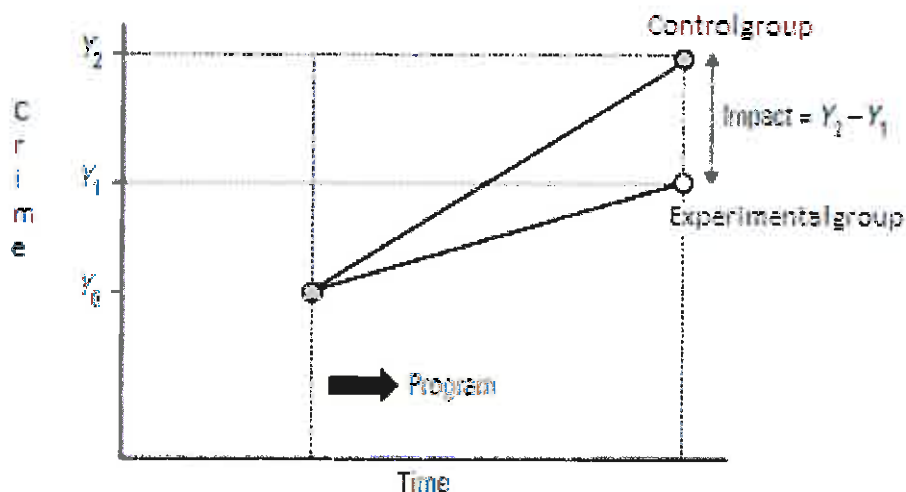


Figure borrowed and edited from Khandker, Koolwal & Samad 2010:34

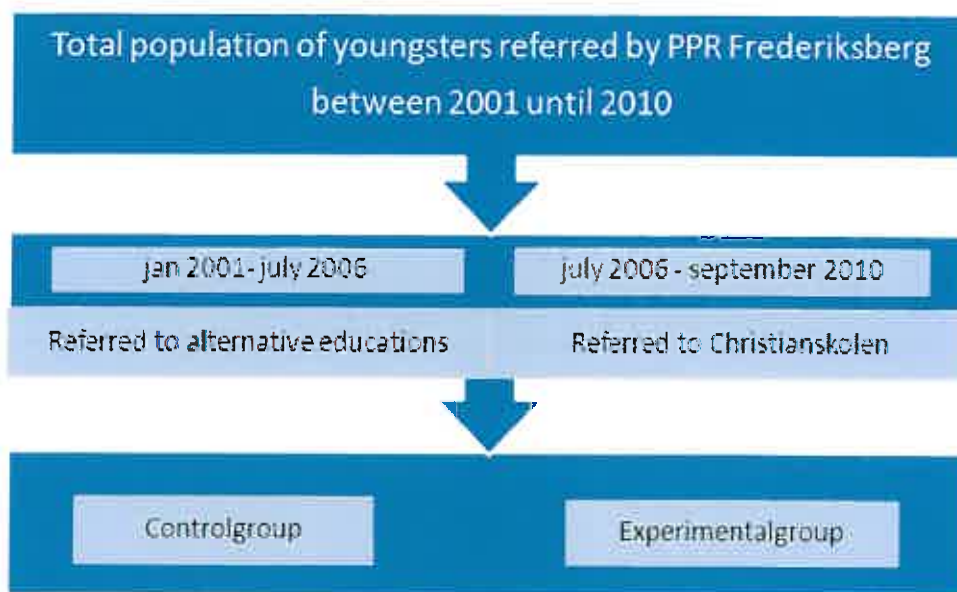
In this study the crime rate is examined, before the intervention ( $Y_0$ ), and after the treatment. If the program turns out to have an effect, the level of crime in the experimental group ( $Y_1$ ) should be lower than that of the control group ( $Y_2$ ). The impact, or effect, of the program, for a randomly drawn person from the population, then can be measured by subtracting  $Y_1$  from  $Y_2$  (Khandker, Koolwal & Samad 2010:34; Dunning 2008:282).

However, in criminological studies, such ideal experiments are rare, if they do exist at all. Due to practical and ethical conditions, it is seldom an opportunity to randomly split a group of criminal people in two, for then assigning a treatment for one group only.

As an alternative is the *natural experiment*. In a natural experiment, it is not the researcher, who assign the treatment, but instead a ‘naturally occurring’ event or shock, that ‘naturally’ distribute the population in two clearly defined groups. The groups can be used as a experimental- and control group and the experimental group is thought to be affected by the change. The assignment is then not random, but an exogenous shock that affects the environment that the individuals are operating in (Woolridge2010:458; Meyer 1995:151; Robinson et.al; 2009:346; Dunning 2008:290).

The design of this study can be stated as a ‘natural experiment’. Christianskolen was established in July 2006 as a school for young people with the largest social problems in the municipal. Before the school was established, this group was referred to a mix of public and private alternatives of education within and outside the municipal. With the establishment of the school, there was a ‘natural’ point of intersection, which split this group of young people in two, those who were referral to an alternative education before the date, and the ones those who were referral after. The young people that were refer to alternative educations before the establishment of Christiansskolen is used as a historical control group. In principle it is ‘as if random’, if a person were referred before or after the school was established. The ‘point of intersection’ is illustrated in figure 3.

**Figure 3. ‘As-if-random’ selection to experimental and control group**



The fact that it is the establishment of the school, which distributes the youngsters in two groups, means that there in principle should not be any systematically differences between the two groups. The groups are selected from PPR, and through PPR is it secured that the criteria for referral, before and after the establishment of Christiansskolen, have been completely equal. That means, that the youngsters should has the same probability to be in the experimental- and the control group, and the process of assignment should therefore

not influence the potential outcome, the crime rate, after the complete of the education, in both treatment- and control group. In other words the process of assigning the treatment,  $D$ , is ignorable (Morgan & Winship 2010: 40).

$$(Y^0, Y^1) \perp\!\!\!\perp D$$

However, according to Robinson (et.al; 2009:347) the mechanism of assignment in natural experiments is completely out of the reseachers hand, and even 'as if' random assignment can never be perfect; there will always be a probability that the process that allocate the groups is not statistical equal.

Therefore, in a attemp to meet eventually selection bias, statistical pretests have been done on all available factors. There has been tested on inequalities between the two groups based on gender, ethnic background, age of enrollment, age for criminal debut, length of intervention, the number of charges and the number of judgment before and after the age of criminal responsibility. On these parameters, there were no significant differences between the groups. Most importantly, there were no statistical significant difference in the number of charges before enrollment for the two groups. Because of the similarity between the groups, it seems like 'The problem of the counterfactual' is solved: 'The main challenge of an evaluation is to determine what would have happen to the beneficiaries if the program had not existed' (Khandker, Koolwal & Samad:22)

The control-group should therefore reflect what would have happen to the group of pupils from Christianskolen if they were refered before june 2006. The group of pupils from Christianskolen, should reflects what would have happened to the control group, in which case they were referred *after* June 2006.

According to Dunning (2008:282) the principle of 'as if random' secures that all differences in the average outcomes between the two groups, are not due to confounders or other factors than the treatment alone. Therefore we should be able to refer an eventually effect on the crime rate back to the treatment. I will discuss that statement, after presenting the results.

## Data

The fact that Christianskolen is relatively new, and the evaluation included a two-year period of observation, only pupils that have been enrolled at the school from its beginning in July 2006 until 2010 were included in the evaluation, in total 39 pupils. For the control group, it was only possible to get data for youngsters back until 2001, and from that selection several pupils could not be used, some because they had also been refered to Christiansskolen, or other because of lack of information. In total, the control group consists of 37 young people. According to Dunning (2008) a small sample size is not necessary a problem in the natural experiment, but of course, other problems occur, such as large or undefined standard errors.

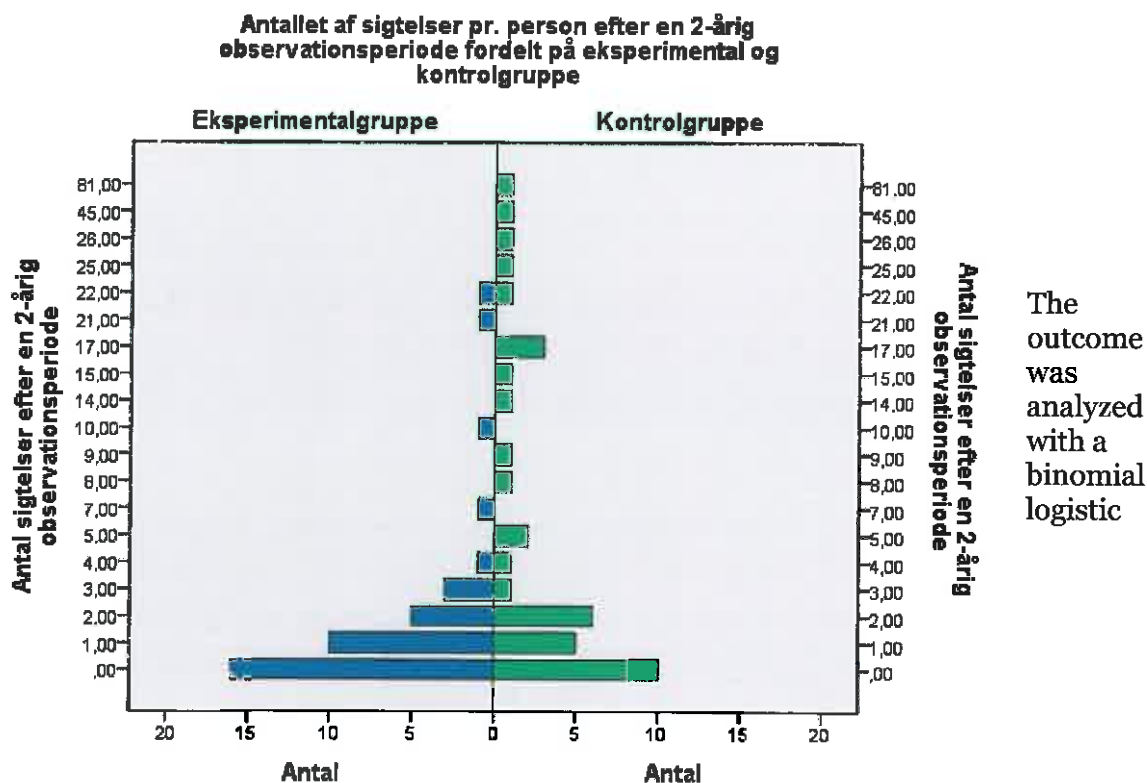
The data is in panel data form, containing registered crime from the debut crime to two years after the intervention for the 79 individuals. With the data available, it was only possible to measure the number of sentences, not its form, which mean it was not possible to distinguish whether the young had an acquittal or a penalty. Therefor the number of charges is measured; even though it not reflects perfectly the crime that is actually committed.

In the following, I will present the results of the study. *Please respect that these results is not official yet.*

## Results

Two years before enrollment, the two groups in total have respectively 105 and 106 charges for crime. Among 69 pct. of the youngsters in the experimental group and 59 pct. in the control group have at least one criminal charge, both under and over the criminal age of responsibility. Even though the difference may seem large it is not a significant difference due to the small groups. Two years after completion of the education, the experimental group had 93 charges and the control group had 330, as the histogram shows in figure 4.

Figure 4. Number of charges for every individual after a 2-year observation period, distributed on experimental and control group.



regression, where the following parameters were significant on a 5 pct. Significant level; Treatment status, charges before and gender. Parameters for ethnicity, age on enrolling and age of finalizing the education, age of criminal debut, and length of intervention were not statistically significant. The results are shown in table 1.