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AN OVERVIEW OF CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON VIOLENCE IN SLOVENIA¹

The paper presents Slovene criminological research on violence since its independence in 1991. The author reviewed all research projects conducted at the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana and College of Police and Security Studies (now Faculty of Criminal Justice, University of Maribor) and other academic institutions in Slovenia. The paper shows the prevailing studied forms of violence in contemporary Slovenian society and research methods used in revealing dimensions and the extent of all kinds of violence.

INTRODUCTION

We have recently read a book on Crime in East Europe (De Nike, Ewald and Nowlin, 1995) and got an impression that Eastern and Western criminologies differ significantly. What impressed us the most is the implication about underdevelopment of Eastern criminology and the advance of Western criminology (especially in terms of methods used and financing criminological research). Therefore, we decided to study closely a part of Slovenian criminological research – research on violence, which seems to be omnipresent in both, Western and Eastern societies.

The paper addresses the contemporary Slovenian research on violence and focuses especially on the methods used in researching different dimensions of violence in the Slovenian society. COBISS (a special criminal law and criminology database in an interactive on-line library on the Internet: www.izum.si,) was used to select publications on violence after 1991 when Slovenia became an independent state. Keywords research, violence and Slovenia were used to obtain references for this paper.

The final selection of publications consists of research reports, papers and other publications² based on research of violence in the Slovenian society after 1991. It is necessary to emphasize that all reviewed publications are *published in Slovene* or translated into English for the purpose of publishing in foreign publications.³

The main goal of this paper is, therefore, to present research reports, articles and papers based on research and find out prevailing methods for studying some dimensions of violence in Slovenia. The purpose of this paper is to gain the insight into the selection of the studied problems related to violence and the influence of the international scientific community on studying the contemporary violence problems in the Slovene society.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON VIOLENCE

The final selection of papers consists of the following publications based on "research" criterion. Violence in these papers is informed by philosophical, sociological, psychological, and anthropological aspects of criminology. It is necessary to stress that we did not find any paper or publication on violence published in a scientific form in 1991 when Slovenia was in the process of becoming an independent country. The following year is a start of a new age of research on violence. Before 1991 the Institute of Crimi-

nology at the Faculty of Law and other institutions researched dimensions and forms of violence. It is important to say that violence as a research subject had been represented significantly among all other studied criminological problems. Let's begin the presentation of selected publications on violence before 1991.

Research projects conducted after 1991 are included into a detailed analysis for the purpose of this paper. As already mentioned, we try to gain the view on the research on violence in the last decade and present main results presented in research reports, articles and papers on violence and especially find out prevailing methods for studying some kinds and dimensions of violence in Slovenia. The purpose of this paper is therefore also to gain the insight into the selection of the studied problems related to violence and the influence of the international scientific community on studying the contemporary violence problems in the Slovene society. The publications on violence after 1991 were consecutively followed as presented in the following text.

Pečar (1992) in his article on war crime and the criminology of war states that the conflict situation in Yugoslavia led to the war and armed conflicts with phenomena which cannot be compared with any other form of crime in terms of phenomenology, the number of victims or the extent of damage caused, be it material or moral. All this calls for a criminological treatment of the war from the viewpoint of its aetiology as well as from the legal and social control aspect. Criminology, however, generally does not deal with institutionalised war violence and crimes by paramilitary organisations, nor does not tackle the problem of international laws of war, with the exception of terrorism and discrimination.

Processes and phenomena, be they mass or individual, require criminologists to study – according to the level of civilisation and development of knowledge on deviance – aetiology of war criminality, state and ethnic violence, their implications for people, property, public order and diverse forms of threatening people in general. War sets bounds to freedom and its aims justify all means. A war situation enables domination over people and manipulation of them, so that they kill, ruthlessly destroy, and exterminate each other and create situations in which mass migration seem necessary simply to preserve life. In a war, particularly "small" people tend to demonstrate inhumanity towards other small people because of some ideas that would be confronted in an entirely different way if they were not in the war. But as war was imposed on them, they feel entirely powerless and dependent upon political, governmental and military elites.

In spite of techniques of neutralisation of war crime and the consequences of ethnic conflicts, indoctrination with war and nationalist values and in spite of socialisation with war crime, etc., public demands have been that war criminals should be punished. Consequently, criminology is confronted with the need to study, research and write on war crime and to deal with its offenders.

In the paper on violence and coercion Pečar (1993a) claims that although a society without violence and coercion does not exist, and various kinds of behaviour are nowadays perceived more attentively as violence against people. Violence is still the most widely used instrument for reaching goals arising from the needs of people preoccupied with their own security. For this reason it is necessary to explain the aetiology and phenomenology of various forms and types of violence: in the family, school, on the road, in public places; in sex; ethnic, national and religious violence in the media, political, ideological and class violence; coercion exercised by state authorities through wars or by individual groups or elites by mass destruction and armed conflicts; and finally economic violence, technological and ecological violence.

Each kind of violence generates, determines, complements or, in some other way, accompanies other kinds of violence, aggression and repression. In this way, violence is always an interactive process, no matter whether it is individual, group, institutional or structural.

Various sciences provide different theoretical interpretations of violence, depending upon their aetiological aspects. Attempts for an integrative explanation of various forms of mass violence indicate the complexity of violence as phenomenon. Difficulties with violence in individual societies force them to develop methods to cope with it. Its aim is to reach a certain "culture of violence" and to diminish the degree of victimisation.

In the paper on difference and diversity as a motive of violent crime Pečar (1993b) argues that crime committed against people of different race, nationality, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation essentially manifest political and unconventional violence arising from some kind of fundamentalism, old mythology and xenophobia. This sort of crime is mainly motivated by prejudices and intolerance although its aetiology may also be rooted in certain negative experiences, preoccupation with proper identity, demographic structure or ideological indoctrination. Control and repression of violence against 'difference' begin recognising its causes. In spite of all efforts to socialize people in non-violence, it is not possible to expect to have a society without any violence because it has been proved in the history that the different had to pay for their non-conformity with the majority.

Salecl (1994) argues on words and violence and states that while contemporary democratic societies remain deeply engaged with traditional forms of violence, they still seem to be powerless towards new forms of interracial, ethnic and sexual violence, which are usually materialised verbally. Although contemporary society insists on the universality of such values as human rights and a democratic state, the author tries to prove that nationalism, racism and sexism are by their nature universal, too. Seen from this perspective, hate speech is also universal, since the individual who utters offensive words only reproduces the opinion of its milieu, and consequently proceeds from some historically determined discursive context. The difference between post-socialist and Western societies lies in the fact that the latter restrict hate speech by law, while in post-socialist Eastern societies this can not be considered as being a remnant of communist thinking.

Both the advocates of strict control of speech and the opponents of such legal regulation think that solutions exit; we have only to decide whether or not to adopt them. While language can be controlled to certain extent, it is not possible to have it entirely under control (even a mode of speaking can be hostile, although the mere words are not). This does not mean, however, that we have to renounce the struggle for more tolerant words.

The author also tackles universal victimization, focusing her attention on sexually abused children, victims of AIDS; victims of famine, war, rape and ecological pollution. Although people generally sympathize with victims who are far away, they are almost incapable of perceiving them in their immediate environment. In the USA, even television viewers and newspaper readers have recently been considered to be victims of media reporting on victims.

The first major research on violence conducted by Šelih (1995) consists of three parts: Disciplinary punishment of children at school (A. Šelih), Violence amongst peers at

school and in relation to school (B. Dekleva) and Subjective perspective on the importance and existence of the rights of the child (Z. Pavlović). The first part is based on literature review and legal issues regarding school discipline (legality of children's rights) and the analysis of school regulations on disciplinary practices. Part two deals with bullying and the extent of bullying in Slovenia. This part is a typical empirical study using Olweus questionnaire and other psychological questionnaires. The last part of the study consists of a comparative study on children's rights between Belgium and Slovenia.

The article by Kanduč (1995) on the fundamentals of criminology of everyday life — work as one of the aspects of structural violence considers one of the most serious forms of structural violence, i.e. heteronomous work and points at its main detrimental repercussions. Special attention is paid to the link between heteronomous work and alienation. The article explains also the paradoxical nature of victims of structural violence, which constitutes the very object of criminology of everyday life and considers new trends in the field of radical criminology. A special feature of criminology of everyday life is that it does not deal with deviant harmful phenomena but rather with normal or normalised economic or ideological violence.

Pagon and Lobnikar (1995) report on the results of research carried out into sexual harassment in which the authors incorporated all current and former female Slovene police officers. A total of 93 policewomen past and present, some 40% of all those covered in the survey, replied to the questionnaire on sexual harassment in the work place. These replies indicate that sexual harassment within the Slovene police force is not an unknown phenomenon. The frequency of the various forms of sexual harassment is described in detail, the reaction to it and the consequences as well. Links between particular aspects of sexual harassment, demographic variables and police cynicism are also analysed and interpreted.

Dekleva (1996) analyses the basic starting points for understanding and explaining youth violence. In addition, it provides some definitions of bullying. Bullying has been translated into Slovene as "peer violence". The purpose of the empirical part of the article is to discover incidence of peer violence among girls and boys in Slovenian primary schools. The survey reveals that there is as much peer violence in Slovenia as in other European countries. Finally, the article stresses the importance of school as a social system for the genesis of peer violence.

The article by Globočnik (1997) on violence of juveniles deals with the nature and extent of youth violence. People in Slovenia are most exposed to risks of societies in transition. The highest risks exist in groups of unemployed people, the young and those with inadequate/incomplete education. From 1986 to 1995, the number of violent criminal offences increased, as well as the number of offences against public order and peace. Statistical data on criminal suspects and perpetrators of public order offences indicate that the number of juveniles involved increased and that there has been an increase in physical violence among juveniles and a decrease if the number of offenders who committed criminal offences against property. The number of unemployed suspects has increased in both types of criminal offences. Low level of education and incomplete education is significantly higher in juveniles than other groups. Juvenile suspect-juvenile victim relation is becoming more typical in recent years than in the beginning of the studied period.

The paper by Dekleva (1997) presents a report on empirical research whose purpose was to establish the extent of bullying in Slovenia. In addition, the goal of paper is to

find out specific characteristics of students who bully their peers and the students-victims of bullying. Personality, as well as some social characteristics, have been studied. Measures that were used for the purpose of this study are comprised in Olweus questionnaire of bullying, Rosenberg questionnaire of self-image, the rating scale of students' conduct for teachers and a sociometric questionnaire. Results indicate partially different characteristics of bullies and their victims and resemble findings of other research results from similar studies in Europe. These differences between bullies and victims are significant but not so indicative as to explain bullying sufficiently. It is impossible to suggest preventative and intervention strategies from this study.

Pečar (1997) in the article on victims of the state argues that victimisation and the consequences of various wars, armed conflicts, terrorism and other conflicts, victimology have been neglected and studying victims of state and other forms of institutionalised and organised violence is still a taboo topic. Such victimisation as occupation, intervention, pacification, expansionism, and various territorial claims occur due to the different state interests in the frame of individual sovereign states, as well as beyond national borders. The kind of micro-victimisation is not comparable with other forms of victimisation. The state creates different types of "suffering" which arise in relation to the state's destructive functioning and other possibilities of both lawful and entirely unlawful methods of solving state, social, economic, military, religious and other questions.

The state, as the highest, best-organised and most hierarchical social organisation, treats its victims in humiliating, ruthless and destructive way which gives rise to new crimes against mankind. Such crimes are perceived selectively in terms of the goals for which they are committed. For this reason, it is always necessary to look at crime by states through perception of their interests and to be aware that in the perception of victimisation, different criteria arise, always dependent on people who use them in international politics, partnership, the neighbourhood, etc. Discriminatory understanding of victimisation is therefore a principal obstacle in victim assistance and in implementation of their rights, for which certain starting points or basic principles of justice have already begun to develop. The state has always been and will be the most important victimiser. For this reason, it cannot be omitted in discussion on victimological questions. Phenomena and process going on worldwide in recent years require also that victimology pays greater attention to the consideration of this subject.

Pavlović (1997) in the ICVS report on Slovenia amongst other forms of victimisation, discusses the extent of reporting violent crimes (assaults and other forms of interpersonal violence). The main finding from this part of the study is that the level of reporting interpersonal violence is quite low. In comparison to other countries in the SE European region Slovene respondents report burglary and assault more frequently than is the average of the region (burglary 27.2% and assault 28.4%). Results of the ICVS study on robbery show that victims of the countries in transition report burglary to the police in 25% and assaults in 20.4% of cases (Zvekić, 1998:66).

Košir (1999) addresses violence at sports events, particularly at football matches. Football matches are becoming more frequent in Slovenia due to the inclusion of Slovenian football clubs in international football leagues. This article presents various scientific approaches in studying sport related violence and practices in controlling such violence. The article also considers security aspects of preventing violence related sport events, especially experiences of the police and other agencies abroad. Due to the diversity of findings how to reach the balance between control of potential violence and police repression after public order is breached it is still in question.

Filipčič (1999), in her paper on myths about family violence, states that criminology and victimology have considerably contributed to knowledge about domestic violence in recent years; special theories have been formed and new forms of violence have been "re-discovered" such as violence against older members of family, violence against males, violence in homosexual partnerships. Although most of these findings are supported by empirical research as well as by theoretical arguments, they impinge on public (i.e., social consciousness) very slowly. A few decades present a relatively short period of time for the modification of attitudes against family violence, transmitted from generation to generation. For this reason, some social representations of domestic violence stay deeply rooted, in spite of their unfounded basis. These are so-called myths – unreal, unfounded and not verified attitudes. Their basic characteristic is that they are resistant to changes or changing them take a long time. They begin to collapse after long and intensive public debates force changes in social consciousness about a particular phenomenon. In this way, the myth of acceptability of domestic violence and social tolerance of brutality against family members has begun to collapse in Slovenia, too. This article presents some of the myths deeply rooted in social environments in spite of new knowledge in the area of criminology, psychology and sociology.

Kanduč (2000) writes about violence in the family, which is undoubtedly a topic that has attracted great attention from criminologists in recent years. This interest could on the one hand be explained by the influence of feministically oriented social studies, and on the other hand, by the "state of art" in social practice, especially in the area of intimate, love, family and sexual relations, which has undergone radical changes from the disrupted "cultural revolution" in the second part of the sixties. To put it very roughly, in the sphere of intimacy (probably being above all connected to gender roles) there is a decay of "feudal," (i.e., pre-modern and attributed accordingly to biological gender/sex) models of the organisation of personal and interpersonal life practices. These complex and diverse processes are not at all free of conflicts, so it is not surprising that it is described by commentators with militaristic vocabulary, for example with such labels as "war between genders", "struggle for power and family" or "emotional terror". It seems, however, that in spite of uncontested and probably irreversible dramatic innovations, the old institutional forms (and normative expectations corresponding to them) still to a large extent determine behavioural and emotional patterns in family relations. The aim of this article is to highlight certain structural "tensions", conditioned by the traditional family institution, which in many regards generate (but not determine) diverse forms of violence between intimate partners.

Dekleva (2001) in his paper on semantics of peer violence states that together with the mental and conceptual discovery of a new phenomenon – bullying – there is a growing need to understand the diverse terms used to denote this phenomenon and to develop an appropriate methodology for a cross-cultural research. The paper provides results of the Slovene part of a cross-cultural study on bullying. The aim of this study was to explore the semantic structure of expressions regarding bullying used by children aged from eight to fourteen years of age. The study established that (1) the most appropriate individual term for calling this phenomenon is "trpinčenje" (torment, torture) and (2) that pupils of 2nd and 8th grade of primary school classified diverse forms of abuse according to two latent dimensions – (a) serious/less serious forms of abuse and (b) direct (physical) and indirect (social) abuse. Another significant finding (3) implies that all the used and investigated expressions refer to a greater extent to physical forms of abuse and only to a lesser extent to verbal/social abuse.

Family violence discussed by Kanduč's (2001) (particularly intimate partner violence) is undoubtedly a complex phenomenon, which eludes any objective, unambiguous and comprehensive (scientific) definition. It is not therefore surprising that neither in pro-

fessional circles nor among the lay public, a consensus about what this frequently used concept is assumed to encompass can be reached. It certainly holds true that violence in the family is a topic, which rarely leaves a person emotionally indifferent (and ideologically impartial). Furthermore, there is a whole range of very varied myths accompanying these problems, such as the myth about the scope and extent of this kind of violence, the psychological nature of individual perpetrators, personality traits of victims, causal role of alcohol, incompatibility of love and violence, etc. Such highly one-sided and extremely simplified images have a soothing effect on public opinion because they reinforce the conviction that family violence is an evil affecting only the most problematic families (burdened also with other social and individual problems) and pathological (or in some other way abnormal) individuals. Normal family units (at least statistically speaking) thus escape a critical and detailed assessment.

The article by Globočnik (2001) on victims of (violent) crimes provides results of the analysis of some violent criminal offences in which victims were physically threatened. Statistical data encompass a period of nearly nine years and show certain demographic characteristics of victims regarding gender and age, time and place of crime commission, means used, etc. In relation to individual criminal offences, the comparison of cross-cultural characteristics of victims of specific violent crimes in European countries has been conducted.

Petrovec (2001) argues that the media report on crime in a sensational manner. Following popular demand, they focus on the most spectacular representations of violence, to the extent, which is totally out of proportion with the actual amount of violent crimes committed. On the other hand, the media at times do not touch upon the most extreme forms of violence, in order to protect the illusion of integrity of certain individuals and social systems.

The over exposure of violence in the media, accompanied by outraged commentary on the inefficiency and leniency of the justice system in dealing with violent offenders, makes the public feel that punitive policies are too mild and that there is a need for stricter measures to prevent crime. The public, feeling threatened and let down by the system, becomes more susceptive to vigilantist initiatives and other demands for self-help.

In light of these findings, the survey analyses the reporting on violence in Slovene print and television programmes. The results show that POP TV (a commercial TV station) programming contains a significantly greater share of violent content and content depicting accidents than the programming of SLO 1 (a channel 1 of the national TV), reflecting an obvious difference in the editorial policies. Slovenske novice, the best selling Slovene daily, shows a 19% share of violence in its content. Disregarding the supplements, the content of which is virtually always neutral or non-violent, violence makes for 29% of the entire content of Slovenske novice. The front pages of Slovenske novice show an astonishing 66.7% share of violent content. Comparatively, Dnevnik contains 8.6%, while Delo contains 3.1% of violent content.

Even though the survey has shown an overwhelming amount of violence in the Slovene media, the author feels it is inappropriate to resort to censorship, seeing that in a world, interwoven with electronic systems and networks, it is impossible to stem the flow of information. There is a need for a cultural framework, within which the media audience will be able to distinguish between the good and the bad. The author understands the difficulties in trying to create such a framework. The process is hindered by the audience's voyeuristic interest in violent content, as well as the economic interest of its providers.

Kanduč (2002) in his reflection on co-responsibility of intimate victimisation is convinced that scientific interest in victims of criminal and other victimisations has very soon clashed with the normative question about what and how great is their (co)responsibility for the damage they have suffered. The problem of risk behaviour – be it criminogenic or victimogenic – of actual and potential victims has gained special gravity in the context of situational and environmental crime prevention which becomes an increasingly important mechanism of the control and prevention of criminal offences and other disturbing harmful events (especially in the private sector, i.e. large systems which are in private ownership and are mostly subjected to the logic of economic rationality). It is increasingly evident that a victim's conduct (be it commissions or omissions) often represents an important facilitating or even encouraging factor in "ante-criminal situations". For this reason there has been a growing pressure on people who are expected to do their best to reduce the "offer" of criminal opportunities, to strengthen the system of protection of potential crime targets and to behave in general in a more self-protective way. In this area, the state also becomes more and more active by alarming, mobilising, recruiting, instructing, informing, activating, co-ordinating and addressing individuals, communities, groups and organisations as potential victims of criminal offences; in this way it tries to create a kind of loosely integrated "partnership for order and peace" between the public and private sector which has resulted in erasing the line of demarcation – which is profoundly ideological – between the state and civil society (the latter having been slowly transformed in a policing society). An increased interest in victims of crimes, which becomes more and more politicised and ideological, has slowly changed attitudes towards so-called victimless crimes. While liberal criminology/victimology strives for decriminalisation and normalisation of such activities, the rising neo-conservative politics argue the thesis that victimless crimes nevertheless have their victims: if these are not concrete individuals, then the victim is the community as a whole, because its quality of life is threatened by such phenomena as prostitution, pornography, drug (ab)use, vagrancy, drinking in public places and too loose conduct of the young.

Razpotnik (2002) discusses violence and masculinity and states that both expressions of violence and the conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of socially defined roles – masculinity and femininity – are determined by a normative network of the broader society with its structure, its functioning and at the same time by repeated systemic violence. Violence is one of the basic human characteristics, which is subjected to legal regulation. All new, marginal social groups, which have been empirically verified as more violent than others, call for the re-conceptualisation of violence and other phenomena related to marginal social status. This is the only way to overcome the existing situation and to make a significant theoretical and practical shift towards the re-examination of the role of gender in violence.

The research by Dekleva and Razpotnik (2002) on the second generation of immigrants to Slovenia is comprised of two parts: literature review/theory and empirical study on a sample of 15 years old juveniles of Ljubljana. Surveying, interviewing and the use of projective techniques were conducted in 2000 in the last grades of primary schools and the first grades of high/vocational schools in Ljubljana. Respondents were asked questions about their lifestyle and experiences with violence. This study is also a cross-cultural study of the quality of life of the second generation of immigrants.

The research on invisible violence against the disabled by Zaviršek (2002) deals with several aspects of violence about violence against the disabled and focused especially on sexual abuse of the studied group of people. The research presents personal testimonies of Slovenian women with different disabilities who were abused either at home, in

foster care or in public institutions. It discusses some of the responses of professionals and caregivers who tend to minimise the importance of abuse against the disabled. The research claims that ignoring the experience of sexual abuse is a part of the subtle and unintentional discrimination, which reflects a long and continuous legacy of prejudice and hatred toward disabled children and adults in the private realm as well as in public care. The research seeks to de-individualise the debate about sexual abuse of the disabled, especially women, by showing that both the sexual and asexual identities of the impaired persons are invariably fashioned within the institutional arrangement of domination and subjugation. The research studies also ideological and institutional relations of sexual power and disempowerment. The main message of the research is so-called cultural anaesthesia to the socially invisible people, i.e. the disabled as victims of (violent) crimes.

Lobnikar and Pagon (2002) present the results of a study on perceptions of workplace aggression and violence among police managers in Slovenia. The results showed that almost six percent of police managers experienced what could be classified as bullying in the workplace. The data did not suggest any high-risk groups within the police managerial population. The most prevalent forms of negative behaviours were those related to the interpersonal relationships at work. These, at the same time, were also perceived as the most detrimental for work efficiency and efficacy by police managers.

Sotlar (2002) presents problems of the huge social and political changes in Slovenia. Despite these changes Slovenia experienced few cases of extremism in terms of racism, xenophobia, religious and political extremism and terrorism in the last decade. There are many reasons for that but it seems that its creation as an independent state and some kind of social solidarity within the nation have played crucial roles in preventing major disturbances in the country. However, Slovenia is not an island and cannot be absolutely safe from some negative impacts that go together with the processes of intra-social stratification, globalisation and European integration. In dealing with extreme phenomena in the society the police and other repressive institutions of the state cannot play the decisive role, and it is the political elite who should also take more responsibility and play more active (preventive) role in this field in the future. In this regard, not only proximate causes (triggers) of conflicts that lead to extremism, but also underlying causes should be prevented.

The paper by Meško, Umek, Pagon, Lobnikar, Dobovšek and Sotlar (2002) presents four dimensions of violence related problems in contemporary Slovene society. The structure of this paper is based on a research design prepared by a group of European experts who participated in a Working Group 3 within a COST A018 project on violence in Europe. Working Group 3 deals with violence in transition, which means that it focuses on problems of migration from South and East to Europe, organised crime activity, civil society responses and reaction of the state law enforcement agencies with a special attention on institutional violence towards migrants.

Psychological abuse presented by (Ambrož, 2003) is a complex phenomenon that is hard to define and that has not attracted the in-depth and systematic attention of criminology and victimology until recently. Psychological aggression between intimate partners encompasses a wide range of actions from explicit verbal aggression to the most subtle kinds of manipulation that are much more often reciprocal than is the case of physically abusive relationships, because of which it is sometimes extremely difficult to delineate between "the perpetrator" and "the victim". Since it can be assumed that the brutality of interpersonal violence decreases in the upper social classes and it is replaced with subtle forms of (psychological) aggression which is not

and cannot be the subject of criminal law intervention, it is right that criminology and victimology pay attention to this phenomenon and contribute to higher level of awareness that psychological abuse can cause serious victimization. It is also necessary to change opinion that psychological abuse is "a self-evident matter" or something totally inevitable.

The authors Kury, Pagon, and Lobnikar (2003) analyse victimisation by sexual offences. They first provide an overview of findings on primary and secondary victimisation in sexual offences, placing special emphasis on an analysis of the image of these victims. The central part of the paper presents the results of an empirical study conducted on German and Slovene samples. Analyses show that respondents – victims – perceive victimisation significantly differently to non-victims. The most significant differences are in regard to the criminal offence of rape. The article also examines results of the second part of questionnaire – consisting of statements (attitudes) of respondents towards women, violence and rape. The comparison between Slovenia and Germany shows that Slovenes are more traditional in perception and attitudes on the role of women in society, more approving violence between spouses, and less compassionate towards victims of rape than the compared sample of Germans. It was also found that attitudes toward women, violence and rape have a significant impact on the perception of victims of sexual offences.

SELECTION OF "PURE" RESEARCH PAPERS, ARTICLES AND REPORTS

Research papers, articles and other publications on violence are selected upon the following research process criteria: theory, hypothesis, research design, data gathering and analysis and presentation of findings (Hagan, 2001: 23). Table 1 presents empirical research, articles and papers about violence. Table 2 presents other types of publications on violence, mainly from the field of criminology that are more or less of a reflective nature.

Table 1 shows that empirical research on violence in Slovenia was "rediscovered" in 1995. The majority of research projects started as a part of other international research projects on violence using the same methods as in other European countries due to the nature of cross-cultural (comparative) nature of these research projects. Other projects were either national projects or MA and PhD theses published as the research reports.

Studying other forms of violence followed research on school discipline and violence at school in 1995. Juvenile violence and forms of violence related to them were the most empirically studied problems of violence (bullying, peer violence, violence among the youth, second generation of young immigrants). Some other forms of violence have also been studied in recent years such as sexual harassment, violent victimisation, extremism, victims of sexual crimes, and violence against illegal immigrants.

Regarding research methods – the majority of survey type studies used questionnaires prepared by a group of international experts and statistics were calculated upon the same model. Some national surveys used only descriptive statistics (especially pilot studies) and some also multivariate statistical methods. The level of explanation differs significantly. In research of higher quality both, qualitative and quantitative methods of data gathering were used. Some research, especially those of qualitative nature, was based on small samples of some 20 respondents or less. Quantitative studies more or less meet criteria of a sampling adequacy.

A general remark about the reviewed research papers is that only one national study of violence deserves a special attention. This study was conducted by Dekleva et al. (2001) and dealt with the second generation of young immigrants in Ljubljana, Slovenia and their criminal activity, family problems, problem solving, aggressiveness, etc. This study is an example of the complementary use of the quantitative and qualitative research methods.

A recent research on violence in the media also deserves special attention. It reveals the quantity and quality of violence presented in the written media and on TV. It is important to stress that the Slovene media industry following western ideas about presentation of violence on TV or in the other media uses significantly more violence to attract readers and viewers than the national TV or "old-fashioned" newspapers.

The Table 2 shows other contributions on violence, which have a little longer history than empirical research on violence, which re-emerged in 1995. The first theoretical paper on violence was published in 1992 and deals with problems of tolerance to violence in war, especially in the war in former Yugoslavia. Papers that present and discuss structural violence, interpersonal – domestic violence, masculinity and violence, victims of violence and psychological violence follow this paper.

Let us review the main goals of this paper. We have attempted to present the main ideas of 28 either reports or articles and papers based on research on violence in Slovenia after 1991. It is possible to find more publications on this topic but the use of specialised criminology and criminal law database revealed only the presented publications. Therefore, it is necessary to widen the search for publications of violence in Slovene, not just in or about Slovenia. It is also necessary to stress that the majority of publications on violence in the Criminology and Criminal Law Database was in English, which seems to be a global language of criminology.

Regarding the use of research methods on violence we can see that we face two groups of criminologists and other social scientists who study violence – theorists and empirical social scientists.

The selection of the studied problems related to violence shows that Slovene criminological research on violence followed the European ideas and priorities in researching violence. The comparative research of some kinds of violence, especially on violence of the young is the matter of European cross-cultural research. It is also interesting that some researchers co-operated with American colleagues and conducted cross-cultural studies of newly rediscovered forms of violence (sexual harassment at work, work-place violence, stalking, etc.).

The Ministry of Education, Science and Sport financially supports the majority of empirical research while studies of local problems of violence are supported by municipalities. It is also more than evident that an international and especially European social science influences the priorities in topics and methods in studying violence. This is the case especially after 1995 when intensified inclusion of Slovene social scientists into European and international projects began.

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ENDNOTESS

- 1 This paper is a part of activities of the principal author's in the COST A 018 project of the European Comission.
- 2 The problem of key words in the database was related to author's selection of keywords some authors used a keyword "research" for a literature review, others for "empirical research", etc. For the final selection of the publications we used the criterion "research report or/and research paper/article. That means that we included articles based on research projects, MA and PhD theses and pilot studies of violence presented in journal article or conference paper form.
- 3 Such as Dekleva, 2001.
- 4 Before 1991 six major research projects on violence were conducted at the Institute of Criminology in Ljubljana. The research on suicides (Pečar, Milčinski, 1971) in Slovenia was accomplished in 1971, followed by the research on homicides in Slovenia (Uderman, 1974), spatial distribution of crime and violence in Ljubljana (Pečar, 1975). After an almost ten year break Pečar (1984) published a research report on the role of bystanders and people involved in violent criminal events. Child maltreatment presented a research interest on Šelih (1985) who published a research report on legal, medical, and social welfare aspects of child maltreatment. The last research on violence before 1991 was the research project by Vodopivec (1987) on deviance in Slovenia 100 years ago, which depicted problems of crime and violence in Slovenia in the nine-teenth century.

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APPENDIX:

Table 1: Empirical research on violence in Slovenia*

			7				
Title and author(s)	Year	Subjects of study	Kind of violence	Quantitative/ Qualitative	Methods of data gathering	Statistic methods - analyses	National/ International
Protection of children's rights – disciplinary punishment and prevention of violence in junior and primary school (A. Selih)	1995	School students	School discipline, bullying children's rights	Quantitative, Qualitative	Review of legal documents, Survey	Descriptive statistics, multivariate statistical methods	International – cross cultural study
Sexual harassment in the Slovene police (M. Pagon, B. Lobnikar)	1995	Police officers	Sexual harassment	Qualitative	Survey	Descriptive statistics, multivariate statistical methods	International, cross-cultural study
School-related violence among peers – the extent of phenomenon (B. Dekleva)	1996	School students	Bullying, peer violence	Quantitative	Survey	Descriptive and multivariate statistical methods	International, cross-cultural study
Violent conduct of juveniles (M. Globočnik	1997	Juvenile delinquents	Juvenile violence	Quantitative	Official police statistics	Descriptive statistics	National study of comparative nature
Bullying-characteristics of perpetrators and victims (B. Dekleva)	1997	Juvenile delinquents and victims of bullying	Juvenile violence	Quantitative and qualitative	Survey, interviews	Descriptive statistics, analysis of narratives	International, cross-cultural study
The ICVS – report on Slovenia – a part on violent victimisation (Z. Pavlovic)	1998	Victims of crime	Violent victimisation	Quantative	Survey	Descriptive statistics	International, cross-cultural study
Semantics of peer violence (B. Dekleva)	2001	Juveniles	Violent/abusive slang	Quantitative, Qualitative	Interviews	Content analysis	National study
Victims of crime (M. Globočnik)	2001	Victims of crime	Victims of violent crimes	Quantitative	Official police statistics	Descriptive statistics	National study
Violence in the media – The Extent and the Influence of Violence in the Media in Slovenia (D. Petrovec)	2001	The media 2 TV channels 3 daily newspapers	All kinds of violence	Both	Watching TV, daily press	Content analysis	National study

Title and author(s)	Year	Subjects of study	Kind of violence	Quantitative/ Qualitative	Methods of data gathering	Statistic methods National/ - analyses Internation	National/ International
Čefurs were born here – life of the second generation of young immigrants in Slovenia (D. Dekleva, Š. Razpotnik)	2002	15 years old school students,	Violence among the youth	Both	Survey, interviews, Projective techniques	Variety	National study
Invisible violence: normativity and normalisation of violence against people with sensor and intellectual disabilities (D. Zaviršek)	2001	The disabled	Sexual violence against the disabled	Qualitative	Interviews	Analysis of interviews	National study
Coping extremism within society – The Slovenian experience (A. Sotlar)	2002	Contemporary group/extreme violence like skinheads and others	Extremism, hate crimes, croup violence	Qualitative	Press review	Content analysis	National pilot study
Some dimensions of violence in Slovenia: Interaction of migration, organized crime, civil society response and institutional violence (G. Meško. P. Umek M. Pagon, A. Sotlar, B. Dobovšek, B. Lobnikar)	2002	Refugees, police officers, citizens of the RS	Recent forms of violence against refugees, immigrants, organised crime and violence, extreme violence – intolerance, xenophobia and racism	Both	Press review, Official reports on events including immigrants	Content analysis, Descriptive statistics	A preliminary national report for COST A 018 – Dynamics of Violence in European Countries
Image of victims of (sexual) offences and the attitude towards violence – a problem of stigmatisation (Kury, H., Pagon, M., Lobnikar, B.)	2003	Students	Slovene and German representative samples	Quantitative	Survey	Descriptive and multivariate statistical methods	International, comparative study between Germany and Slovenia

*Titles of publications/articles/research reports have been translated by the author of this article where English titles were not available.

Table 2: Other papers, articles and "theoretical research/review papers" on violence

Title of publication	Year	Subjects of study	Kind of violence
War crime – criminology of war (Pečar, J).	1992	War and violence	Crimes against humanity
Violence and coercion (Pečar, J.)	1993	State, institutionalised forms of (law) enforcement	Institutional violence
Difference and diversity as a motive for violent crime (Pečar, J).	1993	Marginal social groups	Hate violence
Words and violence (Salecl, R).	1994	The media, political speeches	Violence in the media Abusive language
The fundamentals of criminology of everyday life – work as one of the aspects of structural violence (Kanduč, Z).	1995	Work – Structural violence	Structural, hidden violence
Victims of the state (Pečar, J).	1997	Victims	Structural violence
Violence at sports events – to suppress or to control? (Košir, M).	1999	Control of public disorder on sports events	Public disorder
Myths about family violence (K. Filipčič)	1999	Family	Domestic violence
Family and violence: Family violence and violence in the family (Kanduč, Z.)	2000	Family	Domestic violence
Causes, reasons and circumstances of family violence: victimological aspects (Kanduč, Z.)	2001	Family	Domestic violence
Victims, victimisations and criminological perspectives (Kanduč, Z.)	2001	Victims of violence	Violent crimes
A question of (co)responsibility in intimate victimisation and victimless crimes (Kanduč, Z.)	2002	Family, intimate partnership	Interpersonal violence
Violence and masculinity (Razpotnik, Š.)	2002	Culture of masculinity	Male violence
Newly Discovered Abuse – Psychological Abuse between Partners (Ambro , M.)	2003	Intimate partners	Psychological violence