

# Homicides in Norway:

## *Exploring the Characteristics and Decline Between 1991 and 2015*

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Spring 2019



Master's thesis in Criminology

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Exploring the Characteristics and Decline between 1991  
and 2015

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# Summary

**Title:** Homicides in Norway: Exploring the Characteristics and Decline Between 1991 and 2015

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This thesis considers homicides in Norway between 1991 and 2015 and the decline that can be seen in this period. What it seeks to do is to look into what characterise homicides in this period, in which type of homicide can the decline be seen, has every type of homicide seen a decrease and lastly, has specific types of homicides disappeared or experienced a more dramatic decrease. This was done by looking at the Homicide Overview from the National Criminal Investigation Service Norway and by a content analysis of 82 judicial verdicts. It is quantitative content analysis as it counts variables, but it is mostly a qualitative analysis as it seeks to give a deeper understanding of the homicides.

The homicides were divided into four categories; intimate partner homicides; homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues; familial homicides; and homicides between other relations (strangers, the perpetrators/victim used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided, and unspecified relations).

The judicial verdicts were coded according to 17 different aspects, such as the sex of the perpetrator, whether the homicide took place during the day or night, whether the perpetrator or victim was under the influence of substances and if the victim experienced excessive violence (more violence than needed to take someone's life). The most striking, or important, findings was that every type of homicide took place in a private residence, except for strangers which took place in public. For all the different types of homicides the

majority of perpetrators were men ranging from young to middle-aged and their victims was also men, except for intimate partner homicides and homicides between strangers where the victim was female. In only used a service did the majority of victims not experience excessive violence.

Substance use was an important aspect in which the majority of stranger perpetrators was under the influence of drugs, while friends/acquaintances/colleagues was under the influence of alcohol. The majority of intimate partner homicides was not specified, but when it was specified was the substance alcohol, this was also the instance for familial, but the substance of choice was alcohol/drugs and for not mentioned was this alcohol or mixed intoxication. The perpetrators bad mental health could be seen in the majority of intimate partner homicides, familial homicides, homicides between strangers and used a service. An interesting aspect that could be seen for intimate partner homicides was that a third of perpetrators was non-Norwegian, this high level was not seen in the other types of homicides.

The number of peak years was used to uncover which types of homicides has had a decline as their frequencies has been fluctuating throughout the years. This was further separated by the median year of 2003 as the frequency prior to 2003 was compared to the frequency after 2003. The decline in peak years could be seen in intimate partner homicide, homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues and familial homicides. When looking at their actual numbers, it is evident that the decline can be only seen in familial homicides and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues, as the rest has stayed relatively stable, and therefore not every type of homicide has experienced a decline. A dramatic decrease could be seen in intimate partner homicides as it halved in the number of peak years, but the actual numbers has been fluctuating. Familial homicides have experienced a decline in both its peak years and actual numbers, but the most dramatic decrease can be seen in homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues, as it decreased from seven to one peak year and from 204 before to 2003 to 168 homicides after 2003. There has also been a decline in the number of male perpetrators, male victims and perpetrators and victims that were under the influence of alcohol. From this it can be suggested that there has been a decline in drunken male on male homicides.

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*May 2019, Oslo*

*Malin Sæth Hanset*

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# 1 Introduction

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Norway saw a decline in homicides between 1991 and 2015 (see Figure 1). There has not been much written about this, nor has there been much written about homicide in general. This thesis seeks to uncover what is hiding behind the statistics, in other words, what are the circumstances that these figures represent.

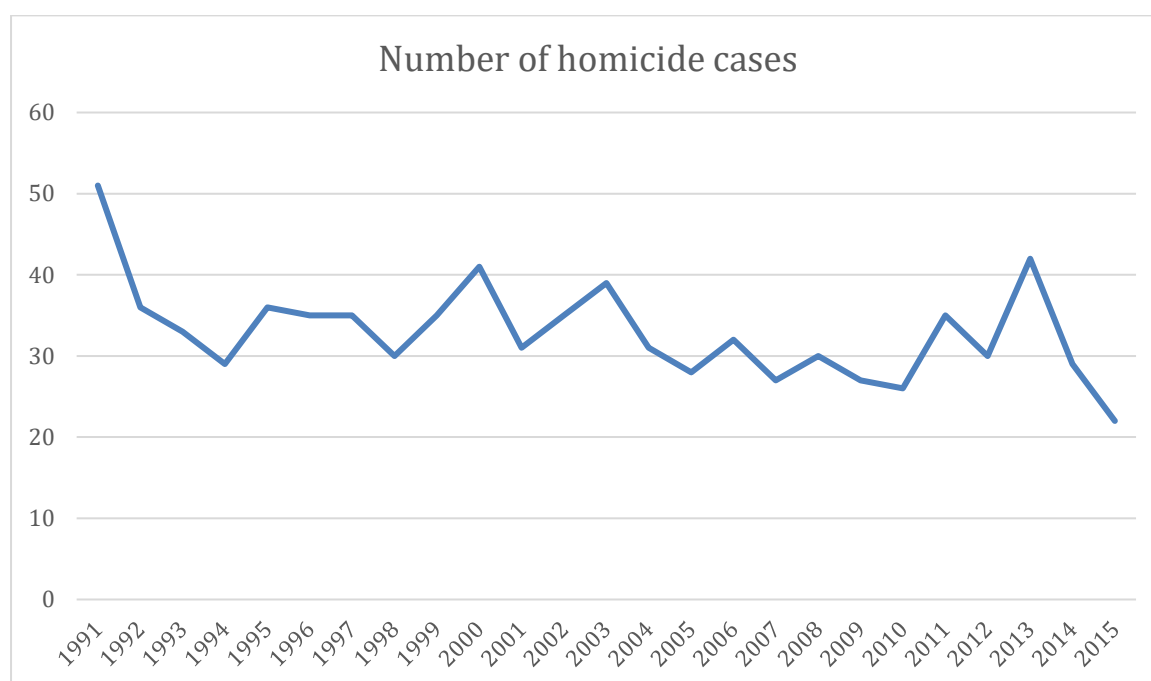


Figure 1: Number of homicide cases, excluding the terror attacks on 22 July 2011

Source: NCIS, 2011: 1, 2016:2

An attempt will be made to answer the following questions:

- 1) What characterises homicides in Norway between 1991 and 2015?
- 2) In which type of homicide can the decline be seen?
  - a) Has every type of homicide seen a decrease?
  - b) Has specific types of homicides disappeared or experienced a more dramatic decrease?

The first question should be answered, as the statistics does only consider quantifiable aspects, such as different aspects frequencies. It can be useful to look at the nature of the decline to further uncover what characterise homicides in Norway. This is what the second question and sub-questions seeks to do. The reason it is important to uncover what

homicide in Norway really is to get more knowledge on the subjects as there is not much academic writing on the subject, and thus is a stone that has almost been left unturned.

To try to uncover why there has been a decrease in homicides in Norway between 1990 and 2015, a content analysis of judicial verdicts will be conducted. The focus in this thesis will therefore mostly be on the perpetrators and not the victims. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the judicial verdicts focuses on the perpetrator as it is his/her actions that are to be prosecuted, and so there is more information about the perpetrator. The second is that as the perpetrator killed the victim, he/she is the one who committed the act. To uncover which types of homicides has experienced a decline, the number of peak years for each specific type of homicides will be looked into. Peak years was defined as those years in which there were committed more than the average frequency of homicides. The reason for using peak years is that the homicide rates fluctuate – which will become evident throughout this thesis – and if one were looking at the numbers by themselves a wrongful impression might arise. Another reason is that it makes it easier to compare different types of homicides as the numbers vary greatly between them.

## **1.1 The different types of homicides**

It can be important to acknowledge that homicide contexts encompass a range of different types of homicide. What is meant by this is that the label “homicide” applies to everything from a stranger killing a young woman, a mother killing her child, substance abusers killing substance abusers and husbands killing his wife. It is therefore important to distinguish homicides by dividing them into different types. This makes it easier to understand the specific homicide context and by doing this it makes it easier to understand what is being discussed.

The homicides types is divided according to the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim from the Homicide Overview (see Attachment 4). There is one specific reason for choosing this aspect rather than others, as the relationship between the perpetrator and victim is that it reveals more about the homicide than other aspects, and one is able to

deduct if it was a mother killing her child. It gives especially good descriptions of the context compared to, for example, the type of crime scene or the age of the perpetrator.

Four types of homicides will be looked into. These are intimate partner homicides; homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues; familial homicides; and other relations (strangers and not mentioned/no known relationship). Intimate partner homicide can be seen in the Homicide Overview under the labels “married”, “divorced/separated”, “cohabitants” and “previous cohabitants”, but the judicial verdicts also consider less serious relationship. Familial homicide is homicide in which the perpetrator was related to the victim. Friends and acquaintances encompass everyone who knew the victim to varying degrees but was not related to the victim, and colleagues are people who worked together. Strangers are those who did not know their victim. There is also the code “used a service” in which the perpetrator/victim used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided, such as the victim being a prostitute that the perpetrator bought services from, this was not evident in the Homicide Overview. The homicides in which there was no known relationship/not specified between the perpetrator and the victim might need some clarification. “No known relationship” is a label from the Homicide Overview, while “not specified” is the code used for judicial verdicts where the relationship between the perpetrator and victim was not specified. It could be suggested that the homicides that is labelled “no known relationship” from the Homicide Overview, could potentially be the judicial verdicts in which it is not specified.

In Table 1 below, the number of perpetrators and number of perpetrators that fall into the five different categories of homicide is specified annually from 1991 to 2015.

Year	Number of perpetrators	Intimate partner homicide	Familial homicide	Friends and acquaintances	Strangers	Not mentioned/no known relationship
1991	58	10	10	24	6	8
1992	40	10	7	13	2	8
1993	37	10	7	14	0	6
1994	29	8	2	11	3	5
1995	56	8	0	24	2	12
1996	37	10	6	16	2	3
1997	35	7	8	16	0	3
1998	31	6	3	13	1	8
1999	45	3	12	20	4	6
2000	47	12	6	22	2	5
2001	35	11	2	16	1	5
2002	43	8	7	14	2	12
2003	47	10	1	20	0	15
2004	36	7	8	14	0	7
2005	33	10	4	15	0	4
2006	36	8	6	14	2	6
2007	42	6	8	15	3	10
2008	38	6	3	13	2	12
2009	28	7	5	11	0	5
2010	31	7	3	15	1	5
2011	44	6	4	21	1	15
2012	34	8	5	13	1	7
2013	50	15	7	15	4	8
2014	35	8	5	13	1	7
2015	24	10	3	6	1	3
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>38.44</b>	<b>8.44</b>	<b>5.28</b>	<b>15.52</b>	<b>1.64</b>	<b>7.4</b>

Table 1: Different types of relations and their numbers

Source: NCIS, 2011, 2017

These different types of homicide will be discussed in greater depth later in this thesis, but some comments should be made. The majority of homicides occur between friends and acquaintances with the second most common being intimate partner homicide. The number of perpetrators vary between 24 and 58, with an average of 38.44. This means that if the number of perpetrators is above 38.44 it is a high number. As there is no year in which there were 39 perpetrators, every year that has 40 or more perpetrators will be considered peak

years. There are 10 years in which there are 40 or more perpetrators (the shaded squares in Table 1). This will be how the different types of homicides will be handled.

## **1.2 Do more people survive?**

It could be that the decline in homicides has occurred because more people survive. It can be argued that attempted homicides is the best indicator for whether the decline in homicides is due to more people surviving. This is so as it is evident that it would have become a homicide if the circumstances allowed it.

From 1991 until 2015 there were 490 more attempted homicides reported to the police (1377) than homicides perpetrated (887) (NCIS, 2011; 2016, Statistics Norway 2000; 2008b; 2013b; 2018b) (see Attachment 3, Table 1). What is interesting is that both of these crimes start with almost the same frequency in 1991 (56 for homicide and 57 for attempted homicide), but from there the frequencies change. If the decline in homicides is due to more people surviving then there should be an increase in attempted homicides, which is not evident. The number of peak years for attempted homicides was 11 and 12 for homicides (ibid.). Homicide has had a more obvious decline as there was 10 peak years prior to 2003 and one after 2003. Attempted homicide had more peak years prior to 2003 (eight peak years) than after 2003 (five peak years) with an average of 55.84 attempted homicides a year. What is noticeable with the attempted homicide statistic is that it had a fluctuating decline until 2007 when it started to increase again (SSB, 2000; 2008b; 2013b; 2018b).

One can therefore suggest that the decline in homicides is not due to more people surviving when looking at attempted homicides. There is, however, one issue that should be mentioned. There is the possibility that crimes have been mislabelled and thus incidents that should had been labelled an attempted homicide had not been labelled so. This means that there could be dark figures, but this could be the case with any crime, including homicide, which is difficult to take into account, thus considering the numbers at hand, the statement is still supported.



## 1.1 Structure of this thesis

The second chapter of this thesis considers the method that will be used. It will look into how and where the data will be gathered, the Homicide Overview, the judicial verdicts that was analysed and practical and ethical issues that could be and were faced throughout this process.

The third chapter looks into literature on homicide. This chapter is divided into six parts according to the focus of the literature: weapons and firearms, mental health, substance use/abuse, violent tendencies, social problems, and miscellaneous explanations linked to homicides and societal explanations. It ends with some concluding remarks.

The fourth chapter focuses on intimate partner homicides and starts by looking at its frequency, and the sex of the perpetrator and victim. What follows is the overall findings from the judicial verdicts. The next part of the chapter looks into the contexts in which these homicides occur and it is divided into three: some remarks about intimate partner homicides in general, current relationships, and previous relationships, before making some concluding remarks.

The fifth chapter considers homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues. The frequency of this type of homicide will be considered first before moving on to features from the judicial verdicts. The last part considers the context for these homicides, and it is divided into two: acquaintances and then friends, before reaching some concluding remarks.

Familial homicide is the focus in the sixth chapter, which starts with the frequency for these homicides before moving onto the findings from the judicial verdicts. The last part looks into the context for familial homicides such as when parents, children, siblings and other familial relations are the perpetrators, before making some concluding remarks.

In the seventh chapter the focus is on relations that do not fit in with the three previous chapters. This chapter starts with a specification of the relations that will be considered and

their frequencies. As this chapter consider three very different relations, the chapter is a bit different from the previous ones. The three following subchapters considers homicides between strangers; homicides where the perpetrator/victim used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided; and those instances in which the relation between the two was not specified. These three subchapters consider features from the judicial verdicts and their contexts. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

The eighth and final chapter in this thesis seeks to answer the research questions stated in the first chapter. The first part looks into what characterises homicides in Norway. The second part considers the nature of the decline and thus seeks to answer in which type of homicide can the decline be seen and whether every type of homicide has seen a decline or specific types of homicides has disappeared or had a more dramatic decrease. The last part consider some concluding remarks.

## 2 Methodology

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In this chapter the methodology of this thesis will be explained. The first aspect to be explained is how the studies mentioned in the literature review was found, before moving on to The Homicide Overview and an explanation of what it contains. The third part of this chapter considers the method; content analysis. When it comes to the content analysis it will be described, why this method was chosen, the codes that was used and benefits and limitations associated with content analysis. It will then move onto the judicial verdicts. In this part, the acts and sections that were deemed relevant for this thesis will be elaborated on, before moving to what information a judicial verdict generally consist of and any changes seen in the information. Then, how the verdicts were found and how they were dealt with will be explained, before it will be described what judicial verdicts were chosen and why. The last aspect to be considered in regards to the judicial verdicts is the benefits and limitations by using this type of document. Practical and ethical issues that was expected to or did arise is followed by some concluding remarks.

### 2.1 Literature review

Two webpages have been used to find published studies relevant to this thesis. The first was Google Scholar ([www.scholar.google.com](http://www.scholar.google.com)) and University of Oslo's library search engine ([www.ub.uio.no](http://www.ub.uio.no)). The same search words were used on both of these websites. These were: "homicide decline", "homicide decline America", "homicide decline New York City", "drap Norge", "homicide decline Norway", "homicide decline Scandinavia", "homicide decline Sweden", "homicide decline Finland", "homicide decline Japan", "homicide decline UK", "homicide decline England and Wales", "homicide decline Scotland", "homicide decline post-Soviet countries", "homicide decline Brazil", and "homicide decline South Africa". The number of searches was reduced by focusing on studies that were published between 1990 and 2017. This timeframe was used as it was considered to be most beneficial as the studies found would focus on the homicide decline in the 1990s. However, not all studies used were from this timeframe, as they were either found used in other studies or appeared when no

timeframe was used. It should be mentioned that the use of every search word was not fruitful.

Homicide decline in specific countries was searched in response to reading journal articles where different homicide decline from other countries were mentioned. These homicide declines were different from what was previously read, and was thus specifically searched for. It should be mentioned that the term “homicide” might have different legal definitions in different countries and refer to different social interactions, thus it might not be similar to the Norwegian homicide context.

## **2.2 The Homicide Overview**

The National Criminal Investigation Service in Norway (hereafter called NCIS) publishes an annual statistics called “Homicide Overview” covering the previous year. These statistics will be used as an overview of homicide in Norway, in which the judicial verdicts will give a deeper understand and uncover what is behind the numbers. It can be divided into four parts. The first part quantify different aspects of the homicides such as a summary of the rapport, the number of homicides throughout a certain period, the crime scene, how many homicides occurred in each police district, and the type of weapon used, or means of killing.

The second part looks into aspects about the perpetrator such as the motive for the homicide, the perpetrators relationship to the victim, whether he/she was under the influence of substances, and, if so, what type of substances. The perpetrators are also categorised according to their work status (student, unemployed, employed, pensioner etc.), nationality, and gender. The last aspects is age and previous convictions.

The third part looks into the outcome of the homicide case had after the police had investigated it. This entails things such as whether it was prosecuted and what section it was prosecuted according to, or if there was a different outcome, such as whether the perpetrator was deemed criminally insane or was acquitted. It also considers the length of the prison sentence.

The last part considers the victims. The first aspect is the victims' relationship with the perpetrator and how many women and men were killed by a partner or ex-partner. There are many similarities between the information about the perpetrator and the victim, as both specify whether the victim was under the influence of substances and, if so, which substances. Their work status, nationality, gender and age is also specified. In the newer versions whether they had previously been punished is also specified.

Two version of the Homicide Overview will mostly be used: the Overview that considers the year 2010 and the Overview that considers the year 2015. The advantage of the 2010 version is that it has data going back to 1991, and the Overview for the year 2015 covers data from 2006 to 2015. They were available online when the work for this thesis started, but at some point it was removed. These two Overviews can therefore be seen in Attachment 4.

The problem with using the Homicide Overview is that one is not able to link different aspects of the homicide to the perpetrator and victim, e.g. it is not possible to see if a Norwegian man killed his wife under the influence of pharmaceutical because he wanted to hide a different crime. Another problem is that the two different Overviews that are used overlaps from 2006 and 2010 and the numbers generally differ. When this was so, the oldest version was used.

## **2.3 Content analysis**

The chosen method for this thesis is content analysis. This section will explain what content analysis is, why this method was chosen, the coding that will be applied to the judicial verdicts before looking into the benefits and limitations in using this method.

### **2.3.1 What it is**

What content analysis is can be summarised into one sentence: this method uses texts to answer "what" or "why" questions (Julien, 2012: 121). In a definition by Geoff Payne and Judy Payne (2011: 51) stated that content analysis was "originally concentrated on counting how frequently words or topics were included, how much space or time was devoted to

themes, and how much importance was drawn to them.” In a similar manner, Heidi Julien (2012: 121) has defined this method as an “intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables and themes.” Julien (ibid.) also made a simple distinction between quantitative and qualitative content analysis, where quantitative analysis seeks to answer “what” questions and qualitative seeks to answer “why”. These two different types of research provide two different types of outcomes. When it comes to quantitative content analysis, it is used “in a deductive manner, which produces frequencies of preselected categories or values associated with particular variables” (ibid: 122). The qualitative, on the other hand, is generally “inductive, beginning with deep close reading of text and attempting to uncover the less obvious contextual or latent content therein” (ibid.). To put it differently, when doing a quantitative analysis one is focusing only on the shallow sense of the text, while closer analysis of the deeper and more symbolic meanings of the text becomes the qualitative content analysis (Lindgren, 2011: 270). Both quantitative and qualitative means can be used in the same study, but the method is, per definition, quantitative and seeks to outline and count certain aspects of the text (Julien, 2012: 121; Lindgren, 2011: 270). Robert Weber (1990: 10) argues that the best studies using content analysis are the ones that use both a qualitative and quantitative approach. A specific distinction between quantitative and qualitative content analysis is that the first is often used to test hypothesis while the latter seeks is more closely linked to “providing a detailed description of material under analysis” (Schreier, 2014: 174).

When using the content analysis method there is not much room for interpretation and analysis of the meaning of certain aspects of the text as is the aim of other types of analysis (Bratberg, 2017: 103). In other words, the researchers own thoughts and interpretations of the text is irrelevant for this type of method (Ibid: 106). It has also been suggested that there are similarities between structured interviews and content analysis in that they both quantify information (Bratberg, 2017: 117).

One of the aims of this method is to boil down a text containing many words into a smaller group of content categories (Weber, 1990: 13). These content categories can be a word, several words or numerous words that are presumed to have a similar meaning (ibid.).

Weber (ibid: 42) also argues that the key to content analysis, as he put it, “is choosing a strategy for information loss that yields substantially interesting and theoretically useful generalisations while reducing the amount of information analysed and reported by the investigator”. Øivind Bratberg (2017: 121) stated that a very important aspect is that opinions/attitudes can be observed, standardised and quantified, which is not possible with other text analytical methods.

### **2.3.2 Why this method**

One of the thesis’ aims is to uncover what the Norwegian homicide context is, and the method that was deemed most appropriate was content analysis, as it is a problem-driven analysis, which Klaus Krippendorff (2013: 355) defined as “motivated by epistemic questions about currently inaccessible phenomena, events, or processes that the analysts believe texts are able to answer.” To relate it to this thesis; the unexplained phenomenon of the declining rate of homicide in Norway could potentially be explained by analysing judicial verdicts.

Content analysis will also be used as a form of quantitative analysis, as the meaning behind the words is not what is interesting in this instance; the frequency of variables is more interesting. It is a form of a quantitative analysis in that it counts variables, but at the same time, it is mostly a qualitative analysis as it seeks to give a deeper understanding of the homicides. This is so as homicide is a description of a concept that encompass many different phenomena, which will be delved into.

### **2.3.3 The coding**

The codes that will be used on the judicial verdicts can be seen in Attachment 1. The majority of these codes have been copied from Nina Jon’s (1994) master thesis in which she studied the violent crimes recorded by the police in 1982 and 1988 in Oslo. The codes that were not directly copied were modified from Jon’s thesis to be more suitable for the topic of homicide, and some codes have been added to hopefully uncover important aspects of Norwegian homicides. These codes can be grouped into three larger categories: pertaining to the homicide, about the perpetrator, and about the victim. About the homicide includes:

- Year of the homicide
- Ruled according to (which law)
- Section
- Judicial verdict number
- New document number (assigned when being analysed)
- Whether the homicide was ruled in the District Court, Court of Appeal or the Supreme Court
- Type of homicide
- The place, weekday and time of day the homicide occurred
- Means of killing and if the homicide was the main act or not

The codes that will be applied to the perpetrator and victim are the same as each other, except for two codes. One pertaining to the victims consider if the victim had endured excessive violence (more violence than presumed needed to take someone's life). The second, pertaining to the perpetrator, considers their mental health, whether he/she were mentally healthy or unhealthy. The codes considering the perpetrator and victim includes:

- Number of perpetrators/ victims
- Sex, age, nationality/ former nationality and the link to Norway (such as tourist or immigrant etc.)
- Formerly convicted
- Profession
- Substance use/misuse
- Relationship between the perpetrator and the victim

These codes will, hopefully, provide a picture of the homicides. The codes chosen were so in the hopes that different types of homicides could be identified. For example, if a homicide occurred on a Friday at 01.30 and both the perpetrator and victim were under the influence of alcohol and the victim was a stranger to the perpetrator, then it can be concluded that this was a random drunken homicide. It should be noted that the codes will be used as an encyclopaedia in that when a homicide tick certain boxes, then the verdict will be looked further into.

The coding scheme seen in Attachment 1 will follow Weber's (1990: 22 – 25) eight-step checklist for testing a coding scheme that this thesis will follow. The short version of this list is as follows: 1) Define the recording units. 2) Define the categories. 3) Test coding on a



sample of text. 4) Assess accuracy and reliability. 5) Revise the coding rules. 6) Return to the third step to make sure that the adjustments made by the fifth step to see if one gets the wanted outcome. If not, then continue the cycle until one does get the wanted outcome. 7) Code every text. 8) Assess achieved reliability or accuracy.

The reliability of a content analysis can be high when following Weber's checklist. This is so as the reliability consist of stability, reproducibility and accuracy (Weber, 1990: 18). The stability of an analysis can be tested when the same coder codes the text several times and gets the same results (ibid.). In other words, stability is "the extent to which the results of content classification are invariant over time" (ibid.). The testing of the stability can be seen in steps 3 to 8 in the checklist. Reproducibility on the other hand is when more than one coder end up with the same results (ibid.). This is not a part of the checklist. However, having a test coder is not as vital in this thesis as it might be in others. The codes that will be used are simple and do not lead to ambiguity as a specific homicide only took place at a specific time, and there is a specific number of perpetrators and victims. The last concept, accuracy, is defined as "the extent to which the classification of text corresponds to a standard or norm" (ibid.). Krippendorff (2013: 271) argues that this is the strongest form of reliability but also the one that is the most difficult to achieve. This is also the case in this instance as a given standard has not been found to be applicable to this type of content analysis. Considering that this thesis only seeks to quantify different aspects of homicide and so is not focused on the language used and the meaning behind the words, it can be suggested it is not as relevant for this thesis as it might be in other subjects. It is evident that this is associated more closely to quantitative content analysis. Be that as it may, as stated by Margrit Schreier (2014: 174) the consistency of a qualitative content analysis used to assess reliability and validity "are derived from the quantitative version of the method, although they are often applied less strictly". To directly quote Schreier (ibid: 179):

*"Coding consistency, that is applying categories to the entire material in a consistent manner, is an important quality criterion in qualitative content analysis. It is assessed by comparing two rounds of coding that are carried out either by two independent coders or by one coder at two points in time. But comparing two rounds of coding only makes sense if the codes are applied to identical parts of the material each time.*

*Because of this, the material has to be segmented into units before any coding is done.”*

It could be suggested that this is the short version of Weber’s checklist, and more adapted to qualitative content analysis.

Validity is also an aspect that has to be considered. Weber (1990: 19) states that there is a type of validity that is more specific to content analysis; this is the validity between “the classification scheme, or variables derived from it, and the validity of interpretation relating content variables to their causes or consequences” (ibid.). Krippendorff (2013: 329) has put it differently: “a content analysis is valid if the inferences drawn from the available texts withstand the test of independently available evidence, of new observations, of competing theories or interpretations, or of being available to inform successful actions”. As this content analysis is not going to the reason behind the decline in specific types of homicide, as one would in a qualitative analysis, validity will not be as big of an issue, especially considering Krippendorff’s definition.

The software program that will be used to code the judicial verdicts is IBM SPSS Statistics 25, which is easily accessible at the University of Oslo. This software program was chosen as it is easy to use, and if the thesis takes an unexpected turn and one needs to make quantitative calculations, the data is already plotted into the software. A benefit in using this software is that one gives a variable a numerical value and thus makes it easy to quantify for further analysis.

The codes that was used was modified from when they were plotted into SPSS and until eight judicial verdicts (Penal Code from 1902, section 233, three homicides that occurred in 1980, one from 1985 and four from 1990), thus steps 1 to 7 in Weber’s (1990) checklist were accomplished.

#### **2.3.4 Benefits and limitations**

Four benefits of using this method have been outlined by researchers. The first is that it can transform any text into “interesting objects of research” (Payne and Payne, 2011: 52). The

second benefit is that this method is primarily systematic and detailed, and by using this method one does not have to use a single theoretical interpretation. The third benefit is that it is a very flexible method that can be advantageous when analysing longitudinal data to demonstrate change over time and is nonintrusive, because it is applied to data already collected or existing text (Weber, 1990: 10; Julien, 2012: 122). The fourth benefit is that there is not one form of content analysis that is more appropriate than another, it is up to the researcher what is deemed most beneficial to the research (Weber, 1990: 70).

There are not only benefits when using this method; there is also some issues that might arise. One of these issues can occur when boiling down the text into fewer content categories because a word might have several meanings and thus the reliability might be threatened (Weber, 1990: 16). It can be suggested that it is to a certain degree rather unlikely that this issue will arise in this thesis, as the language of the judicial verdicts is straightforward and “flat” in that it is not a type of document that typically uses ambiguous words. A different problem is that that “a content analysis variable is valid to the extent that it measures the construct the investigator intends it to measure. As happens with reliability, validity problems also grow out of the ambiguity of word meanings, category or variable definitions” (ibid.). If one uses Weber’s (1990: 22–25) checklist on the coding scheme, then this problem is resolved as one is testing the codes before coding every document and one is therefore checking that what is wanted to be measured really is measured and that there is no ambiguity on the meaning of words, categories or variable definitions.

## **2.4 Judicial verdicts**

There are several aspects that have to be addressed relation to the judicial verdicts. The first aspect is the law and sections which the judicial verdicts will be based upon. The second is the need to outline what the content of a general judicial verdict is before explaining how the judicial verdicts were gathered. Then the judicial verdicts that were chosen will be considered and lastly, benefits and limitations relevant to this type of document will be discussed.

The website that was used to find relevant section of an act and judicial verdicts was Lovdata Pro ([www.lovdata.no/pro](http://www.lovdata.no/pro)). Lovdata Pro is a Norwegian website where one can find documents such as Norwegian Acts, judicial verdicts and green papers, just to mention a few. It is a private foundation, which is not funded by the government nor other organisations. It was founded by the Ministry of Justice and the Faculty of Law at the University of Oslo (Lovdata, 2018). To put it differently, Lovdata Pro is Google for Norwegian Law.

### **2.4.1 The General Civil Penal Code**

There are two versions of the Penal Code that will be used in this thesis. The first is the Penal Code of 1902 and the second is the reformed Penal Code of 2005. Hence, verdicts ruled according both of these versions will be used.

The Norwegian Penal Code has several sections that consider the loss of life, ranging from genocide to mercy killings (see section 101 and 278 in Penal Code, 2005). There is therefore a wide range of different sections that could be used, but not every section is appropriate, such as the section considering genocide as the verdicts that used this section considered the genocide in Rwanda (see Lovdata Pro, 2018). By looking through the Penal Code of 1902 and 2005, some sections were deemed more relevant for this thesis than others. One section from the Penal Code of 1902 was chosen. Section 233 (The General Civil Penal Code, 1902) states that:

*“Any person who causes another person’s death, or who aids and abets thereto, is guilty of homicide and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not less than six years.*

*If the offender has acted with premeditation or has committed the homicide in order to facilitate or conceal another felony or to evade the penalty for such felony, imprisonment for a term not exceeding 21 years may be imposed. The same applies in cases of repeated offences and also when there are especially aggravating circumstance.”*

In the Penal Code of 2005, the section that was deemed most relevant was section 275, stating that:

*“A penalty of imprisonment for a term of between eight and 21 years shall be applied to any person who kills another person.”*

These two sections considers the same type of crime, but as the Penal Code had a renewal, both of them needs to be taken into consideration. Table 2 below shows the different sections that were deemed to be outside the scope of this thesis, but are different types of homicides or deaths at the hands of others.

Section	Type of homicide
Section 233 cf. s. 49 in the 1902 law	Attempted homicide
Section 275 cf. s. 16 in the 2005 law	Attempted homicide
Section 239 in the 1902 law	Negligent cause of death
Section 281 in the 2005 law	Negligent cause of death
Section 234 in the 1902 law	Neonaticide
Section 278 in the 2005 law	Mercy killing

*Table 2: The unfitting sections and type of homicide*

They were deemed not fitting as the Homicide Overview only consider homicides according to section 233 and 275.

### **2.4.2 The content in a judicial verdict**

There are some differences between the judicial verdicts. Verdicts from the Supreme Court are not as detailed about the homicide as the District Courts. The Supreme Court verdicts include more of the deliberation from the judges compared to the other courts. The higher up in the court hierarchy the appeal went, less information about the homicide followed in the verdicts. There is also the difference in the amount of information considering certain aspects, such as newer verdicts include more information about the mental health of the perpetrator compared to older verdicts. The same can be stated about the victim, as there is more information about the victim in the newer compared to the older verdicts. This includes who the victim was and the injuries that were sustained. There is also more information about the perpetrator than the victim. This becomes reasonable considering that it is the perpetrator’s actions that are to be punished.

It has already been stated that the verdicts emphasise different aspects in various ways. The list below shows a generalisation of the information that can be found in this type of document. This information can be divided into three groups: 1) information about the perpetrator, 2) information about the victim, and 3) information about the homicide. The information about the perpetrator and victim is the same, except for that excessive violence is looked into in regards to the victim.

Information about the perpetrator/victim:

- Number of perpetrators/victims
- Age and sex
- Citizenship
- Education and profession
- Previous convictions
- Mental health
- Substance use/abuse

Information about the homicide:

- Whether this case has been to court previously and if so, which court.
- Where and when the homicide took place, such as Friday night at 02.30 am outside a nightclub
- What the method of killing was, such as blunt force or a firearm

This information is sometimes indirectly stated in the verdicts. An example of this is that in some verdicts the gender of the perpetrator is not directly stated, but the perpetrator is referred to as he or she throughout the text. The information that could be found in the verdicts was kept in mind when the codes was created. There is thus similarities between the list above and the coding scheme found in Attachment 1.

### **2.4.3 Changes in the judicial verdicts?**

A change over time could be seen in the judicial verdicts, especially in what is included in documents. There is a greater understanding of mental health and what consequences a mental health issues can have. This means that when mental health is discussed today, it is given more space and it is more detailed in its explanations, than previously. That mental health has become more important over the years is not as remarkable as it might seem. It

has been evident in other countries, such as England and Wales, that legal tests aiming to uncover mental illnesses has gone through an informal change (Large et al., 2008: 130). There could also be that there has been an improvement in the psychiatric treatments and service organisation and thus there is more known today than previously (ibid.).

Mental health is not the only aspect of the perpetrators life that has been given more focus throughout the years, so has childhood, upbringing and social conditions. In the newer verdicts, there is more information about the perpetrator in general, but especially on the three factors mentioned.

From these two aspects it is evident that the understanding for why someone kills has changed for the better throughout the years. The same cannot be said about the victim as there is still little information given in the verdicts. This has, however, also improved throughout the years, and there is more information now than previously. But it is still difficult to make any definitive statements. The reasoning behind this cannot be seen in these verdicts, but it can be suggested that the perpetrator is the important part in the court of law as the wrongdoing is the work of the perpetrators and not the victims, and thus who and what the victim was, makes little difference to the action that is to be punished. These changes can have consequences as the quantity information is different throughout the years. This means that the information that is available might have given a different outcome for the earlier verdicts if they were treated the way they are today.

There is not only a difference in the quantity of information, but also in the quality. In the older verdicts there is more often information that is not relevant to the homicide case. The first example is:

*“Ifølge de sakkyndige har A i sine seksuelle forhold utvist noe hensynsløshet og også gått til lovovertrедelser i form av avlytting hos tidligere ektefelle ved et par anledninger og nå sist hos B.”<sup>1</sup>*

(LA-1996-1252)

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<sup>1</sup> Author's translation: "According to the experts, A has, in his sexual relationships, shown recklessness and also taken it so far as to break laws, having wiretapped his former spouse a couple of times and not lastly B."

It could be that the court labels an intimate relationship as a sexual relationship and thus focus more on sexual acts than the relationship itself, especially as what type of recklessness he has done is not specified. Sexual acts have also been evident as unnecessary information in another verdict:

*“Han regnet med at han etter hvert sovnet. Han våknet senere et øyeblikk av at det gynget i vannsengen. Han var i ørske, men antok at B drev med seksuell selvstimulering, så sov han videre.”<sup>2</sup>*

(TTONS-2006-40057).

The only relevance this seem to have is that it happened on the night of the homicide. It does not come across as this “sexual self-stimulation” was a triggering cause for the homicide at all.

The changes that the information in a judicial verdict has gone through can be summarised in two sentences. The first is that the quantity of irrelevant information has decreased. The second is that there has been a considerable increase in the quantity of relevant information. It could be suggested that this has changed over space with society.

#### **2.4.4 The data gathering**

Lovdata Pro was used when the verdicts was gathered. The first step was to read through the Penal Code of 1902 and 2005 to uncover which acts were relevant, and, naturally, the choice quickly fell in the Penal Code and the criminal acts, especially section 233 and 275.

The benefit of using Lovdata Pro when searching for judicial verdicts is that above every section of an act there is a button called “Avgjørelser” (verdicts) that allows members of Lovdata Pro to access the available verdicts ruled according to a specific section. When pushing this button, a new window opens with a list of every verdict that has been ruled according to this section that are available online. All of the verdicts from this list were saved to a private folder on Lovdata Pro. This procedure was repeated with both sections.

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<sup>2</sup> Author’s translation: “He assumed that he fell asleep after some time. He awoke some time later as the waterbed was rocking. He was in a daze but assumed that B was sexually self-stimulating, so he went back to sleep”.



The next step was to organise the saved verdicts. First, verdicts from the 1930s to 1979 were deleted from the selection, and every verdict from 1980 to 2018 was considered. The reason for looking into verdicts past 2015 is that homicides committed in 2015 might not have been to court in 2015 but a later year. Verdicts prior to 1980 do naturally not consider homicides committed between 1980 and 2015 and were thus excluded. While this thesis focuses on the years from 1991 to 2015, the original intention was to use verdicts starting in 1980 to answer the three research questions. However, after collecting the verdicts it became evident that there was insufficient information, as there was so few verdicts from the 1980s. The chosen time is between 1991 and 2015 as there has been an evident decline in the number of homicides (as was seen in Figure 1). The deadline of this thesis would not allow for every verdict of every year being analysed and thus verdicts from every fifth year (1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015) was chosen instead.

The verdicts from before 1991 were still used in the thesis as a supplement to the rest of the data. The verdicts in which the defendant was found not guilty were also discarded as analysing someone who did not commit homicide threatens the validity of the thesis. The rest of the verdicts were organised according to which version of the penal code and what section was used in the ruling, and what year the homicide took place (not the year of the ruling). Each section had its own folder with annual subfolders from 1980 to 2015.

When all the available verdicts were organised according to law and section and year of the homicide, the years that were to be analysed was decided upon. The next step was to download all of the verdicts from the chosen years as a PDF file (which is a useful feature on Lovdata Pro) before being coded in SPSS. As the first round of organisation only considered the section of the law and the year the homicide occurred, the verdicts went through another round of elimination during coding. This is because the first round did not remove repeat homicides, such as a homicide tried in several court instances and homicide cases in which the defendant was found not guilty. Mistakes might also have happened during the first round of organisation, and thus there might have been verdicts that were not ruled according to the selected sections or where the homicide occurred in a different year than the chosen ones. The entire process can be seen below.

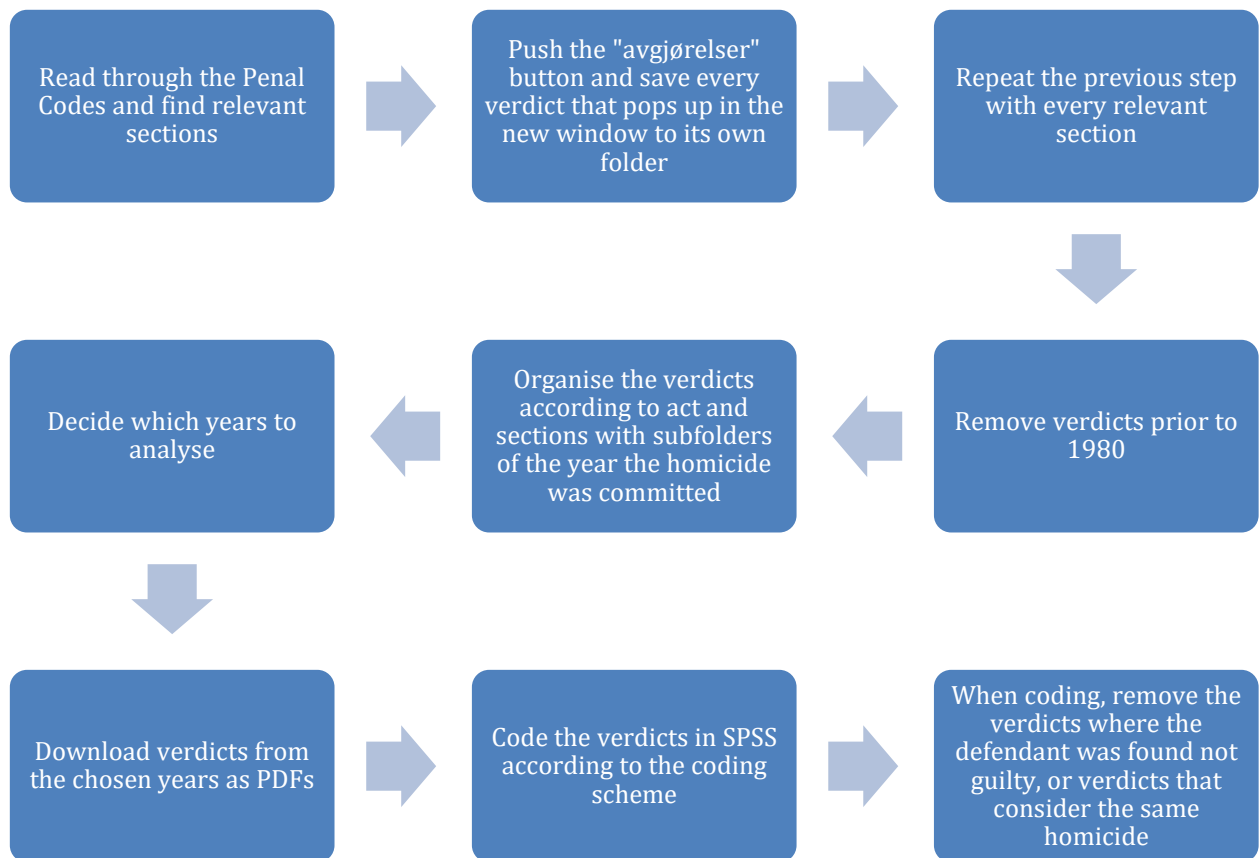


Figure 2: The data gathering process

There were some instances in which the documents used were not judicial verdicts but documents from the Appeals Selection Committee of the Supreme Court of Norway (see verdict HR-1990-1391-S). There were also some instances of psychiatric evaluations where the perpetrator was being sectioned (see LG-2002-88). This is a different type of document, as the perpetrator has already been found guilty of the homicide. These documents were still used in the analysis as they had the same amount of information as the verdicts with the least amount of information. The difference between these two types of verdicts is that homicide verdicts focuses on the homicide while the psychiatric one focuses on the mental health of the perpetrator and only mentions the homicide and different aspects of it.

#### 2.4.5 The chosen judicial verdicts

In Table 3 below, the number of judicial verdicts that were accessible according to act, section and year of the homicide is presented.

Year of the homicide	Act of 1902 s. 233/ Act of 2005 s. 275	Number of homicides
1980	3	46
1985	1	41
1990	4	49
1995	17	45
2000	18	53
2005	14	29
2010	15	33
2015	10	21
<b>SUM</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>317</b>

Table 3: Number of homicide according to year and section

Source: Lovdata Pro; The number of homicides was collected from The Norwegian Institute of Public Health, 2017

It should be noted that the number of homicides and the number of verdicts are different, which might be because the homicides have been ruled according to a different section than is considered in this thesis. It might also be that the homicide case never reached the court, as the perpetrator might have died, that the homicide was dismissed, or the verdict was not uploaded to Lovdata Pro. The judicial verdicts that was analysed can be seen in Attachment 2.

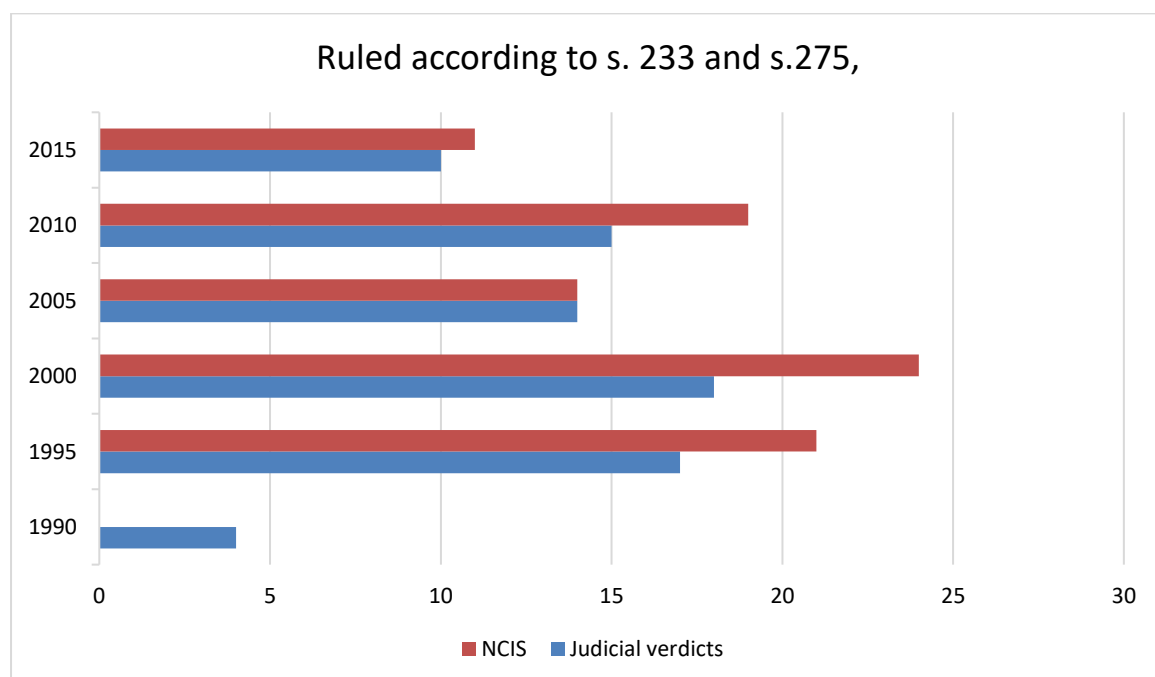


Figure 3: Number of homicides ruled according to section 233 and section 275 and the number of judicial verdicts that was used

Source: NCIS, 2011; 2018

Figure 3 above shows the number of homicides that has been ruled according to section 233 in the 1902 law and section 275 in the 2005 law according to NCIS and the number of verdicts that was available through Lovdata Pro. Unfortunately, NCIS does not have any figures prior to 1991, but for the rest of the years there are only 15 verdicts missing. These missing verdicts were four in 1995, six in 2000, four in 2010 and one in 2015. No verdicts was missing from 2005.

#### **2.4.6 Benefits and limitations**

There are different benefits and limitations in using judicial verdicts. A benefit for this type of document is that its information has already been validated (Bijleveld and Smit, 2006: 196). A different benefit is that the information found is very similar across time and courts, thus there will not be great difficulties in analysing. The major difference is that more information about the mental health of the perpetrator(s) and the injuries sustained by the victim has been included.

Some of the judicial verdicts that were found were not used. This is because there was not enough information about the homicide. In other instances, the perpetrator was found not guilty, and thus the verdict could not be used as the defendant was not the perpetrator.

Some aspects should be mentioned about how the verdicts has been used. The size of the quotes from the verdicts was kept in mind to make it less obvious which homicide it is, this is so as some of the homicides quoted in this thesis has had a lot of media attention. It should also be mentioned that the Norwegian quotes are directly copied from the verdicts and therefore, any spelling mistakes, long sentences etc. is from the original. These spelling mistakes and grammar mistakes has not been included into the English translations.

The issues already mentioned have been practical. The judicial verdicts are either anonymous, or semi-anonymous (Lovdata gave the verdicts in high profile verdicts the nickname given by the media), which decreases ethical issues. This is further supported by the fact that judicial verdicts are public documents, which means that everyone has access if one were to contact the courts (if one does not have access to Lovdata Pro). The anonymity

of the verdicts was kept in mind when different parts of the texts were quoted, as the longer the quote the easier it would be to identify the homicide case.

The translations of these quotes were done by the author. This means that the translations of the injuries the victims sustained was done to be best of my abilities, without any previous medical knowledge. For this reason, there might be some errors or misunderstandings in the English translations in regards to the injuries.

## **2.5 Practical and ethical issues**

Some problems arose when examining the judicial verdicts. Some of the older verdicts did not specify the year in which the crime took place and the document were therefore discarded as only the year of the verdict was mentioned, hence it was impossible to know the year the homicide occurred. These discarded verdicts were ruled in the Supreme Court.

A different problem arose when a homicide case had verdicts from several courts. In these cases the verdict from the District Court or the lowest ranking court was chosen. This was done as an attempt to try to analyse the same type of document as the verdicts have different content, especially District Court and Supreme Court verdicts as the District Court tend to have more information about the homicide.

Two potential problems should be noted considering Lovdata Pro. The first is that access to Lovdata Pro is restricted although, as a student at the University of Oslo this was not an issue as the university has access. However, this might cause difficulties for other researchers. The second is that the judicial verdicts are in Norwegian, which can threaten the reproducibility as a small percentage of the world population speak Norwegian.

The number of judicial verdicts that will be analysed does bring about issues. The first is that there might not be enough verdicts to be able to make any definitive statements. The second is that as it the quantity of verdicts can be considered to be small and thus potentially make it difficult to generalise.

# 3 Literature Review

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This chapter seeks to uncover different reasons for a decline in homicides. The first part looks into explanations that considers weapons and firearms. The second part looks into explanations that links homicide to mental health. The third topic of this chapter is substance use/abuse and its link to homicide. Violent tendencies are covered in the fourth part and considers different types of violence that has been linked to homicide. The fifth part of this chapter is social problems and this will be looked at in regards to intimate partner homicide. The sixth topic is miscellaneous explanations that does not fit in with the previous subchapters. This part of the chapter was divided into two, where the first looks into explanations linked to homicides in general, and the second part considers societal explanations.

## 3.1 Weapons and firearms

The legality of weapons and firearms has changed in Norway throughout the years. Two important changes are the storage of Norwegian Home Guards firearms in private homes and that it became illegal to carry knives in public. But before looking further into these two aspects, it can be helpful to put firearms in Norway into a perspective. The prevalence of privately owned firearms in Norway is not that distinct from what can be seen in the U.S. (Hestetun, 2004: 17). What is different is that in the U.S. the right to protect oneself is the reason for the prevalence for firearms and the commonality of handguns and in Norway it is due to hunting (ibid.). It was also argued that shooting sports have been deemed important in Norway, which has an impact on the privately owned firearms (ibid.). Traditionally privately owned firearms have been considered as a part of the country's defence (ibid.).

In 2002 the Norwegian Ministry of Defence recommended that the Norwegian Home Guards should either have centralised storage system or invest in mechanical safety for firearms that were stored in soldiers' homes (Ministry of Defence, 2002: 7). Mechanical safety was considered too expensive, so it was decided to remove the firing pin instead (Norwegian Armed Forces, 2014). In a study by Finn Gjertsen, Antoon Leenaars and

Margrete E. Vollrath (2014: 497) it was suggested that there was a significant change in male firearm-perpetrated homicides after this regulation was enforced. An important feature regarding firearms has been seen in Japan as firearms are often used and organised criminal gangs have a significant influence on homicide since they are predominantly the perpetrators and are frequently the perpetrators behind firearm-perpetrated homicides (Finch, 2001: 231).

In 1993 it became illegal to carry knives in public in Norway, which can be seen in section 352a in The General Civil Penal Code:

*“Any person who wilfully or through gross negligence carries in a public place a knife or similar sharp instrument that may be used to inflict bodily injuries shall be liable to fines or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to both. Any person who aids and abets such an offence shall be liable to the same penalty. This prohibition shall not apply to a knife or other instrument that is used for or carried in connection with work, outdoor life or any other respectable purpose.”*

(The General Civil Penal Code, section 352a; Justis og Politidepartementet, 1993)

This section can also be seen in the Penal Code from 2005 with few changes other than the wording. As this took place so early in the chosen period, it will not be possible to uncover whether this has had an effect on homicide rates. This was, however, found in Scotland where they have also implemented knife restrictions. What followed this restriction in Scotland was a decrease in homicides. It has therefore been argued that if high-risk households changed their kitchenknife design, the decline in homicides could potentially continue to decrease (Crichton, 2017: 185). It should be mentioned that this specific decline could also be linked to improvements in the health and emergency services, because the Scottish knife restriction does not seem to have had an impact on the number of emergency admissions to hospitals for unintentional injuries in the time period 2005/2006 to 2014/2015 (NHS, 2016: 3). On the other hand, assault by sharp object decreased by almost 63% from 2008/2009 to 2014/2015 (ibid: 13). This decrease could also be credited to better health emergency services, because the number of admissions of people injured in an assault by sharp object has decreased.

## 3.2 Mental health

This section looks into explanations behind homicide that are connected to mental health, such as the link to homicide, criminal insanity and substance use/abuse, improvements to aspects surrounding mental health, and the connection between mental health and crime in general.

The first study to be explored was published in 1956 by Ragnar Christensen. He (cited in NOU, 2010: 15) uncovered that between 1930 and 1954 there was a connection between personality traits, mental disorders and criminality in men, but he was not able to find an explanation as to why these men committed homicide. It is important to note that he did not consider female killers as they mostly killed unwanted children and therefore represented a completely different psychological problem (ibid.).

Kjell Noreik and Arne Gravem (cited in NOU, 2010: 16) studied 71 perpetrators, who, between 1980 and 1989, had been convicted for either murder or attempted murder and were deemed criminally insane, either at the time of the murder or at the time of the psychological examination. When comparing the criminally insane to the not criminally insane perpetrators, they discovered that very few, if any, of the criminally insane used alcohol or other types of drugs when the homicide took place (Ibid: 16–17). The motive behind the majority of the homicides committed by the criminally insane was considered to be brought on by psychosis and almost one third of the perpetrators were being treated with psychotropic drugs (ibid).

Medication can influence the homicide rate, as seen in Sweden. An increase in the general prescription of antidepressant medication was believed to be behind the annual decrease of 4% in child homicides between 1990 and 2000, considered tied to the decline in filicide – suicide among mothers and fathers (Granath and Sturup, 2015: 175). Another explanation for the decrease has been contextual factors such as “improved treatment of mentally ill parents and increased levels of interventions from social and mental health services” (ibid: 185). It should be noted that contextual factors alone can not explain the decline (ibid). This study revealed a pattern among the perpetrators; if one were to compare this type of



homicide to other types of homicide, there is a high proportion of female perpetrators, of whom the majority are mothers who kill their child during its first year of life (Ibid: 176).

Scotland has not seen a decrease in the types of homicides where the people involved have recently been in contact with mental health services, even though there has been a decline in homicides (Appleby et al., 2016 cited in Crichton, 2017: 185). A significant aspect of Scottish homicides involving mental-health issues is that an overwhelming majority of the perpetrators knew the victim, as he/she was either a spouse or ex-spouse, a family member or an acquaintance (Ibid).

The connection between mental illnesses and crimes in general has also been studied. It is however, important to note that serious mental disorders are more common among perpetrators of homicide than perpetrators of other types of crimes (Bødal and Fridhov, 1995: 7). In violent crimes, the perpetrators in the majority of violent offences were a small number of persistent violent offenders (Falk et al., 2014: 559). They were usually men, who had from an early age, experienced violent and non-violent criminality, substance abuse and suffered from personality disorders (ibid). Further, homicide, attempted homicide and arson have a relatively large number of perpetrators with severe mental illness (Fazel and Grann, 2006: 1401).

### **3.3 Substance use/abuse**

What will be looked into now is why substance use might lead to homicides, explanations behind alcohol-related violence, drugs and the drug market.

Alcohol is strongly associated with homicide, as about half of the perpetrators were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the homicide (Grøndahl, 2019: 64). The number of other substances is on the rise (ibid.). The victims has also been seen to be under the influence (ibid.). There are several reasons why substance use can lead to homicides, three of them are: 1) people who are under the influence of substances can easily misjudge a situation and other people's motives (Grøndahl, 2019: 24). 2) The use of substances increases a person's impulsivity and decrease his/her self-control (ibid.). 3) People with

addictions are often in difficult circumstances and have a money problems, thus the risk for conflicts increases and many commit serious, criminal offences to finance their addiction (ibid.).

Substance use/abuse is an important feature of the homicide decline. Especially in Finland as lethal violence socially concentrated and patterned, occurring among “economically inactive and seriously alcoholised men” (Lehti and Kivivuori, 2012: 401). Martti Lehti and Janne Kivivuori (2012: 401) argued that this is not particular to Finland, as this is evident in all the Nordic countries. However, it seems to be particularly violent in Finland. Esa Östberg and Thomas Karlsson (2011: 311) further support this as they discovered that from 1960 to 2000 the Nordic countries saw an increase in violence matching the pace of the total alcohol consumption. Nevertheless, an important consideration is that the Finnish youth are not more violent than the youth in the other Nordic countries (Kivivuori, 2007).

Since the late 1990s there has been a drop in the homicide rates in Finland by over 40% (Lehti, 2014: 182). The Finnish drop can be attributed to the decrease in working-age men who carry out alcohol-related violence (ibid). It has also affected men in general but the drop in risk has been more marked in the economically active population and not so much with the unemployed alcoholics, which is the traditional high-risk group when it comes to Finnish homicidal crime (ibid). Considering crime in general, there has been a decrease in the number of youths who consume alcohol since the 1990s; this combination is a well-documented and important risk factor for crime (Raitasalo et al., 2012, cited in Elonheimo, 2014: 215). This has also been evident in Sweden where a population-based study focusing on the intra- and extra- familial child homicides between 1992 and 2012 found a low rate of substance misuse, which contradicts previous studies (Hedlund, Masterman and Sturup, 2016: 94). The difference between Finland and the other Nordic countries regarding homicide rates predating the 19th century could be linked to relatively low political participation, a high degree of gun ownership and the use of strong spirits, which has shown some consistency with the homicide rate in Finland (Kivivuori and Lehti, 2010, cited in Lehti and Kivivuori, 2012: 402).

In a study that focused on autopsy reports 1960–1964 and 1979–1983, Torleiv Ole Rognum (cited in NOU, 2010: 16) discovered that the majority of perpetrators were men with the median age of 36, the main motive was intoxicated arguments and the perpetrator mostly knew or were related to his victims. Something new occurred in the second period studied, alcohol intoxication was no longer the only form of intoxication; diazepam and hashish had been used by some of the perpetrators (NOU, 2010: 16). 13% of these perpetrators were also criminally insane (cited in NOU, 2010: 16). Helge Røstad (cited in NOU, 2010: 16) made similar discoveries when he analysed 55 cases (38% of all men convicted of homicide) that were brought to the Norwegian Supreme Court between 1970 and 1979. The majority of men in his analysis had been convicted of other crimes prior to the homicide, a majority had also experienced a difficult childhood, and it was common that they had a serious drinking problem (ibid.).

The drug market has been the focus of two studies that will now be mentioned. In New York City, the homicide rate followed the crack-cocaine market in that the emergence of the crack-cocaine markets increased the number of homicides, and consequently, when the market shrank so did the number of homicides (Messner et al., 2007: 387). A study by Graham Ousey and Matthew Lee (2007: 48) concluded that the results generally showed a pattern of attenuation in the drug market – homicide relationship, and therefore it could be concluded that a part of the homicide decline is probably due to the drop in the drug market activity. The aging of the individuals in the drug market could also have caused this drop or there might have been some unmeasured factors that made the drug market kinder and gentler (ibid.).

### **3.4 Violent tendencies**

This section will look into familial violence, previous violence, fighting among men and a gender difference in the violence sustained.

Familial violence was recognised as an existing problem in the late 1980s in Norway (Schjetne, 1989: 47). Consequently, it was argued that it would be possible to identify abusive families and prevent the potentially lethal abuse if there would be improvements to

the social support system, the cooperation and methods of cooperation between social services, the police and prosecutors (ibid.). Further, it was suggested, in a long-term perspective, that acquittals of abusers in a court of law would influence the attitudes towards familial abuse, this would develop into a return of the myths “all men has to beat some sense into his wife” and “no child did any harm from a good beating” (ibid). This is in accordance with the argument that there are different motivations behind female- and male-perpetrated intimate partner homicide, and female-perpetrators commit homicide because they feel that that is the only way that they can leave the abusive relationship (Browne, 1987; Johnson et al., 1998; Wilson and Daly 1992, cited in Wells and DeLeon-Granados, 2002: 6).

Previous violence has been seen to have a link to homicide (Grøndahl, 2019: 24). One of the strongest risk factors linked to serious violence and homicide is whether the perpetrator has previously been violent (ibid.). It is not uncommon for the perpetrator of homicide to have a criminal record and former verdicts for violence (ibid.).

Pieter Spierenburg (2012: 32) uncovered that fighting among men is almost always the cause of high homicide rates, not matter where or when the high rates might occur. He (ibid: 33) also stated that from the middle ages until modern times the homicide rates have had two important trends; the first being a considerable decline and the second being a steady escalation of the proportion of victims of intimate murder from the middle ages until modern.

When it comes to the injuries sustained by the victims, there is a gender difference. When men kill men the motive is to get rid of competition or a rival, and thus men more often than not have one injury, such as one gunshot wound (Grøndahl, 2019: 20). Women, on the other hand, is mostly killed by their partners due to strong emotions such as jealousy and rage and the homicide is committed with a physical fight and thus the women have more injuries compared to men (ibid.). It has been suggested that the stronger the relation between perpetrator and victim, the more brutal the violence is (ibid). The strong emotions turns to brutality and the brutality lead to more injuries and thus it is not often committed

to strangers or acquaintances as it is rare to be feelings between the perpetrator and victim (ibid.).

### **3.5 Social problems**

The aspect that will now be considered is social problems linked to intimate partner homicides.

In 2015 Solveig Karin Bø Vatnar published a study that explored risk factors for intimate partner homicide between 1990 and 2012. There was a higher number of this type of homicide in marginalised groups, who had a number of different social problems, such as a lower educational level, anti-social traits and general links to crime (Ibid: 12, 15, 72).

Kivivuori and Lehti (2011: 109) recognised something similar as sudden changes in the homicide rates has been attributed to the young males with more heterogeneous social backgrounds. They (ibid.) also discovered that marginal lowest-stratum male population has had a high offending rate which has been stable for the last five centuries.

Vatnar (2015: 13) further discovered that the frequency of intimate partner homicide is low, though there is a greater likelihood for a women to be murdered by her partner or ex-partner than by anyone else. In the majority of these instances, prior to the homicide, intimate-partner violence had been reported to public services and there had been observed risk factors that the relationship could potentially end in homicide (Ibid: 12). This further means that a great majority of the victims and perpetrators had been in contact with the police, health services, and/or the support system (Ibid). When it came to the homicides themselves the majority of the perpetrators and victims were ethnic Norwegian with the majority being partners or ex-partners who were murdered with a knife, firearm or rope/wire and who were under the influence of alcohol or a mixture of different drugs (Ibid: 48, 50). In half of these cases there had been mutual abuse with a high probability that the victim had communicated that he/she no longer wanted to stay in the relationship with the perpetrator (Ibid: 72). What is evident in this study is that these types of homicide do not come without a warning, which means that there had been opportunity to prevent these homicides.

In a similar vein, it has been argued that the victims and perpetrators of intimate partner homicide are older, have more stable familial relations, often have a permanent residence, have higher education, have less substance abuse, have less criminal history and are more committed in the work life than perpetrators of other types of homicides (Grøndahl, 2019: 174). However, their socioeconomic status is lower than the rest of the society (ibid.). It has also been uncovered that the majority of the people who are violent, do not want to kill their partner, but negative emotions, impulsivity, unstable attachment, previously experienced violence and a strong need to be in control that only becomes stronger after the intake of substances has been seen to be linked to this type of homicide (ibid: 177).

## **3.6 Miscellaneous explanations**

This section looks into explanations that did not fit into any of the previous categories. These explanations can be divided into two categories: 1) explanations linked to homicides in general, and 2) societal explanations.

### **3.6.1 Homicides**

In a more recent study, it was discovered that the majority of homicides in Norway are not planned but are crimes of passion (Sivertsen, 2005: 208). In most cases the motive is a result of negative circumstances, and in a small minority of homicides there is a specific reason why someone killed someone else (Ibid: 209). These negative circumstances include illness, unemployment, debts, low self-esteem or a breakup where the children are the losing part (Ibid.).

Homicides are governed by two laws, according to Veli Verkko (1951): a dynamic and a static law. The dynamic law argues that when a country is experiencing an increasing or decreasing number of homicides, it primarily affects the number of male criminals (Verkko, 1951: 56). The static law argues that in countries experiencing a high number of homicides, the minority of the perpetrators are female, and vice versa; when the homicide rate is low, the number of female perpetrators is high compared to countries that have a high homicide rate (Verkko, 1951: 55).

### **3.6.2 Societal explanations**

Rurality has an impact on family homicide and intimate-partner homicide in the U.S. as there are higher rates of these types of homicides in more rural areas compared to counties with central cities (Gallup-Black, 2005: 149, 163). When it comes to married couples and cohabitating couples there is a difference, especially when it comes to age; youth-registered marriage and middle-age cohabitation most often end in homicide (James and Daly, 2012: 393). It is also important to note that the cohabiting couples overall had a greater risk of homicide than spouses as recently as the 1990s but by 2005 this was no longer so (Ibid: 399).

The decline during the 1990s that was seen in the U.S. “was uneven by gender, race, age and level of urbanisation, with males, African American, teenagers and young adults, and large cities and suburban areas experiencing the most pronounced declines in victimisation” (Lee and Hayes, 2005: 394). Matthew Lee and Timothy Hayes (2005: 399) discovered that there was an increase in the proportionate share of victims drawn from rural areas during this decade.

Colin Pritchard (1992: 680) claimed that the decline in child homicides in England and Wales was thanks to the child protection services. Duncan Lindsey and Nico Trocmé (1994: 715) have argued otherwise, as further analysis of the same data showed that the decrease was due to a single-year drop in the homicide rates and therefore there are no evidence of a long-term decrease. They (1994: 731) further argued that although there has been a great increase in the number of reported children who are victims of abuse and neglect, the number of children who are victims of homicide has stayed relatively stable. This suggests that the improved effectiveness of the child protection services has not had a substantial impact on the number of child fatalities.

## **3.7 Concluding remarks**

It is evident that there is a considerable amount of knowledge about how this decline happened, but as stated by Manuel Eisner and Amy E. Nivette (2012: 224) we do not have the knowledge of how to make these declines happen in the future.

The literature could be linked to weapons and firearms, mental health difficulties, substance use/abuse, violent tendencies, social problems and other aspects.

How relevant these studies are to the Norwegian context between 1991 and 2015 will become evident throughout this thesis.



## 4 Intimate partner homicide

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Intimate partner homicide will be explored in this chapter. This will be done by first look at the wider context for this type of homicide such as intimate violence. The frequency of this type of homicide and the sex of the perpetrator is the following subject. The next section looks into features from the judicial verdicts such as different aspects that could be linked to who, what, when and where. Next is an exploration into the context of the homicides; this section is divided into three subchapters: intimate partner homicides in general, current relationships and previous relationships before making some concluding remarks.

### 4.1 The wider context

Intimate partner homicide is a relatively narrow term in the Homicide Overview as it only consider couples who are, or have been cohabitating or married, and thus excludes boyfriends and girlfriends or other less serious relationships (see NCIS, 2011: 5). Consequently, the data is not as nuanced as it could be and there is the possibility that some intimate partner homicides are not included. The judicial verdicts, on the other hand, was coded according to the codes “Married or engaged”, “Married or engaged previously”, “Romantic relationship or cohabitating” and “Romantic relationship or cohabitating previously”, which means that the couples who were “just” romantic companions are also included. It should be specified that “current partners” was partners at the time of the homicide. It does not include lovers or former lovers and not specifically same-sex relations of any kind, which would be a much better definition than what can be seen in the Homicide Overview (See Gannoni and Cussen cited in Grøndahl, 2019: 172). However, same-sex relations were not evident in the verdicts analysed.

Intimate partner homicide is the most extreme form of intimate partner violence (Grøndahl, 2019: 172). In a Norwegian study it was uncovered that more women than men experience serious violence from a partner or a former partner, while men mostly experienced this from strangers, friends and acquaintances, neighbours and colleagues (Thoresen and Hjemdal, 2014: 16). Less serious partner violence was equally experienced by men and

women (ibid: 17). The majority of both men and women who experienced serious partner violence, also experienced that their partner was controlling (ibid.). The gender of the perpetrator and the victim were different in the majority of instances (male perpetrator, female victim and vice versa) (ibid: 80). It was also reported that women especially had experienced sexual violence from their partner, but also men encountered this (ibid: 81). The rapport concluded that:

*“Selv om det var like store andeler menn som kvinner i undersøkelsen som oppga at de hadde vært utsatt for vold fra partner eller ekspartner, ser det likevel ut til at kvinner rammes hardere av partnervolden, både ved at de oftere utsettes for mer alvorlige former for vold, og at de, i alle fall for de mindre alvorlige voldstypenes del, utsettes for et større volum av hendelser.”<sup>3</sup>*

(ibid: 121).

This is different from homicide as the majority of victims was women, as will become evident.

## **4.2 The frequency of this type of homicide**

Intimate partner homicide, as could be seen in Table 1 in the introduction, was the second most common type of homicide. In this section, the frequency of this type of homicide will be explored. This will be done to lay the foundation for the rest of this chapter as the context for the homicides behind these figures.

In Table 4 below, the number of perpetrators of homicide and the number of perpetrators of intimate partner homicide is listed. The frequency of this type of homicide is higher than the its average in ten instances; these are in the shaded squares. It is evident that this type of homicide occurred more often in the earlier years than the later, with the highest number above average occurring prior to 2003.

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<sup>3</sup> Author’s translation: “Even though the same proportion of men and women in the study stated that they had experienced partner or ex-partner violence, it does seem that women were affected to a greater extent, both because they more often experience serious violence, and that they, at least in cases of less serious violence, experience a bigger volume of incidents.”

Year	Number of homicide perpetrators	Number of intimate partner homicide perpetrators
1991	58	10
1992	40	10
1993	37	10
1994	29	8
1995	56	8
1996	37	10
1997	35	7
1998	31	6
1999	45	3
2000	47	12
2001	35	11
2002	43	8
2003	47	10
2004	36	7
2005	33	10
2006	36	8
2007	42	6
2008	38	6
2009	28	7
2010	31	7
2011	44	6
2012	34	8
2013	50	15
2014	35	8
2015	24	10
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>38.44</b>	<b>8.44</b>

Table 4: Number of perpetrators and number of intimate partner homicide

Source: NCIS, 2011, 2017

What is interesting in the table above is that there have been ten peaks in the number of perpetrators (higher number of perpetrators than the average of 38.44). There have also been ten peaks in the number of perpetrators of intimate partner homicide. In only half of these instances did the peak of perpetrators and the peak of intimate partner homicide occur in the same year. Consequently, this means that there should be another type of homicide that causes these peaks. It is evident that this type of homicide has stayed relatively stable with more peaks in the earlier compared to the later years, but overall, there has been a decline in the number of peak years.

It has been argued, as seen in the literature review, that from the middle ages until modern times, there has been a considerable decline in homicides in general and a steady rise in the proportion of victims of intimate partner homicide (Spierenburg, 2012: 33). The period between 1991 and 2015 cannot be compared to such a big timeframe as Spierenburg used. However, his argument does not seem to be applicable to the Norwegian context between 1991 and 2015 as the frequency of above average number of perpetrators and intimate partner homicides had a higher frequency prior to the median<sup>4</sup> year of 2003, than after. As will become evident throughout this chapter, there are several different aspects with a higher frequency before 2003 than after, which means that there has not been a steady escalation of the proportion of victims of intimate partner homicide. In a similar vein to Spierenburg; Dugan, Nagin and Rosenfeld (1997: 187) discover that this type of homicide experienced a decline prior to the 21st century in the U.S. that continued for 20 years. Once again, a different timeframe has been used than what is done in this thesis.

#### **4.2.1 The sex of the perpetrator and victim**

So far has the focus been on the gender-neutral term “perpetrators”. To give a better perspective of the perpetrators and their victims, the proportion of male and females will now be considered. The number of men and women who were killed by a partner can be seen in the Homicide Overview (see Attachment 3 Table 4.2.1). It is no surprise that the majority of the victims of this type of crime is women (NCIS, 2011:6; 2016:8). This is reflected in the judicial verdicts that were analysed. When this type of homicide peaked in frequency, they consisted of an increased number of female victims, especially in women killed by a current partner (ibid.). The greater number of perpetrators and victims was in a relationship at the time of the homicide (ibid.). This can also be seen in the verdicts. Further support can be found with Vatnar (2015: 13) as she discovered that women will most likely be killed by her partner or ex-partner compared to a person with whom the woman had other types of relationships (e.g. the perpetrator being a stranger or a friend). However, according to the Homicide Overview (NCIS, 2011: 6, 7; 2016:8, 9), less than half of the women killed, were killed by an intimate partner. Unfortunately, the gender of the victims of other types of homicide is not specified, and one cannot be certain whether this is a high

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<sup>4</sup> The median year means that there are the same number of years prior to and after this specific year.

number of female victims or not. If one were to compare the number to the judicial verdicts, then the type of relationship with the highest number of female victims is intimate partner homicide, especially between married or engaged couples.

### **4.3 The overall findings from the judicial verdicts**

The overall findings from the judicial verdicts will now be considered. In the methodology chapter, it was stated that 82 judicial verdicts were coded. Out of these, 26 were considered to be intimate partner homicides.

The great majority of perpetrators were male and mostly middle-aged, but there were two instances in which the perpetrator was female, and these women killed men. These were all hetero relationships with the majority being current intimate partners. The data in the Homicide Overview indicates that the majority of both the perpetrators and victims were ethnic Norwegians (see NCIS, 2011; 2016). The nationality was not specified in the majority of the verdicts and could thus be suggested to be Norwegian as there is hardly anyone specified to be Norwegian. This is further supported by Vatnar (2015: 86) as typically (in more than 50% of cases) in her data the perpetrator and victim were ethnic Norwegians. There were also instances in which the perpetrator and victim had, or had previously had, citizenships from Europe, the Middle East, Asia or Africa. The perpetrators substance use was varying. Nearly a quarter of the perpetrators were found to abuse substance to varying degrees and their victims were also abusing substances.

The majority of the homicides were assumed to be intentional. In one of the verdicts the court specified that they consider the homicide to be intentional:

*“Tiltalte hadde tatt med seg hjemmefra alt det utstyr han trengte for å montere sprengladningen i bilen, og retten legger til grunn som bevist at det var hans mening allerede da han dro ut, å legge opp et arrangement som skulle utløse en eksplosjon med hustruens død som den høyst sannsynlige følge. Retten må da også legge til*

*grunn at drapshandlingen var planlagt på dette tidspunkt og at det overlegg som foreligger etter lagrettens svar, også var til stede da.”<sup>5</sup>*

(Rt-1981-961)

For intimate partner homicide it has been seen that negative emotions, unstable attachment, impulsivity, previously experienced violence and a strong need to be in control, which only increases after the intake of substances has been the reasons behind this type of homicide (Grøndahl, 2019: 177). From the quote above it is evident that this homicide was not impulsive, but it can be suggested that he had a need to be in control as the perpetrator had difficulties with accepting their separation and thus killed her (Rt-1981-961). It should be specified that the perpetrator was not under the influence of substances.

Almost every one of the victims experienced excessive violence (more violence than needed to take someone’s life). It has been suggested that the closer the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, the more brutal the violence is; the closer the relationship, the stronger the feelings, which leads to more brutality (Grøndahl, 2019: 20). This level of brutality hardly ever occurs between strangers or acquaintances, because it is rarely any feelings between them (ibid.). There is also a difference between men and women, as women are mostly killed by their partners due to sudden and strong emotions such as jealousy and rage (ibid.). Further, it has been argued that women experience more excessive violence compared to men as women are mostly killed by fists and kicking, and weapons that cause blunt-force trauma (ibid.). An example of excessive violence is (LG-2002-88):

*“[...] stakk og/eller skar A sin hustru B en rekke ganger med kniv i hodet og over store deler av kroppen. Knivstikkene gikk bl.a. inn i nakken nesten til ryggmargen, inn i halsen slik at høyre halspulsåre ble overskåret, gjennom brystkassen inn i venstre lunge og gjennom buken inn i leveren og magesekken. B døde av forblødning.”<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>5</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendant brought with him from home all the equipment he needed to mount the explosives to the car, and the court assume, as has been proven, that at the time of leaving the home his aim was to put in motion a sequence of events to cause an explosion that would most likely lead to his wife’s death. The court must therefore also assume that the act of homicide was already planned at that time and that the premeditation that was present according to the Court of Appeals’ answer was already present at that time.”

<sup>6</sup> Author’s own translation: “[...], A stabbed and/or cut his wife B multiple times with a knife in her head and on the majority of her body. She was stabbed, among other places, in the neck, almost through to her spine and the right carotid artery in her throat was cut: through her chest into her left lung and through her abdomen and into her liver and stomach. B died from blood loss.”

The victim had been abusive towards the perpetrator in fewer than half of the verdicts. “Abusive” has been used as a broad term, which is evident in one of the verdicts in which the perpetrator told the emergency operator that if he were to be in jail for the rest of his life, it did not matter, as long as he escaped his wife’s yelling (LB-2016-30707). Vatnar (2015: 12) discovered in her study that intimate violence had been registered in 7 out of 10 homicides and that a great majority of the perpetrators and victims had been in contact with the police, health services and/or support systems. This means that these homicides does not happen unexpectedly, but there are warning signs.

Private residences were the most common crime scene, usually the residence the perpetrator and victim shared. The victim being killed in public was very rare. This could be linked to that the majority of perpetrators and victims were in a current intimate relationship and thus living together. The majority of homicides took place during the weekdays and during the daytime.

## **4.4 The context in which these homicides occur**

This section seeks to explore and give examples of the abovementioned statistics and features to uncover what characterise intimate partner homicide. Intimate partner homicide is a broad category and thus will be divided into three parts. The first part looks into intimate partner homicides in general. The second considers homicides in which the perpetrator was in a relationship with the victim at the time of the homicide (current relationships). While the third looks into homicides in which the perpetrator was no longer in a relationship with the victim at the time of the homicide (previous relationships).

### **4.4.1 Intimate partner homicides**

The type of relationship the perpetrator has to the victim has different circumstances and frequencies. The location for current intimate partners homicides, in the judicial verdicts, was their shared residence (15 out of 18 homicides), which is not the case for previous partners, where the homicide most commonly occurred in the victims’ residence (four out of eight homicides). Thus, the perpetrator posed a bigger threat in current relationships

than in previous ones because the victim lived with the perpetrator, as will become evident throughout this chapter.

The majority of the perpetrators and victims were in a relationship at the time of the homicide, a characteristic that can be seen in the Homicide Overview; almost three times as many intimate partner homicides was between current partners compared to previous partners (See Attachment 3, Table 4.4.1-1). It has been argued that there has been a steady escalation of the proportion of victims of intimate partner homicides from the middle ages until modern time (Spierenburg, 2012: 32). Naturally the period used in this thesis is not as large as Spierenburg used, however, by looking at Table 4.2.1 (Attachment 3) there has not been a steady escalation in the number of victims, it has stayed relatively stable. This might be different when using a bigger timeframe.

The average number of homicides between current partners was 6.24 annually and former partners 2.2 (See Attachment 3, Table 4.4.1-1). This means that years when eight or more homicides between current partners and three or more homicides between former partners can be considered peak years. When looking at the number of peak years, there are more prior to the median year of 2003 than after, which means that there has been a decline in intimate partner homicides.

Knives has also hold an importance as it was a common means of killing. It was argued previously that if accesses to weapons (such as knives) that once were easily acquired were restricted, there was a possibility of a further decline in homicides (Crichton, 2017: 185). A change in kitchen-knife design for high-risk households could impact the decline. However, its applicability to the Norwegian context is debatable as it is impossible to assess how successful this would be from the data used in this thesis.

Alcohol played an important part in several of these homicides. The importance of alcohol in relation to a decrease in homicides in general is that alcohol is now being consumed differently (Granath 2012: 415 – 417). This is evident in the judicial verdicts, where alcohol use is more frequent in older verdicts compared to newer verdicts, which is also evident in the Homicide Overview (See Attachment 3, Table 4.4.1-2). The average number of



perpetrators that were under the influence of alcohol was 10.6 (NCIS, 2011:3; 2016:5). This means that every year in which there are 11 or more perpetrators that were under the influence can be considered a high frequency. There is a higher frequency above average prior to the median year of 2003 than after. As with any aspect of the Norwegian homicide context, this aspect has also fluctuated over the years, but there has been a decline in the number of perpetrators who were under the influence of alcohol. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how many of these perpetrators were perpetrators of intimate partner homicide. An interesting element to consider is that the number of perpetrators and victims that was under the influence of narcotics has increased (ibid.).

In studies that considered homicide in Norway it was revealed that the type of substances used by the perpetrators changed over time from alcohol to alcohol and drugs. As can be seen in the Homicide Overview, the majority of perpetrators and victims were not under the influence of any substances, in cases where they were, alcohol was the most common substance taken (see NCIS, 2011 and 2016). A decline in the use of alcohol can also be seen (ibid.). In contrast, the majority of perpetrators in the judicial verdicts were under the influence of substances, findings that are supported in a study with similar findings (Vatnar, 2015: 50). This study also discovered that this type of homicide most often occur in marginalised groups (ibid: 12, 15, 72). There were similarities between the judicial verdicts that fell into this category: jealousy, alcohol and arguments were involved. These homicides also included mutual abuse, mental health issues and crumbling relationships.

It has been suggested that the homicide rate follow drug-market activities; in other words, when there is a drop in the drug market there is a drop in homicides (Ousey and Lee, 2007: 48). It is difficult to measure the drug market as this is a grey area. However, it is clear that drugs has an increasingly important role in this type of homicide. In a different study it was uncovered that the main motive was intoxicated arguments and the perpetrator mostly knew his victim or they were his relative (NOU, 2010: 16). This is applicable to the judicial verdicts as intoxicated arguments seem to be an important characteristic. When looking at this through the lens of the verdicts, it could be suggested that substance abuse has become a more important part of the homicides in Norway, despite decreasing after 2003.

#### 4.4.2 Current relationships

Homicide occurs most frequently between youth-registered marriages and between middle-age cohabiting adults in the U.S. (James and Daly, 2012: 393). Cohabiting couples had an overall greater risk of homicide compared to couples in registered marriages (ibid.). This changed in 2005, but the trend towards a change became evident during the 1990s (ibid: 399). In a Norwegian study, it was uncovered that the majority of intimate partner homicides between 1990 and 2012 were between couples were married or cohabiting and the average age of the perpetrators was a bit more than 40 years and the average age of the victim was 38.5 (Vatnar, 2015: 26, 28). The ages of these couples who were still together at the time of the homicide are not shown in the Homicide Overview. Although, when it comes to intimate partner homicide, the most common type of relationship was marriage (NCIS, 2011:3; 2016:5). Consequently, married couples have a greater overall risk of homicide compared to cohabiting couples, when not considering age. The importance this holds is that it demonstrates that the type of relationship one has with another person might also have an effect on homicides, but the factor of type of relationship alone is not what causes someone to kill their partner, which will become evident throughout this chapter. If one were to look at the judicial verdicts then middle-aged and married/engaged was the most common overall. However, when only looking at those that were in a current relationship, married/engaged and romantic relationship/cohabiting were equal in frequency.

A man killing his female partner could be seen in the majority of the 18 verdicts that considered intimate partner homicide. The exceptions are two instances in which a woman killed a man. It therefore needs to be highlighted that this does not happen very often. This can also be seen in the Homicide Overview (see Attachment 3, Table 4.4.2-1 and 4.4.2-2). There is average of 25–35 male perpetrators a year and 2–5 female perpetrators a year for all types of homicides. This is not particular to Norway as nine out of ten perpetrators are men is almost a global phenomenon (Grøndahl, 2019: 18). A different pattern emerges when considering men killed by a partner and women killed by a partner; the pattern for victims is opposite to the patterns for perpetrators. There are 0–3 occurrences of male victims of intimate partner homicide a year, while there are 6–8 occurrences of female

victims. This means that men are rarely killed by an intimate partner. Only two of the 26 perpetrators in the intimate partner verdicts were female.

Grøndahl (2019: 178, 179) has stated that women kill their partners mainly due to being scared and desperate, but they can also have the same motivations as men (revenge, jealousy, rage and economical motives), but they primarily commit homicide because they are fear not surviving their violent partner. This is further supported by other studies that has shown that women commit homicide to escape their intimate partners (see Browne, 1987; Johnson et al., 1998; Wilson and Daly 1992, cited in Wells and DeLeon-Granados, 2002: 6). Both of the abovementioned verdicts fit into Grøndahl's (2019: 178, 179) categories. The first verdict had a more "masculine" motive; the perpetrator was enraged:

*"A har ikke lenger noen erindring om hva som skjedde etter at B hadde kommet hjem den kvelden. Av hennes politiforklaring [...], fremgår at B hadde fortsatt med å mase på henne. Såret, skuffet og sint hadde det tilslutt kokt over i hodet hennes. Mens han fortsatt maste om flytting og nøkler, hadde hun - mens de begge befant seg i kjøkkenet - åpnet den kjøkkenskuffen hvor knivene lå, tatt en stor filetkniv i sin høyre hånd, gått mot B som sto ved vasken, løftet hånden og hugget kniven i brystet på ham."*<sup>7</sup>

(LH-2006-50819)

The second perpetrator was more "feminine" in her motivations as she was scared of the victim:

*"Situasjonen har bygget seg opp på bakgrunn av et samliv med B preget av hans alkoholmisbruk. B, som i edru tilstand har vært kjekk og grei, har i hyppige perioder misbrukt alkohol, og har da regelmessig vært umedgjørlig. Han har plaget A og tildels hennes datter, og han har enkelte ganger optrådt voldelig mot A, dog uten at hun er blitt påført fysiske skader. [...] Hun har klarligvis lekt med tanken om å gjøre det slutt på B ved å ta livet av ham, men lagmannsretten finner ikke å kunne legge til*

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<sup>7</sup> Author's translation: "A no longer has any recollection of what happened after B came home that evening. From her statement to the police [...], it appears that B had continued to nag. Hurt, disappointed and angry, her anger boiled over. While he was still nagging about moving and keys, she, while they both were in the kitchen, opened the kitchen drawer where the knives were, took a big fileting knife in her right hand, walked towards B who was standing near the sink, lifted her hand and stabbed him in the chest."

*grunn at dette var en beslutning hun hadde truffet før hun sto hjemme i stuen sammen med B etter å ha fått ham hjem med drosjen.”<sup>8</sup>*

(LF-1996-384)

One cannot state anything definitive from two verdicts alone, but it does show that this category of homicide has similarities and differences as both of Grøndahl’s (2019: 178, 179) motives for female perpetrated intimate partner homicides is evident.

Another exception that could be found was perpetrators who were pensioners. If one were to consider pensioners to be above the age of 60 then there are 30 pensioners out of the 947 perpetrators of all types of homicides, which means that this does not happen very often (NCIS, 2011: 4, 2016: 6). Grøndahl (2019: 19) further supports this as he stated that the majority of homicide happen between people between the ages of 20 and 50, the risk of being murdered has a substantial decrease after 50 years of age. Three out of the 18 verdicts that fall into this category of homicides. There are similarities between two of them as the perpetrator comes across as tired of his situation. The motivation for one of the perpetrators was:

*“jeg har skjøti ho for at ho sku dæve for at jeg greier ikke å leve sammen med ho [...] nå orket jeg ikke mer altså. Enten .. ho eller jeg ...[...] Så nå tok jeg frem børsja til far min. Og jeg hadde 5 skudd arvet i fra han. Og la det i magasinet og gikk inn og skjøt ho en gang. Den neste gangen så klikket det. Så om ho er dau eller skadet det vet jeg ikke. [...] Om jeg skal sitte i fengsel resten av mi tid.. Og jeg er 80 og til jeg dæver, det spiller ingen rolle. Bare jeg slipper å høre den derre kjeftinga i fra ho.”<sup>9</sup>*

(LB-2016-30707)

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<sup>8</sup> Author’s translation: “The situation had been building up due to a cohabitation with B defined by his alcoholism. B [the victim], who was nice and friendly when sober, had in frequent periods abused alcohol, and had often been difficult. He had harassed A and, to some extent, her daughter, and he had at times been violent towards A [the perpetrator], though without giving her physical injuries.[...]. She had obviously toyed with the idea of breaking up with B by taking his life. However, the Court of Appeal can not find that this was a decision she had made before she was at home in the living room with B after getting him home with a taxi.”

<sup>9</sup> Author’s translation: “I shot her so that she would die because I`m not able to live with her anymore [...] I really cant handle it anymore. Either...her or me... [...] So I just picked up my dads shotgun. And I had five bullets that I had inherited from him. And I put it in the magazine and went in and shot her once. The second time it didn’t fire. So if she’s dead or injured, I don’t know. [...] If I`m going to be in jail for the rest of my life, and I am 80 and until I die, it doesn’t matter. As long as I don’t have to listen to her yelling.”

It has been argued that the majority of people who are violent do not want to kill their partner (Grøndahl, 2019: 177). This is definitely not the circumstance for the quote above (LB-2016-30707).

The motivation for another perpetrator was:

*“C syntes heller ikke alltid å ha vært så fornøyd med de tjenestene hun mottok fra bydelen. Hun valgte derfor å la A bistå seg med pleie- og omsorgsoppgaver som hun ellers kunne fått hjelp til fra hjemmesykepleien. Ut fra vitneforklaringene fra de ansatte i hjemmetjenesten finner lagmannsretten godtgjort at A utførte langt flere pleie- og omsorgsoppgaver overfor konen enn det som forventes av en ektefelle.*

*Primo juni 2015 legger lagmannsretten til grunn at A var sliten og oppgitt over situasjonen i hjemmet. Han hadde også et stort underskudd på søvn. C var mye våken om nettene, og for ikke å utvikle nye eller forverrede trykksår måtte hun snus opp til to ganger hver natt.”<sup>10</sup>*

(LB-2016-200293)

The motivation for the third perpetrator is different as the court labelled the homicides as *“fremstår som en tenåringskonflikt som ikke ble håndtert på en moden måte”*<sup>11</sup> (LB-2006-147884). It might seem harsh but the homicide started as a small conflict earlier that day and he had been bickering with his cohabitant’s adult daughter (ibid.). He snapped and shot her twice and her mom/his cohabitant came to see what was going on and was also shot twice (ibid.). This is opposite to Vatnar (2015: 86), as she discovered that the victims of intimate partner homicide was just partners/ex-partners, not other family members, which it was in this instance. However, it is just one verdict and one cannot say anything overall.

The focus has so far been on homicides that are the exception to the rule, as they are only five of the 18 verdicts. The focus will now be shifted to what could be labelled as “common” for these verdicts. The first aspect to be considered is substance use. Linking alcohol to

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<sup>10</sup> Author’s translation: “C does also come across as not satisfied with the services she received from the borough. She therefore chose to let A do the care tasks that she needed, which she could have gotten from the home care services. From the witness statements from the home care service employees does the Court of Appeal conclude that A did far more of the care that his wife needed than could be expected of a spouse. The Court of Appeal has concluded that in the beginning of June 2015, A was tired of and felt helpless in the situation. He had not had a sufficient amount of sleep. C often woke up during the nights, and she had to be turned up to twice every night as not to develop new or worsen her pressure ulcers.”

<sup>11</sup> “Author’s translation: «has the appearance as a teen conflict that was not dealt with in a mature manner»”

homicide is not new. Comparing substance abuse in 1960–1964 and 1979–1983, perpetrators were only under the influence of alcohol in the first period, while in the latter, diazepam and hashish were also used by the perpetrators (NOU; 2010: 16). In a similar manner, between 1970 and 1979, it was common for the perpetrators to have a serious drinking problem (Ibid.). It is unfortunately not specified in the Homicide Overview whether the perpetrators and victims were substance abusers. However, whether they were under the influence at the time of the homicide is (see Attachment 3, Table 4.4.1-2). The majority of perpetrators and victims were not under the influence, but when substances were involved, it was mostly alcohol. It can be stated that there has been a decline in the number of perpetrators and victims who were under the influence of alcohol because the average number of perpetrators was 10.9 and victims was 9.4 (see Attachment 3 Table 4.4.1-2). Consequently, there is a higher frequency of peak years prior to 2003 compared to after, for both perpetrators and victims. Unfortunately, it is not possible to uncover whether both the perpetrator and victim were under the influence or if just one of them was. It is also not possible to know whether the individuals who were under the influence were substance abusers, and thus it can encompass a range from people being drunk for the first time to severe substance abuse. When known substance abusers killed, they usually killed other substance abusers and the majority of them were under the influence at the time of the homicide. This is similar to Vatnar's (2015: 50) discovery as more than half of the perpetrators was under the influence of substances around the time of the homicide and 40% of the victims was under the influence. Vatnar (ibid.: 12, 15, 72) further discovered that intimate partner homicide in Norway occurs more often in marginalised groups. Some of the social problems that these groups experienced were lower educational level, anti-social traits and general links to crime (ibid.).

There are three verdicts that can be linked to substance use, two were alcoholic ((LG-1996-1100-T – RG – 1997-1048 (183-97) and LA-2001-1056)) and the last was a drug addict (LA-2006-78530). They all had violent tendencies and one of the victims was mutilated postmortem:

*“Etter at B var død skar han med en linoleumskniv brystene og de ytre kjønnsorganer av henne. [...]. Det har vært voldsepisoder dem imellom og A har ved minst én anledning påført B skade slik at hun måtte til legebehandling. [...]. Skjendingen av*

*liket må ses som et uttrykk for at tiltalte i den ekstremt sjalu og aggressive tilstand han befant seg i, gjennom denne groteske handling symboliserte deler av bakgrunnen for handlingen, dvs. bl.a. utroskap.”<sup>12</sup>*

((LG-1996-1100 – RG-1997-1048 (183-97))

The court considered the homicide to have occurred due to the perpetrators jealousy and that their relationship was near its end (ibid.). Thus, it seems that if he could not have her, then no one else should either.

Another example of the perpetrators violent tendencies can be seen in a second homicide, which was very brutal, and the perpetrator had previously been violent towards a man who he had seen entwined with the victim:

*“[...] stakk han B et stort antall ganger i brystet og venstre skulder/overarm med en kniv. [...] Voldshandlingen [mot mannen]<sup>13</sup> var utløst av sjalusi, etter at tiltalte hadde oppdaget B tett omslynget med en annen mann. Denne hendelsen var et tilbakevendende tema mellom de to.”<sup>14</sup>*

(LA-2001-1056)

Both the perpetrator and victim were alcoholics, but had tried and failed to become sober (ibid.). This is fitting with Grøndahl (2019: 176 – 177) as he argued that among other things, jealousy was one of the motives behind intimate partner homicide. In the third homicide, previous violence had escalated to the point that a restraining order was in place:

*“Forholdet mellom A og C var turbulent, preget av vold og rusbruk. Til tider flyttet de fra hverandre. A har hatt besøksforbud i forhold til C, men de to fant alltid sammen igjen.”<sup>15</sup>*

(LA-2006-78530)

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<sup>12</sup> Author’s translation: “He cut off her breasts and outer genitalia with a linoleum knife after she was dead. [...]. There had been violent episodes between them and on at least one occasion B was so severely injured as to having to seek medical assistance. [...]. The mutilation of the body must be looked upon as an expression of the state of extreme jealousy and anger the perpetrator was in, and this grotesque act symbolises parts of the motive, i.e. among other things, infidelity”

<sup>13</sup> Not a direct quote, but written to clarify who the perpetrator had been violent towards.

<sup>14</sup> Author’s translation: “[...] he stabbed B numerous times in her chest and left shoulder/upper arm with a knife. [...]. The act of violence [towards the man] was ignited by jealousy, after the defendant had discovered B closely entwined with another man. This event had been a reoccurring subject between them.”

<sup>15</sup> Author’s translation: “The relationship between A and C was turbulent, characterised by violence and substance use. They had at times moved to separate locations. A had previously had a restraining order against C, but they always reunited.”

In Vatnar's (2015: 14) study on intimate partner homicides it was discovered that there were registered one or more violent episodes, and in five out of ten cases there was registered more than five violent episodes. It was also not uncommon for risk factors to have been observed that that could link the relationship to the homicide for the majority of couples (Ibid: 12). In this instance it will be considered to be abuse and/or the perpetrator being controlling. It should be noted that "the abusers" refers to perpetrators or victims that were either physically or psychologically abusive towards the other. This also includes homicides in which the perpetrator and victim had been arguing. It could be stated that arguing is not a type of abuse, especially as it is seen to be beneficial to a relationship (See Samp, 2018). Despite this, as the arguments ended in homicide it could be suggested that it was abuse that escalated quickly and thus fit into this category.

The abuse was different in each case. The abuse was in one instance not specified due to the perpetrator being blackout drunk:

*"Ut fra funn på åstedet [...], må det videre legges til grunn at det har foregått en voldsom og ukontrollert episode over noen tid mellom tiltalte og D før sistnevnte mistet bevisstheten som følge av kvelning."*<sup>16</sup>

(LA-2010-115960)

The abuse that could be seen in another verdict was more severe:

*"[...] fra 25. august og frem til drapet vel én måned senere objektivt fremsatte trusler om å drepe B og at disse var egnet til å fremkalle alvorlig frykt. A har utvilsomt fremsatt truslene med vilje og samtidig med bevissthet om at disse etter sitt innhold var egnet til å fremkalle alvorlig frykt hos B. Lagmannsretten viser her til truslenes alvor – drap – og at disse framkom i forbindelse med en eskalerende ekteskapskonflikt siden juni 2015, hvor B ønsket å avslutte forholdet mot As ønske"*<sup>17</sup>

(LF-2016-49095)

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<sup>16</sup> Author's translation: "From findings at the crime scene [...], it has to be further presumed that a violent and uncontrolled incident took place for some time between the defendant and D, before the latter lost consciousness due to the strangulation"

<sup>17</sup> Author's translation: "From 25 August until the murder approx. one month later, [A] threatened to kill B, threats which were sufficient to inspire terror. A has undeniably threatened B intentionally, fully aware that these, due to their contents, would inspire real fear in B. The Court of Appeal are referring to the seriousness of the threats – murder – and that these were related to an escalation of a marital conflict starting in June 2015, as B wished to end the relationship against A's wishes."



It has been uncovered that for intimate partner homicide that the victim had reported the violence to public services and that there had been evident risk factors that this could potentially end in homicide (Vatnar, 2015: 12). The victim in the verdict above had been in contact with the police, a divorce lawyer who informed the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration about the threats and the Norwegian Mediation Service (LF-2016-49095). Further, it has been discovered that in half of the intimate partner homicides had the victim communicated that she/he no longer wanted to stay in the relationship (Vatnar, 2015: 72). It was specified in the verdict that at least the lawyer knew that the victim no longer wanted to stay in the relationship (LF-2016-49095). This was also seen in other verdicts (LE-1991-2458, TTONS-2006-40057).

Different mental-health aspects can also be seen in the verdicts. The connection between mental health and crime has been evident in Norway since at least 1956 when Christensen (cited in NOU, 2010: 15) published a study that uncovered this connection, but he also linked personality traits to crime. Unfortunately, he was not able to discover why these men committed homicides (ibid). When it comes to criminally insane perpetrators and substance abuse it was discovered that in homicides between 1980 and 1989, these perpetrators were very rarely under the influence; these homicides were considered to be brought on by psychosis (Noreik and Gravem, cited in NOU 2010: 16 – 17). When looking at its frequency some aspects become evident. Mental disorders and mental illnesses were a type of motive in the Homicide Overview up until 2011 (NCIS, 2013: 4). In the 2012 version of the Overview it was stated that it could be a *reason* for a homicide but not a *motive* (ibid.). When looking at its frequency, it is evident that it was the second most common “motive” until 2011 (NCIS, 2011: 3; 2012: 3). When it was a part of the Overview it had an average of 6.04 instances a year (ibid.). Normally, the frequency was between four and seven instances annually (ibid.). This means that it was not that uncommon for the perpetrators to have some kind of mental disorder/mental illness, but what these disorders or illnesses were was not mentioned. Neither was the type of relationship these perpetrators had to their victims. The types of mental health aspects that could be seen in the verdicts was:

*“A lider av en kronisk, alvorlig sinnslidelse, paranoid psykose. [...] I et brev fra avdelingsoverlege C fremgår det at A mente seg utsatt for psykisk terror, blant annet*

*ved at ledninger ble satt på ham mens han sov og muligens ved elektriske sjokk påført kroppen. I følge samme mente A at andre spionerte på ham og at mye i fjernsyn og aviser handlet om ham.”<sup>18</sup>*

(LG-2002-88)

This has similarities with the two following verdicts:

*“Tiltalte trodde at han var omtalt i radio/tv, og at hans kollegaer baksnakket ham. Han fryktet dødsstraff som følge av sin bruk av en internettkabel i deres bolig. Han hørte ektefellen sa til ham at hans siste time var kommet, selv om dette ikke var uttalt av henne.”<sup>19</sup>*

(LG-2011-59523)

*“Mye tyder på at den handlingen som observanden ble dømt for ble utløst av paranoide vrangforestillinger rettet mot hans avdøde ektefelle. Hans potensiale for paranoiditet bør derfor være i fokus ved behandlingen i tillegg til hallusinasjonene.”<sup>20</sup>*

(TSTAV-2008-149394)

Two elements have to be considered in regards to the perpetrators mental health. The first element is that the majority (about four out of five) of homicide perpetrators are criminally responsible and thus not criminally insane (Grøndahl, 2019: 27). The second is that mental illnesses linked to substance abuse is the most common, followed by personality disorders and psychosis by various disorders (Grøndahl, 2019: 24). It can therefore be stated that the minority of perpetrators are criminally insane and the minority of the minority suffer from illnesses or disorders that cannot be linked to substance abuse. Thus, it is important to state that having a mental illness or disorder does not make a person a probable or definite perpetrator. This is so for every type of homicide and not just intimate partner homicide.

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<sup>18</sup> Author’s translation: “A is suffering from a chronic, severe mental disorder, paranoid psychosis. [...]. In a letter from chief physician C it is made clear that A thought that he had been exposed to psychological terror by having wires put on him while he was sleeping and that these had possibly administered electric shocks, among other things. He also thought that other people were spying on him and that a considerable amount of what was on TV and in the newspapers was about him.”

<sup>19</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendant thought that he was often talked about on the radio/TV, and that his colleagues were talking about him behind his back. He feared the death penalty due to his use of the internet cable in their residence. He heard that his spouse told him that his last hour had come, even though she never said it.”

<sup>20</sup> Author’s translation: “There is considerable evidence that the act the assessed was punished for was triggered by paranoid delusions about his deceased spouse. His potential for paranoia should therefore be in focus in his medical treated, with his hallucinations.”

### 4.4.3 Previous relationships

There are similarities between the homicides in current and previous relationships. The verdicts that consider homicides between previous partners does also have substance use, abuse and mental health aspects. There were 18 judicial verdicts that considered intimate partner homicide and eight of these considered homicide between former intimate partners.

Grøndahl (2019: 176 – 177) has stated:

*“Hva er det som psykologisk sett ser ut til å plage menn som begår drap på den personen man skulle tro de elsket høyest her i livet? Et aspekt er mannens ønske om å ha kontroll og autoritet, noe som ofte blir mer tydelig om han ruser seg. Å kontrollere partnere kan opprettholde mannens (skjøre) selvfølelse og autoritet. Når kvinnen likevel truer med eller faktisk går eller har gått ut av forholdet, kan det skape sterk frykt for tap av kontroll hos mannen. I kjølvannet av slikt kontrollbehov er det ikke vanskelig å se at sjalusi og medfølgende intenst raseri kan være motiv for partnerdrap [...].”<sup>21</sup>*

A prime example of this can be seen in the following quote where the perpetrator had experienced jealous delusions when he was in a relationship with the deceased, delusions that became more evident after his ex-partner entered a new relationship with another man (Rt-1981-961):

*“Retten legger til grunn at tiltaltes opptreden overfor hustruen etter separasjonen har sammenheng med at han fortsatt følte seg sterkt knyttet til henne og at han ønsket å få henne tilbake. Han synes i hele deres samliv å ha vært preget av sjalusiforestillinger, og da hustruen etter samlivsbruddet innledet et forhold til en annen mann, er disse blitt ytterligere forsterket. På den tid drapet ble begått, må det etter hva retten finner sannsynlig, ha gått opp for ham at forholdet til hustruen var uigjenkallelig slutt, og retten må anta at det er dette som til slutt utløste beslutningen om å ta livet av henne.”<sup>22</sup>*

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<sup>21</sup> Author’s translation: “What is it that psychologically appears to distress men who kill the person he loved the most in life? One aspect is the man’s wish to be in control and have authority, which becomes more evident when he gets intoxicated. To be in control of one’s partner can maintain the man’s (fragile) sense of self and authority. When the woman, nevertheless, threatens to leave, actually leaves or has left, it can create a strong fear of loss of control in the man. It is not difficult to see that a need for control leads to jealousy and intense rage, which could be the motive for intimate partner homicide.”

<sup>22</sup> Author’s translation: “The Court considers that the defendant’s behaviour towards his wife after the separation is linked to his continued strong feelings to her and that he wished to get back together with her.

Jealousy is a part of Grøndahl's (2019: 176 – 177) explanation for intimate partner homicide as seen above. This was also seen in several of the verdicts:

*"[...] tiltalte, som av flere har vært beskrevet som svært sjalu, gjentatte ganger ringte til fornærmede og fremsatte drapstrusler mot henne og datteren. Andre ganger dreide det seg om henvendelser i form av ren telefonsjikane, for å skremme eller plage henne. Det var ikke alltid han ringte selv. Noen ganger fikk han andre til å ringe, noe som utvilsomt virket ekstra skremmende."*<sup>23</sup>

(LB-2002-1357)

But this jealousy could take several form, and also include control and rage, which also fits with Grøndahl (2019: 176 – 177) This can be seen in the following verdict (TAHER-2010-100971):

*"Datteren hadde fortalt moren at hun måtte betale A for å få bli med moren. [...]. Senere ringte A og sa at han ikke ville ha noe med C<sup>24</sup> å gjøre, og at B ikke kunne føle seg trygg i X; han svarte bekreftende på at dette var ment som en trussel. Da ringte B politiet. Kl 2122 fikk til politiet telefon fra henne hvor hun fortalte at hun var truet av sin «ekskjæreste». Hun fortalte om eiendelene som var slengt på gårdsplassen og sa hun var bekymret for A som var sykemeldt på grunn av depresjon og som hadde store psykiske problemer. Han hadde sagt til henne at han ville drepe henne dersom hun krevde barnebidrag og at hun skulle få betale dyrt hvis han ikke fikk se datteren. Men hun hadde også sagt at hun ikke trodde han ville drepe henne, og at han aldri hadde vært voldelig overfor henne. [...] A hadde nå ringt henne flere ganger og sagt han «ville gjøre noe med henne», men visste ikke når og hva."*<sup>25</sup>

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Throughout their entire cohabitation, he does seem to have had jealousy delusions, and after their separation when his wife entered into a relationship with another man, his jealousy became further reinforced. The Court finds it highly likely that at the time of the homicide had he realised that the relationships with his wife as definitely over, and the Court has to assume that this was what caused the decision to take her life."

<sup>23</sup> Author's translation: "[...] the defendant, who has been described as jealous by several people, called the victim several times and threatened her and their daughter. In other instances had these taken the form of phone terror, to scare or harass her. It was not always the defendant who made the calls. He sometimes made other people call her, which, undoubtedly, was even more terrifying."

<sup>24</sup> To clarify, C is their baby.

<sup>25</sup> Author's translation: "The daughter had told her mother that she had to pay A to stay with her. [...]. Later A called and said he wanted nothing to do with C and that B should feel unsafe in X. He confirmed it was a threat. At that point, B called the police. At 21.22 p.m. police received a call from her, where she explained she was threatened by her "ex". She told them about their belongings being strewn in the yard, and told them she worried about A, who was on sick leave due to depression and had great mental-health issues. He had told her that if she demanded child support and that she would pay if he could not visit his daughter. However, she also said that she did not think he would murder her, and that he had never been violent towards her.[...]. A had called her several more times and said he wanted to "do something about her", but that she did not know when or what."

This perpetrator was not only abusive, but was, according to the expert witnesses: *“svært unnnvikende, er krenkbar, selvhenførende, proaktiv og med uttalt empatisvikt. Han har lav affekttoleranse, og lav affektbevissthet, grensende til de aleksityme (manglende ord for følelser)”*<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> (ibid.).

The perpetrator threatening the victim was also evident in other instances:

*“Under bevisføringa for lagmannsretten har det kome fram at B i lengre tid hadde hatt frykt for den fråseparerte ektemannen, og at han så seint som 2. desember 2009, dvs. ein god månad før drapet, uttalte at han ein dag skulle drepa henne.”*<sup>28</sup>  
(LA-2010-169885)

What is evident from these cases is that substance use is not as prevalent in the verdicts among intimate partner homicides between ex-partners compared to current partners. Grøndahl’s (2019: 176–177) statement has been used to explain this type of homicide, but cannot be used to explain every homicide as it is difficult to argue that the motive was jealousy, intense rage or a need for control (TOSLO-2016-135588):

*“Tiltalte har forklart at han ikke husker hendelsene i tiltalebeslutningen. Han kjente både N01 og N02. N01 var hans ekskjæreste, som han hadde gjenopptatt kontakten med. N02 hadde han kjent siden 90-tallet og var hans venn. Tiltalte har forklart at han var redd den 8. desember 2016. Han sov med kniv under madrassen. Denne natten klarte han ikke å være alene på rommet, og han røyket sigaretter hele natten. På morgenen den 9. desember 2016 tenkte han å kjøpe kaffe på Narvesen, men ombestemte seg. Han var redd. Han tror han hadde med seg kniv. Han husker ikke hvorfor han hadde med seg kniv. Han dro for å hente N01 denne morgenen for å kjøre henne på jobb, slik han pleide å gjøre før. Et menneske i kroppen hans ville ha bloddrikke. Han hørte stemmer om blod inni seg.”*<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Parenthesis from the original document

<sup>27</sup> Author’s translation: “very elusive, is easily offended, believes that everything that happens around him is connected to himself, is projective and has a pronounced lack of empathy. He has low affect tolerance and low emotional awareness, bordering on the alexithymia (lacking words for emotions)”

<sup>28</sup> Author’s translation: “During the presentation of evidence it became evident for the Court of Appeal that B had for a long time feared her separated husband, and that he had, as late as 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2009, that is, a little over a month prior to the homicide, stated that he would one day kill her.”

<sup>29</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendant has explained that he does not remember the events stated in the bill of indictment. He knew both N01 and N02. N01 was his ex-girlfriend whom he had resumed contact with. He had been friends with N02 since the 90’s. The defendant has explained that he was scared on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2016. He slept with a knife under his mattress. He was unable to be alone in his room on this night, and he smoked cigarettes throughout the entire night. On the morning of 9<sup>th</sup> December 2016, he considered buying coffee from

He was deemed to be criminally insane at the time of the homicide (ibid.). The context for this homicide is rare when considering both intimate partner homicide and homicides in general. There are two reasons for this. The first is that, as was stated earlier in this chapter, only a partner/ex-partner was killed in the intimate partner homicides, no children, no other familial relations, no new girlfriend/boyfriend nor the perpetrator (Vatnar, 2015: 86). In the quote above it is evident that there is more than one victim and that the other victim is a friend. The second is that it does not seem as though he killed his ex-girlfriend because of their previous relation, jealousy or a need for control but rather mainly due to his psyche.

## 4.5 Concluding remarks

The Norwegian homicide context for intimate partner homicides can be a wide range of different situations, but there was more homicides in which the perpetrators and victims was in a current rather than a former relationship.

It was evident that substance abusers usually killed substance abusers. It was rare for the pensioners to be a part of a homicide, both as a perpetrator and as a victim. In the Homicide Overview, both victims and perpetrators who were 60 years of age or older are present, but this age group were most frequently the victims (see NCIS, 2011; 2016). The judicial verdicts showed the opposite, the perpetrators of this type of homicide tended to fall into this age group. There were similarities between two out of the three verdicts in that one perpetrator was tired of his life situation and tired of his wife's yelling (LB-2016-30707) and the other was exhausted from his wife's illness (LB-2016-200293). The last verdict is different as the court labelled it a teenage conflict that was handled in an immature way (LB-2006-147884).

Women seldom kill their partners. The female perpetrators in the judicial verdicts had several different problems and thus fit into Vatnar's (2015: 12, 15, 72) marginalised groups. Alcohol was also a central part of these verdicts. It was stated in a study that women kill to get away from their partner (Browne, 1987; Johnson et al., 1998; Wilson and Daly 1992,

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Narvesen, but changed his mind. He was scared. He thinks that he had brought a knife with him. He does not remember why he had brought a knife. He went to pick up N01 that morning to drive her to work, as he used to do previously. A human inside his body wanted a drink of blood. He heard voices inside of him talking about blood."

cited in Wells and DeLeon-Granados, 2002: 6), this was evident in one of the two verdicts as the woman had thought about killing her cohabitant previously. The other verdict is more in accordance with Grøndahl (2019: 179) who stated that women also kill their partners because of revenge, jealousy, rage and economic reasons, and that one can often ignore that women can have just as aggressive and criminal motives as men. Little from the Homicide Overview could enlighten this category of homicide.

Mental health aspects were also evident in these verdicts. The way mental disorders and mental illnesses is viewed has changed in the Homicide Overview from being a motive to being a reason (NCIS, 2011: 3; 2012: 3). This was the second most common motive up until 2011, but then it was removed as a motive in 2012 (ibid.). The mental health aspects of these homicides were discussed at different lengths in the judicial verdicts. There is less information in the older verdicts and as I do not have substantial knowledge about psychology and forensic psychiatry, it is difficult to read between the lines. The perpetrators that fell into this category were affected by their mental health issues to varying degrees. One perpetrator suffered from insufficiently developed and forever weakened mental faculties, what this entails is not specified in the verdict (LA-1996-1252). But there was also more serious illness as the majority had some kind of paranoia. This was either chronic paranoid psychosis (LG-2002-88), paranoid schizophrenia (TSTAV-2008-149394), or paranoia, anxiety and depression (TOSLO-2016-135588). The last perpetrator suffered from psychotic depression and affective disorder (LG-2011-59523).

From this, it is evident that intimate partner homicide is a cohesive type of homicide, but it also includes a range of different social conditions. In spite of this, there have been similarities between the different categories that fall into the intimate partner homicide context. It has mostly been men killing women. Alcohol and mental health issues has been central for several homicides, and the perpetrator usually had more than one struggle. In Vatnar's (2015) words, they mostly belong to marginalised groups. The findings in this chapter can be further supported by Vatnar (2015: 48, 50) who discovered that the majority of the perpetrators and victims were partners or had previously been partners, the victim were killed with a weapon such as a knife or firearm, and that the prevalence of alcohol and mixed substances abuse was evident. The majority of the verdicts considered homicide

between current partners and not ex-partners. What seems to be a common thread in the cases involving ex-partners is that the perpetrators has a difficult time accepting that the relationship is over.

An important discussion that should be had relates to the number of homicide is small. The problem with small numbers is that small fluctuations between the years might seem like a great increase or a drastic change. This is something that Pritchard (1992: 680) has fallen victim of as he claimed that the decline in child homicides in England and Wales were thanks to child protection services. However, the decline was due to a one-year drop and not a long-term decline (Lindsey and Trocmé, 1994: 715). In a similar way, it has been stated that random fluctuation could be behind a variation in the number of homicides a year (Grøndahl, 2019: 14). This is why it is important to look at the number of peak years instead of the actual number of homicides each year to see if there has been a decline, because there are fluctuations no great difference of a yearly basis. There has, however, been a decline in the number of peak years for intimate partner homicides.



# 5 Friends, acquaintances and colleagues

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This chapter will look into homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues. First the frequency of this type of homicide will be explored, before moving onto the overall findings from the judicial verdicts. What follows is an exploration into the context in which this type of homicide occurs. That subchapter is divided into two parts where the first looks into homicides between acquaintances and the second looks into homicides between friends. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

## 5.1 The frequency of this type of homicide

Friends and acquaintances were the most common type of relationship between perpetrator and victim, as evident in Table 1 in the introduction. The reason for grouping friends, acquaintances, and colleagues into the same type of homicide is that friends and acquaintances are grouped together in the Homicide Overview (such as can be seen in Table 5 below). It might also be difficult to make a clear distinction between friends and acquaintances, especially compared to perpetrators who were married to or divorced from the victim. The perpetrators in the judicial verdicts were coded as either friends, acquaintances or colleagues. It can be questioned why colleagues should be given such attention by having it in its own column, especially as friends and acquaintances are grouped together. There are two reasons for it being problematic. Firstly, by combining colleagues with friends and acquaintances it might come across as a more frequent category of homicide than it really is. Secondly, of all the verdicts labelled friends, acquaintances or colleagues, none of them were homicides between colleagues, and thus it could be suggested that it is rare for a colleague to kill a colleague (which is confirmed by the table below). It would have been interesting if the Homicide Overview had separated friends and acquaintances, but they might be grouped together due to its ambiguity; it might not always be as easy to make a clear distinction between friends and acquaintances. Friends and acquaintances are not grouped together after this subchapter.

Year	Friends and acquaintances	Colleagues
1991	24	0
1992	13	0
1993	14	0
1994	11	0
1995	24	0
1996	16	0
1997	16	1
1998	13	0
1999	20	0
2000	22	0
2001	16	0
2002	14	0
2003	20	1
2004	14	0
2005	15	0
2006	14	0
2007	15	0
2008	13	0
2009	11	0
2010	15	0
2011	21	0
2012	13	0
2013	15	1
2014	13	1
2015	6	1
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>15.52</b>	<b>n/a<sup>30</sup></b>

Table 5: Number of perpetrators who was friends, acquaintances or colleagues with their victim

Source: NCIS, 2011:3; 2016:5

It is evident from Table 5 above that there is a higher frequency of friends and acquaintances prior to 2003 than after. This is opposite for colleagues as there is a higher frequency after 2003. Still, homicides between colleagues is extremely rare as there is just five instances in which a colleague killed a colleague, and thus cannot be given much importance. As there is so few colleagues who are perpetrators, the focus in this chapter will mostly be on friends and acquaintances.

What can be seen in this table is the only aspect in the Homicide Overview that can be linked to friends, acquaintances and colleagues. For this reason, the argument and exploration will not be as in-depth in this chapter as in the chapter on intimate partner

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<sup>30</sup>Not applicable

homicide. As a decline is evident the rest of the chapter will focus on the context for homicides between friends and acquaintances.

It was discovered in the introduction that when there was a peak in the number of perpetrators in general, the peaks were caused by homicide between friends and acquaintances. There is unfortunately not much more that can be derived about this type of homicide from the Homicide Overview, at least not data specific to homicide between friends and acquaintances or colleagues.

## **5.2 The overall findings from the judicial verdicts**

Out of the 82 judicial verdicts analysed, 19 were homicides between friends and acquaintances.

Men killing men is the most common combination in this type of homicide. When women were the victims, the perpetrators were men, and vice versa, though this was seen in only four instances. It was commonplace for the perpetrators to be under the influence of substances, usually alcohol. For the most part the victims of substance abusers were also substance abusers, which is also the case for intimate-partner homicides. This is in line with findings for homicides in general. It has been argued that alcohol is strongly associated with homicides due to half of the perpetrators being under the influence (Grøndahl, 2019: 24). It is not only alcohol that is associated with homicides, as the use of other substances is on the rise (ibid.). Further, almost half of the perpetrators, in general, had been previously convicted, the majority of these had several convictions. This is supported by Grøndahl (2019: 64), as he argued that a perpetrator with a criminal record and former verdicts for violence can be seen in many homicide cases.

There were instances in which the homicide was the result/side-effect of another crime; the motive was perceived to be hiding or avoiding punishment for raping the victim (see LA-2001-1062). Nevertheless, the majority were assumed to be impulsive.

Excessive violence could be seen in almost every one of the verdicts. An example of excessive violence with the same means of killing is:

*“Lørdag [...] cirka kl. 2330 på X i Y slo han C gjentatte ganger i hodet med en øks slik at C døde av skadene. Deretter pakket han inn liket, kjørte det til Sverige og gravde det ned i snøen.”<sup>31</sup>*

(LE-2011-19403)

There was equal occurrence of homicides taking place during the weekdays and the weekend, but the majority took place during the night. However, there is a difference between friends and acquaintances as the majority of homicides between friends took place during the week, while homicides between acquaintances the majority took place during the weekend.

The homicide crime scene was mostly a private residence, usually the perpetrator's residence. The victims that were not killed in a private place were killed in a parking lot (see LA-2001-1121), inside a petrol station (see LH-2000-825) or on the street (see LG-2011-111722). For half of the homicides it was not mentioned whether it occurred in an urban or rural setting. When it was mentioned, it was mostly in an urban setting.

### **5.3 The context in which these homicide occur**

The judicial verdicts for this type of homicide will be divided into two categories where acquaintances will be considered first and friends subsequently. These two categories were chosen as there was no verdicts where the perpetrator and victim were colleagues and friends and acquaintances are mutually exclusive groupings.

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<sup>31</sup> Author's translation: "Saturday [...] at about 11.30 pm at X in Y, did [the perpetrator] hit C several times with an axe in the head, causing C's death. Thereupon, he wrapped the body, drove it to Sweden and buried it in the snow."

### 5.3.1 Acquaintances

There are seven verdicts in which it can be assumed that the perpetrator and victim were acquaintances. The reason for assuming this was acquaintances can be seen in the quote below, where the perpetrator and victim had known each other a decade earlier:

*“De kjente hverandre fra vel 10 år tidligere, men hadde ikke sett hverandre senere.”<sup>32</sup>*  
(LB-1995-1765)

The majority of the homicide took place in a private residence, usually during the weekend at night. Substances were often involved:

*“[...] taltalte og fornærmede traff hverandre tilfeldig på en pub i X sentrum om kvelden lørdag 11 [...]. [...]. De ble sittende og drikke øl sammen, og fornærmede inviterte taltalte med hjem til en hytte ved Y hvor han bodde. De forlot puben sammen i drosje noe over midnatt. På hytten ble det drukket øl og sprit mens de pratet sammen om bl.a. det båtmiljø på Æ de begge hadde tilhørt tidligere. Det skal ikke ha oppstått noen uoverenstemmelser mellom dem.”<sup>33</sup>*  
(LB-1995-1765)

This homicide can be suggested to fit in with Grøndahl’s (2019: 24) statement that the use of substances can lead to homicide for several reasons, but it increases a person’s impulsivity and decreases the self-control. Especially as there does not seem to have been any disagreements between the two. It has also been uncovered that victims of homicides in general also has been seen to be under the influence (ibid: 64).

When it comes to the perpetrators themselves, they were mostly young to middle-aged men. A few had previous convictions and substance-use issues:

*“De domfelte er menn på 28 og 29 år. Begge synes å ha hatt problemer i oppveksten og har nå alvorlige alkoholproblemer. De er også begge straffedømt noen ganger.”<sup>34</sup>*  
(HR-1997-21-a – Rt-1997-568).

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<sup>32</sup> Author’s translation: “They knew each other about 10 years earlier but had not seen each other since.”

<sup>33</sup> Author’s translation: “[...] the defendant and the victim had accidentally met each other in pub in central X during the Saturday evening [...]. [...]. They drank beer together, and the defendant invited the victim to a cottage near Y where he lived. They left the pub together in a taxi some time past midnight. At the cottage they drank beer and hard liquor, while talking about the boat community at Æ, which both had belonged previously, among other things. There was no disagreements between them.”

<sup>34</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendants are 28- and 29-year old men. Both seem to have had a difficult upbringing, and they now have serious problems with alcohol. Both have also a few previous convictions.”

This was also discovered by Røstad (cited in NOU, 2010: 16) when he analysed 55 cases from the Supreme Court during the 1970's. The majority of the perpetrators had convictions prior to the homicide, often had a serious drinking problem and had a difficult childhood (ibid.). All of these factors can be seen in the quote above.

The victims were also mostly men, and a majority had experienced excessive violence:

*“Han kom til og slo mellom fem og ti harde slag med knyttet neve i ansiktet og på kroppen til E. Fornærmede forsøkte å avverge slagene med armene. E havnet etter hvert på gulvet. B satt oppå brystet hans og slo ham gjentatte ganger med knyttet neve. B har forklart at han etter hvert sluttet å slå fordi han var sliten.”<sup>35</sup>*

*B tok da en pizzaskjærer som lå på bordet, og prøvde å skjære over strupen til E med den, men den var ikke skarp nok. E var panikkpreget og skrek. B fikk så tak i en kniv som han stakk med på høyre side på halsen. B prøvde å skjære over halsen til E. E begynte å blø, og det kom gurglelyder fra ham. A, som satt på armen til E, tok etter hvert kniven fra B, stakk den inn i halsen på venstre side og vred rundt. Begge grener av halspulsåren og halssamleåren ble skadet. E døde etter kort tid av luftinnsuging i hjertet på grunn av overskjæring i samleåren i halsen.”<sup>36</sup>*

(LB-2015-197492)

The cause of this excessive violence and homicide was that E owed B 2000 kroner for hashish, which E did not want to pay and thus the violence was thought to be a method for the victim to paying back the debt. A similar context can be seen in the following verdict, where drugs, money and a violent death can be seen:

*“Tiltalte hevder at han lite husker fra oppholdet i W. [...]. Det har imidlertid oppstått uenighet mellom tiltalte og fornærmede, som førte til at fornærmede forlot stuen og gikk ut i gangen. Tiltalte må ha fulgt etter henne. I gangen grep tiltalte et blandebatteri som lå der, og slo dette med stor kraft mot fornærmedes hode. Med*

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<sup>35</sup> Author's translation: "He hit E between five and ten times hard with a closed fist in the face and on the body. The victim tried to diverge the punches with his arms. E ended up on the floor. B sat on top of his chest and hit him several times with a closed fist. B has explained that he stopped punching because he grew tired."

<sup>36</sup> Author's translation: "B then took a pizza wheel that was lying on the table and tried to cut E's throat with it, but it was not sharp enough. E was panicking and screaming. B then got a hold of a knife, and he stabbed it into E's throat on the right side. B tried to cut E's throat. E started to bleed and he was making gurgling noises. A, who was sitting on E's arm, eventually took the knife from B and stabbed it into the left side of the neck and twisted. Both the internal and external carotid arteries and the common carotid artery were injured. E died shortly thereafter of air entering to the heart due to the common carotid artery being cut open."

*blandebatteriet tildelte han deretter fornærmede gjentatte slag mot bakhodet mens hun lå på maven på gulvet. [...]. Deretter gjennomførte han leiligheten, og borttok fra en lommebok et pengebeløp tilhørende fornærmede, ca kr 200 – 300. [...]. Han kjørte til X, hvor han forgjeves forsøkte å få en bekjent til å kjøpe hasjisj for seg, for de pengene han hadde tatt i fornærmedes hus.<sup>37</sup>*

*[...] det dreier seg om et særdeles brutalt drap. Fornærmede var en noe eldre kvinne, uføretrygdet, og som i den situasjon som oppsto var helt hjelpsløs i forhold til tiltalte, som er en stor og kraftig ungdom.”<sup>38</sup>*

(LA-1995-535)

One of the homicides between acquaintances was different from the rest as it was linked to Hells Angels:

*“De to tiltalte var tilknyttet motorsykelklubben Hells Angels på XXX i X, A som såkalt «hangaround», mens B nylig [...] var «avansert» til såkalt «prospect». De var i disse funksjoner ikke fullverdige medlemmer av klubben, og måtte finne seg i å utføre forskjelligartede oppdrag for klubbens fullverdige medlemmer. Disse oppdrag kunne også omfatte straffbare handlinger. B har [...] forklart at oppdragene kunne være å hente og motta narkotika og å sørge for oppgjør i forbindelse med narkotikahandel. Han hadde selv utført slike oppdrag. Som påskjønnelse fikk de ved slike anledninger noe av narkotikaen, enten til egen bruk eller for eget salg.”<sup>39</sup>*

(LA-2001-1121)

It is not certain what happened during the homicide but the perpetrators was on a drug assignment for Hells Angels, and they were going to meet the victims to buy/collect drugs:

*“B har imidlertid i ettertid til flere forskjellige vitner uttalt at «det ble så ampert» og «alt kom ut av kontroll», hvilket tyder på at det oppsto uoverensstemmelser mellom*

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<sup>37</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendant claims that he does not remember much from his visit at W.[...]. However, there had been a disagreement between the defendant and the victim, which caused the victim to leave the living room and go into the hallway. The defendant must have followed her. The defendant took a shower mixer that was lying in the hallway and hit this with great force into the victims head. He gave her several blows with the shower mixer, while she was laying on her stomach on the floor. [...]. He searched her flat thereafter, and took a sum of cash from a purse, about 200 – 300 kroner. [...]. He drove to X, where he tried and failed to make an acquaintance buy him some hashish for the cash he had stolen.”

<sup>38</sup> Author’s translation: “This is a particularly brutal homicide. The victim was a somewhat older woman, living on benefits and was helpless in the situation that arose compared to the defendant who was a big and brawny youth.”

<sup>39</sup> Author’s translation: “The two defendants were associated with the motorcycle club Hells Angels on XXX in X, A was a so-called “hangaround”, while B had recently [...] “advanced” to a so-called “prospect”. They were not full members of the club, and had to do different assignments from the clubs full members. These assignments might also include criminal acts. B has [...] explained that these assignments could be to collect narcotics and make sure that a settlement was made in the drug trading. He had done such assignments himself. They were given some of the drugs as a reimbursements for these assignments, either for own use or for selling on.”

*C/D på den ene side og A/B på den annen side. Det legges til grunn at begge de tiltalte nå trakk sine pistoler og løsnet skudd mot D og C. [...]. Etter at C var skutt, ble han lagt bak i varerommet på sin egen bil [...], og en av de tiltalte kjørte bilen vestover fra åstedet til ---vannet, hvor bilen ble kjørt ut i vannet og sank.”<sup>40</sup>*

(LA-2001-1121)

It is rare for organised criminal gangs to be a part of the homicides in general as it was specified in only three verdicts that there was a link (see LA-2001-1121, LB-2002-2296 and TOSLO-2006-38615). It can therefore be suggested that the Norwegian context is very different from the Japanese, where organised criminal gangs are predominantly the perpetrators, and are frequently the perpetrators of firearm-perpetrated homicides (Finch, 2001: 231). This is not the case in Norway, where only three out of 15 verdicts is related to firearm-perpetrated homicides had individuals with links to organised gangs. There could be several reasons for why there are so few homicides linked to organised crime. Paul Larsson (2008: 18) has stated that the organised crime in Norway consists of relatively few and defined groups or spheres. This is not the only aspects that make this homicide different as there would be consequences both from the court of law and the club itself:

*“Den 26. juni 2000 ble både B og A ekskludert fra Hells Angels, og lagmannsretten legger til grunn at dette hadde sammenheng med drapet og drapsforsøket. De tiltalte ble satt i hva man i Hells Angels kaller «bad standing», hvilket er opplyst å innebære at de nærmest er fritt vilt for andre innen miljøet. Personer i «bad standing» risikerer å bli utsatt for grov vold.”<sup>41</sup>*

(LA-2001-1121)

What was not specified is that people who quit the club in “bad standing” have broken the club’s written or unwritten rules, and has thus been thrown out (Bjørge, 2015: 167). If the perpetrators had killed on behalf of Hells Angels, they would have been rewarded with the “Filthy Few” patch, if they were full members (Kristiansen, 2008 :100-101). It was stated

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<sup>40</sup> Author’s translation: “However, B has afterwards stated to several witnesses that the situation “became very heated” and “everything got out of hand”, which indicate that a disagreement arose between C/D on the one side and A/B on the other. It is considered that both of the defendants at this time drew their pistols and fired towards D and C. [...]. After C was shot, he was placed in the boot of his own car, [...], and one of the defendants drove the car from the crime scene, west to the --- water, where the car was driven into the water and sank.”

<sup>41</sup> Author’s translation: “On 26 June 2000 both B and A were expelled from Hells Angels, and the District Court assume that this is linked to the homicide and the attempted homicide. The defendants were put in what Hells Angels call “bad standing”, which, it has been informed means that they can be freely assaulted by people in the community. People in “bad standing” are at risk to be victims of serious assault.”



that it is not completely certain why this homicide took place. It has been argued that organised criminal groupings such as Hells Angels have a great potential for violence especially towards other groups which are perceived as threatening, towards individuals in the group or outside the group which have been perceived to have betrayed them (Larsson, 2008: 148). It could be stated that this violence potential is evident in this homicide.

### 5.3.2 Friends

Out of the 20 verdicts that considered homicides between friends and acquaintances, 11 verdicts were homicides between friends. The majority of these were considered to be impulsive:

*“Drapet fremstår som en noe impulspreget affekthandling, begått under forholdsviss sterk alkoholrus.”<sup>42</sup>*

(LH-1996-21 - RG-1996-1198 (246-96)).

In some instances the victim was killed to hide another crime:

*“[...] etter forutgående overveielser og/eller for å lette eller skjule eller unndra seg straffen for voldtekten [...], slo han B, [...], en lang rekke ganger i ansiktet og hodet med et metallrør og med knyttede hender. Noe senere stakk han også en kniv i mageregionen hennes. [...]. Hun døde etter kort tid av hodeskadene.”<sup>43</sup>*

(LA-2001-1062)

The majority of these homicides took place in a private residence, during the week and during the night. The perpetrators were all young to middle-aged men, with unspecified citizenship, which can be assumed to be Norwegian. The majority of the victims were also men and can also be assumed to be Norwegian. All of the victims experienced excessive violence:

*“[...] slo de C flere ganger i ansiktet og stakk ham 14 ganger med kniv i venstre overarm, på baksiden av venstre skulder, i brystet og på for- og baksiden av høyre lår. Knivbruken medførte stikkskader inn i brystskilleveggen, venstre brysthule,*

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<sup>42</sup> Author's translation: "The homicide appears to be an impulsive act done in affect, perpetrated under relatively heavy alcohol intoxication."

<sup>43</sup> Author's translation: "[...] after making some considerations about whether to ease or hide or avoid punishment for the rape [...] he hit B, [...], several times with a metal pipe and closed fists to the face and in the head. He also stabbed her stomach area with a knife some time later. [...]. She died shortly thereafter from the head trauma."

*venstre leverlapp og andre steder på kroppen. C døde senere samme kveld av skadene.”<sup>44</sup>*

(LB-2005-182053)

The majority of perpetrators were also under the influence of substances, but their circumstances were different:

*“A [tiltalte]<sup>45</sup> har forklart at han gjennom hele dagen, fra tidlig om morgenen og ut over natten, hadde inntatt alkohol i form av 8-9 bokser øl, ett glass vin og en dram. Han forklarte at han ikke var beruset i noen grad, og at han selv følte at han hadde normal dømmekraft. Lagmannsretten finner å kunne legge dette til grunn. D [As søster]<sup>46</sup> hadde delt en flaske vin med sin mor før hun ankom, og hun hadde med seg en flaske vin og litt sprit. Hun har selv forklart at hun ikke var nevneverdig påvirket denne natten, og lagmannsretten har ikke annet å bygge på, og legger dette til grunn. B [offeret]<sup>47</sup> hadde også nytt alkohol, og ved den rettsmedisinske undersøkelsen etter dødsfallet ble det påvist en alkoholkonsentrasjon i blod [sic.] med 2,3 promille. Alle de involverte var godt vant med å drikke alkohol. Den sakkyndige fremholdt, og lagmannsretten finner det sannsynlig, at toleransen for alkohol nok kunne være større enn for folk flest.”<sup>48</sup>*

(LH-2012-6651)

It can be suggested that the people involved in this homicide were alcoholics as the experts has found it likely that they had a higher tolerance for alcohol than the majority of people (ibid.). The circumstance for this homicide was that the victim had randomly smacked the perpetrator over both of his ears and the situation escalated. A different circumstance was:

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<sup>44</sup> Author’s translation: “[...] they hit C several times in the face and stabbed him 14 times with a knife in his left upper arm, on the back of his left shoulder, in his chest and on the front and backside of his right thigh. The knife usage led to injuries to his mediastinum, left thoracic cavity, left lobe of the liver and several other places on his body. C died some time later the same night due to his injuries.”

<sup>45</sup> Not stated in the quote, but needed to clarify who “A” is.

<sup>46</sup> Not stated in the quote, but needed to clarify who “D” is

<sup>47</sup> Not stated in the quote, but needed to clarify who “B” is

<sup>48</sup> Author’s translation: “A [the defendant] has explained that he had throughout the day, from early morning and throughout the night, consumed alcohol: eight to nine cans of beer, a glass of wine and a dram. He has explained that he was not particularly intoxicated, and it did not feel as if his judgement was impaired. The Court of Appeal deem this to be true. D [A’s sister] had shared a bottle of wine with her mother before she arrived, and she had brought a bottle of wine and some hard liquor. She has explained that she was not particularly under the influence that night, and the Court of Appeal cannot contradict this and therefore deem this to be true. B [the victim] had also enjoyed some alcohol, and at the time of the forensic examination post mortem, had he a blood alcohol level of 2.3. All of the involved was used to drinking alcohol. The experts has argued, which the Court of Appeal find probable, that their tolerance for alcohol was higher than the majority of people.”

*“En fredagsfestenatt på bygda, [...], knuste han et sidevindu i tiltaltes bil, slo ham i ansiktet, dro ham ut av bilen, tok kvelertak og skallet ham. De hadde begge drukket. Andre grep inn, og etter et basketak roet det seg. De to hadde også en privat samtale til avslutning.”<sup>49</sup>*

*Etterpå var tiltalte forbannet og hevngjerrig, kanskje også noe redd. Han spurte en kamerat om å få låne en hagle, men fikk avslag, dro hjem, hentet sin ulovlige Batangakniv, ringte D og ba ham møte seg på Ystasjonen, bestemte seg for å stikke ham med kniven, gikk inn på Y-stasjonen og stakk uten forvarsel D i mageregionen. Han tilførte ytterligere to knivstikk, før han forlot Y-stasjonen i egen bil. Til kamerater og også til en polititjenestemann ved pågrepelse, sa han «Håpe at han daua».”<sup>50</sup>*

(LH-2000-825)

Mental health aspects could also be seen in homicides between friends. The most severe mental health aspects might be a perpetrator who was on the autism spectrum (LA-2016-91452). It can be suggested that autism is a personality disorder and thus it is one of the second most common diagnosis among perpetrators (Grøndahl, 2019: 24). It has to be mentioned once more that the majority of perpetrators are criminally responsible and thus this might not happen as often as it might seem (ibid: 27). His mental health is definitely a crucial part of the homicide, as the Court of Appeal stated:

*“I bevisførselen for lagmannsretten har det imidlertid fremkommet opplysninger om at domfelte i oppveksten har hatt en markert tendens til ikke å ville huske eller vedkjenne seg hva som har vært årsaken til at han i ulike situasjoner har utagert, gjerne oppfattet som at han ikke har villet miste ansikt ved å vedgå for seg selv hva årsaken egentlig var. Kombinert med til dels ny bevisførsel om F og hans relasjon til og kommunikasjon med domfelte, er det fremkommet tvil om tingrettens beskrivelse av hva som foregikk mellom F og tiltalte umiddelbart før voldsutøvelsen tok til, samsvarer helt med de reelle forholdene. Det er her særlig et spørsmål om domfelte*

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<sup>49</sup> Author’s translation: “A Friday night of partying in the village, [...], he broke a side window on the defendants car, hit him in the face, dragged him out of the car, strangled and headbutted him. They had both been drinking. People interfered, and after the fight calmed down, they ended it with a private conversation.”

<sup>50</sup> Author’s translation: “Following this incident, the defendant was infuriated and felt vindictive, and also perhaps somewhat scared. He asked a friend to borrow a shotgun but was denied, went home, and got his illegal butterfly knife, called D and asked him to meet him at Y Station, decided to stab him with the knife, walked in to Y Station and without warning stabbed D in his stomach area. He stabbed him two further times, before he left Y Station in his own car. He told both friends and a police officer at the time of the arrest that “hope[s] he dies”.”

*kan ha blitt avvist av F før volden tok til. Disse omstendighetene har imidlertid begrenset betydning for de spørsmålene lagmannsretten skal ta stilling til.<sup>51</sup>*

*Det nevnes her også at de rettsoppnevnte sakkyndige A og B har pekt på fornærmedes skrik kombinert med domfeltes lydsensibilitet som en mulig forklaring på hvorfor voldshandlingen utviklet seg til å bli så massiv og med så katastrofale konsekvenser. Noen forklaring på hvorfor domfelte gikk løs på fornærmede i første omgang gir dette dog ikke. Tiltalte har selv angitt at den militære utrustningen han hadde på seg, var tung å bevege seg i og han ble veldig stresset da han lette etter bilnøkkelen.”<sup>52</sup>*

(LA-2016-91452)

This verdict had a lot of data, but yet it was not clear what took place. As the perpetrator had a history of not acknowledging or wanting to remember what has been the cause for him acting the way he did, the credibility of his latter explanation becomes questionable.

## 5.4 Concluding remarks

It was made evident in the beginning of this chapter that homicide between friends, acquaintances and colleagues had a higher frequency prior to 2003 than after 2003. It can therefore be suggested that this type of homicide has had a decline. However, these three types of relationships cannot be the only relationships that has had a decline. This is so as the overall decline and the decline in this type of homicide does not follow the same pattern. Their peak years do not correspond. To fulfil the overall decline's peak years there might be another type of homicide that also has had a decline.

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<sup>51</sup> Author's translation: "In the presentation of evidence to the Court of Appeal information has been brought forward, suggesting that during the defendant's childhood he had a marked tendency to not wanting to remember or to acknowledge what has been the cause of him acting out. It has often been perceived that he did not want to be humiliated by admitting to himself what the cause really was. Combined with partly new evidence about F and his relation to and communication with the defendant, doubts about whether the District Court's description of what happened between F and the defendant immediately before the act of violence took place correspond completely with the actual sequence of events. What is mainly in question is whether the defendant might had been rejected by F prior to the violence. These circumstances have little consequences for the questions the Court of Appeal must answer."

<sup>52</sup> Author's translation: "The forensic experts A and B has pointed out that the victims scream combined with the defendants sensitivity to sounds could be a possible explanation for why the act of violence became so massive and had such catastrophically consequences. However, this does not provide any explanations into why the defendant attacked the victim in the first place. The defendant has prescribed it to the military attire he was wearing, as it was difficult to move around and he became stressed when he was looking for the car key."

It became apparent throughout this chapter that this type of homicide can entail a wide range of different contexts. It could be suggested that this range is much wider than what was seen for intimate partner homicides. The majority of the judicial verdicts that fit into this type of homicide was linked to substance use/abuse. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know whether this is so for the bigger homicide context as one is not able to link the different aspects in the Homicide Overview to each other.

There are several similarities between the verdicts. The majority of the verdicts concerned homicides between friends. A homicide that was very different from the rest was the one linked to Hells Angels. In both of the categories of homicides could intentional and impulsive homicides be seen. So could substance abuse and mental health aspect. An important similarity is that it was mostly men killing men. The prevalence of alcohol and male perpetrators is similar to what was uncovered for intimate partner homicides. A clear difference between these two types of homicides is the sex of the victim, as they are mostly women in intimate partner homicides, but men for the type of homicide discussed in this chapter.

# 6 Familial homicide

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This chapter seeks to look into familial homicide. The first part of this chapter looks into the frequency of familial violence and the different relationships that familial homicides consists of. The second part looks into the overall findings from the judicial verdicts. The third part looks into the context in which these homicides occur. This part is divided into four: parents as perpetrators, children as perpetrators, siblings as perpetrators and other familial relations as perpetrators. This chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

## 6.1 The frequency of this type of homicide

The frequency of familial homicide can be seen in Table 6 below. It is evident that the most common relationship between the perpetrator and victim is being his/her parents or his/her child. 132 out of the 962 perpetrators had a familial relation to the victim (NCIS, 2011: 3; 2016: 5). It is therefore the fourth most common type of homicide. It should be noted that in-laws has not been a part of the Homicide Overview since 2010. There could be several reasons for this. One of these reasons could be that as the frequency of in-laws murdering each other was so low previously, it was best suited to fall under other familial relations. It could also be that the context for the in-law homicides was similar to the ones that occurred between other familial relations.

Year	Child/parent	Parent/child	Siblings	In-laws	Other familial relation	All familial homicides
1991	6	2	0	1	1	10
1992	3	3	0	0	1	7
1993	4	2	1	0	0	7
1994	0	0	0	1	1	2
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	2	1	1	0	2	6
1997	2	4	1	0	1	8
1998	3	0	0	0	0	3
1999	1	5	2	2	2	12
2000	5	1	0	0	0	6
2001	0	0	0	1	1	2
2002	3	2	2	0	0	7
2003	0	1	0	0	0	1
2004	2	2	1	0	3	8
2005	2	1	1	0	0	4
2006	2	3	1	0	0	6
2007	4	2	1	1	0	8
2008	1	2	0	0	0	3
2009	4	0	0	1	0	5
2010	2	1	0	0	0	3
2011	3	0	0	?	1	4
2012	2	2	0	?	1	5
2013	1	0	2	?	4	7
2014	2	2	0	?	1	5
2015	1	0	2	?	0	3
<b>AVERGE</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>5.28</b>

Table 6: Frequency of familial homicides

Source: NCIS, 2011: 3, 2016: 5

Has there been a decline in this type of homicide? It could be suggested that yes, there has been a decline. Like intimate partner homicides and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues, the number of familial homicides has also been fluctuating throughout the years. The average number of familial homicides is 5.28, which means that every year that has six or more instances could be considered to be high frequencies. There are twice as many instances of peak years prior to 2003 than after 2003. This decline cannot be seen in parents killing their children, in-laws or other familial relations, siblings, all of which could be considered to be rare. Thus this decline can be seen in the number of

children killing their parent(s). Sweden had a decrease in child homicides between 1990 and 2000, which has been argued to be due to an increase in the general prescription of antidepressant medication (Granath and Sturup, 2015: 175). This has also been evident in Finland since the 1960s where social policies such as women giving birth in hospitals and a comprehensive child health-care system have helped to reduce the frequency of parents killing their children (Lehti, Kääriäinen and Kivivuori, 2012: 3). In consequence there might have been a spillover effect from these countries to Norway when it comes to this type of homicide (see Weiss, Santos, Testa and Kumar, 2016: 330 – 331). Please note that something important happened during the late 1980s that could have an effect on this decline: familial violence was recognised as an existing problem in Norway (Schjetne, 1989: 47).

## **6.2 The overall findings from the judicial verdicts**

Familial homicide was evident in 10 out of the 82 judicial verdicts.

The age of the perpetrators was mentioned in all of the verdicts, which has not been the case in previous chapters. The majority were young to middle-aged. The victims had the same age range. It was rare for the perpetrator to be a woman. When the perpetrator was a woman, she killed her daughter with the help of another man (LB-2014-110471-2). This is opposite to what was found in a study previously mentioned, which concluded that this type of homicide has a high degree of female perpetrators, who are mostly mothers killing their infants (Granath and Sturup, 2015: 176). In some instances there were two perpetrators and the relationship between the second perpetrator and the victim was either a stranger or other familial relation. In one of the verdicts there were two victims, in which the second victims were either the cohabitant or step-daughter of the perpetrator (LB-2006-147884).

There were four different types of relationships between the perpetrators and victims. They were either children killing parents, parents killing children, siblings killing siblings or they had a different familial relation. These relationships could be seen in one to three verdicts each.



The majority of perpetrators had some kind of mental-health challenge. In one instance was this insufficiently developed mental faculties (THAFE-2001-203) and in another, criminally insane at the time of the homicide and afterwards (TOSLO-2015-205275). A little more than half of the perpetrators were under the influence – in only one instance was this substance something else than alcohol – and fewer than half of the victims was under the influence. For the perpetrators the substance use was either little to moderate or moderate to severe intake of alcohol, or drug addictions, while for the victims it was moderate to severe intake of alcohol. This is not fully in accordance with Hedlund, Masterman and Sturup (2016: 94) who discovered a low rate of substance misuse among intra- and extra- familial child homicides. However, the data from the judicial verdicts also includes familial relations other than just intra- and extra- familial child homicides.

The profession of the perpetrator was mentioned in the majority of verdicts. This was either pupil/student/conscripted, employed, on benefits, pensioner or unemployed.

Only two labels were used on the homicide: impulsive homicides and intentional homicides. The majority was intentional. An example of these intentional homicides is:

*“Mandag [...] i X Tinghus avfyrte A etter forutgående overveielser med en Smith og Wesson revolver, 10 skudd mot hodet og kroppen til B. B døde etter kort tid.”<sup>53</sup>*  
(LE-1996-271)

An example of an impulsive homicide can be seen in the following verdict (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)):

*“Natt til fredag [...] ble C tildelt flere slag i hodet, noen med stein. Han ble også skallet i ansiktet en gang. [...]. Han var sammen med A og B. Alle tre hadde drukket en del alkohol. Det var A som slo og skallet. B oppfordret ham til dette.<sup>54</sup> Deretter førte de og støttet C mellom seg ned til – -vannet. Blant annet etter oppfordring fra B dyttet eller skjøv A C som var svekket av beruselse og de påførte hodeskader, ut i vannet hvor de lot ham ligge til han druknet.”<sup>55</sup>*

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<sup>53</sup> Author’s translation: “Monday [...] at X Courthouse A, after previous consideration, fired ten bullets from a Smith and Wesson revolver towards B’s head and body. B died shortly after.”

<sup>54</sup> Author’s translation: “Night to Friday [...] C received several blows to the head, some with a rock. He had also been head-butted in his face once.[...]. All three of them had been drinking a considerable amount of alcohol. A was behind the hitting and head-butting, while B has encouraging him to do so.”

<sup>55</sup> Author’s translation: “Thereafter they lead C supported between themselves to lake - -. After being encouraged by B, A either pushed or nudged C, who was already weakened by intoxication and the sustained head injuries, into the water where they let him be until he drowned.”

The reason the first homicide is considered to be intentional is that the perpetrator brought a firearm to kill someone who was due in court (LE-1996-271). The relation between the perpetrator and victim was that the victim was his father in-law, who had sexually molested the perpetrator's wife/the victim's step-daughter (ibid.). The second homicide was considered to be impulsive as the perpetrators were under the influence of alcohol when the homicide occurred. Especially, as it started as a verbal fight between the perpetrator A and the victim, his granduncle C (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)).

The most common means of killing was firearms (half of the homicides). The other means of killing were drowning, sharp objects and blunt force. More than half of the perpetrators was violent to various degrees. This was either that the perpetrator was previously sentenced (RT-1986-689 (213-86)), that he was aggressive (THAFE-2001-203 and LB-2006-147884), that he committed domestic violence (LG-2012-30219) or that he had been violent towards the victim prior to the homicide (LB-2014-110471-2). An example of the aggressiveness is that the forensic psychiatrist's report stated that the perpetrator did not need much pushing to have an "aggressive outburst" (THAFE-2001-203).

Examples of the violence prior to death is hitting the victim in the face and on her bum with a flat hand, stripping her and putting her in the shower running with cold water, putting a tape over her mouth while she was crying, leaving her tied up in a highchair in the hallway, forcing her to eat a tablespoon of chili powder, forcing her to be awake when she wanted to sleep, forced her to be in time-out for hours while standing with her legs tied together, dipped her head first in a bucket of water, forcing her to sleep on the floor instead of on her bed, holding her head under running water (LB-2014-110471-2). It should be noted that this victim was at the most a little over a year old (ibid.).

In the majority of verdicts the victim was not abusive towards the perpetrator or it was not mentioned. When it was, it could be said that the victim did not have a positive relation with perpetrator. What this negative relationship was, was stated indirectly in the verdict as:

*“På samme måte som i denne saken [...] beskrives der et motsetningsforhold som hadde bygd seg opp over tid, men hvor drapet ikke skjedde etter en direkte forutgående konflikt (ikke i affekt).”<sup>56</sup>*

(THAFE-2001-203)

Excessive violence sustained by the victim could be seen in almost all of the verdicts:

*“[...] skjøt han to skudd mot B med en Colt 38 kaliber revolver. Det ene prosjektilet traff brystet og gikk gjennom hjertet og venstre lunge og ut gjennom ryggen. Det andre prosjektilet traff hodet og gikk inn i hjernen. B døde umiddelbart av skuddskadene.”<sup>57</sup>*

(LB-2006-147884)

The majority of the familial homicides happened in an urban setting and in a private residence, usually the victims' residence. In some instances the crime scene was public, such as a lake (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)) or a Courthouse (LE-1996-271).

The weekday and time of day that the homicide occurred is not as important for this type of homicide as it could be for other types. The majority of the homicides took place during the weekends. The most common time of day was during the night.

## **6.3 The context in which these homicides occur**

The context that the homicides occurred in will be divided into the different categories according to the relationship between the perpetrator and victim. The first relationship is parents killing their children, the second is children killing their parents, siblings and lastly other familial relations.

### **6.3.1 Parents**

There is one verdict that falls under the category of parents killing their child. This is also the only verdict in which a woman killed a family member. Considering that there is just one verdict that fall under this category it is difficult to know what the context for parents killing

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<sup>56</sup> Author's translation: "In a similar way to this case [...], it was described an antagonistic relationship that had been building up over time, but where the homicide did not occur directly after a conflict (not in affect)."

<sup>57</sup> Author's translation: "[...] he shot twice towards B with a Colt 38 calibre revolver. One of the projectiles hit her in the chest and went through her heart, left lung and out her back. The other projectile hit her head and went into her brain. B died immediately from her gunshot wounds."

their child really is. Considering this, the focus will be on the abuse and the homicide itself, and not so much on the perpetrators as has been done previously. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, the view on female killers in Norway has previously been that they are affected by different psychological problems than men, as women mostly killed unwanted children (Christensen, 1956, cited in NOU, 2010: 15). This does not seem to be the case for the verdicts analysed as women were the perpetrators of intimate partner homicides, familial homicides, homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues and instances in which the relationship was not specified. Two thirds of the verdicts were intimate partner homicides or the relationship was not specified. When looking at this verdict it does not come across that the child was unwanted, it just seems like the child's mother and her mother's friend could be considered sadistic (LB-2014-110471-2). The abuse that the child went through has already been mentioned. The reason for labelling the perpetrators as sadistic is that the abuse the child suffered or the "punishments" as they called it, was not in proportion with the child's behaviour. What is meant by this is that the "punishments" were extreme compared to the child's misbehaviour. Another reason is that the mother wrote to B that she was "*beginning to enjoy it*" (ibid.).

There could be two reasons for the abuse, although the court finds it difficult to understand the mother's reasons for this abuse (ibid.). The mother has explained that she was abused and raped several times by her family and that she wanted to discipline her daughter so that she would not end up in the same situation as herself and that she would have a better life than herself (ibid.). The other perpetrator thought that Western upbringing of girls was too liberal which predispose them to be raped at a later stage (ibid.). The second explanation can be found in the perpetrator's mental health. The mother's personality borders dependent personality disorder (ibid.). In this instance, this was shown through a disproportionate level of trust, her being dependent on other people for making decisions, and a strong fear of being let down by the people she befriended (ibid.). The other perpetrator had both an antisocial personality disorder and a narcissistic personality disorder (ibid.). He also had psychopathic tendencies, was lacking in empathy and was controlling, manipulative and lecturing (ibid.).

The role of the second perpetrator in the abuse is uncertain, especially as he lived in another country, however, he often observed the abuse through video link and through the chat logs it became clear that he had been instructing the mother how to abuse her child (ibid.).

It cannot be argued that this homicide is a “typical” Norwegian homicide. From the 82 verdicts that were analysed, this was the most grotesque, extreme and brutal homicide as the victim was 1.5 years and due to the severity of the abuse. It has been suggested previously that there is a need for improvements to the social support system, the cooperation and methods of cooperation between social services, the police and prosecutors to be able to identify abusive families and prevent the potential lethal abuse (Schjetne, 1989: 47). It was further suggested that acquitting abusers in a court of law would make attitudes towards familial abuse more lenient (ibid.). Whether there has been an improvement in the social support system, the cooperation and methods of cooperation between social services, the police and prosecution is not possible to know from the judicial verdicts nor from the Homicide Overview. The worry about more lenient attitudes towards familial abuse seems to be lacking support as “*Straffutmålingen vil særlig bero på grovheten av de siktedes straffbare handlinger [...]*”<sup>58</sup> (LB-2014-110471-2). Schjetne (1989: 47) also thought that acquittal of abusers could lead to a return of the myths that “*a good beating never hurt anyone*”. This seems to be a fitting myth for this case as the mother argued that she did not want her child to end up in the same situation as herself, and it was assumed that the abuse would make the child end up in a different situation. If there has been acquittal of abusers in a court of law is not possible to know from the data used in this thesis.

In a previous chapter it was argued that the “*improved treatment of mentally ill parents and increased levels of interventions from social and mental health services*” could be a cause behind the decline in child homicides in Sweden (Granath and Sturup, 2015: 185). This might also be the case in Norway, but it is not possible to see this from the verdicts analysed, especially as there is just one verdict where child homicide is evident. Labelling the mother

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<sup>58</sup> Author’s translation: “The sentencing will be determined by the severity of the defendant’s criminal offences.”

in this verdict as mentally ill might not be fitting, but she was not mentally well and does therefore not fit in with Granath and Sturup's (ibid.) findings. There being just one verdict that considered parents killing their children, could be further linked to Granath and Sturup (ibid: 185) as they argued that a decrease was due to, among others, "improved treatment of mentally ill parents and increased levels of interventions from social and mental health services". Therefore, it could be suggested that the reason for the lack of parents killing their children could be due to this, as was seen in Sweden. They (ibid: 176) further uncovered that this type of homicide has a relatively high degree of female perpetrators, especially women who kill their child during its first year of life. From this it could be suggested that the Swedish context is not fully fitting for the specific verdict discussed in this subchapter.

### **6.3.2 Children**

There are three verdicts that fall under the category of children killing their parents. All of them were intentional, and they all took place at a private residence. The perpetrators were young men. None of them was specified to be under the influence at the time of the homicide. Two of the perpetrators were criminally insane at the time of the homicide or afterwards (TOSLO-2005-127790 and TOSLO-2015-205275) or had insufficiently developed mental faculties (THAFE-2001-203).

It was discovered that the perpetrators of homicide in Japan were mostly men killing men who were either friends or relatives, they were killed because of hatred or sexual jealousy, and this was done with a knife (Finch, 2001: 219). This does not seem to fully fit in with the Norwegian context as the majority of perpetrators were either friends/acquaintances or in an intimate relationship or had previously been so. There does not seem to be much hatred or sexual jealousy in the familial homicide verdicts, though the children killing their parents are the closest to hating their victim. It certainly does not fit in terms of means of killing, as the most common means in the verdicts discussed in this chapter was firearms.

There was not much information about the victims. They were either male (THAFE-2001-203 and TOSLO-2015-205275) or female (TOSLO-2005-127790). They all experienced excessive

violence. This ranges from possible multiple shots from a shotgun (THAFE-2001-203), several cuts/stabs with a knife (TOSLO-2005-127790) or a combination of several stabs with a knife and several hits to the head with a crowbar (TOSLO-2015-205275).

In one of the cases the victim did not have a positive relation with the perpetrator (THAFE-2001-203). It got to the point where the perpetrator told his friend, and fellow perpetrator, (according to this friend) that "*dette tolererer jeg ikke mer*"<sup>59</sup> and that he wanted to shoot his father (ibid.). The father apparently "nagged" a lot according to the perpetrator (ibid.).

In the second case, the perpetrator decided to kill his mother (TOSLO-2005-127790). He planned to kill her with a knife from the kitchen (ibid.). He put an alarm on for the next morning to be able to go through with the plan (ibid.). He was diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome, which was stated to be an autistic demeanour for children (ibid.). In the month leading up to the homicide his mental health was deteriorating and his mother struggled more than usual to make him get the appropriate treatment (ibid.). This escalated and their relationship crumbled.

What happened in the last homicide is that the perpetrator became angry, had anxiety and felt a need to kill his father (TOSLO-2015-205275). He felt that it had to be either him or his father and that it was better to kill his father as he was almost 70 years old (ibid.). He walked into the kitchen, picked up a knife, hesitated, put the knife back and went back to sleep. This happened three times before he finally decided to kill his father (ibid.). He has paranoid schizophrenia and felt that his father, and partly his brother, was making fun of him, keeping a close eye on him, and trying to ruin his psyche and invade him (not leaving him alone) (ibid.).

It is evident from these three verdicts that they are different but also very similar. All of the perpetrators had reached the point that they were fed up with their situation and felt that killing their parent would make their life better. They all had different mental health challenges, which could also be seen in the previous case that considered a parent killing

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<sup>59</sup> Author's translation: "I'm not tolerating this any more"

her child. Another similarity is that the time between the realisation that the parent had to die and the actual homicide was short. The longest time span was the last verdict to be mentioned, where the perpetrator put on an alarm for the next day to kill his mother. Because of this realisation, was all of the homicides labelled to be intentional.

### 6.3.3 Siblings

There are three verdicts and two homicides that fall under the category of siblings killing a sibling. It should be noted that one of the verdicts (LH-2006-90160) does not provide sufficient data and thus the verdict from the Supreme Court (HR-2007-297-A-Rt-2007-187) has been used to provide further data and information. These homicides was both impulsive (LH-2006-90160) and intentional (LE-2015-201541). Why they were labelled so will become evident later.

Both of the perpetrators were middle-aged men (LH-2006-90160 and HR-2007-297-A-Rt-2007-187, LE-2015-201541). One of them had been previously convicted. He had been so multiple times including convicted for violent crimes (LH-2006-90160 and HR-2007-297-A-Rt-2007-187). He was also on benefits and a drug addict (ibid.). While the perpetrator of the other homicide was under the influence of moderate to severe quantities of alcohol (LE-2015-201541).

Also for this category of familial homicides there is not much information about the victims. They were also men, one of which was the twin brother of the perpetrator (LE-2015-201541). Both of the twins were moderately to severely under the influence of alcohol at the time of the homicide (ibid.). Both of the victims experienced excessive violence. This excessive violence was several shots with a shotgun (LH-2006-90160 and HR-2007-297-A-Rt-2007-187) and 33 stabs with a knife (LE-2015-201541).

Homicide was not the only crime that happened on the fatal night in one of the verdicts:

*“Drapsforsøket rettet mot tidligere samboer D er begått et par timer senere, [...], uten noen kjent foranledning. Han skjøt også to haglladninger mot Ds bil. Drapsforsøket mot F skjedde da han kort tid etter uten foranledning stoppet en*



*tilfeldig bil på X, og avfyrte minst to haglskudd på kort hold mot front- og sidevindu.”<sup>60</sup>*

(LH-2006-90160)

It is evident that this perpetrator was not in a healthy frame of mind. It was assumed that he had temporarily suffered from psychotic symptoms in the form of paranoid delusions (ibid.). Amphetamine had supposedly triggered these delusions (ibid.). The perpetrator had from his early youth used different types of drugs and had shown very dangerous behaviours (HR-2007-297-A-Rt-2007-187). Substance use from an early age among personality disorders and violent and non-violent crimes has been evident among perpetrators of violent crimes in Sweden (Falk et al., 2014: 559). It is important to note that during the year of the homicide the perpetrator had tried to get help because of his inner unrest and his other psychological problems (ibid.). This did, however, not help as he ended up killing his brother.

According to the perpetrator in the second homicide, he had been sleeping in a chair when the victim was standing over him and asking if he wanted to kill him, he denied this, the victim then stated that he wanted to kill the defendant (LE-2015-201541). The defendant further claimed that they ended up in a fight but this confrontation could not have been particularly violent as there was no trace of it anywhere (ibid.). It could be deducted from the stab wounds that the victim was not standing while being stabbed but most likely laying on his stomach (ibid.).

The similarity between these two perpetrators is that it is not specifically stated in the verdicts what caused or triggered the homicide. It is certain that the first perpetrator suffered from mental illnesses that the other did not. It could be suggested that they are brutal homicides as one of the brothers were stabbed 33 times while the other was shot at close range while on the sofa. It is also evident that substances are more prevalent for homicides between siblings than homicides between parents and children.

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<sup>60</sup> Author’s translation: “The attempted homicide of the previous cohabitant D was committed a couple of hours later, [...], for no known reason. He also shot two rounds towards Ds car. The attempted homicide of F happened when he, shortly after, without any reason stopped a random car on X, and fired at least two shots in close proximity towards the front and side windows.”

### 6.3.4 Other familial relations

There are four verdicts that fall under the category of other familial relations killing other familial relations. These three different type of relations were that the victim was the perpetrator's granduncle (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)), the stepfather or the perpetrator's wife (LE-1996-271) the daughter's boyfriend (LG-2012-30219) and stepdaughter (LB-2006-147884). In the first verdict mentioned there were two perpetrators, the second perpetrator being a stranger to the victim. Two of these verdicts will be considered as one of the verdicts has already been mentioned in a chapter 4.3.2 Current relationships, and the other is more fitting for a later chapter.

Both of the perpetrators were young men ((Rt-1986-689 (213-86), LE-1996-271)). The first had been convicted of several crimes, including for violent crimes (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)). He was also unemployed and moderately to severely under the influence of alcohol (ibid.). He had insufficiently developed mental faculties (ibid.). For the perpetrator in the other homicide it was only specified that he worked in the tertiary industry (LE-1996-271).

For this category of familial homicide there is not much mentioned about the victims. In both of the homicides they were men. One of the victims was moderately to severely under the influence of alcohol (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)). They both suffered excessive violence. For the first victim this included several blows to the head, some with a rock, being head butted and pushed into a lake (ibid.). For the other victim this was ten shots with a revolver to the head and body (LE-1996-271).

For the first homicide no motive was found. According to the Supreme Court it seemed meaningless and influenced by random circumstances (Rt-1986-689 (213-86)). What seemed to trigger the homicide was a fight between the perpetrator and the victim (ibid.). In the second homicide the perpetrator's wife had been sexually abused by the homicide victim (LE-1996-271). The perpetrator wanted to talk with the victim and make him stop contacting them in the country they lived in (ibid.). The perpetrator and his brother bought wooden baseball bats and his wife equipped herself with a knife, allegedly to be able to defend herself from the victim. The victim was due in court in a Norwegian city and when he

was entering the courthouse, the perpetrator followed and asked the following: “*Why did you do it?*” or something similar (ibid.). Either before, or immediately after this question, he fired a shot towards the victim who fell over (ibid.). He walked towards the victim and fired four or five shots at close proximity (ibid.).

In one of the verdicts, something that has not been evident in the previous verdicts can be seen:

*“Etter forutgående planlegging og rekognosering oppsøkte han sin tidligere samboer med en pistol for å drepe henne. Da eksamboerens datter og hennes kjæreste kom til for å hjelpe, avfyrte tiltalte ett skudd mot datteren men bommet. Han skjøt deretter kjæresten i magen og han døde i løpet av kort tid. Han rettet deretter på nytt våpenet mot eksamboerens datter og trakk av minst to ganger. Våpenet var nå tomt for patroner.”*<sup>61</sup>

(LG-2012-30219)

The perpetrator had been planning and surveyed the situation before the homicide, which is rare to the Norwegian homicide context. He also managed to kill the wrong person as he was set to kill his ex-partner but ended up killing his daughter’s boyfriend.

There are few similarities between these two cases. The first seems to have been laced with alcohol and the latter to be an act of revenge. They do not bear any clear similarities with the familial homicides previously discussed.

## 6.4 Concluding remarks

The decline in peak years could be seen in children killing parents. As with both intimate partner homicide and homicide between friends, acquaintances and colleagues, the number of peak years of familial homicide was higher prior to 2003 than after 2003. There was unfortunately not any more information in the Homicide Overview that could be directly linked to this type of homicide.

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<sup>61</sup> Author’s translation: “He visited his former cohabitant, after some planning and reconnaissance, with a pistol to kill her. When his ex-cohabitant’s daughter and her boyfriend came to help, he fired a bullet towards the daughter but missed. He thereafter shot the boyfriend in the stomach and he died soon after. Again, he aimed the weapon at his ex-cohabitant’s daughter and fired at least two times. There was no more bullets in the weapon.”

As with the homicides discussed in previous chapters, the perpetrators also in this chapter were mostly men, usually young. The relations that were evident in the verdicts were that the victim was the child, stepdaughter, father, mother, brother, granduncle and “step-father-in-law”. Not one of the homicides was a result/side-effect of another crime as they were either intentional or impulsive.

The most common means of killing was firearm, which is different to the previous chapters. The abuse that one of the victims went through was mentioned, and it was the most brutal homicide that will be discussed in this thesis. An interesting aspect of these homicides is that all of the victims sustained excessive violence; this is unique compared to the intimate partner homicide and homicides between friends/acquaintances/colleagues. The majority of the homicide took place in a private residence.

The context for these homicides were different but at the same time similar. This could be so as the perpetrator was a family member and thus sharing their social sphere with the victim to a greater degree than for example friends or acquaintances would do. This is evident as the majority of the homicides occurred in a private residence and mostly the victims’ residence. It could thus be suggested that the level of trust is higher between the perpetrator and victim than could be expected in other types of homicides.

It has become evident that the context of familial homicides are different from each other. Alcohol is not as prevalent as with other types of homicides, but mental health seems to have a closer link. The verdict in which a parent killed her child, seems like the homicide occurred to please the other perpetrator. In the verdicts where a child killed his parent it was due to the child being fed up with their situation and thought killing a parent would end it. When it comes to homicide between siblings it is difficult to say anything for certain as the cause was not mentioned in the verdict or the Court did not believe what the perpetrator claimed the cause the homicide. Other familial relations seem to be caused by alcohol consumption or revenge.

# 7 Other relations

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This chapter looks into the rest of the verdicts, which did not fit in with the three previous chapters. The first part of this chapter looks into the frequency of these types of homicides and explain what the different relations are. The following sections of the chapter is different than the previous chapters as there are three types of homicides that will be considered. The next two subchapter looks into homicides in which the perpetrator was a stranger to the victim, into homicides in which the perpetrator/victim used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided. The last subchapter before making some concluding remarks are the homicides in which the relationship between the perpetrator and victim was not specified.

## 7.1 The frequency of these types of homicides

### 7.1.1 The different types of relations

The relationships that this chapter will look into are strangers, the perpetrator/victim used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided, and unspecified relationships. The reason for grouping these relations together in a chapter is that there are not enough verdicts for “used a service” to justify having its own chapter. There are enough verdicts to justify strangers and “not mentioned” to have its own chapter, but there is not enough data from the Homicide Overview to supply with.

### 7.1.2 The frequency of these types of homicides

In Table 7 below it is evident that there are more perpetrators with no known relation to their victim than perpetrators who are strangers to their victim. It is also evident that there are no numbers for perpetrators/victims who used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided (hereafter called used a service). There could be several reasons for this. One of these reasons could be that there is not enough homicides were the perpetrator used or provided a service and thus it is not justified to have its own column in the Homicide Overview.

It is not specified in the Homicide Overview what “no known relation” is or includes. It could be suggested that these are the homicides in which it is unknown to the police what the relationship between the perpetrator and victim is.

Year	Stranger	No known relation	Number of perpetrators
1991	6	8	58
1992	2	8	40
1993	0	6	37
1994	3	5	29
1995	2	12	56
1996	2	3	37
1997	0	3	35
1998	1	8	31
1999	4	6	45
2000	2	5	47
2001	1	5	35
2002	2	12	43
2003	0	15	47
2004	0	7	36
2005	0	4	33
2006	2	6	36
2007	3	10	42
2008	2	12	36
2009	0	5	28
2010	1	5	31
2011	1	15	44
2012	1	7	34
2013	4	8	50
2014	1	7	35
2015	1	3	24
<b>Average</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>38.78</b>

Table 7: Number of perpetrators who had no known relation with the victim or were a stranger to the victim

Source: NCIS, 2011: 3, 2015: 5

“No known relations” has had ten peak years while strangers had an annual occurrence between zero to six and thus peak years will not be applicable as it could almost be stated that each year that has an occurrence is a peak year in itself. “No known relations” had the same number of peak years prior to 2003 and after 2003. If one were to consider the peak

years of the number of perpetrators then one aspect becomes evident: no known relations are the relationship that match the peak years of the perpetrators most closely.

## 7.2 Strangers

There are eleven verdicts that fall into this category of homicide. Seven, and therefore the majority, were impulsive:

*“Handlingene fremstår som fullstendig umotiverte. Det er tale om såkalt blind vold utført overfor tilfeldige, ukjente personer, [...]”*<sup>62</sup>

(LF-2002-664)

There were also instances in which the homicide was intentional or the result/side effect of another crime. An example of the result/side effect of another crime is:

*“[...], satte han seg inn i B personbil [...] for urettmessig å bruke denne. B prøvde å hindre ham i å kjøre ved å legge seg på panseret. Han kjørte fremover og bråbremsset for at hun skulle falle av uten å lykkes. Deretter kjørte han i høy hastighet [...] og foretok flere bevegelser med bilen for å riste B av panseret. Hun holdt seg fast i bilens panser og vindusviskere. Etter ca 600 meter, [...] mistet B taket, hvorefter hun falt av bilen og traff et trafikkskilt. Hun døde etter kort tid på sykehus av omfattende bryst- og bukskader.”*<sup>63</sup>

(TGLOM-2010-186696)

The majority took also place in an urban and public setting. Preferably during the night and the weekends. All of the perpetrators were men, varying in age from young to middle-aged. The nationality of a majority of the perpetrators was not specified, and can thus be assumed to be Norwegian. A slight majority had used sharp objects or firearms as a means of killing and a slight majority was also previously convicted, this was either fines, or multiple crimes but not violent ones, or non-specified crimes.

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<sup>62</sup> Author’s translation: “The acts appear to be completely without a motive. It is so-called random violence that victimised random strangers, [...]”

<sup>63</sup> Author’s translation: “[...], he got into B’s car [...] to unlawfully drive it. B tried to stop him by laying down on top of the bonnet. He drove forwards and made a sudden stop so that she would fall off but failed. He then drove at a high speed [...] and did several movements, trying to shake B off the bonnet. She held onto the bonnet and windshield wipers. After about 600 meters, [...], B lost her grip, whereupon she fell off the car and hit a traffic sign. She died after a short period in hospital due to severe chest and abdominal injuries.”

A slight majority of the perpetrators were also under the influence of substances or were addicts; in one instance there was a mixed intoxication:

*“Tiltalte drakk noe øl og inntok dessuten en 2 mg rohypnoltablett før de dro av sted.”<sup>64</sup>*

(LB-2003-1283)

In another instance the substance intake was substantial:

*“Tiltalte var [...] på en såkalt pubrunde i X sammen med venner. I løpet av kvelden drakk han en betydelig mengde alkohol, anslått til 13-15 halvlitre pilsnerøl.”<sup>65</sup>*

(LB-1995-903)

The majority of the perpetrators had some kind of mental health issues:

*“Han oppfattes som en aggresjons- og angsthemmet person, en frykt han antas å ha opplevd under episoder av voldsbruk i oppveksten, dramatiske episoder og voldstrusler i FN-tjenesten i 1989-90 og senere overfall av utenlandske ungdommer i 1993. Denne frykten antas han ikke å ha akseptert men benektet og fortrent som umandig og for å bevare fasaden. Det er først etter den dramatiske skyteepisoden med den tragiske og fatale utgang at denne frykten er blitt bevisstgjort for ham. [...]. På en slik bakgrunn og i den psykiske tilstanden han på aktuelle tid befant seg i, antas evnen til rasjonell og adekvat handling å være hemmet av hans panikkfølelse.”<sup>66</sup>*

((LB-1996-1715 – RG-1997-548 (93-97))).

The perpetrator from the quote above was deemed to not be criminally insane or anything alike. There were also instances in which the mental health problems could be suggested to be less severe as the perpetrator had insufficiently developed and forever weakened mental faculties ((Rt-1986-689 (213-86))).

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<sup>64</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendant drank some beer and took a 2 milligram rohypnol pill as well, before they left.”

<sup>65</sup> Author’s translation: “The defendant was on a so-called pub crawl in X with some friends. He drank a substantial amount of alcohol during the evening, which has been estimated to be about 13–15 pints of pilsner.”

<sup>66</sup> Author’s translation: “He is perceived as a person who has suppressed his aggression and anxiety, which is assumed to be a fear that he experienced during episodes of violence during his childhood, dramatic episodes and threats of violence during his UN-service in 1989–90, and later attacks by foreign youth in 1993. It is assumed that he has not accepted this fear but denied and repressed it as unmanly and to keep up his appearance. This fear was only made evident to him after the dramatic shooting with the tragic and fatal results. [...]. On the basis of this and the psychological state he was in at the time of the shooting, it is assumed that his ability to act rationally and adequately would have been restricted by his panic.”



The slight majority of the victims were women, and there was an equal number of men killing men and men killing women. The majority of the victims experienced excessive violence:

*“[...] på soverommet i Bs leilighet [...], slo han B en rekke ganger i ansiktet og hodet med knyttede never. Deretter, mens hun lå på gulvet, tok han tak i håret hennes og dunket hodet i gulvet gjentatte ganger med stor kraft. [...]. B ble blant annet påført flere stor knusningsrifter i ansiktet, særlig omkring øynene, brudd i nesene, overkjeven og i venstre tinning, samt knusningslesjoner i pannelappene og begge øyehuletakene ble knust og øynene presset opp i skallehulen. Hun ble forlatt liggende i leiligheten og døde senere samme dag av forblødning og de påførte hodeskader.”<sup>67</sup>*

(LA-1998-478)

The verdicts could be divided into whether they were substance related or mental-health related, and there are four homicides that need more attention as they are very different from what has been seen in previous chapters. The first has been briefly mentioned already as it was used as an example of an impulsive homicide. The perpetrator was a 22-year-old man who had been drinking too much at a private party (LF-2002-664). After leaving, he went to a parking area where the victim and his girlfriend were sleeping on the ground (ibid.). He hit them hard with rocks several times (ibid.). They were all discovered some time later and the defendant was laying close by (ibid.). It is assumed that this was “random violence” towards unsuspecting strangers (ibid.). Its level of randomness and it being completely unprovoked makes it different from all the previous verdicts.

The second verdict that stood out was where a man hired another man to kidnap and kill a woman who did not reciprocate his feelings towards her (TAHER-2010-179968). What really happened is not certain as the “employer” claimed that the deal was not for her to be injured, while the “hired” claims that the agreement was that he was going to kidnap and mutilate her (ibid.). He further stated that he was going to kill both the woman and the “employer” in a way that would look accidental, as he believed that the “employer” was a

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<sup>67</sup> Author’s translation: “[...] in B’s bedroom in her flat [...], he hit B numerous times in her face and on her head with closed fists. Thereafter, while she was laying on the floor, he grabbed her hair and smashed her head into the floor numerous times with great force. [...]. B suffered among other things, several large lacerations to her face - especially around the eyes - fractures in the nose, upper jaw and in the left temple, including lesions caused by crushing of her frontal lobes, and both frontal bones in her eye sockets were crushed and her eyes pushed into her cranial cavity. She was left lying in her flat and died later the same day of massive haemorrhage and the head injuries she sustained.”

person who deserved to die (ibid.). When considering how to kill the “employer”, he was inspired by the TV-show “Dexter”. The “employer” had been stalking and harassing the woman for some time (ibid.).

In the third verdict that was different from the rest, the perpetrator was on military exercise for Telemarks Battalion<sup>68</sup> (LB-1995-1994). He became stressed as he got orders from several different people, which conflicted with his need for order and discipline. It comes across as this stress, lack of sleep and that a fellow soldier did not show up when the perpetrators shift was over became too much and he deserted (ibid.). He thought that since he was doing something as illegal as deserting, he might as well steal some ammunition and drive off in a service car (ibid.). Due to the exercise his room at the base was locked, which worsened his mental state. He started to think about death, destruction and self-destruction before shooting two soldiers on duty in the barracks. This homicide happened as the perpetrator had been controlled and disciplined and thus storing away his aggression for a considerable time (ibid.). It was specified in the literature review that there was a change in the way the Norwegian Home Guards stored their firearms and that this had an impact on male firearm perpetrated homicides (Ministry of Defence, 2002: 7; Norwegian Armed Forces, 2014; Gjertsen, Leenaars and Vollrath, 2014: 497). Even if this change had happened prior to this homicide, it would not have made much difference as the firearm used in the homicide weapon was not stored in his home but was used at a military exercise. The same can be stated about the three other homicides linked to the military. Two of them are homicides between strangers. One of the perpetrators had previously been a soldier for the UN, due to the year of the homicide and that was not a soldier for the Home Guards, makes this case irrelevant for the change in firearm storage (LB-1996-1715 – RG-1997-548 (93-97)). The second perpetrator was on military leave, killed his victim with a rock, and thus did not use a firearm (LF-2002-664). The last was an intimate partner homicide, and the perpetrator was to start the selection course for officer candidate school and thus did not have access to military firearms (LH-2003-293). It can therefore be suggested that this change of storage did not make a difference for the verdicts analysed.

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<sup>68</sup> The Telemarks Battalion is a battalion of enlisted professional soldiers consisting of mechanised infantry, tanks, combat support with embedded logistics and medics and finally mechanised engineers with mine clearing, CBRN and recce capacity.

What happened in the last verdict to be mentioned is unusual due to the severity of the homicide, the age of the victims, and the overall context for the crimes:

*“D og C blei valdtekne og drepne [...]. Dei to jentene – 8 og 10 år gamle – hadde vore og bada i Y, som er eit vatn X. På veg attende til bustadområdet Z – der fedrane deira bur – møtte jentene dei to tiltala, og blei av A lokka opp i ein meir avsidesliggjande del av terrenget. Det blir lagt til grunn at både D og C blei valdtekne av A, og at B medverka til dette og sjølv forgreip seg seksuelt på D slik han har forklara i byretten og lagmannsretten. Etter at A hadde valdteke C, drap han henne ved å knivstikke henne tre gonger, og D blei deretter knivstukken og drepen av B. [...]”<sup>69</sup>*

(LA-2001-980-1)

Grøndahl (2019: 20) has argued that what usually kill children is that the perpetrator has an outburst of anger. This is not evident in this case as the perpetrators lured the children into the forest and it does not come across that there were any burst of anger during the homicide. One is unfortunately not able to link the age of the victims to the relationship between the perpetrator and victim in the Homicide Overview. However, one aspect can be mentioned and that is that 61 out of the 887 victims was under the age of 15 (NCIS, 2011: 7; 2016: 9). This means that one out of nearly 15 victims was less than 15 years of age. It can therefore be stated that children being murdered is rare.

These four different verdicts are different from the verdicts seen in the previous chapters, not just because the perpetrators and victims are strangers but also its randomness. It could be further stated that the verdict in which a person hired someone to kill someone else is in contrast to the rest of the unusual verdicts, which can be suggested to be extremely rare, at least when considering the verdicts used in this thesis. As these homicides were somewhat random, it could be suggested that they are more brutal and barbarous as these homicides did not come with warning signs as can be evident for intimate partner homicides. It could be argued that as the majority of the perpetrators had some kind of mental health issue or

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<sup>69</sup> Author’s translation: “D and C were raped and killed [...]. The two girls – 8- and 10-years-old – had been swimming in Y, which is a lake in X. On their way back to neighbourhood Z – where their fathers lived – the girls met the two defendants, and A lured them into a more secluded part of the terrain. It is considered that both D and C were raped by A, and that B aided and abetted this and sexually assaulted D, which he has explained in the District Court and Court of Appeal. After A had raped C, he killed her by stabbing her three times, and thereafter B stabbed and killed D.”

illness was a warning in itself. However, just because someone suffers from a mental illness it does not mean that they are going to kill someone.

The barbarousness in these homicides is made all the clearer in contrast to the innocent acts and behaviour of the victims. In the first homicide mentioned, the victims were sleeping outside between two cars (LF-2002-664). Homicide is not a common consequence of sleeping outside. This can also be stated about not reciprocate someone's feelings (TAHER-2010-1799689), working your shift at a military premise (LB-1995-1994) nor walking home from a lake close by your homes (LA-2001-980-1). It has been stated previously that there are few homicides in Norway, which further attest to that it would not be natural to think that the acts done by the victims would lead to them being killed.

It has become evident that it is rare for people to be killed by strangers. This was both seen in the Homicide Overview, from which it is not possible to calculate its peak years due to its scarcity and in the verdicts, where 11 out of the 82 verdict was homicides between strangers. Grøndahl (2019: 16) stated that individuals who know the victims such as current and former intimate partners, family members, friends or acquaintances commit the majority of homicides in Scandinavia, which can further attest its rarity.

### **7.3 Used a service**

There are three verdicts in which the perpetrator used a service that the victim provided and one verdict in which the victim used a service that the perpetrator provided. What was labelled a "service" is the perpetrator or the victim has provided a service or assistance or something similar to the victim or perpetrator. What has been deemed a "service" belong both to the white and the black economy, and thus are "real" jobs and its more criminal counterpart, respectively. The services that the victims provided was that one of the victims was the perpetrator's landlord (LG-1996-714 – RG-1997-630 (110-97)), a loan shark (LB-2002-2296) or a prostitute (TOSLO-2017-4445). The service the perpetrator provided was that he was managing a nursing home (LF-1982-39). Since there are so few verdicts, there is not much that can be stated about these. However, some points will be made.

These homicides were either impulsive, intentional or the result or side effect of another crime. An intentional homicide was:

*“Handlingen var planmessig og tiltalte var bevisst hva han gjorde selv om han kan ha hatt en rusutløst psykose. Retten finner det derfor bevist utover enhver rimelig tvil at drapet var overlagt.”<sup>70</sup>*

(TOSLO-2017-4445)

The perpetrators were all young or middle-aged men. Only one did not have any previous convictions or fines (LF-1982-39). Only one was under the influence, and he had a moderate to severe intake of alcohol (LG-1996-714 – RG-1997-630 (110-97)). One also had a mental-health problem, as he could be particularly vulnerable for substance-induced psychosis due to previous use of psychedelic substances (TOSLO-2017-44445). While another had insufficiently developed mental faculties (LF-1982-39) or that it was not specified in the verdict but discussed in a negative manner (LG-1996-714 – RG-1997-630 (110-97)).

What is distinct is that one of the perpetrators used pharmaceuticals, which has only been evident in one other verdict. Also:

*“[...] med overlegg å ha satt en sprøyte med en dødelig mengde av det åndedrettslammende medikament «Curacit», [...]”<sup>71</sup>*

(LF-1982-39)

It could be suggested that it is rare to use pharmaceutical or narcotics as a means of killing as the majority of homicides in Norway are crimes of passion and thus not planned (Sivertsen, 2005: 208). It could further be suggested that if one were to use pharmaceuticals or narcotics some level of planning needs to be involved, especially as it is safe to assume that most people do not have access to pharmaceuticals that lead to respiratory paralysis.

Three out of the five victims experienced excessive violence:

*“[...] våknet tiltalte av at B sto over ham og sugde hans penis. [...]. Tiltalte ble rasende og slo til B i ansiktet slik at denne begynte å blø. B søkte tilflukt på badet og låste døren. [...]. Han prøvde å sparke inn baderomsdøren, men oppfattet at B var på vei ut*

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<sup>70</sup> Author’s translation: “This act appear planned and the defendant was aware of his action despite a possible substance-induced psychosis. The Court must therefore conclude it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the murder was premeditated.”

<sup>71</sup> Author’s translation: “[...] with intention to have injected a syringe with a lethal amount of “Curacit”, a pharmaceutical drug that leads to respiratory paralysis, [...]”

*av vinduet på badet og løp ut og dro B ut av vinduet. B fikk flere slag og spark ute, og ett eller flere av disse førte til at han slo hodet så kraftig mot et trinn i inngangstrappen at han fikk den dødelige hodeskaden. Han ble liggende, og tiltalte fortsatte voldshandlingene inntil han hørte gurglelyder fra B, og så at han blødde fra munn og nese.”<sup>72</sup>*

((LG-1996-714 – RG-1997-630 (110-97))

*“Da D var på vei opp trappen mellom 2. og 3. etasje avfyrte A med en revolver flere skudd mot ham. D ble truffet bl.a. i brystet og døde av skadene.”<sup>73</sup>*

(LB-2002-2296)

*“[...] stakk han B minst 30 ganger med en kniv i overkroppen og på halsen slik at livsviktige indre organer ble skadet. Hun døde etter kort tid av forblødning.”<sup>74</sup>*

(TOSLO-2017-4445)

In one of the homicide the victim, D, had arrived at the soon-to-be crime scene, behaving aggressively and vociferously as he was trying to collect his money (LB-2002-2296). After greeting the perpetrator, A, and asking him to join him in another room, he punched A so hard that he fell and hit his head on a compressor (ibid.). While A was lying on the floor, D kicked him and accused him of lying about a payment. D gave A another chance, but if he lied to D, D would tear out A's Adam's apple (ibid.). After some discussion, they decided to have one person each be the messengers between them to keep the trouble at a minimum (ibid.). D stayed in the stairs between third and fourth floor, while A had stayed at a different part of the house. A and some other men were armed and terrified, especially due to D's reputation (nicknamed Makita-D, according to rumors, he had used a grinder or a drill on the kneecap on one of his victims) and as he stated *“Da må plassen utenfor ryddes, for*

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<sup>72</sup> Author's translation: “[...] was awoken by B standing over him and sucking his penis. [...]. The defendant became furious and hit B in the face so he started bleeding. B sought refuge in the bathroom and locked the door. [...]. He tried to kick in the bathroom door, but realised that B was on his way out the window, so he ran out and dragged B out the window. B received several punches and kicks outside, and one or several of these led to him hitting his head on a step on the entrance staircase so hard that he got the lethal head injury. He laid still, and the defendant continued the acts of violence until he heard gurgling noises from B, and saw that he was bleeding from his mouth and nose.”

<sup>73</sup> Author's translation: “When D was on his way up the stairs between the third and fourth floor, A fired several shots from his revolver towards him. D was hit, among other places, in his chest and died from the injuries”.

<sup>74</sup> Author's translation: “[...] he stabbed B at least 30 times with a knife in her upper body and the throat so that vital inner organs were injured. She died shortly hereafter from haemorrhage.”

*her skal det flyte mye blod*<sup>75</sup> (ibid.). Thus, they assumed D was armed (ibid.). When D came into their view B shot him (ibid.).

The homicide was more brutal and linked to mental-health aspects as the perpetrator stabbed the victim 30 times in a substance-induced psychosis and could have been affected by a delusion caused by substance use (TOSLO-2017-4445). He claimed that he did so in self-defense, but this seemed highly unlikely as the victim was considerably smaller than him (ibid.). The perpetrator had told a friend that one could become a werewolf by killing someone (ibid.). The Court stated that the only reason for the perpetrator to find a prostitute was to kill her (ibid.). It is not specifically stated why he killed her but it does seem like he wanted to become a werewolf and thus had to kill someone (ibid.). Prostitutes are an easy target as they are willing to, in this instance, have a stranger in their cars (ibid.).

## 7.4 Not specified

There are 12 verdicts in which the relationship between the perpetrator and victim was not mentioned. Most of these homicides took place in a private residence, preferably the victims, but there was also instances in which it a public place was the crime scene. They mostly took place during the weekdays and the slight majority took place during the day.

The majority was impulsive homicides:

*“Han hadde, uten særskilt foranledning, stukket en annen mann i buken og i nakkeregionene med en stjernetrekker.”<sup>76</sup>*

(LB-2007-24257)

There was also instances in which the homicide was the result or side effect of another crime (LE-1991-2185):

*“Tiltalte fikk pågang fra B og de andre om å skaffe hasj eller å betale pengene tilbake. Dette førte til at han en tid "lå i dekning" hos venner. Han har videre forklart at det ble fremsatt trusler overfor D og også overfor hans barn. Han måtte derfor få ordnet opp i forholdet. Det endte med at han avtalte å møte B [...]. Han hadde til*

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<sup>75</sup> Author's translation: "The area outside has to be tidied up, because a lot of blood shall be spilt."

<sup>76</sup> Author's translation: "He had, without any particular preceding motivation, stabbed another man in the abdomen and the neck-area with a screwdriver."

*hensikt å late som om han hadde fått tak i hasj som han hadde gjemt i skogen, og at hasjen var blitt stjålet eller på annen måte blitt borte fra gjemmestedet.”<sup>77</sup>*

Men killing men was the most common, but there was also instances in which men killed women and vice versa. In one instance the sex of the victim was not specified. The perpetrators were mostly young to middle-aged, but not enough was stated about the victim to draw any conclusion about their age. Their nationalities were usually not mentioned, but for the perpetrators there was an instance in which he was from the U.S. (LE-1991-2165) and in another instance it was specified that the perpetrator was a Norwegian citizen (TOSLO-2006-38615). Considering that the citizenship is rarely specified in the verdicts, it could be suggested that the latter perpetrator either had a non-Norwegian citizenship previously or a non-Norwegian heritage as the Court obviously felt the need to specify this. When it comes to the victims, their nationalities was also mostly not mentioned, but it was specified in one instance to be Norwegian (TOSLO-2006-38615). As this is the same verdict as the one above it, then the same reasoning could be behind this too.

Previous convictions could be seen both for the perpetrators and the victims. The majority of the perpetrators had previous convictions, ranging from fines, previous unspecified convictions, multiple convictions also for violent crimes, multiple convictions but no violent crimes to multiple unspecified convictions. What was most commonly seen was that the perpetrator had multiple convictions, and preferably including violent crimes. A minority was also linked to either Hells Angels or some other type of gang. Previous convictions were hardly ever specified at all for the victims, but in one instance it was specified that the he/she had been previously convicted for violent crimes (LB-2002-2296) and another victim had links to some type of gang (TOSLO-2006-38615).

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<sup>77</sup> Author’s translation: “B and the other people demanded that B either get them hashish or give them their money back. This led to him “hiding” at some friends. He has further explained that the threats were made towards D and also to his children. He therefore had to mend the situation. This resulted in a meeting that he scheduled with B [...]. His intention was to pretend that he had got hold of some hashish, which he had hidden in the forest, and that the hashish had been stolen or in some other way gone missing from the hiding spot.”



The means of killing that the perpetrator used was either his own body, firearms, sharp objects or blunt force, but the majority used sharp objects. The majority of the victims experienced excessive violence :

*"[...] slo han C gjentatte ganger i hodet med en eller flere stumpe gjenstander slik at C døde av kraniebrudd med derpå følgende hjerneblødning, eller medvirket til dette."*<sup>78</sup>

(HR-1990-1391-S)

*"[...], slo og/eller sparket A B en rekke ganger mot hodet og kroppen og klemte rundt halsen hans, slik at det oppsto brudd på nesen, underkjeven og flere ribben og brudd av tungebenet på begge sider og skjoldbruskens horn på høyre side. B døde av kvelning."*<sup>79</sup>

(LA-1995-1026)

These homicides could be divided into two: substance related or mental health related. Substance related will be considered first.

An aspect about this type of homicide that has not been seen in the previous chapters is that substance user/abusers did not only kill substance users/abusers. The perpetrators who were under the influence mostly killed individuals who were not specified to be so, and there were also instances in which it was specified that the victim was under the influence but not the perpetrator (LF-1996-340). However, for the majority of the perpetrators victims it was not specified whether they were under the influence.

To further elaborate on the substance-related homicides, what happened in one of the homicides has already been stated in the example of a homicide that was the result or side effect of another crime. There is not much known about the second homicide as the perpetrator did not explain what happened except that he did not know whether he was at the crime scene at the time of the homicide or someplace else, and that he definitely does not have anything to do with the victim's death (LA-1995-1026). Considering that he was

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<sup>78</sup> Author's translation: "[...], he hit C numerous times on his head with one or several blunt objects so that C died from skull fractures that lead to cerebral haemorrhage, or influenced by this."

<sup>79</sup> Author's translation: "[...], A hit and/or kicked B numerous times on the head and body and strangled him, so that his nose, jawbone and numerous ribs fractured along with both sides of the hyoid bone and the thyroid horn on the right side. B died from strangulation."

prosecuted for this homicide it is safe to assume that the court believes that he was the perpetrator. He had previously been violent and been prosecuted for bodily harm (ibid.). What is known is that the victim had been put through severe violence, but why is not known. He was severely under the influence of alcohol at the time of his death, but it is not known whether the perpetrator was so, too (ibid.).

Mental health aspects were also evident. In two of the verdicts the perpetrators were mentally disabled. One of the perpetrators had been convicted several times previously, including for violent crimes, and she had a tendency to be aggressive (LF-2002-146). The other had also been previously violent towards strangers (LA-1997-1587).

What happened in one of the homicides is not specified as the verdict considers whether the perpetrator should still be under regulations (LA-1997-1587). The other homicide has the Court labelled as completely meaningless (LF-2002-146). The victim, who was not allowed by his mother, visited the perpetrator, who promised to help him obtain a crow's egg (ibid.). She strangled and tried to hide his body (ibid.). It is assumed that it was an impulsive act due to a situational or momentarily aggressive breakout (ibid.). It is not unlikely that this was triggered by a nuisance, which could have been that the victim started to laugh and she got the idea that she wanted to scare him by strangling him, which is what she explained happened (ibid.). A sudden outburst of anger is what mostly leads to the homicide of children (Grøndahl, 2019: 20). It does seem evident that there was some kind of relationship between the two, but the verdict was not detailed enough to be certain as to what this relationship was.

## **7.5 Concluding remarks**

This chapter looked into homicides in which the perpetrator was a stranger to the victim, the perpetrator used a service that the victim provided, the victim used a service that the perpetrator provided and the judicial verdicts in which this relationship was not mentioned.

Unfortunately "used a service" was not a part of the Homicide Overview, and so this the prevalence in the overall homicide context in Norway is not known. It was evident from the

Homicide Overview that no known relation was more common than strangers. It was also discovered that no known relation had the same frequency prior to 2003 as after 2003, while strangers killing strangers is uncommon to the extent that one cannot say anything in regards to peak years.

What was discovered in this chapter is that the majority of perpetrators are men for these types of homicides, too. The judicial verdicts that considered the homicides in which the relationship was not known did not have the same level of information as the rest. This was depended upon where the court(s) the verdicts came from.

Strangers had a high frequency of substance abusers and perpetrators with mental-health issues, which is similar to the verdicts where the relationship was not mentioned. Used a service, on the other hand, consisted mostly of that the perpetrator used a service that the victim provided.

How the decline of these three types of homicides compare to intimate partner homicide, familial homicides and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues will be considered in the next chapter.

## **8 Characteristics and the decline**

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This chapter will be the conclusion of this thesis. The first part considers what characterises homicides in Norway and the second considers the nature of the decline, before making some concluding remarks.

### **8.1 What characterises Norwegian homicides?**

The first research question was “What characterise homicides in Norway between 1991 and 2015?” This has been answered in the chapters that consider intimate partner homicides; homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues; familial homicides; and other relations. This subchapter will therefore discuss the findings.

	<b>Intimate partner homicide</b>	<b>Friends, acquaintances, colleagues</b>	<b>Familial homicide</b>	<b>Strangers</b>	<b>Used a service</b>	<b>Not mentioned</b>
<b>Intentional/impulsive</b>	Intentional	Impulsive	Intentional	Impulsive	Intentional	Impulsive
<b>Private/public</b>	Private residence	Private residence	Private residence	Public	Private residence	Private residence
<b>Weekdays/weekends</b>	Weekdays	Weekdays	Weekdays	Weekends	n/a	Weekdays
<b>Day / night</b>	Night	Night	Night	Night	n/a	Days
<b>Means of killing</b>	Sharp objects	Sharp objects	Firearms	Firearms/ sharp objects	Pharmaceuticals	Sharp objects
<b>Perpetrator</b>	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
<b>Perp. age</b>	Middle aged	Young to middle aged	Young to middle aged	Young	Young	Young
<b>Perp. Nationality</b>	2/3 Norwegians	Norwegian?	Norwegian?	Norwegian?	Norwegian?	Norwegian?
<b>Perp. Substance</b>	Not mentioned, but alcohol	Alcohol	Not mentioned, but alcohol/drugs	Drugs	No	Not mentioned, but alcohol/mixed
<b>Perp. Mental health</b>	Majority	n/a	Yes	Yes	Yes	n/a
<b>Perp. Convictions</b>	n/a	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Perp. Employed</b>	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Not mentioned, but yes
<b>Victims</b>	Female	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male
<b>Vic. Age</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Old	n/a
<b>Vic. Substance</b>	No	Alcohol	n/a	No	n/a	No, but alcohol
<b>Vic. Nationality</b>	Same as perp.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>Vic. Excessive violence</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	n/a	Yes

Table 8: General findings from the judicial verdicts, divided according to the type of homicide

The general findings from the judicial verdicts can be seen in Table 8 above. Some explanations should be made. The first is that when “n/a”<sup>80</sup> has been used it is because the data has not been stated in the majority of verdicts and when it was stated, there was not enough frequencies to make a definitive statement. The second is when “Not mentioned, but [...]” has been used when this aspect was not mentioned in the majority of the verdicts, but when it was mentioned, the majority was a certain variable. Table 8 will be looked at throughout the following two subchapters; 8.1.1 About the homicide and 8.1.2 The perpetrator and victim.

<sup>80</sup> Not applicable

### **8.1.1 About the homicides**

The majority of homicides in Norway occur between friends, acquaintances and colleagues (almost 41%). While intimate partner homicide accounts for 22% of the homicides, no known relation is a little more than 19%, familial homicides is almost 14% and homicides between strangers is a little more than 4% of the overall homicides. It could be suggested that this could have an impact on where the homicide took place as homicides between strangers was the only type of homicide where the majority did not take place in a private residence but in public, see Table 8 above.

Intimate partner homicides; homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues; familial homicides; and unidentified relationships took place during the weekdays, while homicides between strangers took place during the weekends and it was not applicable for used a service. It has been argued that there is a specific reason for a homicide, but it is rather a result of negative circumstances such as unemployment, debts, illness, low self-esteem and a breakup where children are the losing part (Sivertsen, 2005: 209). The homicides themselves were assumed to be impulsive (i.e. not planned) for homicides between friends, acquaintances, colleague; strangers and for the homicides in which the relationship was not specified. In none of the verdicts was the homicide specified to be due to debts, but illness was seen in a few. Unemployment does not seem to have an important part as the majority of the perpetrators in the different types of homicides was employed (see Table 8).

During the night was when the majority of intimate partner homicides; familial homicides; homicides between strangers; and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues took place. For the unidentified relationships, it was during the day and it was not applicable for used a service. This can be seen in Table 8 above.

Homicides that took place in the urban sphere could be seen in 50 out of the 82 verdicts, while only five took place in a rural area. It was not specified for the remaining 27 verdicts. This is different from what was uncovered in the U.S. where rurality has been argued to be especially linked to familial and intimate partner homicides (Gallup-Black, 2005: 149, 163). It

has also been argued that the decline in homicides in the U.S. during the 1990s created increase in the proportionate share of victims from rural areas (Lee and Hayes, 2005: 399). Considering the few instances of rurality in the verdicts, this becomes questionable.

When it comes to the means of killing, firearms were the most common in the world in 2012 (Grøndahl, 2019: 20). From 1991 until 2015, the most common means of killing in the Homicide Overview was knives followed by firearms (NCIS, 2011:2, 2016:4). This could also be seen in the verdicts as sharp objects had been used a little less than half of all the homicides, while the second most common was firearms (a little more than a fifth of the verdicts). The most common means of killing was sharp objects for intimate partner homicide; homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues; and for the unidentified relationships. Firearms were the most commonly used means of killing for familial homicides, while it was either sharp objects or firearms for homicides between strangers, and lastly, pharmaceuticals for used a service. It can thus be suggested that the knife restrictions that were implemented in 1993 (see subchapter 1.1) has not had much impact on the homicide rates as it is the most common weapon used in both the Homicide Overview and verdicts. It has also been argued that the prevalence of privately owned firearms in Norway is similar to the one seen in the U.S. (Hestetun, 2004: 17). It is therefore not surprising that firearms are relatively commonly used in homicide, but what is surprising is that it does not have a higher prevalence. However, as was further argued, the firearms in Norway are mainly for hunting and shooting sports, and are traditionally considered as a part of the country's defence and not for the right to protect oneself as seen in the U.S. (ibid.). From this it can be suggested as there is a relatively high prevalence of firearms in Norwegian homes. It could also be suggested that both sharp objects and firearms, which was seen to be among the most common types of means of killing for the majority of the types of homicides, have been easily accessible weapons and can thus further explain the commonality.

### 8.1.2 The perpetrator and victim

It has become evident throughout this thesis that the Norwegian homicide context includes a wide range of different situations. There were both differences and similarities between them. To use Grøndahl's (2019: 24) words: "even though every homicide that is committed has its own unique story in regards to its prelude, purpose, motive and method, there is still some commonalities between them"<sup>81</sup>. The first commonality (the two others will be discussed later in this chapter) is substances as many of the perpetrators were under the influence (ibid.). There are four reasons for this: 1) people who are under the influence more easily misunderstand situations and other people's motives (ibid.). 2) Substances increase one's impulsivity and decrease one's self-control (ibid.). 3) People who are addicted to substances are often living in difficult conditions and have a difficult economic situation, which increases the risk for conflicts, leading to, many committing both serious and non-serious criminal acts to finance their substance (ibid.). 4) Some have reported that they use substances when they were going to execute someone (ibid.). Ingeborg Rossow and Elin Kristin Bye (2013, cited in Pape, 2013: 186) have stated that it is well known that alcohol is linked to an increased risk of violence and that this violence is especially linked to intoxication. In a similar manner, Astrid Renland (2014: 39) stated:

*"Høy promille er en av de viktigste årsakene til at man havner i statistikken som offer for eller utøver av vold [...]."*<sup>82</sup>

This is something that Hilde Pape (2011: 14) has argued too: "[...] alkohol og vold er vevet sammen,<sup>83</sup> [...]." On the other hand, it has also been argued that it is rare for violence to be the end result of people drinking and thus there has to be other triggering causes and risk factors, and not just alcohol that leads to violence (Pape, 2011: 16). As can be seen in Table 8, the substance use for perpetrators of the majority of friends, acquaintances and colleagues was alcohol, while for strangers it was drugs. The majority of perpetrators of used a service was not under the influence, while the majority of the remaining types was not specified to be under the influence. When it was mentioned the majority of the intimate

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<sup>81</sup> Author's translation

<sup>82</sup> Author's translation: "A high blood alcohol level is one of the most important reasons for people ending up in the statistics as either the victim or the perpetrator of violence."

<sup>83</sup> Author's translation: "[...] alcohol and violence is entwined."



partner perpetrators were under the influence of alcohol, for familial homicides it was either alcohol or drugs, and for those perpetrators who had an unidentified relationship it was either alcohol or mixed intoxication.

There was less information about the victims, but for the victims of friends, acquaintances or colleagues the substance of choice was alcohol. In homicides where the relationship was not specified whether the victim was under the influence it was not specified for the majority of victims. But when it was, was the substance of choice alcohol. Overall was the majority of perpetrators were under the influence of substance or addicted to substances.

Previously in this thesis it was uncovered that violence in the Nordic countries has previously matched the pace of the total alcohol consumption, and alcohol is undoubtedly an important part of the homicide context in Norway (Östberg and Karlsson, 2011: 311). It could thus be suggested that the alcohol consumption and violence correlate. However, as stated by Grøndahl (2019: 307–308) even though there is a connection between homicide and being under the influence of substances does not necessarily mean that there is a causal link between the two. Especially as the majority of people who are under the influence will not kill someone (ibid.).

It has become evident that alcohol is not the only substance that has played a part in the homicides as the number of perpetrators who are under the influence of other substances are increasing (Grøndahl, 2019: 64). It was argued in the literature review that the homicide rate followed the crack-cocaine marked in New York City (Messner et al., 2007: 287). It has also been argued that the aging of the individuals in the drug marked could have caused a drop in the homicide rate (Ousey and Lee, 2007: 48). When considering the verdicts and the Homicide Overview, it becomes difficult to apply this to the Norwegian context due to a lack of data. However, if this were to be applicable it could be suggested that as the homicide rate declined so should the numbers of perpetrators under the influence of substances. When it comes to violence in the drug market, neither sources is sufficient. When looking at the verdicts, as already mentioned, the majority of the perpetrators was not specified to be under the influence, but when it was specified it was alcohol for intimate partner homicides, alcohol and drugs for familial homicides, alcohol or mixed intoxication for the verdicts

where the relationship was not mentioned. While for friends was the substance of choice alcohol, and for strangers it was drugs.

It was discovered in the literature review that lethal violence in Finland is socially concentrated as the perpetrators and victims are “economically inactive and seriously alcoholised men” (Lehti and Kivivuori, 2012: 401). It was further argued that this was so in all of the Nordic countries, the only difference was that it was particularly violent in Finland (ibid.). This does not seem to be the case in the judicial verdicts. Alcohol is undoubtedly the most common substance both in the Homicide Overview and the verdicts. A reason for this has been given by Grøndahl (2019: 65) who specified that this is logical as a lot of people drink alcohol due to it being a legal substance. The problem is that one cannot be certain how many is seriously alcoholised, as this is not always specified in the verdicts.

“Economically inactive” could be suggested to imply that the perpetrator was either unemployed or on benefits. In the verdicts only a little more than a fourth was either unemployed or on benefits. It was not specified for the majority. It has been argued that homicides in Norway is due to negative circumstances such as unemployment (Sivertsen, 2005: 209). This is different from what can be seen in the verdicts. Perpetrators of intimate partner homicide; friends, acquaintances and colleagues; strangers; and used a service were employed. While the perpetrator of familial homicide was not so. Those instances in which the relationship was not specified, it was usually not mentioned, but when it was he was also employed. If one were to look at the Homicide Overview then the rate of unemployed perpetrators has stayed relatively stable, while the rate of perpetrators who was on benefits has had a fluctuating decline (NCIS; 2011: 4; 2016: 6).

There is one aspect of Lehti and Kivivuori’s (2012: 401) statement that fits the Norwegian context and that is that it is men who are perpetrators and it is men who are victims. Men killing men can be seen in four out of the six types of homicides (see Table 8). The majority of women were killed by their intimate partner or a stranger. It should be noted that Lehti and Kivivuori (2012) focused on lethal violence while this thesis only focused on homicide. In a similar matter to Lehti and Kivivuori (ibid.) it has been argued that homicides in modern societies is “concentrated among low-status groups, such as the poor, the unemployed, the

young and cultural minorities” (Cooney, 1997: 381). In the verdicts the majority was employed, Norwegian (presumably also in those instances in which the nationality was not specified), young. Whether they were in a low-status group is unknown; there was not enough data in the verdicts.

Kivivuori and Lehti (2011: 111) has further, and similarly, uncovered:

*“Nordic homicidal crime appears to have had two major components since the early modern period. The high offending rates of the lowest stratum of the male population have been a stable phenomenon since the fifteenth century. Sudden short-term changes in homicide rates are typically caused by young males with more heterogeneous social background.”*

Thus, it can be stated that men are the cause of changes in the homicide rates. When applying this to the Norwegian context it is evidently so as there are almost ten male perpetrators per female perpetrator (see NCIS, 2011 and 2016). This could also be seen in the judicial verdicts as in all the types of homicides the great majority of perpetrators were men. It is also evident that there is a relatively high proportion of lowest-stratum men and young men with a more heterogeneous social background in the homicide context.

It could be suggested that heterogeneous social backgrounds could be linked to one’s nationality. While the most common nationality of the perpetrators was assumed Norwegian in all of the verdicts where this was not specified, an interesting observation is that a relatively high number of perpetrators of intimate partner homicides, either previously or at the time of the homicide, had a different citizenship than Norwegian. This was not seen to this degree in the other types of homicides.

The victims’ nationality was not specified in the majority of the verdicts, regardless of which type of homicide it was. However, the victims of the non-Norwegian intimate partner homicides mostly had the same citizenship as their partner. This is different to what Vatnar (2015: 48) found in her study, as 10% of the perpetrators and 6% of the victims was immigrants with a Norwegian citizenship, and 20% of the intimate partner homicides was between immigrants that did not have a Norwegian citizenship. Considering that the citizenships was mostly not specified in the verdicts, this cannot be given much importance.

For homicides in general, a fifth of the perpetrators were foreigners, while this was almost a sixth for victims (NICS, 2011: 4, 7; 2016: 6, 9). The perpetrators of homicides in general who had previously had a non-Norwegian citizenship consisted of almost a 13th of the overall perpetrators, but this was not specified for the victims (NCIS; 2011: 4, 2016: 6).

The age of the perpetrators ranged from young to middle-aged. The perpetrators who were strangers; used a service; or was not specified were young. Friends, acquaintances, colleagues; and family were young to middle-aged. The perpetrators of intimate partner homicides was middle-aged. This is similar to what was discovered in a study that considered homicides between 1960–1964 and 1979–1983, as the median age of the perpetrators was 36 (Rognum, cited in NOU, 2010: 16). The average age was a bit higher in Vatnar's (2015: 48) study as she discovered that the perpetrators were on average a bit over 40 years.

It has been uncovered that perpetrators and victims of intimate partner homicides are different compared to other types of homicides. This difference, among other things, they are older, have less substance abuse and less criminal history and are committed to work (Grøndahl, 2019: 174). As can be seen in Table 8 in the beginning of this chapter, the perpetrators of intimate partner homicide was middle-aged, which is older than the other types of homicides, which was either young or young to middle-aged. The majority (two thirds) of the perpetrators were also not specified to be under the influence at the time of the homicide and a little over half was employed or a student/conscripted. It should be noted that even though the socioeconomic status of perpetrators of intimate partner is better than for the rest of the homicides, it is still worse than for the rest of society (Grøndahl, 2019: 174).

The second of Grøndahl's (2019: 24) commonalities is previous violence; it is generally held that previous violence is a risk factor for serious violence and homicide. In a similar matter it has been argued that perpetrators in the majority of violent offences were a small number of persistent violent offenders (Falk et al., 2014: 559). This is not fully the case in the verdicts as a little less than half of the perpetrators had previously been violent. However, it was not specified in several of the verdicts. The perpetrators of homicides between

strangers; used a service; and instances where the relationship was not specified had previous convictions. Where the rest either did not or it was not applicable. It has been argued that there is a gender difference when it comes to the injuries sustained. Grøndahl (2019: 20) argued that women sustain more injuries than men. This is so as women are mostly killed by their partners, while:

*“[...] når menn dreper menn, er hensikten å rydde en konkurrent eller rival av veien. Det kan være et resultat av gjengjeld eller maktkamp. Slike drap er ikke nødvendigvis knyttet opp til sterke følelser og kan få et preg av henrettelse der drapet skal skje fort og effektivt.”<sup>84</sup>*

(Grøndahl, 2019: 20)

The stronger or closer the relationship between the perpetrator and victim, the more brutal the violence (ibid.). What was evident from the verdicts was that in every type of homicide, except for used a service where there was not enough data, the perpetrator inflicted excessive violence on the victims. If one were to consider the gender of the victims then something contrary to Grøndahl (2019: 20) appears. Excessive violence could be seen in every type of homicide. Considering what was labelled as excessive violence, this would be no surprise as this label was used on any injury sustained by the victim except the fatal injury. The majority of both men and women experienced excessive violence, and thus men experienced more than one injury such as one gunshot wound (ibid.). It could therefore be suggested that maybe in Norwegian homicides, at least from the verdicts analysed, men do not “execute” other men in “to get rid of a competitor or rival”.

The third and last commonality is mental disorders that are not linked to substance use (Grøndahl, 2019: 24). The perpetrator’s mental health was also looked into, and the majority of perpetrators of intimate partner homicides, familial homicides, strangers and used a service showed signs of some kind of mental illness or difficulty. The reason for this high prevalence of mental health aspects could be due to serious mental disorders being more common among homicide perpetrators than perpetrators of most other types of crime, with the exception of attempted homicides and arson (Bødal and Fridhov, 1995: 7;

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<sup>84</sup> Author’s translation: “[...] when men kill men, the intention is to get rid of a competitor or rival. It can be the result of a settlement in or between gangs or a fight for power. These homicides are not necessarily motivated by strong feelings and resemble an execution, in which the homicide was to happen quickly and effectively.”

Fazel and Grann, 2006: 1401). However, this has not always been the case in Norway as 13% of the perpetrators of homicides 1960–1964 and 1979–1983 was criminally insane (Rognum, cited in NOU, 2010: 16).

From all this it can be suggested even though homicides in Norway constitute several different situations and characteristics, it is still a homogenous crime, which is evident in the similarities between the different types of homicides. It is also a “small” crime as it has a relatively low annual frequency, but its consequences are much bigger. Eisner (2013: 22) has argued:

*“Societies with high and with low levels of homicide do not only differ in the overall amount of lethal violence, but the gradient from peaceful to violent societies appears to be systematically associated with change in the quality of violence. Evidence suggests that in low homicide societies the majority are committed by highly marginalized people who usually experience a number of psychological, genetic, neuro-cognitive and family risk factors. In contrast, in high homicide societies violence is much more goal-driven, embedded in economies of violence and protection, and coordinated or carried out by powerful individuals.”*

Whether the perpetrators in Norway experienced genetic, neuro-cognitive and family risk factors was not evident in the verdicts, but what became visible is that they are marginalised individuals and almost half of them experienced some kind of mental illness or issue, something akin to it. It could also be suggested that there was also instances in which the homicide bore the likeness of high homicide societies, especially those that were linked to a criminal gang as their homicides was mostly rooted in financial gain.

## **8.2 The character of the decline**

The peak years for the types of homicides can be seen in Table 9 below. Peak years has already been defined but it can be useful to mentioned it once more. Peak years has been considered to be those years which a higher than average occurrence of homicides. The table itself has been divided into three; peak years prior to 2003, the year 2003 and peak years after 2003. The reason for dividing it into three is that by focusing on peak years prior to and after 2003 one does not include those types of homicides that had a peak in the year

of 2003. In this instance it means that it would not include the peaks for three different types of homicides and thus it would present a wrongful description of these occurrences.

The distinction between no known relation and strangers should be mentioned. On page 91 in this thesis it was stated that “It is not specified in the Homicide Overview what “no known relation” is or includes. It could be suggested that these are the homicides in which it is unknown to the police what the relationship between the perpetrator and victim is”. Strangers, on the other hand, are perpetrators or victims that did not know each other or have previously only looked at each other. The definition of strangers that the NCIS has used was not specified in the Homicide Overview.

Type of relation	Peaks pre 2003	2003	Peaks post 2003
<b>Intimate partner homicide</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
Married	2	0	4
Divorced/separated	n/a	n/a	n/a
Cohabitants	3	1	3
Previous cohabitants	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>Friends, acquaintances, colleagues</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Friends and acquaintances	7	1	1
Colleagues	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>Familial homicide</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
Children killing parent	6	0	3
Parents killing children	n/a	n/a	n/a
Siblings	n/a	n/a	n/a
In-laws	n/a	n/a	n/a
Other familial relations	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>Other relations</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>
No known relation	4	1	4
Strangers	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 9: Peak years for different types and categories of homicide

There has been a decline in all of the types of homicides. Intimate partner homicide went from six peak years before 2003 to three peak years after 2003. Familial homicide went from eight to four and friends, acquaintances and colleagues went from five to one peak years. Other relations also decreased, but this decrease was not as substantial as the rest as it went from five peak years to four peak years. Among the different kinds of homicide, friends, acquaintances and colleagues has had the most dramatic decrease, but it has to be

stated that this decrease has also been fluctuating throughout the years. 2003 was a peak year for intimate partner homicide; homicides between friends/acquaintances/colleagues; and other relations.

The overall number of perpetrators has had 10 peak years; intimate partners has had 9 peak years; friends, acquaintances and colleagues has had 10 peak years; and familial homicides has had 12 peak years. Not one of these three different types of homicides has had the exact same type of decline as the overall decline in the number of perpetrators. When counting the number of peak years for the three types of homicides, neither of them are identical to the decline in perpetrators. There are, however, five instances in which intimate partner peak years are identical to the decline in perpetrators (1991, 1992, 2000, 2003, 2013). When considering homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues there are seven identical peak years (1991, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2011) , and this is so for familial homicides also (1991, 1992, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2013). It should therefore be another type of homicide that should be more identical to the overall decline or that should be declining when these three types of homicides was not.

By going deeper into the different types of homicide, a different picture of the peak years emerges. There are four different categories of intimate partner homicide. For divorced/separated and previous cohabitants peak years was not applicable due it its low frequency, while cohabitants has stayed stable and married has had an increase in two peak years. There are eight categories in which the number of peak years are not applicable. This is due to a low frequency of homicide throughout the period and thus might not have an occurrence for several years. It can therefore be suggested that it is a peak year in itself if this type of homicide is committed. However, when looking closer at friends, acquaintances and colleagues, it is evident that colleagues has had an impact on the overall decline as there are one more peak year after 2003 for friends, acquaintances and colleagues than it is for just friends and acquaintances. Friends and acquaintances has undoubtedly had the most dramatic decrease, as it went from seven peak years to one peak year.

It could be suggested that an important change can be seen in men killing men, as there has been a decrease in both male perpetrators and the drastic decrease in male victims (NCIS,



2011:4, 7, 2016: 6, 9). As the number of perpetrators and victims that were under the influence has also had a drastic decrease (see Table 10 below) it might indicate that drunken male on male homicides has decreased. This is similar to what was seen in Finland, where the decline in homicides could be seen in the decrease in working-age men who carry out alcohol-related violence, but also men in general has been affected (Lehti, 2014: 182). Further, one could suggest that homicides has changed throughout the years, and that maybe homicides between married couples have taken its place as the latter has experienced an increase.

	Peaks pre 2003	2003	Peaks post 2003
<b>Perpetrators under the influence</b>	7	1	2
<b>Perpetrators under the influence of alcohol</b>	8	1	2
<b>Victims under the influence</b>	8	1	2
<b>Victims under the influence of alcohol</b>	9	1	2

*Table 10: Peak years for perpetrators and victims under the influence*

*Source: NCIS; 2011: 3, 6, 2016: 5, 9*

In Finland the homicide rates before the 19th century was linked to a high degree of gun ownership and the use of strong spirits, among other factors (Kivivuori and Lehti, 2010, cited in Lehti and Kivivuori, 2012: 402). The Homicide Overview does not make a distinction between the different types of alcohol that the perpetrators and victims consumed. But it does seem likely that the decline in homicides is linked to the decline of perpetrators and victims under the influence of substances. Firearms were discussed in the first subchapter in this chapter, and it was uncovered that firearms were the second most common means of killing in the verdicts and the Homicide Overview. If one where to make Kivivuori and Lehti's finding more Norwegian, then it could be suggested that homicides in Norway are linked to substances and firearms, at least when looking at the verdicts. An important risk factor for crime in Finland has been youth who consume alcohol (Raitasalo et al., 2012, cited in Elonheimo, 2014: 215). In the majority of the different types of homicides the perpetrators were mostly young, and alcohol played an important part in many of the homicides. It can therefore be suggested that young people and alcohol are important factors for homicides in Norway, especially when looking at Table 10 above.

Familial homicide had the highest occurrence of not applicable categories of homicide (see Table 9). An interesting aspect considering familial homicide is that there are not enough numbers for four out of the five categories of homicide, which means that when these homicide do occur it is almost a peak year in itself. The decline could only be seen in children killing a parent as it went from six to three peak years. Other relations consisted of no known relation and strangers, which had a decrease of one peak year. No known relations stayed stable while it is remarkably rare for homicides between strangers.

It is evident that there is not a type or category of homicide that has disappeared when not considering in-laws as this was no longer a part of the Homicide Overview. It could be that this type of homicide does not take place any longer, but prior to being removed from the Overview there were only seven homicides between 1991 and 2011 in which the perpetrator was an in-law to the victim, and thus it could not be behind the overall decline in homicides. The rest of the types and categories of homicide still exist, even though their frequency might not be considerable.

Spierenburg (2012: 33) stated that there has been a considerable decline in homicides from the middle ages until modern times, a decline which seems to still have been continuing in Norway between 1991 and 2015. This is so as intimate partner homicide halved in the number of peak years prior to 2003 compared to after 2003. By adding up the number of homicides prior to 2003 and after 2003, a slightly different image emerges. This type of homicide went from 103 occurrences pre 2003 to 98 after 2003, which it cannot be argued to be a decline (see Table 11). Familial homicide also halved in the number of peak years, but when looking at its numbers, it went from 70 to 61 homicides, which is a decline. Homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues has undoubtedly had the biggest decline also when looking at its frequency as it went from 204 homicides to 168 homicides. Other relations declined by just one homicide and has also not declined, especially when considering the 15 homicides that occurred in 2003. If one were to add the homicides that occurred in 2003 to either pre or post 2003 a different image might occur. The problem with the year 2003 is that as it is the median year, it has the same number of years of each side, and thus it does not really fit in with either pre or post 2003 as it would make the picture skewed. However, it would appear like it is familial homicide and homicides between

friends, acquaintances and colleagues that have had a definitive decline, with the latter having the most dramatic decline.

	Number of homicides pre 2003	Homicides in 2003	Homicides after 2003
<b>Intimate partner homicide</b>	103	10	98
<b>Friends, acquaintances and colleagues</b>	204	21	168
<b>Familial homicide</b>	70	1	61
<b>Other relations</b>	107	15	106

*Table 11: The different types of homicides and their numbers*

*Source: NCIS, 2011: 3, 2016: 5*

This subchapter seeks to answer research question 2. So to give a direct answers to the questions:

2) In which type of homicide can the decline be seen?

- When considering peak years the decline can be seen in intimate partner homicide; homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues; and familial homicides.
- If one were to consider the number of homicides then the decline can be seen in homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues and familial homicides as the rest has stayed relatively stable.

a) Has every type of homicide seen a decrease?

No, some types or categories of homicides have not seen a decrease, and there are two main reasons for this. The first is that there has simply not been a decline, and the second is that it does not happen enough to be able to make generalisations. Strangers is one type that does not happen often enough to be able to say anything for certain. Those instances in which the relationship was not known has also not seen a decline as there was the same number of peak years prior to 2003 as after 2003. Another, third, reason can be seen when looking at the number of homicides, even though there might have been a decline in the number of peak years might, the decline not have been as substantial when looking at the actual number of homicides.

b) Has specific types of homicides disappeared or experienced a more dramatic decrease?

- *In-laws* is the only category of homicide that has disappeared from the Homicide Overview throughout the years. However, as it had a low frequency prior to being removed it cannot be what is behind this decline.
- *Intimate partner homicide* has halved in the number of peak years from before 2003 to after 2003, but its actual numbers has stayed relatively stable.
- *Familial homicide* has also halved in the number of peak years. Even though familial homicides have not experienced the greatest declines, it is the type of homicide has matched the peak years of the perpetrators most closely (six out of the perpetrators eight peak years). A decline can also be seen when considering this type of homicide's actual numbers
- *Friends and acquaintances* has dropped from seven to one peak year and has undoubtedly experienced the most dramatic decrease, which is also evident in its actual numbers

It is therefore safest to assume that the decline in homicides can be seen in familial homicides and especially homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues. This means that something must have changed, since where these homicides occurred do so at a lower frequency. What this changed has been is not in the scope of this thesis, but it can be wondered if it is linked to the consumption of alcohol, especially when it comes to homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues. This is so as the number of perpetrators under the influence of alcohol more than halved prior to 2003 compared to after 2003 (NCIS, 2011:3, 2016:5). The number of victims under the influence almost halved in the same time span (NCIS, 2011:6, 2016: 9). The number of perpetrators and victims under the influence of drugs, pharmaceutical or a mixed intoxication has increased, but not to the extent that it is filling the void the decline in alcohol leaves (NCIS, 2011: 3 and 6, 2016: 5 and 9). It could therefore be suggested that the drunken homicides have had a substantial decrease. Spierenburg (2012: 32) argued that high homicide rates is usually due to fighting among men. Fighting could be seen in almost a seventh of the verdicts, but the victims were female in almost half of these instances. It cannot be argued that this is a high

prevalence and thus it could potentially be suggested that maybe the lack of fighting could also have something to do with the decline in homicides. The decline in homicides in the U.S during the 1990s was mostly seen in “males, African American, teenagers and young adults, and large cities and suburban areas” (Lee and Hayes, 2005: 394). This is not fitting with the findings in this thesis as it can be suggested that the biggest decline can be seen in men and perpetrators and victims under the influence of substances, especially alcohol.

Verkko (1951: 55) argued in his static law that when there is a low frequency of homicide, there is a relatively high degree of female perpetrators compared to a high homicide rate. In his (ibid: 56) dynamic law he argued that when there is a decline in the number of homicides it mostly affect number of male criminals. It is difficult to argue whether there is a high degree of female perpetrators as they only comprise a tenth of the overall perpetrators. However, considering that the majority of both perpetrators and victims were men, and this is where the decline can be seen, his dynamic law seems to be applicable to the Norwegian context.

### **8.3 Concluding remarks**

The homicide context that can be seen in Norway constitutes different characteristics and situations. This is also evident in its decline as it is only familial homicides and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues that this can be seen.

When comparing familial homicide to intimate partner homicide and homicides between friends/acquaintances/colleagues it becomes evident that familial homicide has the highest frequency of perpetrators with mental health issues as almost every perpetrator has some kind of mental difficulty. In contrast, it was so for almost half of the intimate partners and almost a fifth for friends/acquaintances/colleagues. This is not distinctive to the Norwegian context as the overwhelming majority of the perpetrators with mental health issues in Scotland also knew their victim, as he/she was either in an intimate relationship, had familial ties or was acquainted with the victim (Appleby et al., 2016 cited in Crichton, 2017: 185). In Scotland, there also was a decline in perpetrators or victims had been in contact with mental health services recently (ibid.).

Substance abuse has been seen to be evident in all of the categories of homicides. When considering familial substance misuse and substance misuse of the friends/acquaintances/colleagues then half of the familial homicides was linked to substances and so was the majority of friends/acquaintances/colleagues. There were however, more perpetrators of familial homicides that were under the influence than perpetrators of intimate partner homicides that were. As the Homicide Overview is not helpful on this matter it is not possible to know from the data at hand what the circumstances really are.

Intimate partner homicides; familial homicides; and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues has seen a decline in the number of peak years. The decline in peak years for the overall perpetrators was most closely followed firstly by strangers and no known relations, and secondly by friends/acquaintances and colleagues. However, they also had peak years that did not follow the overall perpetrators. When taking this into account then no known relations is the type of homicide that is overall most similar to the overall perpetrators.

Homicides in Norway has seen a decline between 1991 and 2015. This decline could be seen in intimate partner homicides; familial homicides; and homicides between friends, acquaintances and colleagues when considering peak years. It became evident when looking at their actual numbers that intimate partner homicide has only been fluctuating, while familial homicides and homicides between friends/acquaintances/colleagues has had an actual decline. The most dramatic decline can be seen in homicides between friend, acquaintances and colleagues.

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# Attachment 1: The coding list

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## About the homicide

### Year of the homicide

- 1) 1980
- 2) 1985
- 3) 1990
- 4) 1995
- 5) 2000
- 6) 2005
- 7) 2010
- 8) 2015

### Ruled according to

- 1) 1905
- 2) 2005

### Section

- 1) 233
- 2) 275

### Judicial verdict number

### New document number

### Court:

- 1) District Court
- 2) Court of Appeal
- 3) Supreme Court

### Type of homicide:

- 1) Intentional homicide (the perpetrator had “decided” to kill the victim)
- 2) The result or “side effect” of another crime
- 3) An accident
- 4) Not mentioned/ cannot be derived
- 5) Impulsive homicide

### The place the homicide occurred

- 1) Urban place (city, larger villages, villages etc.)



- 2) Rural place (smaller villages, in the nature etc.)
- 3) Not mentioned

Public place:

- 1) Street or square
- 2) Public transport and/or stops
- 3) Park, forest, green areas or paths
- 4) Restaurant, café, discotheques/nightclubs + queues to/outside of such places
- 5) Youth clubs
- 6) Prison or police station
- 7) Public institution such as school, kindergarten, hospitals etc.
- 8) Other public premises (theatre, cinema, post offices, bank, shops)
- 9) Public place (none of the above)
- 10) Not applicable
- 11) Accommodation

Private place:

- 1) One of the victims residences – permanent
- 2) One of the victims residences – temporary
- 3) One of the perpetrators residences – permanent
- 4) One of the perpetrators residences – temporary
- 5) Victims and perpetrators shared residence
- 6) Other residence
- 7) Gate/staircase/common laundry room/ backyard etc.
- 8) Private car
- 9) Other private place (boat, cabin etc.)
- 10) Public place (none of the above)
- 11) Not applicable
- 12) Military premises

Weekday of the homicide

- 1) Monday
- 2) Tuesday
- 3) Wednesday
- 4) Thursday
- 5) Friday
- 6) Saturday
- 7) Sunday
- 8) Day off/ bank holiday
- 9) Not mentioned

### The time the of day homicide took place

- 1) 06.00-08.59
- 2) 09.00-11.59
- 3) 12.00-14.59
- 4) 15.00-17.59
- 5) 18.00-20.59
- 6) 21.00-23.59
- 7) 00.00-02.59
- 8) 03.00-05.59
- 9) Morning
- 10) Midday
- 11) Afternoon
- 12) Evening
- 13) Night
- 14) Night leading to
- 15) Not mentioned

### Means of killing

- 1) The perpetrators own body (suffocation, kicking, punching etc.)
- 2) Firearm
- 3) Sharp objects (knife, kitchen knife, axe, self-made sharp object)
- 4) Motorised vehicles
- 5) Pharmaceuticals/narcotics
- 6) Other chemicals
- 7) Explosives
- 8) Common everyday objects (chair, wire, chandelier, not previously mentioned objects)
- 9) Other, specify
- 10) Drowning
- 11) Blunt force
- 12) Suffocation

## **The perpetrator**

### Number of perpetrators

- 1) One
- 2) Two
- 3) Three
- 4) Four
- 5) Five or more

### Sex

- 1) Male
- 2) Female
- 3) Mix, mostly male
- 4) Mix, mostly female
- 5) Not mentioned

### Age

- 1) Younger than 15 years
- 2) 15-20 years
- 3) 21-30 years
- 4) 31-40 years
- 5) 41-50 years
- 6) 51-60 years
- 7) Older than 60 years

### Nationality/former nationality

- 1) Norwegian
- 2) Nordic
- 3) European
- 4) North American previously
- 5) North American currently
- 6) Middle American previously
- 7) Middle American currently
- 8) South American previously
- 9) South American currently
- 10) Middle Eastern previously
- 11) Middle Eastern currently
- 12) East Asian previously
- 13) East Asian currently
- 14) West Asian previously
- 15) West Asian currently
- 16) Oceanian previously
- 17) Oceanian currently
- 18) African previously
- 19) African currently
- 20) Not mentioned

### Link to Norway

- 1) Tourist
- 2) Immigrant

- 3) Immigrant parents/ non-Norwegian Heritage
- 4) Born in Norway
- 5) Not mentioned
- 6) Working in Norway or alike
- 7) Adopted
- 8) No link

#### Formerly convicted

- 1) Fine
- 2) Violent crimes
- 3) Other crimes
- 4) Multiple crimes including violent crimes
- 5) Multiple excluding violent crimes
- 6) Yes, but not specified
- 7) No
- 8) Not mentioned
- 9) Multiple, not specified

#### Links to organised crime

- 1) Hells Angels or alike
- 2) Hells Angels or alike previously
- 3) No
- 4) Not mentioned
- 5) Links to some type of gangs

#### Profession

- 1) Prisoner/ institutionalised
- 2) Temporarily employed
- 3) Full-time employee
- 4) Primary industry
- 5) Secondary industry
- 6) Tertiary industry
- 7) Pupil/student/conscripted
- 8) On benefits
- 9) Pensioner
- 10) Not mentioned
- 11) Unemployed

#### Under the influence

- 1) Alcohol, little intake to moderate intake (little= a few beers or equal, moderate intake= tipsy)

- 2) Alcohol, moderate intake to severe intake (severe=drunk)
- 3) Narcotic substances, mild (such as hashish)
- 4) Narcotic substances, hard (such as meta amphetamine)
- 5) Pharmaceuticals
- 6) Mixed intoxication (such as alcohol and narcotics)
- 7) Under the influence, but not specified what substance
- 8) Not under the influence
- 9) Not mentioned
- 10) Unlikely
- 11) Highly unlikely
- 12) Alcoholic
- 13) Drug addict
- 14) Drug and alcohol addicted
- 15) Addicted, not specified substances
- 16) Periodically addicted
- 17) Steroids
- 18) Addicted, but not damaging everyday life

The intake of substances occurred in:

- 1) Own residence
- 2) The victims residence
- 3) On the street
- 4) Restaurant/nightclub/discotheque/pub/bar/hotel
- 5) "Outside": park, forest, green areas etc.
- 6) Not mentioned
- 7) Not applicable
- 8) Shared residence

#### Relationship with the victim

- 1) Stranger
- 2) Never talked with the victim previous to the homicide
- 3) Talked with the victim previous to the homicide
- 4) Met previously
- 5) Parent
- 6) Child
- 7) Sibling
- 8) Other family
- 9) Married to or engaged victim the victim
- 10) Previously married or engaged with the victim
- 11) Romantic relationship or cohabitating with the victim
- 12) Previously in a romantic relationship or cohabitating with the victim

- 13) Friends
- 14) Acquaintance
- 15) Colleagues
- 16) Neighbours
- 17) The perpetrator used a service that the victim provided
- 18) The victim used a service that the perpetrator was provided
- 19) Not mentioned
- 20) Just met

#### Violent tendencies

- 1) Yes, not sentenced, intimate partner
- 2) Yes, sentenced, intimate partner
- 3) Yes, not sentenced family
- 4) Yes, sentenced, family
- 5) Yes, sentenced, stranger
- 6) Yes, not sentenced, stranger
- 7) Yes, sentenced, under the influence
- 8) Yes, not sentenced, under the influence
- 9) Yes, not sentenced, not specified
- 10) Yes, sentenced, not specified
- 11) Generally aggressive
- 12) No
- 13) Not mentioned
- 14) Yes, to the victim prior to death
- 15) Sexual towards the victim
- 16) Aggressive towards the victim

#### Mental health

- 1) Deemed criminally insane at the time of the homicide
- 2) Deemed criminally insane after the homicide
- 3) Bad mental health
- 4) Severely bad mental health
- 5) Good mental health
- 6) Not specified, but mentioned in a positive matter
- 7) Insufficiently developed mental faculties
- 8) Not specified, but mentioned in a negative matter
- 9) Not mentioned
- 10) Insufficiently developed and forever weakened mental faculties
- 11) Forever weakened mental faculties
- 12) Mentally disabled
- 13) Criminally insane at the homicide and afterwards

## The victim

### Number of victims

- 1) One
- 2) Two
- 3) Three
- 4) Four
- 5) Five or more

### Sex

- 1) Male
- 2) Female
- 3) Mix, mostly male
- 4) Mix, mostly female
- 5) Not mentioned

### Age

- 1) Younger than 15 years
- 2) 15-20 years
- 3) 21-30 years
- 4) 31-40 years
- 5) 41-50 years
- 6) 51-60 years
- 7) Older than 60 years
- 8) Not mentioned

### Nationality/former nationality

- 1) Norwegian
- 2) Nordic
- 3) European
- 4) North American previously
- 5) North American currently
- 6) Middle American previously
- 7) Middle American currently
- 8) South American previously
- 9) South American currently
- 10) Middle Eastern previously
- 11) Middle Eastern currently
- 12) East Asian previously
- 13) East Asian currently
- 14) West Asian previously
- 15) West Asian currently

- 16) Oceanian previously
- 17) Oceanian currently
- 18) African previously
- 19) African currently
- 20) Not mentioned

#### Link to Norway

- 1) Tourist
- 2) Immigrant
- 3) Immigrant parents/ non-Norwegian Heritage
- 4) Born in Norway
- 5) Not mentioned
- 6) Working in Norway or alike
- 7) Adopted
- 8) No link

#### Formerly convicted

- 1) Fine
- 2) Violent crimes
- 3) Other crimes
- 4) Multiple crimes including violent crimes
- 5) Multiple excluding violent crimes
- 6) Yes, but not specified
- 7) No
- 8) Not mentioned

#### Links to organised crime

- 1) Hells Angels or alike
- 2) Hells Angels or alike previously
- 3) No
- 4) Not mentioned
- 5) Links to some type of gang

#### Profession

- 1) Prisoner/ institutionalised
- 2) Temporarily employed
- 3) Full-time employee
- 4) Primary industry
- 5) Secondary industry
- 6) Tertiary industry
- 7) Pupil/student/conscripted



- 8) On benefits
- 9) Pensioner
- 10) Not mentioned
- 11) Unemployed

Under the influence

- 1) Alcohol, little intake to moderate intake (little= a few beers or equal, moderate intake= tipsy)
- 2) Alcohol, moderate intake to severe intake (severe=drunk)
- 3) Narcotic substances, mild (such as hasish)
- 4) Narcotic substances, hard (such as meta amphetamine)
- 5) Pharmaceuticals
- 6) Mixed intoxication (such as alcohol and narcotics)
- 7) Under the influence, but not specified what substance
- 8) Not under the influence
- 9) Not mentioned
- 10) Unlikely
- 11) Highly unlikely
- 12) Alcoholic
- 13) Drug addict
- 14) Drug and alcohol addict
- 15) Addicted, not specified substances
- 16) Periodically addicted
- 17) Steroids
- 18) Addicted, but not damaging everyday life

The intake of substances occurred in:

- 1) Own residence
- 2) The victims residence
- 3) On the street
- 4) Restaurant/nightclub/discotheque/pub/bar/hotel
- 5) "Outside": park, forest, green areas etc.
- 6) Not mentioned
- 7) Not applicable
- 8) Shared residence

Was the victim abusive towards the perpetrator?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Sometimes
- 3) Often
- 4) Only when under the influence

- 5) No
- 6) Not mentioned
- 7) Sexually
- 8) Did not have a positive relationship with the perpetrator
- 9) Had fought (verbally/physically) within 24 hours
- 10) Was aggressive towards the perpetrator shortly before the homicide

# Attachment 2: List of judicial verdicts

DC = District Court

CoA = Court of Appeal

This list is organised according to chapter and type of homicide

## Chapter 4: Intimate partner homicide

Court	Date of the verdict	Published as (in Lovdata Pro)	Year of the homicide
Supreme Court	1981-08-27	Rt-1981-961	1980
Eidsivating CoA	1992-05-06	LE-1991-2458	1990
Agder CoA	1997-09-29	LA-1996-1252	1995
Frostating CoA	1996-09-05	LF-1996-384	1995
Gulating CoA	1996-10-16	LG-1996-1100 T – RG-1997-1048 (183-97)	1995
Gulating CoA	2003-02-21	LG-2002-88	1995
Agder CoA	2001-12-14	LA-2001-1056	2000
Borgarting CoA	2002-11-08	LB-2002-1357	2000
Hålogaland CoA	2003-06-27	LH-2003-293	2000
Agder CoA	2006-09-01	LA-2006-78530	2005
Borgarting CoA	2007-04-27	LB-2006-147884	2005
Hålogaland CoA	2005-10-07	LH-2005-113344	2005
Hålogaland CoA	2006-04-28	LH-2006-50819	2005
Stavanger DC	2009-01-06	TSTAV-2008-149394	2005
Tønsberg DC	2006-04-26	TTONS-2006-40057	2005
Agder CoA	2010-12-10	LA-2010-115960	2010
Agder CoA	2011-01-14	LA-2010-169885	2010
Asker and Bærum DC	2010-08-24	TAHER-2010-100971	2010
Gulating CoA	2011-05-24	LG-2011-59523	2010
Hålogaland CoA	2011-09-14	LH-2011-112817	2010
Borgarting CoA	2017-06-02	LB-2016-200293	2015
Borgarting CoA	2016-06-23	LB-2016-30707	2015
Borgarting CoA	2017-06-28	LB-2017-3739	2015
Frostating CoA	2016-08-31	LF-2016-49095	2015
Oslo DC	2016-11-25	TOSLO-2016-135588	2015
Borgarting CoA	2002-05-16	LB-2001-3647	2000

## Chapter 5: Friends, acquaintances and colleagues

Court	Date of the verdict	Published as (in Lovdata Pro)	Year of the homicide
Supreme Court	1992-02-21	HR-1992-31-B – RT-1992-233	1990
Agder CoA	1995-08-17	LA-1995-535	1995
Borgarting CoA	1995-12-12	LB-1995-1765	1995
Hålogaland CoA	1996-05-23	LH-1996-21 – RG-1996-1198 (246-96)	1995
Supreme Court	1997-04-09	HR-1997-21-A – RT-1997-568	1995
Agder CoA	2001-11-12	LA-2001-1062	2000
Agder CoA	2002-03-19	LA-2001-1121	2000
Gulating CoA	2003-06-27	LG-2002-1624	2000
Hålogaland CoA	2001-02-21	LH-2000-825	2000
Oslo DC	2002-09-26	TOSLO-2002-260	2000
Borgarting CoA	2006-02-24	LB-2005-182053	2005
Borgarting CoA	2006-06-01	LB-2006-42382	2005
Borgarting CoA	2011-09-01	LB-2011-72492	2010
Eidsivating CoA	2011-05-11	LE-2011-19403	2010
Gulating CoA	2011-11-03	LG-2011-111722	2010
Agder CoA	2011-09-22	LA-2011-60193	2010
Hålogaland CoA	2012-02-24	LH-2012-6651	2010
Oslo DC	2013-09-24	TOSLO-2013-42791	2010
Agder CoA	2016-11-17	LA-2016-91452	2015
Borgarting CoA	2016-05-09	LB-2015-197492	2015

## Chapter 6: Familial homicide

Court	Date of the verdict	Published as (in Lovdata Pro)	Year of the homicide
Supreme Court	1986-06-27	Rt-1986-689 (213-89)	1985
Eidsivating CoA	1996-06-26	LE-1996-271	1995
Hammerfest DC	2001-06-20	THAFE-2001-203	2000
Borgarting CoA	2007-04-27	LB-2006-147884	2005
Hålogaland CoA and Supreme Court	2006-08-18 + 2007-02-12	LH-2006-90160 + HR-2007-297-A – RT-2007-187	2005
Oslo DC	2006-04-26	TOSLO-2005-127790	2005
Borgarting CoA	2015-03-24	LB-2014-110471-2	2010
Eidsivating CoA	2016-11-29	LE-2015-201541	2015
Oslo DC	2016-03-31	TOSLO-2015-205275	2015
Gulating CoA	2012-11-08	LG-2012-30219	2010
Agder CoA	2001-12-18	LA-2001-1025	2000

## Chapter 7: Other relations

### Strangers

Court	Date of the verdict	Published as (in Lovdata Pro)	Year of the homicide
Supreme Court	1986-06-27	Rt-1986-689 (213-89)	1985
Agder CoA	1998-10-13	LA-1998-478	1995
Borgarting CoA	1995-12-07	LB-1995-1994	1995
Borgarting CoA	1995-09-14	LB-1995-903	1995
Borgarting CoA	1996-08-09	LB-1996-1715 – RG-1997-548 (93-97)	1995
Agder CoA	2002-02-13	LA-2001-980-1	2000
Borgarting CoA	2003-06-30	LB-2003-1283	2000
Frostating CoA	2003-05-16	LF-2002-664	2000
Asker and Bærum DC	2011-04-14	TAHER-2010-179968	2010
Borgarting CoA	2015-03-24	LB-2014-110471-2	2010
Glåmdal DC	2011-01-26	TGLOM-2010-186696	2010
Supreme Court	1981-06-27	Rt-1981-915	1980
Borgarting CoA	2002-08-27	LB-2001-3516	2000

### Perpetrator/victim used a service that the victim/perpetrator provided

Court	Date of the verdict	Published as (in Lovdata Pro)	Year of the verdict
Frostating CoA	1983-03-18	LF-1982-39	1980
Gulating CoA	1996-09-13	LG-1996-714 – RG-1997-630 (110-97)	1995
Borgarting CoA	2003-06-13	LB-2002-2296	2000
Oslo DC	2017-04-25	TOSLO-2017-4445	2015

Relation not specified

<b>Court</b>	<b>Date of the verdict</b>	<b>Published as (in Lovdata Pro)</b>	<b>Year of the verdict</b>
<b>Supreme Court</b>	1990-09-17	HR-1990-1391-S	1990
<b>Eidsivating CoA</b>	1991-11-21	LE-1991-2185	1990
<b>Agder CoA</b>	1996-04-19	LA-1995-1026	1995
<b>Agder CoA</b>	1998-09-04	LA-1997-1587	1995
<b>Frostating CoA</b>	1996-10-08	LF-1996-340	1995
<b>Borgarting CoA</b>	2003-06-13	LB-2002-2296	2000
<b>Frostating CoA</b>	2002-06-13	LF-2002-146	2000
<b>Borgarting CoA</b>	2007-08-31	LB-2007-24257	2005
<b>Gulating CoA</b>	2007-03-16	LG-2006-180220	2005
<b>Oslo DC</b>	2006-05-04	TOSLO-2006-38615	2005
<b>Gulating CoA</b>	2002-02-21	LG-2001-1543	2000
<b>Hålogaland CoA</b>	2006-06-23	LH-2006-25709	2005

# Attachment 3: Tables

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In this attachment are different tables regarding different types of homicide. They have been divided into which chapter and subchapter the table is relevant for.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*Table 1 Number of attempted homicides*

Year	Number of attempted homicides
1991	63
1992	74
1993	66
1994	57
1995	53
1996	73
1997	50
1998	48
1999	66
2000	68
2001	52
2002	64
2003	54
2004	57
2005	61
2006	52
2007	29
2008	49
2009	46
2010	47
2011	39
2012	50
2013	57
2014	60
2015	61

Source: Statistics Norway (1993: 19, 1994: 20, 1995: 20, 1996: 17, 1997: 16, 1998: 21, 1999: 21, 2000: 20, 2002: 20, 2003: 21, 2005: 23, 2007a: 22, 2007b: 151, 2008a: 22, 2008b: 23, 2008c: 153, 2009: 153, 2010: 153, 2011: 153, 2012: 153, 2013a: 152, 2018a)

## Chapter 4: Intimate partner homicide

*Table 4.2.1 Intimate partner homicide: Women and men killed by their current/former partner*

Year	Women killed by current+ former	Women killed by current	Women killed by former	Men killed by current + former	Men killed by current	Men killed by former
1991	7	5	2	3	3	0
1992	9	5	4	1	1	0
1993	10	9	1	0	0	0
1994	8	5	3	2	2	0
1995	7	5	2	1	1	0
1996	8	5	3	2	1	1
1997	6	3	3	1	1	0
1998	6	5	1	0	0	0
1999	4	3	1	0	0	0
2000	12	9	3	0	0	0
2001	10	5	5	1	0	1
2002	7	5	2	1	0	1
2003	10	8	2	0	0	0
2004	6	4	2	0	0	0
2005	8	6	2	2	2	0
2006	7	4	3	1	1	0
2007	6	4	2	0	0	0
2008	6	4	2	0	0	0
2009	5	3	2	2	2	0
2010	6	4	2	1	0	1
2011	4	4	0	2	2	0
2012	7	4	3	1	1	0
2013	12	10	2	3	3	0
2014	6	6	0	2	1	1
2015	9	8	1	1	1	0
<b>SUM</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>5</b>

Source: NCIS, 2011:6; 2016:8



*Table 4.4.1-1 Intimate partner homicide: current and former partners*

The figures in bold and italic are peak years.

Year	Current + previous partners	Current partners	Previous partners
1991	10	<b>8</b>	2
1992	10	6	<b>4</b>
1993	10	<b>9</b>	1
1994	8	7	1
1995	8	6	2
1996	10	6	<b>4</b>
1997	7	4	<b>3</b>
1998	6	5	1
1999	3	3	0
2000	12	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>
2001	11	5	<b>6</b>
2002	8	5	<b>3</b>
2003	10	<b>8</b>	2
2004	7	5	2
2005	10	<b>8</b>	2
2006	8	5	<b>3</b>
2007	6	4	2
2008	6	4	2
2009	7	5	2
2010	7	4	<b>3</b>
2011	6	6	0
2012	8	5	<b>3</b>
2013	15	<b>13</b>	2
2014	8	7	1
2015	10	<b>9</b>	1
<b>AVERAGE</b>	8.44	6.24	2.2

Source: NCIS, 2011:3; 2016:5

*Table 4.4.1-2 Perpetrators and victims under the influence*

P= perpetrator

V= victim

Year	Alcohol		Narcotics		Pharmaceuticals		Mixed intoxication		Other		Not under the influence		Unknown	
	P	V	P	V	P	V	P	V	P	V	P	V	P	V
1991	31	21	0	0	2	0	5	2	0	0	7	25	13	8
1992	16	13	1	1	0	1	7	3	0	0	9	13	7	6
1993	13	9	2	1	1	1	5	5	0	0	10	14	6	5
1994	12	11	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	7	13	7	3
1995	20	17	4	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	13	16	5	0
1996	14	12	5	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	11	22	5	1
1997	17	13	2	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	6	15	5	6
1998	9	9	3	2	1	0	3	2	0	0	12	21	3	0
1999	6	11	7	6	0	2	2	1	0	0	15	15	15	3
2000	13	13	1	2	1	0	3	1	0	0	23	21	6	5
2001	6	6	8	3	0	2	6	1	0	0	14	22	1	0
2002	11	11	5	5	3	2	5	1	0	0	15	19	4	4
2003	16	14	1	4	3	3	5	2	0	0	22	20	0	1
2004	3	9	3	2	3	0	8	1	0	0	17	19	2	1
2005	9	5	1	2	2	0	5	3	0	0	15	16	1	3
2006	5	4	3	2	6	2	5	2	0	0	15	23	2	3
2007	6	4	5	1	0	2	4	1	0	0	15	18	12	7
2008	6	7	2	1	0	1	7	2	0	0	15	18	6	4
2009	5	7	5	4	2	1	3	3	0	0	10	15	3	0
2010	7	3	5	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	13	19	5	0
2011	14	13	8	5	4	1	6	3	0	0	13	12	3	0
2012	7	6	7	6	1	1	0	1	0	0	12	14	7	1
2013	16	14	8	3	0	2	6	3	0	0	13	19	7	0
2014	1	2	3	1	2	4	4	4	0	0	12	12	13	0
2015	2	1	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	9	16	11	0

Source: NCIS 2011; 2016.

*Table 4.4.2-1: Male and female perpetrators of homicides in general*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Male perpetrators</b>	<b>Female perpetrators</b>
1991	50	7
1992	36	4
1993	34	3
1994	24	2
1995	41	3
1996	32	3
1997	33	2
1998	28	2
1999	36	5
2000	42	3
2001	33	2
2002	36	5
2003	45	2
2004	35	1
2005	29	4
2006	29	5
2007	36	3
2008	35	1
2009	25	3
2010	25	5
2011	14	5
2012	27	6
2013	42	8
2014	31	4
2015	22	1

*Source: NICS, 2011:4; 2016:6*

Table 4.4.2-2: Men and women killed by intimate partner/previous intimate partner

Year	Men killed by intimate partner/ previous intimate partner	Women killed by intimate partner/ intimate partner
1991	3	7
1992	1	9
1993	2	10
1994	1	8
1995	2	7
1996	1	8
1997	0	6
1998	0	6
1999	0	4
2000	0	12
2001	1	10
2002	1	7
2003	0	10
2004	0	6
2005	2	8
2006	1	7
2007	0	6
2008	0	6
2009	2	5
2010	1	6
2011	2	4
2012	1	7
2013	3	12
2014	2	6
2015	1	9

Source: NCIS: 2011:6; 2016:8

# Attachment 4: The Homicide Overviews

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The Homicide Overviews that has been used in this thesis is no longer available online. They have therefore been added as an attachment. As they have been converted from a PDF file into a Word document they do look a little different from the original, but the data is the same so the changes is only cosmetic.

The first Homicide Overview is for the year 2010 and the next is for the year 2015.



# DRAPSOVERSIKT 2010

Kripos utarbeider hvert år en nasjonal oversikt over drap begått i Norge, sortert etter året ugjerningen ble begått.

Den nasjonale oversikten over drap for 2010 viser det laveste antall drapssaker på over 20 år. Sammen med årene 2005 og 1994, har 2010 det laveste antall ofre. Forskjellene er marginale – og oversikten som årlig utarbeides av Kripos inneholder i all hovedsak de samme statistiske trekk som tidligere år. Det var 29 drap i 2010, der en av sakene fra Oslo politidistrikt hadde fire ofre.

Drapsoversikten fra Kripos beskriver drap fordelt etter året ugjerningen ble utført. Her blir de historiske data jevnlig oppdatert.

Dette er statistikk basert på tall hentet fra Strasak (politiets straffesaksregister). Oversikten gjelder forsettlig og overlagt drap (§ 233). Uaktsomt drap, forsøk på drap eller legemsbeskadigelse med døden til følge er ikke med i denne oversikten. SSP (Det sentrale straffe- og politiopplysningsregisteret) benyttes for å oppdatere oversikten over rettskraftige dommer.

Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB) utarbeider også kriminalstatistikker, men de har andre kriterier for hvilke saker som inkluderes. For mer detaljert informasjon om innholdet i de ulike kriminalstatistikkene til SSB, se: [www.ssb.no/kriminalitet/](http://www.ssb.no/kriminalitet/)

## Antall drap

År	Ofre	Saker	Førøvere	Uopklarte
2010	29	26	31	1
2009	30	27	28	-
2008	33	30	38	-
2007	33	27	42	3
2006	36	32	36	2
2005	29	28	33	-
2004	32	31	36	-
2003	44	39	47	-
2002	42	35	43	2
2001	34	31	35	-
2000	42	41	47	2
1999	38	35	45	4
1998	34	30	31	1
1997	37	35	35	-
1996	37	35	37	2
1995	36	36	46	2
1994	29	29	29	3
1993	35	33	37	-
1992	37	36	40	-
1991	56	51	58	1



### Åsted

Åsted	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
Felles bopel	15	6	15	8	9	9	4	5	6	11	5	4	11	6	11	8	10	9	8	6
Offerets bopel	16	9	7	9	10	10	16	16	14	11	7	7	12	10	9	9	9	6	4	10
Forøvers bopel	6	4	2	4	3	6	8	1	5	8	7	6	6	1	1	4	-	3	7	7
Offentlig sted	6	12	8	2	7	6	-	1	6	4	10	15	7	8	5	9	3	10	7	3
Annet sted	7	5	1	6	7	4	7	7	4	7	2	3	3	5	2	2	3	2	1	-

### Geografisk fordeling av drapssakene

Politidistrikt	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Oslo	8	9	10	3	8	8	11	7	10	5	9	12	9	6	8	8	8	10	7	4
Østfold	6	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
Follo	2	2	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	2
Romerike	-	1	5	4	-	-	-	3	2	1	1	1	3	-	1	4	1	1	1	3
Hedmark	1	1	1	2	1	-	1	1	-	2	-	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	1
Gudbrandsdal	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
Vestoppland	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	1	-	2	2	1	1	-
Vestfold	8	2	3	2	1	-	3	-	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	3	-	1	1	-
Nordre Buskerud	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
Søndre Buskerud	4	-	-	1	3	4	2	2	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	2	4	-	-	-
Asker og Bærum	2	1	2	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	2
Telemark	-	4	-	1	2	2	1	1	1	4	2	2	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	3
Agder	1	1	1	-	4	2	3	-	1	5	1	2	3	3	2	-	2	3	1	3
Rogaland	1	-	2	-	2	1	-	4	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	4	1	-	-
Haug- og Sunnhordland	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	2	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hordaland	4	2	1	2	5	2	3	1	6	3	1	1	4	3	2	3	1	-	1	3
Sogn og Fjordane	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-
Sunnmøre	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	2	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
Nordmøre og Romsdal	4	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Sør-Trøndelag	2	-	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	3	-	2	3	-	1	1	2	3	3	1
Nord-Trøndelag	1	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Helgeland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	1
Salten	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1
Midtre Hålogaland	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Troms	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	2	1
Østfinnmark	-	4	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Vestfinnmark	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Forårene 1998-2001 ertallene omfordelt på de nye politidistriktene slik fremstår etter politireform 2000. 15 av 27 politidistrikter er ikke registrert med drapi 2010.



**Modus/våpen**

Modus/våpen	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	1
Kniv	17	14	8	6	13	12	12	13	8	13	15	11	13	9	13	16	9	12	8	12
Øks	3	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	2	1
Hagle	7	7	6	4	2	3	2	2	4	6	1	2	5	-	1	2	-	1	2	1
Revolver	-	-	1	1	3	-	2	1	3	2	-	2	1	2	2	5	-	-	-	2
Pistol	4	3	4	-	1	5	4	4	1	3	3	2	4	6	2	-	1	2	4	-
Rifle	3	-	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	2	-
Maskingevær/-pistol	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Kvelning	5	4	8	8	3	6	4	2	4	6	4	7	6	5	3	3	5	4	2	3
Stump vold	8	3	2	7	7	6	10	4	9	9	3	5	6	6	3	2	4	7	4	1
Medikamenter	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-
Gift	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brann	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Drukning	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
Andre stikkvåpen	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	1	-	-
Annet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-





# FORØVERNE

Det ble registrert 31 forøvere i løpet av 2010.

## Motiv/omstendigheter

Motiv/omstendigheter	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	11	7	7	2	7	5	5	2	11	4	2	4	-	3	1	5	3	4	2	6
Krangel	15	12	9	6	12	12	12	9	9	10	7	17	18	12	16	14	24	13	9	13
Sjalousi	12	5	4	8	3	6	6	2	4	8	7	7	7	4	3	4	3	3	3	5
Sinnslidelse/ psykiske problemer	8	4	10	4	4	5	6	8	5	5	4	4	7	2	7	9	7	7	8	6
Hevn	3	4	2	1	11	1	1	2	3	6	3	3	1	5	4	2	1	5	3	-
Frykt	-	-	-	2	4	2	1	-	-	5	1	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Skjule annen forbrytelse	1	-	3	2	1	2	1	1	-	3	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vinning	6	6	-	2	1	-	-	5	6	2	2	4	1	3	-	-	4	2	1	1
Annet	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	2	7	4	8	3	10	5	2	-	-	2	2	-

## Forøvernes relasjoner til ofrene

Relasjoner	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	6	2	-	3	2	2	-	1	4	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	3	2	-	1
Ingen kjent relasjon	8	8	6	5	12	3	3	8	6	5	5	12	15	7	4	6	10	12	5	5
Gift	4	4	6	1	3	2	3	2	2	6	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	5	3
Skilt/separert	2	3	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	2	3	1	2	-	1	-	1	2	2
Samboere	4	2	3	6	3	4	1	3	1	3	1	1	4	4	4	1	-	-	-	1
Tidligere samboere	-	1	-	1	1	4	1	-	-	3	4	-	1	-	2	2	2	1	-	1
Barn/foreldre	6	3	4	-	-	2	2	3	1	5	-	3	-	2	2	2	4	1	4	2
Foreldre/barn	2	3	2	-	-	1	4	-	5	1	-	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	-	1
Søsken	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
Besvogrede	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Annet slektskap	1	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Venner/bekjente	24	13	14	11	24	16	16	13	20	22	16	14	20	14	15	14	15	13	11	15
Kollega	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Påvirket av

Påvirket av	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	13	7	6	7	5	5	5	3	15	6	1	4	-	2	1	2	12	6	3	5
Ikke påvirket	7	9	10	7	13	11	6	12	15	23	14	15	22	17	15	15	15	15	10	13
Alkohol	31	16	13	12	20	14	17	9	6	13	6	11	16	3	9	5	6	6	5	7
Narkotika	-	1	2	2	4	5	2	3	7	1	8	5	1	3	1	3	5	2	5	5
Medikamenter	2	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	3	3	2	6	-	-	2	-
Alkohol og medikamenter	2	1	2	-	2	-	2	3	1	2	5	2	2	5	2	3	2	4	3	-
Alkohol og narkotika	3	6	3	-	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	-	1
Annet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



### Arbeid/sosiale forhold

Arbeid/ sosiale forhold	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	9	2	2	3	2	2	-	1	4	2	1	2	-	2	-	4	5	2	-	1
I arbeid	9	7	6	8	13	13	11	8	16	22	12	15	16	8	9	11	13	11	9	8
Arbeidsløs	15	16	11	10	24	10	15	8	14	8	16	18	24	20	11	11	19	15	9	14
Skoleelev/student	7	3	4	4	-	1	-	2	5	3	3	4	1	1	2	4	3	2	2	2
Hjemmeværende	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trygdet	18	9	10	3	5	7	6	9	3	8	3	2	4	5	11	4	2	6	6	6
Pensjonist	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
Annet	-	3	3	-	1	2	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

### Nasjonalitet og kjønn

Nasjonalitet/kjønn	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	1	-	-	3	2	2	-	1	4	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	1
Norske menn	44	26	32	21	31	31	28	24	31	41	27	27	34	29	22	24	21	20	25	22
Norske kvinner	7	4	3	2	3	3	2	2	5	3	2	2	2	1	3	4	3	1	2	4
Utenlandske menn	6	10	2	3	10	1	5	4	5	1	6	9	11	6	7	5	15	15	-	3
Utenlandske kvinner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Trygdet	18	9	10	3	5	7	6	9	3	8	3	2	4	5	11	4	2	6	6	6
Pensjonist	-	-	1	1	-	2	3	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
Annet	-	3	3	-	1	2	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

\*Nasjonalitet utenlandske forøvere; Frankrike, Myanmar (Burma), Somalia, Sverige

### Nasjonalitet og kjønn: Andelen norske statsborgere med tidligere utenlandsk statsborgerskap

Nasjonalitet/kjønn	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Menn	1	1	3	1	1	-	1	4	2	5	4	5	2	6	1	5	5	2	4	2
Kvinner	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Tidligere: Iran, statsløs

### Alder

Alder	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	2	-	-	3	2	2	-	1	4	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	1
<15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15-20	9	4	5	2	7	3	2	5	5	7	6	11	2	5	6	4	2	3	5	-
21-30	18	18	13	12	15	11	11	12	14	19	14	17	19	10	11	7	22	14	7	10
31-40	16	11	7	4	15	9	10	10	12	14	13	4	18	11	6	11	9	8	7	14
41-50	6	4	8	3	2	6	5	2	6	2	2	6	6	7	7	9	4	8	3	2
51-60	7	3	2	4	3	3	3	1	3	2	-	2	1	3	1	-	2	3	4	3
60>	-	-	2	1	2	3	4	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	3	-	-	2	1

### Tidligere straffet/ikke straffet

Tidligere straffet	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Tidligere straffet	1	-	-	12	32	21	20	16	28	27	19	25	26	24	19	23	19	11	16	20
Tidl. ikke straffet	-	-	-	17	14	16	15	15	17	20	16	18	21	12	14	13	23	25	12	11
Ukjent	57	40	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



# DOMMER OG AVGJØRELSE I SAKENE

Antallet dommer og avgjørelser vil forandre seg kontinuerlig etter som sakene behandles av domstolen.

## Avgjørelser per januar 2011

Dommer/avgjørelser	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Strl. § 233, førsteledd	20	16	15	11	13	10	14	11	3	15	13	12	14	10	11	10	6	7	6	-
Strl. § 233, andreledd	14	9	8	6	8	6	3	7	14	9	10	10	8	6	4	10	15	6	2	-
Strl. § 228-232	9	2	2	3	14	5	3	3	6	3	2	4	5	1	2	-	7	5	1	-
Strl. § 239, førsteledd	1	1	-	2	1	1	3	-	3	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	-
Frifunnet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ikke strafferettslig tilregnelig	5	7	5	1	5	7	6	7	2	3	1	1	4	3	7	3	5	4	2	-
Henlagt grunnet bevisets stilling	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	1	6	1	2	4	3	2	4	3	-	-	-	-
Henlagt fordi forøver var død	7	4	7	3	2	3	4	1	7	11	5	6	7	3	1	7	3	5	4	2
Ikke avgjort	2	1	-	3	2	2	1	1	4	2	1	4	3	9	2	2	6	8	13	29

## Gjennomsnittlig straff (antall år/måneder) per januar 2011

	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Strl. § 233, første ledd	7/11	8/6	8/0	8/5	8/3	10/1	8/8	8/9	7/9	9/8	10/11	11/2	10/8	10/7	12/0	10/7	7/8	9/8	10/6	-
Strl. § 233, andre ledd	14/3	15/5	15/7	13/4	11/1	13/6	17/0	17/10	16/4	17/1	15/7	10/10	13/4	15/10	13/9	16/9	15/10	14/1	19/6	-
Strl. § 228 – 232	2/9	3/6	2/6	3/4	1/1	2/1	5/1	4/6	3/3	5/6	6/0	1/11	4/10	3/7	4/10	-	3/6	6/11	4/6	-
Strl. § 239, første ledd	2/6	0/10	-	2/6	3/9	0/10	1/6	-	1/1	2/0	1/0	1/0	2/6	5/0	3/10	4/6	-	0/6	-	-



# OFRENE

Det ble registrert 29 drapsofre i løpet av 2010.

## Ofrenes relasjoner til forøverne

Relasjoner	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	3	2	-	1	2	1	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	1
Ingen kjent relasjon	8	6	4	5	7	7	3	10	5	4	4	10	10	7	3	6	2	9	5	4
Gift	4	4	6	1	3	2	3	2	2	6	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	5	3
Skilt/separert	2	3	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	2	3	1	2	-	1	-	1	2	2
Samboere	4	2	3	6	3	4	1	3	1	3	1	1	4	3	4	1	-	-	-	1
Tidligere samboere	-	1	-	2	1	4	1	-	-	3	4	-	1	-	2	2	2	1	-	1
Barn/foreldre	3	3	4	-	-	1	4	-	4	1	3	4	5	2	1	4	5	4	-	4
Foreldre/barn	8	3	4	-	-	2	2	4	2	5	-	1	-	2	2	2	4	2	4	2
Søsken	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	2	-	1	1	3	1	-	-	-
Besvogrede	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Annet slektskap	1	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	-
Venner/bekjente	22	12	12	11	19	13	18	13	16	18	14	16	18	11	11	12	10	11	12	11
Kollega	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Kvinne drept av partner eller tidligere partner

Relasjoner	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Gift	4	4	6	1	3	2	3	2	2	6	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	3	3
Skilt/separert	2	3	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	2	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	2	1
Samboere	1	1	3	4	2	3	-	3	1	3	1	1	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	1
Tidligere samboere	-	1	-	2	1	3	1	-	-	3	3	-	1	-	2	2	2	1	-	1

## Menn drept av partner eller tidligere partner

Relasjoner	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Gift	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Skilt/separert	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Samboere	3	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
Tidligere samboere	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Påvirket av

Påvirket av	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	8	6	5	3	-	1	6	-	3	5	-	4	1	1	3	3	7	4	-	-
Ikke påvirket	25	13	14	13	16	22	15	21	15	21	22	19	20	19	16	23	18	18	15	19
Alkohol	21	13	9	11	17	12	13	9	11	13	6	11	14	9	5	4	4	7	7	3
Narkotika	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	6	2	3	5	4	2	2	2	1	1	4	3
Medikamenter	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	2	2	3	-	-	2	2	1	1	1
Alkohol og medikamenter	1	-	4	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2
Alkohol og narkotika	1	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	1
Annet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



## Arbeid/sosiale forhold

Arbeid/ sosiale forhold	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Ukjent	3	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
I arbeid	18	10	9	8	8	10	14	11	15	17	11	17	12	7	7	9	9	13	9	13
Arbeidsløs	7	9	7	7	8	6	5	5	6	7	9	8	16	6	8	7	8	6	10	4
Skoleelev/student	3	1	5	2	3	1	5	2	5	6	4	6	5	8	3	6	9	5	2	5
Hjemmeværende	1	1	2	1	4	2	1	3	-	1	3	1	2	1	3	1	3	2	2	1
Trygdet	16	7	9	6	9	9	4	6	4	3	4	5	3	5	7	6	4	3	4	4
Pensjonist	6	2	2	3	2	8	5	6	3	3	1	4	3	4	1	5	-	2	3	-
Annet	2	3	-	2	2	1	2	1	5	4	2	1	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	2

## Nasjonalitet og kjønn

Nasjonalitet/kjønn	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Norske menn	31	21	14	12	19	18	18	19	18	17	16	27	19	15	11	14	10	16	18	13
Norske kvinner	19	11	19	14	12	17	13	11	15	22	12	11	17	11	13	16	12	5	12	12
Utenlandske menn	4	3	2	2	3	2	5	2	5	2	1	1	5	2	3	1	6	7	-	1
Utenlandske kvinner	2	2	-	1	2	-	1	2	-	1	5	3	3	4	2	5	5	5	-	3

Nasjonalitet utenlandske ofre; Gambia, Marokko, Myanmar (Burma), Somalia

## Alder

Alder	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<15	3	3	3	-	-	2	5	-	4	4	3	5	4	1	1	4	6	4	-	4
15-20	2	1	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	6	5	2	2	5	1	1	2	3	2	3
21-30	5	14	7	6	9	5	9	6	5	9	8	15	12	10	8	5	8	8	5	7
31-40	14	7	6	10	10	9	6	4	12	9	10	6	14	5	6	10	5	5	6	8
41-50	14	6	8	3	8	7	7	10	6	4	5	3	7	6	6	8	5	7	6	2
51-60	7	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	4	2	5	2	1	4	2	5	1	4	3
60>	11	4	6	4	3	9	5	9	5	6	1	6	3	4	3	6	2	5	7	2

# NASJONAL DRAPSOVERSIKT 2015

Den nasjonale drapsoversikten utarbeides ved Kripos og publiseres i januar hvert år.

Drapsoversikten viser drap fordelt etter gjerningsår. Oversikten baseres på tall hentet fra STRASAK (politi-ets straffesaksregister), samt innberetning fra politidistriktene. Oversikten gjelder kun forsettlig og overlagt drap (§ 233 og § 275 etter innføring av ny straffelov 1.7.2015).

SSP (Det sentrale straffe- og politiopplysningsregisteret) benyttes for å oppdatere oversikten med rettskraftige dommer.

Drapene som registreres i databasen er begått i Norge, eller om bord i norske skip i internasjonalt farvann. Oversikten innbefatter ikke drap på, eller begått av, nordmenn i utlandet.

I 2015 ble det registrert 22 drapssaker med 23 ofre og 24 gjerningspersoner. Drap i Oslo i desember har to ofre, men kun én gjerningsperson.

- 10 av ofrene var partner/ekspartner til gjerningspersonen
- Kniv var mest benyttet våpen (10 saker av 22)
- 15 av drapene ble begått på bopel (felles, offerets eller gj.personens)
- Ca. 50 % av gjerningspersonene var uten fast arbeid
- 14 norske gjerningspersoner, 3 av disse har tidligere annen nasjonalitet (USA, Somalia, Eritrea)
- 9 utenlandske gjerningspersoner (Afghanistan, Bhutan, Eritrea, Irak, Polen, Syria, Tunis, USA og Kosovo)
- 9 utenlandske ofre (Bulgaria, Bhutan, Eritrea, Irak, Kosovo, Polen, Somalia og Syria)
- Drap i Oslo i april er eneste sak uten siktelse i 2015
- 22 av 24 gjerningspersoner var menn (1 kvinne og 1 ukjent)

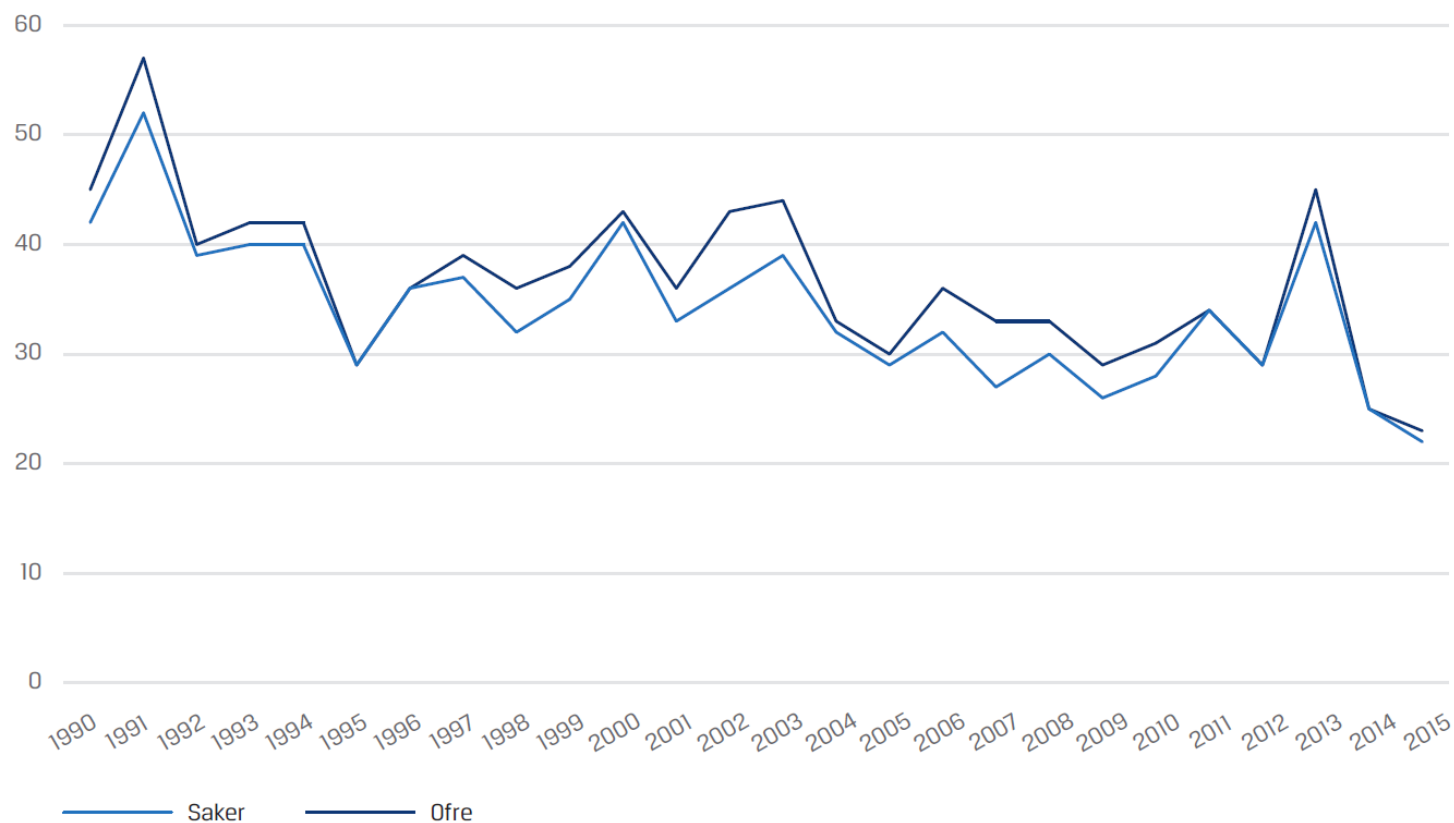
## Antall drap i Norge de siste 10 år

År	Saker	Ofre	Gjerningspersoner	Uopklarte
2015	22	23	24	1
2014	29	29	35	-
2013	42	45	50	-
2012	30	30	34	1
2011	35* /36**	35* /112**	47* /48**	1
2010	28	31	33	1
2009	26	29	28	1
2008	30	33	35	2
2007	27	33	42	3
2006	32	36	36	2

\* Antall saker/ofre/gjerningspersoner eksklusiv terrorangrepene 22.07.2011.

\*\* Antall saker/ofre/gjerningspersoner inkludert terrorangrepene 22.07.2011.

## Utvikling drap i Norge fra 1990–2015



Antall saker/ofre/gjerningspersoner eksklusiv terrorangrepene 22.07.2011

## Antall drap i Norge i perioden 1990–2014, vist i femårsbolker

1990–1994		1995–1999		2000–2004		2004–2009		2010–2014	
Saker	Ofre	Saker	Ofre	Saker	Ofre	Saker	Ofre	Saker	Ofre
202	213	177	188	182	199	144	161	164*/165**	170*/247**

\* Antall saker/ofre/gjerningspersoner eksklusiv terrorangrepene 22.07.2011.

\*\* Antall saker/ofre/gjerningspersoner inkludert terrorangrepene 22.07.2011.

## Geografisk fordeling av drapssakene

Politidistrikt	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Oslo	8	8	10	7	6	11	9	7	7	10
Østfold	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	1	1
Follo	1	-	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	1
Romerike	4	1	1	1	3	-	-	2	1	-
Hedmark	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	-
Gudbrandsdal	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Vestoppland	2	2	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1
Vestfold	3	-	1	-	-	2	3	2	-	-
Nordre Buskerud	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
Søndre Buskerud	2	4	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-
Asker og Bærum	1	-	1	1	2	2	-	2	1	1
Telemark	1	-	1	-	3	-	2	2	1	-
Agder	-	2	3	1	2	4	7	1	-	3
Rogaland	2	4	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-
Haug.ogSunnhordland	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	1
Hordaland	3	1	-	1	3	3	2	7	4	2
Sogn og Fjordane	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Sunnmøre	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	2	-
Nordmøre og Romsdal	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
Sør-Trøndelag	1	2	3	3	1	1	1	-	1	1
Nord-Trøndelag	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Helgeland	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	-	-
Salten	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Midtre Hålogaland	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Troms	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	2	2	-
Øst-Finnmark	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Vest-Finnmark	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-

10 av 27 politidistrikter er registrert med drap i 2015.



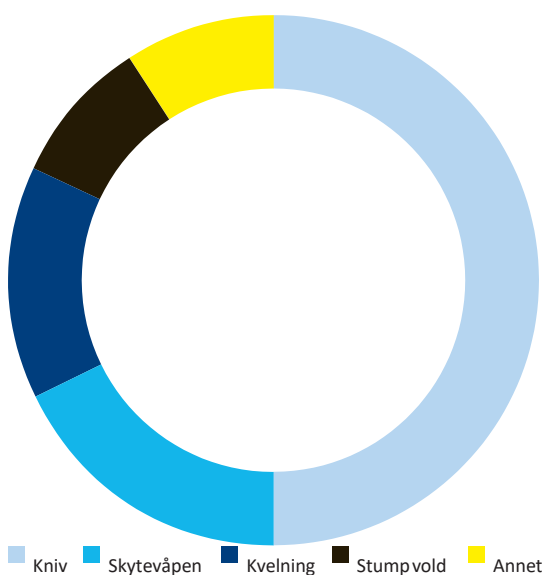
## Modus/våpen

Modus/våpen	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	-
Kniv	16	9	12	8	13	16	19	19	10	10
Øks	2	-	1	2	1	2	-	2	4	-
Hagle	2	-	1	2	1	2	-	1	-	1
Revolvrer	5	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-
Pistol	-	1	2	4	2	1	2	-	2	3
Rifle	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Maskingevær/-pistol	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kvelning	3	5	4	2	5	4	4	8	3	3
Stump vold	2	4	7	4	4	8	3	8	3	2
Medikamenter	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1
Drukning	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Andre stikkvåpen	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Annet	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	1

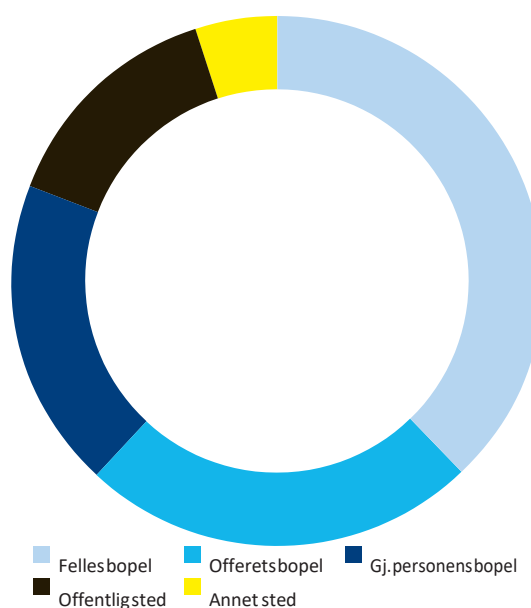
## Åsted

Åsted	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Felles bopel	8	10	9	7	7	4	7	12	9	8
Offerets bopel	9	9	6	4	10	13	10	9	12	4
Gjerningspersonens bopel	4	-	3	7	8	9	2	8	1	3
Offentlig sted	9	3	10	7	3	5	6	5	3	5
Annet sted	2	3	2	1	-	4	5	7	4	2

## Modus/våpen i 2015



## Åsted



# GJERNINGSPERSONER

Det ble registrert 24 gjerningspersoner i 2015.

## Motiv/omstendigheter

Motiv/omstendigheter	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	11	10	10	10	11	11	8	8	12	8
Krangel	17	24	13	10	14	27	14	28	12	11
Sjalusi	4	3	3	3	5	3	4	7	5	2
Hevn	2	1	5	3	-	2	2	4	5	1
Frykt	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Skjuleannenforbrytelse	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Vinning	-	4	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	2
Annet	-	-	2	1	2	-	1	1	-	-

## Gjerningspersonenes relasjoner til ofrene

Relasjoner	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	4	1	1
Ingen kjent relasjon	6	10	11	6	5	15	7	8	7	3
Gift	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	7	5	7
Skilt/separert	1	-	1	2	2	-	2	1	-	-
Samboere	1	-	-	-	1	2	3	6	2	2
Tidligere samboere	2	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Barn	2	4	1	4	2	3	2	1	2	1
Foreldre	3	2	2	-	3	-	2	-	2	-
Søsken	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Annet slektskap	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	4	1	-
Venner/bekjente	14	15	13	10	14	21	13	15	13	6
Kollega	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1

## Påvirket av

Påvirket av	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	2	12	4	3	6	2	7	7	13	11
Ikke påvirket	15	15	16	11	15	13	12	13	12	9
Alkohol	5	6	6	5	6	14	7	16	1	2
Narkotika	3	5	2	5	5	8	7	8	3	2
Medikamenter	6	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	2	-
Blandingsrus	5	4	7	3	1	6	-	6	4	-
Annet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Arbeid/sosiale forhold

Arbeid/sosiale forhold	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	4	5	2	1	3	2	3	4	-	1
I arbeid	11	13	10	8	8	12	6	16	14	8
Arbeidsledig	11	19	15	10	14	24	16	16	13	8
Skoleelev/student	4	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
Hjemmearbeidende	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Trygdet	4	2	6	5	6	3	6	9	5	2
Pensjonist	2	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1
Annet	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1

## Nasjonalitet/kjønn

Nasjonalitet/kjønn	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	-	-	1
Norske menn	24	21	20	25	22	31	16	28	20	14
Norske kvinner	4	3	1	1	5	5	5	7	3	-
Utenlandske menn	5	15	12	-	4	10	11	14	11	8
Utenlandske kvinner	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1

Nasjonalitet utenlandske gjerningspersoner; Afghanistan, Bhutan, Eritrea, Irak, Polen, Syria, Tunis, USA og Kosovo.

## Nasjonalitet og kjønn: Andelen norske statsborgere med tidligere utenlandsk statsborgerskap

Nasjonalitet/kjønn	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Menn	5	5	2	5	2	3	1	6	4	3
Kvinner	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-

Tidligere statsborgerskap; USA, Somalia og Eritrea.

## Alder

Alder	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	-	-	1
<15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
15-20	4	2	3	5	-	4	2	-	1	3
21-30	7	22	12	8	10	24	11	15	12	6
31-40	11	9	8	6	15	11	13	12	6	4
41-50	9	4	7	3	2	3	5	15	13	3
51-60	-	2	3	3	3	2	2	6	3	3
60>	3	-	-	2	1	2	-	1	-	3

## Tidligere straffet/ikke straffet

Tidligere straffet	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Tidligere straffet	24	18	11	15	19	29	18	31	21	7
Tidl. ikke straffet	10	20	22	12	10	16	14	16	14	15
Ukjent	2	4	2	1	4	2	2	3	-	2

# DOMMER OG AVGJØRELSE I SAKENE

Antallet dommer og avgjørelser vil forandre seg kontinuerlig etter som sakene behandles av domstolen.

## Avgjørelser per januar 2016

Dommer/avgjørelser	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Strl. § 233, første ledd	10	5	7	10	6	15	10	19	2	-
Strl. § 233, andre ledd	10	15	6	6	11	7	7	8	2	-
Strl. § 228-232	-	7	6	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Strl. § 239, første ledd	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Frifunnet	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-
Ikke strafferettslig tilregnelig	3	6	6	3	6	9	5	3	1	-
Henlagt grunnet bevisets stilling	3	2	-	1	1	4	2	-	-	-
Henlagt fordi gjerningsperson var død	7	3	5	4	4	2	3	4	-	-
Annet	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ikke avgjort	2	3	4	2	4	8	5	14	30	24

## Gjennomsnittlig straff (antall år/måneder) per januar 2015

Dommer/avgjørelser	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Strl. § 233, første ledd	10/7	9/2	9/8	9/9	11/7	11/5	12/4	12/0	14/6	-
Strl. § 233, andre ledd	16/9	16/1	14/1	18/2	16/4	14/6	16/11	17/1	17/6	-
Strl. § 228 - 232	-	3/6	6/9	4/6	-	8/6	-	6/3	-	-
Strl. § 239, første ledd	4/6	-	0/6	0/6	-	6/6	-	-	-	-

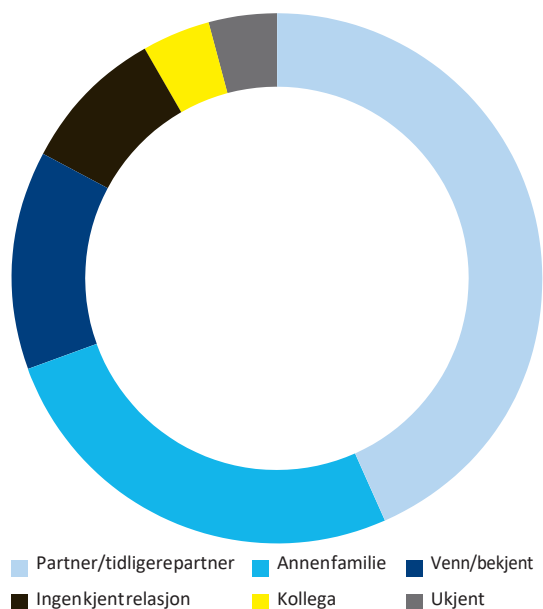
# OFRENE

Det ble registrert 23 drapsofre i 2015.

## Ofrenes relasjoner til gjerningspersonene

Relasjoner	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	-	-	1
Ingen kjent relasjon	5	2	8	5	4	9	7	11	2	2
Gift	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	7	5	7
Skilt/separert	1	-	1	2	2	-	2	1	-	-
Samboere	1	-	-	-	1	2	3	6	2	2
Tidligere samboere	2	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Barn	4	5	4	-	5	-	1	-	2	-
Foreldre	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	2	2	1
Søsken	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Annet slektskap	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	3	1	-
Venner/bekjente	12	10	11	11	11	15	10	11	13	6
Kollega	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1

## Ofrenes relasjoner til gjerningspersonene



## Kvinner drept av partner eller tidligere partner

Relasjoner	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15
Gift	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	5	4	7
Skilt/separert	1	-	1	2	1	-	2	1	-	-
Samboere	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	5	2	1
Tidligere samboere	2	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1

## Menn drept av partner eller tidligere partner

Relasjoner	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15
Gift	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-
Skilt/separert	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Samboere	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Tidligere samboere	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

## Nasjonalitet og kjønn

Nasjonalitet/kjønn	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Norske menn	14	9	16	17	14	17	11	23	16	7
Norske kvinner	16	12	5	12	13	10	8	11	6	7
Utenlandske menn	1	7	7	-	1	6	8	4	-	3
Utenlandske kvinner	5	5	5	-	3	2	3	7	7	6

Nasjonalitet utenlandske ofre; Bulgaria, Bhutan, Eritrea, Irak, Kosovo, Polen, Somalia og Syria.

## Alder

Alder	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<15	4	6	4	-	5	1	1	1	1	1
15-20	1	2	3	2	4	1	1	2	2	2
21-30	5	8	8	5	7	10	7	7	4	7
31-40	10	5	5	6	8	8	7	11	8	5
41-50	8	5	7	6	2	3	8	9	5	4
51-60	2	5	1	4	3	7	3	11	4	1
60>	6	2	5	6	2	5	3	4	5	3

## Påvirket av

Påvirket av	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	3	7	4	-	-	1	2	4	6	2
Ikke påvirket	23	18	18	15	20	12	14	19	12	16
Alkohol	4	4	7	7	3	13	6	14	2	1
Narkotika	2	1	1	4	3	5	6	3	1	2
Medikamenter	2	2	1	-	1	1	1	2	4	1
Blandingsrus	2	1	2	3	4	3	1	3	4	1
Annet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Arbeid/sosiale forhold

Arbeid/sosiale forhold	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Ukjent	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
I arbeid	9	9	13	9	14	15	8	18	12	10
Arbeidsledig	7	8	6	10	4	8	10	10	6	4
Skoleelev/student	6	9	5	2	5	3	2	2	1	3
Hjemmearbeidende	1	3	2	2	1	-	-	4	-	2
Trygdet	6	4	3	3	4	4	5	9	6	1
Pensjonist	5	-	2	3	-	3	3	1	2	2
Annet	1	-	1	-	3	2	1	1	2	1

**Tidligere straffet/ikke straffet**

Tidligere straffet	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Tidligere straffet	10	10	5	13	8	21	12	13	12	3
Tidl. ikke straffet	26	22	26	16	23	14	18	32	17	20
Ukjent	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**Uoppklarte drap siste 25 år (1990–2015)**

Gjenningsdato	Politidistrikt	Offer (kjønn/fødselsår)
27.12.1991	Nordmøre og Romsdal	Kvinne/1897
26.04.1994	Hordaland	Mann/1957
27.08.1994	Øst-Finnmark	Mann/1969
30.12.1994	Oslo	Kvinne/1955
06.05.1995	Haugaland og Sunnhordland	Kvinne/1978
30.11.1995	Vestfold	Mann/1924
15.07.1996	Søndre Buskerud	Mann/1958
08.08.1996	Sunnmøre	Kvinne/1975
13.07.1998	Midtre Hålogaland	Kvinne/1938
09.01.1999	Vestoppland	Mann/1964
02.07.1999	Oslo	Mann/1928
01.12.1999	Oslo	Kvinne/1953
22.10.2000	Østfold	Kvinne/1924
15.04.2002	Oslo	Mann/1961
19.07.2002	Oslo	Mann/1962
15.11.2002	Troms	Mann/1917
18.11.2002	Oslo	Mann/1979
03.02.2004	Oslo	Mann/1980
06.05.2004	Hordaland	Kvinne/1972
07.04.2006	Oslo	Kvinne/1930
14.05.2006	Romerike	Mann/1968
30.04.2007	Søndre Buskerud	Kvinne/1977
14.07.2007	Hordaland	Kvinne/1985
10.12.2007	Søndre Buskerud	Mann/1966
21.08.2008	Rogaland	Mann/1981
18.12.2008	Oslo	Mann/1965
19.12.2009	Nordre Buskerud	Mann/1965
27.01.2010	Oslo	Mann/1983
13.03.2011	Helgeland	Mann/1941
24.04.2012	Oslo	Mann/1980
15.10.2010	Oslo	Mann/1990
13.03.2011	Helgeland	Mann/1941
24.04.2012	Oslo	Mann/1980
11.04.2015	Oslo	Mann/1974