



POLITI HØGSKOLEN

Globalization:

A DOCUMENT STUDY ON THE EFFECTS OF
GLOBALIZATION ON POLICE PRIORITIES
AND MANAGEMENT IN NORWAY



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Summary

Title: Globalization: a document study on the effects of globalization on police priorities and management in Norway

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As a society, we are bombarded every day by news from all over the world, which inform us about terror threats, illegal immigrants, refugees and asylum seeker and various types of cybercrime. The police are often criticized for not being prepared enough and able to respond adequately to these threats. As a public institution, the Police produces annual reports and these are often scrutinized and criticized. However, result do not just happen, they are a consequence of planning and prioritizing. Thus, one cannot expect the Police to deliver on an area of crime if they are not asked to prioritize it first. This spiked my interest in looking at the “orders” the police get and see if they change accordingly.

This study examines the way globalization affects police management and priorities. This is achieved by a document study of central governing documents for the Police for the period 2000 – 2010. The analysis looks at three sets of documents: the circulars that the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) that instructs the Police and the Regional Public Prosecution Authorities (PPO) on how to handle criminal cases and which targets and priorities to select; the general instructions to the police districts by the Police Directorate on what to prioritize; and the district specific instructions for Oslo police district.

The analysis shows that there is a change in this period that can be attributed to globalization. These changes can be divided into two groups: changes in how the police is organised and managed and changes in what types of crime the Police prioritize.

There are three major changes in the organization of the Police: 1) The police district are reduced from 54 to 27; 2) The Police Directorate was established in 2002 as a result of the

spreading of New Public management (NPM) and the need to a body to coordinate international police cooperation; 3) The Norwegian Immigration Police Services (NIPS) were established as a result of the changed nature of police work and the increased need for dedicated authority to deal with asylum seeker registrations and deportations.

The second group that I have identified is changes in what the Police are asked to prioritize. Crime types that can be related to the increased migration and technological development become an inseparable part of the priorities. Among those we find racially motivated crimes, international crimes, human trafficking, illegal work and others. Though I view these changes as attributed to globalization, there is no one to one cause-result relation to these and understanding them is much more complex than the scope of this project.

Acknowledgments

I must admit that the road here was not an easy one. Juggling job change, labour union work and a master thesis on the side was not easy task. It would seem that even I have my limits and I have underestimated them.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Summary i
- Acknowledgments iii
- 1. Introduction 1
 - 1.1. The Research Question 1
 - 1.2. Terminology and abbreviations 5
- 2. Background and Theory 12
 - 2.1. Social and Political Background..... 12
 - 2.2. The Obsession with Numbers 14
 - 2.3. NPM and the Police 21
- 3. Methodology 25
 - 3.1. Document study 28
 - 3.2. The Process of Obtaining the Documents 31
 - 3.3. The Process of Examining the Data 32
 - 3.4. Reliability and Validity 33
 - 3.5. Ethical Considerations 34
 - 3.6. Limitations of the Study 35
- 4. Changes in priorities..... 38
 - 4.1. Directives from the Director of Public Prosecutions to the Police Directorate..... 39
 - General and Stable Priorities..... 39
 - 2000- Baseline Priorities 41
 - 2001- Introducing Scorecards and the Appearance of Racially Motivated Crime 41
 - 2003- International crime 42
 - 2004- Changes in the Criminal Act and Trafficking in Human Beings..... 43
 - 2005- NPM in Practice and the Agreement with Eurojust..... 44
 - 2006- Scorecards and Increased Emphasis on Human Trafficking 46
 - 2009- Criminalizing Parts of the Immigration Law 48
 - 4.2. Instructions from the Police Directorate to the Districts in General 49
 - 2000- Holding the Police Accountable 49
 - 2001- Tight Budget, Cybercrime, Border Control and Racially Motivate Crimes 50
 - 2002- Schengen 52
 - 2003- International Crime 53
 - 2004- Effects of the Police Reform 2000, PU..... 53

2005- POP	55
2006- PSV	56
4.3. District Specific Instructions from the Police Directorate.....	57
2003- Increased Number of Employees with no Budget Raise.....	58
2004- PU	59
2005- More Tasks- Marginal Increase in Budget.....	59
2005 to 2007- Less Explanations, More requirements.....	60
2007 to 2010- Tables, abbreviations and Numbers.....	61
5. The Police Organization.....	63
5.1. Structural Changes Caused by the Leading Trend in Public Management (NPM)...	63
5.2. Structural Changes Caused by Increased Migration.....	69
6. Changing trends of crime	71
2000- No Specific Attention to International Crime, but Attention on Immigration cases	71
2001- 2002- Schengen, SIS, COSS	73
2003- International and Organised Crime, Deportations	74
2004- 2005- NIPS, Human Trafficking.....	76
2005- Eastern European Criminal Groups	76
2007- Social Dumping	77
2009- Criminalizing Parts of the Immigration Law	77
6.1. Concluding remarks.....	80
References:	86

1. Introduction

Public security is a topic that everyone has opinion on nowadays. The interest in Police management and organization has become enormous in the search for answers after 22.07.2011. My research is an attempt to look at how the police are managed from the point of view of globalization. In this chapter I will describe the research question that I am trying to answer with this project. I will then present the structure of the project. Finally, I will use some time to explain some of the terminology and abbreviations I use throughout the discussion.

1.1. The Research Question

When people think about globalisation, they often think about open borders and the increased flow of goods and services. For decades social scientists have discussed how globalisation changes our societies as well as our understanding of them and what it means to belong as a citizen. Aas (2013) has, for example, looked at how globalization relates to crime, how global mobility affects the discourse about crime, and how the technological development blurs the borders even more with crime happening in cyberspace and the criminals on the other side of the globe. This challenges both how the police prioritise, but also the methods they use.

While the state historically has distinguished between domestic and foreign threats, we increasingly see how new phenomena such as cyber security, terror, illegal immigration and transnational organised crime challenge former conceptualizations of crime control (Aas, 2013; H. I. Gundhus & Franko, 2016). This also alters the way we think about crime prevention and protection of national interests, where border control is increasingly seen as part of crime control and immigration law has increasingly been used in combination with or instead of criminal law (Aas, 2014).

The organisations that provide services to this global society need to follow its development. Public institutions and organisations are in addition by nature supposed meet the demands and trends of the democratic society they serve. The Police are one such an organisation and they must follow the development in the society both in the way they are organised, but also in what tasks they prioritise at any given time. The goal is that the Police fulfil the expectations from the society and the requirements for responsible use of resources (Glomseth, 2015, p. 43; Wathne, 2015).

Crime has become an inseparable part of the news forecasts and the election campaigns. The Police, as the authority to fight and prevent crime, are often under the microscope and they are criticised for the services they deliver or fail to deliver. There have been studies on what the Police deliver and how they report it that are concentrated on the results (Lomell, 2011; Wathne, 2015). Others have examined how the changes in the society influence the Police and their methods. Aas (2013) addresses the process of globalization of the society in all levels and how the Police need to adapt to the changing world around them. The war on terror is one of the most prominent topics along with cybercrime, while the control of migration can be viewed as a means to a bigger goal -public security.

Bearing that in mind, I have looked at managing documents for the Police for the period 2000 – 2010. I have studied the directives to the Police by the Director of Public Prosecutions, the general instruction to the police districts by the Police Directorate and the district specific instructions for Oslo police district by the Police directorate. My goal in doing that, is to see *how globalization influences the Police as an organisation and whether the types of crime the police prioritizes change in that period*. I have limited my study only to the types of changes that can be thought of as related to globalization.

Globalizations takes many forms. As already managed, it might be quite physical, connected to the mobility of people and goods or defending a physical border by means of border control. However, with the people and the limitless cyberspace, ideas also travel quickly. Public organisations are not spared from the spreading global trends in public management. New Public Management (hereafter abbreviated as NPM) and Target and Result management are terms most people will connect to public administrations and organisations. The Police are required to produce annual reports and justify the use of their funds. The results are questioned by the taxpayers and there is a desire to receive more for less. The police are a service provider for the public and one might draw a comparison to private service providers. If we draw an analogy between an antivirus computer programme and the Police, we have the free version of the antivirus programme and the version you need to pay for to get full protection. No one complains that the free one does not give enough protection, but everyone expects that the paid version will do its job properly. The features of the programme are well defined and it is easy to see if it functions or not. The Police, however, provide a service to the public for which they pay in the form of taxes, whether they need their services or not. In addition, everyone has a say in what the police should do. There is no clear definition of what the police should do and

their actions can often be misinterpreted (Finstad, 2000). Therefore, the taxpayers expect top value for the money they are paying. The results the police delivers are scrutinised and criticized. Given the criticism the police experience for their results, it is interesting to attempt to find out why they produce such results. In this project, I have attempted to look at how the police end up with the results they do by examining the managing documents for the police. I concentrate on changes in the documents that can be interpreted as a result of globalizations and the findings are analogical to the changes Lomell (2011) notices in the annual reports from Oslo police district. They are also connected in the change in public management that happen all over Europe, Norway included (Johnsen, 2013). NPM influences style of management also in the Police and we can see traces of it both in their annual reports, but also in the documents that I have studied.

One can approach this topic in different ways. One can look at statistics and how they can be interpreted as Lomell (2011) has done. While I have concentrated on the cause for the results and attempt to interpret them. I look at how globalization influences management documents, both in terms of how the police is managed and how crime patterns have changed. The police are often accused of misusing statistics (Lomell, 2010, 2011) and being creative with numbers (Wathne, 2015). The target goals seem to be ad hoc and introduced depending on the composition of the government and what stories the media portray. In addition, I look at how police management changes influenced by global trends in public management.

In this project, I am looking at how globalization influences police management and the way they prioritize. I am studying governing documents for the police in the time span years 2000 to 2010. I am asking three questions:

- Is there a change in the way the police prioritize in that period?
- Is there a difference in how the police are managed?
- Is there a change in the types of crime that are prioritized in respect to globalization?

Globalization influences not only how criminals operate, but also how the police are managed. NPM inspired reforms existed in other sectors long before the Police Directorate was established. Christensen (2015, p. 178) points out that the Lande-Hasle-Committee gave three main arguments for the establishment of the Police Directorate: the increased number of tasks; that it was possible to increase democratic steering and control through a detached directorate; and the last argument is that the increasing and organised border crossing crime required

international police cooperation which will be facilitated by the establishment of the directorate. The last argument is what has inspired my project as I look both at the establishment of the Police Directorate and the changing criminal patterns as a result of globalization.

The outline of the rest of the thesis is as follows:

In the remaining part of this Introduction chapter, I will also present the terminology and the abbreviations that I will be using throughout this project. Some of the terminology refers to complex organizations and institutions, that I will take some time to explain. There are many abbreviations that the police use and they are not always easy to interpret without background.

Chapter 2 will give the theoretical background and put my work in perspective. I will look at some of the previous research on this topic, for example Lomell (2010, 2011) and her study of annual police reports from Oslo police district and looks at how statistics can be misinterpreted. Wathne (2015) also raises the question of embellishing results on the score cards. Both point to the changed method of managing the Police. In this chapter I also look at some statistics from the Norwegian Correctional Services that often seems to start the same discussion repeatedly. The connection between crime and punishment seems to have changed as well. Foreign citizens seem to be treated differently by the law. However, the reasons why this happens are not well documented and the discussion is not nuanced (Aas, 2014, p. 530). I examine how the Police priorities put that in focus.

Then, I will present the theories in public management that have inspired me and are among the most discussed regarding public management. I will then move on to police management and present a theory that it is a combination of several theories of management plus some ad hoc solutions caused by the media or for example election campaigns. Many are critical of NPM, but it is not really NPM that stands for the result alone (Christensen, 2015; Johnsen, 2013). The Ministry of Justice and Public Security¹ and its Police department are still steering in detail and the result is unclear goals and target numbers, something I will examine in chapter 6.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the methodology I use in my project, the writing process (including the preparations before in terms of gathering documents) and the limitations of the study. I have studied management documents for the Police for the period 2000-2010. I have examined the directives that the Director of Public Prosecutions issues annually. It sets the tone of which

¹ This is the name of the Ministry today, 2017, and I will use this name throughout the thesis. The name of the ministry before that was Ministry of Justice and Police.

areas in the police work that need to be prioritized or not forgotten. Then I look at the general Instructions from the POD to the districts and in the end, I examine the district specific documents for three districts. For the bigger part I am using discourse analysis of governing documents. Since the documents are spread in time, I can say I am doing a longitudinal analysis, but in a qualitative way.

Chapter 4 is a chronological overview of the three sets of documents. In this chapter I am simply looking for changes in priorities in the given period. The list of changes I discuss is not exhaustive and I have concentrated on the changes that can be related to globalization. The changes can be both in terms of organisation, prioritized areas of crime or prioritized type of report generating. This chapter serves as a barometer of change and sets the backdrop for the following two chapters.

Chapter 5 looks at the management type, the shift from leadership to management. Norway, like the rest of the world is influenced by the change of public management and the leading trends there – NPM and target and performance management. The changes are both in the organisation itself, but they can also be seen in the form of the documents. The documents change from a more descriptive form to a more table like form with a lot of targets. They become shorter and at the same time more micromanaging. The disadvantage is that not all types of police work can be managed and some part of it can potentially be left out (Tinholt, 2013).

In chapter 6 I look at the change of crime prioritized in relations to the changing criminal picture and the globalization in all areas of life. The emphasis here will be on immigration and crimes attributed to this group. The increased migration is also problematic for little Norway, changes in immigration law make many aspects of incompliance with the immigrational law a criminal act. This leads to criminalizing immigrants.

1.2. Terminology and abbreviations

Through the writing process, I found out that in many cases I needed to use terminology or abbreviations that are known to me because I work in the police, but are unknown to many. In the discussion of the documents I am examining, I am using the names of some organizations and abbreviations. Most of them relates to international police cooperation and border-crossing crime.

European Union (EU) - The European Union is an economic and political union of countries. The number of countries that participate in the union today is 28. The countries have gradually joined the union through the years (EU, 2017b). The table below gives an overview of the order in which the countries have joined:

Year of entry	Countries	Year of entry	Countries
01/01/1958	Belgium	01/05/2004	Cyprus
	France		Czech Republic
	Germany		Estonia
	Italy		Hungary
	Luxembourg		Latvia
	Netherlands		Lithuania
01/01/1973	Denmark		Malta
	Ireland		Poland
	United Kingdom		Slovakia
01/01/1981	Greece		Slovenia
01/01/1986	Portugal	01/01/2007	Bulgaria
	Spain		Romania
01/01/1995	Austria	01/07/2013	Croatia
	Finland		
	Sweden		

Table 1: The 28 member countries of the EU² (EU, 2017a)

The EU is relevant to my discussion even though Norway is not a member of the union. Norway has close cooperation with the EU through the European Economic Area agreement (Regjeringen, 2017b). Understanding what the EU is and how it relates to Norway is important because it is considered as some of the causes for increased immigration and crime in Norway through the EEA agreement and the Schengen agreement (which will be defined shortly).

² The table has been modified to fit the page better

The European Economic Area (EEA)/ European Free Trade Association (EFTA)

Norway is not a part of the EU, but is connected to it through the European Economic Area agreement (EEA). The EEA agreement has some of the same principles as the EU: the free movement of people, goods, capital and services.

The three EEA EFTA States are Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Thus, the EEA agreement comprises of 31 countries, the 28 EU countries plus the EEA EFTA countries. Each of the three EEA EFTA countries pays a contribution called EEA grants to gain access to the European market. Norway stands for 98 % of the grants (Regjeringen, 2017a).

EU is Norway's most important trade partner and the EEA agreement makes it possible for Norway to participate in the inner EU market with equal rights as the EU countries (Regjeringen, 2017c). Norway's participation in the EEA is often mentioned in connection to the increased immigration and with it also the changing crime trends.

Schengen

The Schengen cooperation agreement is not limited only to serious international organised crime (Wold, 2004, p. 28). The Schengen area cooperation did not start out in the present version. There was a discussion in the 80's among EU countries about abolishing the border control at the internal borders between EU countries. The Nordic Passport Union, established in 1954, served as a model. The first agreement for abolishing the border control at the internal borders was signed in 1985 between the countries France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands in the town of Schengen, thus the name of the agreement.

Eventually, the Schengen area expanded to include most of the EU countries. The agreement was incorporated in the EU framework in 1999 by the treaty of Amsterdam (Council of the European Union, 2013). The participants in the Schengen cooperation today are all the EU member states apart from the UK, Ireland, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Romania. In addition, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein have associated member status. Norway joined the Schengen agreement in 1999, but operatively implementing it from 2001. The reason why Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein could join Schengen, though not being part of EU, is that they are part of the European Economic Area (EEA).

List of countries in Schengen area	
Austria	Liechtenstein
Belgium	Lithuania
Czech Republic	Luxembourg
Denmark	Malta
Estonia	Netherlands
Finland	Norway
France	Poland
Germany	Portugal
Greece	Slovakia
Hungary	Slovenia
Iceland	Spain
Italy	Sweden
Latvia	Switzerland

Table 2: A list of Schengen countries in alphabetical order³ (EU, 2017a).

Since Norway is not part of EU, it does not have a right to vote when decisions about Schengen are made. Norway participates in the discussions though. For associated countries like Norway, participation includes being included in the area without checks at internal borders; applying the provisions of the Schengen acquis and of all Schengen-relevant texts adopted pursuant to it, and being involved in decisions relating to Schengen-relevant texts. However this topic is often discussed in the literature (Ugelvik, 2014) and the media. However, I have not yet seen a calculation of what being on the outside of it would cost Norway.

The Schengen agreement contributes to the changing tasks of the police. In order for Norway to maintain its membership in the agreement, it needs to comply with the Schengen regulations, which includes the use of some common systems like Schengen Information System (SIS) or Visa Information System (VIS). Both systems facilitate the fight against border crossing crime and illegal immigration.

Schengen Information System (SIS)

Abolishing the border controls created security issues that needed to be addressed. A number of compensatory measures were implemented to ensure the security of the countries participating. Among other things, the Schengen Information System (SIS, now already SIS II) was implemented. SIS contains information on wanted people who may not have the right to enter or stay in the Schengen. It also contains alerts on missing persons, stolen/lost personal

³ The list has been formatted as a table by me.

documents, firearms and vehicles. The upgrade to SIS II improved the system with, among other things, the possibility to use biometric information. It was released in April 2013 (Datatilsynet, 2013).

Each member country has their SIRENE (Supplementary Information Request at the National Entry) bureaux. As with the first two agencies described, the SIRENE bureaux in Norway is placed in the National Criminal Investigation Service (NCIS) (Kripos, 2013). Those local contact points provide additional information upon request for the local law enforcement officers and make sure that the appropriate measures are applied.

This system is essential for receiving intelligence from the other participating countries in real time. A person can be denied entry to Norway or even arrested on basis of records in the system (Politiet, 2017a)⁴.

SIS is mentioned both in the documents I am studying and in my discussion.

Visa Information System (VIS)

The Visa Information System allows the Schengen states to exchange visa information. It was established already in 2004 by a council decision, but not fully operational until recently. It can be used, among other things for identifying asylum seekers that have come to Europe on a visa and then applied for asylum (EC, 2017).

Norway approved participation in it in 2009 (Ot.prp.nr.36(2008-2009)) and stated preparing for its implementation in 2010 (Politidirektoratet, 2010b, p. 18)

Eurojust (The European Union's Judicial Cooperation Unit)

Eurojust is judicial facilitates the judicial cooperation between the member states. Norway joined the cooperation in 2005. The prosecution authorities are encouraged to use it actively and establish good relationships (Riksadvokaten, 2006, p. 4).

⁴ All references to the police site www.politi.no have changed the day before I am submitting this assignment due to the fact that the Police Directorate released a new version of their webpage. I have not found replacement links due to time constrictions. I have saved the cached copy of the documents from the old site on my pc and can produce them.

Frontex

Frontex was established as a direct consequence of the Schengen cooperation. Its full name is the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, established in 2004. Its headquarters are in Warsaw, Poland. Frontex operates in the following areas: joint operations, training, risk analysis, research, rapid response teams, assisting members in joint return operations, information systems and information sharing environment (Frontex, 2013a).

Frontex has on its disposal rapid intervention teams European Border Guard Teams (EBGT) that can be deployed to a host country and assist with the situation. The EBGT members have full powers to perform border checks or border surveillance in accordance with Schengen Borders Code on the territory of another Schengen country. That is possible due to the common practice requirement from all member states (Frontex, 2013b).

Border Crossing Crime

It should be noted that there are some discussions on what transnational crime is and what is international, but the terms seem to have been used interchangeably throughout the literature. Some authors are clear and consequent in the use of the terms (Felsen & Kalaitzidis, 2005, pp. 4-7; Walker, 2011, pp. 119-120). This discussion is a topic on its own and out of the scope of this paper. In this context, the term transnational crime will be used interchangeably with border crossing crime to refer to criminal acts that take place in more than one country. International police cooperation is the term that will be used throughout this paper to refer to cooperation between two or more states' law enforcement agencies.

The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI)

“The (UDI) is responsible for processing applications from foreign nationals who wish to visit or live in Norway, the running of asylum reception centres and expulsion cases.” (UDI, 2017a)

The chart below illustrated the Police's role in relation to the UDI. The chart is based on the current police organisation.

The other players in the immigration administration

Organization chart

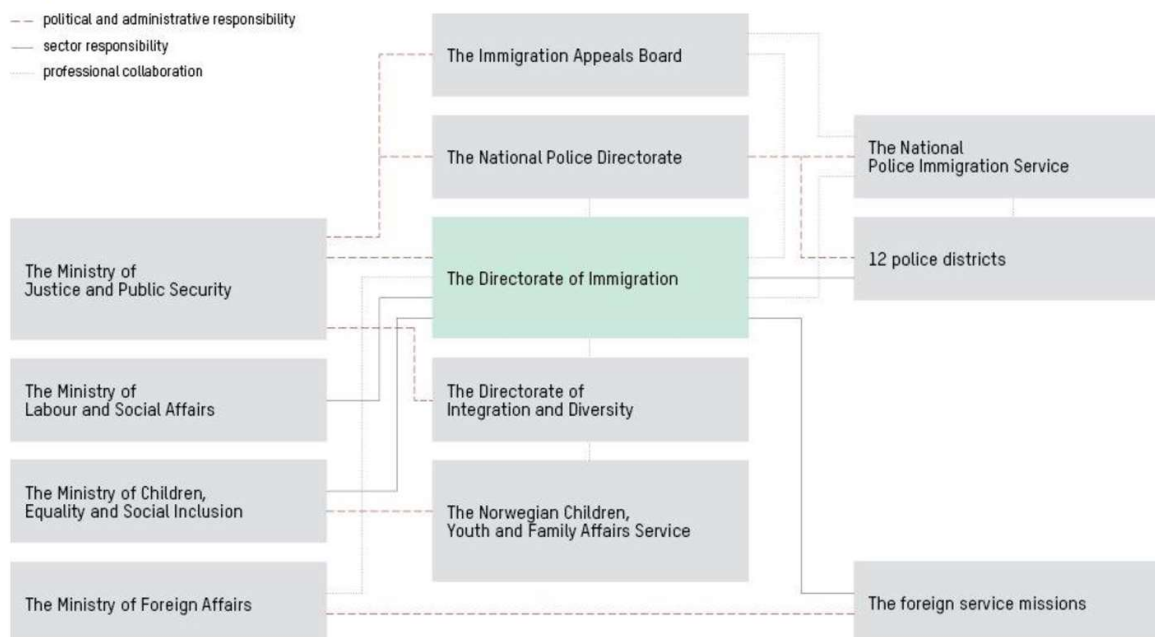


Figure 1: Organization chart of the immigration administration⁵ (UDI, 2017b)

The UDI is relevant in the discussion of the police tasks in immigration cases and asylum registration process. They are also the authority that can make expulsion decisions.

The Police Chief's Managing Tool (PSV)

The PSV is a computer program that is used for generating reports on the basis of the targets that are set for the period that is measured. The parameter indicators there function as a signal of how the results that are input measure towards the targets (scorecards). Some of the results in the PSV are imported electronically directly from the other systems that the Police use for processing their cases, while others are punched in manually.

Coastal Operations and Surveillance System (COSS)

COSS is a system for surveillance and control of foreign civil vessels. The system is administered by the Norwegian Armed Forces, but the police also has access to the database.

⁵ The chart represents the current (2017) police organisation with only 12 districts.

2. Background and Theory

Globalization is a phenomenon that influences every aspect of life and the Police and their tasks are no exception. I will give an overview of some of the social and political changes that serve as a background for the changes we observed in both how the Police are managed and their changing tasks and methods of work. Here I look primarily at what does this mean for Norwegian Police to deal with border crossing crime or cybercrime. I look at how the changes in the types of crime lead to changes in legislation and different treatment of foreign citizens in the judicial and correctional systems (Aas, 2013, 2014; Bø, 2013; Fangen & Kjærre, 2013; Johansen, Ugelvik, Aas, & Bø, 2013). The literature on the Norwegian perspective has only started to appear recently and it again points to the necessity of the discussion of the topic.

Then, I will discuss the theories that have influenced my perception of the question of globalization and police management. The theory that is mostly associated with the changes I am observing in the documents I am studying is NPM. I will use two theoretical perspectives: the structural and the myth-related perspectives (Christensen, Egeberg, Lægreid, Roness, & Røvik, 2015). The structural refers to the organisation of the central leadership in the police and the myth-related perspective refers to trends in how the Police are managed. The discussion of the theoretical background here is will not include an exhaustive presentation of the theory in depth. It will only present the aspects that are related to police management and are relevant for my discussion of the documents I am studying.

2.1. Social and Political Background

-What do you think that the Police do? The policeman's initial question is quickly answered by the bright ones: -Catch thieves! -Yes, he replies, -we do that as well, but we do much more than that. The policeman talks about traffic and traffic rules, bike helmets, safety belts and children's car seats.⁶ (Finstad, 2000, p. 85)

Before looking at how the Police should adapt to the changes in society and technology, I would like to spend some time discussing what policing is seen as in the literature. In my discussion, I will comment on the recommendations to the police by various bodies, but in order to understand the change, we need to have a base notion of what police work is. In the example

⁶ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

-Hva tror dere politiet gjør? Politimannens innledende spørsmål blir raskt besvart av de fremmelige: - Fange tyver! – Ja, svarer han, - det gjør vi også, men vi gjør mye mer enn det. Politimannen snakker om trafikk og trafikkregler, sykkelhjelm, sikkerhetsbelter og barneseter. (Finstad, 2000, p. 85)

above, the answer is given by kindergarten children when they have guests from the police force. It is oversimplified but it is not that far from the public perception of what the police work is.

Reiner defines policing as an aspect of social control “*aimed* at securing social order, but its effectiveness is always debatable.” (Reiner, 2010, p. 5, italics in original). And here lies one of the main reasons for why the Police and their actions are often scrutinized and criticized. The lack of one definition of what policing is makes it challenging to discuss the changes that are made and if they are effective or not. I will not go as far as setting one definition of police work, because in the documents that I have examined there is none given. There are only different areas of police that are discussed in respect of priorities and one of my points there is that policing becomes more and more, because the basic need for law and order does not diminish because some other priority is added.

The society development has been influenced both by economic, political and demographic changes. Technology development influences all aspects of life. It facilitates people and goods mobility and it redefines what is local. Crime patterns do not necessarily follow country borders anymore and news is no longer dependent on reporters and media crew. Social media enables the news to spread instantaneously with one click. Aas (2013, pp. 4-8) describes the world becoming a smaller place in all respects, where “social space” is redefined. The police need to follow this development and pursue the “crime in the global village”. Trends are easily spread both when it comes to social life, but also when it comes to politics and management styles.

Glenny (2008) gives an excellent example of how the political situation and the expanded mobility in the last few decades, after the fall of communism, influence the crime pattern in Europe. The criminal world is quick to reorganise themselves and find new partners. The criminal groups spread not only across the county’s borders, but also in some cases in different continents. The situation after the fall of the communist regime in Eastern Europe, specifically on the Balkans, and Russia gave perfect conditions for the crime pattern to mutate (pp. 3-96). With the poor post-communist countries, it is easy to entice people on false pretences with promised for jobs in the west. Young women are often in the danger zone, vulnerable to being abused and turned into objects of trafficking. Even during the Balkan conflict, criminals from opposing states kept working together and finding new ways and routes for their trades.

Global sex trade is facilitated by the advances in technology. The Internet facilitates the blossoming sex trade across borders (Aas, 2013). It also challenges the state sovereignty and

forces changes in both how the police work and the legislation system. Furthermore, it calls for international police cooperation.

Police can no longer operate alone and need to cooperate in order to produce the desired effect, which also leads inevitably to the spread of police practice and management. An example of that cooperation would be the recent discovery in Hordaland police district of a child pornography network. The origins of this investigation are believed to stem from FBI's infiltrating "the dark web" and sharing information about sexual predators with law enforcement in other countries (Stang & Sandnes, 2016).

Police work is defined ambiguously. This makes discussion of changes in the police priorities challenging. The social and political situation is constantly changing and the police needs to adapt. Finstad (2000) and Reiner (2010) are helping define what policing is, depending on the perspective. Aas (2013) and Glenny (2008) describe the changing political and economic development alongside the technological development, which also require the Police to adapt and keep up with the development.

2.2. The Obsession with Numbers

Statistics is produced for a purpose and is normally dependent on the "order". Thus, one can say that statistics or results are a product of prioritizing. Thus, it makes sense to view criminal statistics and annual police reports as a background for what I am attempting to find out in my project. Criminal statistics is both part of the reports the Police produce, but also some of the facts that usually make the headlines in the media. The documents that I have studied show how the police are instructed to report their results and here I am going to illustrate what kind of results the police produce and how they can be interpreted. Thus, this chapter shows what output the government get when do not formulate clear goals. Lomell (2011) notices a change in the way the reports are constructed and relates them to NPM and I find similar changes in the documents of my study.

Statistics is an inevitable part of daily life and we are bombarded by numbers on a regular basis. The Police, like many other organisations, is managed by numbers. How much do we know about the way the police are governed and what drives the changes when they happen? This chapter will look at how statistics is used and, one can say, misused for that purpose. Numbers can be very persuasive and very tempting to use and make often good arguments. In my short time as an employee in the police, I have seen first-hand that many decisions require statistic data as a starting point and it is not given that those using the data have read the fine print under

the table. The fine print being the explanation of what the numbers stand for. Data is also gathered electronically, with the fine print omitted altogether.

As little scientific as it might sound, media can be a driving force when they present a piece of statistic, isolated from context with a catchy and loaded title. Politicians, similarly to media, make use of it, quite often taken out of its context. In addition, it is not uncommon that data gathered for one purpose, is used for a totally different purpose without much explanation. When it comes to the Police, criminal statistics is produced with many purposes and one cannot talk about how the police are governed without looking at the background for decision-making. Most, if not all of the political decisions today are based at some point on statistics. One should not simply read it off, but rather understand it first. It also makes sense to consider the purpose the statistics is produced for, one should always read the fine lines in the bottom of a page filled with numbers.

I have no intention to say that the statistics produced is right or wrong, but rather that it is made for a purpose, which should be kept in mind when using it. Not everything that is reported to the police is recorded as a crime and not everything recorded as a crime is a result from a report by the public. In addition, the counting rules can change through time, for different reasons. Either the rules of counting change, the penal law changes or simply the reporting pattern changes due to, for example changes in the insurance rules. A change in those may result in a break in statistics, which makes longitudinal studies challenging. Changes in the penal law do not happen that often.

The police are required to present and find trends and patterns in crime statistics, so these can be used to develop strategies for solving or preventing them from happening. In addition, those patterns and trends are then used to propose what is to be prioritized the year to come. Looking, for example, at immigration and crime among immigrants, the trends might change depending on the social, economic and political situation in Europe. With the recent developments in the asylum seeker patterns, there has been a lot of discussion in the media on the topic of immigration and crime. Are immigrants more criminal now that we concentrate on that subject and start counting? Do we know that the crime rate has increased if we have not measure it the same way before, if at all? Lomell (2010, p. 122) points out that “crime statistics do not reflect the reality of crime: they are part of its creation.” Crime is a social phenomenon and when we start recording it and using those numbers further for policy making we influence the numbers we will get in the next round. External factors also influence the pattern people report crime. If,

for example, insurance companies require a police report in order to approve a claim, people will be more inclined to report that type of crime.

Publishing official crime statistics puts a formal frame around the way the data is gathered and is presented with comments, that clarify some of the challenges and differences from year to year. Even this source might turn out unreliable and incomplete. It is dependent on those that report crime, those that record crime and changes of penal law. Changes of penal law is traceable, but they still pose a challenge when looking at longitudinal data. The official statistics comes with comments and instructions on how to be read and a disclaimer about the existence of dark numbers (crimes that go unreported or unrecorded)(Lomell, 2010, pp. 124-128). Taking all those challenges into consideration, one can complicate things even further by using the crime data as performance indicator.

In the beginning of each year, the budgets are distributed to the police districts with their corresponding prioritizing documents. Those will be discussed in the chapter to follow, but here I want to say something about how they are constructed and what they are based on. When the Director of Public Prosecutions⁷ gives out the annual recommendation to the police, they normally base it on the results from the previous year, the criminal statistics, as well as the political and social situation in Norway and Europe. Pointing out which fields and areas should be prioritized, is alright, but when you attach a monetary value to it you inevitably influence the results for the year to come. To some extent, this is the purpose of those documents. On the other hand, the areas that are not prioritized will end up producing lower results, which does not necessarily mean that crimes of that type are less. Unfortunately, we can encounter other situations too, where what is prioritized as fields is not what you have been allocated money for. This makes it extremely challenging for the local police chiefs and can force them to become “creative”.

Lomell (2011) looks at the annual reports of Oslo police and illustrates how criminal statistics gradually became a part of them and eventually became their only purpose and topic. Criminal statistics starts out as well-hidden part of the reports, if at all present, and ends up as the dominant or even main part of them. It goes from being a representation of the workload to becoming the result of knowledge based policing. It goes from being input to becoming output

⁷ Riksadvokaten

and outcome. To put it this way, criminal statistics starts out as being a descriptive source of knowledge and ends up being governing tool.

The reports before 1960s include almost no crime statistics, but they are rather a description of the police and their activities (Lomell, 2011). The 1970s gave crime statistics more space and by the second half of the 1980s crime statistics became the first topic already in the summary of the annual reports. After the 1990s, criminal statistics became the only topic in the summaries and the main topic in the reports. Nowadays, there are target numbers, which measure the output the police produce with its work. However, what does it mean if the number is high? Is it a problem indicator or a result indicator? It is interesting to look at those accounts, because they are the result of what has been chosen as a priority.

The Police get their cases in several ways. Crime reported to the police, is not something the police choose themselves to prioritize, but rather what is brought to them. Much of the public opinion is based on how the police deal with that type of crime. What people report to the police may also vary from year to year. For example, as mentioned earlier, if insurance companies require a police report in order to pay out the policy, the same goes for travel documents. All those are reported as crimes and will be represented in the crime statistics, but many of these cases are just for the record and will rarely be solved. On the other hand, we have the prioritizing, that is based on the priority documents issued by the state. Those will also be connected with some target numbers for ones that can be counted. The annual reports will argument for why the numbers are one way or the other. High clearance rate of many cases is good police work on the spot, while low numbers is good preventive work and police presence.

So what is cause and what is result? Can we clearly define those? In connection to the topic that is discussed here, it would be rather challenging if not impossible, specifically when it comes to victimless crimes or offences that are generally underreported. If those crimes are not a priority for the police, it does not necessarily mean that the crime does not exist? Respectively if it is prioritized type of crime and we see more of it in the statistics, it does not necessarily mean that there is an increase of that type of crime. It can rather point at break in the statistics, which is normal for when the laws change or changes in the way the authorities count.

As mentioned earlier, statistics out of context and without background often makes the news headlines, for example the numbers of new imprisonments of foreign citizens. The Directorate of the Norwegian Correctional Services publish their own annual reports and statistics. Looking at these in isolation, it might seem that the foreign citizens in Norway are getting increasingly

criminal. That might be the case, but looking at those numbers in isolation, gives insufficient grounds to make that conclusion on the question of immigrants and crime.

How should those numbers be viewed and interpreted? Foreign citizens can be imprisoned both according to the Immigration act and the Criminal Penal code. The immigration act has changed through the years to accommodate the social and political changes. In addition, foreign citizens, in many cases, will not fulfil the requirements for executing their sentence outside of prison. The execution of sentences act § 16 states that it is a prerequisite that the convicted person had permanent residence and is employed (Straffegjennomføringsloven, 2001). That in itself excludes many foreign citizens from qualifying for this preventive measure. This is a factor that inadvertently changes the way these numbers should be read. Furthermore, how do we interpret this percentage, in relation to what? If it is a percentage of all the new imprisonments, there is already an initial filter applied to these numbers, namely only that portion of society that is in prison. What these numbers say, is only what amount of people in Norwegian prisons do not have Norwegian citizenship. What it does not say, is what the ratio in comparison to the whole population is.

I have tried to find out the ratio in comparison to the whole population, but there is no straightforward answer. The criteria to enter the population statistics, seems to be similar as the criteria to serve a sentence outside prison. The statistics is based on the number of people registered as residents by the Population Register in Norway. Chapter four of the Population Register Regulations (Forskrift om folkeregistrering, 2007) gives the guidelines for who is registered in the Norwegian Population Register. Only people who are going to stay more than six months are considered residents in Norway. This means that many of the EU/EEA-citizens would not be represented in the statistics. EU/EEA citizens need to be able to prove that they are going to stay more than six months. It is not enough that they have obtained a registration by the Police, they also need to provide a work contract for six months or more and prove that they have a place to live. Thus, looking only at those that qualify to enter the population statistics, we get a number that is much lower than the real number of foreign citizens in Norway.

It is still not safe to draw conclusions at this state because already now a contradiction can be pointed out. The reason why one enters the statistics of the Directorate of the Norwegian Correctional Service, is partially the reason why one is excluded from the statistics for the population. Both types of statistics are used in political debates and as grounds for policy making.

One can partially take into account the people with a D-number. The D-number is a temporary number issued, but do not qualify for getting a permanent ID number. They still have to have a justifiable need for obtaining this number. Why only partially? Again, similar reasoning applies, one needs to justify the need for a D-number. Thus, people who are in the country to commit criminal acts or here illegally will not necessarily be part of both statistics.

The point here is that at first view using statistics is very easy and beneficial, there will be concrete data to serve as ground for decision making. The assumption is that we speak about subsets of data. The part of the population that does not have Norwegian citizenship and the portion of those that are in Norwegian prisons. But things are not that simple, there is no accurate record of how many foreign citizens who reside in Norway at any given point. Even taking into account D-numbers, we still do not know how many of those that got D-numbers in previous years are still in the country. Factoring also those that are not registered in any way through the population register, the picture is even more unclear. On one hand, we have the Norwegian population, which is well documented and we can easily calculate the percentage of the population who are in prison. On the other hand, we have the uncertain number of foreign population that reside in Norway and extra grounds for imprisonment. The extra grounds for imprisonment are, for example, them not being permanent residents, offences according the immigration act, uncertain identity or no money to pay their fines.

If one has concluded directly from the numbers presented in the media or by the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service, one would have assumed that crime has gone down. What has happened is that they changed what was to be counted as sanction. In addition, this data needs again to be put in perspective to the population and the increase of immigration, for which there is no exact number.

So why use statistics at all if it so uncertain? Statistics is not without value, but one should be aware of its shortcomings when using it. Over time, it can even be reliable on certain topics if well documented, but one should exercise caution when using it and allow for error margins. Statistics when gathered systematically, using the same criteria, can be used for making trend reports and determine prioritizing of task force division. However, when it becomes the only justification for making decisions it opens for misuse.

Statistics will give us an answer to what the situation is now in respect to certain criteria. We must keep in mind what the criteria are so we know what exactly is measured. What it does not give us, is what lead to those numbers. Crime statistics is not as simple as counting sheep one after the other, crime is a social phenomenon and as such, it sort of creates itself (Lomell, 2010, pp. 122-124). When we decide what is counted as crime and how it is measured, we have already limited the scope of what results we can get. Thus, if the police get target number for solving a certain number and type of crimes and that is connected to the budget division, it is not unreasonable to expect that the districts will make it a priority to fulfil that requirement.

One could think that this has no influence on how people report crime, because a crime is a crime and how the police prioritizes will affect the solving rate and maybe the time they use, but this is not the case. If the crime is not a serious crime and repeated reports result in closed cases, for whatever reasons, one loses the desire to report the crime in the end unless there is another reason for doing that, for example needing a police report to file an insurance claim. In effect, how the police prioritize also affects what is reported (Lomell, 2010; Maguire, 2015).

Another side effect is what some call creative statistics, what is recorded. Crimes, for which the police are the initiator of action, can go unrecorded, especially if they are not likely to be solved. This will then increase the solving rate. Therefore, if the aim is better solving rate, this will be one way of being creative. However, if the purpose aim is detecting more crimes, the approach will change accordingly. That is not to say that this is done on purpose, it might simply be the result of limited resources, as it is the case in most situations.

NPM is the perfect example on how policing is done by means of numbers Lomell (2010, pp. 140-148). The old ways of the police are, in this light, described as reactive and not so much self-driven toward a result, an output. However, NPM takes public administration to new heights, it becomes more business-like, which is both positive and negative. One should be able to justify the use of public funds, but this should not happen at the expense of the service provided.

One can look at different factors that influence all of the above mentioned data. Skarðhamar, Thorsen, and Henriksen (2011) look at what groups of immigrants are represented in these statistics. Among other things, they look at factors that might be influencing the trend that we see, like gender and age of the immigrants and in some cases the country of origin.

Mohn (2014) supports the challenges pointed out earlier that looking at existing statistics is insufficient to make a conclusion about whether immigrants are more criminal or not. One needs to study both the background for gathering statistics and as well what age and gender group they are comprised of.

I have tried to show in this chapter that statistics is a powerful tool that needs to be used with caution. One needs to know how the data is gathered and for what purpose it is generated as well as with what limitations. When that statistics in turn is used as a government tool, it is not unusual that that desired outcome becomes an aim on its own. As Lomell (2010, 2011) shows, it is not uncommon that no matter the outcome, there can always be found a creative explanation.

2.3. NPM and the Police

NPM theory is the one most commonly associated with public management the last couple of decades. The Police are a public organisation that is financed by the taxpayers' money and public opinion in this context matters. Police management and organisation is often scrutinised by the public. It seems to be a common belief that for an organisation to change, it needs to be reformed. The most recent example in Norwegian police history is the ongoing police reform⁸ that is known by many names. Reforms are not necessarily a bad thing, but their success lies in the good analysis beforehand and the ability to target the right fields to change. The previous reform was the Police reform 2000. One has not completely seen the results of the previous reform before the new one started. Trending theories in public management are a big influence in how the police is managed and organised.

One of the trending theories in public management in the last couple of decades is NPM theory and has been around for some time now. Jones and Newburn (2005) and Golding and Savage (2008) describe a similar trend happening in the United Kingdom; NPM taking over in the police and classical characteristics are:

- being close to customers
- being performance driven (targets, standards)
- continuous quality improvement
- lean flat structures – decentralised decision-making
- tight cost controls

⁸ The new structure of the police in Norway was in place 01.01.2015

- performance related human resource (HR) systems. Pollitt (quoted in Golding and Savage (2008, p. 739))

These characteristics are not difficult to spot when we look at how the police are organized in the Police reform 2000 with the intention to be closer to the public (neighbourhood policing) and delivering more (service) for less (money). However, the Police do not have a flat structure and the decision making in the Police is more centralized and highly political.

Johnsen (2013) on behalf of UNIO⁹ has looked at how the public sector is managed and led. His publication brings another point to the discussion about NPM, namely that it is not implemented on its own. NPM dates back to the 1970s, but performance driven management is older than that and has been used in public management long before NPM. Both forms of management are intended to give the best result for the society. The targets are an instrument, an indicator to what and where changes are needed. There is nothing wrong with either forms of management, but performance driven management is often taken to the extreme and becomes micromanaging.

So which of the types of management can we find in the Norwegian Police? There is no one single answer here, it is a mixture of several types. There are elements of NPM, performance driven management (those two overlap) and there is a notion of self-leadership. In addition, we have the media and politics. Media can generate waves, it can enforce new performance indicators and even lead to changes in law. However, the media often present one side of the story, because the other side is sworn to professional secrecy. One should think that when it comes to management, they should be able not to lean under pressure, but unfortunately this happens quite often.

Politicians on the other hand, might have good intentions to begin with, but their mandates are too short to let a reform run its natural speed or tolerate some bad publicity. They are concerned about the next election and have a tendency of rushing through things to make their deadline before the next election. The results would only be obvious if the police are given enough time to produce any meaningful results.

As Johnsen (2013, p. 13) points out the target goals are vague and difficult to measure and this may be why the performance indicators tend to become target goals by themselves. When the

⁹ The Confederation of Unions for Professionals

real target is not clearly stated, there can be no criticism that it is not reached. In addition, the performance indicators are way too many, so many that one gets the impression that all the police do is a part of this list. This is illustrated in the figure below. The police are like the fir-tree principle, or at least giving the illusion that they are having over 100 performance indicators with vision at the top and target goal hierarchy below.

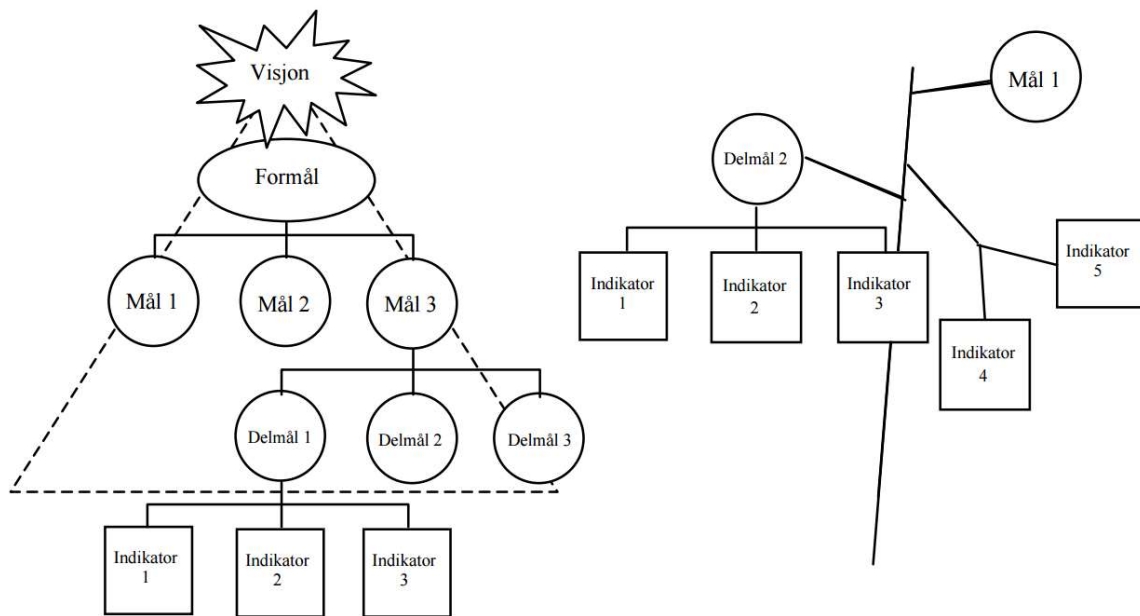


Figure 2: The fir-tree principle (left figure) and the pine-tree principle (right figure) for formulating target and performance management systems¹⁰ (Johnsen, 2013, p. 19)

It is only natural that the taxpayers would like to hold the police responsible for how their money is spent. However, the police perform a service where not everything can be measured. So giving the impression that everything is measured opens for unjust criticism. If every indicator has some monetary value attached, that leaves no room for the tasks that cannot be measured.

¹⁰ My translation. The original Norwegian text: “*Grantre-prinsippet (venstre figur) og furutre-prinsippet (høyre figur) for utforming av mål- og resultatstyringssystemer.*” (Johnsen, 2013, p. 19)

H. O. I. Gundhus (2016) addresses exactly this point in relation to the police immigration control. The immigration law is often preferred to the criminal act for several reasons, among others – to solve capacity problems and to be more cost effective. The preference for the use of the immigration act opens for misperception of immigrants in the society, since immigration is associated with crime.

Recent debates, both media driven and political, discuss the topic of exiting the Schengen agreement, but is that a solution? I lack the in-depth analysis and explanations of what either decision might entail. Politicians play on the public fear of terror and social dumping. If we look at Great Britain, the people did not realize what they were voting for and just wanted to make a stand. Instead, they ended up making a significant decision, which we have not yet seen the consequences of. I should point out here that Great Britain was an EU member and not a member of Schengen, while Norway is not an EU member (Norway is an EEA/EFTA member) and a member of Schengen.

3. Methodology

To use a method, from Greek *methodos*, means to follow one road toward one goal.¹¹ (Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 29, italics in original)

I started my master degree in the Norwegian Police University College in 2012 and in one of the introductory courses we had an inspiring lecture about statistics by Heidi Mork Lomell. She presented her findings from the annual reports and this brought me back to the current topic. Later studies have also focused on the way the police reports and their results. My focus here is how the police is asked to report and if they are given an impossible task.

It sounds like an easy job when the goal is clear and the road is without obstacles. This chapter presents the methods I have used and the journey and choice made along the way. The beginning looked very different. Influenced by my major area of study, international policing, I wanted to say something about immigration and crime. The plan was clear and the choice of method too. I was going to do a quantitative analysis on the subject, looking at data from the Norwegian Population Register, Statistics Norway, the Norwegian Correctional Service and the Police. There was not research published on this data and I thought I would fill in the empty room in the discussion about immigration and crime. It turned out that the statistics of what I was looking for was not as easy to find among the data publicly available. I used a whole year to find out that I could not do a quantitative analysis as planned. I had chosen a period when a lot is happening in respect to immigration and policing, from year 2000 to 2010. There were two major problems: there was a break in statistics from Statistics Norway due to a change in the way the numbers were presented and change in the criminal act; the other problem was with the statistics from the Population Register – the population statistics existed for Norwegian citizens and immigrants that have settled in Norway, but not for all foreign citizens in Norway. I have dedicated next chapter to statistics and to what knowledge it gives us and how it can be used for different purposes.

The focus of my study needed to be changed and it got directed to the priorities of the police for the same period. I could not look at the results, but I could look at the way the police prioritized and what areas of crime were the center of attention for the police. So, this time around, I did not have my research questions ready. I started broad and optimistic. I thought

¹¹ My translation. Original Norwegian text: “Å bruke en metode, av den greske *methodos*, betyr å følge en bestemt vei mot et mål.» (Johannessen, Tufte, & Christoffersen, 2010, p. 29, italics in original)

that in order to be able to say something about how the police prioritizes, I need to look at how the priorities are decided.

I decided to concentrate on the same period, because there is much happening then both in terms of immigration, but also with the organisation in the police as a public institution. The method consequently had to change too, from quantitative study to document study. The first step was to gather the documents. Some were easier to get hold of than others. For example, the circulars issued by the Director of Public Prosecutions is an open public document, that can be simply downloaded from their website, while the documents issued by the Police directorate were not as easy to get hold of. I started gathering documents at the end of April 2015 and the process lasted until October the same year, when I got the final reply from the archives of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security that some of the documents I wanted to get hold of did not exist in the archives. I was not able to obtain the district specific documents for the period 2000-2003. I ended up studying documents issued by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) and by the Police Directorate. For the period the Police Directorate did not exist, so I have studied the corresponding documents issued but the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

I have examined the following documents¹²:

Circulars by the Director of Public Prosecutions

- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen - år 2000 (Riksadvokaten, 2000)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2001 (Riksadvokaten, 2001)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2002 (Riksadvokaten, 2002)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2003 (Riksadvokaten, 2003)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2004 (Riksadvokaten, 2004)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2005 (Riksadvokaten, 2005)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2006 (Riksadvokaten, 2006)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2007 (Riksadvokaten, 2007)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2008 (Riksadvokaten, 2008a)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2009 (Riksadvokaten, 2009)
- Mål og prioriteringer for straffesaksbehandlingen i politiet – 2010 (Riksadvokaten, 2010)

¹² The documents are given with their original names in Norwegian, the same way they appear in the references in the end.

Instructions by the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (2000 and 2001)¹³

- Kap. 440 Politi- og Lensmannsetaten: Tildelingsbrevet for 2000 (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999)
- Kap. 440 Politi- og Lensmannsetaten: Tildelingsbrev for 2001 (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000)

General instructions by the Police Directorate to the districts

- Disponeringsskrivet 2002: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2002)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2003: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2003b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2004: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2004b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2005: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2005b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2006: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2006b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2007: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2007b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2008: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2008b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2009: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2009b)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2010: Politi- og lensmannsetaten (Politidirektoratet, 2010b)

District specific instructions from the Police Directorate to Oslo police district

- Disponeringsskrivet for 2003 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2003a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2004 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2004a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2005 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2005a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2006 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2006a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2007 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2007a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2008 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2008a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2009 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2009a)
- Disponeringsskrivet for 2010 - særskilt del Oslo politidistrikt (Politidirektoratet, 2010a)

I had also obtained district specific documents for Østfold police district and for Øst-Finnmark police district, but when I started skimming through the documents, I realised that I will not be able to compare districts based on just the documents I had and that such a comparison is a bigger project than this thesis. I should admit that my approach to the documents was not very

¹³ The Police Directorate did not exist before 2002

systematic. I skimmed through their content several times, hoping that the questions would reveal themselves to me from the content. This approach was not the most productive and this is why it took some time before I was on the right track. Eventually, I narrowed the scope down and started going through the documents again, this time in a systematic way.

The three questions that emerged in the end were:

- Is there a change in the way the police prioritize in that period (2000-2010)?

I look at what types of police work is prioritized, including both types of crime and administrative tasks. I am studying primarily the national priorities, but my material also includes district specific instructions from the Police Directorate to Oslo police district. The one district I am looking in addition is mainly to see if the resources are distributed in correspondence with the increasing tasks.

- Is there a difference in how the police are managed?

The Police Directorate is established in this period and is supposed to mark change of management and to some extent it does, just not in the lines of NPM. The directorate is influenced by political micromanagement and ad hoc priorities, that are influenced by the media.

In addition, the establishment of the National Police Immigration service mark a change in organization. The increased flow of asylum seekers and the increasing number of people that must be deported, requires a department that works specifically with this task.

- Is there a change in the types of crime that are prioritized in respect to globalization?

I look at how border crossing crime influences the way the police work. Changes in law criminalize offences that were treated administratively before and this leads to bigger case load for the police in terms of prosecuting them for criminal offences.

3.1. Document study

Knowledge is retrieved in many different ways through text. Through interpreting and filtering information from the texts we get hold of what is just beyond our nearest surroundings and our own sensory apparatus.¹⁴ (Bratberg, 2014, p. 9)

¹⁴ My translation. Original Norwegian text:

Kunnskap innhentes på mange forskjellige måter gjennom tekst. Ved å tolke og filtrere informasjon fra tekster får vi tak på det som er bortenfor de nærmeste omgivelsene og vårt eget sansesapparat. (Bratberg, 2014, p. 9)

In this project, I study the three sets of documents listed above to find out more about the social surroundings and global changes that influence the way the police prioritize. My approach to the documents, as described above, deviates from the standard approach in the literature on document study. Classical documents study is a method where data (documents) is gathered so that it can be systematically examined in order to find relevant information.

Qualitative content analysis lies on systematic study of documents so that the content can be categorised and the data registered in accordance to what is relevant for the research topic and the project in question.¹⁵ (Grønmo, 2004, p. 187).

In my case, I wanted to see what precipitated the change in the way the annual reports were constructed (Lomell, 2011) and if I could find corresponding changes in the management documents and the priorities in the DPP circulars. However, I had only a general notion of my research questions when I started studying the documents, my questions came as a result of the content of the documents.

Preparations are an important part of the project. A major part of the preparations is deciding the focus for the gathering of data (Grønmo, 2004, p. 189). The focus of the study here has changed along the way, but it has been narrowed, which means that the documents gathered are still relevant and sufficient, but some of them will remain unused. When deciding which documents to use, I have considered how the police is managed. The priorities given by the Police Directorate are a product of the DPP's circular and the instruction given from the Ministry of Justice and Public Security and the State budget (Politiet, 2017b). I have chosen only two of these sources: the DPP's circulars and the instructions given by the Police Directorate with their corresponding district specific part for Oslo police district. Since I am not going to compare the exact difference in budgets, the selected documents are considered enough to answer the questions in this project. This is not to say that they cannot be supplemented with other documents and they are not considered exhaustive.

As recommended part of the preparation stage after retrieving the necessary documents, Johannessen et al. (2010, p. 155) suggest that one organises the texts according to topic. All my documents are on the same topic, priorities for the police, and I have organised my data

¹⁵ My translation. Original Norwegian text:

Kvalitativ innholdsanalyse bygger på systematisk gjennomgang av dokumenter med sikte på kategorisering av innholdet og registrering av data som er relevante for problemstillingen i den aktuelle studien. (Grønmo, 2004, p. 187)

according to author. Since I am examining texts for a period of time, it is more practical to go systematically through them from the top down. I start with the DPP's circulars, then look for the same findings in the instructions from the Police Directorate and the district specific documents.

As I am looking at how the police is managed, I have picked documents that depict both sides of police management: the prosecution authorities have the professional steering of the Police; while resources, both material and personnel, are managed by the police within their given framework from the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (Glomseth, 2015, p. 57). By choosing the DPP circulars and the Police Directorate general instructions to the districts, I have both sides of the two-track system of police management.

Within document study one can use different types of approaches and analyses. All of them view the text as a source of data to be analysed and interpreted, depending on the approach. In my thesis, I have used both discourse analysis, idea analysis and qualitative analysis of quantitative data.

“Every society has its own way to use terms, and this forms how members of the society view reality.”¹⁶(Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 222). Bratberg (2014, p. 29) defines discourse as both what is said and the context around it. Lomell (2011) shows in her study of the annual police reports that there is a change of the discourse. “..., it is not what crime statistics the police looked at, but what they saw-and *why* they saw what they saw-...”(Lomell, 2011, p. 192, italics in original). Building on that, I can say that I am looking at the “what” and the “why” in my project, but in the documents that the police are managed by.

“*Discourse analysis* is a collective term for different language oriented analysis approaches. (...) Discourse analysis is about analysis of remarks, statements and texts.”¹⁷ (Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 221, italics in original). This type of analysis then can be described as a sociolinguistic analysis of text documents and their influence on perceptions of reality. In this case, how the police are perceived by the public in respect to their tasks, performance and financing.

¹⁶ My translation. Original Norwegian text: «Ethvert samfunn har bestemte måter å bruke begreper på, og det former igjen måten samfunnsmedlemmene ser virkeligheten på.» (Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 222)

¹⁷ My translation. The original Norwegian text: «*Diskursanalyse* er en samlebetegnelse for forskjellige språklig orienterte analysetilnæringer. (...) Diskursanalyse dreier seg om analyse av ytringer, utsagn og tekster.» (Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 221, italics in original)

So how does discourse analysis fit with my document study? I examine governing documents for the police in an attempt to answer my research questions. Discourse analysis can take an empirical approach as mine and it looks at the structure that gives meaning to the text (Bratberg, 2014, p. 30) For example, when I, in chapter 6, discuss the changes in how the police are managed, I also look at the changes in society and emerging trends in public management. When studying my data, I examine both what is said directly and what is omitted but determined by the context of political and social changes.

The language in the documents I am examining is formal and should be unambiguous. However, the reports Lomell (2011) has examined interpret the statistics produced in different ways. Discourse analysis of the governing documents is thus relevant to look for what has changed. The language is equally formal, but the form of the document changes. The style of the district specific instructions, for example, changes from a more descriptive to a much more normative and schematic style. The police are required to report in a certain way in unison with the method of management. This again reflects on how the police and police work is perceived in the society. Thus, changes in the society and political situation change the way the police are managed and the way they report their results. That changes how society perceives the police and police work. If, for example, the police change what is prioritized tasks for the police and deportation is one of them, this will be one of the figures of the reports. The media are quick to pick up those numbers, as well as politicians, and they are communicated to the public. The public opinion of immigrants is then influenced by this and only the criminalised side of immigration comes to the surface.

3.2. The Process of Obtaining the Documents

There are three sets of documents that have been used for this project. All three sets are for the period 2000 – 2010.

The DPP's circulars are public documents, available to anyone. I have used the DPP's website to download the necessary documents. Since the documents are public, no permission has been obtained to use them and all of them were obtained online.

The general instructions to the police districts are now published online on the Police website (Politiet, 2017b). However, the documents available online go back only 3 years. I sent a request to the Police Directorate through a personal connection of mine asking if I could be directed to the correct receiver of my request. My initial contact forwarded me to the Department of

Management and Implementation¹⁸, who were the correct receiver of my request. In my request, I have explained that I am a student at the Norwegian Police University College and that the documents will be used for my master's project in Police Science. The total process took 6 months. For this set of documents, I was forwarded to my former employer, Troms Police District, since they had the documents easily available. The documents were sent to me by e-mail.

The district specific instructions are exempted from public disclosure. Those were requested together with the general instructions disclosing the intentions for their use. The documents were sent to me, to my work mail in the Police. There was no comment on whether I need to exempt my thesis from public disclosure. The documents themselves are exempted from public disclosure. The information I use from these documents is minimal in quantity. It relates primarily to the form of the documents in terms of language and to changes in the organization. I mention also performance indicator for number of people to be deported each month. This information has been shared publicly in the recent years. There is no personal information on any level and, as mentioned before, I have explained what the information will be used for in my request to gain access to the documents.

I had requested the district specific documents for Oslo police district, Østfold police district, Østfinnmark police district and Hordaland police district. I started with the intention of using all of them and do a comparative document study of the three districts in respect to the general instructions. During the process of work, it became clear that that I need to narrow down the scope and the number of documents I was examining, so I ended using only the documents from the DPP, the Police directorate: the general instructions and the district specific instructions for Oslo police district. I chose Oslo, because the annual reports that Lomell (2011) has used are also from Oslo Police District and this can put my findings in context.

3.3. The Process of Examining the Data

As mentioned in the previous section, I had requested a great number of documents. I started by skimming through all of them once to get a general sense of the contents. The process of formulation the research questions took time, thus I was looking at the whole set of documents for a while. Since I was not going to compare the districts in terms of budgets, results and

¹⁸ My translation. The Norwegian name: Seksjon for Styring og Implementering.

priorities, I picked only Oslo police district for this project. The reason I picked Oslo, is that some of the previous studies have also been concentrated on it, for example Lomell (2011).

To help with the analysis, I divided the texts into groups by type of document and I had three types of documents: the directives by the DPP, the general instructions to the police districts by the Police Directorate and the district specific instructions for Oslo police district by the Police Directorate.

After dividing the documents into three groups, I started going through them in a more systematic way. I used one colour for the general groups of priorities (yellow) and then a different colour to mark subgroups (green). Since 2000 is my point zero, I had no colour coding for changes there, but when I studied the following years I marked the changes from the previous years with a new colour (orange). I should specify here that I have not tracked every minute change, but I was concentrated on changes that are related to globalization and police organization.

Once I have performed the same procedure on all three sets of documents, the data was still rather chaotic. It was then that I again read through the DPP's directives and made a list of some of the major changes for that period and went again through the rest of the documents looking for those changes among the text marked in orange.

In the end, I could see the three groups: one, which was the total list; one which included changes in organisation and management type and the last group was changes in the police priorities that can be attributed to globalization.

It should be mentioned here that while I was proofreading my project 29.06.2017 and doublechecking the references, I discovered that the Police Directorate has just published a new police website, which means that all my references to that website have either changed address or unreachable. I have taken a PDF copy of the cached memory of my search with the documents published on the old website and can be produced if necessary.

3.4. Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are often discussed in relation to scientific works and within quantitative studies there are a number of tests that can be performed on the data to determine its quality. In qualitative studies, those are not directly applicable. Johannessen et al. (2010) are of the opinion that sometimes qualitative studies can be evaluated by these two criteria, while other times

qualitative studies should be judged according to different criteria. They operate with four terms “reliability”, “trustworthiness (concept validity)”, “generality (external validity)” and “confirmability (objectivity)”¹⁹ (Johannessen et al., 2010, pp. 229-232). Not all of these are applicable to my project and in what follows I will discuss only those that are applicable to my project.

Reliability is connected to the data examined, the method of gathering it and the way it is processed (Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 229). Had I just discussed globalization and crime, the source material would have been endless. However, this project uses only data from official documents and the documents are not manipulated in any way to produce a result. The documents are limited in number and subject to the public archives. This means that in terms of retesting the same documents, they would not have changed. I have not used any text analysis software and all the documents were studied manually. This opens for omissions or different interpretations, but in section 3.4. I will address that topic.

Generality (external validity) is a criterion that can be applied both on quantitative and qualitative studies. Generalisation is the ultimate goal of studies. We do not study a phenomenon only to describe in isolation (Johannessen et al., 2010, p. 231). I have studied the period when the Police Reform 2000 was implemented. The number of districts was reduced by half and the Police Directorate was established and adopted a different management style. The different management style is not unique to the police, though only the police have their unique tasks in society. NPM and target and performance management are typical for all public sector, and they start prior to the period I am studying, but the period I am studying gives the rise of the Police Directorate, which embodies the essence of those two styles of management.

Through the whole process, I had the studies on the police annual reports in the back of my mind, so the questions had to be in relevance to that as well.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

When doing research on one’s own organisation, it is important to be able to separate the researcher from the employee. The topic I am researching does not have a direct connection with my current position in the Police ICT Services. I changed positions before I started writing on my current topic. However, my previous job as an immigration and border control office has

¹⁹ My translation. In the original Norwegian text the terms are: “Pålitelighet (reliabilitet)”, “Troverdighet (begrepsvaliditet)”, “Overførbarhet (ekstern validitet)” and “Bekreftbarhet (objektivitet)” (Johannessen et al., 2010, pp. 229-232)

posed some unexpected challenges. Much of the knowledge I had about this sphere of police work, was gained during my own experience and I found myself often using that knowledge assuming it is general knowledge and had to go back to find reference for it. Hopefully I have managed to adhere to the principle of good reference practice as defined by (NESH, 2014).

In addition, I have been the leader of one of the labour unions at work Politiets Fellesforbund (PF), which has given me a valuable insight in how things function in the Police. It has provided me with a lot of the knowledge I have in this area and it has most definitely influenced the way I look at things. I have been conscious about this fact through the whole process of writing and I have attempted to be objective in my discussion of the topic. Since my topic came as a suggestion to me by the Norwegian Police University College, it is not chosen for reasons of my affiliations with the labour union in the Police. Thus, in my opinion, I have complied with the norms of and values of research as described by NESH (2016, p. 10).

Another challenge is that part of the material I am analysing is classified, or at least it was marked as such when it was archived. According to Bjørge, Myhrer, and Politihøgskolen (2015, p. 20), it can be relevant in such cases to ask the leader of the organization for permission to use those in research. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, though my initial request went through a personal contact, I was eventually forwarded to the correct receiver of my request for documents. My inquiry through my personal contact was only to find out who is the correct receiver of my request, the Department of Management and Implementation. In my request, I have explained that I am a student at the Norwegian Police University College and that the documents will be used for my master's project in Police Science. I had also suggested that if necessary I can also ask for my thesis to be exempted from publicity, but I just got the documents I requested in return without any remark on the subject.

When it comes to the data itself, most of it has become public knowledge already. If you look the instructions for 2017, all the information I used and present for the period I am studying is now made public (Politidirektoratet, 2017). It is my assumption that this is the reason for why I did not get any remark on that subject when the documents were sent to me.

3.6. Limitations of the Study

This document study is not an exhaustive study. It does not look at every aspect of the documents or all the changes. As described above, the scope of the study has been limited and modified several times due to practical reasons. At first, I had district specific documents for

three more districts, but I had to cut down on the number of documents so that it is manageable for this project. Thus, there was the sheer physical aspect of the limitations.

The Police Directorate did not exist for the whole period I am examining. This results in first two instructions to the police district being issued by the Ministry of Justice and Public Security instead of the Police Directorate. Due to the same reason, the district specific instructions do not begin before 2003, I have doublechecked with both the Police Directorate and the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

Rather than looking at this as a possible problem, I consider it part of the changes I am looking for. The establishment of the Police Directorate is one of the big changes in the period I am studying and for rest of the questions the documents I have obtained are sufficient as they cover long enough time span.

Time is a limitation I have not thought of initially. If I did not limit the scope, the number of documents and the changes I am tracking in the documents, the project would have been too big for this thesis and impossible to finish within the final deadline on top of a full-time job.

In addition to the physical limitation of available documents for the period I am examining, I have also put some restrictions in terms of the size of the material I am studying. The purpose of this project is not to track every single change and log it, but rather look for bigger changes that can be attributed to globalization. Changes in how the Police are run and the changes in the types of crime that are committed and recorded. A change in the law for example that criminalises offences that was dealt with administratively before that, is a good example of a type of crime that was simply not considered a crime before the change in law.

Every time I read the material I have gathered I discover something new, something I have not discovered the previous time I read those documents. If I had not limited my work, it would have been very tempting to side-track in different discussions that are very interesting, but not directly relevant to the questions here.

As it was pointed out to me, those are documents that specify what should be prioritised by the police in their daily work and when there is shortage for finance. It is natural that those documents would contain only information on what should be prioritized and not about areas that should be given lower priority. However, by doing discourse analysis and looking at the intertextuality, I can give my interpretation of their meaning. It should be said that I have never

seen or found documents that say what should be given lower priority. Areas of police work might not be mentioned explicitly, but they are not given lower priority.

4. Changes in priorities

As the title of the chapter suggests, I will look for changes in the documents I examine. I will study the documents in groups starting with the DPP's circulars, then moving on to the general instructions from the Police Directorate and finishing with the district specific instructions for Oslo police district. The time span chosen (years 2000 through 2010) gives me room to look for changes through time. As Lomell (2011) describes, the police annual reports change style. I would like to see if the change in the annual reports is a result of the changes in priorities.

But before I start I need to say a few words about how priorities are decided in the Police. The Director of Public Prosecutions gives out an annual directive, which instructs the Police directorate which cases should be prioritized. Together with the budget and the instructions, given by the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, the Police Directorate determines the goals for the police for any given year²⁰ (Politiet, 2017b). The priorities are decided on basis of previous years' results and development in the society and economics.

To track changes through time, I need to examine at least three sets of documents: the annual recommendations of the Director of public Prosecutions, the instructions from the Police directorate to all the districts and the district specific instructions with the budget attached. I have picked Oslo as the biggest district in Norway. Oslo police district has unique challenges in terms of serving the capital and the many governmental establishments and events happening in Oslo. This is a district, that is one of its kind in Norway and it cannot be compared with the rest of the districts. It has unique challenges and possibilities, challenges in terms of the numerous tasks and possibilities in terms of building specialised teams to meet the challenges. In addition, it is the same district that Lomell (2011) studies and this will give me a chance to relate to her findings in the results for the period I am examining, at least for the period that overlaps. Lomell's study spans over a longer period and finishes with 2008.

I start with the priorities list of the Director of Public Prosecutions to the Police, because I expect those to be reflected in the general instructions from the Police Directorate to the districts, as well as in the district specific instructions to Oslo police district.

²⁰ An oversimplified description

4.1. Directives from the Director of Public Prosecutions to the Police Directorate

The Director of Public Prosecutions (from here on referred to as DPP) is the head of the prosecuting authority in Norway. He does not directly handle cases, but gives instructions as to which cases should be prosecuted. The prosecuting authority in the police, according to the instructions given, prosecutes most cases. Each region has its own public prosecutor, who is responsible for the supervision of the prosecuting authority in the police (Riksadvokaten, 2017).

In this section I have concentrated on the main types of crime that prioritized by the DPP and what are the recommended goals concerning them. I have examined the annual issues of the circular and tracked some of the some of the changes in priorities throughout the period. That being said, the directives from the DPP are quite general and give the overall course the police should keep. In a sense, it should be considered as the bare minimum the police should aim for.

General and Stable Priorities

The main goals and methods to achieve them are to reduce and prevent crime in Norway through proactive measures and the handling of criminal cases. Those are further broken down into more concrete goals and methods. The goals are the results, towards which the police and the prosecuting authorities should be working to achieve. The prioritizing among those describes which types of cases should be given priority within a tight budget. To my knowledge, the police normally receive a tight budget and whenever extra budgets are approved, it is normally dedicated to something specific, a change or new duties the police are supposed to perform.

The general goals in the police prosecutions are, as the DPP points out, few and stable over the years.

- ∞ High quality
- ∞ High clearance rate
- ∞ Short processing time
- ∞ Adequate reaction²¹

(Riksadvokaten, 2000, p. 2)

²¹ My translation. Original text:

- ∞ høy kvalitet
- ∞ høy oppklaringsprosent
- ∞ kort saksbehandlingstid
- ∞ adekvat reaksjon

(Riksadvokaten, 2000, p. 2)

The high quality refers to contents of the investigations, so that when the investigation is done, it gives enough grounds to the prosecution to make the case in court. There should be no doubt about the way the investigation has been conducted and all facts should be brought to light, both those in favour and those against the charge. It also refers to the way the resources are put to use, in the sense that one should always be aware of the type of case it is, the deadlines that come with it and how much information is enough for a case to be made. Both extremes (too much and too little) are to be avoided.

High clearance rate is important to the public, equally important as **short processing time**. Those two are often discussed together both in reports and in recommendations to the police, because one of them should not gain precedence on the expense of the other. One should not just close cases that are not solved, only to keep short processing time. Though, the longer the timespan, the more difficult is for a case to be solved. The main challenge that is pointed out is the time that passes without anyone working actively with a case. The recommendations regarding this are quite concrete: the investigation should be launched immediately and should be done continuously until it is complete. If there are several investigations on a case, those should be done simultaneously and the prosecution authority should shortly after make a decision to prosecute or not. Another challenge can be multiplying “easy targets”, for example drug cases. If one is charged with possession with intent to sell, this can also produce a charge for possession only etc.

The adequate reaction is appealing more to the policy makers, but also has connection to the previous two points. It is this connection that is relevant for the police. Crime should not be profitable, which means that all profits from it should be confiscated. This is often dependent on that the police, early in the investigation, are on the lookout for it and other assets of equal value, that can be seized. The reaction should depend on the severity of the offence in general. However, some of the minor burglaries might be perceived quite traumatic for the victims and those cases should not be taken lightly.

That the central priorities are few should mean that the districts have discretion to pick their own prioritized areas and cases based on the local challenges, provided that there is a budget that allows for this. In addition, this directive will also go through the police directorate²², who are also to give guidelines on which cases should take precedence and elaborate on the priorities

²² The Police directorate was not officially opened before January 2001

by the DPP. On this second round the prioritizing is connected to the budget and the results from previous years.

2000- Baseline Priorities

It should be said that once a priority enters the list, it does not disappear the following years. One can say that they have cumulative quality, they just become more or more complex through the years without any of them been taken out. The main priorities that are like a red thread through the years are:

- ∞ Murder and serious violent crimes, arson and serious crimes that put life and health in danger
- ∞ Serious drug crimes
- ∞ Serious traffic crimes
- ∞ Serious crimes of economic nature, especially those that affect society, and environment crimes that affect the inner environment (the work environment) and the outer environment (nature and cultural heritage)²³ (Riksadvokaten, 2000, p. 11)

These are the starting point for the period I am studying, so in what follows I will look at what is added to this list.

2001- Introducing Scorecards and the Appearance of Racially Motivated Crime

In the beginning (Riksadvokaten, 2000), the priorities are quite general and follow the pattern described above. That changes in the following years, when the government employs score cards with targets to be reached. The government sets an average of 90 days for a case, from the time it is reported to the police until the prosecutor has made a decision (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 6). Many cases get concrete deadlines for their processing/investigation time (Riksadvokaten, 2001, pp. 6-10) and the general priorities centrally, become more and more detailed already after the first year for the period I am examining. The police are held responsible for reaching the target goals and thus one can say that they are micromanaged. This is also supported by Lomell (2011) in her review of the annual police reports. The police are given instructions on how to monitor the deadlines and how to organise the police work to

²³ My translation. Original text.

- ∞ Drap og andre alvorlige voldsforbrytelser, alvorlige sedelighetsforbrytelser, ildspåsettelse og andre alvorlige forbrytelser som setter liv og helse i fare
- ∞ Alvorlig narkotikakriminalitet
- ∞ Alvorlig trafikklovbrudd
- ∞ Økonomisk kriminalitet av alvorlig karakter, særlig den som rammer felleskapet, og alvorlig miljøkriminalitet som rammer det indre miljø (arbeidsmiljøet) og det ytre miljø (natur og kulturminner) (Riksadvokaten, 2000, p. 11)

achieve best result. This in itself is not necessarily negative, unless this becomes the only goal to be reached and the rest becomes irrelevant and neglected. In addition, the DPP goes in more details about how those should be registered correctly in the system, so that they do not generate incorrect statistics. Some of the cases have to be counted manually and that is also specified.

Due to practical reasons, it is allowed that the mentioned crimes of violence are measured with the help of STRASAK's reports of average processing time for the cleared cases. It is prerequisite that a manual list is made of the cases – cleared and not cleared – that are not prosecuted within the 90 days with a note of the cause for the delay²⁴ (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 9)

This said, I need to mention that the period I have picked coincides with one of the big police reforms in Norway, also known as the Police reform 2000. In connection with it, there have been made an extensive analysis of Norwegian police organization and police work (NOU 1999:10). The changes I am noticing are not necessarily independent of the reform, but for now I am not concerned what causes those changes.

In 2001 we find another change, there appears a new type of crime to be prioritized – crimes that seem to be racially motivated alongside with the types mentioned before. International crime is not considered to be that much of a problem and is only mentioned as part of other types of crime that are already prioritized “International and organised crime will normally contain criminal acts that are already prioritized because of their nature”²⁵ (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 13)

2003- International crime

In 2003 international crime appears as a priority for the first time, together with child pornography and the realisation that public opinion and trust to the police is hugely influenced by the media (Riksadvokaten, 2003, pp. 4-8). The police are encouraged to spread the “good word” and actively give out information, so that the public opinion is not built only on what the media picks to present. Police districts try to be active in media not only as a reaction to an

²⁴ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Av praktiske grunner tillates at oppfyllelsen for de nevnte voldsforbrytelsene måles ved hjelp av STRASAKSs rapporter og gjennomsnittlig saksbehandlingstid for oppklarte saker. Det forutsettes imidlertid at det utarbeides en manuell oversikt over de saker – oppklarte eller uoppklarte – som ikke er påtaleavgjort innen 90 dager med angivelse av årsaken til overskridelsen. (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 9)

²⁵ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Internasjonal og organisert kriminalitet vil normal omfatte straffbare handlinger som allerede er på grunnlag av sin art vil være prioritert. (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 13)

article, but also proactively giving information about the successful cases that have been solved. This points towards the realisation that media shapes the public opinion.

The general public perception of the police work is to a big extent formed by the media. The police must therefore actively participate in the spreading of information and contribute to forming the perception that is based on correct and nuanced information.²⁶ (Riksadvokaten, 2003, p. 4)

The media's interest in the police is not an isolated Norwegian phenomenon and it is not a new one either. Reiner (2008) even has a term for it "police fetishism"- "the assumption that the police are prerequisite of social order, so that without the police force there would be chaos and uncontrolled war of all against all" (Reiner, 2008, p. 314). This also points to the development in technology and the way news spreads. The media are no longer dependent on what the police hands them of stories and crime sells and the media are quick to show live pictures from the crime scene and what we see from the side line is not necessarily the full story. This explains why the police are encouraged to actively participate in nuancing the story that is presented to the public. The public opinion is largely based on the media's representation, because the majority do not have direct contact with the police.

2004- Changes in the Criminal Act and Trafficking in Human Beings

As mentioned in the previous chapter, changes in law can generate a statistic gap. The criminal law is relatively stable and does not change very often, but there is a change in it in the time span I have studied. This not necessarily mean that this type of crime did not exist before that, but it was simply not measured. In many cases changes in the law are necessitated to accommodate the changing society and types of crime committed. There is explicit mention of such changes in the document I am studying. Changes in the law in 2003 are reflected in the DPPs priorities for 2004 (Riksadvokaten, 2004).

- ∞ act January 10th 2003 nr 2 (racist symbols, restraining order, joint custodial penalty)
- ∞ act January 10th 2003 nr. 3 (punitive damages)
- ∞ act March 21st 2003 nr. 18 (law changes against children and juvenile delinquency)
- ∞ act May 9th 2003 nr. 30 (limitation in the access to documents and presentation of evidence)
- ∞ act June 20th 2003 nr. 41 (money laundering act), entry into force January 1st 2004
- ∞ act July 4th 2003 nr. 76 (strengthened efforts against forced marriage mv.)

²⁶ My translation. The original Norwegian text: "Det alminnelig inntrykk av politiets arbeid skapes for en stor del av mediene. Politiet må derfor ta aktivt del i informasjonsformidlingen og bidra til at de inntrykk som skapes baseres på riktig og nyansert informasjon." (Riksadvokaten, 2003, p. 4)

- ∞ act July 4th 2003 nr. 78 (organised crime, human trafficking, punishment for repeated offenders etc.)
- ∞ act July 4th 2003 nr. 79 (penal provision against corruption)
- ∞ act July 4th 2003 nr. 77 (court procedure for the loss of driving licence), entry into force January 1st 2004
- ∞ act August 1st 2003 nr 86 (carrying out of the Convention on the Rights of the Child)
- ∞ act December 19th 2003 nr 125 (increase in the police prosecutor's prosecuting authority), entry into force April 1st 2004 ²⁷ (Riksadvokaten, 2004, pp. 3-4)

Trafficking in humans begins is one of these central problems alongside illegal and often forced labour. The DPP sees it necessary to elaborate on the possibility the immigration law gives for sanctions. The measures mentioned are not only against the facilitators (pimps), but there are also measures for giving protection to the victims. Thus, the penal code alongside with the immigration laws are used for tackling this type of crime. This does not mean that this type of crime was not problematic the previous years, but in 2003 a law was passed to sanction it. But this signals the beginning of the trend that the immigration law may be preferred in some cases to the criminal law.

2005- NPM in Practice and the Agreement with Eurojust

In 2005 (Riksadvokaten, 2005, pp. 4-6) the directive becomes very much result oriented and gives concrete suggestions on how to improve the output. Even the fact that output is considered a goal for the police forces, this says a lot about in which direction police management is heading. There clear suggestions for improving productivity:

²⁷ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

- ∞ lov 10. januar 2003 nr. 2 (rasistiske symboler, besøksforbud, konkurrans)
- ∞ lov 10. januar 2003 nr. 3 (erstatning etter straffeforfølgning)
- ∞ lov 21. mars 2003 nr. 18 (lovtiltak mot barne- og ungdomskriminalitet)
- ∞ lov 9. mai 2003 nr. 30 (begrensninger i dokumentinnsyn og bevisførsel)
- ∞ lov 20. juni 2003 nr. 41 (hvitvaskingsloven), i kraft 1. januar 2004
- ∞ 4. juli 2003 nr. 76 (styrket innsats mot tvangsekteskap mv.)
- ∞ lov 4. juli 2003 nr. 78 (organisert kriminalitet, menneskehandel, gjengangerstraff mv.)
- ∞ lov 4. juli 2003 nr. 79 (straffebud mot korrupsjon)
- ∞ lov 4. juli 2003 nr. 77 (domstolsbehandling av tap av retten til å føre motorvogn), i kraft 1. januar 2004
- ∞ lov 1. august 2003 nr 86 (gjennomføring av barnekonvensjonen)
- ∞ lov 19. desember 2003 nr 125 (utvidelse av politijuristenes påtalekompetanse), i kraft 1. april 2004 (Riksadvokaten, 2004, pp. 3-4)

- ∞ contribute locally to the dialogue on improvement, generally and in concrete cases. Among other thing, the defence attorneys should easily find who is the prosecutor in a case.
- ∞ make the prosecution more concrete so that it is easier to understand what the prosecution charges the defendant with, f. ex. aiding and abetting, is useful both for the judge's procedures and for the accused to prepare his defence
- ∞ make the evidence task more concrete so that it is clear what the witnesses need to explain
- ∞ to a greater degree lead the court's attention to the possibility of written explanation for the case, cf. Act on criminal procedure § 262 third sub-section
- ∞ actively suggest meetings for the preparatory proceedings
- ∞ not to overestimate the time for the trial "to be on the safe side" – here lies potentially significant potential for increasing the capacity of the courts, especially in the smaller criminal cases²⁸ (Riksadvokaten, 2005, p. 8).

One can see clear signs of police management rather than governing. This will be discussed in greater detail in next chapter.

In 2005 Norway also enters an agreement with Eurojust, which should facilitate the investigation of the abovementioned types of crime, since they normally involve people with foreign citizenship. Eurojust is the European Union's Judicial Cooperation Unit that facilitates international mutual legal assistance.

The Justice department had also put together several work groups to consider how to improve the fight against certain types of crime. Their task is to come up with a recommendation of how to work best towards achieving the target goals the police are given. The result of those is several handbooks on the topic, which the DPP mentions in his directives the following years.

²⁸ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

- ∞ bidra til lokal dialog om forbedringer, generelt og i enkeltsaker. Blant annet må forsvarere enkelt kunne finne ut hvem som er aktor i en sak
- ∞ gjøre tiltalebeslutningen mer konkret slik at det blir enklere å forstå hva påtalemyndigheten vil anføre at den enkelte har gjort, f. eks. ved medvirkning, både til nytte for dommerens prosessledelse og for tiltaltes forberedelse av sitt forsvar
- ∞ gjøre bevisoppgaven mer konkret slik at det fremgår hva vitnene skal forklare seg om
- ∞ i større grad enn i dag henlede rettens oppmerksomhet på muligheten for å be om en skriftlig redegjørelse for saken, jf. straffeprosessloven § 262 tredje ledd
- ∞ være aktiv i å foreslå saksforberedende møter
- ∞ ikke overvurdere tidsbruken for hovedforhandlingen "for å være på den sikre siden" — her foreligger det et ikke ubetydelig potensial for økt utnyttelse av domstolskapasiteten, ikke minst i de mindre straffesakene (Riksadvokaten, 2005, p. 8).

The term Problem Oriented Policing emerges (POP) and the police are urged to familiarise themselves with this method of work and put it into practice. It relates to knowledge based policing as an improvement to the end result of police work. By identifying the problem with a greater specificity one can better identify the approach to solving it (Goldstein, 2005). The part that seems to be slightly forgotten or omitted here is the training, necessary to develop the necessary skills for the task.

To measure and manage the result the PSV system is developed (Politimesterens Styringsverktøy- The Chief og Police's governing tool) I would rather call it managing tool, because later when we see the district specific requirements, most of what we find is something resembling a score card. This system extracts numbers from the other case proceeding systems the police use, for example DUF, BL, STRASAK etc. The numbers are imported there without any explanation, which again comes to question if one knows exactly what is being measured.

2006- Scorecards and Increased Emphasis on Human Trafficking

Riksadvokaten (2006) is even more concrete in the suggestions and score card targets. Bearing in mind that the priorities mentioned in the directives come from the Norwegian government, those are to be taken seriously. One sees more types of crime being mentioned and none of the previous types is taken out. Human trafficking, illegal work and the cooperation with Eurojust become one of the constant points in the priorities in the years to come. This is a sign that cross border crime has taken its place amongst the regular types of crime.

Human trafficking in our country is mainly about the abuse of women for prostitution, but human trafficking also includes other forms of abuse. Criminal actions pursuant to §224 of the Criminal Act, are serious offences that are often committed in connection to other organized crime. The Police must find the closed networks that stand behind and profit from this type of crime. One cannot wait for the victims to report the crime. The Police Directorate have issued a handbook of fighting against human trafficking.²⁹

(Riksadvokaten, 2006, p. 5)

²⁹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Menneskehandel her I landet dreier seg hovedsakelig om utnyttelse av kvinner I prostitusjon, men menneskehandel omfatter også andre former for utnyttelse. Handlinger som rammes av straffeloven § 224, er alvorlige forbrytelser og blir gjerne begått som led I organisert kriminalitet. Politiet må avdekke de lukkede miljøer og som star bak og tjener på denne handelen. Man kan ikke vente på anmeldelser fra ofrene. Politidirektoratet har utarbeidet en håndbok om bekjempelse av menneskehandel. (Riksadvokaten, 2006, p. 5)

This points out that human trafficking is already a problem for the Norwegian authorities. They intend to use every possible way to fight it and participation in the Eurojust cooperation contributes to better coordination of the investigation and prosecution.

The same goes for POP work in the police.

The DPP emphasizes that it is important that the prosecution authorities participate in the preparation and execution of measures for crime prevention. The Police Directorate have issued the booklet “Introduction to problem-oriented police work” (POP). POP means that the Police, through their overall and purposeful work, will prevent and reduce crime. The Prosecution authorities have an important role in this work, through among other things producing analyses, definitions of problem areas, through planning the strategy for fighting crime and through and the execution of hits. The Prosecution authorities must decide if they should give priority of possible criminal cases that come as a result of such hits and if there are grounds for changing the standard reactions³⁰ (Riksadvokaten, 2005, p. 13)

Tilley (2008) says describes POP as:

Identified problems should be thoroughly researched and understood. Relevant responses should be identified and targeted on the basis of this analysis. Enforcement is but one means among many. A police force that concentrates on enforcement is confusing means with ends. (Tilley, 2008, p. 380).

In the case of human trafficking and prostitution, one can look at the “pimping law” as an enforcement measure and the “law against buying sexual services” as a preventive measure. The idea is that it gets less attractive to engage in these types of crime, if the market for it is non-existing. The results of these measures are open for a debate and food for election campaigns, for example the article in Dagbladet in which a labour party politician questions the effectiveness of both law paragraphs (Pettersen, 2017).

³⁰ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Riksadvokaten understøtter betydningen av at også påtalemyndigheten deltar ved planlegging og gjennomføring av tiltak for å forebygge kriminalitet. Politidirektoratet har utarbeidet heftet “Innføring i problemorientert politiarbeid” (POP). POP innebærer at politiet gjennom helhetlig og målrettet arbeid skal forebygge og redusere kriminalitet. Påtalemyndigheten har en viktig rolle i dette arbeidet, blant annet ved utarbeidelse av analyser, definisjoner av problemområder, ved fastlegging av strategier for kriminalitetsbekjempelsen og ved gjennomføring av aksjoner. Påtalemyndigheten må vurdere om eventuelle saker som kommer i kjølevannet av aksjoner skal gis særlig prioritet og om der her er grunn til å endre reaksjonspraksis. (Riksadvokaten, 2005, p. 13)

2009- Criminalizing Parts of the Immigration Law

In December 2008, the Police and the prosecution authorities are given revised instructions to prosecute criminal activities that are discovered in immigration cases (Riksadvokaten, 2009, p. 10). This marks the beginning of criminalizing failure to adhere to rules of the immigration law.

The Director of Public Prosecutions has given, December 1st 2008, in a letter to among others the police chiefs and the district attorneys, revised instructions for prosecuting criminal acts that are discovered in immigration cases etc. A directive is given in this letter, to use punishment for acts that were previously treated administratively, and points to the size of the reactions.³¹ (Riksadvokaten, 2009, p. 10)

In chapter 6, I will explore the changing of types of crime that the police are asked to prioritize.

The DPP's directives reflect what the government considers prioritized areas. Already from the beginning of the period examined (Riksadvokaten, 2000, pp. 4-5), one can detect a notion that the resources are limited. The fact that there is a need to state explicitly that effectiveness should not be on the cost of quality shows that already in year 2000 the police are overworked. Globalization makes its way in the priorities already in 2003 and it is for the first time mentioned among the central priorities (Riksadvokaten, 2003, p. 8). The technological development worldwide makes it easier and less risky to commit crime in that way. As a result, one should change the methods and focus of investigations accordingly and the DPP points out exactly that.

I could not find a single example of anything suggested given a lower priority. This is in contradiction to the requirement for high quality and effectiveness, because even if the effectiveness improves, one cannot expect better results when more tasks are given on top. It will be interesting to see if more resources are allocated in the budget in the corresponding periods. Again, I am looking at documents for what is to be prioritised and not the other way round. However, when nothing is taken off the list of priorities and the number of officers does not change drastically, this is the only logical assumption I can come up with. One would argue

³¹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Riksadvokaten har i brev av 1. desember 2008 til bl.a. politimestrene og statsadvokatene (lagt ut på intranettet 9. sm.) gitt reviderte retningslinjer for påtalebehandling av straffbare handlinger som avdekkes i utlendingssaker mv. Det gis i brevet direktiv om bruk av straff mot forhold som tidligere bare ble behandlet forvaltningsmessig, og anvisninger på reaksjonsnivå. (Riksadvokaten, 2009, p. 10)

that working more effectively will give that results, but with the remainders from the previous years, effectiveness can only gain as much.

4.2. Instructions from the Police Directorate to the Districts in General

In this section, I will look for the same changes reflected in the instructions from the Police Directorate to the police districts. For the first two years the instructions are not from the Police directorate, but from the Ministry of Justice and Public Security. As mentioned earlier, the Police directorate was officially opened before January 2001.

2000- Holding the Police Accountable

The Justice and police department are also concerned with public appearance and fulfilling the requirements. Already in year 2000 the districts are required to report the results and produce statistics that show improvement in the prioritized areas in accordance to the allocated budget

The society poses constantly higher requirements to the police tasks. There is increasing attention to the results of the police districts and the districts will be compared against each other. There will also be more openness around the plans of action and the reports of the results. Most important, of course, is own improvement. The ministry remarks in this respect that the Parliament has asked for statistical material from all the districts be attached to the budget plans for 2001. The justice committee has pointed out that the increased funding that is given lately to the police, obliges the organisation to pay greater attention to more effective use of the resources. Important result goals will be higher clearance rate and shorter processing time.³² (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 4, underlined in original).

Thus, the need for justification before the government and the public is also to be found here. It is further formalised in terms of requirement for score cards based on the statistics from the previous years. Higher clearance rate and shorter processing time are the two goals that are present in all the instructions for the following years, as well as in the district specific instructions.

³² My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Samfunnet stiller stadig større krav til politiets oppgaveløsning. Oppmerksomheten rundt politidistriktenes måloppnåelse er økende, og der vil bli foretatt sammenligninger mellom politidistrikter. Det vil også bli mer åpenhet rundt politidistriktenes virksomhetsplaner og innrapportering. Viktigst er imidlertid fokus på egen forbedring. Departementet gjør I den forbindelse oppmerksom på at Stortinget har bedt om at statistikkmateriale fra alle politidistriktene blir lagt ved budsjettproposisjonen for 2001. Justiskomiteen har gitt uttrykk for at de økte bevilgningene som er tilført politi- og lensmannsetaten de senere år, forplikter etaten til å rette sterkere fokus på en effektiv utnyttelse av ressursene. Viktige resultatmål vil være høyere oppklaringsprosent og kortere saksbehandlingstid. (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 4, underlined in original)

The first two years of the period I am examining, are with the old district structure and in 2002 the police reform 2000³³ was set into action. The police districts were reduced from 54 to 27. The purpose of the reform was to get a better police force that is closer to the people, lower crime rates and to improve the cost effectiveness. Speaking of goals, the main goals that the DPP had like a red thread throughout his directives are also to be found here, though a bit modified and with some additions.

1. Reduced crime
2. Safety and the rule of law
3. Transparency and democracy
4. Humane asylum and refugee policy³⁴ (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 5)

But do the police have enough manpower to fulfil all the goals? An “easy fix” is educating more police officers. However, if the police are not given means to employ those new officers, this leaves the police approximately at the same level with the added expense of educating the officers. This gives the public the impression that something is done to meet the challenges the police have. We see that already in 2000 there is a need for extra job positions so that the police officers that have graduated from the police academy can be employed (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 4). That indicates that when the decision is made on how many police officers will be educated, it is not based on plans for how many positions will be available by that time, but rather on external factors like requirements by the society and the government. It might come as a surprise that today the police still struggle to find jobs for the graduating officers. The training takes 3 years and that should be plenty of time to plot it in the budget if it does not fit within the given framework.

2001- Tight Budget, Cybercrime, Border Control and Racially Motivate Crimes

In hindsight, I can say that the budgets for updating the equipment is extremely small (5%) (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000, p. 15) and it does not give room for improvement in tact with the technological development outside the police. At the same time, the Ministry of Justice and Public Security acknowledges that cybercrime is on the rise and the police should

³³ The reform is called 2000 after the white papers that were the decision for it. The first changes are first to be noticed by the public in 2002, when the districts become 27 from 54.

³⁴ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

1. Redusert kriminalitet
2. Trygghet og rettsikkerhet
3. Åpenhet og demokrati
4. Human asyl- og flyktningpolitikk” (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 5)

get the necessary competence to fight it. Økokrim³⁵ has the responsibility for coordination and training.

Each year, in the general part of the instruction there are some lines about how that year the police should prioritize even better, so that they can meet the expectation from the public within a tight budget. Some of the police priorities are easy to put a number on, but the most important ones, which is proactive work, are difficult to measure. Simply looking at the numbers of registered cases, is not enough, because many factors can interfere. Take for example cases where there is no direct victim, those are dependent on the police to discover and are not normally reported by the public. So decrease of those cases can mean several things. It can mean really good proactive work by the police, but it can also mean that this was not among the prioritized areas for the police. Good proactive work can be more controls by the police and stopping contraband before it reaches the streets. Another example can be frequent controls at work places where illegal immigrants tend to take jobs and putting a quarantine period on employers who give them jobs, so that they are not allowed to employ foreign workers for a certain period of time. This measure takes away the stimulus for the employers to use illegal immigrant, but it also is a step toward fighting social dumping. Either way, a tight budget is bound to have such shortcomings. When one looks at these centrally prioritized areas of crime and police work, they should keep in mind what consequences it will give for the annual report the following year. None of the instructions from the Police Directorate to the districts can boast with a budget that gives much room for prioritizing other areas of police work.

An area that is not specifically mentioned that early in the DPP's directives is immigration and border control, here they seem to be a rather resource consuming police task (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000, pp. 28-29). The stream of refugees that the Balkan conflict has generated calls for better organised and centralised work in that area. The Immigration directorate (UDI) takes over the in-depth asylum interviews, while the initial registration and ID-investigation is taken away from all the districts and assigned to Oslo police district alone. Racism and racially motivated crime are only mentioned in connection with asylum and other immigration cases.

³⁵ The Norwegian National Authority for Investigation and Prosecution of Economic and Environmental Crime (ØKOKRIM) is the central unit for investigation and prosecution of economic and environmental crime, and the main source of specialist skills for the police and the prosecuting authorities in their combat against crime of this kind. (Økokrim, 2017)

9.1.4 Racism and ethnic discrimination

Through the daily work within the immigration field the police must actively fight racism and ethnic discrimination. The police's own attitude and ability create mutual trust between the police and people with immigrant background are also central here.³⁶ (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000, p. 29, underlined in original)

2002- Schengen

Joining Schengen is a major step for Norway. Establishing Schengen groups/departments gets specific attention in the documents and dedicated for that funding. In addition, both the DPP and the Police Directorate realise the need for extra funds to establish the departments where needed, so that Norway can fulfil its requirements for border control at the external Schengen borders. I can't help but wonder if the border control was satisfactory before Schengen. On one hand, that puts extra pressure on the already thin budget. On the other hand, with it comes the Schengen Information System (SIS), which would provide Norway with intelligence on illegal immigration, but it also requires implementation. At this stage, in 2001, it is still named only in connection to what has to be done in terms of infrastructure, equipment, education and maintenance. (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000, pp. 30-31) The directorate points out, in 2002, the importance of SIS and the possibilities it gives to Norwegian police.

- March 25th 2001 Norway joined together with the other Nordic countries the operative Schengen cooperation. It is important that the police districts are aware of the possibilities that the effective use of the Schengen Information System (SIS) gives³⁷. (Politidirektoratet, 2002, p. 17)

³⁶ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

9.1.4 Rasisme og etnisk diskriminering

Gjennom sitt daglige arbeid på utlendingsfeltet skal politiet aktivt bekjempe rasisme og etnisk diskriminering. Sentralt er også politiets egne holdninger og evne til å skape et gjensidig tillitsforhold mellom politiet og personer med innvandrerbakgrunn. (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000, p. 29, underlined in original)

³⁷ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

- Norge tiltrådte sammen med de øvrige nordiske land det operative Schengen-samarbeidet den 25. mars 2001. Det er viktig at politidistriktene er bevisst de muligheter en effektiv utnyttelse av Schengen Informasjon System (SIS) gir. (Politidirektoratet, 2002, p. 17)

2003- International Crime

In unison with the DPP's priorities the Police Directorate (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 3) also acknowledges the changing political and social scene and the challenges it brings to fighting crime.

“2. 1 Development in the society that are relevant to the police work

- increased grouping across the country borders produces more complex and unknown social and “international” patterns of crime
- the development in organised border-crossing crime like smuggling of human beings, smuggling of drugs and other illegal substances and MC-crime
- changes in the population pattern, among others high population in cities and suburbs
- the increased complexity in the society requires higher competence
- the society's increased requirements for public service”³⁸

(Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 3, bold in the original)

That alongside with the complexity of the society requires better qualifications of the police. In addition, as the DPP has pointed out for the same period, the public holds the police accountable for how they use the funds they get and the Police Directorate requires reports on quantitative data as well as actions and results on the prioritized areas (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 5). I will come back to this point in the next chapter when I examine how the Police are managed.

2004- Effects of the Police Reform 2000, PU

In addition, the Police Directorate expects that the districts will both manage to implement the approved changes in connection to the Police Reform 2000, but also manage to save a certain amount (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 3). At the same time, the level of service should at least be equal to or better than what was delivered the year before.

The organisations main challenges for 2004 will be;

- the fight against crime through preventive measures based on problem oriented police work
- ensure better and more effective prosecution

³⁸ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

2. 1 Utviklingstrekk i samfunnet som har betydning for politiets ansvarsområder

- økt samkvem over landegrensene gir mer komplekse og uoversiktlige sosiale og “internasjonale” kriminalitetsmønstre
- utviklingen innen organisert grenseoverskridende kriminalitet, som menneskesmugling, smugling av narkotika og andre ulovlige substanser og MC-kriminalitet
- endringer i befolkningsstrukturen, deriblant høy befolkningsvekst i byer og forsteder
- økt kompleksitet i samfunnet stiller større krav til kompetanse
- publikums økte krav til offentlig tjenesteyting (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 3, bold in the original)

- carry out the approved changes in the organisation and profit realisation in connection with the Police reform 2000.

It is a prerequisite that the activity in the police and lensmann organisation is maintained at approximately the same level as in 2003.³⁹ (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 3)

Reform work actually takes from the resources before everything is in place and expecting results before the reform is finalised is unrealistic and actually might slow down the process, because the districts cannot afford to put enough effort to finish it.

The National Police Immigration Service (PU) is established in 2004. It takes over the responsibility from Oslo police district for registration of the asylum seekers and their applications, before forwarding the case to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI). This means that Oslo police district will also lose some funds and positions they had in connection with that (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 8). This is a direct result of the social development described earlier – the increased number of asylum seekers and other immigrants that overstay their legal period in Norway or commit criminal offences in Norway and get expelled from the country as a result. Their assignments in the beginning of their existence is the following:

- It is suggested that all registration of asylum seekers be centralised to the new department. It is not yet decided if that will be realised.
- The new department will also have the responsibility to carry out negative decisions in the immigration field, that is deportations.
- There will be established a civil deportation corps with limited police authority, that will among others assist with the transport both in and outside the country in immigration cases.⁴⁰ (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 8)

³⁹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Etatens hovedutfordringer vil i 2004 være;

- bekjempe kriminalitet gjennom forebyggende tiltak basert på problemorientert politiarbeid
- sikre bedre og mer effektiv straffefølgning
- gjennomføre vedtatte organisasjonsendringer og gevinstrealiseringer i forhold til Politireform 2000.

Det er en forutsetning at aktiviteten i politi- og lensmannsetaten skal opprettholdes på tilnærmet samme nivå som i 2003 (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 3)

⁴⁰ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

- Det er foreslått at all registrering av asylsøkere blir sentralisert til den nye enheten. Det er enda ikke tatt endelig stilling til om dette skal realiseres.
- Den nye enheten vil også ha ansvaret for gjennomføring av negative vedtak på utlendingsfeltet dvs. uttransporteringer.
- Det vil også bli opprettet et sivilt transportkorps med begrenset politimyndighet, som bl.a. skal bistå med transport innenlands og utenlands på utlendingsfeltet. (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 8)

Looking at the discourse form, the instructions to the Police districts begin changing since 2003 in the sense that they become more concise in terms of pages, but at the same time more detailed in respect to what areas of police work should be prioritized. There are less explanations and more and more requirements from the police. Leaning on discourse analysis and the premise that “*meaning* (in the sense of ideas and understanding) lies in the ground for *action*.” (Bratberg, 2014, p. 32, italic in the original), I interpret these changes as change in the expectations from the police. It is as if they are given a shopping list, but unsure if they have enough money to buy everything and have to go around hunting for the cheapest shop. This feature is also seen when the police are required to deliver savings in connection with the police reform 2000 (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 3). This is a typical direction when it comes to performance police management (Golding & Savage, 2008, p. 744), the police are expected to deliver more for less and their daily work and priorities are seen in the light of cost effectiveness. There is still no mention of any areas of crime that need not be prioritized. The police seem to be given an impossible task- solve more and more types of crime without getting a significant increase in budget. At the same time, they are expected to be up to date with technology development and take into use new methods of work.

2005- POP

An example of a new method taken into use is problem oriented police (POP) work. Politidirektoratet (2005b, p. 4) focuses on problem oriented police work and points out that actions taken should be based on analysis of the situation and necessary measures.

Strengthen the crime prevention work

It is important that the police districts continue and develop the cooperation with other public institutions and control authorities in the crime prevention work. Problem oriented police work (POP) is used as a method in the general crime prevention work, and there should be an analysis as ground for developing appropriate measures.⁴¹ (Politidirektoratet, 2005b, p. 4, underlined italics in the original)

⁴¹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Styrke det kriminalitetsforebyggende arbeidet

I det kriminalitetsforebyggende arbeidet er det viktig at politidistriktene viderefører og utvikler samarbeidet med andre offentlige etater og kontrollmyndigheter. Problemorientert politiarbeid (POP) benyttes som metode i det generelle forebyggende arbeidet, og det må ligge en analyse til grunn for utvikling av målrettede tiltak. (Politidirektoratet, 2005b, p. 4, underlined italics in the original)

This is also among the prioritized areas of work from the DPP. Problem-oriented work is viewed as a way of improving policing, a method that emerged in Europe after the increased changes in how the police are managed (Goldstein, 2005). In this respect Norway is no different and we see the same order of events happening; first extensive management changes- the police reform 2000 and implementation of the NPM and target and performance management styles in the police; then we see the need for change in how the police work. It seems to be a normal response to the changes in management and the increasing number of tasks.

One observation I have, when it comes to the content of the documents I have examined, is that once a priority enters the list, it is present in all the following instructions. So the list just keeps getting bigger and more detailed. In addition, there is no mention of a priority that should take lower precedence. It is imperative that the police work knowledge based if they would succeed to accomplish the goals. This diminishes the freedom to prioritize locally and to big extent to do anything else than reaching the targets (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016; Wathne, 2015). The police feel compelled to do what is measured and it is challenging to find time to do anything else, like crime prevention.

2006- PSV

The chief of the police in every district is given access to the Police chief's managing tool (PSV), which I earlier compared to a managing tool, where the deadlines are plotted and monitored:

6.2 The Police Chief's Managing Tool (PSV)

From January 1st 2006 the police districts are given access to the leadership- and information system PSV. The intention is to adjust the system further through close cooperation with the police districts throughout 2006.

The Police Directorate plans to carry out worker and public surveys in 2006. The intention with this tool is to give the leadership information to support the communication and decision-making processes. Leaders with target and result responsibilities are therefore expected to participate in a course for how to use the system.⁴² (Politidirektoratet, 2006b, p. 16)

⁴² My translation. The original Norwegian text:

6.2 Politimesterens Styringsverktøy (PSV)

Politidistriktene gis tilgang til ledelses- og informasjonssystemet PSV fra 1.januar 2006. Det tas sikte på å tilpasse systemet videre gjennomført nært samarbeid med politidistriktene i 2006.

Politidirektoratet planlegger å gjennomføre medarbeider- og publikumsmålinger i løpet av 2006.

Hensikten med verktøyet er å gi ledelsen informasjonsstøtte i kommunikasjons- og beslutningsprosessene. Ledere med mål- og resultatansvar må derfor påregne å delta på opplæring i systembruk. (Politidirektoratet, 2006b, p. 16)

This comes as a result of the decision mentioned in the DPPs priorities from 2015. The following years, the score cards become more and more dominant and the requirement for justifying not reaching them becomes bigger. The police are instructed to work according to the principles of Problem Oriented Policing (POP), so that their work is more structured and more to the point to achieving those target goals and public satisfaction.

The Police Directorate has not existed for the whole period I am examining. However, it adopted its managing role rather quick. They coordinate the directives issued by the DPP and the budget given by the government together with international obligation. The main priorities are conducted down in the chain, though it looks like the police are given more and more tasks without corresponding increase in the budget. In addition, the Police directorate is expected to show results from the police reform 2000 in terms of savings. This, of course, comes as a requirement to the police districts in terms of target goals and budget cuts.

Budgets in the Police are always tight. Of all the documents, I have examined, I have not seen a single one where the budgets are said to be in abundance. Even when more priorities are added to the list, it does not come with extra budget unless it is something big like implementing the conditions of participating in the Schengen agreement.

Securing jobs for the Police University College graduates seems to be an ongoing problem and even today we see the same discussions. The police coverage does not get better by simply educating more police officers if they are not secured jobs after graduation. This topic is recurring through the years and is still relevant today. It is of course a political decision and the newly established directorate is not responsible for that alone, but it looks like communication fails at some point. The long-term planning seems to suffer short-sightedness in the sense that the answer to not enough police officers on the streets, is simply educated more. At the same time, there are no jobs available for them once they graduate.

4.3. District Specific Instructions from the Police Directorate

As mentioned earlier, I had requested document from 4 districts with the intention to compare them. The task turned out to be too big for this project and I was not scrutinising the documents, so comparison would have been a challenging task based just on the documents I had acquired. Time was of the essence and to start gathering even more documents would have made it impossible to finish this thesis in time for the final deadline, keeping in mind the time spent on the previous set of documents. Thus, I chose Oslo police district and the choice was influenced

by the background data that inspired my interest in this topic - Lomell (2011). The district specific instructions begin from only 2003. Neither the Police Directorate nor the Ministry of Justice and Public Security could supply the instructions for the period 2000-2002.

Those district specific instructions are supplement to the general instructions from the Police Directorate to the police districts. They tie the general instructions to the budget and in addition pose specific requirements for effectiveness. They are represented by score cards that are meant to be an implementation of the priorities given by the DPP within the given budget. The observation that nothing is taken out of the list carries down to this set of documents as well.

The district specific part is organised in sections following the outline of the general instructions to all districts, so there are no expectations for those to be very detailed and repeat everything the other document already says. The supplement is usually sent together with the general instructions to the police districts, thus their somewhat more concise form is not surprising. In the general document, the priorities are spelled out so to speak, while in the district specific documents the target goals are formalised with a value – usually a number that represents either deadline, case proceeding time or a percentage for increase or decrease of certain areas of work.

2003- Increased Number of Employees with no Budget Raise

The district specific instructions should be viewed together with their general counterparts, otherwise they are impossible to understand for one that does not have police background. Though, from the beginning (Politidirektoratet, 2003a), the directorate had concrete target goals for each measured area of police work, the requirements were spelled out completely and then given an abbreviation and a number value. For each of the values, there is a mention on how or from which system the value should be extracted. However, not all the systems that generate the numbers were developed with statistics in mind. The majority of them were developed as case processing, prosecution, records and other purposes in mind. Traceability is highly prioritized and many of the systems do not allow deleting cases registered by error. So if a statistic tool extracts the numbers automatically from the system, the cases that were registered by mistake and later dropped will still be in the system. Since the system extracts just the number without explanation we are to expect some errors.

In 2003 Oslo police district was ‘given’ 50 positions, they specify that those positions should be financed from the already allocated budget for the year. This eats up the budget that the police chief has at his disposal to prioritize locally:

Oslo police district is allocated 50 positions for 2003, cf the negotiations meeting between the Police Directorate and the trade unions on January 16th 2003. The cost of that is to be covered within the already allocated budget. The positions for Oslo police district are extended with the following distribution of position categories:

- 20 jurist positions
- 20 detention guards
- 10 civil office employees⁴³ (Politidirektoratet, 2003a, p. 5).

Already in 2003 the district is required to execute 600 deportations per month after they have received rejection. “6.2.2 Oslo police district must deport up to 600 people per month after final negative decision is made.”⁴⁴ (Politidirektoratet, 2003a, p. 4, original formatted as a table). In 2003 Oslo is still responsible both for the asylum registrations and the deportations (Politidirektoratet, 2003a). This target is the only one that disappears from the list of requirements for the district due to the establishment of a department that has this job as one of their main activities.

2004- PU

This requirement is removed from the 2004 due to the establishment of the Police immigration service, which also entails transfer of resources (Politidirektoratet, 2004a, p. 8). The budget for asylum and immigration cases is subtracted the following year, but only the asylum registration and deportation is transferred to the National Police Immigration Service (NPIS). Depending on how the immigration department in Oslo police district was organised, this might entail that they might lack both manpower and budget.

2005- More Tasks- Marginal Increase in Budget

The budget for 2005 (Politidirektoratet, 2005a), seems to be increased only within the frames of normal price growth, but when we look at the specifications for what the district should achieve, there is quite a lot of tasks that did not get extra financing and are expected to be done within the normal budget. For example the district is supposed to “Map and prevent the forming

⁴³ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Oslo politidistrikt tildeles 50 stillinger for 2003, jf. forhandlingsmøte mellom Politidirektoratet og fagforeningene 16. Januar 2003. Kostnadene dekkes innenfor tildelt budsjett. Oslo politidistrikts stillingsramme er utvidet med følgende fordeling på stillingskategorier:

- 20 juriststillinger
- 20 arrestforvarere
- 10 sivilt kontoransatte (Politidirektoratet, 2003a, p. 5).

⁴⁴ My translation. Original Norwegian text: “6.2.2 Oslo politidistrikt skal uttransporterte inntil 600 personer pr. måned etter endelig negativt fattet vedtak.” (Politidirektoratet, 2003a, p. 4, original formatted as a table)

of East-European criminal groups in Oslo.”⁴⁵ (Politidirektoratet, 2005a, p. 1, original formatted as table).

2005 to 2007- Less Explanations, More requirements

2005 and 2006 seem to be a transition toward an even more schematic budget form. In 2005 the score cards are presented together with the results from 2004 to point out that an improvement of the results is expected (Politidirektoratet, 2005a). The 2006 budget and priorities for the district become even more schematic with no much explanation attached (Politidirektoratet, 2007a). The table no longer has complete sentences, only phrases and abbreviation. The score cards are not the same as the central ones and they have been lower over time. This indicates an understanding that the police are understaffed and have no chance to fulfil the requirements that are given in the general instructions to the police district. For example the central instructions require an average clearance rate of 38% (Politidirektoratet, 2007b, p. 7) while the clearance rate for Oslo police district is set to only 22 % (Politidirektoratet, 2007a, p. 1). I keep wondering if the central targets are unrealistic or if Oslo police district is extremely understaffed or ineffective. Instead of constantly lowering the expectations, they should have considered increasing the budget. Oslo is a constantly growing city and has most likely the highest number of foreign citizens. This also means a bigger caseload in both civil, but also criminal cases. One can see that prostitutions and eastern European organised criminal groups begin to be an emerging criminal problem, but still this is expected to be solved within the ordinary budget.

Some of the goals seem to be oddly formulated throughout the years. For example, violent crime must be reduced by 5%, so the police need to discover 5% less cases (Politidirektoratet, 2006a, p. 2). But is violent crime reduced because there were less cases created? This opens to creativity of interpreting the results, something Lomell (2011) notices in the course of examining the annual reports for Oslo police district. Another example from the same year is that there should be at least 500 cases of family violence registered. Should not the goal be to have less family violence? In my opinion, some of the targets are in competition with each other. And then, when the report is published, what is conveyed to the society? As discourse analysis suggest, the information that is conveyed to society through texts shapes the society's opinion on certain topics (Bratberg, 2014, p. 31). Thus, if the police are too busy explaining

⁴⁵ My translation. Original Norwegian text: “Kartlegge og hinder etablering av øst-europeiske kriminelle miljøer i Oslo.” (Politidirektoratet, 2005a, p. 1, original formatted as table)

why the results they present are lower or higher than what is expected, they portray themselves as being incapable and incompetent to do their job properly.

2007 to 2010- Tables, abbreviations and Numbers.

From 2007 and onwards, the district specific part becomes reduced to two big tables, one with the target goals and one with the budget with minimal comments following. Even the posts are shortened and not full sentences. It seems like they give with one hand and take with the other. For example, they say they have increased the budget due to the increased number of immigration cases, but further down, they have reduced the budget on another post due to the need of stricter prioritizing (Politidirektoratet, 2007a). Thus, we cannot be sure the increase one place is realised because there is a cut another place in the budget. The police chief, in any way, has not much room for local prioritizing.

The format of the district specific attachments remains the same for the rest of the period – a score card that is abbreviated and some numbers for the budget in the end.

Even though I have pointed out that underfinancing in certain areas and the speed with which the results are expected to gain profits, Oslo police district is the biggest and has many extra functions. There is still some room for specialisation of groups and forming task forces. In addition, Oslo gets some extra funding since most governmental institutions are localised in Oslo and there are many instances and arrangements that require special security measures.

The form of the documents changes around 2006/2007. They become more table-like and less explanations are provided. It is clear what the goal is: the police are held accountable in certain areas and thus those areas are measured. However, those areas that are measured, are not the only areas of work for the police. Since the police are required to report on those and justify the results, more efforts and personnel will be put into those areas. Since there is no extra funding for the rest, it is only natural that the numbers of what is not measured would subside. I have not managed to find in any of the documents a post on what is supposed to not be prioritized.

In this chapter I have looked at the changes happening at the different levels. The DPP's directive is a mere representation of what the government considers prioritized area. There are some changes in priorities through the years and those changes are reflected in the general instructions from the Police Directorate to the police districts.

The list of changed priorities is not exhaustive, but it rather a selection of some of the more significant changes in priorities. What is exhaustive though, is the lack of anything left out. I

could not find a single police task that is given a lower priority. In addition, from the very start (year 2000) there leftover cases from the previous period to process and the portfolio keeps getting bigger without the corresponding increase in budgets. Only bigger projects get allocated funding but the directorate is simultaneously subtracting funding for the expected effectivization results.

5. The Police Organization

In this chapter I look at the Police organization and the structural changes we see in this Period. They can be divided in two. One is the change that is inspired from one of the leading trends in public management and is a direct result of the Police Reform 2000 – the establishment of the Police Directorate and reducing the police districts in half from 54 to 27. The other structural change is caused by the increased flow of migrants and asylum seekers to Norway and its participation in the Schengen agreement.

5.1. Structural Changes Caused by the Leading Trend in Public Management (NPM)

The previous two chapters have been building up to what will follow in the next two chapters. Lomell (2011) has shown that there is a change in the annual reports that Oslo police district produces and I have shown that there are changes in the way the police are instructed and how they are asked to report back. My findings in this management documents are not unique. They point to what others who have studied the effects of police of police management on police work (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016; Lomell, 2011; Wathne, 2015)⁴⁶. I look for the same changes, but in the police's managing documents. I start with the assumption that there is change in the way the police are managed and I look for evidence of this in my selected documents. I will examine the organisation changes – establishing the Police directorate and what it means, as well as the change in managing style that sways from leadership to management.

Changing in how the police and other public organisations are managed is a global trend and not something that happens only in Norway and only in the police. Golding and Savage (2008) illustrate similar changes in British police management. The research they present identifies the six characteristics of leadership as:

- valuing individuals
- networking and achieving
- enabling (empowers, delegates, develops potential)
- acting with integrity
- being accessible
- being decisive

(Golding & Savage, 2008, pp. 733-734)

⁴⁶ The list here is not exhaustive. It is meant as an illustration.

These are all values in a leader, but they are difficult to measure and report on. With the increased demand on reporting and justifying the use of resources, the police like the rest of the public sector glide in the era of NPM and performance management. In some of the first versions in the 90s the performance indicators were not that different from what we see today:

- speed of response to 999 calls
- total amount of crime
- rate of detection
- number of officers available for operational duty
- cost of policing per head of the population

(Golding & Savage, 2008, p. 738)

In the previous chapter, we saw the first signs of change of management already in some of the first documents I examined, those for the year 2000. The police are made aware that they to a bigger extent are held accountable for the way they spend their funds and are required to report back according to performance indicators.

The society poses constantly higher requirements to the police tasks. There is increasing attention to the results of the police districts and the districts will be compared against each other. There will also be more openness around the plans of action and the reports of the results.⁴⁷ (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 4)

This sets the tone of the changes we notice later. There are a lot of performance indicators and there is less space for local priorities or priorities that cannot be measured. “There remains much in policing that is not easily captured by performance indicators. While they provide a useful aid to democratic accountability, they cannot be only or primary element.” (Jones, 2008, p. 716). This is also a change I see in the documents I have examined. The performance indicators seem to turn into the targets of police work and police officers find it difficult to relate to those in the intended way. Instead, reports get creative, the police do first and foremost what is measured or they produce incorrect statistics (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016; Johnsen, 2013; Lomell, 2010, 2011; Wathne, 2015).

⁴⁷ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Samfunnet stiller stadig større krav til politiets oppgaveløsning. Oppmerksomheten rund politidistriktenes måloppnåelse er økende, og der vil bli foretatt sammenligninger mellom politidistrikter. (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 4)

An even greater sign of changing in this direction is the establishment of the managing body of the Police. It is also one of the results of the police reform 2000 – the establishment of the Police Directorate. Thus, the authority that issues the instructions to the police changes from the Ministry of Justice and Public Security to the Police Directorate. This is as a result of the 1999 Norwegian Official Report (NOU 1999:10) where the establishment of the Police Directorate was recommended. Lomell (2011) has already pointed out the change in the annual police reports in the end of the 90's and the establishment of the Police Directorate is formalizing this change. Score cards have existed already in year 2001 (Riksadvokaten, 2001, pp. 6-10), but the establishment of the Police Directorate comes to show that this is not a coincidence or a trend that will pass. The new type of management is not a temporary thing. It is discontinuous through the whole period I am examining and it is still used today. Today, however, there has been published more research criticising it or criticising the effects on policing when the performance indicators become the target. Wathne (2015, p. 287) points out that prioritizing tasks that are measured can and happens at the expense of more meaningful tasks for the policemen.

The Police Directorate's first instructions to the districts (Politidirektoratet, 2002) resemble closely the form of the instructions from Ministry of Justice and Public Security. I cannot speak of the district specific instructions in the period 2000-2003, since those were not in the archives of the Police Department or the Ministry of Justice and Public Security. The document for 2002 has a more narrative form with complete sections and sentences. They continue with the report requirements assuming their role in full. Already in 2002 they announce that they are planning changes in the way the police will report the results.

As known there is an ongoing work with new target structure and a new template for the annual report for the police and lensmann organisation.⁴⁸ (Politidirektoratet, 2002, p. 3)

Even just by looking at the general instructions, one can tell that there is a change in the form of the document. The general instructions in 2003 (Politidirektoratet, 2003b) are not as lengthy as those in 2002 (Politidirektoratet, 2002). It is true that the role of those instructions is to make the goals more concrete and measurable, but there is always a danger of the measures becoming goals themselves. Score cards are not necessarily bad for reaching goals if implemented correctly and used as an indicator of which areas need more resources. However, if they are

⁴⁸ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Som kjent pågår arbeidet med ny målstruktur og ny mal for årsrapport for politi- og lensmannsetaten. (Politidirektoratet, 2002, p. 3)

perceived as the only goal for the police, many areas of police work that cannot be measured are in the danger zone because when budgets are assigned, there is not much room for local priorities by Police Chiefs.

By transforming crime statistics from a measure to a target, will it cease to be a good measure? This statement presupposes that crime statistics was *ever* a good measure,... (Lomell, 2011, p. 201, italic in original)

It is true that the priorities from the Police Directorate are prepared based on the budgets and recommendations from the Ministry of Justice and Public Security and the DPP and in dialogue with the Police Chiefs of the districts, but much of the budget and the priorities are decided before that stage. The room for local priorities is minimal.

The police work is measured in the form of score cards, production or development (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 5). Not achieving the desired score card results should be explained and they should also plan corrective actions so that the targets are reached.

The reports must say something about the development of all targets, that is

- reports on quantifiable targets: in the form of score cards
- reports on the targets that represent certain priorities, production or development: in the form of descriptions of actions, status and effect

In the case of deviation from the targets, an explanation must be given for the deviation, consequence and set in motion corrective actions.⁴⁹ (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 5)

H. O. I. Gundhus (2016) has looked at a different period than the one I am examining, but she describes some of the results of detailed management with score cards and the police immigration control. The police are more preoccupied with reaching the target on the score card, because what is not measured does not give revenues in the form of next year's budget. This is an observation that also Wathne (2015) found in her study and it seems to be consistent throughout the literature.

⁴⁹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Rapporteringen skal si noe om utviklingen for alle målsettinger, dvs

- rapportering på kvantifiserbare målsettinger: I form av måltall
- rapportering på målsettinger som angir bestemte prioriteringer, produksjon eller utvikling: I form av beskrivelser av tiltak, status og effekt

Ved avvik fra målsettinger skal det fremkomme årsak til avviket, konsekvens og iverksette korrigerende tiltak. (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 5)

In 2006 the Police Directorate introduces a new tool to gather the results of the score cards, called the Police Chief's governing tool (PSV) (Politidirektoratet, 2006b, p. 16). The PSV has become an electronic system that is used both for making the activity plan, but also for measuring the results of the scorecards (Wathne, 2015, p. 333). This system facilitates the work of the ones that has to make the reports, but it really obstructs the work of the frontline police. Tinholt (2013) has interviewed police employees in her thesis and her informants' relation toward PSV proves the above said. They are under the impression that the police do primarily what is necessary to get good result on the scorecard for the PSV and that crime prevention is difficult to measure and thus not prioritized as high, if at all (Tinholt, 2013, pp. 77, 85-85, 93).

One would want to ask why is PSV still in use if it is unsuitable as a tool for the police? Wathne's findings are that the feelings towards this system are mixed and depending on the degree of involvement in deciding the priorities (Wathne, 2015, pp. 334-339). Those that are more positive to it are naturally the ones that have been involved in the decision making – the leaders. The closer one comes to the frontline policemen, the more one sees the discrepancy between priorities and reality. When the public contacts the police, it is because they are in distress and they need assistance. The cases vary in severity, but no one wants to call the police and not get an answer because they have not waited on the line long enough or to hear that the police do not have capacity for the type of crime they are reporting.

Earlier I have commented that the instructions to the police, both the general and the district specific change in form after 2006. Introducing the PSV the same year cannot be a coincidence and I wonder if its form is due to the fact that it is a direct export from the PSV? Even if that is the case, one should at least make an attempt to elaborate on the posts. They are normally presented to the police officers so they know what the priorities for the year will be. Those that have been involved with the planning previously, know the meaning of each post and probably do not need more information, but I have approached these documents as a frontline employee that tries to understand why certain activities are “more important” than others. This is also supported by Wathne's findings (2015, pp. 334-339) that less involvement in the decision-making leads to less understanding and a more negative relation towards the scorecard system and the PSV.

Politidirektoratet (2004b, p. 4) states that one of three main challenges for that year is preventing crime from happening using problem oriented police work (POP). This is also one of the areas of police work that are difficult to measure. There are some scorecard numbers for

those, but those can be interpreted either way. Lomell (2011, p. 202) gives an example from France where the high number of positive blood alcohol tests was defined as success for the police because they were successful at detecting the drunk driver. On the other hand, low number for the same was success for successful preventive work of the traffic police. This is a grey zone not only for Norwegian police management, but also for the police in other countries.

One should be more precise in defining the targets. A number is a measurement, a performance indicator, but in the documents that I have examined it seems like the performance indicators are targets and not mere measurements. As mentioned earlier, PSV functions by extracting data from the other systems the police use for processing and registering their cases. However, not everything can be documented in this way. One area of policing always comes up when score cards come to question – crime prevention, the good police work in the society that contributes to lower crime rate. The challenge with this type of work is that it cannot be measured by score cards, so there is a real danger of it being left out⁵⁰ or getting the budget leftovers after it is divided among the areas of crime that can be measured.

Globalization is a factor that cannot be ignored and influences all aspects of life, public management is no exception. Police management is an example of how Norwegian public management is influenced. Global trends in public management come to Norway, thus Norway adopts management style influenced by NPM and performance driven management.

But is it exactly NPM that we see? If we look at the features of classic NPM as taken from Pollitt 2002:

- being close to customers
- being performance driven (targets, standards)
- continuous quality improvement
- lean flat structures – decentralised decision-making
- tight cost controls
- performance related human resource (HR) systems.

(cited in Golding & Savage, 2008, p. 739)

At first glance, it looks as if those features are also related to how the police are managed. The police, however, do not really have decentralised decision making. The structure in the police

⁵⁰ There has been a change in that area after 22.07.2011, but this is outside the period I am studying.

is very hierarchical and decisions are normally taken top-down and this is why also those closer to the top feel more ownership to the targets and are not that negative to score cards.

5.2. Structural Changes Caused by Increased Migration

So far, we have seen changes in how the police is managed and that is also reflected in the organisations of the police and the establishment of the police directorate. Those can be attributed to globalization, in the sense that global trends in public management spread across Europe. Apart from the police management, globalization also influences police work. The National Police Immigration Service was established in 2004. The stream of asylum seekers and regular immigrants to Norway has been steady, both as a result of the political situation abroad, but also of the economic situation. Already in 2003, when Oslo police district had the national responsibility for deportations, the number of expected deportations was 600 (Politidirektoratet, 2003a, p. 4). But who are the foreigners that need to be forcefully removed from the country? There is obviously a growing number of those in Norway to necessitate the establishment of the NPIS. The NPIS takes over the responsibility for registering all asylum seekers that come to Norway and for the forceful return of all illegal immigrant independent of the cause for their situation (Politidirektoratet, 2004b, p. 8). Once a negative decision is made in the Department of Immigration (UDI), foreign citizens need to comply with it, otherwise they will be forcefully removed from the country. In the next chapter I will see how globalization changes police priorities and how it influences crime.

In this chapter I have looked at globalization that influences police management and organisation. It can be separated into two major changes: 1) NPM influenced management style and consequent establishment of the Police Directorate; 2) change in the organisation, due to increased mobility and stream of asylum seekers as well as foreign criminals - the establishment of the NPIS. The shift in management is very clearly marked by establishing an administrative managing body – the Police Directorate. The Police Directorate is quick to adopt the target and result management alongside NPM. They apply a tool, the PSV, that spits out results and ready plans of action for the year. However, the system is top heavy and the targets in those plans might not measure what the real goal is.

Most of the employees do not feel enough involved in the planning and that leads to them not feeling ownership of the target (Wathne, 2015). They feel that the priorities are misplaced and are generally critical of how the police are managed. From what I could see in the documents,

the police are constantly reminded that they should deliver better results and that this should not be on the expense of the quality of investigation or case proceeding.

The second major organisational change is prompted by the changing type of crime in Norway and the social and the economic situation in post-communist East-Europe, and also by the increased number of asylum seekers that come to the country and need to be registered, so that their asylum applications are set into motion. Those that get negative results might also need deportation if they do not wish to leave the country on their own will after getting a final rejection to their residence application. This makes for a nice passage to the next chapter where I will look at how globalization changes the types of crime that are prioritized and how foreign citizens get criminalised as a result of law changes.

6. Changing trends of crime

In this chapter I will concentrate on the changes in priorities that can be attributed to globalization and immigration. With background from the Immigration field, this question is especially interesting to me. I will go through the documents in chronological order and look for changes that can be attributed to globalization and increased migration.

The period I am examining documents from includes at least two major events: Norway joining the Schengen treaty in 2001 and Bulgaria and Romania's entry into the EU, which gave citizens of these countries visa free access to Norway. In addition to these concrete events, one can add the everchanging crime picture.

2000- No Specific Attention to International Crime, but Attention on Immigration cases

In the beginning of the period I am examining, year 2000 international and organised crime seem to be low in rate and thus not prioritized as a separate type of crime, but they are rather part of the already mentioned types of crime (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 19; Riksadvokaten, 2000, p. 12). "International and organised crime will normally contain criminal acts that are already prioritized because of their nature"⁵¹ (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 13). The Ministry of Justice and Public Security also mention the successful police work against trafficking in human beings related to the reduced number of asylum seekers compared to the previous year.

Among other things, the police's efforts against trafficking of human beings and extraordinary border controls have changed the course of development, and the number of arrivals is getting close to a more "normal" level. One should still expect relatively high number of arrivals of asylum seekers in 2000 as well. In addition to the normal arrival of asylum seekers Norway has received ca 6000 refugees on quota from Kosovo. The police efforts in this area were considerable.⁵² (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 27)

⁵¹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Internasjonal og organisert kriminalitet vil normal omfatte straffbare handlinger som allerede er på grunnlag av sin art vil være prioritert. (Riksadvokaten, 2001, p. 13)

⁵² My translation. The original Norwegian text:

"Bl.a. p.g.a politiets innsats mot menneskesmugling og ekstraordinære grensekontroller har utviklingen snudd, og ankomsttallene nærmer seg et mer "normal" nivå. En må imidlertid fortsatt påregne relative høy tilstrømning av asylsøkere også I 2000. I tillegg til de ordinære asylankomstene har Norge mottatt ca. 6000 flyktninger på kvote fra Kosovo. Politiets innsats I denne sammenheng var betydelig." (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 27)

The civil part of the immigration work also gets attention, but not as big as the asylum seeker numbers and situation. This might seem to create an illusion in the Norwegian society that most immigration to Norway consists of asylum seekers. If one looks at the UDI statistics, one would see that asylum seekers are only a small part of the immigration picture in Norway. They also mention the service the police provide on the civil side and the priorities for that.

Good service in respect to the customers in question is a central target and of major importance for those it concerns. The following service target are decided for the field of immigration:

1. Increased and improved personal service (that is suitable opening hours, leaflets and individual consultation, importance on the values/attitudes questions etc)
2. Quality in the case processing
3. Effective case processing⁵³

(Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 28)

It is interesting that the immigration field is mentioned in such detail already in the instructions for 2000, because this field really has been neglected for some time. For example, the Norwegian Police University College still does not have immigration on its curriculum. They have administration, hereunder a bit about immigration and identity work, but I have been teaching the students in their practical year in Tromsø about immigration law in my previous job in 2010 and 2011 and they confirmed then that there is almost nothing about immigration law in their curriculum. I have checked the current study plan for the bachelor programme and I can see that this subject is touched in some of the courses. When I say touched, I mean part of another course, for example part of the following courses: Criminology (4 credits), Administrative law (2 credits) and Investigation (4 credits) (Politihøgskolen, 2017). It is further impossible to provide personal service in the immigration cases without means of communication and the districts use interpreters only in negative decisions, expulsion and some family reunion cases (Utlendingsdirektoratet, 2011, section 1.2). No extra budget is allocated for that. Only Oslo has an extra budget until 2003, because they were responsible for the initial

⁵³ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

God service i forhold til berørte brukere er et sentralt mål og av stor betydning for de det gjelder.

Følgende servicemål gjelder på utlendingsforvaltningens område:

1. Økt og forbedret personlig service (dvs. hensiktsmessige åpningstider, brosjyrer og individuell veiledning, vekt på verdispørsmål/holdninger m.v)
2. Kvalitet i saksbehandlingen
3. Effektiv saksbehandling (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 28).

asylum registration and deportation before the NPIS was established in 2004. Then the funds were also removed from Oslo police district and allocated to the NPIS.

In addition the number of imprisonments for immigration offences is steady and low and not considered a problem (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, pp. 27-28). That being said, the rules for imprisoning people for immigration offences are rather strict up to this point. The law does not change until 2008.

2001- 2002- Schengen, SIS, COSS

In 2001 the Ministry of Justice and Public Security mentions only two new changes connected with immigration in addition to what is already a priority from the year before. One of them is the implementation of the Schengen Information System (SIS), which is due to Norway's inclusion in the Schengen agreement. The police are given training in the use of it and are encouraged to make the most of it. As explained in the beginning, SIS is an intelligence system for use by all countries that are part of the Schengen agreement. However, this is not set up in a routine and the use of it remains concentrated only to those that work with immigration and border control. The control on the territory is somewhat neglected, with exception of maybe Oslo police district. Another system that the police was given access to in 2001 is the Coastal Operation and Surveillance System (COSS) which facilitates the border control at the sea border (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 1999, p. 16). Transnational organised crime is considered to be mainly connected to drugs (Det Kongelige Justis- og Politidepartement, 2000, pp. 16, 23). Already in 2002 the Police Directorate encourages the police to use the possibilities SIS gives and international police cooperation is a goal, though no extra budget is provided for that:

- Police districts and special agencies that have much international work should plan for that in their budgets. As a rule, one cannot expect that the Police Directorate will cover travels abroad, even though the Police Directorate has initiated the district's participation. Exception can be made for small district that normally do not have international work as a part of their regular activities.
- Norway was enrolled, together with the rest of the Nordic countries, in the operative Schengen cooperation March 25th 2001. It is important that the police districts keep in mind what

possibilities the effective use of the Schengen Information System (SIS) gives.⁵⁴ (Politidirektoratet, 2002, p. 17).

Again, the Police Directorate encourages the districts to participate in costly project with no allocated funding. Considering the already stretched budgets and little knowledge about immigration, they cannot expect that many districts will be able to send participants in such events without having to cut the budget on another activity. The same year the Police directorate also has a separate section on deportations of foreign citizens with final rejection on their applications and reducing the case proceeding times in immigration and asylum cases (2002, p. 19). However, the type of management adopted works against those goals. The police should be given more room to work with identification of those immigrants, because a clear id is a prerequisite for deportation and the officers are required to be effective and operate in a certain standard way (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016, p. 59).

2003- International and Organised Crime, Deportations

2003 is the first time the DPP lists international and organised crime as centrally prioritized areas of crime for the whole country (Riksadvokaten, 2003, p. 8). The Police Directorate provides the explanations for that: development in the society, undefined borders between countries and increased mobility of people makes it difficult to track border crossing crimes like smuggling of humans and goods (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 3).

2. 1 Development in the society that are relevant to the police work

- increased grouping across the country borders produces more complex and unknown social and “international” patterns of crime
- the development in organised border-crossing crime like smuggling of human beings, smuggling of drugs and other illegal substances and MC-crime
- changes in the population pattern, among others high population in cities and suburbs
- the increased complexity in the society requires higher competence

⁵⁴My translation. Original Norwegian text:

- Politidistrikter og særorganer som har mye utenlandsvirksomhet, må ta høyde for dette i budsjettprosessen. Som hovedregel kan en ikke påregne at Politidirektoratet skal dekke utenlandsreiser, selv om Politidirektoratet har initiert politidistriktets deltakelse. Unntak kan gjøres i forhold til små politidistrikter som ikke har utenlandsvirksomhet som en del av sin regulære aktivitet.
- Norge tiltrådte sammen med de øvrige nordiske land det operative Schengensamarbeidet den 25. mars 2001. Det er viktig at politidistriktene er bevisst de muligheter en effektiv utnyttelse av Schengen Information System (SIS) gir. (Politidirektoratet, 2002, p. 17)

- the society's increased requirements for public service⁵⁵
(Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 3, bold in the original)

Aas (2013, p. 11) calls this conditions “world risk society” surrounded by instant news reports and being the perfect conditions for modern day slavery (2013, pp. 28-29). We see the Police Directorate acknowledging the changed situation and the effects of globalization on police work.

One other fact deserves attention here. The directorate puts a requirement for a number of foreigners being deported. The same year Oslo police district is supposed to deport up to 600 illegal immigrants monthly (Oslo police district still has national responsibility for asylum seekers and the coordination and the execution of deportations) (Politidirektoratet, 2003a, p. 4). This might look as a simple and straight forward requirement the way it is stated, however there is a lot unsaid here. The number of deportees is said to constitute of people that have received final rejections on their applications for residence permit. Most regular immigrants, and by regular here I mean immigrants that have come to Norway for other purposes than seeking asylum, are given a deadline to leave the country after rejection of the application and most of them comply with this requirement. The people that are deported by the authorities are those that do not leave after the deadline has expired, criminals and people that are a flight risk but not necessarily criminals. This target, the number of people to be deported from the country, cannot be mentioned without touching on the discussion of the different types of penalty in the judicial system emerging in many countries as a result of globalization.

In my first attempt at approaching this topic, I have discovered that this is not a straight forward discussion and we do not have all the facts. Later I realised that I am not alone at noticing this. I can see that the attentions to this aspect of globalization is beginning to grow. Aas describes the notion of the “deviant immigrant” as a recurrent topic in the field of criminology, other social studies, media and political debate. “From violent asylum seekers, cynical smuggling

⁵⁵ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

2. 1 Utviklingstrekk i samfunnet som har betydning for politiets ansvarsområder

- økt samkvem over landegrensene gir mer komplekse og uoversiktlige sosiale og “internasjonale” kriminalitetsmønstre
- utviklingen innen organisert grenseoverskridende kriminalitet, som menneskesmugling, smugling av narkotika og andre ulovlige substanser og MC-kriminalitet
- endringer i befolkningsstrukturen, deriblant høy befolkningsvekst i byer og forsteder
- økt kompleksitet i samfunnet stiller større krav til kompetanse
- publikums økte krav til offentlig tjenesteyting (Politidirektoratet, 2003b, p. 3, bold in the original)

and trafficking networks and Muslim terrorists to Nigerian and East European prostitutes, and ethnic youth gangs, the images of foreign criminals abound.” (Aas, 2013, p. 79)

Aas (2014) describes a penal system where the non-citizens are treated differently by the law and their punishment is also different. Deportation has taken over from an administrative measure to a more penal measure, preventive measure, a measure that is more cost effective than proceeding further with the criminal cases. “Bordered penalty” is the term used for that phenomenon and it refers to how non-citizens are treated by the law. Thus, the requirement for 600 monthly deportations should be seen in connection to this development and not as an isolated phenomenon. In addition, it seems to be more cost effective:

Well, we measure their performance on deportation and we see that there has been a remarkable growth. And I think that this is economically a rather efficient way of dealing with these cases, to get a deportation order and a return. At least this is our argument, that is cost efficient in terms of the system as a whole. If you have a criminal case, it is much more complicated, plus you end up with a conviction and a sentence that costs a lot of money... (Police Directorate cited in Aas (2014, p. 525))

2004- 2005- NIPS, Human Trafficking

The NIPS was also established in that period in 2004 and this also builds on the changed attitude towards the immigration field and the possibilities it gives. We see a change in focus and legislation. Already in 2005 the DPP refers to immigration when discussing the increasing problem with prostitution that is the result from the trafficking of human beings, primarily women and underage children (Riksadvokaten, 2005, p. 4). Such cases are extremely difficult to solve, because the victims are in a vulnerable situation and unwilling to witness against the traffickers.

2005- Eastern European Criminal Groups

The economic situation in the rest of Europe is deteriorating at this time and former communist countries in Eastern Europe are struggling. The criminal networks there are changing course and focus towards the west. Oslo police district is asked to study and map out criminal networks from Eastern Europe (Politidirektoratet, 2005a, p. 1). The efforts are directed toward a group of migrants. One reason why this group is in focus is not necessarily because they are more criminal, but EU citizens can be said to have an extra layer of protection “While non-EU citizens can be expelled solely through the use of immigration law, EU citizens need to be punished first.” (Aas, 2014, p. 529). Thus, it is not surprising that the prison population is increasingly

comprised of non-citizens. Non-citizens can first be detained on the grounds of the immigration law and then their detainment can be continued on criminal charges through the same process.

2007- Social Dumping

By 2007, cases concerning immigrants seem to be present both among prioritized types of crime and among the increasing civil tasks in the police. For example, the DPP is concerned with illegal work that leads to social dumping:

The fight against “social dumping” is an important area of commitment, cf. the government’s plan of action against social dumping.(...) It is important that the police effectively follows up the more severe cases that are reported to the police, both through quick case proceeding and with adequate reaction.⁵⁶ (Riksadvokaten, 2007, p. 13).

2007 is the year Bulgaria and Romania enter EU. It is uncertain what that will mean in terms of immigration flow and the crime picture in Norway. Both countries are some of the poorest in Europe and there is an expectation of some migration towards the western and better off countries in terms of economy. For example, Oslo police district plans for an increase in the case load, though it is not specifically mentioned that this is in connection to the new EU members. The case load of Oslo police district is increasing and the budget is also increased, but this is put in the normal operational expenses and it is difficult to see how much is the increase for the immigration cases (Politidirektoratet, 2007a, p. 2).

2009- Criminalizing Parts of the Immigration Law

The DPP points out that in December 2008, changes in the law were made and some administrative measures in the field of immigration are replaced with sanctions “A directive is given in the letter for using punishment against conduct that was previously dealt with administratively, and instructions the reactions.”⁵⁷ (Riksadvokaten, 2009, p. 10). At the same time the Police Directorate instructs the police districts to establish contact points with the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services and the districts immigration departments concerning the expelled and criminal foreigners “The police districts must establish contact points for the Norwegian Correctional Service and the Immigration administration in

⁵⁶ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

“Kampen mot “sosial dumping” er viktig satsingsområde for myndighetene, jf. Regjeringens handlingsplan mot sosial dumping. (...) Det er nødvendig at politiet effektivt følger opp de grovere tilfeller som blir anmeldt, bade gjennom rask behandling og adekvat reaskjon.” (Riksadvokaten, 2007, p. 13).

⁵⁷ My translation. The original Norwegian text: “Det gis I brevet direktiv om bruk av straff mot forhold som tidligere bare ble behandlet forvaltningsmessig, og anvisninger på reaskjonsnivå.” (Riksadvokaten, 2009, p. 10).

connection with the expelled and the transferred the sentenced foreigners.”⁵⁸ (Politidirektoratet, 2009b, p. 10).

This is the exact intertwining of the criminal law and immigration law that many scholar begin to discuss lately (Aas, 2014; Bø, 2013; Johansen, Ugelvik, & Aas, 2013). By 2010 the Police Directorate has issued guidelines on border control – “ “The police control practice – areas close to the border and other checks within the territory” and the Police Directorate’s guide “Foreign citizens and crime – control, methods and sanctions” ”⁵⁹ (Politidirektoratet, 2010b, quotation marks in original) both pointing to the increasing desire to deal with immigrants as quick as possible, so they do not take more of the resources of the welfare state.

What these priorities and instructions convey, is that many immigrants are criminal. These trends are not unique to Norway, post-communist Europe is troublesome. It has created the perfect breeding ground for the types of crime mentioned – smuggling of human beings and goods, trafficking, sex trade, illegal work and drugs (Aas, 2013; Glenny, 2008). With the increasing migration in Europe and “open” borders, it is difficult to say how many foreign citizens reside in Norway at any given time. Some of them are bound to be criminal, but it seems that changes in law contribute to the criminalization of even more foreign citizens.

Bø (2013) comments on one of the facts in question. The immigration law becomes more and more restrictive. Among others, the authorities have increased the grounds for imprisoning asylum seekers. On one hand, there are the real criminal networks who are in the country with a criminal intent. On the other hand, we have the asylum seekers who are here to seek refuge and get rejection, but for one reason or other cannot return to their country of origin. Their stay after getting a final rejection is an illegal act. Fangen and Kjærre (2013) describe the conditions that contribute to the illegalization of some of the immigrants and how they become a number also in another statistic of black market workers.

As Aas (2014) notices, there are not many written documents on the subject and the documents I have examined contain instructions that are directly relevant to the subject, but there is no debate or argumentation. I tend to agree with her that this discussion is “about keeping out those

⁵⁸ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Politidistriktene må etablere kontaktpunkt for kriminalomsorgen og utlendingsforvaltningen i forbindelse med de utviste og overførte straffedømte utlendinger. (Politidirektoratet, 2009b, p. 10)

⁵⁹ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

“Politiets utøvelse av kontroll – grensenære områder og annen indre og utlendingskontroll” samt Politidirektoratets veileder i “Utlendinger og kriminalitet – kontroll, metode og sanksjoner” (Politidirektoratet, 2010b, quotation marks in original)

who wish to make claim of the resources; about the protection of welfare of citizens. It is about the ‘right to be here’ and hence about access to welfare and Northern wealth.” (Aas, 2014, p. 533). Lately the discussion has also gained a different dimension – terror, but this aspect does not receive big attention in the period I am examining.

An aspect that has received attention and which I also find evidence of it in the documents is illegal work that contributes to social dumping. We see that from 2006 illegal work and use of illegal workers is present as a separate point on the list of priorities from the DPP “Illegal use of work force can – depending of the scope of it- be serious economic crime that is covered by the Director of Public Prosecutions’ central priorities.”⁶⁰ (Riksadvokaten, 2006, p. 12). All though non-citizens are not mentioned directly, already the following year there is no doubt who is the target of this section. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, social dumping is normally associated with foreign workers that work under poor conditions and undermine the Norwegian well established laws and standards (Riksadvokaten, 2007, p. 13). One should not get the impression that illegal asylum seekers stand for this trend alone. The economic crisis in post-communist Europe has contributed both to the increased stream of work immigrants and to the criminal networks.

One could speculate why someone would want to subject themselves to this kind of treatment. It is not always a choice. For example, an asylum seeker that has received final rejection to the permission to stay in Norway is supposed to return to their home country. There are many reasons why in some cases this cannot happen and, without going into further details, we see them in a situation where they have no right to work legally and often no place to live. Their natural instinct is to go into cover to avoid prosecution. Not that this makes things any better, because they become more alienated from the society and engage even more in committing “criminal acts” (Fangen & Kjærre, 2013). As Aas notes, non-EU citizens can be expelled and deported just on the grounds of breaking the immigration law, while the EU citizens need to have criminal offence in the bottom for an expulsion case to build on. So the state criminalises some offences that are discovered in immigration cases (2014, p. 529). It is important to mention that there is a difference between someone being questioned in a criminal case and someone being questioned in an immigration case. In immigration cases the applicant is obliged to provide information necessary for the authorities to make a decision. Some of the acts that

⁶⁰ My translation. The original Norwegian text:

Ulovlig bruk av arbeidskraft kan – avhengig av omfanget – være alvorlig økonomisk kriminalitet som dekkes av riksadvokatens sentrale prioriteringer.” (Riksadvokaten, 2006, p. 12)

are criminalised are: The use of false identity and fake documents, making a false statement in the immigration case, breach of the expulsion, illegal residence in the country and illegal work (Riksadvokaten, 2008b).

In this chapter I have examined globalization in respect of changing priorities and rules. We see a change in both criminal patterns and in what is considered criminal. Statistics can be used as a source of knowledge if it is sufficient and as we have seen in chapter 2, the data that is available is not sufficient. Aas (2014) finds the whole discussion of the Norwegian perspective scarce. What has been published points to changes influenced by political and technological development. Post-communist Europe is a challenge, as well as refugees from different war zones. The immigration field is a post left out in the budget in the beginning, the only mentioning of it is in connection with asylum seekers. Asylum seekers, though, make up only a small percentage of the number of non-citizens in Norway. The increasing number of asylum seekers is a factor contributing to the establishment of the Norwegian Immigration Police Service. Their main tasks are registering and investigating the identity of asylum seeker and escorting deportees back home. In addition, they manage the detention centre Trandum. Finding the identity of the asylum seekers is the key to the authorities' ability to deport them.

The Immigration act and the Criminal act are changed in 2008, which contributes to criminalizing even more foreign citizens. The police receive new targets for deportations and for instigated expulsion cases. This leads to what Aas (2014) refers to as bordered penalty.

The police need to use different tools and cooperate internationally. Those actions need training and dedicated personnel. For the period I am examining only the bigger cities have dedicated personnel, and the Norwegian Police University College does not offer training in that area at the period. Changes are beginning to take place now, but they are lacking behind in respect to the development of globalization in crime.

6.1. Concluding remarks

This project started with an idea and desire to say something about globalization and crime. I was looking for published statistics that I could analyse and draw some conclusions from. This revealed to me how little is written on Norwegian conditions on the topic and it coincides with what Aas (2014) notices about the lack of written documents for Norway. I ended up looking at how globalization influences the way the Police prioritize and to some extent how they are organised.

As I have mentioned in the methodology chapter, my approach was a slightly backward one in the sense that for the current research question I first had the answers and then formed the questions. I have also trimmed the questions along the way, so that I can actually manage to discuss the here. In this project, I have looked at governing documents for the police for a period between 2000 and 2010. The period included both the establishment of the Police Directorate and the National Immigration Police Service. Both are important for the period in question.

The general observations are that there is a lot happening in this period, both major organisational changes and changes in priorities over time. This is the period when the Police Reform 2000 is happening then and the major organisational changes are a result of it. The number of districts is reduced from 54 to 27 and the districts are expected to work more effectively.

The police are held responsible and have to justify the results they produce. This reflects the global trend within public management. One can clearly see the NPM strategy with target and performance management. The reason I mention both, is because as Johnsen (2013) points out those two are often used together even though target and performance management has existed much longer than NPM. It has not been used to big extend in public management in Norway though. This is why NPM normally gets all the criticism.

The establishment of the Police Directorate marks the change in how the police are run. The change is from leadership to management in a sense that there is a management body that is formed and that functions as a group with the purpose of generating strategies and reports. The targets they generate are many and on the surface looks like they measure everything, but a great deal of meaningful police work cannot be measured quantitatively. With the introduction of the PSV, a lot of the statistics generating is automated. The PSV gathers information from systems that are not built for statistics and without explanation. This might lead to inaccuracies in the reports that are not intended. Research has shown that the police are embellishing their results (Wathne, 2015). Looking at the priorities in the documents I have examined, I can see how the frontline police officers have difficulty to associate themselves with the scorecard system and might think that it does not capture the most important tasks for the Police. This is not surprising, since the goals are not clear. The police employees see that those are no just numbers, there is a price tag attached to them and consequently also want the best outcome for themselves (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016; Lomell, 2011; Wathne, 2015). Thus, we have unclear goals, automated system for gathering data and employees that do not feel included in defining

the targets, thus having little ownership toward the result. This result is still unchanged today even though many have been critical of the way the police are managed in respect to the performance indicators (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016; Tinholt, 2013; Wathne, 2015).

Another organisational change that can be attributed to globalization is the establishment of the National Immigration Police Service. The change in the crime picture has happened gradually prior that to their establishment, but it escalates to a stage, when something needed to be done to meet the needs of the immigration administration. Due to the increased mobility of people and goods and the worsening economic situation in post- communist Europe, Norway and the rest of Scandinavia are a natural choice for work immigrants and asylum seekers. These western countries are not influenced to the same extent by the economic crisis and at the same time they provide safe democratic societies. Unfortunately, along with the regular migrants, there are also many criminal networks that discover the west and the possibilities there (Glenny, 2008). The criminal groups operate in cooperation with each other and the police need to follow this development closely. There is nothing wrong with people wishing for better life, but even if there is no passport control on the internal Schengen borders, Norway still has its sovereignty that needs to be respected. Those that get their applications rejected need to leave the country within a certain deadline and if they do not, they are breaking the law and the police need to deal with that. Countries like Norway that have good social system and high standard of life, also have high taxes. Work immigrants that come to Norway seem to be reluctant to pay the high taxes and work legally, which also means that illegal work becomes a problem and the police also need to fight and sanction social dumping.

The police are also frontline for the majority of the immigration cases and represent the immigration authorities, processing a great number of the applications for residence and travel documents. For example, the police have sole responsibility for the EEA/EFTA cases and are only supposed to send doubtful cases to the UDI. Thus, an increase in number of immigrants coming to the country results in greater pressure on the police to meet their targets for case proceeding time. The police are criticised for not meeting their targets, but the case load only increases, while the personnel situation does not change proportionally. The Police Directorate puts more performance indicators for the police and nothing is taken away or given a lower priority. They are also constantly reminded that the quality of case proceeding needs to be high and that the applicants need to receive personal service when they meet at the police station and this will contribute to building mutual trust.

Another aspect of globalization and mobility is that criminal networks are no longer within the borders of one country, they are spread across borders and even continents. The police need to adapt to that as well and cooperate internationally. They are encouraged to use the tools that Norway's participation in Schengen provides, like the Schengen information system and later the Visa Information System. This requires both equipment and training and these do not come into place fast enough. Even today when the focus on fighting crime committed by non-citizens is increased, there are still districts where the tools are not fully utilised and they are not used to their capacity. In addition, the competence about how to practice immigration law when it comes to control on the territory is lacking and police officers feel unsure and avoid using the possibilities the law gives. Being bombarded by performance indicators does not make things easier because then they prioritize case types that are measured and cannot provide the service they are expected to in other areas.

Changes in the immigration and criminal acts contribute to "criminalizing" non-citizens and in 2008 many administrative sanctions are changed to criminal. Detaining foreign citizens is used more often due to that. Foreign citizens are viewed as lacking connection to the country and are often seen as a flight risk or their identity is considered unsure. Thus, the pre-trial detentions in immigration cases is much higher than that of Norwegians. In addition, the aim of those is not that they serve a sentence and then get back to society, so the imprisonment purpose for them is not reformatory, but rather punitive. Aas (2014) calls this "bordered penalty" and maintains that native and foreign citizens are treated differently. This kind of treatment is encouraged by the Police Directorate because it is cost effective. Criminal cases have a higher burden of proof and are more expensive, thus if the administrative track is an option, it is often the preferred one. This has received a lot of criticism in the media and among human rights activists.

Border control also consumes a lot of resources. Norway is supposed to fulfil a certain standard of border control in order to remain a member in the Schengen agreement. Leaving Schengen is not an option as long as Norway is part of the EEA/EFTA agreement. Schengen might contribute to open borders and less control of who is arriving and departing the country, but even if Norway was not part of Schengen it would still be necessary to admit EU citizens without extended passport control and without access to the intelligence systems that Schengen provides (SIS and VIS). In addition, it will be difficult to preserve the Nordic passport union between the Nordic countries as long as any of them is part of Schengen. This also means that the expenses in border control will in such a case plummet to the roof.

In hindsight, the two main findings could have been viewed separately. One can argue that they are of such extent that they could be treated in separate projects. That might be so if my intention was to discuss each of them in detail. However, my intention here is to see how globalization influences the police work. The performance indicators change and increase with each year, the organisation changes as well, but I could not see how the change was supposed to be evaluated. The way the police report changes. There is no control group to compare the police to, and how can we evaluate and measure the success of a change if there is nothing to compare it with?

The police are pressed to deliver to such an extent that they resort to creative reports on their score cards. This leads to poor publicity and the impression that the funding the police receive is not used in the best possible way. The police have not managed to show that they are understaffed and receive an acknowledgement for that from the Ministry of Justice and Public Security. The public opinion is influenced by the information they get, and the media picks, of course, the cases where they can criticise.

We have seen that the police feel the need to justify their results as a consequence of the new type of management in public sector. In doing that they interpret their results according to what suits them better (Lomell, 2011). Some of them give false reports, because they do not feel the target as theirs and as something that is meaningful and important to the police work (Wathne, 2015). They feel as if their “professional autonomy” is limited by the goals and thus the results they produce are also limited (H. O. I. Gundhus, 2016). These are all findings from researching the results of how the police work and report. In the documents I have examined, I did not find anywhere performance indicators that were open for discussion or modification. It is understandable because otherwise one risks ending up with measuring different things each year and then there is definitely no way to compare results.

An interesting project would be to interview the politicians and leaders from the corresponding period and see what they had in mind when implementing those changes and targets. We have the documents, but they are open to interpretation since the goals are not clearly formulated. One can argue that what I have observed and interpreted as changes influenced by globalization, are merely changes and there is not necessarily cause-result relationship between them. The document study starts with the assumption that globalization is influencing priorities and organization of the Police, thus it was never the aim of this paper to prove this relation.

If I am to recommend something to the Police Directorate and the Ministry of Justice and defence, it will be to make an analysis before change. I know there are analyses, but the criticism

toward those are that they do not include different perspectives. It would be interesting to see how they prepare for these and what is the driving force behind. I know I am in no position to give advice, but writing this thesis has opened my eyes for preparation work. I had underestimated it and it resulted in delays. That is even more relevant for public organisations, because changes there need to be approved by many parts.

If I am to look ahead and try to foresee the future changes that are as result of globalization, it would be more work towards the digital world. The Police are only in the beginning of the technological race. Changes there happen with enormous speed and if the Police are to respond to the challenges, there is definitely need for improvement and development of investigation skills in that area.

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