The Cost of Gender-Based Violence in Sweden

-and an economic approach to the phenomenon

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1. Introduction

Breast bruised, brains battered
Skin scarred, soul shattered,
Can’t scream-neighbours stare,
Cry for help-no one’s there.¹

1.1 Background

Violence has been widely recognized as a public health issue and as a major obstacle for development worldwide.² The latter is especially true when analyzing development problems of the third world countries where violence affects the society immensely in almost all aspects of life. It creates a society containing social institutions which build on distrust and fear and of an increasing sense of insecurity. In present Sweden the level of violence is not comparable to the violence met in several developing countries. It however creates the same negative influences and it has a substantial effect on the community as a whole.

As simple as it may seem to assert this problem, it is not a straightforward task to prevent and discharge it from our societies, since the problem has many dimensions and stems from different types of societal imperfections. It is however possible to differentiate between different types of violence and through this differentiation reach knowledge of the variables which affect the levels of violence. That is to say, if we were to investigate all types of violence occurring, it may be possible to give interesting statistics of the costs, but we would know little about how to prevent it, since it is not likely that we can prevent all different types of violence in the same fashion. An example would be the problem of environmental pollution which is attacked in different ways depending on who the polluters are and what the incentives (preferences) are that influence their actions. A company is attacked by legal action which threatens with economical retribution if the firm is not abiding to the rules set out. In this case the decision makers assume that economical incentives are the best instrument to use for decreasing environmental pollution of the factories. When you want citizens to recycle more and not throw batteries in their garbage, it is instead assumed that they are morally motivated individuals and you plead to their moral self to do the right thing and to act

¹ Stanza from a poem by Nenna Nehru, a battered Indian woman (APDC).
responsibly. You will not get a fine for throwing batteries in the trash but you will probably not do it since you have been informed of the devastating effects it has on the environment. Or there is a combination of moral boosts and economical incentives, all with the purpose of decreasing the environmental pollution which we all agree upon is an admirable effort.

There is, however, a substantial difference between the environmental problem and the violence problem, i.e. there is an initial idea that the natural state of the world is a world without pollution. Whereas with violence it is a widespread thought that a little bit of violence is natural in every society of humans, not to mention natural for all the living creatures on this earth. If one has that view it would seem a vain attempt to try to decrease the level of violence, it would be to almost try to fight nature, which humans on several occasions have learned is not possible. The questions have to be asked, is this right, is violence natural and is men hitting women also a natural state of being? Are some men simply more violent than women and are they always going to behave this way no matter how we attempt to control it? The obvious assumption in this thesis is no, this is not something already prescribed in our genes, but rather something constructed and sanctioned by our societies.

It might seem unnecessary to state ambitious moral grounding merely for motivating an assumption that violence is not natural and can be fought. It is not all together a controversial idea, it is at least obvious that levels of violence are different in different communities and structures can be observed for explaining these different levels. But my claim goes further, namely, that there has to be a utopian vision at hand for a problem to be satisfactorily assessed, that is to say, a society without violence. To obtain and strive for that, it is necessary to understand the nature of the problem and all variables which affect the outcome, and to understand how to affect these variables.

A recently conducted study in Sweden claims that the studies of violence towards women have been lacking the term, gender-related violence. This has had the effect that violence has become a marginal problem for the community, and that the prevention efforts mostly have been long-term measures. The most common measure being that it will solve itself with time and new generations.³ Somehow this rather prominent problem has become an issue for women, for women to solve, and not what it truly is; a problem for the community. The

violence towards women costs them in every aspect of their lives and personal development, there is a cost for the men who spend time in prison, but above all; the costs are enormous for the community.Everybody shares the costs of men’s violence against women therefore it is in the whole community’s interest to solve this dysfunctional part of the society and prevent it from taking place.

1.1.1 Motive

The motive of this thesis is ambiguous in the sense that it is economical, as well as morally motivated. Firstly, to measure and identify the cost of men’s violence towards women is desirable, since measuring costs of any kind gives us an opportunity to compare these costs with the cost of prevention of that same phenomena. This implies that an optimum can be reached between the two categories of costs, i.e. resources can be saved through a superior allocation. Secondly, the moral motive is to display how much, often hidden, violence actually is occurring and the extensive affect it has on the individual as well as on the society as a whole. To be able to prevent it, we must know more about it, since being aware of a problem and having knowledge of its nature is the first step towards reaching solutions.

1.2 Purpose

The aim of this thesis consists of three parts regarding gender-based violence.

- Discuss and make brief measures of the annual aggregated cost of male violence against women in Sweden.
- Discuss and explore the obstacles and methods used to assess this particular problem.
- Explore the nature of gender-based violence and discuss rational approaches of prevention.

1.3 Method

To attain the purpose, this thesis is constructed with a quantitative, as well as a qualitative method. The quantitative material is used for reaching the first part of the aim, i.e. the aggregate costs of the violence. To develop this part in an intelligent manner I have studied similar research of this matter which I also present in the following chapter. This chapter also
serves as a presentation of the different methods earlier used to assess this problem and give an understanding of the problematic nature of quantifying some of the indirect costs running from men’s violence towards women.

The final cost measured will only suffice as a number to discuss and is not claimed to be the truth. This is due to the problematic nature of the measured statistics which regards violence against women, i.e. women’s unwillingness to report crimes such as interpersonal violence and rape. Therefore, the actual numbers will merely serve as numerical examples which give an idea of how it could be measured as well as the extent of the problem.

To find the prevalence of women being subjected to different types of violence in Sweden, a prevalence study has been used. The prevalence study gives information of the percentage of women at the age 18-64 in 1999 that have been subjected to violence. To reach an over-all number of the prevalence of these types of violence within the Swedish population, I assume that the sample taken in the statistical survey reflects the actual population in Sweden.

The qualitative part of this thesis is an analysis of the rational, or irrational, behaviour of both the perpetrators and the victims. For doing this I use an economic approach mainly based within the discourse of rational behaviour. The selection of which models to use has come naturally when searching for the answers myself. The analysis is intertwined with the presentation of the models. I have chosen to do so with the purpose of making it more accessible for the reader.

For the economic analysis of the behaviour of both the perpetrator and the victim, I mainly depart from theories developed by Gary S. Becker, who in this area can be considered to be one of the major writers who uses rational choice theory for explaining human behaviour. To go even further in the analysis I have also chosen to use additional theories for explaining human behaviour, such as, Akerlof and Dickens theory of Cognitive Dissonance and Roberts Cherry’s enhanced version of Becker’s marriage model, i.e. enhanced in the aspect that it has been modified to also regard gender implications.
1.3.1 Material

To find the material to the chapter of earlier research I have made a search for studies which make accounts of the costs of gender-based violence and of violence in general. Of the studies found, a selection has been made with the purpose of giving an adequate picture of how to regard these types of costs.

I have chosen to use De Vylders paper *Costs of male violence*, which is interesting because it categorises many different types of costs. It has unfortunately not been taken further than some overview estimations of the matter, more was not intended, and it is basically this overall approach, which I use in this theses. I have further chosen a Finnish study made by Piispa and Heiskanen, *The price of violence*. I regard the Finnish study to be one of the most prominent in this area. It is interesting both in the aspect of the methods they use for accounting the costs, and in the sense that their results also could serve as a proxy for Sweden since the countries are quite similar. The study is mainly concerned with the direct and indirect costs even though it also mentions other more intangible costs. A New Zealand study by Fanslow and Goggan is also presented, which measures the costs of homicide in New Zealand. The study does not differentiate between homicides on women or men, but nevertheless the authors do presents an approach to measure all the direct and indirect costs which surrounds homicide. This is interesting since it provides method for measuring the economical loss that comes from women being killed or from women committing suicide. I have also chosen to present a method used in a World Bank Discussion Paper with the name *Violence against Women – the Hidden Health Burden* written by Heise, Pitanguy and Germain. The method is interesting since it measures the decline in health for women, when being subjected to violence, and it further quantifies these findings.

For the empirical chapter three, I rely heavily on the Prevalence Study *Captured Queen*[^4], which is a victimisation survey. All the prevalence numbers of violence, presented in chapter three originates from this study. This research study is the solely major enquiry to have been carried out in Sweden and its object is to study the extent and nature of men’s violence towards women. The study is based on a questionnaire that was sent to 10 000 women in Sweden where 117 were dead or emigrated, leaving an effective sample of 9883 women. The questionnaire contained 350 questions and 6926 (70.1 percent) responses were achieved. The

collection of the data was carried out in cooperation with Statistics Sweden (*Statistiska Centralbyrå, SCB*) who also received and codified the answers.

### 1.3.2 Problems

One of the major problems regarding the investigation of violence towards women is that it is generally only the so called *tip of the iceberg* which gets reported to the police, especially when dealing with crimes such as domestic violence or sexual abuse. This problem surface, not only when regarding reports to the police, but also when measuring the extent of social help or the number of court sessions dealing with gender-based violence. Another problem is also that even if the crimes get reported and action is taken, the institutions do normally not distinguish between gender-based violence and other types of violence. Because of this, almost all measurements and accounts have to be considered to be underestimates.

### 1.4 Disposition

Chapter two initiates with presentations of earlier research on the subject of male violence and the methods chosen to estimate different types of costs. It contains a presentation of De Vylder’s differentiation between different types of costs, as well as a definition of violence. After this, follows a presentation of a Finnish investigation which more thoroughly differentiates the direct costs into different kinds of public institutions of the Finnish society. The chapter also presents a study from New Zealand, which assesses the upcoming direct and indirect costs of homicide. The chapter ends with a description of a method, presented in a World Bank Discussion Paper, developed for measuring the so called *immeasurable costs* which comes from gender-based violence. The chapter ends with an overview of the methods I find most suitable for a research of the aggregate costs of gender-based violence.

Chapter three is an empirical part, were the different kinds of costs and aspects are categorised according to the presented outline developed in the former chapter. The found statistics of the extent of violence is presented together with the costs for different types of actions of the community. On its corresponding place, accounts are presented of the annual cost of each category of the direct costs.
Chapter four presents the results and conclusions drawn from the former chapter and analyses the relevance and accuracy of the estimations made. It further discusses the problematic nature of the measurement of the costs that are not direct costs.

In chapter five an analytical discussion is made about the behaviour of perpetrators and victims. This discussion builds on an economic approach to human behaviour which analyses the factors which affect the decision making of humans. The chapter explains basic rational choice theory and other relevant approaches used to explain the behaviour of actors. It discusses the impact of social norms on the behaviour of a perpetrator and of a victim and possible variables to restrain crime.

The sixth chapter presents the conclusions which can be drawn from the two previous chapters. It also suggests and discusses different solutions of how to affect the level of gender-based violence.
2. Earlier research

This chapter contains previous writing on the subject and the interesting methods researchers have chosen to solve the problems of differentiation and estimations of different kinds of costs. Their definitions and structure will serve as a theoretical basis for the estimations made in this paper. There is interestingly not very much written and actually estimated on the subject as a whole, probably due to the difficult character of the problem, i.e. the difficulty to find accurate unbiased statistical material of the extent of male violence towards women. The chapter ends with a summation of methods I have chosen to be adequate when measuring the costs of gender-based violence and a short outline of how the following chapter is constructed.

2.1 Costs of Male Violence by De Vylder

De Vylder first defines violence and differentiates between collective violence and interpersonal violence, the former referring to violence such as state violence or terrorist violence, and the latter to violence occurring between individuals, i.e. between unconnected individuals or family members. He uses a definition of gendered violence adopted by the World Health Organisation:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.

He also sets up three different expressions of violence; (1) physical violence, including sexual abuse; (2) psychological violence, (3) acts involving deprivation or neglect. In real life the matter is generally a combination of the three.

The costs of violence are differentiated between direct costs, indirect costs, intangible costs and multiplier effects. The direct costs refer to the costs running from police and private

6 Ibid. P. 65
security, costs of trials, prisons, healthcare, social services, i.e. shelters and crisis services for abused and hunted women. The indirect costs cover the expense from loss of income of the victims as well as the offenders, and an increase in mortality and morbidity, all leading to a lower productivity. The intangible costs refer to the costs of pain and suffering for the victims and their families, as well as to the increased fear and anxiety in a society as a whole. These costs are generally difficult to quantify. The multiplier effects are the costs which regard the erosion of the social capital following violence. De Vylder defines them as the intergenerational transmission of violence and dysfunctional behaviour.

2.2, The Price of violence – The cost’s of men’s violence in Finland

by Piispa and Heiskanen

These authors have mainly categorised, what De Vylder refers to as direct costs and indirect costs. Their study is a sequel study to a victimization study with the name; Faith, Hope, Battering- A Survey of Men’s Violence against Women. The direct costs are organised into four groups; (1) The health care sector, which take into account the visits to physician, hospital care, and medication; (2) The social sector’s cost which arise from shelters, crisis services, criminal justice system and therapy; (3) The criminal justice system which constitutes of the police, trial and prison; and finally (4) other costs primary regarding different kinds of voluntary work, found in organizations such as the Finnish service for crime victims and the Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters. These services are constituted by support persons and trained volunteers working at support lines, as well as temporary shelters. Some services even constitutes of voluntary lawyers giving legal advice by telephone.

The authors also recognise the problem of the tip of the iceberg, which leads to large underestimates. This is especially true in the social sector were it often was impossible to distinguish the costs caused by violence, from costs of other expenditure, the violence being a hidden problem in family which need social help. When assessing the indirect costs it was said that:

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Violence against women also causes indirect costs through lost lives, through its negative influence on the quality of life, and through production losses. Calculations related to such cost dimensions are always inaccurate and, to an extent, arbitrary.9

They further suggest that this kind of estimations ought to be restricted to smaller regional units, with the purpose of having more control over the accounting for all relevant agents operational in the region.

The conclusions reached claim that the direct costs amounted to 473 million SEK10 per year, where 64 million constitutes of the health care sector, 140 million of the social services, 252 million of the criminal justice system, and finally 16 million as other costs. Piispa and Heiskanen also conclude that a large part of the costs of violence is caused by interpersonal violence (partner violence). Two thirds of the costs from the health care sector, half of the costs from the criminal justice system and almost all costs in the social sector, were estimated to come from interpersonal violence. The indirect costs was estimated to be between 572-1052 million SEK. These costs were, however, calculated theoretically and not found in the real expenditure of the institutions. In these calculations of indirect costs, the psychological cost was not taken into account, but examples were made of what these costs might amount to.

The examples were based on information collected through deep interviews. Namely, a violent relation often ends in separation, which however does not put a stop to the physical or psychological violence by the former partner, who, driven by jealousy or needs of control, continues to pursue and control the women’s life, and even if the physical violence ends the psychological consequences can emerge years after and linger on for a substantial time. The authors also remark that the boys, who have witnessed violence while growing up, are more likely to use violence against their partner in the future.

8 The survey was carried out by Statistics Finland in 1998 and the authors were also Heiskanen and Piispa.
10 Conversions from FIM are presented in the appendix
2.3 The Economic costs of homicide in New Zealand by Fanslow, Goggan, Miller and Norton\textsuperscript{11}

The article presents measurements on how much homicide annually cost for the New Zealand community. The estimates are conducted through a \textit{human capital approach}. The purpose of the study is to show the costs of not investing in violence prevention. The costs regarded are only the costs of the community and not the personal costs for related individuals of the victims. The study was designed to asses the direct costs, using information on frequency and costs from government agencies, and the indirect costs stemming from the loss of production resulting from premature death. The direct costs constitute of the police involvement, funeral director’s transport to mortuary, coroner’s costs, counselling costs, legal costs and prison costs. The indirect costs are composed of years of working life lost for the victims and the loss of productivity of the homicide perpetrators due to time spent in prison.

To calculate the direct costs, official records were used and in the absence of relevant statistical information, personal experience of employees in relevant agencies was utilized. The indirect costs were calculated through multiplying the number of deaths with the average potential earning of an individual.

The results were that the direct costs of each victim were 7,1 thousand SEK\textsuperscript{12}, which gave a total cost of 5.8 million. The indirect cost per victim was estimated to be 2.1 million SEK, giving a total cost of 175 million SEK. Thus, the over-all costs were 181 million SEK, with an average per victim on 2.2 million SEK. In addition to this the direct cost for each perpetrator amounted to a total of 178 million SEK and the indirect costs of that same to 47 million SEK. The final total sum, of all the direct and indirect costs from both the victims and the perpetrators, ends on 406 million SEK in the year of 1992.

The authors emphasizes some limitations of the study, such as the probability of overestimating the indirect costs when using the \textit{human capital approach}, while at the same time disregarding this risk in the light of the larger probability of reaching underestimates due to some limitations of the study. Namely, the fact that the study does not include costs associated with non-fatal violence and its considerable burden on the health-care sector,

\textsuperscript{11} Fanslow, J. Goggan, C., Miller, B. and Norton, R. (1997)
secondly because the study does not include, when using the average wage, unpaid production such as house work, child care and other community services. Another problem is to assume that the male perpetrators actually are productive prior to their imprisonment and to not consider that they might be productive during their imprisonment. These problems are however, according to the authors, not seriously compromising for the study’s objective, which merely was to point out the costs of homicide and the long term benefits of preventing violence in a community.

2.4 The DALY:s index and gendered violence in The Hidden Health Burden by Heise, Pitanguy and Germain

These authors have presented a methodology for estimating the healthy years of life lost due to domestic violence and rape, i.e. a calculation of the disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) lost as a consequence of violence and rape. The calculations of the DALY:s are based on estimations of the share of life years lost to premature mortality and morbidity which can be attributed directly to gender-based victimisation.\(^{13}\) The authors define gender-based victimisation to be:

Any act of gender-based violence that result in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.\(^{14}\)

The measure DALY was originally designed by the World Bank and the World Health Organization and the index’s aim is to measure the costs from health decline and death. The definition by the WHO is as follows:

A unit for measuring both the global burden of disease and the effectiveness of health interventions, as indicated by reductions in the disease burden. It is calculated as the

\(^{12}\) Conversions from the New Zealand dollar to SEK are presented in the appendix.


\(^{14}\) Ibid. p. 3
present value of the future years of disability-free life that are lost as the result of the premature deaths or cases of disability occurring in a particular year.\textsuperscript{15}

When quantifying life-quality the measure values time lived with disability as having less worth than time spent in perfect health. Death indicates absence of functioning, and perfect health indicates complete functioning. This measure has, however, been criticised on the grounds that the consequences of putting a money value on health, implies that the life-value of a person with a disability becomes lower than the life-value of a perfectly healthy person. This implies that if one were to maximise the utility of a hospital, the rational economic action would be to lengthen the person’s life who originally had perfect health, rather than the person who only can return to his disability level of life. In other words, the measure produces different values on people with handicap and people without handicap. It is further criticised that it implies that people living with a disability is more unhappy people than people without disabilities.\textsuperscript{16}

There is however an interesting extension of the DALY:s measure, namely that it extends its concern to also measure the morbidity level of a society, i.e. it tries to quantify the suffering of people living under extreme conditions: This is what the authors have developed, a system for estimating how rape and domestic violence increase several kinds of physical and psychological conditions and how much these conditions diminishes a person’s life.\textsuperscript{17}

\section*{2.5 Summary}

From the studies presented above, we have an idea of the nature of the measurement of the costs stemming from gender-based violence. The most over all suggestion of how to account for these costs is presented in De Vylder’s writing. This is, however, not a profound study; it merely gives suggestions of how one could set up the different categories of costs and how different problems could be solved. To more practically discover how these estimations could be performed, other studies have been examined and above presented. These studies take into account more thoroughly, different parts of the over-all costs, already presented by De Vylder. The studies also serve another purpose, namely, they give a background to this essay

\textsuperscript{15} http://www.euro.who.int/observatory/Glossary/TopPage?phrase=Disability-adjusted\%20life\%20year\%20(DALY)
\textsuperscript{17} Heise, L. with Pitanguy, J. and Germain, A. (1994) pp. 48-49
at hand, and they discuss the problems of measurement for the costs of male violence towards women.

*Table 2:1 Categorisation of different types of costs from gender-based violence*

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<th>The health care sector</th>
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<td>The social sector</td>
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<td>The criminal justice system</td>
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<td>Other costs</td>
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<th>Indirect costs</th>
<th>Production loss caused by death</th>
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<td>Production loss caused by prison</td>
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<tr>
<th>Intangible costs</th>
<th>Psychological costs and morbidity</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Declining health measured with the DALY:s index</td>
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| Multiplier effects | The intergenerational transmission of violence |

The first column is thus constructed in accordance to De Vylder’s over-all categorisation, whereas the categorization of what the direct costs contain originates from the Finish study by Piispa and Heiskanen, who made a thoroughly research in measuring these costs in Finland. The indirect costs were not heavily taken into account in this study, even though it was mentioned. To study the indirect costs I therefore explore the New Zealand study, which mainly expresses the indirect costs in terms of production losses running from the absences of the victims and the perpetrators. In this column I also include the production loss that comes from sick leave, which also is mentioned by both De’Vylder and Piispa and Heiskanen, as an indirect cost.

The Intangible costs seem to be the most interesting and widespread cost, being mentioned in almost all the writings found on the subject. There are however fewer suggestions on how to measure and quantify these costs. The only real attempt found was with the DALY:s index developed by the WHO and adjusted by Heise, Pitanguy and Germain to take into account gendered violence. Any previous attempts to measure the multiplier effects have not been found.
3. The costs of gender-based violence

This chapter presents the empirical findings regarding the level of different kinds of costs. It mainly presents two types of numbers; (1) the prevalence of a certain phenomenon such as the quantity of women being victims of interpersonal violence; and (2) the costs for each unit of used service or good, such as one court session or one day spent in prison. The costs are presented below four headlines, the direct-, indirect- and intangible costs and finally the multiplier effects.

To reach an over-all number of the prevalence of these types of violence within the Swedish population, I assume that the sample taken in the statistical survey, Captured Queen\textsuperscript{18}, reflects the actual population in Sweden. This implies that I use the number 2 653 279, which is the true population in 1999 of the women in the age of 18-64 (the same year and age as in the statistical survey).\textsuperscript{19}

3.1 Direct costs

The direct costs are differentiated between the health care sector, the social sector, the criminal justice system, and the prevention costs. It can, however, be discussed if the prevention costs are direct costs, since these types of costs do not rise in direct response to a violent act. The prevention costs can though not be thought of as an indirect cost, or as an intangible cost, since they are both tangible and direct. They could however be connected with the multiplier effects seeing that they ought to rise when violence multiply in the society. However, they do have a direct impact on the economy of Sweden, and accordingly, I have placed them in this section.

3.1.1 The health care sector

\textit{Non institutional costs}

These kinds of costs are referring to the increasing costs of the health care centres, i.e. not all kinds of injuries requires hospitalisation but can be treated adequately in one or two visits

\textsuperscript{19} Statistiks in Sweden (SCB) (1999)
with a doctor or a nurse. It also applies for first aid and emergency visits to the hospital that are not leading to hospitalisation.

In the study Captured Queen, 8.8 percent of the women had sustained some kind of injury after being subjects of violence and/or sexual abuse during the last 15 years. The types of injuries are listed in Table 3:1.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{table}[H]
\centering
\caption{Types of injuries suffered by women}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Type of Injury & Number \\
\hline
Bruises, grazes & 719 \\
Wounds & 205 \\
Pulled muscle, rupture or dislocation & 141 \\
Fracture & 40 \\
Injuries to teeth & 47 \\
Miscarriage & 25 \\
Internal damage & 25 \\
Concussion & 68 \\
Bodily ache/pain & 382 \\
Other injuries & 111 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textit{Source: the study Captured Queen}\textsuperscript{21}

In the table it can be seen that the most common injuries are bruises and grazes, injuries which normally does not lead to health care centre visits. It is however likely that wounds and pulled muscles do lead to hospital visits, and these kinds of injuries are also fairly prevalent. Of these 8.8 percent that sustained an injury, 2.3 percent sought up a health care centre\textsuperscript{22}. The female population were in the year 1999, 2 653 279 persons. 2.3 percent of the population is 60 405 persons. Thus, the number 60 405 represents the number of women who visited a health care centre during a period of 15 years. One visit to a health care centre is estimated to cost 998 SEK per visit.\textsuperscript{23} This gives a cost of 60 902 960 SEK for a period of 15 years. In the study Captured Queen, it is, however, claimed that 21 percent of these incidents, which lead to injuries, happened during the last year\textsuperscript{24}. This means that to reach an estimation of the annual cost, merely 21 percent of the cost on 60 902 960 has to be considered, which approximately is 12 700 000 SEK.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid. p. 63
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid. p. 63
\textsuperscript{23} Patientrelaterad redovisning av verksamhet och kostnader (KPP) inom Primärvård Socialstyrelsen, och Sveriges kommuner och Landsting http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/NR/rdonlyres/19DB9982-3ECC-4A58-9E36-F45F331E30A9/3711/20051246.pdf
**Hospital care**

Of the women that visited a health care centre or an emergency unit, 0.28 percent was admitted to a hospital for medical treatment. Of those who did not seek treatment, 1.5 percent claimed that they ought to have done so.\(^\text{25}\) The 0.28 percent of the population on 2,653,279, is 7,429 persons, i.e. approximately 7,400 have been admitted to a hospital for medical treatment in a 15 year period. To calculate the costs of this is somewhat complicated since different kinds of treatment can vary greatly in the expense and it is also difficult to know the number of days spent at the hospital. However, in the Finnish study (The price of violence)\(^\text{26}\) it is estimated that the average time spent in a hospital due to the types of injuries sustained from interpersonal violence, is 3.2 days\(^\text{27}\). This means that the 7,400 woman together have spent 23,700 days in a hospital in a 15 year period. Each day in a hospital for injuries inflicted on the body has an average cost of 6,590 SEK\(^\text{28}\). That indicates a cost of 156 million SEK for the 15 year period. To reach an annual estimation of this, 21 percent of this number is being considered, which approximately gives the cost of 33 million SEK.

**Medication**

In the study Captured Queen, women who had been subjected to violence, were asked the question if they during the last months had taken medication in order to sleep, calm their nerves or relieve depression. Figure 3:1 shows the distribution of medication with reference to what type of violence they had been subjected to. The same women can be represented in one or all of the different categories of violence. The category total violence is also a different category and not a mix of the three others. This category represents the women who stated that they had been subjected to violence in general during the last 15 years, and remarkably, many of the women who stated this, did not state that it was physical violence, sexual violence or threats\(^\text{29}\).

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\(^{26}\) Piispa, M. and Heiskanen, M. (2001) p. 28
\(^{27}\) Ibid. p. 28
\(^{28}\) Sveriges kommuner och landsting http://www.skl.se/artikel.asp?C=1782&A=2335
\(^{29}\) The authors explain this paradox with the normalisation process women normally undergo in abusive relationships.
As can be seen in the figure, the most common medication is sleeping pills, and the women who seem to use the largest quantity of medication are the women who have experienced threats. For the calculation of the use of medication I will use the category of total violence. In this group 8 percent of the women were using sleeping pills, 5 percent anti-depressants and 4 percent sedatives. This suggests, when calculated with, in respect to the population that 212 262 women are using sleeping pills, and 132 664 are using anti-depressants, and 106 131 women are using sedatives. The retail prices of this types of medication are, approximately 170 SEK. This gives the price tag of approximately 76.7 million SEK. This gives a high cost and the reason behind is that the effects of the category of total violence is taken into account. This means that women that are taking medication today are doing that for reasons that may lie years back in time. It still, however, affects the annual results.

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31 Ibid. p. 63  
3.1.2 The social sector

Shelters
It has been estimated that Sweden has shelters on 131 places around the country. Many of these shelters are, however, run on a volunteer basis and the costs are difficult to estimate, since the shelters have different sizes and organises differently.³³

What we do know in this area regarding the costs, is that from the social sector’s budget it has been distributed 7 million SEK for different kinds of projects. The money has been distributed only between 12 different volunteer shelters.³⁴ This suggests that there are extensive work taking place on volunteer basis, and that the true costs are difficult to estimate.

Social work
The national board of health and welfare (Socialstyrelsen) states that 10 percent of the budget of the individual and family unit is dealing with men’s violence against women.³⁵ Their budget 2005 was 31 551 000 SEK which denotes that 3 155 100 is spent on violence against women. They also have a special bill regarding the violence against women on 9 534 000 SEK were 9 145 000 is a direct transfer to rikskvinnocentrum, which is a national unit working for the health and welfare for women.³⁶

There are also additional costs running from specialised family units in the social offices. This is units specialised and trained for the special problem of family violence. It is usually these units the police report to after an incident, especially if there is a child involved, the so called child-protection reports.

Therapy
In the enquiry Captured Queen, 1.8 percent of the women went to a psychiatrist due to depression and anxiety of their situation, which followed from being subjected to gender-based violence. This indicates approximately 48 000 women of the population. If we assume

³³ Bergmark, B. and Hamne Lundberg, G. (1995) p. 188
³⁴ http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/Om_Sos/organisation/Socialtjanst/Enheter/IF/Fordelning+av+7+miljoner.htm
³⁵ SOU 2004:121 p. 199
that each person only makes two visits a 700 SEK\textsuperscript{37}, it gives an annual cost of 67.1 million SEK.

\subsection*{3.1.3 The criminal justice system}

\textit{Police}

In the year 2003, 1 255 000 incidents were reported to the police. Of these reports 22 481 were crimes classified as violence against women and approximately three fourths (16 854) of the crimes were reported as interpersonal violence, i.e. that women knew their perpetrators. In the same year, 44 percent of the cases were solved.\textsuperscript{38} In the same year 66 women were victims for homicide, and 267 for attempted homicide. There were 1860 reports for serious offence against women, 17179 threats, 13 978 molestation and 2565 rapes.\textsuperscript{39}

The primary costs for the police are associated with home emergency calls, crime investigation and crime prevention. The total investigation costs were in the year 2002 estimated to be 4 517 million SEK. Of these investigation costs, 1.8 percent was dealing with the violence towards women\textsuperscript{40}, i.e. approximately 80.9 million SEK was spent on gender-based violence.

\textit{Trial}

The Swedish National Courts Administration (Domstolsverket) state that 0.4 percent of their total budget is used for the area of men’s violence towards women.\textsuperscript{41} The budget being approximately 5 billion SEK\textsuperscript{42} leads to the conclusion that they spend 20 million on mainly educational work, on the subject men’s violence against women. The SNCA is an administrative authority which works below the government and functions as a service agency for the Swedish judiciary.

The hourly cost for legal aid is 1008 SEK, and every criminal case in the year 2002 was estimated to cost 14 116 SEK.\textsuperscript{43} Of the above mentioned reports of violence towards women,

\begin{itemize}
\item[37] 700 SEK is a low but normal approximate price for a psychiatrist visit.
\item[38] Nilsson, Lotta. \textit{Misshandel mot kvinnor och barn}, Brotsutvecklingen i Sverige 2001-2003 (BRÅ)
\item[39] Ibid.
\item[40] Polisens årsredovisning 2002
\item[41] SOU 2004:121 p. 198
\item[42] http://www.dom.se/ 18.05.2005
\item[43] Domstolsverkets Budgetunderlag 2006-2008
\end{itemize}
4900 went to court\textsuperscript{44}. This indicates that the annual costs of court sessions is approximately 96.1 million SEK, and with the above mentioned educational work, we arrive at a cost of 89.2 million SEK.

\textit{Prison}

In the year 1999 there were 232 men in prison on the grounds of sexual violation and 1351 men on the grounds of violent crime towards person in general. In the latter number it is difficult to know whether the violent crime towards person is a male or a female. If we make the assumption that 10 percent of this post is related to the cost of gender-based violence, it would indicate that 135 men are in prison due to violence against women. This suggests that we together have 367 persons in prison on the grounds of gender-based violence.\textsuperscript{45} The average cost per day in a Swedish prison is 1800 SEK\textsuperscript{46}, which suggests an annual cost of 657 000 SEK per prisoner, and an aggregate annual cost of 241.1 million SEK.

\textbf{3.1.4 Other costs and Prevention costs}

The Criminal Victim Compensation and Support Authority (\textit{Brottsoffermyndigheten}) states that half of their budget, on 11 million SEK is spent on the question of violence towards women. They also state that half of the payments from the Crime Damage Compensation (brottskadeersättningen) of 84 million SEK were directed towards women and children who had been subjected to the violence of men. The Fund for Crime Victim (Brottsofferfonden) put down 5 818 700 SEK for a project regarding the violence against women, and the ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication (\textit{Näringsdepartementet}) claim that they put down 500 000 SEK for work regarding violence against women.\textsuperscript{47} Together this ends on an annual cost of 53.8 million SEK.

\textbf{3.2 The Indirect costs}

The indirect cost will merely be discussed in the sense of what these costs consists of and how they could be estimated. It is naturally possible, under some of the headlines to make

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{44} Nilsson, Lotta. \textit{Misshandel mot kvinnor och barn}, Brottutvecklingen i Sverige 2001-2003 (BRÅ)
\item \textsuperscript{45} Kriminalvårdens officiella statistik (1999) Kriminalvården
\item \textsuperscript{46} http://www.kristdemokraterna.se/VarPolitik/Motioner/2003-04/JuU/GR02Ju416.aspx
\item \textsuperscript{47} SOU 2004:121 p. 198-199
\end{itemize}
exemplary calculations; it is however doubtful to what purpose since the calculations would turn out to be very unreliable.

3.2.1 Production loss caused by death

When a woman is killed, the community naturally experiences a certain production loss due to the years lost of her productive life. The same is true for women who commit suicide with a background of gender related violence. This loss could be by expressed through estimating the loss to the gross national product. An estimate of the total production loss, caused by homicide, can be reached through multiplying the share of premature deaths of women who belong to the potential labour force with the value of the production loss per person.

3.2.2 Production loss caused by sick leave

The increased cost of the sick leave in present Sweden is, as well known, an addressed problem, and it would be of great interest to explore how large part of these costs that could be explained by gender-based violence. Especially the over-all decline in health and life-quality ought to affect the amount of sick leave taken, as well as the increased probability of having an addiction problem. Both the Finish study and the Swedish Captured Queen give evidence of the decreased health following interpersonal violence. In the section of intangible costs below, descriptions are being made of the increased depression and suicidal thoughts.

3.2.3 Production loss caused by prison

The production losses stems from the perpetrator’s time spent in prison. It could be measured how many men that are sentenced to prison on the grounds of violence or homicide towards women, and for how long time they are sentenced. This time would have to be multiplied with their expected annual value of GDP. This, however, assumes that the men before the imprisonment were employed, and also, that they are not performing productive work within the prison.

An interesting aspect of these estimations, is that when perpetrators get sentenced to prison it is likely that they stop being productive in the community, which leads to a loss. However, at the same time as this happens the productivity of their subjects ought to rise, namely, women who before were confined to their apartments or to different kinds of hidden shelters, fleeing from town to town, can now go back to an ordinary life. Therefore it could be discussed if
these costs could take each other out. It would also be interesting to compare the costs of keeping and maintaining shelters and the costs of keeping and maintaining prisons.

### 3.3 Intangible costs

Women being subjects to violence are more likely to have a lower level of health, i.e. not only the obvious damages, such as wounds, but also the psychological damage, declines the health. Naturally, it can be doubted if these kinds of damages could, or ought to, be measured and quantified. The costs are, as the headline proposes, intangible, which means immeasurable. Even so, women being subjects for violence do experience a decline in their life quality and health, their fear and anxiety do restricts them in their life. This phenomenon provokes costs on the community, and one might wonder; to what extent.

#### 3.3.1 Psychological costs and morbidity

In the Finnish study the term *other harm* was used which refers to the restricted activity that an abused person might have as well as their psychological damage, their experience of anxiety and other stress.\(^{48}\) In the study *Captured Queen*\(^ {49}\) it was found that there is a correlation between reports of violence and reports of psychological disorders. Psychological disorders refers to conditions such as over exertion, impaired memory or impaired concentration, weakness or tiredness, sleeplessness, nervousness, irritability, depression, and finally a feeling that “everything becomes too much”.

The figure 3:2 on page 25 shows the assessment of violence for the women who (in the study) had been subjected to violence, in percentage. Of the women who had been subjects to violence, 64 percent reported that it had a negative effect on them. In the figure it can also be seen that the most prevalent reaction from being subjected to violence is anger or hatred, and that the next most prevalent feeling is fear. Depression was experienced by 22 percent of the women and tiredness and listlessness by 18 percent.

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It was also found that among the women who had attempted suicide, 72 percent had been subjected to violence, and of the women who had contemplated suicide 62 percent had been subjects of violence. This indicates that the report states a clear correlation between violence and attempted suicide. Figure 3:3 describes the women who had contemplated violence in accordance with what type of violence they had been subjected to. In the figure total violence is a separate category and not a mix of the physical violence, sexual violence and threats. In the figure it can also be seen that in the categories total violence and sexual violence, it is slightly more prevalent that the women had contemplated suicide during the last twelve months.

Figure 3:3 Contemplated suicide and type of violence (%)

Source: the study Captured Queen

The most stressful type of violence seems to be sexual violence, where it also was most prevalent that the women had contemplated suicide during the last twelve months. This phenomenon is even more distinct in the figure 3:4, which presents the women who had actually attempted suicide among the women who had been subjected to violence. Important in the comparison between the two figures 3:3 and 3:4 is to notice the difference in scale. It is naturally very likely that all the women who had attempted suicide, also answers yes on the question whether they had contemplated on doing it.
The women who had attempted suicide seems to mostly be the women who had been subjected to sexual violence and threats, even though it still not is a huge difference to the category of physical violence.

All the previous figures give a picture of the serious psychological consequences many women experience after being subjected to violence. All these conditions and feelings are probably having impacts on the way that they conduct their lives. Many of the economical consequences ought to be found within the indirect costs as well as the direct costs, such as the visits to psychiatrists, use of medication, sick leave etc. Though the question still remains, of how to estimate the decline of well-being for the person experiencing these conditions.

### 3.3.2 Gender-based violence and the DALY:s index

It has been shown that in the present Sweden females search for more help from the social services than men.\(^5\) This means that for different types of reasons women seems to handle their lives worse than men, and they also seem to experience a lower health than men. In the previous paragraph a description has been made that shows some of the conditions experienced by women who have been subjected to violence.

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To further explore this relationship, table 3:2 on page 28, presents the DALY:s index in connection to gender-based violence. The purpose of the index is to show the affect, domestic violence and rape, have on some health conditions for women of the age 15 to 44. The left column shows some, for the subject of gender-based violence, relevant conditions. The condition STD stands for sexually transmitted disease. The column in the middle shows the amount of DALY:s lost to women, when experiencing these conditions. This number is, as mentioned in the chapter of earlier research, the present value of the future years of disability-free life that are lost as the result of condition occurring in a particular year. The right column then presents the share of this conditions which can be attributed to gender-based violence. An analogy would be to estimate the disability from lung cancer and heart disease, which can be attributed to smoking.
### Table 3:2 the DALY:s index in connection to gender-based violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relevant conditions</th>
<th>Total DALY:s lost to women age 15 to 44 (millions)</th>
<th>Share attributed to domestic violence and rape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STDs (excluding HIV)</td>
<td>15,8</td>
<td>2 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>10,6</td>
<td>2 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>10 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression (men age 15 to 44)</td>
<td>10,7 (5,4)</td>
<td>50 percent of difference between women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol dependence</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>10 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug dependence</td>
<td>1,1</td>
<td>10 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post traumatic stress disorder</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>60 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unintentional injuries</td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td>20 percent of total burden minus burden attributable to motor vehicle accidents and occupational injuries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>30 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>60 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentional injury</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>90 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: World Bank data

As can be seen in the table, several of these conditions can be strongly connected to gender-based violence, such as intentional injuries (90%), homicide (60%), post traumatic stress disorder (60%) and depression (50%). The latter is especially interesting, both because the difference between men and women is especially clear, and because it has a high number of DALY:s lost. Suicide is also relatively high in DALY:s lost and 30 percent of it is attributed to gender-based violence. Thus, as shown in the previous part, depression and suicide seems to be two common problems when discussing violence against women.

These relationships are also heavily supported by numerous investigations which have been conducted within the area of interpersonal violence. One researcher claim, as an example, that the consequences of violence experienced from a stranger are not comparable to the emotional consequences experienced when being subjected to interpersonal violence. That the latter is firstly; normally repeated and secondly; also comparable to the violence experienced by a child from a parent, since persons in a relationship have an emotional attachment and dependence towards one another.

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4.1 Multiplier effects

These kinds of effects refer to the effects which can be labelled as the erosion of social capital or “as the intergenerational transmission of violence and dysfunctional behaviour”\textsuperscript{54}. In the study Captured Queen, it surfaced that almost half of the children were thought to be affected by the violence towards the mother and in twenty percent of the cases the children themselves were also subjected to the same violence.\textsuperscript{55}

The effects this has on the children’s development are substantial. General effects among many are feelings of depression, anxiety, shame, eating disorders, low social ability, problems in school, sleeping problems etc. Some researchers put forward the notion \textit{the cycle of violence}, which connects violence in the childhood with violence later in life. This theorem has however been criticised on the grounds that it seems to predestine children to become violent persons when they grow up. Even so a connection between the two can be seen.\textsuperscript{56}

The multiplier effects also refer to effects spreading across, i.e. not only spatial between generation, but between friends in the same surrounding. This means that a child with a problematic background in one school spread dysfunctional behaviour, which infests other children, which in turn spreads it on.

\textsuperscript{54} De Vylde (2004) p. 69
4. Results

This chapter presents the results of the estimations made for the direct costs, and it comments and analyses these results. In the discussion comparison are made with the Finnish study presented in the chapter 2. It also analyses the other types of costs mentioned in the former chapter, on their convenience for quantification and on their probable size.

4.1 Direct costs

The direct costs are generally straightforward to measure. As can be seen in the table below the total annual sum of the direct costs amounted to approximately 947.4 million SEK, and according to this table it is the criminal justice system which has the highest expenses. The results are, in an over-all comparison with the Finnish study, almost twice as large. Not altogether surprisingly since the Swedish population on approximately nine million is larger than the Finnish one on approximately 5 million.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of cost</th>
<th>The results from the Finnish study 199857</th>
<th>The results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The health care sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non institutional costs</td>
<td>24 000</td>
<td>12 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital care</td>
<td>7 200</td>
<td>32 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medication</td>
<td>32 800</td>
<td>76 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>64 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>122 100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The social sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelters</td>
<td>45 800</td>
<td>7 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>12 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Therapy</td>
<td>28 400</td>
<td>67 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>140 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>86 800</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The criminal justice system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>59 100</td>
<td>80 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trial</td>
<td>61 300</td>
<td>89 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>130 900</td>
<td>241 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>252 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>411 200</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other costs / Prevention Costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum total:</td>
<td><strong>473 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>673 900</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57 It should be pointed out that the results presented from this study are merely some of the categories used in the original study. This means that it is not possible to sum the subcategories and reach the over-all costs for each sector.
The health care sector seemed to not have a very dominant share of the costs 122.1 million SEK. These numbers I, however, believe are great underestimates even though it is only the direct costs. In the health care sector it is, as an example, difficult to know for how long time women stay hospitalised. This since the nature of the problem makes it difficult for the hospitals to conduct reliable statistics on the actual accident which lie as cause for the visit, i.e. women’s unwillingness to report to the violence. The costs for the health care sector are, however, rather impressive in comparison with the costs estimated in the Finnish study. This difference can partly be explained by the fact that the Swedish population is larger than the Finnish population. It can also be mentioned that when scrutinising the health care sector’s costs in the Finnish study\textsuperscript{58}, it is found that the major cost is, as in this study’s results, the medication costs. The largest difference between the two studies is the hospital cost which is a very low entry in the Finnish study. The authors claim that this number is an underestimate due to the problematic nature of recording the cause of injuries correctly\textsuperscript{59}.

Within the social sector the underestimates are even larger; the 7 million SEK for the shelters are a despicable amount of money for the operation of twelve shelters throughout the country, not to mention, for the operation of 131 shelters. On this entry it seems as though the Finnish study has found more accurate costs. On the entry social work, there is no similar cost from the Finnish study which differed more within this area. Even so, I still believe this study’s result to be an underestimate, since it is difficult to know when families are in need because of gender-based violence and when it has other explanations. An example of how widespread these costs are for the social sector can be seen in a project sanctioned by the National Swedish Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen). The project has an aim to improve the reception and help for women, which have been subjected to violence, and seek help at the prenatal clinics (mödravårdscentraler) and the guidance centres for young people (ungdomsmottagningar). These are measures that entail resources to be put aside both for special education and for a more time consuming routine.\textsuperscript{60} On the entry of therapy the largest difference between the studies are present. Part of the explanation can be that Swedish women, which have been subjected to violence, have a larger propensity to visit a psychologist. Another explanation is that the authors in the Finnish had no knowledge of the prevalence of battered women using therapy. Because of this they had to resort to public

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid. p. 28
\textsuperscript{60} Socialstyrelsen, \textit{Tack för att ni frågar -screening om våld mot kvinnor} (2002)
records within crisis services and social services, which almost left out the private sector were virtually no records is being kept\textsuperscript{61}.

The costs of the criminal justice system are over-all, difficult to estimate since suitable statistics are hard to find, because the criminal statistics are normally not differentiated between violence towards women and violence towards men. This is however a cost which seems substantial even when measured carefully. The costs estimated are for example, only the annual costs of having a person in prison whereas a person probably spends more time than a year in the case of homicide and to get a truer annual cost the future years spent in prison should be accounted for as well. The trial courts ought to have been differentiated between three different categories, namely the court costs, the prosecution costs and the defence costs. There might be a problem taking average costs since a court session regarding a violent crime normally are more extensive and complicated than many other cases which maybe only regards intoxicated car drivers. An extension of the estimations could be to further consider the appeals of the cases, since appeals generally are even more expensive than the primary trials. Of the costs presented in table 4:1, only the court average costs are being included in the estimations.

The category of prevention costs is the smallest group of costs measured, and in this group also non prevention costs have been included. An example being the compensations to victims that are sanctioned by the Criminal Victim Compensation and Support Authority\textsuperscript{62}. It is thus clearly so, that no remarkable amount of money is used for preventing the gender-based violence.

\section*{4.2 Indirect costs}

The indirect costs ought to exceed the direct costs since the economical consequences from the production loss when women die, and the men’s time spent in prison, are effects which are long term, and in death case, irreversible. An ironic feature of this problem is that if one would count the production loss from the GDP as suggested in the former chapter, it would lead to that the production loss is lower per year for women since their average wage is lower than the average wage of men. There is, however, a solution for this problem, one would

simply have to take into account the home production performed by women, and after that value the productivity of women.

Other indirect costs that have not been mentioned are those regarding different kinds of treatments, an example being different types of intoxicant treatment. This since many women uses alcohol or drugs as a result from the violent abuse in the present, or earlier, period in their lives. This, together with the indirect cost that comes from the costs provoked by an increasing sick leave, shows the closeness between the indirect costs and the intangible costs. The intangible costs entail the substantial influence gender-based violence can have on the health situation for women. The same goes for the indirect costs that come from women committing suicide, which provokes the same production losses as the homicide. I can however in the present not imagine a method, of how to adequately and ethically investigate the reasons underlying a person’s suicide. Only some guesses can be drawn from the material presented under the intangible costs, were figures were presented, of the level of contemplated and attempted suicide, of the women who had been subjected to violence.

4.3 Intangible costs

It is generally thought that the intangible costs are larger than the direct and the indirect costs, hence the wide interest to measure these costs. There have been attempts made to quantify the intangible costs with the *contingency valuation* method. This method measure peoples willingness to pay for increased security through comparing the differences of real-estate prices in areas with different levels of security.\(^6\) This is naturally leading to the conclusion that people value security very much, but it could also mean that people with money wants to pay extra for living in so called status areas.

The intangible costs seems to be easy to identify but not so easy to estimate, the only quantification of these costs which I have found was the ones in the DALY:s index. However, doubt that the estimations are absolutely accurate for the Swedish conditions. However, it displays the great impact gender-based violence has on the health for women, and one could wonder what willingness to pay the victims would have, if they could be spared that impact on their lives.

\(^{62}\) Brottsoffermyndigheten
When measuring pain and anxiety it would not be plausible to differ between the individual’s different sizes in income. A person with a low income ought to experience pain no differently than a person with a high income. Because of this it is always advisable to measure cost related to the GDP while comparing between states.

The health aspect also brings other discussion topics such as the notion of welfare, and how we traditionally measure the welfare of our Nordic societies. It would be interesting to better incorporate the health of battered women into the welfare concept of a country. It can be compared with happiness research which explores how to measure happiness in a society, and which factors that exists that actually could make us happier. Is it money or free time? Better health or money?

**4.4 Multiplier effects**

To measure and quantify the multiplier effects is, as I can see it, an impossible venture. This is however, not to say that the effects do not exist or that they are not important. Violence creates violence both through generations and horizontally, and the long term effects are very probable to be considerable.

If a method was developed to measure the costs of violence that took the multiplier effects into account it would certainly lead to that the cost rises substantially. I have unfortunately not found a method to take these costs into account, even though they most certainly exist.

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63 De Vylder, (2004) p. 70
5. The Economic Approach to Gender-Based Violence

This thesis discusses the costs of the society which arise from the violence against women. In Sweden it can be claimed that “the most frequent form of violence against women are gender-related interpersonal violence.”\textsuperscript{64} This suggests that the major part of violence towards women occur for reasons of gender-inequality, i.e. if Sweden had a higher level of equality between women and men, the extent of violence against women would reduce. This chapter makes a deeper discussion and analysis of the problems surrounding gender-based violence, namely, why it occurs and which phenomenon could affect the prevalence of it. The discussion is mainly constructed with the help of economic theory and economic models. Therefore, this chapter starts with an explanation of what an economic approach implies, and with a section discussing the concept of gender-based violence. Subjects regarding the behaviour of both men and women are also entailed throughout the text.

5.1 The Economic Approach to Human Behaviour

The economic approach, or one could say, the rational choice approach, can be used for analysing not only material choices, for which it was originally developed, but also the non-material decisions made by individuals.\textsuperscript{65} To be able to define what an economic approach implies, it is useful to identify what economics is. A common wide definition of economics is that it is “the allocation of scarce means to satisfy competing ends.”\textsuperscript{66} To describe what an economic approach is, one would have to say that it implies certain assumptions, such as maximising behaviour, market equilibrium and stable preferences. One could also argue that it assumes that individuals maximise their own utility from basic preferences that do not change rapidly over time. The economic approach does not assume that the actors are conscious of their maximising behaviour, nor does it imply that there is any difference between large and small decisions.\textsuperscript{67}

A classic and illustrative example for the understanding of the assumptions, which underpins the economic approach to human behaviour, is decision of marriage. According to the

\textsuperscript{64} De Vylder (2004) p. 73  
\textsuperscript{65} See both Becker (1979) pp. 4-5 and Moe, (2003) pp. 3-4  
\textsuperscript{66} Becker (1979) p. 3  
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid. p. 5
economic approach, a person decides to marry when the expected utility from the marriage exceeds the expected utility of staying single or additional search for a more suitable partner. Since many persons are looking for a partner, it can be said that it exists a marriage market. Given that everyone is doing their bests, a sorting is being made into marriages; the result is equilibrium of marriages where couples are better off. 68

5.2 Gender-Based Violence

Different types of violence towards women have different objectives; interpersonal violence, i.e. violence from a familiar person, and violence from a stranger. Although it can be seen as rather remarkable, there is, within the interpersonal violence, violence which cannot be labelled as gender-based violence. That is the interpersonal violence, which is not coercive. There are relationships where both men and women use violence towards each other in their conflicts, and the violence has been measured to be of a lesser extent, even though divorce might seem advisable. This is not the kind of interpersonal violence primary regarded in this chapter. The sort of interpersonal violence that is interesting is the violence which can be described as terrorising violence, which is used for the control and breakdown of the partner. 69

What may be the cause of violence against women? If one is to discuss that question it is imperative to make the assumption that it is not a natural state of human interaction. Because if this would be the case, we would simply have to live with these extensive costs for the community, in economical terms as well as with the personal tragedy. Therefore I presume that this phenomenon has other explanations.

One common explanation is that men’s violence towards women reflects a hidden power structure in a society, a so called patriarchal structure, a society where the male is the norm and the female is not. This suggests that most things in the society are adapted for men and not for women. One examples is medication, which is developed and tested on males and not female which means; that the amount of a certain substance is customised for the male constitution primarily. Another example is the court system and the legislation, which first

68 Becker (1979) p. 10
69 McHugh, M. C (2005)
and foremost are developed by men and is mainly, more adjusted for the male needs, i.e. that the crime of rape which commonly not embodies a problem for men, leads to that the legal system is badly prepared for dealing with this type of problem, whereas a robbing situation, usually, is being better handled.\textsuperscript{70}

Another problem is the gendered power relations between men and women which have the characteristics of the male being the dominant and the female being subordinate. Men seem to be the experts on violence and the safest place for a man to be is in their own house, which at the same time, is the most dangerous place for a woman to inhabit.\textsuperscript{71}

Men’s violence against women has to be understood in the context of social patterns of gendered power relations: what might be called ‘the problem of men’. Men’s violence against women is part of men’s use of power, violence and control. Men remain the specialists in the doing of violence and violent crime.\textsuperscript{72}

These phenomenons appear to be rather consistent problems even in countries signified for being countries of equality. The gender-dominance is a complex problem which includes several areas, from economic exploitation, i.e. the labour of women which is not fully rewarded, to political and personal oppression and even gender-discrimination and psychological abuse. With this background, the physical violence against women is merely a natural extension of the abuse of power.

\textbf{5.3 The Norm of Masculinity}

That both women and men, in their adolescences, get sorted into different roles is not a controversial statement. This section will explore some of the features of the script of being a man, as well as discuss some of the origins of this norm.

A prominent gender-dichotomy is the division between the public and the private sphere. It can be argued that men own and rule both spheres while women are assigned only the private

\textsuperscript{70} This can naturally seem like a somewhat ad hoc statement, I more explicitly refer to the fact that a robbed man probably not will have to answer to what he was wearing during the assault or his behaviour previous to the attack.

\textsuperscript{71} Eliasson, M. (2004) p.20-23

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
one. Some explains this position on the basis that women’s nature implies it, namely, that she bears children naturally puts her within the private sphere, i.e. women’s subordination to men is natural.\(^73\)

Another interesting dichotomy is the nature-culture dichotomy, namely women are associated with nature and men with culture. There are two categories which explain the antagonism between the natural and the cultural, the anthropological explanation and the radical feminist explanation. The anthropological explanation argues that human kind always has considered nature as inferior to culture since culture is identified as the creation of the civilization. Thus, women are naturally closer to nature, as they bear children; they are symbolically associated with nature which is a lower-order kind of existence. The radical-feminist argument on the other hand, focuses on biology, meaning that women are put in a lower position than men because they become confined by reproduction. The solution would be to introduce artificial reproduction and to eliminate natural differences.\(^74\)

These dichotomies places women and men in certain roles, and as citizens they have different rights and obligations. This is ever so evident when it gets connected with militarism which has very defined attributes of the behaviour of men. Men, not women, have the obligation to die for his country in the defence of women and children. In Sweden the military defence is diminishing year by year. Even so, there are a substantial amount of young men which enter within its realm for an educational period of approximately a year. How does this affect the norm structures in a community and why are the military organisation primary for the male sex?

War only occurs in societies where there is a certain surplus which can be spent on warfare. This is a rather interesting fact since the arguments used to explain the gender-division within the military often employ that it is a natural division which can be found in hunter-gatherer societies. It is basically said that since men are best equipped to hunt animals they are also best equipped to hunt other men. A consequence of women not participating in the military is that they do not share the same duties as men and thus become a kind of second-class citizen.


\(^{74}\) There are many similar dichotomies, example; female- nature, personal, emotional, love, private, intuition, morality, ascription, particular, subjection; male- culture, political, reason, justice, public, philosophy, power, achievement, universal, freedom. Pateman, (1989) p.124
Protesters of female participation within the military have argued that females in the military would threaten two things for the male soldier. (1) His belief that he is fighting for the sake of women and children at home; (2) the male bonding group process. In other words there is the belief that the gender system and gender roles are important for warfare.  

A great problem in attempts of incorporating women in the military is the high rate of sexual harassments in the military culture. In the US force as many as a third of all women have been sexually harassed. It is further not uncommon that military bases over the world normally are supported by prostitution and warfare itself has a tendency to involve rape especially within ethnic conflicts. To rape the enemies’ women is to take the enemies’ honour from them, not to torture the woman herself. This leads to the static symbolism existing within most military organisations. It contains the ideal where women are passive and have to be protected by the warriors/men, men tend do be naturally associated with war and women with peace. Women have often been the symbol for peace beginning with Lysistrata, the woman in the Greek comedy by Aristophanes, who organised women to not have sex with their men until they terminated the war. This symbolism can also be derived into military principles which are designed on grounds of aggression and obedience, and these principles are not always contained within the military. It has, as an example, been found that militarization of a society raises the general level of domestic and other violence in society.

There are also other sources for the gender norms in contemporary Sweden, such as the fact that woman 120 years ago always had to have a guardian, her husband, her uncle or even brother. Or that in 1965 there was a debate regarding whether rape could exist within a marriage. I have however, in this section, chosen to focus on phenomenon affecting the norms that are still in practise.

5.4 Social Norms and Rational Choice Theory

Within the framework of rational choice theory, James S Colman has presented a paper where the social norms have been used as constraints in which choices can be made. A social

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75 Yuval-Davies (1998) pp. 7-19
76 In Sweden, the recent studies show the incredible number of 84 per cent of the women in the Military Defences, as being sexually harassed in their work. Berggren, A. W. (2002)
77 Yuval-Davies (1998) pp. 7-19
norm can be defined as an unwritten rule or law which implores certain behaviour on an individual. It is in the nature of the norm that it counteracts the person’s primary wish, for if it did not, the rule of the norm would not be needed. The norms clearly affect our choices and that not always, to our immediate benefit. It can though be argued that the long term consequences of acting in a certain manner may have positive effects on us, if only just for the chance to legitimately press the norm at another part. This implies that when a norm changes, our utility function changes and the net utility of a certain action changes.

A distinction is made between norms which have been internalised through socialisation and norms which we follow as a measure to not suffer external retribution. The former is followed naturally and even if there will be no retribution when breaking the norm; we will still not feel good doing it. The latter is probably only followed, if there is a high probability to suffer consequences when breaking it, i.e. not legal punishment but rather the social shame of breaking the norm. If the norms affect our costs and benefits when making decisions of certain actions, the question surfaces what it is that influences these norms which have an affect on the behaviour of citizens?

Colman describes it as supra-individual entities, which affect the costs and the benefits of individuals, when they are to make choices of behaviour.

There is not a social intelligence moving the pieces on the chessboard; they move themselves, each under its own guidance system. If there are supra-individual social intelligences, they must work in a more indirect fashion, by affecting the parameters that go into each of these individuals guidance system.\textsuperscript{79}

It is thus clearly so, that norms do affect our behaviour in primary two manners, and each manner seems to have retribution in accordance. Firstly, the retribution sanctioned from the community in form of legislation or social exclusion. Secondly, the retribution sanctioned by the person self, in the form of bad conscience or feelings of internal shame. No doubt, the second one seems to be the most plausible one if the purpose is to change a societal behaviour. This since the internal retribution does not demand any external resources for either supervision or punishment.

\textsuperscript{78} Colman, J. S. (1987) pp. 133-153
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid. p. 135
These norms can also be seen as variables which affect the costs and benefits in a model used to describe why men hit their partners or why they rape in certain situations, i.e. the norms, the internal and the external sanctions, affect the utility function of a perpetrator. How these effects take form will be explained in the following section.

5.5 The economics of staying in a violent relationship

I will not claim to have extensive knowledge and understanding of both the personal tragedy, and the underlying psychology which underpins the fact that many women do stay in violent relationships, nor do I wish to pass any sort of judgement on the choices made by these persons. My aim in this section is merely to analyse some of the factors, not all, which ought to affect the choices and the behaviour of women staying in violent relationships, i.e. to use economic theory to view the rational, or irrational, in their behaviour.

As mentioned earlier, our choices are affected by the norms existing in our society, norms which prescribe who we are, what our worth is and how we should act and not act. The section about social norms put emphasis on that it is the fear of retribution that make persons follow the norm or at least it keeps the norm powerful enough to influence ones decisions. What then, could be pondered, constitutes the fear for women in a violent relationship?

The most obvious one is the fear of the man, the actual physical threat to ones person, maybe even ones life. But there are also other fears in leaving a relationship. It can be the fear of diminishing welfare, the fear of losing custody of a child, or the fear of believing that one cannot manage a life alone. There is naturally also the fear of breaking the norm, i.e. being one of those women who get hit. The social norm can also prescribe you that the women should keep together the family and put the family's needs in front of hers. The fears are naturally numerous for a person which probably has undergone brutal psychological abuse previous to the actual physical abuse. Therefore it would be of interest to see to those factors which enhance that the psychological abuse initiates in the first place.

In my search for explanations for why some women choose to stay in violent relationships I initially stumbled on the economics that have as purpose to explain family behaviour. It
explains the marriage and the divorce as a maxim reached through their utility functions. These theories generally states, as earlier mentioned, that a couple chooses to marry if their combined output is the highest possible for both actors. This is assuming that they are both free actors on what might be called marriage markets. To choose to leave the marriage works basically in the same manner but in the opposite direction, i.e. when the gain outside the marriage is greater than the gain within the marriage, one chooses to leave. To leave a marriage or a partnership always implies a cost in the sense of the loss of certain investments made in the marriage, such as children or, if the marriage has lasted a substantial time, the accumulated capital which is more valuable if the marriage stays intact. 80

In these theories we can without doubt find some of the explanations for why a woman might hesitate to leave the family. Nonetheless, the theory is not perfectly satisfactory since it still cannot be seen as the rational decision of a person with normal preferences to stay in the relationship. As an example the wish to live a life without physical harm.

To further explore the decision making of these persons it is handy to analyse it with the help of a model presented by Akerlof and Dickens, The Economic Consequences of Cognitive Dissonance, which explains why individuals sometimes do not behave in the most obvious rational manner. As an example in their paper, the writers use employees that work in risk filled jobs. I will in my explanation of the theory instead describe women staying in violent relationships. The basic premises of the theory assume that; (1) persons have preferences over their beliefs regarding the state of the world and; (2) they have control over their beliefs; and (3) these beliefs persist over time.

Basically, it can be said that there exist a benefit (a utility gain) in the belief that a situation is safe, but also a cost. The benefit consists of the absence of unpleasant feelings of constant fear or unsettling doubts about how wise it is to remain in the present situation. Whereas the costs, constitutes of the discrepancy between their beliefs and the true state of the world, which can convince them that the situation is safe and in turn have as consequence a mistake in the choice of safety practise. The women will choose to believe that the situation is safe if the benefit exceeds the costs and through this maximise their utility. This phenomenon is described as one of the aspects that come from the theory of cognitive consistency. It implies

that persons are uncomfortable of maintaining two contradictory images of themselves i.e. if a person has the idea that she/he is a smart and nice person, other ideas conflicting with this information will be ignored or rejected.

5.6 Why commit the crime?

Gary S. Becker has presented a straight forward model in “The Economic Approach to human behaviour”\textsuperscript{82}, with the purpose of analysing the rationality of a perpetrator. It contains a method which measures the social loss of a crime which can be weighed against the costs of preventing the crime. He presumes that the damage of the society is increasing with the number of crimes committed as well as the gain of the perpetrator. This suggests that the final cost for the society is constituted by the damage caused, minus the gain experienced by the perpetrator

\[
\text{Damage for the Community = Harm from the crime (number of crimes) – Gain from the crime (number of crimes)}.\]

Becker further assumes that the marginal cost for an additional crime is rising and that the marginal utility of an additional crime is decreasing. This can generally be interpreted as though it is only rational to fight crime if the community's cost is larger than zero.

The function for estimating the total damage from crime looks as follows

\[
\text{Total cost from of crime} = D(x) + C(x,e) + P(x,t).
\]

Where \(x\) is the number of crimes committed and \(D\) is the damage from crime, \(C\) is the cost for the police which depend of the number of crimes \((x)\) and invested recourses within the police \((e)\). \(P\) stands for the prison costs which also depend on the number of crimes and the time sentenced to prison \((t)\). Of the above relationship it is clear that the activity level (the variable \(x\)) is of importance. Not surprisingly the variables \(e\) and \(t\) are positively related to \(C\) and \(P\), i.e. prolonged prison sentences and further police recourses increases the costs of crime.

\textsuperscript{82} Becker, G. S. (1978) pp. 39-79
The costs are then to be weighed against the utility of the individual committing the crime. The utility function is:

The individuals expected utility

$$EU = (1-d) \ U(I-G) + (d)U(I-P(t,e)),$$

where the deterrent effect is

$$dx/de<0 \text{ and } dx/dt<0.$$  

The probability to get caught is d(e), the initial income of an individual is I, G is the gain for the individual committing the crime and P(t,e)) is the costs for the individual committing the crime. Thus, the first half of the utility function describes the gain for the individual if he does not get caught and the second half the costs of getting caught which depend on the police resources and the sentenced time in prison. The deterrent effects show that a change in x with respect to t and e is negative. This indicates that an increase of t and e are supposed to decrease the activity level, i.e. the number of crimes committed.

This model could unfortunately, be interpreted as though it was possible to arrive at the conclusion that rape or abusive behaviour towards women, could be economically motivated in a community. This if the utility gain from a perpetrator is greater than the utility loss experienced by the victim. However, within the context of this subject, perhaps within all contexts, this is an absurd notion, which I dismiss as an imperfection of the models premises. What however, is interesting regarding this model, is the utility function of committing a crime and the variables that affects the utility function. Especially interesting are the variables, which are important for the deterrence of a crime, i.e. the variable (e) increasing police resources and the variable (t) time sentenced to prison.

Becker's utility function connected with Colman's social norms in rational choice theory gives the following analysis. The internal norm would in the utility function directly affect the variable G, the gain from committing a crime, since an internal feeling of shame decreases the gain from committing a crime. The external retribution would manifest itself in the increase of
police resources (e) and time in prison (t). Increased police resources, increases the probability of getting caught and the lengthen prison time, increases the costs for the perpetrator if he is caught.

Thus, it is possible to reach some conclusions about the nature of the decision making when committing crimes. Punishment of criminals can be seen as the tax of committing a crime, thus the higher tax, the less activity, and investments in the criminal justice system as raising the probability of getting caught. There seems to be three ways for diminishing the expected utility of a perpetrator. (1) Increasing the probability to get caught for the crime, implying investment in the criminal justice system; (2) increasing the cost of getting caught through more severe punishment; and (3) to diminish the gain of the act through increasing the internal norm of not committing the crime.

Which of the variables that is most effective depends on the elasticity they have. In the case that they are the same, the most convenient measure seems to be to diminish the gain through a change in the internal norm. Longer punishment and investments in the criminal justice system are expensive measures and not particularly long term. Changing the norm system is a long term measure and to do it, already existing institutions can be used, such as schools and day care institutions. As seen earlier in this thesis, norms do not easily change once they exist. And the question naturally remains of how to change these, as called by Colman, "supra-individual entities".

It can, however, also be argued that investments in the criminal justice system and longer punishments could have two types of effects on the function. Firstly, as a deterrent effect seen in the right side of the function, as already mentioned. Secondly it is also likely that increased punishments can affect the norm in a community in the long run, and through this the expected gain from committing a crime becomes lower in the long run.
6. Conclusions

In this chapter the conclusions are presented and categorised in the same manner as presented in the purpose. Therefore the conclusions initiates with the estimated aggregated costs of male violence. To be followed by a discussion of the problematic nature that surrounds these types of estimations. This chapter ends with the summarised conclusions from the economic approach to the gender-based violence.

The annual direct costs were estimated to be 673.9 million SEK. Of these costs the health care sector answered for 122.1 million, the social sector for 86.8 million, the criminal justice system for 411.2. The rest on 53.8 million SEK were other costs or prevention costs. These costs are almost twice as high as the costs estimated in a similar study from Finland, even so, the results are still considered to be underestimates. The other types of costs, labelled as; indirect costs, intangible costs and multiplier effects are considered to greatly exceed the direct costs.

The obstacles when estimating these costs are numerous. A major problem is to access adequate statistics on the matter. The statistics used in this thesis are mainly based on a victimisation survey that gives subjective information of the prevalence of gender-based violence. It would have been preferable to find recorded statistics from the institutions, which carry a large part of the actual costs from gender-based violence, i.e. the police and court authorities.

The rational approaches for rendering gender-based violence are divided into several areas which also affect each other. In the study of a perpetrators utility function, three variables of importance could be noted. The perpetrators gain, invested police resources and prison time. A change in the internal norm would have a direct effect on the variable gain. Invested police resources and prison time also affects the utility but not as direct as the change of the internal norm. However, a change in invested police resources and prison time can in the long run affect the internal norm which means that these variables affect a perpetrators utility function in two ways.
However, the cognitive dissonance may affect also the perpetrators behaviour in the sense that the perpetrator does not truly see the high probability of getting caught or the severe consequences, should this happened. This implies two things; (1) that the deterrent effect is not as considerable as the original model would claim; and (2) that the community cost would rise considerably since police employees and longer prison time are expensive measures. This is not to say that these are altogether unadvisable measures. It still has a deterrent effect and it does affect the norms of the populations. The prison sentence and the police attendance ought to simply reflect the seriousness of the issue.83

To truly change the behaviour of both the women and the men seems to be to change the external and especially the internal norm of them both. To change a norm in a society is a complex matter which has to take place in many levels of the society. Especially in the case of the internal norm it has to start at an early age. This could practically refer to measures such as gender profiled day care institutions, and heavy regulations against sexist commercials etc.

83 With that I mean that for example repeated abuse and rape ought to have the same punishment as if someone repeatedly tortures a person. It is not less torture because it is between husband and wife and it is not to be considered that a woman was not harmed by a normal rape.
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Appendix

The conversions from FIM to SEK from the Finnish study by Piispa, M. and Heiskanen, M. *The Price of Violence - The Costs of Men’s Violence against Women in Finland.* The currencies are expressed in 1999 years level, the same year as the investigation took place.

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The conversions from NZD to SEK from the New Zealand study by Fanslow, J. Goggan, C., Miller, B. and Norton, R. *The Economic Cost of Homicide in New Zealand.*