

# Abstracts

Some of the nordic criminologists who were to participate in NSfK Research Seminar 2021 share their research in these abstracts.

## **Typologies of sexual assaults among young people: A latent class analysis approach**

Lars Roar Frøyland et al .....page 2

## **Sex crimes and actuarial prediction in Nordic countries. A gaze from predictive policing studies**

Carlo Gatti, PhD-student .....page 7

## **Digital crime victimization in Iceland and the MeToo movement**

Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Professor ..... page 10

## **Maintaining Desistance: Barriers and Expectations in Women’s Desistance from Crime**

Robin Gålnander, Lecturer .....page 12

## **Social responses to narratives of sexual harmdoing**

Anja Emilie Kruse, PhD .....page 14

## **Child sexual abuse – trends in offence characteristics and sanction practices in Finland**

Tiina Malin, PhD-student ..... page 16

## **(How) can we include questions about crime victimisation questions in a survey about everyday legal problems? – Perspectives for an upcoming Finnish legal needs survey**

Yaira Obstbaum, .....page 19

## **A data-driven intimate partner violence typology in a Finnish sample**

Maiju Tanskanen, PhD-student .....page 22

## **Preventing Violence Against Women or Violence Work? — The Swedish Model of Prostitution**

Niina Vuolajärvi, PhD .....page 25

# Typologies of sexual assaults among young people: A latent class analysis approach

Lars Roar Frøyland et al

Lars Roar Frøyland, Senior Researcher, Patrick Lie Andersen, Researcher, Kari Stefansen, Research Professor, Norwegian Social Research (NOVA) – Oslo Metropolitan University.

## Introduction

Sexual assault is a serious social problem among young people and the long-term outcomes of such experiences may be dire. However, the scientific evidence on the incidentspecific characteristics of sexual assault situations among young people is scarce. In this paper we critically engage with existing conceptualizations and aim to develop a typology that can inform theoretical development as well as prevention policies. The typology is developed by using Latent Class Analysis (LCA) to delineate distinctly different classes of sexual assault among young people. LCA is a statistical method for identifying membership in unmeasured latent classes based on response patterns in observed study variables. Sexual assault is defined here as experiences ranging from indecent exposure to rape.

In this paper our focus is what latent categories of sexual assaults young people report and along which dimensions they can be meaningfully distinguished. We also plan to investigate how the latent categories of sexual assault differ in their association to individual and situational characteristics and the outcomes of the experience.

## Labels and categorizations of sexual assault

Labels and categorizations of sexual assault are important to address as they offer different inroads to understanding the phenomenon. Our point of departure here is that differentcategorizations may be useful for different purposes. This does not preclude a need for critical assessment of the implications of relying on different types of categorization of sexual assault. An example is how penal categories and ensuing hierarchizations often are taken for granted as valid and justified through prevalence research.

The literature offers a range of different categorizations of sexual assault, most often based on external or theoretical criteria. In survey research, and following the lead of Mary P. Koss, much attention has been directed at developing measures that encompass all acts that is considered rape in the legal sense (Krebs, 2014; Stefansen, Løvgren, & Frøyland, 2019). There are also studies on specific forms of rape defined in the penal code, such as incapacitated rape (Stefansen, Frøyland, & Overlien, 2020) and statutory rape (Small, 2020) as well as ‘minor’ sexual offences such as unwanted touching (Stefansen, 2019) and sexual harassment (Fileborn, 2019). Sexual assaults can also be categorized according to the relationship between the victim and offender, with labels such as stranger rape and acquaintance rape (Friis-Rødel, Leth & Astrup, 2021; Persson & Dhingra, 2020), date rape

(Ogunwale & Oshiname, 2017), or marriage / partner rape (Tarzia, 2020). The latter type of differentiation has been important in highlighting the prevalence of sexual assault and rape beyond the stereotypical stranger rape script. Other types of labels and categorizations highlight the social or personal context of sexual assaults. Examples include the campus rape concept (Abu-Odeh, Khan, & Nathanson, 2020) and the idea of “vulnerability rapes.” The latter is used for instance in statistics from the Norwegian Police with reference to rapes against victims who “live a life in loneliness, and are often isolated from society. They are in a quite vulnerable situation, which makes them at risk for repeat assaults. Prostitutes, drug addicts, and persons in institutional care, are particularly at risk” (Kripos, 2020: p. 8, authors’ translation).

### **The LCA-approach to sexual assault categorization: Previous studies**

LCA is a more inductive approach compared to the theoretically driven categorizations described above, as it allows for patterns unknown to the researcher to form the basis of labelling and typologization. It also allows for the inclusion of a range of situational characteristics in the construction of categories as such. LCA has been used in studies on different issues to identify empirically based categorizations. To date there are only a few studies using this approach in relation to sexual offending and sexual victimization. Among Canadian convicted serial sex offenders, LCA has been used to identify target selection scripts (Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010). Similar methods have been used among Danish adults (Heinskou, Schierff, Ejbye-Ernst, Bank Friis, & Liebst, 2017) and US college students (Khan, Hirsch, Wamboldt, & Mellins, 2018) to identify classes of sexual assault victimization. The main intake from previous studies is how classes of sexual assault vary according to individual, relational, and situational characteristics of the assault.

Our analyses build on this body of work and aim to contribute to the discussion on how sexual assaults can be meaningfully distinguished so as to capture real life experiences and their relationship to background factors and adverse outcomes. In particular, we include a wide range sexual assault experiences, and victim descriptions and understandings of such experiences to delineate a typology of sexual assault using nationally representative samples of Norwegian young people.

### **Data and methods**

The data are obtained from the UngVold (Youth Violence) study, conducted by Norwegian Social Research. The study comprises two large-scale surveys among students (18–20-years old) in the final year of high school in Norway, in 2007 (n = 7,033) and 2015 (n =4,530). The data material from the surveys are pooled together in order to obtain the necessary statistical power for the proposed analyses. Both surveys included questions on sexual assaults during childhood and adolescence, and an “incident report” relating to the first and last incident, with questions about the perpetrator and the situation. Sexual assault was measured using a behaviorally specific questionnaire, including experiences such as indecent exposure, unwanted sexual touching, and penetration. Only respondents that answered in the affirmative

to at least one of the questions on sexual assault completed the incident report. The preliminary analyses are based on the first reported incidence of sexual assault by the victims.

Latent class analysis (LCA) was utilized for identifying classes of sexual assault among Norwegian adolescents. Classes were identified based on information on the age of the perpetrator, the victims' relationship to the perpetrator (friend, boyfriend/girlfriend, acquaintance, stranger, trainer/teacher, and family member), whether alcohol was involved in the situation around the assault (victim, assailant, or both drunk when it happened), and nine statements on how the victims would describe what happened in the situation, with response options ranging from Very true (1) to Not true at all (4).

## **Results**

The included surveys contain data on 1,863 sexual assaults experienced by Norwegian 18–20-year olds. Sexual assaults predominantly involve a female victim and a male assailant, with 85 percent of the victims being female and 90 percent of the assailants being male. The overall mean age of the perpetrators were 24 years old, while the mean age of the victims were 14 years old. Strangers were the most common assailants, responsible for one out of three sexual assaults, while acquaintances were the assailant in 27 percent of the situations. Friends were the perpetrator in 18 percent of the assaults, while boyfriends/girlfriends and family members each were the perpetrator in around one out of ten assaults.

In the latent class analyses we tried models with different number of classes, from two to 13. The 4-class LCA model displayed the best fit based on BIC and AIC values and theoretical reasoning. The first class (17.9%) comprises assaults where a young (typically) girl is tricked into a situation that ends up with a sexual assault by an older person. The mean age of the assailants were 46 years old, while the mean age of the victims were 11 years old. About half of the assailants were strangers to the victims, while a quarter were family members. The victims commonly interpreted the assault as caused by getting involved in something they were too young to understand or being tricked or persuaded. Alcohol was seldomly involved in the incidents. This class captures what is often described as childhood sexual abuse.

The second class (35.9%) comprises assaults involving alcohol use and strangers or acquaintances as assailants. The mean age of the assailants were 20 years old, while the mean age of the victims were 15 years old. 37 percent of the assaults were conducted by a stranger, while an acquaintance was the perpetrator in 30 percent of the instances. The victims typically do not report any forms of coercion or being restrained. This class captures youth sexual assault by strangers and acquaintances.

The third class (27.0%) also comprises sexual assaults that involve the use of alcohol, but unlike the second class, the perpetrators are typically either friends or a boyfriend/ girlfriend. The perpetrator and the victim are also closer in age, with mean ages of respectively 17 and 14. The victims commonly report being exposed to mild coercion, being persuaded or tricked, or participating voluntary, but regretting later. Many also reports being too young to

understand the situation. This class captures youth sexual assault in close or trusting relationships.

The final class (18.8%) of sexual assaults among Norwegian adolescents comprises violent assaults from strangers or acquaintances. The mean age of the perpetrators were 20 years old, while the mean age of the victims were 14 years old. 96 percent of the victims report being restrained, while three out of four were the object of heavy coercion. 40 percent were threatened with violence, while 30 percent were violently victimized.

## **Summary and discussion**

The latent class analyses return four distinctly different classes of sexual assault among Norwegian adolescents. The next step of the analyses is to investigate how the classes differ in their association to both individual and situational characteristics, as well as outcomes of the experience. This understanding of typologies of sexual assault among adolescents, and their association to related factors, may facilitate the creation of targeted preventive measures, taking incident-specific characteristics into consideration.

## **Literature**

Abu-Odeh, D., Khan, S., & Nathanson, C. A. (2020). [Social constructions of rape at Columbia University and Barnard College, 1955–90. \*Social Science History\*, 44\(2\), 355–379.](#)

Deslauriers-Varin, N., & Beauregard, E. (2010). [Victims' routine activities and sex offenders' target selection scripts: A latent class analysis. \*Sexual Abuse\*, 22\(3\), 315–342.](#)

Fileborn, B. (2019). [Naming the unspeakable harm of street harassment: A survey-based examination of disclosure practices. \*Violence Against Women\*, 25\(2\), 223–248.](#)

Friis-Rødel, A. M., Leth, P. M., & Astrup, B. S. (2021). [Stranger rape; distinctions between the typical rape type and other types of rape. A study based on data from Center for Victims of Sexual Assault. \*Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine\*, 102159.](#)

Heinskou, M., Schierff, L. M., Ejbye-Ernst, P., Bank Friis, C., & Liebst, L. (2017). [Seksuelle krænkelser i Danmark – Omfang og karakter. \*Det Kriminalpræventive Råd\*.](#)

Khan, S., Hirsch, J., Wamboldt, A., & Mellins, C. (2018). [“I didn’t want to be ‘that girl’”: The social risks of labeling, telling, and reporting sexual assault. \*Sociological Science\*, 5, 432–460.](#)

Krebs, C. (2014). [Measuring sexual victimization: On what fronts is the jury still out and do we need it to come in? \*Trauma, Violence, & Abuse\*, 15\(3\), 170–180.](#)

Kripos. (2020). [Voldtektssituasjonen i Norge 2019. \*Kripos\*.](#)

Ogunwale, A. O., & Oshiname, F. O. (2017). [A qualitative exploration of date rape survivors' physical and psycho-social experiences in a Nigerian university. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 32\(2\), 227–248.](#)

Persson, S., & Dhingra, K. (2020). [Attributions of blame in stranger and acquaintance rape: A multilevel meta-analysis and systematic review. Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 1524838020977146.](#)

Small, J. L. (2020). [Conceptualizing consent: How prosecutors identify sexual victimization in statutory rape cases. Inquiry, 45\(1\), 111–131.](#)

Stefansen, K. (2019). Understanding unwanted sexual touching. A situational approach. In M. Heinskou, M. L. Skilbrei, & K. Stefansen (Eds.), *Rape in the Nordic Countries. Continuity and Change* (pp. 49–65). Routledge.

Stefansen, K., Frøyland, L. R., & Overlien, C. (2020). [Incapacitated sexual assault among youths: Beyond the perpetrator tactics framework. Journal of Youth Studies.](#)

Stefansen, K., Løvgren, M., & Frøyland, L. R. (2019). Making the case for 'good enough' rape prevalence estimates. Insights from a school-based survey experiment among Norwegian youths. In M. Heinskou, M. L. Skilbrei, & K. Stefansen (Eds.), *Rape in the Nordic Countries. Continuity and Change* (pp. 66–82). Routledge.

Tarzia, L. (2020). [Women's emotion work in the context of intimate partner sexual violence. Journal of Family Violence.](#)

# Sex crimes and actuarial prediction in Nordic countries. A gaze from predictive policing studies

Carlo Gatti, PhD-student, University of Turku

## **Introduction**

This study intends to set an anchor point between the thorny matter of sex crimes in Nordic countries and my personal background as a researcher in predictive policing.

I locate this bridge-topic in the wide and long-lasting reliance on predictive techniques informing the prevention of sex offences, traditionally regarded as a laboratory of actuarial calculations from the Chicago school onwards.

The contribution that I try to offer from my position is an overview of the actuarial methods currently deployed in this field by the Nordic countries and a critical analysis of their theoretical background. Acknowledging my lack of specific training in sex crimes, I have no pretension of taking part in the specialist debate, nor am I assessing the predictive power of the devices, as not only a specialist experience, but also a set of notions from fields other than law and criminology – in particular clinical psychology – would be required for a serious analysis.

It will be up to the specialists to estimate whether a renewed sensitivity is needed and, if so, to what extent new technical solutions are workable to better reconcile crime prevention goals with the sore spots that I try to bring to light.

## **Contextualization**

While seeking a thematic parallelism with my main research field, important differences need to be preliminarily clarified.

First, actuarial prediction in sex offences is limited, contrary to predictive policing, to a recidivism risk-assessment.

Secondly, while predictive policing relies on algorithmic technology, sex crimes prediction only represents a manually replicable prediction or, at most, a machine scoring systematized by pre-established grids of factors.

Thirdly, predictive policing is not conceived a priori for one class of crimes.

Finally, recalling that predictive policing splits into two main categories, person-based and place-based systems, the similarity with actuarial calculations of sex crimes recidivism is limited to the first type and only with this restriction in mind it makes sense to reflect on possible analogies.

## Methodology and content development

The argument builds on the reconstruction of the actuarial protocols currently adopted in the Nordic countries and the modalities by which they are deployed by the different correctional agencies. Contrary to the secrecy that normally shrouds predictive policing algorithms, the mapping of the actuarial tools employed to profile sex offenders does not face this obstruction.

Nevertheless, the instruments in use in a given time and place often follow non-institutionalized praxis and enquiries to scholars, law enforcement agents and actuarial tools developers turn out an inevitable step.

The data so collected are placed into a synoptic grid laying the ground for an individualized description of the different tools around two basic traits: the type of risk-assessment at work and the illustration of the predictors.

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>PRAXIS</b>
<b>DENMARK</b>	<b>RSVP/SVR-20</b> and <b>STATIC-99R</b> are the most applied tools for assessment and/or treatment of sexual offenders
<b>FINLAND</b>	<b>RITA</b>
<b>ICELAND</b>	<b>HCR-20</b> (violence threat assessment, mostly focusing on domestic violence). <b>STATIC-99R</b> used to select participants to one of the treatment programs according to the risk-level.
<b>NORWAY</b>	Generic tool <b>RNR-A</b> for all SPPS clients. <b>STATIC 99R/STABLE 2007</b> sometimes complement the RNR response.
<b>SWEDEN</b>	<b>ERASOR</b> for adolescents.

The subsequent critical analysis centres on the definition of a common background and proceeds from two major perspectives: the challenging of a prototypical selective idea about the offender and the criminal behaviour, and possible conflicts with basic guarantees of the rule of law.

## **Concluding discussion**

The point of my critique is not an irreflexive rejection of any recourse to predictive techniques. It is rather an appeal for caution on four main points that, in my view, unify the different experiences and deserve a deeper problematization.

First, the underlying idea of sexual deviancy, which adjusts the dangerousness of identical conducts according to whether they take place or not within a stable and heterosexual partner relationship.

Secondly, the impact modulation of non-sexual crime record on the risk-assessment for the mechanical application of schemes borrowed from situational doctrines, deeply rooted in the socio-economic deficit paradigm.

Thirdly, the preponderant role of static variables for their tendential collision with the rehabilitative function of punishment.

Fourth and last of this short review, the problem deriving from the use of logistic regression in such a context where normative and cultural elements are pivotal in the definition of the predicted outcome.

# Digital crime victimization in Iceland and the MeToo movement

Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Professor, University of Iceland and Jónas Orri Jónasson, Analyst at Reykjavik Metropolitan police

In recent years, crime control agencies such as the police have detected a shift of criminal activity from the “real world” to the internet. The web has increasingly been used as a source to target victims all over the globe. Through the internet, people worldwide can be connected, giving rise to all kinds of new opportunities including deviant activities and crime. Several internet-related threats are regularly being reported in the mass media, e.g. computer fraud, ID thefts, sexual harassment, digital bullying and, most recently, digital warfare; all of these indicate a new type of threat to public safety in post-modernity.

The first study in Iceland examining digital crime victimization among the Icelandic public was conducted in 2016. The objective of the study was to examine how many of the respondents had been victims of digital crime. This was measured by asking respondents the following question: “Have you been a victim of any of the following offences online in the past three years?” The options given were slander or defamation of character, threat of violence, identity theft, sexual harassment, blackmail, consumer fraud, or photos being shared online without permission. According to the findings, approximately 13 percent of the respondents admitted to digital victimization in the past three years prior to the survey. Slander and consumer fraud were the most common types of victimization.

In 2018, this same survey was repeated using the same questionnaire as in 2016. The survey was placed online as before in cooperation with the Social Sciences Research Institute to a sample of about two thousand respondents reflecting the Icelandic population aged 18 years and older. Of specific interest in the wake of the MeToo confessions in 2017, was to explore whether these public revelations might have any relationship with the sexual victimization experiences reported by women in the 2018 survey.

The 2018 results showed a significant increase of victimization from the 2016 survey. Approximately 19 percent admitted to digital victimization in 2018, with the increase being most notable regarding sexual harassment of women. A recent article in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Kriminalvidenskab*, the authors Gunnlaugsson and Jónasson (2020), discuss a possible MeToo effect as an explanation for more reporting by women of sexual victimization in 2018 compared to 2016. Not necessarily suggesting an actual increase of this type of victimization, nor a direct cause of more incidences reported, but possibly reflecting more social awareness among women with respect to recognizing certain unwanted behavior as sexual harassment than before. Harassing communications previously perceived as nothing more than a nuisance, increasingly being interpreted as sexual harassment in the aftermath of MeToo. Still, a question remains. Has the impact of MeToo a lasting influence or only a short-term effect – if indeed there was one to begin with?

In 2020, the survey was conducted for the third time. Using the same questionnaire and placed online as before. The main results show a similar proportion of the sample admitting to digital crime victimization as in 2018, or about 19 percent. Most reported slander and consumer fraud as before in 2016 and 2018. Majority of victims was in the youngest age group 18-29 old, but difference between males and females was not significant. About ten percent of the women admitted to sexual victimization especially younger women – a similar rate as in 2018. Therefore, more younger women reported sexual victimization in both 2018 and 2020 compared to 2016; the most notable change between the first survey and the latter two. If indeed there was a MeToo effect in 2018, the impact appears to be still in place in 2020.

References:

Gunnlaugsson, H. and Jónasson, J. O. (2020). Is digital crime victimization increasing in Iceland – may the Mee-too movement influence how victimization is experienced? *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Kriminalvidenskab*. 107(1), p. 24-40.

# Maintaining Desistance: Barriers and Expectations in Women's Desistance from Crime

[Robin Gålnander](#), Lecturer (temporary), Department of Criminology, Stockholm University

## Abstract

Maintaining desistance is about struggling. It is about leaving a destructive and unwanted way of life behind in pursuit of something else, something unknown, something 'normal'. When people who have lived their entire life at the margin of society – in poverty, drug use, criminalisation and condemnation – set out to change their lives, what does that mean? Individual reform is not an easy task for anyone, and perhaps even less so for people involved in criminalised lifestyles. Yet, this is at the core of current understandings in criminology and the criminal justice system. But how do people involved with the criminal justice system go about such reform? And how do individual resources and social structure shape the road to inclusion and 'normality'?

This book is the culmination of a research project covering women's desistance from crime. The overarching question that the research project grapples with is 'What is important in the lives of criminalised women as they set out to change their ways of living and acting?' This broad focus thus includes aspects that may facilitate or hinder desistance; what helps, what impedes, and why?

The results and discussions draw on repeated in-depth interviews with ten women in Sweden. The women had spent the majority of their lives in a position as 'other', segregated and excluded from conventional society. For decades, the women were engaged in criminalised lifestyles circulating around common street crime. At the start of the project, these ten women had just set out on a journey towards a new life, striving to leave crime, drugs, exclusion and condemnation behind. The project's longitudinal design allowed me to take part in the women's desistance journeys, and study the processes involved.

Findings from the project have been published as articles in scientific journals. This book situates these findings, and discusses the implications of the project as a whole: its methodological, empirical and theoretical contributions. Taken together, the results elucidate both expectations and inhibitions associated with desistance; hopes, outlooks, achievements, as well as barriers or hindrances faced along the way. These different findings emphasise the uncertainties involved in 'going straight' or maintaining desistance, in ways that adds nuance to and critically furthers contemporary understandings in the research field and criminal justice practice.

The prospective and exploratory approach of this project thus adds to current knowledge by elucidating experiences of structural barriers, relational uncertainties, personal doubt, hope,

and aspirations involved in ongoing desistance processes. Looking forward, it is important for future research and criminal justice practice to acknowledge desistance as complex processes. Desistance journeys are subject to relapse and fraught with emotions, hinders, setbacks but also hope and aspirations that all must be taken into consideration if society is to understand and better support people attempting such reform.

Link to the fulltext: <http://su.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1465405/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

## Social responses to narratives of sexual harmdoing

Anja Emilie Kruse, PhD, Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies (NKVTS) / Department of Criminology and Sociology of Law, University of Oslo. Contact: [anja.kruse@nkvts.no](mailto:anja.kruse@nkvts.no)

### **The powerful potential of responses to violence**

In recent years, interest in the effect and meaning of responses to sexual, domestic and other forms of interpersonal violence has surged. This has been perhaps particularly evident in the powerful and transnational #metoo movement, with its emphasis on problematizing the lack of adequate responses to everyday sexism and harassment as well as criminalized forms of sexual violence.

In the context of this text, responses refers to how we as individuals, our institutions and our societies deal with events or actions that demand our attention – in short, what we say and what we do when we encounter, for example, sexual violence. What inspires and instigates social responses to sexual and other forms of interpersonal violence is, often, stories or narratives of such violence.

Institutional, local and interpersonal responses to violence and violations have the potential of producing and reproducing dominant understandings of violence and harm, but also of subverting and expanding them, sometimes creating grounds for recognizing new forms of harm and violence. Part of what has made #metoo such an influential social movement lies, I would argue, in how it insists on scrutinizing how our societies respond to, or rather have not responded adequately to, sexual harassment and sexualized abuses of power.

### **Responses, harmdoing and stories of harmdoing**

One question that is not resolved in the wake of #metoo, however, is how to respond to those responsible for causing sexual harm through their harassing, violating, abusive or violent behavior. And, importantly, what would amount to adequate or fruitful responses to such behavior, ensuring a sense of recognition and justice for those harmed while at the same time allowing space for accountability, learning and rehabilitation in those who have harmed others, and making our societies better equipped for reintegration and restorative processes after harm has been done.

[Please click here for full abstract \(link to pdf-file\).](#)

\*\*\*\*\*

Read more about Kruse's PhD dissertation here: <https://www.nkvts.no/english/book/the-who-the-why-and-the-wherefore-explanations-self-change-and-social-responses-in-mens-narratives-of-sexual-violations/>

Read an interview with Kruse on forskning.no/sciencenorway.no here (in Norwegian):

<https://forskning.no/nasjonalt-kunnskapssenter-om-vold-og-traumatisk-stress-nkvts-partner-seksualitet/voldtektsdomte-menn-har-nytte-av-motstand-i-samtaler/1728639>

# Child sexual abuse – trends in offence characteristics and sanction practices in Finland

Tiina Malin, PhD-student, The Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy, University of Helsinki

Public debate on sexual crimes and their sanctions has been remarkably active in Finland for a couple of decades. As a result, chapter 20 of the Finnish Penal Code concerning sexual offences has gone through several changes in the 21st century. Studies concerning the sanction practices after these changes have been scarce, however. In 2019, the Ministry of Justice set up a new working group to plan major changes to chapter 20 of the Penal Code and evaluate the needs to tighten sanctions in sexual crimes against children.

After setting up the working group, Ministry of Justice made an agreement with the Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy about carrying out a study concerning the legal praxis in sexual crimes against children. This summary is based on a Finnish report of this study published in last year (Malin 2020). The study was conducted in a way that made it possible to compare the results with a similar study published in 2009. That study described cases of sexual crimes against children convicted in 2006 (Hinkkanen 2009). Legislation changed significantly in 2011 so the comparison between these studies shows the effect these changes had on the application of the law.

## **Data and methods**

The study was based on court material data from the database of the Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy. It involves court material of all sentences for sexual crimes against children for the years 2017-2018 given by Finnish district courts and courts of appeal (n=438). Naturally, as the data consist of official crime records, it describes only the cases that have been brought to the attention of authorities and sentenced, not the actual range of sexual violence against children.

## **Background: Trends in the quantity of the crimes – recorded crime and hidden crime**

Cases of child sexual abuse in the official crime records have increased strictly in the past decades. The number of crimes reported to the police has multiplied merely in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and since the beginning of 1980, the growth has been even more radical. One cause of the increase is enhancement in the control of authorities (Hinkkanen 2009). Acts that fill the legal definition of child sexual abuse are being recognized better and the definition has extended. The propensity to report crimes to the police has also risen and this is partly due to the legislative changes that have been made to improve different authorities' obligations to report. At the same time, new channels for child sexual abuse have emerged with increasing use of the Internet and social media.

Yet, recorded crime reflects just a portion of overall crime rate. One common way to discover hidden crime is through crime surveys. In Finland, there has been conducted three large and nationally representative victim surveys for children to obtain their experiences for violence and abuse. The results of these surveys indicate more positive picture than the statistics above. Regarding to the latest child victim survey, sexual experiences that ninth graders have had with adults have declined from previous child victim surveys' results. In 1988, prevalence of sexual contacts between adults and children was 12 percent, in 2008 seven percent while in 2013 it was four percent. (Fagerlund et al., 2014, see also Ellonen et al., 2008 & Sariola, 1990.)

### **Results: Changes in sentencing praxis in the 2000s**

Changes in the law in 2011 that were mentioned above, changed also the sentencing praxis. One of the most crucial change in 2011 was transferring crimes that included penetrating abuse from under the definition of child sexual abuse to under the definition of aggravated child sexual abuse. This affected the amounts of both convicted child sexual abuse cases and aggravated child sexual abuse cases. The former dropped and the latter multiplied. While the number of aggravated child sexual abuse convictions increased, the characteristics of them also changed. Crimes committed by a partner of the victim, acts that lasted a shorter time period and crimes against older victims than before were now convicted as aggravated. In 2006 almost all crimes involving mentioned characteristics were convicted as a basic form of child sexual abuse.

It is notable that even when the number of aggravated child sexual abuse convictions multiplied, the crimes committed didn't change more serious in general. The amount of acts that included penetrating abuse was in fact lowered from the earlier study (Hinkkanen 2009). Instead, a significant change happened in the quantity of crimes committed through internet. As said in the introduction, the increased use of internet has opened new ways for the offenders. In 20 percent of the convictions, the offender had met the victim through social media. Over one fourth of all the child sexual abuse cases in the data happened via internet. In 2006 this number was below four percent.

In 2017-2018 almost half of the convicted offenders in sexual crimes against children were 15-24 years old, one fourth was 15-19 years old. The amount of young offenders convicted of aggravated child sexual abuse has risen greatly. The number of young offenders (under 21-year-olds) has grown between the years 2005 and 2018 from 13 percent to 31 percent. This has had an impact on the convicted sanctions as well. The percentage of unconditional imprisonment of all sanctions convicted from aggravated child sexual abuse has halved while the amount of other sanctions, specially the combination of conditional imprisonment and community service, have grown. All in all, the total number of unconditional imprisonment has still risen due to the increased amount of aggravated child sexual abuse convictions. The mean lengths of average prison sentences in sexual crimes against children were lengthened as well after 2011: conditional imprisonments on average of three months and unconditional imprisonments six months.

## Conclusion

Examining the effects that legislative changes have on sentencing practise is important, especially when new changes are being made. Besides providing information for the legislation process, the results are also crucial for consistent legal praxis, seeing that most judgement documents in sexual crimes are kept secret. The effects that changes of 2011 had on legal practise were wide. Proposal of the new legislation will be handled in the parliament in the autumn of 2021. Planned changes are also going to be significant.

## References

- Ellonen, N., Kääriäinen, J., Salmi, V., & Sariola, H. (2008). Lasten ja nuorten väkivaltakokemukset: Tutkimus peruskoulun 6. ja 9. luokan oppilaiden kokemasta väkivallasta. Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen tutkimustiedonantoja 87, Poliisiammattikoulun raportteja 71/2008.
- Fagerlund, M., Peltola, M., Kääriäinen, J., Ellonen, N., & Sariola, H. (2014). Lasten ja nuorten väkivaltakokemukset 2013. Lapsiuhritutkimuksen tuloksia. Poliisiammattikoulun raportteja 110, Tampere.
- Hinkkanen, V. (2009). Lapsen seksuaalinen hyväksikäyttö. Tutkimus rangaistuskäytännöstä ja seksuaalirikosten uusimisesta. Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen tutkimustiedonantoja 92. Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos, Helsinki.
- Malin, T. (2020). Lapsiin kohdistuneiden seksuaalirikosten rangaistuskäytäntö. Katsauksia 44/2020. Kriminologian ja oikeuspolitiikan instituutti, Helsinki.
- Sariola, H. (1990). Lasten väkivalta- ja seksuaalirikokset. Kotona koettu väkivalta ja seksuaalirikokset aikuisten kanssa. Tutkimus suomalaisista peruskoulun 9.-luokkalaisista vuonna 1988. Lastensuojelun keskusliitto, julkaisu 85, Helsinki.

## (How) can we include questions about crime victimisation questions in a survey about everyday legal problems? – Perspectives for an upcoming Finnish legal needs survey

[Yaira Obstbaum](#), Institute of Criminology and Legal policy, University of Helsinki

A considerable proportion of legal problems of everyday life, and also crime victimisation, occur without the person experiencing them ever seeking assistance from any authorities. Thus, analysing official registers are not a sufficient way to assess the scope of these problems. Victimization surveys are an important instrument for studying distressing events in life that may fulfil the prerequisites of crime, but, are not necessarily reported. Crime victimisation is in this context widely researched in connection to socioeconomic determinants for instance (Kivivuori 2011). Less is known, in the Nordic countries, however, about how crime victimisation intertwined with problems that are of civil legal nature. Kemp et al. (2007) for instance have, using British self-report surveys, found that self-reported legal problems of everyday life often occur in connection with crime victimisation. Indeed, disputes over divorce or visiting children, might in some cases include, threats of violence or vice versa (Daigle et al. 2019). Sometimes, however, the legal status of a dispute is not clear: When for instance, is workplace bullying a civil legal matter and when can it be a crime?

### **Theoretical background**

Legal needs surveys are a tradition of surveys asking people about everyday life problems and disputes that may raise civil legal issues, whether or not this is recognized by those facing them, and whether or not any action taken to deal with the problems, involves the legal system (Genn 1999). The theoretical base of this tradition is in the Access to Justice tradition, that focuses on two basic functions of the justice system: First, individuals should have access to their rights, either through effective defence of their rights or managing their disputes. Second, the justice system should be accessible to all and lead to results that are just both for the individual and for society. (Garth & Capelletti, 1978).

In this context, justiciable problems, or legal problems of everyday life that are the focus of so called *legal needs surveys*, may concern many areas. Commonly they include consumer-problems, money, debt, housing, neighbors, family-issues, work etc. along with problems experienced in contact with authorities or concerning matters of social benefits (procedural problems etc.) Legal needs surveys ask about these issues and their possible resolutions – legal or non-legal – and possible needs for support, from people themselves (Pleasence et al. 2019). The logic is in many ways similar to the idea behind the first crime victimization surveys (Sparks et al. 1977)

Although the best solution to these problems is not necessarily one involving the legal system, we may agree that there are more and less desirable solutions to problems; Studies

show that is common that no action is taken to deal with problems or that people experiencing problems accept solutions that in some way or another is to their disadvantage. The inability to find a suitable solution may lead to harmful outcomes or new problems, the nature of which may be legal, but also economic or social; Problems often cluster (Pleasence et al. 2004). Some legal needs surveys, conducted in different countries, have included questions about crime victimization, violent victimization or intimate partner violence. Including questions about victimization in legal needs surveys can be motivated with the strong association that has been found, between justiciable problem experience and crime victimization along with being associated with social factors. (Pleasence & McDonald, 2013; Kemp et al 2007).

### **The Finnish Everyday Problems, Disputes and Solutions survey**

A national legal needs survey – the Everyday Problems, Disputes and Solutions survey (AORR) survey – will be conducted, in Finland in 2021. The survey includes questions about everyday legal problems – problems where the solution may be legal although not regarded as such by everyone experiencing them – such as consumer problems, housing problems, work problems, family issues (will and family breakdown), problems regarding social benefits and authorities. The survey is to some degree a replica of international standards (OECD 2019) adopted to a Finnish context and checked in collaboration with experts in different fields (family law, debt problems etc.). There are also questions about different kinds of crime victimization.

### **Discussion**

The inclusion of questions of crime victimization in surveys that are primarily focused on civil legal matters, must be planned carefully. The wording and framing of questions about distressing criminal events such as violence, should always be given careful consideration (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014). Wording is, however, important also, when asking about legal problems of everyday life; Being unfairly sacked from work or facing eviction from one's home for instance may belong to the harshest episodes of people's lives. (Pleasence et al. 2019).

Another issue is how validly we can measure crime victimization, in a frame where the main aim is to ask about civil legal matters; Wording cannot be as vast as were the survey focused only on crime victimization. To overcome this problem several experts in victimology surveys have commented on the AORR questionnaire. However, the interpretation of future results must be given much consideration nevertheless, given many of the issues taken up in this short paper.

An important benefit of including questions on crime victimization in legal needs surveys is that it allows the investigation of vicious cycles where civil legal matters and crime victimization occur together, also illuminating overlapping service needs.

## References

Daigle, L. E., Harris, M. N., & Mummert, S. J. (2019). Crime victims and their unmet civil legal needs: Pro bono service provision among private attorneys. *Journal of Victimology and Victim Justice*, 2(1), 26-46. doi:10.1177/2516606918819293

Garth, Bryant G. and Cappelletti, Mauro, "Access to Justice: The Newest Wave in the Worldwide Movement to Make Rights Effective"(1978). Articles by Maurer Faculty. Paper 1142. <http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/facpub/1142>

Genn, H. G. (1999). *Paths to justice. What people do and think about going to law*. Oxford: Hart.

Kemp, V., Pleasence, P., & Balmer, N. J. (2007). *The problems of everyday life: Crime and the civil and social justice survey* Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.

OECD/Open Society Foundations (2019), *Legal Needs Surveys and Access to Justice*, OECD Publishing, Paris. <https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9a36c-en>

Pleasence, P. and H. McDonald (2013), *Crime in Context: Criminal Victimization, Offending, Multiple Disadvantage and the Experience of Civil Law problems*. Law and Justice Foundation of New South Wales, Sydney.

Pleasence, P. T., Balmer, N. J., & Sandefur, R. L. (2013). *Paths to justice: A past, present and future roadmap* Centre for Empirical Legal Studies.

Pleasence, P., Balmer, N. J., Buck, A., O'Grady, A., & Genn, H. (2004). Multiple justiciable problems: Common clusters and their social and demographic indicators. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 1(2), 301-329. doi:10.1111/j.1740-1461.2004.00009.x

Kivivuori, J. (2011). *Discovery of Hidden Crime. Self-Report Surveys in Criminal Policy Context*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sparks, Richard, Hazel G. Genn, and David J. Dodd (1977), *Surveying Victims* (New York: John Wiley).

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2014), *Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence Against Women*, United Nations, New York.

# A data-driven intimate partner violence typology in a Finnish sample

Maiju Tanskanen, PhD-student, Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy, University of Helsinki

## Introduction

In the past few decades, the complexity of intimate partner violence (IPV) has been addressed by calling for typological explanations that classify IPV into subtypes. Some suggested IPV classifications, such as the typologies proposed by Johnson (1995; 2008) and Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994), have been highly influential to IPV theory. Moreover, recognition that there may be several types of IPV with different causes and consequences could be beneficial not only for the sake of theory development but also for preventive purposes, as different IPV subtypes may call for specialized prevention and treatment efforts (e.g., Kelly & Johnson, 2008).

## The current study

The aim of the current study was to define an empirically derived typology by analyzing whether experiences of physical or sexual IPV cluster into classes. The subtypes were identified based on five factors: gender of the victim, control-seeking by the perpetrator, generality of the perpetrator's violent behavior, substance use by the perpetrator and the bidirectionality of violence in the relationship.

The current typology adds to prior research on IPV subtypes in three main ways. First, the majority of previous typologies are based on severe male-to-female violence, and it remains somewhat unclear whether they are applicable when IPV is defined in more inclusive terms. Second, the typology of the current study is data-driven and based on a nationally representative survey sample, whereas prior typologies are commonly constructed from highly selective samples. Third, although the factors used to define the typology are largely adapted from prior research, the study also includes characteristics that have been relatively overlooked as independent factors by prior typological research, such as perpetrator substance use and bidirectional violence.

## Data & methods

The data for the current study is derived from the Finnish National Crime Victim Survey (FNCVS) 2019 (N=4332), which is based on a nationally representative stratified random sample of the Finnish population aged 15 to 84. For the purpose of analyzing IPV subtypes, the data was restricted to those who reported having experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of a current or former married, co-habiting, or dating partner at some time since the age of 15. The IPV measure included a variety of violent acts, ranging from minor (e.g.,

grabbing or preventing from moving) to more severe violence (e.g., kicking or strangling), including also sexual violence (forced sexual intercourse or other sexual acts and attempts at such). The number of respondents (IPV victims) used in the analysis was 856, of whom 642 were women. Latent class analysis (LCA) and latent class regression analysis (LCA) were used as the main analysis methods in identifying the IPV subtypes.

## **Results**

The analysis identified three latent subtypes of IPV:

- The IPV-only perpetrator (IOP) class. The largest class (estimated population share 52.9%) represents a gender symmetric IPV subtype: approximately half the victims in this class are women. Generally violent perpetrators are rare in this group, and the amount of reported substance use by the perpetrator is the lowest among the classes.
- The substance-related violence (SRV) class. The primary characteristic of the second largest class (26.1%) is that it is experienced predominately by women. Moreover, it contains the highest proportion of respondents reporting substance use by the perpetrator.
- The generally violent and controlling perpetrator (GVC) class. The least common type of IPV (20.9%) also contains a high proportion of female victims. This class is characterized by controlling and generally violent perpetrators as well as the highest proportion of respondents reporting mutual violence in the relationship.

While the vast majority of male IPV victims were assigned to the IOP class (83.2%), IPV reported by women was more evenly distributed across the classes, although the IOP class was the most common class for women as well (39.0%). In the SRV class, only 2.8% of respondents assigned to the class were male, whereas in the GVC class the proportion of men was 21.8%.

## **Discussion & conclusions**

The current study replicates several prior findings. More specifically, the analysis identified some subtypes that seem to correspond to the seminal typologies proposed by Johnson (1995; 2008) and Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994). However, the SRV class of the current study lacks an evident counterpart in either of the two typologies. Overall, the finding of substance-related violence as a separate IPV subtype is novel, and it has clear policy implications. Notably, while the association between IPV and substance use is well established, IPV interventions do not traditionally address substance use issues, although there are empirical findings suggesting that substance abuse treatment could reduce IPV (e.g. Murphy & Ting, 2010; Stuart et al., 2009).

The current study has several limitations that concern especially the validity of some measures used in the analysis, as the data is limited to what is known and reported by the victim. Consequently, any conclusions should be drawn with caution. Further research is required to validate the relevance and generalizability of the current typology, especially in

other cultural contexts. Future typological research would benefit from using data from multiple complementary sources (e.g., combined survey and register-based data) in addition to data allowing for both longitudinal and dyadic analysis.

**References:**

Holtzworth-Munroe, A., & Stuart, G. L. (1994). Typologies of male batterers: Three subtypes and the differences among them. *Psychological Bulletin*, 116(3), 476-497.

Johnson, M. P. (1995). Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57(2), 283-294.

Johnson, M. P. (2008). A typology of domestic violence. Intimate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple violence. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Kelly, J. B., & Johnson, M. P. (2008). Differentiation among types of intimate partner violence: Research update and implications for interventions. *Family Court Review*, 46(3), 476-499.

Murphy, C. M., & Ting, L. (2010). The effects of treatment for substance use problems on intimate partner violence: A review of empirical data. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 15(5), 325-333.

Stuart, G. L., O'Farrell, T. J., & Temple, J. R. (2009). Review of the association between treatment for substance misuse and reductions in intimate partner violence. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 44(9-10), 1298-1317.

# Preventing Violence Against Women or Violence Work? — The Swedish Model of Prostitution

Niina Vuolajärvi, PhD, The Zolberg Institute of Migration and Mobility, The New School of Social Research

## Introduction

In 1999, Sweden was the first country to aim at abolishing the sex trade through criminalizing buying (rather than selling) of sex. Criminalizing the buying of sex has its roots in the Nordic feminist movement on violence against women and its understanding of prostitution as part of this violence. The legislative change was meant to advance gender equality and well-being at both societal and individual levels through using the law as a normative tool to “end demand” for sexual commerce. This policy approach commonly known as the “Swedish” or “Nordic” model has started to dominate the way several international organizations, nation-states and civil society think not only about prostitution policies but the overall sex trade. Drawing on a large-scale three-country ethnography conducted in the Nordic region (Sweden, Norway, Finland) between 2012 and 2018 including 210 interviews with migrant and national sex workers and people in the sex trade, policy-makers, the police and social workers this paper discusses how the Swedish model and the popularization of the understanding of commercial sex as a form of violence against women affects people who sell sex.

In this paper, I follow Ruthie Wilson Gilmore’s (2002) understanding of violence as the production of vulnerability to “premature death.” Crucial about this conceptualization is that moves beyond the “perpetrator perspective” – focus on interpersonal physical coercive violence – and extends the conception of violence to include state violence and production of vulnerability. I argue that despite its feminist-humanitarian aura the Swedish model functions as a form of violence in a Gilmorean sense, as it increases the vulnerability of sex workers and people in the sex trade and puts them in many ways in harm’s way. Following Gilmore’s definition, a wide range of people from the police to hotel receptionists and NGOs advancing increased policing of marginalized communities engage in what Micol Seigel (2018) calls “violence work,” production of vulnerabilities.

## Findings

My fieldwork findings show that the understanding of prostitution as violence that needs to be abolished has led to repressive practices that perpetuate violence and stigma towards people who sell sex especially in Sweden and Norway where the full criminalization of sex buying is implemented (Vuolajärvi 2019, 2021). Contrary to the claims of the proponents of the Swedish model of shifting focus to the buyers and protection of people who sell sex, sex workers remain the main targets of policing and become *de facto criminalized* through the enforcement of third party laws, immigration laws and ambiguous fiscal policies leading to deportations, forced evictions and overall police harassment on sex workers. The policing of sex work in the countries focuses on migrant sex workers and is racialized targeting

especially those of color (Vuolajärvi 2019, 2021). However, nationals cannot fully escape the punitive policing of sex work either and are targets of forced evictions and police harassment such as police constantly false booking and visiting a sex workers' apartment and outing a sex worker to hotels, apartment and booking companies.

In Sweden and Norway, the aim of abolishing prostitution and trafficking has also justified the forging of public-private partnerships that extend policing of commercial sex to private individuals, hotels, taxis, and landlords. A Swedish police officer explained: "We have produced e-learning tools for the hotels, they could train their staff. So, they call us or otherwise sometimes they throw them [women] out, because we can't always come, so then they throw them out." These efforts have resulted in a dire housing situation for migrants which means that they need to rely more on third parties, increasing their vulnerability for exploitation.

What is more, the Swedish law and the discourse of commercial sex as a form of violence that the society needs to eradicate, has increased stigma towards sex work in Sweden. In 1996, 30% of Swedes believed that a woman selling sexual services should be criminalized, whereas in the 2002 survey and 2012 study, 59 % and 52 %, respectively, believed it should be prohibited by law (Kuosmanen 2011; Svedin et al. 2012). Stigmatizing views of sex work as violence prevalent in Sweden translate into sex workers' experiences of victimization, lack of societal protection and overall discrimination in interactions with officials, service providers and the media.

## **Conclusion**

This examination reveals how in many ways the Swedish model exposes sex workers and people in the sex trade to vulnerability. In addition to justifying deportations, forced evictions and increased policing of especially migrants engaging in sexual labor, the Swedish model results in sex workers' increased exposure of interpersonal violence as sex workers need to prioritize making the client feel safe. Moreover, this study elucidates how "the systems of meaning" (Spade 2015:171) that the Swedish model produces, silences the multiplicity of experiences in the sex trade and results in sex workers' experiences of increased stigma, as well as exclusion from state services, fiscal policies and political space. Taken together, these results demonstrate that through creating an ideological landscape that defines sex work as a form of men's violence against women to be combatted, the Swedish model legitimates policing and state violence towards migrant and sex working women and enhances their social exclusion which in turn exacerbates their already precarious lives.

Feminists of color and queer scholars (INCITE! 2016; Spade 2015) have for long criticized the mainstream (white) antiviolence movement for its focus on interpersonal violence at the cost of institutional violence. The mainstream anti-violence movement has focused on narratives of sexual violence being perpetuated by 'bad men' who need to be punished through state criminal justice systems. In these narratives, which are also predominant in Nordic feminist discourses, the state is protective rather than oppressive. The feminist of color and queer critique have highlighted how the criminal justice system has been used to

repress marginalized populations such as women of color, migrants, sex workers and trans women, hence demonstrating how the police is more often a source of violence than protection for them. Following this critique, I argue that the Nordic anti-violence movement needs to adopt a more intersectional and holistic analysis of harm and violence that does not rely on criminal justice and demands of increased police presence in marginalized communities but that would rather be based on solidarity and enforcing basic rights of marginalized groups. Without attention to what Angela Davis (2016) calls the intersectionality of struggles, the Nordic feminist anti-violence movement ends up perpetuating and justifying state violence towards marginalized women and enhancing their vulnerability.

For full version, [please click here](#).

## References

Davis, Angela Y. 2016. *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. edited by F. Barat. Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2002. "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography." *The Professional Geographer* 54(1):15–24. doi: 10.1111/0033-0124.00310.

INCITE!, ed. 2016. *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Kuosmanen, Jari. 2011. "Attitudes and Perceptions about Legislation Prohibiting the Purchase of Sexual Services in Sweden." *European Journal of Social Work* 14(2):247–63. doi: 10.1080/13691451003744341.

Seigel, Micol. 2018. *Violence Work: State Power and the Limits of Police*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Spade, Dean. 2015. *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. Revised and expanded edition. Durham, [North Carolina]: Duke University Press.

Svedin, Carl Göran, Linda Jonsson, Cecilia Kjellgren, Gisela Priebe, and Ingrid Åkerman. 2012. *Prostitution i Sverige. kartläggning och utvärdering av prostitutionsgruppernas insatser samt erfarenheter och attityder i befolkningen*. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.

Vuolajärvi, Niina. 2019. "Governing in the Name of Caring—the Nordic Model of Prostitution and Its Punitive Consequences for Migrants Who Sell Sex." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 16(2):151–65. doi: 10.1007/s13178-018-0338-9.

Vuolajärvi, Niina. 2021. "Governing in the Name of Caring: Migration, Sex Work and the 'Nordic Model.'" Rutgers University – School of Graduate Studies.