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**SUMMARY**

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## **JUVENILE CRIME IN FINLAND: TRENDS, CAUSES AND CONTROL**

Päivi Honkatukia & Janne Kivivuori

### **Introduction**

This anthology provides an overview of Finnish juvenile crime and its control. The book is divided into three sections. First, recent trends in Finnish juvenile crime are described. The second part takes a look at some important factors that explain why juveniles commit crimes. These range from individual temperament and early environmental risk factors to broad social forces and cultural meanings. The third part focuses on how the Finnish society controls juvenile crime. The control measures described in individual chapters range from school based prevention to child welfare measures, as well as official sanctions of the criminal justice system. The introductory chapter describes the general societal situation in Finland during recent decades. The purpose of the anthology is to provide a broad, multidisciplinary overview of trends, causes and control of juvenile crime.

### **TRENDS**

Janne Kivivuori

#### **Trends in Juvenile Delinquency in Finland**

This article describes trends in juvenile delinquency in Finland during the last ten years. The article first discusses the problem of unrecorded crime. It is known that the majority of crimes committed by juveniles are not detected or recorded, meaning that the extent of hidden crime is large. To estimate

trends in the whole range of crimes committed by juveniles, the data of the Finnish self-report delinquency (1995–2004) studies (FSRD) are used. These indicate that participation in destruction of property and shoplifting has decreased. Participation in violence-related offences has been more stable. The percentage of adolescents refraining from all types of crime increased quite significantly between 1995 and 2004. The FSRD data also include questions about four offences specifically related to school: truancy, stealing at school, bullying and the destruction of school property. There was a decrease in all these types of offence, the most marked decrease occurring between 1995 and 2001. This indicates that the safety of the Finnish schools has improved.

The article also examines trends in recorded crimes. Recorded assaults committed by young males have remained stable, whereas the number of recorded assaults by young females has increased. Theft shows an even more divergent trend for males and females. Recorded thefts by young males have drastically decreased over the last ten years. The recorded thefts by young females have increased. The male trend is consistent with self-report findings. The increase in recorded female offences may reflect the increasing efficacy of social control of females (for example, the likelihood of store owners to report female minors to the police). The recorded robberies decreased after 2000 for both females and males, even though the year 2005 showed a high level of robberies.

The attitudes of juveniles toward crime have changed during the last decade. Juveniles have become more punitive and less tolerant of juvenile crime. This may reflect a cultural change as norm deviations are conceptualised as cues of being a 'loser'.

In sum, the Finnish youth have become more law-abiding during the last decade. They increasingly refrain from crimes. This probably reflects two general factors. First, social control has become more efficient. There are more guards in public places, and more technical surveillance in shops and stores. CCTV surveillance on school premises and other public places such as shopping malls has also increased. These and other kinds of situational crime prevention have been applied to block opportunities for traditional juvenile crime (for a discussion of new types of crime possibly replacing old crime types, see the conclusions). Second, a relatively thorough cultural change seems to have taken place among juveniles. Crimes and norm deviations are increasingly rejected by youths on cultural grounds.

Martti Lehti

## Juvenile Homicide in Finland

Homicides committed by juveniles (under 21 years of age) are fairly rare in Finland. The average annual number of juvenile offenders has been about twelve during the last ten years. The annual crime level has been 1.8 suspects per 100,000 adolescents (age group 10–20). About 90 percent of the offenders are males.

A large proportion, about 25 percent, of the juvenile homicides is connected with robberies or burglaries, and about a third of them is committed by two or more perpetrators. Especially when females commit crimes, this is usually done in groups comprising both males and females. What is also characteristic of juvenile homicides in Finland is the high percentage of victims previously unknown to the offender (30 % vs. 10 % in all homicides). The homicide incidents involving young offenders are intimately connected with alcohol abuse. Over 80 percent of the offenders of both sexes are drunk while committing the crime. The use of other drugs in connection with the crimes is comparatively rare.

The abuse of alcohol and other drugs characterises the offenders also more generally. About two thirds are diagnosed either as alcohol or drug abusers. 80 percent can be defined as regular binge drinkers. Alcohol abuse also characterises their family backgrounds as about two thirds come from families where either the father or the mother, or both, are alcoholics. Two thirds of the offenders also come from broken families, and for every third the childhood family had broken up before the age of five. Every third offender had been taken into custody by child welfare officials at least once before reaching the age of sixteen.

The offenders typically have a long history of psychiatric problems behind them before committing their crime. 30 percent have been for shorter or longer periods in psychiatric institutional care and 20 percent in non-institutional care. About 70 percent have been diagnosed as fulfilling the criteria of some personality disorder. They also have a long criminal history behind them: 15 percent have been at least once in prison and 55 percent have a criminal record (consisting of aggravated violence or other crimes).

## CAUSES

Markus Jokela

### Genes and Environment in the Development of Antisocial Behaviour

The article provides an overview of behaviour genetic literature of antisocial behaviour. The role of genetics in the development of antisocial behaviour has been examined in dozens of twin and adoption studies carried out in several different countries. According to a recent meta-analysis involving 51 studies, approximately 41 percent of the variance in antisocial behaviour is due to genetic differences between individuals.

The importance of genetic influences may depend on the nature of antisocial behaviour. Aggressive and callous-unemotional antisocial behaviours (e.g. violence) appear to be most heritable, while non-aggressive antisocial behaviour (e.g. shoplifting) is less heritable and more affected by environmental influences.

There is also evidence to indicate that the role of heritable factors in antisocial behaviour may vary with age. Antisocial behaviour exhibited early in childhood and continuing to adulthood shows high heritability and only little environmental variation, while delinquency restricted to youth may be less heritable and more influenced by environmental factors. It has therefore been suggested that antisocial behaviour might be classified into life-course persistent and adolescence-limited forms. It is suggested that genetic and neurobiological factors are more important in the former, while the latter is related also to adolescent social psychology and peer-relations.

Genetic influences are related to environmental influences via gene-environment correlation and interaction. Gene-environment correlation refers to processes where genes affect how individuals become exposed to different kinds of environmental factors. For instance, heritable tendencies may influence how children react to harsh discipline, or how individuals choose their friends and partners. Gene-environment interaction refers to instances where the expression of heritable dispositions depends on environmental conditions, or when the impact of the environment depends on heritable characteristics of the individual. Given these two processes, genetic and environmental risks are likely to cumulate together.

Heritability estimates do not tell which specific genes are responsible for the genetic variation. Molecular genetic studies have begun to identify individual genes associated with aggression and antisocial behaviour. These methods also provide a powerful tool to investigate the interaction between genes and environmental factors

Jaana Haapasalo

## Early Risk Factors of Antisocial and Criminal Development

The present chapter addresses early family environment risk factors for antisocial and criminal development. These factors may either directly or indirectly increase the child's risk of criminal behaviour later in life. For example, harsh and abusive childrearing and rejection may directly contribute to the development of violent behaviour, whereas poverty may indirectly feed delinquent development by causing family conflict and failure of parenting. The review focuses on three major areas of early risk factors: pre- and postnatal risks, parental characteristics and parenthood.

Among the pre- and postnatal risk factors, there are several potential hazards, including (1) poor maternal diet, substance abuse, smoking, poor health, and stress during pregnancy, (2) birth complications leading to neurological problems, and (3) a shaken baby syndrome causing brain damage. All these risks may add to and interact with the effects of other environmental risks, such as poor parenting or child maltreatment, and may eventually result in antisocial and criminal development.

Among the parental characteristics, the very young age of the parents (teen parenthood) has been associated with chronic behavioural problems and later criminal behaviour in the child. Marital conflict and parental antisocial behaviour increase the risk of unfavourable outcomes in the offspring to a greater extent than a family break-up by divorce. Single parenthood, large family size, and poverty have also been related to a child's behavioural problems and later criminality, but these relationships are indirect and can also be explained by other factors, such as parenting stress. Repeated changes of caregivers put the child at risk of insecure attachment relationships which, in turn, may increase the risk of antisocial development. Research shows that many criminal offenders have experienced several child

protection measures and placements in their childhood. Parental substance abuse, poor parental mental health, and parental criminality predict a child's behavioural problems and later criminal behaviour.

Among the parenthood risks, poor childrearing practices and child maltreatment assume great importance. An authoritarian style of childrearing, emphasising harsh discipline and punishment, has been linked to child behavioural problems and later offending. Rejected and unsupervised children are also at risk. Maltreated children tend to commit more crime in adulthood as compared to non-maltreated children. In many cases, child maltreatment is inter-generationally transmitted: about one third of those who have been maltreated in childhood later abuse their own children. Also, witnessing family violence is related to child behavioural problems. Seeing and experiencing violence in the home are often intertwined with each other. Their independent effects on the child are thereby difficult to distinguish. As a result of the violence, a child is at risk of becoming traumatised and may continue the cycle of violence in adulthood.

All children who have been exposed to early risk factors do not, however, become criminal offenders. Protective factors and mechanisms, such as individual resiliency, a high-quality family environment, as well as positive life events, may diminish the risk. Efficient programs aimed at preventing criminal behaviour should be targeted for the early risk factors of antisocial and criminal development and they should last over a sufficiently long period of time.

Janne Kivivuori

## Sociological Explanations of Juvenile Crime

This article describes four major theories of juvenile crime: strain theory, social control theory, social learning theory, and labelling theory. Strain theory explains juvenile crime by economic and other criminogenic sources of strain. According to control theory, crime results when the ties of juveniles to important social control sources are loose or severed. Learning theory sees crime as learned behaviour, whereby important sources of learning include the peer group and the media. According to labelling theory, social reactions to juvenile crime can result in further delinquency by

juveniles who are processed and labelled as delinquents. The article describes recent research in support of each of these four theories.

Sociological explanations of juvenile crime can be seen as the bedrock of Finnish criminal policy. In a more diffuse form, this practical theory is succinctly expressed by the slogan, "good social policy is the best criminal policy". It is therefore of some importance to scrutinise whether this maxim represents evidence-based criminal policy. To examine this in a tentative manner, the article draws on recent international research on the link between poverty and juvenile crime. A brief review of recent experimental research suggests that the poverty of the family increases the risk of juvenile crime. This effect is indirect: poverty weakens the ability and/or willingness of parents to exercise social control over their children, which in turn results in increasing risk of delinquency. All in all, the best available evidence suggests that good social policy can be described as evidence-based criminal policy. In the case of Finland, this poses a peculiar dilemma: most of the anti-poverty measures that have been researched experimentally in other countries are institutionalised as routine functions of the Finnish welfare state. The lesson is that Finland may not be able to further decrease its crime levels by increasing welfare measures, but an eventual downsizing of the welfare state might result in increasing juvenile crime.

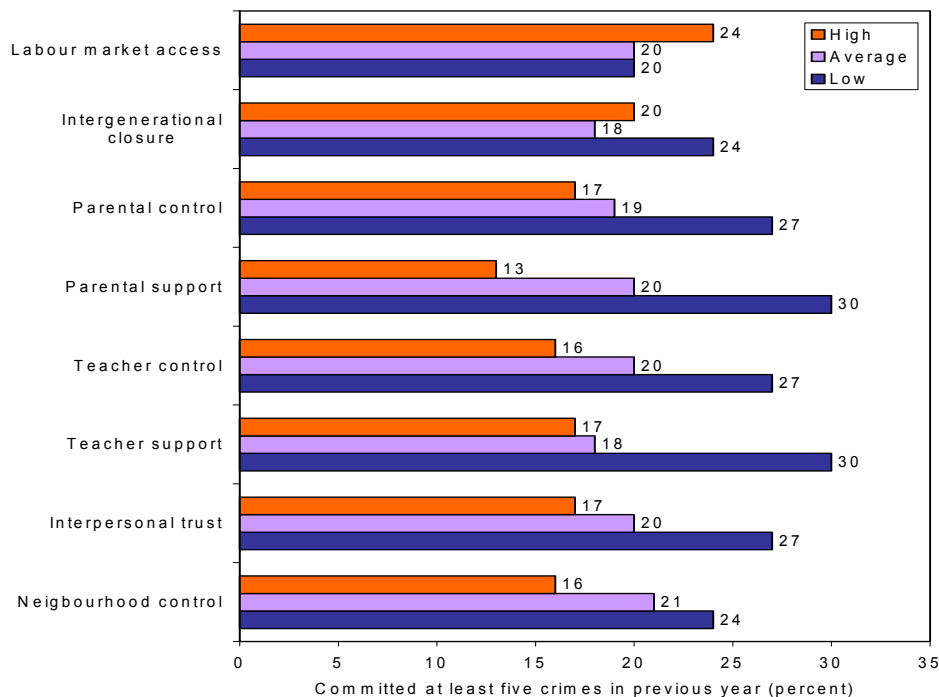
In the concluding section, it is suggested that when testing sociological theories, individual level characteristics should be controlled. Some correlations between socially criminogenic variables and criminal behaviour can partly reflect social selection effects if juveniles with aggressive and/or impulsive temperaments are self-selected to criminogenic social environments. Several studies controlling individual propensities are briefly reviewed. These typically indicate that both social selection and social causation effects constitute correlations between socially adverse environments and criminal behaviour.

## Social Capital and Juvenile Delinquency

The connection between social ties and crime is a recurring theme in both empirical studies and the theoretical debate in criminology. It has been established that weakened social bonds and, on the other hand, a social environment favouring criminal behaviour increase the risk of criminal behaviour. It has also been found that in neighbourhoods where ties between inhabitants are weak and the social control of shared surroundings is poor vandalism and crime often occur.

In the past two decades these themes and more generally the link between the social environment and adolescent outcomes have been increasingly studied under the general concept of social capital. Social capital can be defined as beneficial resources and networks emerging from the interaction among people. The advantages of these resources can be seen in e.g. better health, better academic achievements, economical security and lower crime rates.

In the field of criminology, several studies indicate that there is a link between social capital and criminal behaviour. Inadequate social resources and low interpersonal trust increase the risk of involvement in delinquent activities. A recent study conducted in Finland examined the association between social capital and self-reported delinquency. The study found a robust association between low social capital and delinquent behaviour. Figure 1 highlights these associations on a bivariate level (for the multivariate analysis, see: Venla Salmi & Janne Kivivuori: The association between social capital and juvenile crime: The role of individual and structural factors, *European Journal of Criminology* 2006:2, 123–148).



**Figure 1** Percentage of respondents who committed five or more delinquent acts within the previous year, by social capital variables

The article also discusses a topic that has been relatively neglected in the social capital literature: the role of the peer group. A wealth of criminological research highlights the importance of the peer group in the causation of crime. The delinquency of young people is often a strongly group-based activity as many offences are committed in the company of other adolescents. While social capital literature often sees social networks as sources of beneficial outcomes, the adolescent group can also generate so-called negative social capital by increasing criminal opportunities and behaviour.

Päivi Honkatukia, Tarja Pösö & Leo Nyqvist

## Youth Crimes as "Stories" – New Horizons provided by the Narrative Approach

This article places the experiences of young people who commit crimes, as well as the meanings they give to these acts, high on the research agenda. This is done by combining the narrative research traditions in social research

with cultural criminology. The article suggests that in order to gain an understanding of youth crime from the young people's perspectives we should introduce different types of theoretical and methodological approaches. In criminology there exists a long tradition in listening at the stories told by the criminals, but this approach has been only occasionally used in Finnish youth crime research.

'Giving voice' to young people is not unproblematic, though, – neither theoretically, nor methodologically. The article discusses one empirical case concerning the meanings of violence given by young people. The results, based on focus groups in residential care for young people, suggest that violence is deeply embedded in the daily practices and social interactions of the young people, and the meanings of violence can be understood in that perspective. In addition, the research activity itself includes several issues concerning the actual processes of 'telling and listening to stories'. These processes may have an impact on the results.

The narrative approach may open up new ways to work with young offenders if the interpretations and meanings of the young people are taken seriously. Many of the programmes for young offenders are, however, based on different types of approaches to youth crime.

## CONTROL

Jukka Savolainen

### School-based Crime Prevention

The school system constitutes an excellent environment for implementing prevention programs in the area of juvenile crime and violence. An increasing number of such programs have been introduced in the Finnish public schools in recent years. Up to date, there have been very few systematic evaluations of such interventions. Drawing on international literature, the purpose of this article is to review the available evidence of promising practices. Information of this nature can be used to guide future efforts to develop school-based solutions to reduce crime and violence in Finland.

The chapter begins with a review of findings about the nature and extent of delinquent behaviour and victimisation in Finnish schools. In light of this

evidence, Finnish schools appear to be relatively safe for most students and teachers. However, more than 15 percent of students report that they have stolen school property within a 12-month recall period; a similar number has participated in bullying. Not surprisingly, truancy is the most common school-related norm violation.

The review of international evidence suggests that collective interventions, i.e., programs targeting the entire school community – including parents and the staff – tend to be more effective than programs focused on high-risk individuals. It seems more feasible to achieve minor changes in many than major changes in a small number of people. The other major message from this literature highlights the importance of a comprehensive and rigorous approach to the development of interventions. Necessary aspects of a well-designed program include multiple levels of intervention (students, teachers, parents, etc.), multiple sites of intervention, and a comparative research design for the purposes of program evaluation (a randomized trial if possible). In addition to careful planning, it is also important to let the program "settle into its grooves" before making judgements about its effectiveness.

The chapter ends with a brief look at CCTV-technology in Finnish schools. A large share of the schools (43 %) feature at least one security camera in the school building. However, the principal purpose of this technology is to protect municipal property during the weekends and evenings. It is seldom used as a means of crime control during school hours.

Timo Harrikari

## **Child Welfare as a Reaction against Juvenile Crime – the Criminal Act as a Part of Child Welfare Practices**

The intersection between crime and child welfare is explored in this article. The article is divided into four sub-themes. First, the keystone institutional solutions for reacting against juvenile crime are presented. It appears to be a universal practice to accord children a particular status in criminal justice institutions. A minimum age for criminal liability and particular sanctions for children are distinctive features of this practice. The main modern institutional expressions of this practice can be roughly divided into two

historical variants, e.g. the Anglo-American "justice model" and the Nordic "welfare model".

Second, a historical review of juvenile crime as a part of child welfare is presented based on Finnish experiences. First, a distinction is made between the concepts "protection of a child" and "child welfare". "Protection of a child" is a very old practice in criminal justice as we may discover from the medieval Swedish provincial laws, which were implemented in Finland as well<sup>1</sup>. It is a universal human orientation, whereby a young generation is socialised into certain practices that are specific for its age and phase in life. This could be manifested as everyday care and nursing given by a parent, placing a child in a residential institution, or setting down the minimum age of criminal liability, which limits repressive measures directed at children. Thus, "protection of a child" is not tied to specific historical contexts or institutions even though it is manifested through different institutional arrangements.

The concept of "child welfare" is here meant as a more limited concept. Child welfare as a professional activity, organised mainly by the state, has been developed as late as during the last hundred years. Child welfare could be characterised as a multilevel network, which consists of judicial, administrative and socio-pedagogical activities.

Third, the article describes juvenile crime as part of the current Finnish child welfare system and its practices. Several provisions concerning criminal activity have been included in the Child Welfare Act of 1983. In addition, child welfare authorities work at the crossroads of several criminal justice processes, and are obligated to take part in practices, which only indirectly belong to their self-defined scope of expertise. These types of practices include, for example, the preparation of personal history reports for juvenile punishment enforcement plans.

Finally, the article examines critically the field in which contemporary child welfare practices overlap with criminal justice practices. Changes in Finnish social policy since 1990s have significantly and negatively affected the situation of families with children. The article argues that these new features indicate, first, increasing tensions in intergenerational relations and, second, new types of rationalities in governing juvenile crime. New forms

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<sup>1</sup> Finland was a province of Sweden until 1809, and a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire from 1809 to 1917, when the country gained independence.

may emerge for addressing the problem of juvenile crime and its relation to child welfare.

Matti Marttunen

## The Functioning of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System in Finland, 1990–2005

During the past few years, there have not been any major changes in regard to the punishments issued for young persons. However, compared to the early 1990s, the number of offences handled by courts has decreased approximately by one half.

Offences committed by young persons are often associated with leisure activities and alcohol, as well as the violation of rules concerning age limits. They are ordinarily regarded as petty crimes. Therefore, a major part of the offences committed by young persons are handled through summary penal proceedings instead of being dealt with by a court. In practice this means that the police impose a fine. Some three fourths of the penalties imposed on juvenile offenders are issued outside the courts, that is, through the above mentioned less heavy procedure. Out of all penalties, there have hardly been any changes in the respective share of penalties imposed by the police.

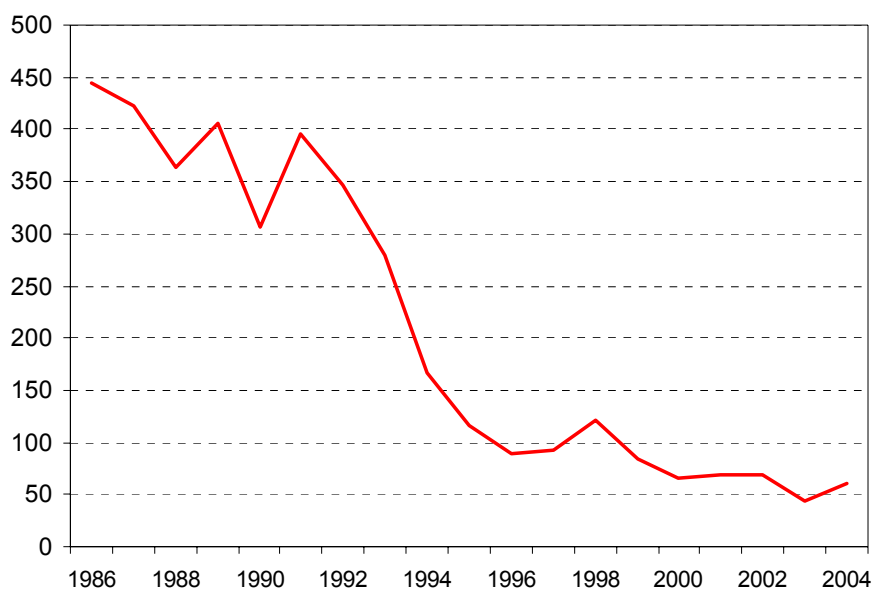
At the turn of the 1980s–1990s, the following change occurred in administrative decisions involving a mere confirmation of guilt: cases, in which punishment had earlier been waived, were now assigned to the sphere of waiver of prosecution. This practice, aimed at lightening criminal proceedings, has continued. This is also reflected in the changes in criminal procedures that will take effect in autumn 2006.

Juvenile delinquents are given less severe penalties than adult offenders. The penal latitudes are less severe. Also the duration of a penalty is shorter or the scale of it smaller.

A fine is the most common penalty issued for young offenders in legal proceedings: fines make up some 70 percent of the penalties issued in legal proceedings. The second most common penalty issued by the court is conditional imprisonment: about one fifth of the sentences are conditional. In approximately 60 percent of the cases involving young persons supervision is added to conditional imprisonment.

From 1997 to 2004 an experiment with juvenile penalties was carried out in seven municipalities. Few sentences were then passed. On a yearly base, such sentences amounted to 45, 45, 68, 102, 45, 38 and 31, a total of some 400. In 2005, when the system was extended to the whole country, only some 50 sentences were rendered. Juvenile punishment has not experienced a breakthrough as a specific form of punishment for young persons.

Unconditional imprisonment and community sanctions are used only for the most serious juvenile offenders, and they are very rarely used. They make up only a few percent of the sentences rendered by courts for young persons yearly. The number of prison sentences imposed on juvenile offenders has decreased to about one tenth compared to the late 1980s (Figure 1). This decrease in prison sentences is mainly due to the fact that young persons are no longer sentenced to imprisonment for property offences on the same scale, as still was the case in the 1980s.



**Figure 1** Prison sentences of minors (less than 18 year olds), Finland 1986–2004

The number of minors serving prison sentences is very low. Offences leading to unconditional prison sentences have generally been committed by 17-year-old offenders. They have thereby been sentenced as minors, whereas they serve their sentence as majors. Also then, many specific, age-related provisions are applied to them.

In my view and according to my interpretation, the sentencing practices concerning juvenile offenders have not, according to any means of measurement, become more severe during the past 15 years. How the system works has been closely analysed in a law drafting perspective during the past years. Legal authorities are at present working on a package of drafts that, when implemented, will change many acts. No change will, however, be made in the fundamental principles governing the present system. The reconsideration of the legislation may have been prompted by other reasons than any major shortages in present practises.

Tarja Kuula, John Pitts & Matti Marttunen

## Incarceration of Juveniles: Finland compared with England & Wales

Burgeoning youth incarceration and high reconviction rates in England and Wales have prompted a search for alternative responses. This has led to a renewed interest in other youth justice systems, which appear to incarcerate fewer children and young people. Not surprisingly, Finland with the lowest rate of youth imprisonment and one of the lowest crime rates in Europe, has become a focus of attention. The research upon which this article is based set out to discover how, if Finnish youth incarceration rates are so low, the Finns respond to their most troubled and troublesome children and young people. The results of this investigation have proved paradoxical. The Finnish child welfare and penal systems appear to present us with a contradiction. The penal system maintains a remarkably low imprisonment rate, while our preliminary findings suggest that a significant number of minors are institutionalised within the auspices of the child and youth welfare system.

In England and Wales the debate, on the 'left', about juvenile and adult offenders is informed by the same 'minimalist' rationale. In Finland, by contrast, the minimalist arguments developed to justify reductions in the adult prison population have not been equally vigorously applied to the child welfare system, which is, from an Anglo-American perspective, a de facto component of the youth justice system. The child welfare system appears to be informed instead by a robustly interventionist, 'welfarist', ideology. Seen from an Anglo-American perspective, therefore, this represents contradictory thinking, yet it appears to be relatively unproblematic for most Finns.

The article suggests that the answer may lie in the fact that, as in France in the 1980s, the social and political forces making for a robustly interventionist child welfare system are similar, if not the same, as those that have produced a minimalist justice system. So if the watchword of Finnish governments for the past forty years has been that good social development policy is the best criminal justice policy; and if the Finns have interpreted social development in terms of the social policies and social practices pursued by other Scandinavian and Nordic countries from the 1960s on-wards, and if this has resulted in a system with a strong 'expert orientation', wherein professionals contribute significantly to the policy-making process, and if, moreover, there is widespread political and media support for, and optimism about, state intervention in general and for psychologically and psychiatrically-oriented intervention with young people in particular, the apparent contradiction is, to a considerable extent, resolved. From this perspective, Anglo-American 'progressive minimalism' can appear just as contradictory and historically contingent as the apparent paradox of Finnish penal minimalism and welfare 'maximalism'.

Janne Kivivuori & Päivi Honkatukia

## Main Trends in Juvenile Crime and its Control in Finland

The final chapter of the anthology is an overview of trends in Finnish juvenile crime and its control. The overall trend in juvenile delinquency is rather positive (Table 1).

**Table 1** Main trends in juvenile crime in Finland over the recent ten years

- Participation in theft or destruction of property has decreased
- There was a peak in homicide and other violence at the turn of the century (around 2000). The years 2003–2005 indicate a return to the pre-peak level.
- Threats of violence have increased while physical injuries resulting from violence have not
- The proportion of youths who refrain from delinquency has steadily increased
- Social control has become more efficient: juvenile offenders are increasingly likely to become known to the police.
- The attitudes of juveniles toward crime have become more condemning

The causes of juvenile crime are much the same in Finland as in other similar developed countries. The main causes, which have been dealt with in this anthology, are summed in Table 2.

**Table 2** Some factors explaining individual propensity to participate in criminal behaviour

- Stable individual behavioural propensities in interaction with environmental and community context related factors
- Early family environment, for example violent victimisation in early childhood, severe and inconsistent parental discipline, and alcohol abuse by parents
- Poverty increases criminal propensity of families with children by weakening the willingness and ability of parents to control their children
- Peer groups and media providing models and justifications for criminal behaviour
- Official sanctions that weaken the perpetrator's bonds to conventional institutions

Table 2 includes causal factors, which explain the propensity of individuals to commit crimes. In this anthology, various chapters also underscore that aggregated crime trends cannot always be reduced to changes in these individual-level explanatory factors. For example, changes in opportunity structure and social control independently influence the number of crimes. The above mentioned decrease in shoplifting and other property crimes is a case in point. It probably reflects changes in the efficacy of social control. There are more guards in public places, the police are increasingly present in public places, CCTV surveillance increases, other technical anti-shoplifting measures are increasingly deployed, and situational crime prevention projects abound. Moreover, the cultural climate has become more anti-crime as adolescents' attitudes toward crime have become more condemning. The resulting decrease in property crime is therefore largely unrelated to putative trends in the factors that explain individual propensity to crime (as listed in Table 2). The reasons why violent offences have not decreased apace with property crime may be explained by the important role the use of alcohol plays in violent incidents. Increasing social control has probably less effect on acts that are typically committed under the influence of alcohol.

The anthology also includes several contributions describing trends in controlling juvenile crime. Some of the main patterns in the prevention of juvenile crime are summarised in Table 3. Trends in how the official

criminal justice system is applied in cases involving juvenile offenders are shown in Table 4. It needs to be stressed that these tables are not exhaustive. They summarise some of the main trends in the social control of juveniles.

**Table 3** Trends in the prevention of juvenile violence in Finland

- The need to intervene early and rapidly after the onset of criminal behaviour informs many policies
- Many types of social prevention have been institutionalised in Finland as parts of the normal functioning of the welfare state (income redistribution, universal provision of free health care, high quality comprehensive school, etc.)
- Situational crime prevention has been increasingly applied
- The police are increasingly engaging in the control of adolescent behaviour in public places

**Table 4** Trends in the treatment of juveniles in the official penal system

- The cooperation between criminal justice and social work has been increased
- Juvenile punishment was introduced into the criminal justice system i.e. for the purpose of creating an additional rung in the system of sanctions and in this way curtail the need to use unconditional prison sentences
- The number of juveniles receiving sentences in courts has decreased, a trend that reflects changes in penal practices
- The use of prison sentences has been increasingly avoided. There are very few juveniles under 18 years in Finnish prisons
- Due to lack of statistics, the number of juveniles involuntarily placed in other kinds of institutions needs to be researched in the future

The last part of the chapter takes a look at the challenges facing research in the field of juvenile crime. The need to collect reliable data on juvenile crime is underscored (self-report and victimisation surveys). Changes in society require sensitivity from researchers. For example, new crime types have emerged because of new information technologies ("cybercrime"), and old types of crime can be committed by using novel media (for example, harassment by e-mail). These developments also suggest that the extent to which juveniles know the criminal law needs to be examined by researchers. There may be important lacks and gaps as adolescents may not know what is criminal and what is legal, or they may indeed disagree with the law in instances such as copyright piracy.

In the final pages, the authors return to the basic theme of the anthology: the need to transgress disciplinary boundaries in the study of juvenile crime. For that purpose, five main orientations currently guiding Finnish research on juvenile crime are briefly described. These are: (1) the interpretation and explanation of trends in aggregate level crime from the point of view of opportunity structure, alcohol use, etc., (2) behaviour genetics as applied to antisocial behaviour, (3) the longitudinal study of early and later risk and protective factors in antisocial development, (4) the study of juvenile crime from the vantage point of classical sociological explanations, and (5) the hermeneutical study of the self-reported meanings of crime, an approach that studies crime as meaningful and purposeful action as opposed to behaviour to be causally explained. It is suggested that researchers representing these approaches might benefit from one another for the benefit of increasing knowledge.