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"Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't"

A study on crime workers' experience with multi-agency cooperation and information exchange in Sweden

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Title
"Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't" – a study on crime workers experience with multi-agency cooperation and information exchange in Sweden

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Abstract
Multi-agency cooperation has been considered a very important aspect of crime investigation and crime prevention in modern time. The aim of this study was to explore the realities of multi-agency cooperation as experienced by Swedish crime workers from the police, the Prison and Probation Service and the Social Service. Previous research has shown that inter-agency cooperation's success and/or failure is controlled by factors such as time, resources, amount of guidance and so on, however very little research has explored the modern Swedish crime workers' perspective in the subject. Semi-structured interviews were conducted regarding the topics of cooperation between agencies, information exchange and secrecy. The results showed that while cooperation within the Swedish Judicial System was operating well, collaborative efforts with external agencies like the Social Service, was severely lacking. Collaborative efforts were experienced as less actual cooperation and more information exchange, which in turn was heavily controlled by secrecy laws and therefore often seen as one-way communication with external agencies. Additionally, when well-planned collaborative projects funded by the government are in place, the cooperation tends to work easier, however workers are less inclined to prioritize such efforts when the agencies' own resources are being used.

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1. Introduction

Cooperation between agencies and organisations is a common approach that, in theory, is a lot simpler to achieve in comparison to practice. In present time, inter-agency cooperation has been named as one of the key factors of successful crime prevention strategies. A multitude of studies and theories throughout the years have highlighted the complexities in crime and the numerous aspects in life contributing to its presence (Busuioc 2015; Sheperdson et al 2014). Regarding the history of criminology itself, theories about crime and crime prevention have stemmed from differing biological, psychological and sociological standpoints and with each new theory, new interventions based on it were created in the hopes of finally putting a stop to the crime trends at the time (Lilly, Cullen & Ball 2014, p. 4-6). Due to interventions being closely linked to the individual's health and social life, it is no wonder that agencies dealing with different issues in daily life such as poverty and discord within the family, require connection and cooperation amongst each other in order to successfully reach a solution. However, there seems to be a significant gap between theory and real life practice regarding multi-agency cooperation (Rosenbaum 2002).

The multi-agency approach grew in the 1990s, as a way to combat different societal issues by looking at it from several perspectives rather than one. This was perfectly captured by the 1990 United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders where they came to the conclusion that crime prevention must "bring together those with responsibility for planning and development, for family, health, employment and training, housing and social services, leisure activities, schools, the police, and the justice system in order to deal with the conditions that generate crime" (Rosenbaum 2002, p. 173). Take for instance youth crimes; many studies have shown that juvenile delinquency is often caused by inadequate parenting (Gold, Sullivan and Lewis 2011), peer pressures in school (Sullivan 2006), social disorganization in the community (Jobes et al 2004) and environmental opportunities (Rosenbaum 2002). It is only natural to want crime prevention strategies to tackle these underlying causes by for example creating youth programs and community initiatives that encourages and uplifts teenagers, steering them away from criminal activities rather than adding increased supervision or confinement to the problem (Rosenbaum 2002).

Nevertheless, the reality seems to be very different from the ideal. Pearson et al (1992) performed a two-year study on inter-agency relations within community-based crime prevention and included several localities spread out across the city of London. They found

that the actual application of multi-agency interventions is filled with doubt and confusion as well as several limitations of how the initiatives should be performed. This marked the beginning of researchers investigating this phenomenon and the road to finding the whole truth of inter-agency cooperation (Crawford & Jones 1995).

Sweden is among the countries with the lowest rates of crime, which has gone down 10 percent since the early 2000s, as well as some of the lowest rates of recidivism in the world and many attribute this to the judicial system (Kriminalvården 2017; Brå 2017). The Swedish judicial system is composed of several institutions with the expressed purpose of "ensuring the rule of law and legal security" (Ministry of Justice 2015). These institutions are the Swedish Police, the prosecutors, the courts and the Prison and Probation Service ("Kriminalvården" in Swedish). To ensure that the judicial system runs smoothly throughout its work with crime and prevention, information exchange and technology has been digitalized and made accessible for all its facets (Ministry of Justice 2015). However, when it comes to inter-agency cooperation outside of the judicial system it seems that several factors may hinder the process and its efficacy.

For instance, despite there being administrative laws encouraging collaboration across agencies (8 § FL 2017:900), the very same laws dictate that collaboration may only be done in certain ways, under specific guidelines depending on the sector involved. Furthermore, laws like the Public Access of Information and Secrecy Act (OSL 2009:400) put limitations on information exchange between agencies in order to protect the individual's integrity and while the classified information is more easily shared within the judicial system, with external agencies like the social services, the public employment service or healthcare services it becomes much more difficult. A lack of valuable information to a case due to secrecy can truly put a hamper on the final results of a case, or even close the investigation entirely and remain unsolved.

Finally, there is the issue of territorial thinking; despite the existence of certain guidelines concerning how the agencies should cooperate, research and evaluation programs have identified a tendency for "turf wars" between the agencies (Wilson 1989, cited in Busuioc 2015). Clarity in role boundaries as well as recognition of differences is essential with efficient working relationships and no partnership can commence without trust and mutual respect (Darlington et al 2004; Percy-Smith 2006). Collaborations where representatives from different organizations and jurisdictions are told to work together, often as complete strangers

and with a lack of guidance, have frequently been overshadowed by tensions and miscommunications.

All of the aforementioned factors have been known to affect the process and outcome of cooperative efforts between agencies in the past. As such, this study aimed to highlight and explore the limitations hindering the possibility of successful multi-agency cooperation strategies. Furthermore, this study's theoretical framework consists of Abbott's (1988) theory of the system of professions in modern time, as it analyses the functionality of the system both as a whole and its parts, as well as how work, jurisdiction and competition affect the work field.

1.1. Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this study is to explore how crime workers from the police, the Prison and Probation Service and the Social Service in Sweden experience multi-agency cooperation and information exchange in regard to crime prevention.

- How do the crime workers experience multi-agency cooperation?

- How do they experience secrecy with information exchange?

- How can multi agency cooperation be discussed and analysed through Abbott's system of professions theory?

2. Background and previous research

Throughout the years, there has been extensive research into the topic of inter-agency cooperation within the field of criminology, yet despite this, most research into the topic was done during the 1990s and early 2000s. As previously mentioned, Pearson et al (1992) was among the first studies in the topic and since then, there has been some ground-breaking research that is still relevant to this day. Following are some of the more modern studies carried out on the topic.

Busuioc (2016) conducted a study focused on two European agencies - Europol and Frontex - and investigated the reasons leading to cooperation success in one area (border management) and failed cooperation which instead generated turf-like tendencies in another (law enforcement). This inductive research created its own theoretical framework that is both turf and reputation related, where an agency's readiness to cooperate with another, is believed to be heavily contingent upon the reputational factor. This means that what the agency would gain (or not gain) from the cooperation will control the level of efforts made as well as affect the cooperation outcomes. This study used a mixed-method design of analysing documents as well as conducting 21 semi-structured interviews on both national and transnational levels.

The results showed that the cooperation was influenced by the contrasting reputational impact regarding national authorities: on one hand the cooperation diminishes the authorities' resources for the collaboration which can provoke the workers and bring about turf-like tendencies, while on another, the cooperation instead builds up the authorities' reputation which increases their efforts. This research was chosen because it highlights the competitional aspect of inter-agency cooperation that may come about and the factors that lead up to it, such as resource depletion. Furthermore, this research used the method of semi-structured interviews, which this study will also be based on.

Harvey et al (2015) studied the multi-agency efforts specifically in regard to child trafficking in the United Kingdom. This case study aimed to uncover the reality of multi-agency approaches in Northern England in their work against trafficking with children. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews circa 90 minutes long, over five months. The results showed that while there is a universal agreement that cooperation on an inter-agency level is not only needed but also effective against child trafficking, there are no clear guidelines as to how it should be conducted. In the past several different initiatives and strategies were put in place but later annulled and since then, the cooperative approach held

less priority. There was a lack of clarity and knowledge about partnerships across agencies and because the work revolves around a difficult topic, most people do not go looking for it. Furthermore, the information exchange both within and between agencies was lacking a great deal due to the mind frame of singular responsibility with every agency. This research is very similar to this current study as it highlights the reality of multi-agency cooperation and the failures due to the system. Its main focus is the crime workers confusion and inability to cooperate with other agencies due to lack of training and guidance, as well as the idea of agencies being solitary groups with their own responsibilities. Moreover, the system putting inter-agency cooperation on the back burner despite advocating its usefulness is a very interesting point to bring up, as this study will also look at the initiatives in place in Sweden today.

Aden (2018) took it upon himself to explore information sharing, secrecy, and trust between security agencies in the European Union. While it is known that information exchange is a common and necessary practice within criminal justice, when the information is filled with confidentiality and secrecy, it may change the relationship between agencies and make the work difficult. The aim of his research was to investigate the role and different types of secrecy as well as its relationship with information sharing, trust, transparency, and accountability. The results showed that in recent times, police and secret service agencies have been pressured to develop better transnational cooperation and information exchange to counterbalance the growing threat of terrorism and other crimes to major security. This pressure created strategies to combat any mistrust between agencies, and despite tensions still existing, the ways of sharing information have been aided with standardised tools such as access to databases. Due to this, it seems the cooperation on an intergovernmental level amidst ministries and agencies is the primary work approach. This research is important because it exhibits a successful way of cooperation and information exchange due to clear channels and established work methods, something that will be looked at in this study as well.

Yakhlef (2018) conducted her dissertation on a border police cooperation project named Turnstone in the Baltic Sea area focused on irregular migration and cross border crimes. The aim of her study was to examine it from a 'community of practice' perspective and how workers from different organisations and cultures develop a sense of community and trust in order to truly cooperate and share confidential information. Through fieldwork, participant observations and semi-structured interviews, the results showed an expanding request for

international cooperation and the participants named Project Turnstone an important initiative against mistrust among officers surrounding the Baltic Sea as it enabled them to build a trust-based relationship with each other. Issues like mutual understanding, lack of resources and knowledge about working methods, legal and organisational hinders, narrow mindedness, cultural differences creating an "us vs. them" attitude, bitterness and scepticism and many more, made it almost impossible to fully collaborate with other crime workers. Project Turnstone gave the participants a common middle ground where those who aspired to improve international cooperation joined the venture. Not only did this study show that having joint activities of both the formal and informal kind, a relationship based on trust was developed, thus making the initiative more effective in its work with cross border crimes.

Basic's (2012) dissertation was based on an evaluation of the project "Against violence and gangs" ("Mot våld och gäng (MVG)" in Swedish) where his interest laid with conflicts, alliances, and explanatory comparisons. The aim was to understand how during collaborations, various actors fight with and against each other, how they compare with one another and the concept of moral actions construed in these conflicts. The methods used were field observations as well as 147 interviews with participants from the project, the social services, and the National Board of Institutional Care. The aim of the project itself was to create a new professional category of 'coordinators' that both act as an extra caregiver to these youths and coordinate other workers' care measures of youths. Yet he found that instead of improving the cooperation, many from both the social services and from the national board were contentious about the changes. Rather than the project creating a mutual common ground like Project Turnstone did in Yakhlef's (2018) study, the participants of Basic (2012) did not form any collaborative identities across organisations, but instead became the breeding ground for conflicts, especially towards the coordinators as they were the representatives for the project. Furthermore, due to interventions like these often taking up a lot of time that could be used for the clients themselves, workers used that as fuel for the argument of this project not being of enough (or any) value. This dissertation shows an interesting contrast to the results of Yakhlef's (2018) research, and the factors involved that may give the cooperation effort a negative outcome.

Finally, Malm's (2012) dissertation on the socio-policing actor-network and the inter-agency collaboration efforts between the police and the social services regarding juvenile criminality. The aim was to analyse how cooperative efforts between these agencies are realized and experienced by the actors involved on both an ideological, a local/practical and an individual

level. This study used several research methods including qualitative interviews with workers from both the police and the social services, quantitative survey mapping with the youths and analysis of public documents. The findings from the document analysis showed that cooperation was ideally envisioned from both parties but in reality, mainly existed of one-way information exchange from the police to the social services. The interviews confirmed this reality but also indicated that certain close collaboration moments were also present, for instance when working with surveillance and outreach where there was a general agreement on what to observe with the youths in question. Regarding other criminal investigations however, the collaboration was lacking. Lastly, the survey with the teenagers showed that only eight of the 128 participants had been part of any collaborative efforts between the agencies. This study, along with Basic's (2012) and partly Yakhlef's (2018), show the interesting dynamics of cooperation in Sweden specifically, and how expectations rarely match the actual execution and results.

These six research studies have each highlighted the different aspects of multi-agency cooperation, information exchange, secrecy, and attempted initiatives as well as its benefits and limitations, from an international and national level, including a Swedish perspective. Moreover, they all have connections and relevancy to this paper as they aimed to showcase real inter-agency cooperation endeavours and the factors enabling or hindering the initiatives' progress and success, which is the focus of this study.

3. Theory

The theoretical framework used for this study is Andrew Abbott's systems of professions - an amalgamation of professions theory as well as general system theory (GST). A system can be defined in many different ways, one of which being "a whole which functions as a whole by virtue of the interdependence of its parts" (Rapoport 1986, p. xvi). Bowler (1981, as cited in Bernard, Paoline & Pare 2005) described that the founder of this theory, Ludvig von Bertalanffy, argued that a system could only be understood when examining the interrelationships between the units and levels within the system itself. GST has been used to understand systems in almost every field of study and has branched out into a variety of theories with differing focuses (Bernard, Paoline & Pare 2005).

Bernard, Paoline and Pare (2005) applied GST to criminal justice despite previous objections and claims of the theory not being suitable for this field. They argue that criminal justice is composed of several layers of systems with input, processing, and output. For example the police officer receives input in the form of new cases and offenders, processes it through investigative work and the resulting output is either a verdict - and thus transferring the offender to the Prison and Probation Service - or closing the case and releasing the offender. However the same can be said about the police organisation as a whole: the single police officer can be a system that's a part of a larger system, with the process of input/output concurring within and between different departments, which in turn is part of the criminal justice (and other) systems by receiving input/output to and from various agencies.

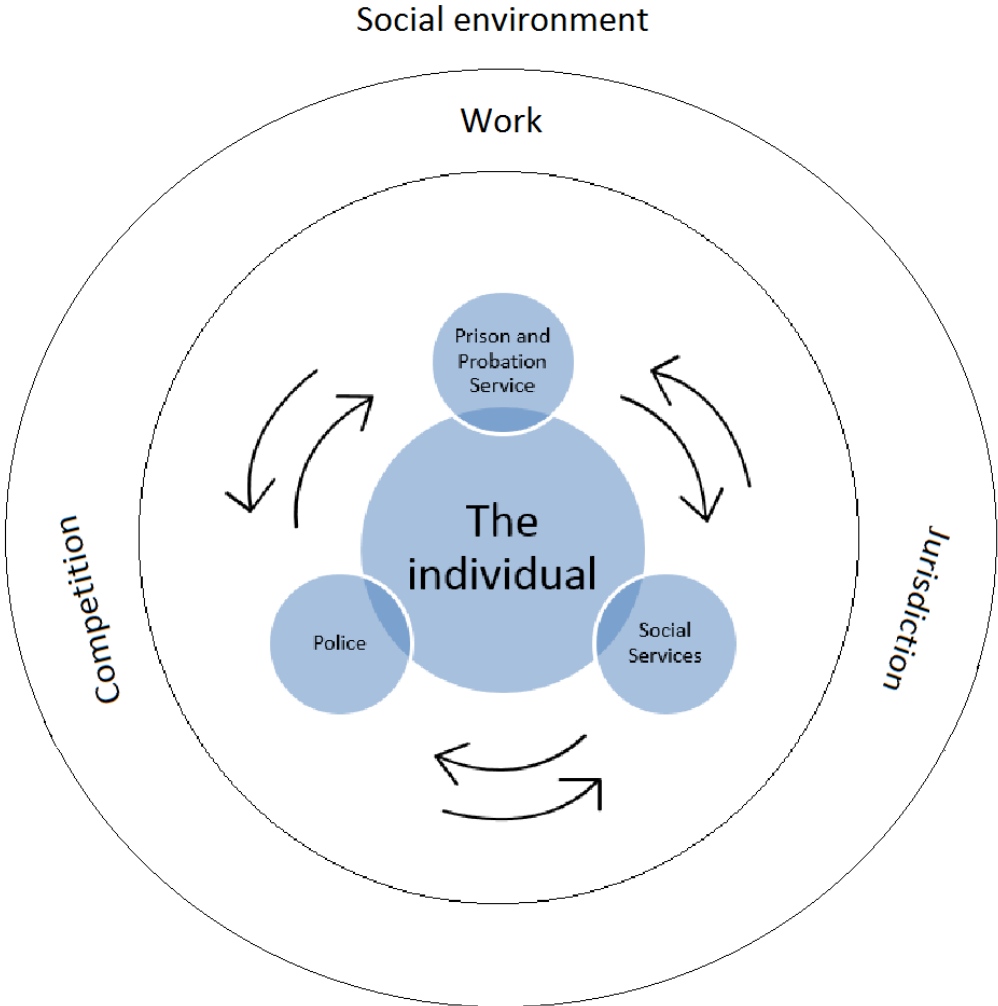Below is a figure showing examples of channels of comminucation between agences.
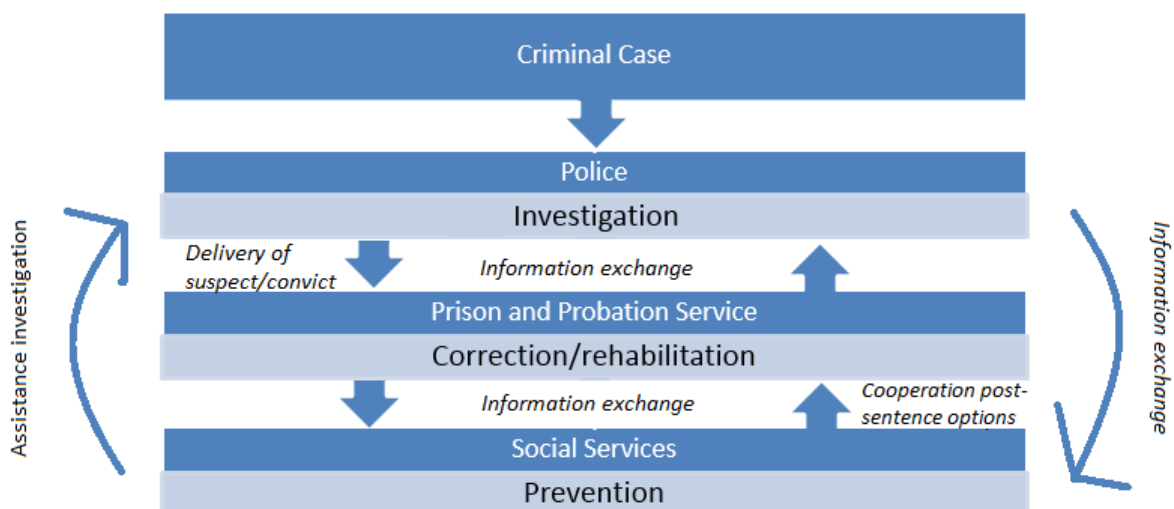
"The whole of the criminal justice system is greater than the sum of its parts" (Bernard, Paoline & Pare 2005, p.208). Therefore, it is only rational to consider the context of the entire system rather than looking at each section separately in order to fully comprehend it. How can one understand the pressures one subsystem experiences without contemplating the numerous ways other subsystems have affected it? That is one strength of this theory: it not only identifies the interrelationship between different sections of one organisation but also brings to attention the role of the environment and how organisations are often influenced by each other. For this paper, general systems theory is fitting because the focus of the study is on agencies from the criminal justice system (the police and the Prison and Probation Service) as well as external agencies like the Social Service whose jurisdiction often overlaps with the aforementioned organisations. They all share a common goal - to solve cases and close them permanently - but do so in different ways. However, a limitation of the theory is the view of organisations as solid and absolute objects with complete functional consensus. It forgets the possibility for inequality between input and output, as well as each subsystem not being in harmony with one another. One of the reasons the author of this paper chose this topic is due to previous research showing that reality is often not as idealistic, especially within criminal justice. As such, another theory inspired by system theory is the main theoretical framework of this paper.

It is an unfortunate fact that most researchers only focus on one profession at a time and what they do rather than the complex system it is a component of. Abbott (1988) took to the idea of focusing on the greater picture regarding professions. He recognised that the professional world was construed into an interdependent system: a profession is born when somebody identifies a need for it, for example the need for experts concerning health and illnesses led to the birth of several medical professions such as doctors, nurses, pharmacists etc. At first, the profession has monopoly within a field and thus full jurisdiction, until another problem area and profession is recognized that demands access to the same area of authority. For this reason, the aspect of interprofessional competition is a topic of interest often missed by those with a narrow view of professionalisation (Abbott 1988, p. 1-2)

According to Abbot (1988) the three major elements affecting the professions evolution and future are work, jurisdiction and competition. As society changes with time, the profession's work tasks are changed and adapted subsequently. The ties they have with jurisdiction are constantly transforming due to this and professions compete to regain their authority within

those jurisdictions by attempting to possess each other's tasks. The external forces prompting these changes significantly influences each profession though the system rather than direct contact (Abbott 1988, p. 33-34) as shown in the figure below.

Social environment

Work

Prison and Probation Service

The individual

Police

Social Services

Competition

Jurisdiction

This theory has both its strengths and its limitations. One strength is that the theory examines a wider context in comparison to previous profession theories and explains how professions are interdependent - some more than others - and how they both construct their work and are constructed by it by analysing the process of professionalisation in relation to the system it is part of as well as the environment surrounding it. He inadvertently describes and analyses the micro, meso and macro levels (a common aspect in general systems theory) where micro level becomes the internal structure of one organisation, the meso being the connections to other agencies, and the macro representing the social environment. It also explains how professions can sometimes fail, become subordinate or disappear completely. A weakness however is the assumption that the competition aspect is the same everywhere, at all times, something that throughout this study turns out to be very different in current day Sweden. Another limitation

is his unclear definition of the term "profession": "professions are somewhat exclusive groups of individuals applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases." (Abbott 1988, p. 8). This definition was chosen by Abbott for its loose meaning as it pertains to his theory but can still be very confusing as a concept. Yet despite all of this, his theory is still the most applicable to this study and is therefore the main theoretical framework used.

This theory has been used to analyse and understand how the system(s) of three professions – police officers, probational/correctional workers, and social workers – from three different agencies, work in reality and in relation to cooperation and information exchange, both internally and externally. Furthermore, it has also been used to understand how the factors work, jurisdiction and competition have been established in the work field and the effect it has had on the professions studied.

4. Methodology

4.1. Design

This research has used a qualitative method of semi-structured interviews based on a deductive approach (Bryman 2018, p. 561). This means that the data collected from the respondents has been analysed under the framework of general systems theory within criminal justice. Qualitative research within social sciences aims to get an in-depth understanding of societal phenomena and human behaviour by for example immersing oneself in the participant's world for first-hand experience alongside them or by capturing their experiences through focused data collection methods in order to gain insight into their perspectives (Patton 2015, p. 12-13). A deductive approach means to explain the phenomenon in relation with existing theories, resulting in either further evidence of its conclusion or revealing interesting aspects that may disprove or question the theory instead (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2008, p. 8; Patton 2015, p. 541). As the purpose of this study is to explore the viewpoints of crime workers in their respective fields in relation to inter-agency cooperation and information exchange, a qualitative and deductive approach is the recommended choice.

Qualitative research as a whole, searches for a different kind of information than that of quantitative research. Qualitative data are collected through three methods: open-ended interviews, direct field observations and written material such as documents, letter, social media posts etc., as well as the option of mixed methods. A qualitative researcher possesses more liberties with qualitative research as it subjectively decided how to conduct it based on research questions and means (Patton 2015, p. 13-14). As this study is based on crime workers' experiences with multi-agency cooperation, something the author has no practical knowledge or experience with, a qualitative approach seems the most ideal.

However, with great power comes great responsibility; the value of qualitative data is heavily contingent upon the skill and training of the researcher. An inexperienced researcher may not be able to avoid affecting the research outcome and the numerous steps towards it. The ability to perform interviews or observations, to read through transcripts and analyse it fully, to be as objective as possible during a qualitative study can be very difficult (Patton 2015, p. 14-15). Furthermore, qualitative research is overflowing with ambiguities due to the variety of combinations a scientist can choose from and the "personal touch" allowed, thus for those prefer rigid guidelines might instead prefer to choose a quantitative method (Patton 2015, p. 311). The author of this paper has limited experience with interviewing - albeit all of it being

academically supervised and evaluated - and has some idea of how to avoid affecting the informants and the results. There is also the opportunity for follow-up questions in the cases of researcher misunderstandings or incomplete answers during the transcribing and analysing process.

4.2. Sampling method

The sampling method used in this investigation is purposive and snowball (Patton 2015, p. 270; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2008, p. 168). The participants worked at either the Swedish Police, the Prison and Probation Service or the Social Service. The inclusion of perspectives from differing agencies is significant to the research because of the differences in roles within crime prevention – for instance, the police mainly work with investigation of a crime while the social services may have information about the criminal's schooling, family life and so on, and work on strategies to improve these aspects - as well as diverse, sometimes contrasting, laws and regulations regarding information exchange and secrecy which may affect the overall cooperation. One contact at each agency agreed to participate as well as recommended one or two more participants of their choosing. In total there were seven participants: three police officers (one woman, two men), two probation officers (man and woman) and two social workers (two men), all of which have had considerable work experience with crime prevention, multi-agency cooperation and information exchange.

Participants	M: F	Approach/ Operation mode	Department
Police Officers	2: 1	Investigative work	Domestic violence, youth investigators
Probation Worker	1: 1	Rehabilitative/correctional work	Parole, jail
Social Worker	2: 0	Prevention work	Youths, integration

This sampling choice is an effective way to gather informants that may be representative to the general population concerned. It is also a way to gain a wider variety of opinions, as during one interview one may ask the informant if they can recommend others who either think alike or differently to them. Additionally, it allows a sincere focus on one respondent at a time; in qualitative designs there are no rules for the size of the sample, but rather each researcher makes the decision based on the purpose of the study (Patton 2015, p. 298). While

this sample of seven participants may be small, the purpose of this study is not to generalise to the overall population of crime workers, but rather focusing on how these participants in particular experience multi-agency cooperation and information exchange, similar to that of a case study. Furthermore, this study can later be used as the foundation for future research with larger samples.

Nevertheless, one limitation with a purposive sample, as well as nonprobability sampling in general, is the fact that the sample is not guaranteed to be representative of the population, which may affect the validity of the results (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2008, p. 167). Also, the sample size may not be as important as the rich data gained but the researcher may inadvertently seek out informants that benefit their ideas and predictions due to the subjectivity aspect. To avoid this, the respondents were asked to recruit other participants that worked within different departments at their agency; for example one policewoman who worked with domestic violence later recruited a policeman working with youths, with the only directive from the researcher being that they have experience with inter-agency cooperation and/or information exchange. This way, the researcher has fewer chances of subconsciously choosing informants fitting any preconceived ideas about the outcome.

4.3. Data collection

The data collection method used was semi-structured interviews. Qualitative inquiry by means of interviews is different from that of for example journalism, in that it aims to "capture their experiences, beliefs, fears, triumphs – any and all aspects of their stories […] The results help us make sense of the diversity of human experience" (Patton 2015, p. 426). A semi-structured interview style allows the researcher to set the framework of the interview by creating an interview guide of themes and questions fitting for the research aims but also provides room for adjustments and follow-up questions when needed, making every interview unique (Bryman 2018, p. 561). In total the guide had 19 questions and was divided into four categories, excluding introductory, background and finishing questions: inter-agency cooperation overall, competitive/territorial thinking, information exchange and secrecy. The questions were open-ended and reviewed for language and clarity prior to the interviews. The resulting interviews were 25-40 minutes long, took place at the respondents' workplaces and were tape-recorded for future analysis.

Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility without making it difficult for the interviewer to regulate the direction of the conversation, making sure it is not straying off-topic. It promotes relaxation on both sides and allows for focus on the topic rather than extraneous variables such as body language, wording of questions, nervousness etc. Furthermore, as an interview guide is used during the dialogue it gives the interviewer some structure as well as easier comparison between respondents' answers (Patton 2015, 438; p. 441-442). Concurrently, the lack of complete structure may add some difficulty in comparing answers as each interview becomes unique due to the possibility of follow-up questions, new topics brought forth and so on (Patton 2015, 438). An inexperienced interviewer may also struggle with the observational part of the interview such as the atmosphere, body language, sudden interruptions etc., thus adding several interviewer effects that in turn influences the respondent and the dialogue (Patton 2015, p. 438; Roxell & Tiby 2006, p. 155). The author of this paper has previously performed semi-structured interviews and is familiar with the use of a guide; the interviews went smoothly, and the dialogue was kept relaxed and informative.

4.4. Analytical method

A thematic analysis was chosen to compare the data collected and identify different themes and topics that were recurring (Bryman 2018, p. 468; Patton 2015, p. 541). Thematic analysis is often used by social scientists as a way to analyse qualitative data by "systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages" and can be used on various kinds of written or spoken texts (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2008, p. 296). The tape recordings were transcribed and later analysed by this method.

Thematic analysis lets the researcher systematically organize and analyse the raw data collected from the participants in the form of written text. The analysis involved two steps: establishing the characteristics of the content and implementing the rules for classifying and recording those characteristics in the text analysed. Through the analysis, there are five different kinds of recording units: words/terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, and items. As there are no specific guidelines for the process, just as with the previous sections of the method, it gives the researcher the liberty to proceed as they feel is most appropriate for the research goals, which can both be a strength and a limitation depending on how trained the researcher is (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2008, p. 298; 301). This method of analysis has been used in the past and therefore the author perceives minimal errors with the process.

4.5. Reliability and Validity

Within qualitative research the terms validity and reliability may be exchanged with trustworthiness which in turn is divided into three categories: credibility, transferability, and dependability. Credibility and dependability of the data can be reached through triangulation, transparency and reconnecting with the field and thus letting the participants confirm the information. Transferability can be achieved through either a larger sample or a varied sample (Bryman 2018, p. 467-470). Triangulation according to Patton (2015, p. 661) can be accomplished in four ways; triangulation across sources (finding consistency across interviewees), mixed-methods of both qualitative and quantitative nature, analyst triangulation to reduce the risk of subjectivity and theory/perspective triangulation to interpret data in several ways.

In this research, triangulation across sources was achieved as the consistency in answers within each agency were present, as well as the overall experience with inter-agency cooperation and information exchange. Mixed-method as well as analyst triangulation were difficult to achieve due to time restraints and being a single researcher on this study. Theory/perspective triangulation, one may say is partly achieved through the use of not only Abbott's (1988) system of professions theory but also general systems theory (Bernard, Paoline & Pare 2005), but as they are rather similar it is difficult to say with certainty.

For transparency, every step is carefully explained along with reasonings throughout this essay. For reconnecting with the field, at the end of the interview the informants had positive attitudes regarding the conversation and confirmed the information given on the spot, as well as told that they could contact the author if they have any questions or concerns later on. While they will not have access to the full data of the study, they will be sent a copy of the report after completion. Finally, for transferability, the sample may be small, but it is varied so the results may still provide insightful knowledge to the topic.

4.6. Ethical considerations

Within Swedish research, there are four ethical demands to be fulfilled as part of good research practice: information, consent, confidentiality and use of data (Swedish Research Council 2017). This means that each participant should be informed of the purpose of the study, whether it is before or after the data collection. They should consent to taking part of the study as well as given the right to withdraw whenever they so desire. Confidentiality is a given; all data and information about the respondents and their participation should be kept

safely and away from those unauthorized. And finally, they should be reassured that all data taken will only be used for research purposes. For this study, when contacting the respondents, they were immediately told the aim and purpose of the investigation and asked if they wanted to participate. At the interviews themselves, the same information was given about the aim, their right to withdraw at any point and whether they had any questions before beginning the interview. Therefore, the informed consent aspect was fulfilled. Furthermore, they were told that they would have complete anonymity, which was ensured through changing identifying details such as names, location of work and years of experience, that their answers would only be used for research purposes, and if they were happy with their contribution at the end of the interview.

5. Results and analysis

This section is divided into two parts: 'cooperation and competition', and 'information exchange and secrecy'. Within each section certain quotes that came up during the analysis of the interviews as of particular interest will be presented and discussed. Each part will also break down the crime workers' experiences in order of agency. The respondents have been given pseudonyms to protect their identities; Emma, James and Oliver from the police, David and Mia from the Prison and Probation Service (PPS) and Jack and Henry from the Social Services (SS).

5.1. Cooperation and competition

5.1.1. The Police

The three informants from the police have had similar yet different experiences with cooperation. Emma and Oliver are police inspectors currently working in the domestic violence unit while James is a police assistant with the area police ("områdespolisgruppen" in Swedish), a group mainly working with reconnaissance.

Emma, the first informant and contact at the police, has been a police officer for more than 30 years with experiences in many aspects of police work. She has been working with domestic violence for the past year, during which she expresses a distinct lack of cooperation taking place:

> If I don't do it without thinking about it. If there are minors involved then we always send a 'Sol 14', a report to social services about a 'child in danger' or well, that a child is in a bit of trouble there. I don't really know but it's always obligatory to send one to social services. And we *should* do that! But no, I don't think we have any direct cooperation in these types of errands.

A Sol 14 is referring to section 14 in the Social Services Act (SoL 2001:453) which states that "the following authorities and professionals are obliged to immediately notify the Social Welfare Board if they, during their work, are aware of or suspect that a child is in danger" with a list of agencies including the Swedish Police, the PPS, the healthcare system etc., something that has been mentioned by all three respondents. This means that if Emma suspects any children at risk during the domestic violence case, she has to immediately report

this to the SS and give them all the information at hand. However, after this, SS take the reins and her unit have no more say in the topic:

> I mean at our level here, it's us that inform [social services]. But I feel that you don't really get anything back from them - yeah there is a confidentiality there, so I feel that we don't get much reciprocation, it's more that we report to them and then that's done. Then they will follow up on it. (Emma, police officer)

Oliver is also an inspector on the same unit as Emma, and expressed similar opinions:

> The cooperation isn't that we sit and talk and have a problem we're supposed to solve together. I think that those on the children's side maybe have a little bit different cooperation, those working with crime against children. But us adults can mostly just inform social services. (Oliver, police officer)

James, unlike Oliver and Emma, has experience with several types of cooperation forms:

> We have meeting every sixth week; it's mostly me then who joins the meetings, and social services talk together [internally] every third week and try to get consent from the youth and parents on their own. So every sixth week we meet - last meeting was yesterday - and a few from social services that got consent from various teens. And then we can sit in the room and openly talk about the youths and plan based on our resources and opportunities. (James, police assistant)

He is also a part of a social intervention group (SIG, "social insatsgrupp" in Swedish) which is a rather new method of dealing with teenagers and young adults at risk of becoming criminal or joining criminal networks:

> Together with parents, the youth and social services we decide which actors are suitable for them and meet up regularly. We have had one intervention so far and [in this case] the kid is now starting over, and here there were representatives from school, like teachers, there was the social services and police, representatives from NEXUS - a drug programme, field workers under the social services… (James, police assistant)

He conveys that in groups like these, the idea is to capture every hour of every day for this youth and fill it with other activities as well as offer help and support to those who need it. By

meeting once, a month, these different actors share the information they have on this individual and plan accordingly.

At this point, it would seem that the differences in experience with cooperation comes from being part of different departments within the police organisation. Their areas of focus only overlap when it comes to children, whether children in danger during domestic violence or juvenile delinquency. In those cases, the SS is the only agency discussed (the agency brought up the most in all interviews) as it belongs to their jurisdiction. Abbott (1988) named jurisdiction as one of the fundamental components in professions theory and the conflict that arise due to it. Furthermore, the SS seems to be the dominant part in those cases as they receive full jurisdiction, leaving the police in the dust.

Another difference noted was amount of work experience. Regarding their opinions, each respondent agrees that cooperation is good and needed however the enthusiasm has mostly stayed with James. James is rather new to both area police (less than a year of experience) and SIG (which is only a few months old) but retains a very positive view of cooperation due to the different tools each agency brings to the table:

> It is pretty new and everything is working well. [I think] it's very effective because you have a different set of tools to work with [..] You have different angles, we see one part of the kids and they see another and by bringing them together you can get a good holistic picture of what the problems are and which help should be applied for best effect. (James, police assistant)

Oliver and Emma have both been working with the police for more than 30 years, and instead have asserted both positive and negative views on cooperation.

> Yeah well, we are forced to [cooperate]. It is very important, that we share information - sure we can help [the victims] to a certain degree, we can have a good investigation and verdict but we can't really help them with their lives afterwards and that's where [other agencies] come in. (Oliver, police officer)

> I mean it's great where it's needed you know, I'm thinking like with children-related cases where you really need a cooperation with social services and the like. So that's really good. But that's essentially it." (Emma, police officer).

Perhaps this also contributes to the argument of jurisdiction: as mentioned earlier, the links to jurisdiction are constantly changing along with society (Abbott 1988, p. 33). Professionals who have been working for decades must therefore have witnessed some of these changes and even gained and/or lost jurisdictional areas. Although rather than growing resentful to these changes, these participants instead show complacency with the situation through using terms like "we *should* inform…" and "we're *forced* to cooperate…", displaying a lack of competitive energy, most likely due to laws restricting their opportunities.

Continuing on the same topic, each participant responded that there was no competition; conflicts do not occur very often and when they do there is support in terms of laws and regulations, support from higher-ups and so on. However, a sense of frustration was detected, especially from Emma and Oliver, due to the lack of cooperation and the forms that do ensue are generally through one sided information exchange and henceforth giving up jurisdiction. They all mostly discussed cooperation with the SS and because this agency is strongly tied to secrecy and confidentiality by law, as well as the lack of resources, they can only give up the information they have on their cases to the SS and never find out what happened thereafter. True cooperation is not giving up jurisdiction and taking others' tasks but rather coordinating the work (Ekbom et al 2017, p. 259).

5.1.2. The Prison and Probation service

David and Maria work with different departments within the PPS; David is a probational inspector ("frivårdsinspektör" in Swedish) and Mia a correctional inspector ("kriminalvårdsinspektör" in Swedish).

David is the current chairman of both probation offices and jails in a few cities in Sweden, with a background in sociology, criminology, and project management. In his line of work, he's had contact with several agencies in order to help his clients and thus his experience with cooperation is incredibly varied. David said: "I've worked as both a probational and correctional inspector and I'm [still] involved with both probation and jails and cooperation between prisons, jails, probation [and] other organisations".

He genuinely believes in cooperation both within and between agencies but also is not naive about the reality:

> Cooperation is to make the work simpler, that you have dialogue, instead of one worker making a decision immediately. You need to have dialogue in order for the organisation to run smoothly. [...] All agencies want to have cooperation, and recently they've regionally created a cooperation [venture] between higher-ups in all of [name of county] to meet up but then, the reality is much different. (David, probational inspector)

Another interesting element is the economical aspect of cooperation. In many cases the issue of money can hinder the attempts at collaboration. He stated that the PPS have enough resources and less restrictions to spend on these efforts, but other agencies are not as fortunate:

> The social services...they often don't want to pay [laughs] and they want us to pay and then there's the fact that they want to pay monthly and the problem is that it affects the client because maybe they need treatment for a year and the payment plan at treatment facilities are different, some want the full sum now while others want quarterly payments. We can't pay the full sum and according to the Social Services Act, the social services should pay monthly for these cases. (David, probational inspector)

The issue lies in the fact that due to the law, the SS are restricted to pay only in monthly instalments, while the PPS can be more flexible and are therefore ready to pay regardless. The PPS should however only stand for half of the sum, while the SS pays the other half. This was slightly reminiscent of the resource depletion issue in Busuioc (2016) study as it was a significant factor of whether a cooperation attempt was successful or not. David believes this should not be as big of an issue as it is and said: "I think that all agencies have to take their responsibility, that's the most important thing, to help the individuals, not the economy…"

Unlike the other agencies, the PPS also have representatives from the SS, the Swedish Public Employment Service ("Arbetsförmedlingen" in Swedish) and the municipality sitting in their offices, to increase the cooperative efforts and the direct contact with their clients. He then goes on to describe a collaborative method known as KRAMI, which only exists in a limited number of cities in the country. However, the problem there lies with economy as well; the reason KRAMI doesn't exist nationwide is due to the lack of resources.

> We have one from the Swedish Public Employment Service who sits in the probation office that works for the clients, those on parole and that's good, you should always have someone like

that. There's a thing called KRAMI [...] That means that someone from the SS, one from the employment service...and these people - because they have direct contact with us and their respective agencies, the information runs smoothly between us all. (David, probational inspector)

Mia is currently a duty officer in a local jail and has been working there for over 10 years. She, like Emma from the police, stated that she does not have much cooperation experience externally but rather within the criminal justice system itself, which is less limited when compared to working with other agencies. Her general view of it still seems rather positive:

I go up and hold the morning meetings with all the personnel groups for debriefing of last night's happenings and planning and coordination for the day. [...] But I think that in the grand scheme of things it's working really well. And it's important that it works for all parties and there can't be authority [issues] regarding who is in charge but rather you have to cooperate. Because we work with people, it has to run smoothly so that no one falls through the cracks. (Mia, correctional inspector)

Here she is referring to a previously discussed topic of problems during the interview concerning the transition of the arrest function (the process of arresting and writing in a potential offender into the system) from the police to the PPS.

We had a little problem when we took over the arrest function - our personnel went in there and worked instead of the police having workers. So, when the PPS took over there were a few cooperative problems there, who was going to be in charge: was it the PPS or was it the police who would decide on certain issues. It took a while before we found a good cooperation and I got into it with a few down there… (Mia, correctional inspector)

It seems that the point of contention was the shift in jurisdictional area; Abbott (1988, p. 91) brings up how external forces can disturb the system by changing jurisdictional boundaries which can lead to interprofessional competition. This is a perfect example of what can happen when those particular boundaries are unclear. Additionally, Aden (2018), Basic (2012) and Harvey et al (2015) all found that uncertainty regarding boundaries and jurisdictions often led to tensions, conflicts and in the end negative results, while Yakhlef (2018) found that a common understanding of 'who does what' increased the success factor in collaborative efforts. The transition of the arrest function from the police to the PPS was not planned out

well on an administrative level and therefore, the workers themselves had trouble figuring out who had authority and where. She stated it took about a year before they could properly understand the boundaries and to routinize the cooperation.

In comparison to the police, the respondents from the PPS have similar experiences with cooperation; David's role as the chairman, as well as his past with both probation and correctional work, enables him to more closely work with other agencies but still retains the same attitude as displayed by the others. Both Mia and Emma (and Oliver to some extent) expressed that they have little to no encounters with cooperation outside of the criminal justice system but rather just information exchange, which will be discussed in detail later. Finally, once again, the SS seems to be the agency that is most in contact with the criminal justice agencies and the agency with which most of the problems occur.

5.1.3. The Social Services

Jack and Henry are both social workers working with integration, youths, and newly arrived young adults. Through their work they both have had a lot of contact with other actors from agencies, organisations, and associations, however in different amounts. Jack has a very positive picture and experience with cooperation.

> The teenager sits here, in the middle, and there are many different agencies surrounding this teen. One agency is me, from the social services, then there're others like the school, healthcare and so on, and also other actors like fiduciaries… (Jack, social worker)

> It's important to me, because through these meetings I get a different picture of this kid, you know? […] Cooperation is good, it's important to us for our work and for the youth. We need each other, we help them and they help us to simplify our job. (Jack, social worker)

Meanwhile, Henry displays a different image of cooperation efforts.

> It's not that often, I should say…we don't really have any cooperation with the Migration Agency for example. At all actually. Which is a shame because that could have been really great. [But] we work a lot with smaller associations instead. (Henry, social worker)

The fact that a social worker mainly working with integration does not have any collaboration occurring with the Migration Agency was very odd. However, he does say that it is most likely due to a lack of time and resources.

> I think that it can always be better, I have to say…it can be better both within the agency and with others. And I know it's about resources, it's about time so it's not possible but in the best of worlds I suppose… (Henry, social worker)

The fact that cooperation success is contingent upon resources is nothing new; as mentioned earlier, Busuioc (2016) touched upon it briefly when discovering that using (and sometimes depleting) authorities' own resources for inter-agency collaborations often led to conflicts and turf-like behaviour, while cooperative projects funded by the government would instead ensure a smoother working environment, like in Yakhlef's (2018) study. Perhaps this can be interpreted as the workers knowing the agency's own resources are being used which increases the pressure to perform well or have a successful cooperation. This added level of stress may also make them less inclined to cooperate and instead, focus on their own work input rather than the group's contribution. By this regard, it is no wonder that cooperation across agencies is not heavily prioritized unless funded externally.

Jack and Henry have worked for a similar amount of time (over a decade) so these differences in opinions cannot be attributed to years of experience, as with the participants from other agencies thus far. Furthermore, they work within the same unit of integration and youths, so perhaps there are individual factors or work tasks that has caused this discrepancy.

Regarding conflicts and miscommunication due to cooperation, Jack says it is an inevitability when working with other people but that the SS has the appropriate support in those times.

> You can solve it between the personnel, we have teams and you can sit there and say "I'm not really satisfied with this" or if someone isn't doing their job you can say "please take your own responsibility" and so on. But everyone is not the same, some aren't as open, or they're scared of conflicts and then you can always go to your boss. (Jack, social worker)

Additionally, he brought up the interesting aspect of sick leaves, and unexplained sick leaves at that.

> If you don't solve a conflict, it's just going to get worse and worse. In the end the conflict might get so big that everyone is involved, and that is not good. Eventually someone's going to go on

sick leave because of it, because you feel so stressed at work. There are so many people on sick leave today who don't say *why*. Just 'heavy workload'. But in reality, it's probably due to toxic work environment and conflicts. (Jack, social worker)

For Henry, the extent of his cooperation experience is with minor associations and seems to suggest that the more local you get, the better the effort. As the national agencies are ruled by economic factors more than local clubs and groups.

Not to get political but there is a need for…a socially beneficial thing, like with 'Galaxen', where the teens can go. It's like a gathering where you can involve agencies from several areas and…where you can get help with not only schoolwork but get guidance and push kids to be more involved in activities and such. (Henry, social worker)

"Galaxen" was a previous cooperative initiative taken by the state where teenagers and young adults could meet up and spend time together but also a place to invite important actors from various organisations to speak to the youth and inspire them. However, after some time the state caved in and it became the municipality's responsibility. And as the project was financially aided by the government, it became too much for the municipality to fund and eventually it was dissolved. Once again, the topic of resources came up as a deciding factor, as well as jurisdictional changes. To compare it to the police and the PPS, Jack and Henry did not express as many issues with secrecy and confidentiality as the others did, most likely due to having considerably more access to their information than the other way around.

5.2. Information exchange and secrecy

5.2.1. The Police

There is a known principle that all governmental agencies are obligated to cooperate and assist one another to the furthest possible extent, according to section 8 in the Administrative law (8 § FL 2017:900). The topic of information exchange has been touched upon briefly in the previous section: for the police, in particular Emma and Oliver, explained that the only form of cooperation they come into contact with is through information exchange. Although due to secrecy, the exchange is very limited and often one sided:

Yeah but I feel that it's the police that give the social services what we are obligated to give them according to laws and regulations. I can't see anything in this job now, where I'd need any information from them. No, it's pretty one-sided [...] unless it's during custody battles and stuff

but otherwise we give what they demand from us and that we are allowed to give, and that's the extent of the cooperation.". (Emma, police officer)

The process of information exchange mostly happens through filing applications to send to the agencies involved, and once received, they judge based on the situation and the laws in place on whether they can give out the information requested:

> Most often they request written documents, that it comes to the agency I mean, a request for documents. And if it's one of my cases then I have to assess the confidentiality and see 'can we release these documents?' Because the risk is that these documents might be in the meeting later with both the man and woman and then it can ruin the investigation, if the man knows what kind of evidence we have. (Emma, police officer)

Secrecy was an often-recurring topic in all interviews; all Swedish agencies are bound by laws and regulations in place, and strictly follow them even when it might hinder or negatively impact their work. Confidentiality on information is there to protect the individual's integrity but, in many cases, according to the respondents, this secrecy can do more harm than good. During the topic of benefits and limitations concerning the process of information exchange today, almost every respondent named secrecy a limitation.

> The limitation is the secrecy, it's pretty harsh - from our side there's barely any secrecy, we're obligated to report and we can pretty much write anything about the youths that concern us so there's a very open channel there but... (James, police assistant)

> It is like that with secrecy, that it puts...it's a bit...sometimes it can be hard. Now the ones who have worked for a while, either with the police or social services, they tend to find ways to solve it but...you can understand that as a new social worker or...yeah it can be tough. (Oliver, police officer)

Oliver added: "It's more through informal contacts, you can have individual cops who might have more contact with the social services, you find out a little bit on the side that there is concern about this kid or something…" It seems that only those with longer work experience or with good contacts at other agencies can somehow find ways to gather confidential information, even if that information cannot be officially used in the case it can still provide useful insight and guide them in the right direction.

The only other way to get access to confidential information is through consent, either from the individual themselves if they are an adult, or from the youth and/or caregivers. With consent, all restrictions with the exchange are lifted.

> In order for us to communicate openly - the social services and the police - about certain youths, they have to get consent from the youth if they're above 15, both youth and caregivers I mean. But if they're under 15 then it's enough with just the caregivers saying, "yes we want you to cooperate regarding our teen". And then we can. (James, police assistant)

> When it comes to the adults then it's more often than not a case-to-case thing, how much help is needed and how much help they're willing to receive...it's more voluntary, since they're over 18. (Oliver, police officer)

5.2.2. The Prison and Probation Service

Regarding information exchange in general, both David and Mia stressed the importance of being careful and double checking the sources as well as the identity of the person requesting information from them.

> We are very careful when we get phone calls here for example, we control and verify it carefully so that we don't give out information to someone who...well, we get calls and we double check to verify that it really is the person we're talking to. (Mia, correctional inspector)

The same goes for when they request information from other agencies. However, the issue becomes that the process of double checking and verifying takes a lot of time. According to Mia: "The drawback is that it steals away time. It takes a long, long time, I can't just call somebody and ask a question of course but [at the same time] it just doesn't work".

David gave similar responses and also stated that the problem only really happens with external agencies: "[Within] the actual criminal justice system it works just fine but when you get away from it, both cooperation and information exchange becomes so-so."

Moreover, secrecy is the main issue for these two respondents as well, they both contend that it is important to have it but, like with the police, it also can be very troublesome.

What can scramble it up a bit is the secrecy, like if we say between the health care [system] and us, that we can't for obvious reasons communicate about certain things, it has to be very trivial. Because they can't give out - they *shouldn't* give out information to us. And it has to be that way, we have to respect it but sometimes it can be...it can mess it up a bit. (Mia, correctional inspector)

Sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't, it's the clients who end up on the outside. There's secrecy, a *lot* of secrecy: social services have their secrecy, we have our own secrecy. (David, probational inspector)

Especially interesting from Mia's point of view was the use of secrecy to withhold certain information on purpose. She explained that due to overpopulation in many jails and prisons, when there is an open vacancy in one location, the others would almost compete to get to send a prisoner over and would often choose the more difficult criminals to send. One may loosely connect this to Abbott (1988) where instead of competing over gaining specific work tasks or jurisdictional areas, they compete in order to *give up* work tasks (or in this case difficult convicts).

So, they sort of omit certain information so that he looks better at first sight. And when we receive him, we discover 'my God what a history of misconduct this person has'. They wrap him up in a nicer gift paper and send him over to us, and they're not really honest… (Mia, correctional inspector)

From David's side, he brought up the media element and leaked information. Furthermore, the only way to solve these problems is to lighten or remove the secrecy aspect.

At the same time, when you have a verdict, [the public] can read about it on the internet. It's crazy! But then we *still* can't give out the information, are you with me? It's contradictory. It would be easier if you could focus on the people, the individuals, to help them [...] To make it easier, you would have to eliminate the secrecy. It's the only way. (David, probational inspector)

5.2.3. The Social Services

Jack and Henry have a less antagonistic relationship with information exchange and secrecy, most likely due to other agencies being bound to assist them more than vice versa. Their attitudes are different as well, Oliver from the police mentioned informal contacts as a way to receive information but Jack believes it to be wrong.

> The secrecy thus far works really well because everyone is scared [to lose] their job. And secrecy is important: when you don't know each other then it's much better but when you do know each other, it may happen that the secrecy becomes...well, you give out some information that you otherwise wouldn't give out. It depends on how well the relationship is between each other but that's not...nonetheless, secrecy is very important. (Jack, social worker)

At first glance Jack talked about not personally experiencing any issues regarding secrecy with information but throughout the interview touched upon examples where he could not collect the info needed and how difficult it was. After that, his stance changed.

> Secrecy is hard, it's secrecy that sometimes prevents us from helping others, and in special cases you are allowed to annul the secrecy, if there's someone in danger. [...] Everyone should get access to the same information in order to help the youth… (Jack, social worker)

For Henry, he was more passionate about general cooperation rather than the process of information exchange today but did still stated that there are both advantages and disadvantages with the exchange and secrecy.

> It is pretty limited...we mostly work with those within the municipality, like schools, other associations, as well as some external actors but...there are many agencies in the periphery view where there barely is any information exchange but rather you have to go and *take* the info yourself. If I want any information from like, the Migration Agency then I have to contact them myself, it's not really cooperation there. (Henry, social worker)

> There are parts, according to law, that are hard to change, and that's the secrecy obstacle. And that is a problem sometimes. (Henry, social worker)

To quickly summarize, the cooperation as experienced by the crime workers interviewed for this study, has been described as less actual collaboration between agencies and more

information exchange based. This exchange is also, however, heavily afflicted by secrecy which often leads to one-way communication from one agency to another, mostly the police and the PPS to the SS. More of this will be discussed in the next section as well as a clearer discussion about the themes and a comparison to the theories chosen for this study.

6. Discussion

As seen in the previous section, each respondent from every agency gave useful insight into the reality of multi-agency cooperation and information exchange. Certain themes were detected and connected to the theory. The table below shows the intricacies of what was highlighted in the results.

Theory	Results/Analysis	Discussion Themes
Input/ **Throughput/** **Output/**	Investigation Cooperation Intervention	One-way info exchange
		Jurisdictional hierarchy
		Specialised (e.g child)
Boundaries/ **Permeability/**	Jurisdiction	Two-way info exchange
		Singular responsibility
Micro **Meso** **Macro** **Extra**	Direct contact Agencies/Institutions Laws and regulations Optimism longevity	Segment populations
		Functional division
		Secrecy interpretation
		Bureaucratic Fatigue

All professions are a part of an interdependent system that go through the process of input, throughput, and output (Abbott 1988; Bernard, Paoline & Pare 2005). In this study, disregarding the input/output process within each agency, the input is the internal investigation prior to the inter-agency cooperation, meaning the preparatory work of gathering of information and consent. What came of it was a feeling of one-way information exchange with the respondents, as the investigation was hindered in many ways due to secrecy etc., similar to the results of Malm's (2012) study. The throughput is the actual cooperation, of which for many respondents were limited and rare, because of the jurisdictional hierarchy; once the information in the previous stage is gathered, more often than not it's evident that the case belongs to another agency (the SS for example) and therefore they take over the case completely. In the few cases there *is* multi-agency cooperation, the intervention becomes specialised; for instance in James' case, as a police assistant working with youths, one intervention was the SIG endeavour, where several actors from various agencies came together to help the youth, similar to Project Turnstone in Yakhlef's (2018) dissertation. All

of this represents the 'work' element in Abbott's theory, the tasks each profession possess and their links as well as the external factors like jurisdiction affecting them.

The boundaries and permeability aspect was heavily influenced by jurisdiction; all participants from the criminal justice system (the police and the PPS) noted how the SS seemed to be higher up in the hierarchy, as they would often take their cases and/or information while rarely giving anything back. The only way to have two-way information exchange would be through informal contacts, of which none of the information could be used in the actual case but rather be of guidance during the investigation. Otherwise, there is singular responsibility with each agency to handle the case, minimizing the opportunities for sincere inter-agency cooperation efforts. This can be also linked to Harvey et al (2015) and the impression of agencies being solitary foundations rather than a part of an interdependent system. Therefore, this covers the "jurisdiction" aspect of Abbott's theory.

Finally, the micro, meso and macro levels of general systems theory was identified as follows: the micro level is the direct contact with the clients, which seems to be of segmented populations, as in offenders/victims on the police side, convicted prisoners and those on parole for the PPS, or youth and young adults in need of help with the SS. The meso level is the interactions between agencies and institutions of which there is clear functional divisions due to jurisdiction and law and, accordingly, laws and regulations. Laws and regulations also happen to be the macro level, steering each agency in their line of work. Since the laws are different depending on the agency in question, their interpretations of the secrecy are diverse as well; for example the respondents from the SS were not particularly vexed about their situation while others from both the police and the PPS saw more problems concurring with confidentiality. This shows an interesting contrast to Aden's (2018) study where despite having laws that sometimes restrict multi-agency cooperation, the agencies investigated still managed to create strategies and communicative channels to combat tensions and mistrust between each other. Perhaps this can be attributed to the agencies mainly working with major crimes of the transnational kind rather than minor crimes on a national level and therefore, felt much more pressure to find a solution.

Of particular interest here is the hidden extra level comprising of optimism longevity; due to laws and regulations, there was barely any competition for jurisdiction, but rather it was a given that the SS had the upper hand so the rest were forced to be content with it. It also

seemed to be connected to the amount of work experience; the longer you had worked, the more passive you became. Based on the contributions of these seven participants, it was evident that those who were new to crime work, like James from the police, were more optimistic about cooperative efforts while those who had years of experience, like Emma and Oliver, were more apathetic. The bureaucratic fatigue discovered in this study is inconsistent with Abbott's theory of competition, where competitive energy is fuelling all professions in their fight against their respective jurisdictional ties (Abbott 1989).

The research questions concerned how crime workers experience cooperation and secrecy with information exchange. This study has shown that there were both positive and negative reviews depending on which agency the participants came from; the police officers and correctional/probational inspectors had more negative responses due to the secrecy laws being more often than not in favour of the Social Services. The final research question aimed to connect these experiences with Abbott's professions theory; as shown above, the aspects of work and jurisdiction played a larger role than competition did, according to this study's results.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of crime workers from the police, the Prison and Probation Service and the Social Service in relation to multi-agency cooperation and information exchange. It seems that the reality is very different from the ideal image of cooperation. As the police and the Prison and Probation Service are part of the criminal justice system, the cooperation within this system is more close-knit than with external agencies and the information sharing aspect becomes much easier. However, when the cooperation attempts involve agencies from other fields, such as the Social Services, there are several issues that surface, such as time and resource limitations, heightened secrecy, and one-way communication. Every participant named secrecy as the number one debilitating factor yet as it is ruled by laws and regulations, the general attitude remained discontented.

One of the more interesting aspects to me was that the crime workers themselves were expected to figure the situation out rather there being actual guidelines established on an administrative or even higher level. I believe this topic is of utmost importance, more efforts on a governmental level is required for these issues to be solved. For example, one participant suggested a complete abolishment of secrecy but that may only bring about other issues instead such as disregard of an individual's integrity. Rather than eliminating those laws completely, perhaps minor changes should be made so that the SS can share more of their information and further enable cooperative efforts.

Another interesting aspect is the resources; projects funded by the government or those above the agency were more likely to succeed while cooperation efforts using the agencies' own resources rarely worked out. Projects like 'Galaxen', albeit being more locally based, were positively approached as the pressures of 'doing well' were decreased. Furthermore, having an actual location to meet in person and socialize seems beneficial for the actual cooperation process as well, as it becomes more personalized. Hopefully in the future, such ideas will gain more priority by the government and not be cut half-way, like 'Galaxen' eventually was.

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9. Appendix

9.1. Interview guide in Swedish

Bakgrund
1. Vilken utbildning har du?
2. Vad är din officiella jobbtitel?
3. Hur länge har du arbetat som [jobbtitel]
4. Hur ser en vanlig arbetsdag ut för dig?

Samverkan
5. Ägnar du dig åt samverkan? (hur ofta, vilka former av samverkan)
6. Kan du berätta om hur samverkan med andra organisationer/myndigheter fungerar? *Följdfråga: Kan du ge några exempel på gånger du samarbetade med någon från en annan organisation/myndighet?*
7. Utifrån din personliga erfarenhet, hur ser du själv på det här med samverkan? Varför?
8. Vad tycker du är fördelarna eller begränsningarna med samverkan mellan organisationer/myndigheter?
   a. *Följdfråga; Har det funnits tillfällen där samarbetet inte gick som förväntat? Vad hände då? Vilka stöd finns det för samverkan (resurser, chefstöd etc)*

Revirtänkande
9. Finns det tydliga gränser mellan vad man kan samverka om och vad man inte kan samverka om? T.ex. speciella frågor, förväntningar?
10. Har det funnits tillfällen med konflikt angående detta?
11. Hur hanterar du konflikter gällande auktoritet inom samarbetet? Arbetsfördelning och sånt?
12. Hur påverkar dessa konflikter samarbetets resultat?

Sekretess
13. Hur fungerar informationsutbyte mellan organisationer/myndigheter?
14. Har du personlig erfarenhet med informationsutbyte? Hur kände du kring detta?
15. Har det någonsin upplevt svårigheter i arbetet pga sekretess? Om ja, hur gick det?
16. Vad tycker du är för- och nackdelarna med hur informationsutbytet fungerar idag?
17. Finns det något du tycker borde förändras? Har du några förslag på förbättringar?

Avslutning
18. Har du några frågor eller synpunkter till mig om intervjun eller forskningen generellt? Finns det något viktigt eller relevant till ämnet som du tror att jag kan ha missat?
19. Är det okej om jag kontaktar dig senare under analysen om jag har några frågor eller funderingar kring vad du har sagt idag, bara för förtydligande?

9.2. Interview guide, English translation

Background
1. What sort of education do you have?
2. What is your official job title?
3. How long have you worked as a [job title]?
4. How does an ordinary working day look like for you?

Cooperation
5. Do you engage in cooperation? (how often, what kinds of cooperation)
6. Can you talk about how cooperation with other organisations/agencies work?
   Follow-up: Can you give a few examples of times you cooperated with someone from a different organization/agency?
7. From your own personal experience, what do you think about cooperation? Why?
8. What do you think are the benefits or limitations with cooperation between organisations/agencies?
   Follow-up: Have there been times where the cooperation did not go as expected? What happened then? What support exists for cooperation (resources, support from bosses etc.)

Turf-like thinking
9. Are there clear boundaries between what you can cooperate about and what you can't cooperation about? Ex. special concerns, expectations?
10. Have there been times with conflicts regarding this?
11. How would you deal with conflicts regarding authority within the cooperation? Division of work and such?
12. How do these conflicts affect the results of the cooperation?

Secrecy
13. How does the information exchange work between organisations/agencies?
14. Do you have personal experience with information exchange? How did you feel about it?
15. Have you ever experienced any difficulties in your work due to secrecy? If yes, how did it go?
16. What do you think are the benefits or limitations with how the information exchange works today?
17. Is there anything you feel needs to change? Do you have any suggestions for improvements?

Final questions
18. Do you have any questions or comments to me about the interview or the research in general? Is there anything important or of relevance to the subject that you think I may have missed?

19. Is it okay if I contact you later on during the analysis if I have any questions or concerns about what you've said today, just for clarification?