Organizational Change in the Norwegian Police:

A qualitative investigation of how the police investigators perceive change

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to investigate what the police investigators are concerned with in relation to change in the Norwegian police, and further, how they perceived change to affect the quality of investigation. The majority of the participants recognized the need for change in the Norwegian police, and they saw opportunities with it. Through thematic analysis, six main themes were discovered. An inductive model of organizational change in the Norwegian police was developed to visualize how the themes were interrelated according to the participants of this study. External changes, consisting of societal and criminal development and technological development, are perceived to create a need for change within the organization. A suggested change in structure and organization, more precisely a merge of police districts, is perceived to create larger learning environments, enhance the investigators' competence, lead to more efficient work methods, and a more strategic use of resources, amongst others. All these elements may influence the quality of investigation in the Norwegian police. Implementation of an organizational change in the police was also discussed. The findings of this study may be a contribution to the Norwegian police when future changes are to be implemented.

Organizational change is a central topic in any company or occupational field. Small changes happen all the time in the society and our surroundings, whether they are linked to technical development, fluctuations in the economy, change in the unemployment rate, new legislation, or any other development or rapid change (Burke, 2011; Burnes, 2009). Changes like these may affect the requirements from the public (e.g. customer needs), and organizational change can be necessary for keeping business sustainable. Changes inevitably occur everywhere in society, also in the field of policing (Cordner, 2013; Jacobs, Keegan, Christe-Zeyse, Seeberg, & Runde, 2006).

Internationalization and open boundaries within the European Economic Area makes travelling across borders easier than before. Due to the financial crisis and the following economic recession and challenges in many European countries, foreign workers are tempted to come to Norway in search of employment, because Norway so far has been spared many of these economic challenges (NOU 2012: 2, 2012). Unfortunately, this recession combined with the open borders also bring less than honest people to Norway. The crime picture is changing together with the gradual evolvement of society in general (Cordner, 2013), and transnational organized crime leagues have become more common (Kripos, 2013). Due to societal and economic development, the police in any society need to develop their techniques, skills and knowledge to keep up with the crime picture in the given society (Cordner, 2013).

In addition to this, the 22 of July 2011 terrorist attack in Norway has affected the police as an organization. This tragedy forced through a thorough investigation, not only of the crime itself but also of the police as a whole, everything from their working routines to the structure of the organization (NOU 2012: 14, 2012). These enquiries have resulted in several suggested changes within the Norwegian police, including a massive structural change of the entire organization and a probable merge of police districts (NOU 2013: 9, 2013). One can read and hear, usually on a weekly basis, critique towards the police in the media. Response time on emergency calls has been one of the major issues, linked to events like the massacre on Utøya and the bus killings in Årdal. Also, during episodes like the rape-, robbery- and violence 'waves' in Oslo, the critique towards the police includes lack of visible police on the streets, too slow response time, low clear-up rates and other issues in disfavor of the police. This critique seems to overshadow positive feedback in the media, and these headlines make politicians, the police itself and the public crave changes in the police. Because of all this, a need for more research on organizational change in the police has emerged. By using an inductive, qualitative approach, this study aim to investigate what the police themselves are concerned with in relation to these changes, and further, how they may affect the quality of

investigation. To begin with, I will present an overview of today's organizing of the police in Norway, before an appraisal of theories, models and studies of organizational change follows.

The Norwegian Police

Historical Overview

The first sheriffs (lensmenn) in Norway date over 800 years back, and it is the oldest public agency that still exists (Politiet, 2009). The police as an institution in Norway is dated back to the 1600s (Nordstoga, 1992; Politiet, 2009). From the beginning, the police was organized and managed locally. In 1894, the Law on Partial Reorganization of the Civil Bureaucracies was written, gradually abolishing the bailiffs (fogdembeter) and replacing them with chief of police offices. The last bailiff was replaced by a chief police officer as late as in 1919 (Politiet, 2009). In 1927, the first police act was created, allowing the state to decide the size of each police force in the country. Then, with a second police act in 1937, the state gained full responsibility of the entire police, and since then Norway has had a national, uniform police subject to the Ministry of Justice. In 1994, the Norwegian Police Service (Politi- og lensmannsetaten) was created, merging the sheriff agencies and the police, and in 1995 a new police act brought new provisions on the organization of the agency. The number of the police districts was unchanged for almost a century, however, in 2001 a reduction of districts was decided, and from 2002 the number was reduced from 54 to 27 districts (Jørgensen, 2004; Politiet, 2009).

Organization Today

The Norwegian Police Service is subject to the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet). It consists of the National Police Directorate (Politidirektoratet), seven special agencies, and 27 police districts. Together they have approximately 13,000 employees (Politiet, 2013). The police education in Norway is a versatile bachelor's program of three years, and this degree creates generalists in policing. According to the generalist principle, every police student is supposed to know everything on a basic level when graduating. After gaining some work experience it is possible to pursue a specialist education or a master's degree in police science (Politihøgskolen, 2014). Police work is divided into two main areas: the operative units and the investigatory units. The operational units are the visible police seen out on the streets, who maintain order and security, help and protect citizens, and arrest criminals, amongst others. The investigatory units work "behind the scenes", investigating reported crimes, gathering evidence, and

solving cases (Cordner, 2013). Thus, the investigatory work is a central part of police work, and investigators' perspective is a basic part of this study.

Investigation

Investigation is the process of detailed and careful examination towards ascertaining facts, and the investigative police work is characterized as being knowledge-intensive and time-critical (Glomseth, Gottschalk, & Solli-Sæther, 2007; Myhrer, 2001). According to the Criminal Procedure Act's (Straffeprosessloven) § 226, the purpose of investigation includes: (1) to settle the question of prosecution, (2) to serve as preparation for the court's treatment of the question of guilt and any question regarding the determination of reaction, (3) to prevent or stop acts of crime, and (4) to fulfil penalties and other sanctions (Straffeprosessloven, 1981). The quality of investigation can be defined as "the degree to which the activities meet the required or implied demands or expectations" (Politidirektoratet, 2013, translated by the author). The responsibility of investigation is shared between the police and the prosecution, and in Norway the obligation is shared amongst three roles; the prosecutor, the responsible police manager, and the investigator(s) (Myhrer, 2001). In addition to the investigators in each police district, special agencies are ready to contribute or take over large and complex cases. These special agencies are the National Criminal Investigation Service (Kripos), and the National Authority for Investigation and Prosecution of Economic and Environmental Crime in Norway (Økokrim) (Politiet, 2010).

Towards Organizational Change

After the terrorist attack on the 22 of July 2011, massive critique was pointed towards those in charge of public security in Norway. The public and the media stressed the long response time and the lack of alertness from the special units and the police in general, and the nation was craving answers. A thorough, investigatory evaluation from an appointed committee concluded that the organization and coordination of the police was poor, with non-satisfactory management and a lack of necessary routines in major emergency situations like a terrorist attack (NOU 2012: 14, 2012). The committee strongly recommended several points of improvement in the police, including a better connection between goals, priorities, planning of resources and staffing, the use of resources, and reporting. They also called for a reinforcement of the operational activities, and they urged the National Police Directorate to take on stronger responsibility for coordination, efficiency and more uniform solutions in the police to secure that the organizing of the police works satisfactory on a district- and local

level (NOU 2012: 14, 2012). These recommendations imply a change on an organizational level in the Norwegian police.

To be able to reorganize the Norwegian police, the Ministry of Justice and Public Security ordered an analysis of the entire police. The result was the Police Analysis (NOU 2013: 9, 2013). In addition to the discouraging feedback after the 22 of July 2011, the police today is under significant change pressure due to the development of society, which challenges the Norwegian police model. Thus, the committee recommends two reforms in the police. First, a structural reform to create conditions with increased focus on core tasks, and new structure and organization. Second, a quality reform to realize possibilities, by improved management and leadership, with better quality and increased focus on achievements. The analysis states that today's structure of the police districts prevents the police from performing a satisfying police service locally. The commission's evaluation of today's police district model sounds: "Today's police district model consists of 27 police districts of very different sizes, with different population bases, different crime challenges, and unequal internal organizing" (NOU 2013: 9, 2013, 109, translated by the author).

The strongest recommendation in the Police Analysis is reducing the number of police districts from 27 to six large and robust regions, and reducing the number of offices from 354 to 210. The committee's evaluation of this region model sounds: "This model is developed to create large and sustainable police districts, and seek to create the most homogenous police districts with regards to size, population, crime, etc." (NOU 2013: 9, 2013, 115, translated by the author). A merge to this extent means a major structural and organizational change in the police. Before a change of this extent is implemented, it is important that the involved parties comprehend the possible reactions from employees and consequences it may have for the police work, and what kind of approach will lead to the most successful change process and outcome. Thus, research on organizational change will be presented in the following.

Theories and Models of Organizational Change

Internal and external forces can create a need for change in an organization. External forces are outside of the organization's control; however, these forces influence the internal life of the organization (Burke, 2011; Burnes, 2009). Examples of external forces that may initiate organizational change are development of new technology, competition from other companies, social trends and customer demands, legislation and politics, fluctuations in the economy, research, and major events such as acts of war or natural disasters. Internal forces are generally under the organization's control, and examples of internal forces that could

induce organizational change are leadership, employees and organizational culture, mission and focus area of organizational activities, and the use of resources. According to By (2005), any organization should acknowledge the importance of ability to identify where they need to be in the future, and how to manage the required changes towards obtaining that goal. Theories of organizational change can usually be linked to one out of two approaches: The planned approach to change, or the emergent approach to change (Bamford & Forrester, 2003).

One of the pioneer researchers of the mechanisms behind planned change in social sciences was Kurt Lewin. He developed one of the earliest process theories about change (Burke, 2011). Lewin (1947) believed that change was a result of the dynamics between divergent forces: those involved in the change, and those opposing and resisting the change. Based on this, the action of change itself would be one out of two options, either to reinforce the powers towards change, or to weaken the resistance powers. Thus, Lewin's model for change is called the force field model. According to Lewin (1947), a successful change consists of three aspects: Unfreezing, moving, and (re)freezing. In the unfreeze stage, the stable forces are reduced, in other words this includes preparing those involved for a change. The next stage includes "moving to the new level" (Lewin, 1947, 35), which is the implementation of the change, e.g. introducing new organizational structure. The third and final stage includes refreezing the level of the forces, stabilizing the situation after the implementation of the change. According to Lewin, it is important to move through all three stages in the right order to prevent resistance or inactiveness amongst the involved parties.

The field of organizational change research has accelerated the past decades, and the field today is comprehensive. Several researchers in the 1990s used Lewin's (1947) force field model as a basis for developing their own process theories for organizational change (Burris, 2008). For instance, Kotter (1995) developed a more detailed, eight steps model for implementing change powerfully and successfully. These eight steps are (1) create urgency, (2) form a powerful coalition, (3) create a vision for the change, (4) communicate the vision, (5) remove obstacles, (6) create short-term wins, (7) build on the change, and finally (8) anchor the changes in corporate culture (Kotter, 1995). A planned change approach can serve as a useful contribution when implementing a planned change. However, this approach has been criticized for its emphasis on isolated and incremental change, lacking to include the element of turbulent surroundings and the element of external factors' influence on an organization (Bamford & Forrester, 2003; Burke, 2011; Schein, 1985).

An organization does not exist in a vacuum unaffected by its surroundings, and the emergent approach to change includes the importance of this aspect. Unforeseen external events may occur immediately and influence the organizations success or failure, forcing a need for an emergent change (Bamford & Forrester, 2003). This approach emerged in the 1980s, when researchers became more aware of the increasingly uncertain nature of the business environment (Burnes, 2009). For instance, Pettigrew (1987) argues that change never is an isolated event, nor does it have a clear start- or finish point. Further, he states change is a "complex analytical, political, and cultural process of challenging and changing the core beliefs, structure and strategy of the firm" (Pettigrew, 1987, 650). Wilson (1992) argues that the planned approach is too reliant on the role of managers, because it requires that timetables, objectives, and methods are made in advance. Several researchers have proposed plans and models for implementing change with the emergent approach in mind, e.g. Pettigrew and Whipp's (1993) five central factors for managing change, and Dawson's (1994) fifteen major practical guidelines for managing organizational transitions.

In addition to this, an organizational change can be classified as either evolutionary or revolutionary (Burke, 2011). Some organizations pay close attention to their surroundings and adapt their goals and work methods thereafter as a part of a continuous development or change process – an evolutionary and proactive change. Through constant development and adjustment, they can stay ahead of their competitors and benefit from new technology, innovative research and fresh impulses. On the other end of the scale, there are organizations that only spend time and money on a change if the sustainability of the business depends on it. In opposition to evolutionary change, a revolutionary change is a single event on a certain point in time. It often works as a reaction to a changing external environment, which forces a change within the organization. Hence, reactive and revolutionary changes are often large scale and costly, and require more effort from the employees to be sustainable (Arnold et al., 2010; Burke, 2011).

One of the newer models of change is Burnes' framework for change (2009). This model integrate the planned approach as well as the emergent approach to change; it guides the reader towards different approaches for implementing change based on the context and the nature of the change. In this model, Burnes uses the term 'change' about changes on an individual and group level, and the term 'transformation' for changes on an organizational level. The framework for change (see Figure 1) consists of two crossing axes, which create four quadrants. The horizontal axis moves from slow transformation and slow change, towards rapid transformation and rapid change. The vertical axis moves from small-scale

changes and stable environment, towards large-scale transformations and turbulent environment. Quadrant 1 identifies changes that focus on culture. These changes are slow but large-scale transformations on an organizational level, and in a possible turbulent environment. Burnes' (2009) suggestion for approach is an emergent change. Quadrant 2 refers to changes that focus on structures and processes. These changes are also large-scale transformations on an organizational level, but in opposition to Quadrant 1, they are rapid transformations. Burnes (2009) suggests a bold stroke approach where the organization responds quickly. Quadrant 3 identifies small-scale and rapid changes that focus on tasks and procedures. These changes occur on an individual- and group level in a stable environment. Burnes suggests a Tayloristic approach (identifying best practice methods) or a Kaizen approach (democratic and collaborative), depending on the organization. A Tayloristic approach is preferred in bureaucratic organizations, whereas Kaizen is preferred in democratic organizations (Burnes, 2009). Quadrant 4 refers to changes that focus on attributes and behavior, hence, these are changes on an individual- and group level. These are slow and small-scale changes in a stable environment. Burnes ideal approach for this kind of change is a planned change (Burnes, 2009). However, reality cannot necessarily be divided into these four quadrants as easily as Burnes suggests, because a change may consist of elements from several quadrants at once. Thus, this framework should be used as a guideline rather than a definite solution when choosing an approach for change (Arnold et al., 2010). However, it is a useful tool in this study when discussing the implementation of future organizational changes in the Norwegian police.
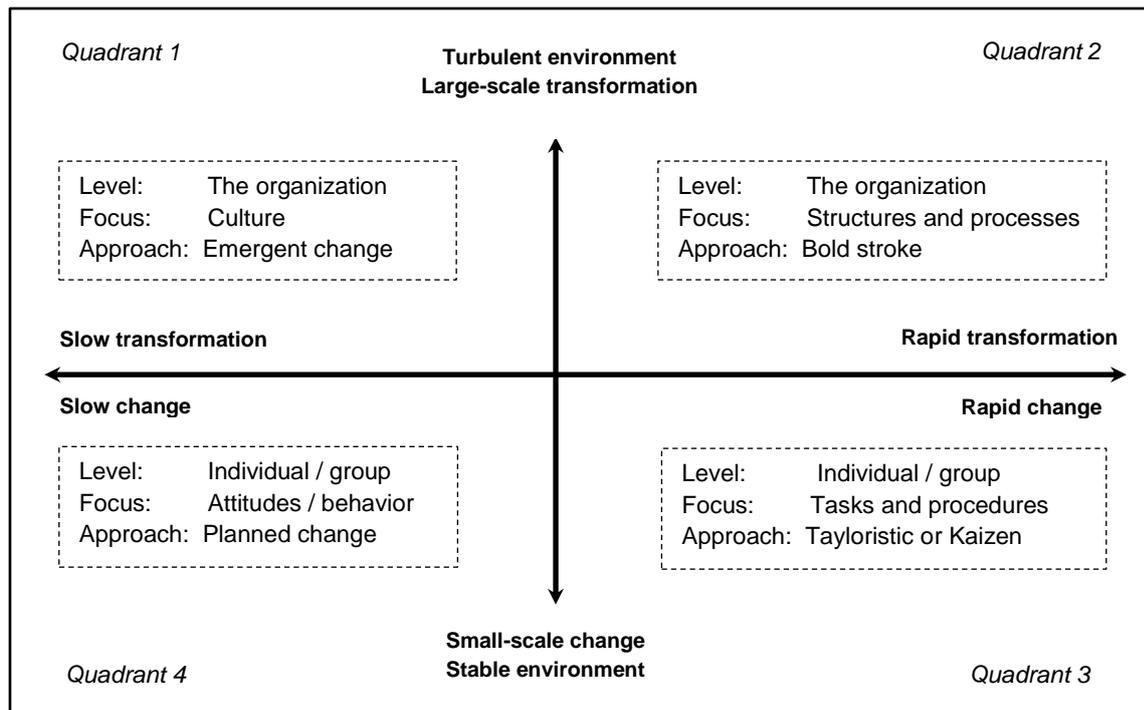
Figure 1. A framework for change (Burnes, 2009).

Reactions to and Consequences of Change

Individuals respond differently to change, and the police should be prepared to meet diverse reactions and consequences when implementing an organizational change. Factors on both an individual- and organizational level might affect the outcome of a change. How the involved parties react, and how the organization meets these reactions, will determine whether the change is successful or not (Arnold et al., 2010; Burke, 2011). Reactions to a change can vary on a continuum from ecstasy, through indifference, to active resistance. Some employees are motivated by a change, whilst others become stressed by the thought of it. Both outcomes might influence the workplace efficiency (Arnold et al., 2010; Burke, 2011). There can be several reasons why some managers succeed in creating enthusiasm for the change amongst their employees, while others struggle with convincing the employees that change is a good idea, and thereby experience resistance to a certain extent. Possible reasons for resistance to change is logic resistance, based on a rational evaluation of the consequences of the change, e.g. en employee who, based on knowledge and facts, is certain that the change will reduce the company's chance for successful business. Other reasons for resistance are psychologically based, e.g. a fear of the unknown, lack of trust, misunderstandings, resistance based on group interests and group norms, the fear of failure, and natural conservatism because maintaining status quo is more comfortable than changing into something unknown and possibly worse (Burke, 2011; Haukedal, 2005). Oreg (2003) identified six sources of

resistance that appeared to be derived from an individual's personality: (1) reluctance to lose control, (2) cognitive rigidity, (3) lack of psychological resilience, (4) intolerance to the adjustment period involved in change, (5) preference for low levels of stimulation and novelty, and (6) reluctance to give up old habits (Oreg, 2003). If change is perceived as a threat, reluctance and skepticism is a normal reaction to protect ourselves from possible dangers (Burke, 2011).

Reactions to change also occur on a group- and organizational level. Burke (2011) argues that different opinions and reactions are beneficial in an overall organizational change effort. Further, group responses to organizational change can include (1) protection and competition, (2) closing ranks, sticking together no matter what, (3) changing allegiances or ownership, and (4) demanding new leadership (Burke, 2011). On a more overall, large-system level, resistance can also occur due to several factors. If the old culture is powerful, a revolutionary change may at best become an evolution, because the deep structure is too pervasive (Burke, 2011). In addition, the individual- and group responses to change can spread throughout the organization, creating either a ready-for-change culture, or a more resistant culture where the more things change, the more the employees want to maintain status quo. Diversionary tactics and lack of fellowship may be other resistance responses on an organizational level (Burke, 2011).

A change might be successfully implemented; however, it is a waste of time if the change decays rapidly. Buchanan et al. (2003) refers to this as 'the sustainability problem'. Hence, it is important to identify success factors and risk factors in relation to a sustainable, organizational change. The external context affects the sustainability of the change; stable surroundings are likely to support sustainability, whereas a turbulent external context is likely to jeopardize sustainability of the change (Buchanan et al., 2003). Another major risk factor is the employees' readiness for change (Holt, Armenakis, Harris, & Field, 2007). If the employees fail to believe in the organization's capability to manage the change successfully, or they do not believe that the change is necessary, the change initiatives are more likely to fail (Burris, 2008; Cunningham et al., 2002; Eby, Adams, Russell, & Gaby, 2000). Change does not only cost money for the organization, it also requires time and effort from the employees, and people are not interested in investing their resources in a change they do not believe in. Moreover, the leaders have a responsibility to create readiness for change by encouraging their employees and create a positive sphere around the change. Change management is crucial for the outcome of the change initiative. By conducting an open-door-policy, managers show an accommodating attitude which can be helpful in creating dialogue

with the employees. The information flow and ability to convince employees about the urgency for change are also important aspects (Burke, 2011; Oreg, Vakola, & Armenakis, 2011). Managers should not hold information back, instead it is wise to include the employees early in the process, provide them with sufficient information, and be honest about the change.

Studies of Organizational Change

The methods for studying organizational change vary alongside researchers' disagreements on how they should be studied (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005). Studies of organizational change in general are many, but what do we know about change in public organizations, and even more specifically, changes in the police? In the following, studies from these areas will be presented.

According to Fernandez and Rainey (2006), managers play a critical role in conducting organizational change in public organizations. Public management literature stresses the importance of determining the need for change, and continuously communicating with as many participants and stakeholders as possible in a persuasive manner (Fernandez & Rainey, 2006). Further, they have identified eight factors that change managers should use as guidelines in the changing process. These factors are similar to the planned approach processes of Lewin (1947) and Kotter (1995), however, Fernandez and Rainey (2006) argue that the change process rarely unfolds in a linear progression unlike what earlier research might suggest. Thus, the eight factors discussed in their study can influence the outcome of change initiatives at different times during the process (Fernandez & Rainey, 2006). As Bejerot and Hasselbladh (2013) point out, numerous studies have been conducted on changes in public organizations; however, the complexity and diversity of these organizations combined with the specificity of many studies make them difficult to compare altogether. The police is an organization of specific nature, because of the high-risk and time-critical work tasks, and their special role of protecting society and civilians from dangers (Cordner, 2013). Thus, general research on organizational change, and even studies of changes in public organizations, might not transfer perfectly to changes in the police.

Several international studies have investigated changes in police organizations. For instance, Jacobs et al. (2006) interviewed German police officers to investigate their experiences with organizational changes and implementation of New Public Management. They found that change projects where employees can participate actively in the change process, could create more trust, goodwill, satisfaction and commitment from the members.

Moreover, they suggest that employees often stay committed even though they learn about negative outcomes of the change, as long as they obtain the information accurately and timely (Jacobs et al., 2006).

Police organizations are specific for each country, and foreign research about policing might not be transferrable to the Norwegian police because the police education, the society and the structure of the organization in itself is specific to the Norwegian context. For example, the Norwegian police is quite regionalized compared to more populated countries. In addition, the police in Norway is unarmed on a general basis, the police education is the longest in the world (Politiet, 2013; Politihøgskolen, 2014), and the public's trust in the police is high compared to most countries in Europe (Kääriäinen, 2007; Politiets Fellesforbund, 2013).

No studies were found on organizational change in the Norwegian police, specifically. Nevertheless, some studies can be relevant to change. Wathne (2012) studied organizational learning in the Norwegian police, and her article included findings in which some chiefs of police found it difficult to make unpopular changes because the employees could perceive it as critique towards their earlier work. This was especially the case when leaders had been a part of the investigation as well (Wathne, 2012). More research on changes in work tasks in relation to meaning, coping and motivation in police work is currently being conducted[1]. Research on organizational factors that affect investigation quality in Norway is scarce. However, Gottschalk (2007) found that police investigation performance in Norway is positively influenced by the use of law enforcement information systems, the stages of knowledge management technology, and the extent of knowledge sharing, democratic culture, and decision leadership. Studies of knowledge sharing and performance in police investigation in Norway have also been conducted, for instance Glomseth et al. (2007) found that team culture had a significant impact on investigation performance. Studies like these are important contributions towards understanding the Norwegian police as an organization, and can be valuable towards planning an organizational change. Nevertheless, more research on organizational change in the Norwegian police in particular, is needed.

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[1] Wathne, C. T., personal communication, e-mail, April 22, 2014.

The Present Study

Due to the demands from the Norwegian society, the development of the crime picture, and the conclusions in the Police Analysis (NOU 2013: 9, 2013), the police are likely to face a structural, organizational change in the near future. This change includes a massive merge, and the recommendation consists of reducing the number of police districts from 27 to six. Because of this, organizational change is a current topic to study in relation to the Norwegian police. A study on this topic might teach us more about change in the Norwegian police, and further, it might be a contribution in the debate and the planning of possible structural changes in the organization of the police. In addition to this, information about the attitudes towards change amongst the employees might provide the managers with useful information about how to meet these attitudes.

Organizational change is a well-studied phenomenon on a general basis, and numerous studies promote how a change ideally should be implemented. Studies of changes in public organizations suggest that managers stress the importance of the change, and engage all affected parties (Fernandez & Rainey, 2006; Jacobs et al., 2006). However, studies of organizational change in the context of the Norwegian police are lacking. And because police education, the societal challenges, and the police work is specific to each country, more research is needed to learn more about these conditions in Norway, specifically. Further, it is important to reveal which possible consequences an organizational change might have for the investigation in Norway. The quality of investigation is the result of the investigators' work, and an organizational change can possibly influence this quality.

The purpose of this study is to find out more about organizational change in the Norwegian police, by investigating what the police investigators themselves are concerned with in relation to change. A qualitative approach is chosen to obtain the variety of subjective experiences and reflections on the subject of organizational change in the Norwegian police. According to Lee, Mitchell, and Sablynski (1999), most qualitative research in organizational psychology strives to either generate, elaborate, or test theories. This exploratory study aims to generate a model of organizational change in the Norwegian police based on the information provided by the participants in this study. More specifically, the research questions in this study are: How do police investigators perceive change in the Norwegian police? And further, how do they expect that change will affect the quality of investigation?

Method

The Research Project

This study is a part of the research project Quality of Investigation, which is a cooperation between the field of work- and organizational psychology at the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo, and the research department at the Norwegian Police University College. The official start and the first data collection for the project began in April 2009[2], and the project is ongoing as long as there is interest and funding available. The project is funded by the Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

Sample

The sample used in this study consists of interviews with police investigators, principal investigators, and the chief police officer in each of Norway's 27 police districts. The participants were recruited via an e-mail that was sent to the chief police officer in each district, in which they were asked to find investigators and principal investigators who would like to participate in the study (Appendix A). A total of 90 interviews were conducted with 29 investigators, 32 principal investigators, and 29 chief police officers. In most of the districts, there was one interview per level, hence, three interviews per police district. In four of the districts, four interviews were conducted. This was because they in some cases decided to interview an investigation team leader in addition to the principal investigator in these police districts. In the largest district, a total of eight interviews were conducted to cover the range of experience and complex crime picture.

Procedure of the Interviews

A trained, cognitive interviewer from the Norwegian Police University College conducted all the 90 interviews to secure the reliability. In addition, a co-interviewer from the University of Oslo participated, ready to ask follow-up questions. These co-interviewers were either previous master's students on the project, or members of the research group. The interviews were conducted in the offices where the investigators work on a daily basis.

The structure of communication in the interviews was based on the PEACE interview model. This is a guideline of how the interviewer should behave and communicate before, during, and after the interview. PEACE is an acronym for P – planning and preparation, E – engage and explain, A – account, C – closure, and E – evaluation. The model was created for investigative interviewing in the British police, and has since been used for research interviews as well (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Lone et al., 2014; Milne & Bull, 1999).

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[2] Myklebust, T., personal communication, e-mail, March 26, 2014.

SWOT based interviews were used for data collection. The acronym SWOT stands for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. The origin of the term is unknown, although it has been used for half a century in the research literature (Helms & Nixon, 2010). SWOT based interviews as a method of gathering data are open-ended and semi-structured, allowing the interviewee to reflect openly upon the questions they are presented with. Only four main questions are asked, respectively about the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of a certain topic. This allows the participants to reflect along the three dimensions positive-negative, past-future, and internal-external (Helms & Nixon, 2010; Hoff, Straumsheim, Bjørkli, & Bjørklund, 2009; Lone et al., 2014).

In this study, the following questions were asked:

1. Tell us about what you today think works well regarding the investigative work in this police district. We call this the strength in the investigative work.

2. Tell us about what you today think does not work well regarding the investigative work in this police district. We call this the weakness in the investigative work.

3. Tell us about what you today consider as opportunities for improving the quality of investigation in this police district. We call this the opportunities in the investigative work.

4. Tell us about what you today consider as threats towards improving the quality of investigation in this police district. We call this the threats in the investigative work.

In addition to these main questions, necessary follow up questions were asked during and at the end of the interview if there was any need for elaboration. These questions were necessary to clear up possible misunderstandings, or to obtain more information about a certain topic the interviewee had touched upon. Examples of follow up questions were "You mentioned (…), can you elaborate on that?", "Can you explain what you mean with (…)", and "Is there anything more you would like to add?". No questions were asked regarding topics the interviewee had not mentioned, because the content of the SWOT interview is supposed to be about the interviewee's immediate thoughts and concerns. Hence, the interviewer cannot bring up new topics. The length of the interviews ranged from 31.27 to 131.40 minutes, and the mean length was 64.76 minutes.

Treatment of the Interviews

The interviews were transcribed in verbatim, and all local dialects were translated into Norwegian Bokmål. If quoted in this thesis, the statements were translated into English by me. All spoken words and confirming sounds (e.g. "mhm" and "eh") were written down,

while additional sounds (e.g. laughter and coughing) were left out of the transcription because it was perceived irrelevant for the sematic meaning. The interviews were then unitized, a step that is necessary before performing further coding of the data (Neuendorf, 2002). The unitizing was based on the principle of having the smallest possible meaningful interview statements. The statements were then coded on different frameworks, such as SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) and the four organizational levels (IGLO - individual-, group-, leadership-, and organizational level) (Lone et al., 2014). Inter-rater tests were conducted in the different steps of the data treatment to control the reliability throughout the process (Neuendorf, 2002). In addition, some of the master's students from the previous year conducted a content analysis on the entire data set, to find themes and patterns in the interview material. This work resulted in an inductive model of quality in police investigation, formerly known as the 'content model' (Arnesen, 2013; Sætre, 2013). This inductive model contains 16 categories that sum up the content of the interviews, hence, what the investigators talked about in relation to the quality of investigation. The two inter-rater agreement tests they performed on this model had a result of 54.5% and 58% level of agreeability (Arnesen, 2013; Sætre, 2013). According to Banerjee, Capozzoli, McSweeney, and Sinha (1999), a score between 40-75% is a fair to good agreement beyond chance. All the units in the entire data set were coded on the 'content model' categories. One of the 16 categories was change, and this category was used in this study as a basis for investigating organizational change in the police.

Thematic Analysis

Because it was discovered that one interview was missing pieces of coded data, only 89 interviews could be used in this study. These 89 interviews contain a total of 18,929 statements; 733 in which was coded on the category change. I selected this category of statements to explore what the police investigators in the police districts are concerned with in relation to change. In order to do this, I conducted a bottom-up, thematic analysis on the change coded statements. Thematic analysis is a useful, qualitative research method for discovering and analyzing themes in a set of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The phases in Braun and Clarke (2006) were used as a guideline while conducting the thematic analysis.

The first phase included familiarizing myself with the data by reading through all the statements. During this read through, it became clear that some statements were precise and could be summarized into one theme easily, whilst other statements were more complex, vague, short or too general, e.g. "And that is something we would like to improve". To be able to understand more specifically what the interviewee was talking about, it was necessary

to read the statement in the context it was spoken. And because the 733 statements were extracted from a larger data set, most of the statements had no connection to its surrounding statements in the extracted data material. Hence, I needed to identify the specific statement in the major data file, and read it together with the preceding and subsequent statements from the original interview context. In some cases, after the first read through, I was uncertain about why some statements had been coded on the change category in the inductive 'content model' (Arnesen, 2013; Sætre, 2013). However, after looking up the context of the statement, their decision became more understandable.

The second phase in the thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke (2006) is generating initial codes. The initial codes in this study were short sentences that summarized the statements and, if necessary, included the context as well (see examples in Table 1). This was to help myself remember the context and avoid the need to look up the statements in the major data file multiple times.

The third phase includes searching for themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As can be seen in Table 1, the coding was a process of several steps in this study. After the initial codes were made, I began looking for possible themes in each statement. Every statement was coded on a suitable theme. This resulted in a large amount of themes that needed to be reduced in number. Hence, these are referred to as sub themes in Table 1. The sub themes were then written down on pieces of paper and spread out. Next, the similar sub themes were grouped together in piles, a process referred to as cutting and sorting by Ryan and Bernard (2003).

The fourth and the fifth phase in the thematic analysis process included reviewing the themes, and defining and naming the themes. These phases were to a certain degree mixed in this study: The fourth phase began when the number of themes was reduced to a set of candidate themes that needed refinement (Braun & Clarke, 2006), in this case it was eight themes. When I coded all the statements on these eight themes, I also reviewed them continuously to make sure the theme was accurate. However, whilst defining and naming the themes as described in phase five, I found it necessary to merge a couple of the themes because the content was somewhat overlapping. Hence, further reviewing was needed before I settled on the final, six themes. An overview of the phases in thematic analysis, with examples from the coding process, is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Overview of the phases in thematic analysis

Initial code	→	Sub theme	→	Final theme
Plan to merge certain districts		Merge		
Potential with structural changes		Structure		Structure and organization
Wants reorganization of crime units		Reorganization		
Wants more contact with the lawyers		Communication		
Ways to reduce the work load		Work load		Work methods
Investigation plan and working charges		Work methods		
Continue education to keep up		Education		
The criminals become smarter		Criminal expertise		Competence
Larger units → learn from each other		Knowledge sharing		

Note. This is an illustration of how the coding process was executed. First, the statements were summed up in initial codes. Second, sub themes were generated, and third, the final themes were created by grouping similar sub themes together.

Inter-rater Reliability in Thematic Analysis

Inter-rater reliability in the coding of statements was conducted after the thematic analysis was finished. Controlling the inter-rater reliability is important to secure that the analysis is reliable and not only is the result of one person's speculations. In this study, 73 statements, 10% of the total amount of 733 change related statements, were chosen. All the themes were represented in the selected statements. The selection of statements for the inter-rater test was somewhat strategic, because the statements were chosen on the background that they were representable for the category. Vague or short statements, where it was necessary to read the context in the major data file to grasp the meaning, were not chosen for this. The statements were then mixed in a random order, ready to be coded by a second coder. A coding document containing an explanation of each theme was provided for the second coder in advance (Appendix B), because it was necessary that the second coder was familiar with the content of the themes, and understood my thinking, before performing her own coding. Afterwards, Freelon's calculator was used for calculating the inter-rater reliability (Freelon, 2013).

The inter-rater reliability test showed an agreement of 83.6% between the first and second coder; 61 agreements and 12 disagreements. Cohen's kappa, which controls for the amount of agreement that is expected to happen by chance, was .808. According to Bakeman

and Gottman (1997), any value above .70 is an acceptable level of reliability. And according to Banerjee et al., (1999), an agreeability value above .75 is considered excellent agreement beyond chance.

Development of an Inductive Model

After identifying the themes, an inductive model was developed. In many statements, the investigators talk about how a change in one field have affected, or possibly will affect, another theme. An example of such a statement is:

"We hope so, academically, in many ways, we want a merge to obtain larger professional environments, in order to become heavier (...) expertise within economy and criminal techniques, within ICT, within sexual crimes, organized crime, we have a need for it out here, but we are too small (...), however, we could become larger together".

The statement above is coded as structure and organization, because merge is the overall topic in this statement. However, this statement also concerns resources (lack of staffing) and competence, and how this police district will benefit from a merge by gaining a larger and denser learning environment. I wanted to develop a model where these perceived relationships were viewed, because this is important information about how the investigators perceive organizational changes to affect the quality of investigation in the Norwegian police. The model was made by sketching up the themes, and link them together with arrows that represented how the investigators talked about the perceived relationships. At first, the model was too comprehensive. However, after removing the less frequent relationships, only the most frequent and influential relationships were left, resulting in the model seen in Figure 4.

Descriptive Statistics

In addition to the thematic analysis, some descriptive statistics were extracted from the data set. This was done in order to obtain information about how the statements were distributed on the SWOT categories and the organizational levels (IGLO), because this could provide more information about how change was perceived by the police investigators. A cross-tabulation between the change coded statements, SWOT, and IGLO was performed, along with a visual presentation of the distribution of the statements in charts.

Ethical Considerations

The project is approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD – Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste). The participation was voluntary, and the participants received and signed an informed consent, in addition to an informative briefing about the project before the interviews began. Withdrawal was possible at any time during the interview

or afterwards if someone regretted their participation. The interviews were recorded, which the participants agreed to in advance. These recording files were deleted after the interviews had been transcribed. It has been important to secure the anonymity of the contestants. Any information in the statements that might reveal someone's identity, e.g. names of people and places, have been made anonymous if quoted in this thesis.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Change was a topic in 80 out of 89 interviews, about 89.89%. Below, I show the distribution of statements of change on the SWOT categories and on four levels (IGLO), respectively. As seen in Table 2, the change related statements were heavily distributed on the opportunities category of the SWOT framework, and on the organizational level of IGLO. Out of a total of 733 statements, 252 were coded on both opportunities and on an organizational level.

Table 2

The distribution of statements on the SWOT and IGLO categories

	Individual	Group	Leadership	Organizational	Residuals	Total
Strengths	5	15	17	56	0	93
Weaknesses	8	13	15	73	1	110
Opportunities	21	40	55	252	2	370
Threats	7	4	2	82	0	95
Residuals	10	3	3	43	6	65
Total	51	75	92	506	9	733

Note. This is the distribution of the 733 change coded statements.

In Figure 2 and Figure 3, the percentage distribution of change related statements is shown. Figure 2 shows that 50.48% of the statements were coded on the opportunities category of SWOT, and Figure 3 shows that 69.03% of the statements were coded on the organizational level of IGLO.
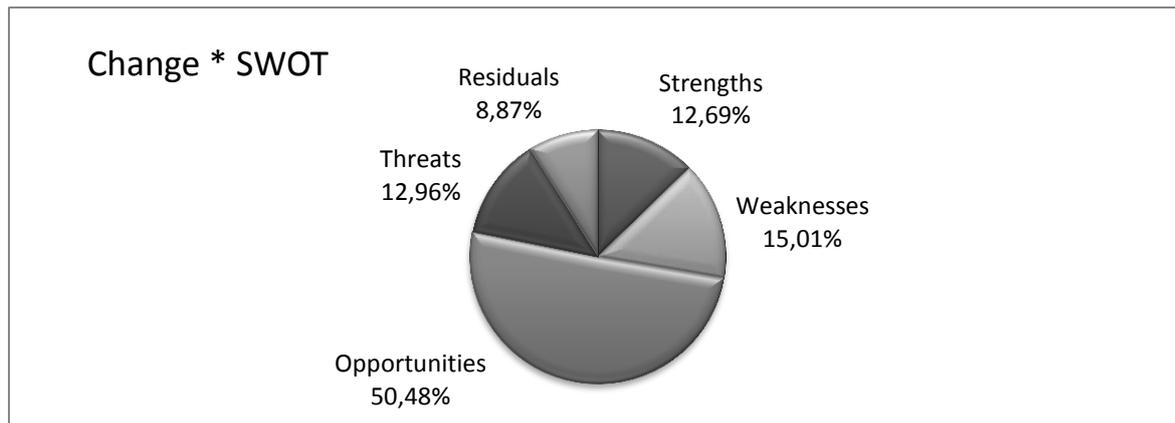
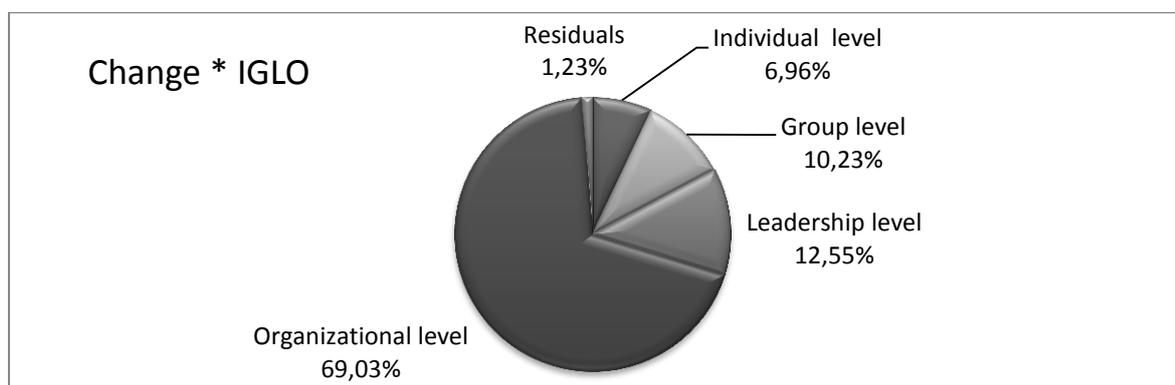*Figure 2.* Percentage distribution of statements on the SWOT categories.

Figure 3. Percentage distribution of statements on the four organizational levels (IGLO).

Themes from the Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis resulted in six themes regarding change in the Norwegian police. In the following, these themes are presented, including examples of statements within each theme. An overview of the six themes is presented in Table 3, before Figure 4 presents how the investigators perceive the themes to influence and relate to one another.

Societal and criminal development. Two external factors that often were mentioned in relation to one another were the societal development and the criminal development. Changes in the society could be everything from global trends and new laws and regulations; *"Suddenly you will get a new government, who thinks organized crime is the most important case in this world, and then new demands are given to us",* to more local societal changes in the police districts: *"Before, we could call the ferries, because they registered everything."* *"(...) That control is almost lost. And it gives us great challenges, as we have already seen".* The police investigators expressed their concern about the consequences of internationalization of the society and the open boundaries in many European countries; *"The crime picture has changed completely".* Many statements concerned changes in the frequency

of crimes, the arenas where crimes are being committed, and which types of crimes are being committed today as opposed to in the past: *"But I can mention an example that I know the Director of Public Prosecutions (Riksadvokaten) has been very concerned about. And that is the development in severe drug crimes"*. With the societal and criminal development in mind, many investigators express their concern about the further development in the criminal picture if the police does not develop and adapt to meet these challenges.

Technological development. The development of new technology and changes in technological equipment is another theme often brought up in the interviews. Many investigators talk about ICT, computer systems and the possibilities that exists within the technological field, but some are concerned that the police is missing out on possibilities because they cannot keep up with the development: *"(...) regarding ICT, because a lot is happening, very quickly. And we are living in a completely different time than before. So I think we need to get more on track there"*. In connection to this, they call for more effective use of the already existing technology in the police: *"We can become better at typing in information, but also at processing it and use it actively. We have room for improvement there, and that goes for all of us"*. Further, they wish for technological solutions that they know are possible if the police had implemented them: *"It should be possible to look into BL and find that interrogation note immediately"*. Some investigators are reluctant towards implementing new technology, because they are pleased with their current working situation, and they do not see the need for further implementation of technology. However, the majority of the participants in this study are positive towards the possibilities that have come together with the use of technological equipment: *"I think that is one of the better things that has happened in the recent years. That we have gotten recordings of interrogations"*.

Structure and organization. Structure and organization was the most frequent theme related to change. The investigators were concerned with today's structure of police districts in comparison to a possible merge in the future: *"My opinion is that it might be better to build larger, more powerful units"*. *"So we have to reorganize again. Find a model that might work"*. Overall, the investigators were positive towards the suggestion of merging the police districts, and they declared how such a change in the organizational structure could benefit other areas in the police: *"Structural changes in the police districts, it might be positive, with it you'll get a larger competence environment, bigger, more expertise, better investigation environment"*. However, some participants were concerned about some of their colleagues' reactions to such a large-scale change, and emphasized that the police is an old and conservative organization. Hence, resistance towards change was brought up as a possible

threat: *"This is what you experience as the biggest challenge: that you may have many good ideas in connection to things that can be done, but to go through with it, it is a heavy agency to implement."* *"You start with fresh courage, and not even with the biggest changes at once (...) it works for a while, but then some people become insecure, and it all falls back to scratch"*. In addition to the concern about conservative forces in the organization, some participants had ideas about how an organizational change could be implemented in the best possible way. *"But the physical part, it has to happen fast, as if you renovated a kitchen. It has to happen fast so it can be used right away. And it must be well thought out in order to be user friendly when you start [working] again"*.

   Work methods. Work methods consist of statements related to changes in how the police investigators work and execute their job tasks. Delegation of tasks, how to choose cases, effectiveness, roles, work load, debriefing and social support are examples of sub themes within this theme. Some investigators talk about how different ways of performing tasks, e.g. investigative interviewing, can challenge the quality of investigation. In relation to solving this, some suggest more standardized rules and quality control. *"Quality control of single cases could have been better. It is a responsibility for the leader of the crime department of course, as well as the operating unit managers, and us in the academic section"*. Investigators express that the work methods have developed and changed because of the change in the surrounding environment the past years, and how implementation of new work methods can be challenging: *"When it comes to KREATIV[3], there were many people who had been doing investigative interviews for many years, they were not exactly positive towards this in the beginning"*. Many of the investigators stress that in order to solve cases and prevent further crimes, especially cases related to the increasing field of mobile criminals, they depend on well-functioning communication and cooperation within the police districts, between police districts, and with other institutions such as Customs or the Swedish police: *"To increase the quality even more, we should develop the cooperation even further"*. *"We have wanted more involvement from the prosecution immediately once we receive the reported crimes"*. Consequences of work are also a part of work methods. Examples of this is work load, and debriefing after extra serious and demanding cases: *"We have established that the HMS service (health, environment and security service) and the company nurse have regular meetings with those who work on the most complicated technical and tactical cases,*

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[3] The 'KREATIV model' is a model for investigative interviewing developed in the Norwegian police. It shares similarities with the PEACE model.

violent and sexual crimes, they have just started a group like this and they are supposed to find the way on their own, but this is more about the psychosocial part".

Resources. This theme contains statements concerning a change in the police's resources. Economical resources is a major concern for many investigators, and they worry about how a lack of resources might influence the quality of their work: *"And I think that on many levels, both inside and outside the police, there is a lack of understanding for how resource demanding high quality investigation is today, compared to only ten years ago."* In relation to this, they stress the importance of salaries and reward systems, because the average police officer earn more money by working operatively rather than with investigation: *"There should have been some kind of reward model, also within the police, for what you deliver per krone". "(…) the second point is to make investigation more lucrative, for instance salary (…)".* A different type of resources is staffing – how many people who are at work and how this sometimes affect the quality of investigation, how many cases the investigators are able to work on, and how many cases they simply have to dismiss due to lack of staff. *"And if we then could manage to free some resources from somewhere, and have a better staffing on the operations center so they would be able to have a better overview, (…) it doesn't take much, and I don't think they need more staff on the operational units on the streets".* Other resources brought up in the interviews were building space: *"We have just moved into new buildings, and we have made some bold choices, with mainly open work zones.",* and time: *"And it has been relatively quiet in [area] after the murder. It is often a consequence of that case, because we had so much police there and so much investigation, and what often happens then is a quiet period afterwards".* Time and space resources were not mentioned as often as economical and staffing resources, but they were perceived as critical elements that would affect the investigation.

Competence. The staff's competence may be seen as a part of the police's resources. However, due to its distinct content, competence has been chosen as a separate theme. In relation to competence, the police investigators were concerned with developing their knowledge and skills: *"And it is a threat that you don't always realize there are things you can become better at, areas where you can develop. And you might have to realize that yourself, before you hit a wall when you receive that feedback". "We are ultra conservative, I'm sure, and slow and old fashioned many of us who have been working for so long, so we can become better internally".* In relation to competence, the police investigators talk about education, for instance changes in the basic police education from the Police University College before and now, and also specialization and courses that is needed to remain updated

on their field: *"The specialization we now have in Felleskrim, for instance, it has been totally necessary to be able to succeed with the challenges the police faces today". "And I believe that the Police University College is there to begin with, at least they should have a lot of it [knowledge]".* In relation to knowledge and skills, some investigators are concerned that they don't have enough time for exercising and maintaining their skills: *"We presented a suggestion this year, of a change, and we believe that we can train (…) when we are supposed to carry heavy arms and walk around with a loaded gun, and solve missions and all, we need to practice".* Several of the investigators believed that a merge of police districts would benefit the investigation environments by creating learning communities, where employees could share their experiences, knowledge, and make each other better: *"(…) we are a geographical district, but we are not too big, it should be possible to collect and merge the competence".*

Table 3

Themes from the thematic analysis

Theme	Frequency	Content	Example
Societal and criminal development	52	Societal development External events Internationalization Laws and regulations Infrastructure Crime picture and development Types, arenas, and frequency of crimes	*"Crime is becoming more and more complex, and it becomes more and more difficult to investigate."*
Technological development	42	Technological development ICT Opportunities with new use of technology	*"Ten years ago we were less, what shall I say, bothered with electronic clues, like cell phones, computers and likewise."*
Structure and organization	238	Merging of police districts Reorganization of offices and units Structural changes that will affect the employees	*"And we have opportunities there, if we are able to merge even more, or organize ourselves in a different way."*
Work methods	195	Work methods and different ways to perform tasks How investigation is conducted Tasks and task delegation Work load Debriefing and social support Roles Communication	*"Ehm, yes it is kind of a cultural change within the investigation work, and one needs to learn how to work in teams. Learn how to set goals (...) and a disposition of the work you do."*
Resources	68	Economical funding Salaries Rewards Equipment Time Building space Staffing resources	*"It's more work today with each case than it was before. If you had 10 people in the same field five years ago, it was plenty. Today, you'll need 15-20. There are more demands."*
Competence	138	Competence Education Knowledge Knowledge sharing Courses Training Expertise of the criminals	*"We have been wanting larger units, a bigger environment, learning in the environment, at the same time as we want to educate people, which we also do."*

Note. Total number of statements = 733.

An Inductive Model of Organizational Change in the Norwegian Police

      The investigators' perceived relationships between external factors, structural changes, and the quality of investigation, are shown in Figure 4. This figure illustrates the major influences that were mentioned as important factors that eventually affect the quality of investigation. Criminal and societal development and technological development are themes outside the organization, but an external change in these areas can influence themes inside the organization. A change in structure and organization will influence the investigators' work methods, the use and distribution of resources, and the competence in the police. Work methods and competence are the two themes that directly will affect the quality of investigation, according to the investigators. Resources alone do not automatically affect the quality of investigation, but by investing the resources in competence and work methods, it can indirectly improve the quality of investigation.
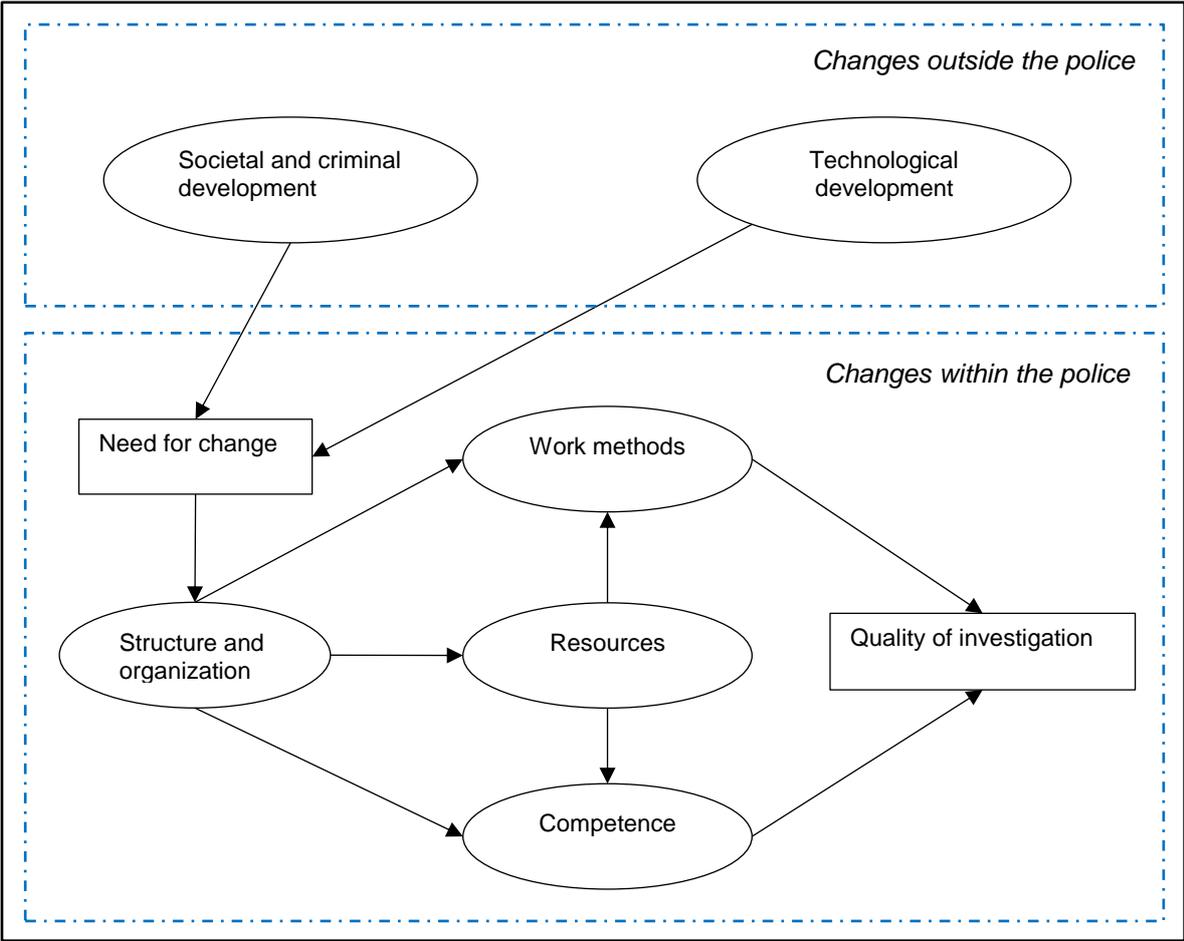

Figure 4. An inductive model of organizational change in the Norwegian police.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to find out what the police investigators were concerned with in connection to change in the Norwegian police, and further, how they perceived change to affect the quality of investigation. When analyzing the data from the interviews with police investigators, investigation prosecutors and chiefs of police in all of Norway's 27 police districts, the following findings emerged:

The results showed that many participants were concerned with opportunities on an organizational level when talking about change. When analyzing the change-coded statements from the interviews thematically, six main themes emerged: (1) Societal and criminal development, (2) technological development, (3) structure and organization, (4) work methods, (5) resources, and (6) competence. With the investigators' experiences as a basis, an inductive model was developed. This model shows how the external environment, such as societal, criminal and technological development, is perceived to affect the internal environment in the police, and thereafter can create a need for change, specifically a structural change. In the following, the themes from the interviews and the mechanisms described in the inductive model will be discussed in relation to organizational theory and existing research on organizational change, including Burnes' (2009) framework for change. Subsequently, practical implications for the Norwegian police will be discussed, including how an organizational change might affect the quality of investigation.

How do Norwegian Police Investigators Perceive Change?

Findings in this study indicate that development and changes outside the police have created a need for change within the police. These findings are in agreement with many studies, theories and models on organizational change (Bamford & Forrester, 2003; Burnes, 2009; Pettigrew, 1987; Wilson, 1992). More precisely, the societal and criminal development and the technological development create new challenges that the police will have to meet to be able to perform their tasks and obtaining their mission to protect society in a satisfactory way (Cordner, 2013; Politiloven, 1995). According to the Norwegian Police Federation (Politiets Fellesforbund, 2013), the relationship to the public is fundamental for the police. Because the Norwegian society have a high level of trust in the police compared to most countries in Europe (Kääriäinen, 2007; Politiets Fellesforbund, 2013), it is important that they strive to maintain this good relationship to the public by taking the necessary actions, in order to meet the future criminal challenges. The investigators are concerned with the development in the criminal picture, which has changed rapidly the past decade, and this is also mentioned as a major risk factor in several police- and society security related reports (e.g. NOU 2012: 2,

2012; NOU 2013: 9, 2013; Politiets Fellesforbund, 2013). The majority of the police investigators in this study agreed that the need for change should be met by a change in structure and organization. This can also be seen on the SWOT and IGLO distribution (Table 2), where the majority of statements are coded on opportunities on an organizational level. The distribution of statements indicate that the participants in this study were optimistic about a future change process, and that they generally agreed with the proposed structural change in the Police Analysis (NOU 2013: 9, 2013) about merging the police districts.

Whether a merge of police districts will be the right action for the police in the near future is still being debated upon amongst police employees and politicians in the media. Even though the majority of the police investigators in this study expressed optimism towards the suggested merge, not every police officer share their positivism. This can also be seen in the findings of this study: Several of the investigators mentioned their concerns for reluctance towards change amongst some of their colleagues. As one investigator described it when talking about expected reluctance amongst some colleagues: *"I'm the king of the hill in my region, don't want any changes, new structure is a [profanity] threat"*. These concerns were brought up in connection to several of the themes, whether it was regarding implementation of new technology, or merging the investigation units because of a merge of the police districts. The leader of the Norwegian Police Federation (Politiets Fellesforbund) in Hordaland, Kjetil Rekdal, is one of the opponents to a merge. He argues that a drastic merge from 27 to six police districts will create a different police than what the public wants and needs, and that the centralization of major police offices will create a larger distance between the police and the local communities. Instead, Rekdal (2014) proposes an opposite approach for meeting the societal and criminal development. He suggests increasing the number of districts from 27 to 38. In his opinion, this will be better for the public demands that require a focus on the prevention of crimes on a local level, and a police that is easily available for the public where they live. He further argues that even the largest terrorist crimes begin at a local level, and that a present local police can work closer with prevention in exposed areas and risk environments (Rekdal, 2014). This debate article shows that although a majority of the participants in this study were positive towards the suggested structural changes in the police, it does not necessarily represent everybody. In relation to this, reluctance towards change is an applicable theme that the police managers should be prepared to meet in the best way possible.

Will Change Affect the Quality of Investigation?

As can be seen in Figure 4, many of the police investigators presumed that a change in structure and organization will affect several internal aspects in the police; more precisely,

work methods, resources, and competence. Moreover, these aspects will affect the quality of investigation, and the quality of investigation is the result of the investigators' work. In addition to the societal and criminal development, technological development was also brought up as an influence that created a need for change in the police organization, because new technological equipment and technological development can create new arenas for crimes, and new possibilities for solving crimes. Luen and Al-Hawamdeh (2001) argues how information technology can improve investigation, because of today's increased implementation of information technology, the increasing quality of information technology, and technological competence amongst police officers. Brown and Brudney (2003) suggest that decision making can be powerfully affected by information technology, and according to their sample of police officers, information technology can offer significant benefits for problem solving and decision making. The findings of Brown and Brudney (2003) and Luen and Al-Hawamdeh (2001) support the present study's findings that technology is an important factor in relation to investigative work and further, investigation quality. The technological development inevitably creates a need for change in the police, like Figure 4 in the present study suggests, if the police does not follow the technological development. Moreover, if the police *does* implement and follow up on the technological development, it can improve the quality of investigation (Braun & Brudney, 2003; Luen & Al-Hawamdeh, 2001).

Another assumption from the majority of the participants in this study, was how a change in structure and organization, moreover a merge, will affect the work methods and competence in the investigative environments. If a merge is implemented, the investigative environments will become fewer and larger. Hence, more colleagues can work together, share experiences, and possibly reduce the work load. Knowledge sharing is a key element in investigative work (Glomseth et al., 2007; Gottschalk, 2007), because sharing information, knowledge, and experiences is cost effective for the investigation. And according to the present study, the investigators presume knowledge sharing to become a positive outcome of a merge of police districts.

Resources is a critical factor when determining which work methods that can be used, and how much competence development the police can afford to offer their employees, according to the investigators in this study. Hence, the quality of investigation might depend on how these resources are distributed. Even though a merge of districts and fewer offices might result in lower operating costs, there is no guarantee that the freed resources will be spent on developing the employees' competence, or invested in desired technology and improve the work methods. Hence, resources is a critical element in Figure 4, and the

distribution of resources can determine whether the investigation quality is increased. Richardsen, Burke, and Martinussen (2006) found that job resources in the Norwegian police were positively related to engagement, and that job demands and lack of job resources were related to cynism. With these results in mind, together with the police investigators' concern about lack of resources, it can be argued that a structural, organizational change will free resources and hence, improve the quality by enhancing engagement amongst the employees.

A final aspect to take into consideration is how different organizational factors can affect the employees' wellbeing at work, and thus, how it can influence the quality of investigation. Hart and Cotton (2002) studied police stress, and found that organizational climate, including elements such as role clarity, goal congruency, and decision making, were the strongest overall influences on wellbeing in the police. These are elements related to work methods in the present study. Berg, Hem, Lau, Håseth, and Ekeberg (2005) studied stress in the Norwegian police service, and they found that job pressure was the most frequent stressor. In the present study, the investigators were concerned about lack of staffing, which will put more pressure on those who are at work. Therefore, with Berg et al. (2005) in mind, a merge that results in better use of resources and larger investigative environments, might result in reduced stress amongst the investigators. Wellbeing and stress are factors that can influence job performance in a positive or negative way (Hart & Cotton, 2002; Shane, 2010), and job performance will eventually affect the results of an organization. In the case of the Norwegian police investigators, the result of their work will show in the quality of investigation.

Implementation of a Structural Change

How should the police proceed in making these changes happen? A merge is a large-scale transformation, and according to Burnes' framework for change (2009), organizational change in structures and processes emerge due to a turbulent environment. In the Norwegian police, the turbulent environment consists of the rapid changes in technology, and the societal development that brings up new criminal challenges for the police. With this in mind, a merge of police districts will fit into quadrant two in Burnes' framework for change (2009). Further, a structural change is often rapid in nature, unlike behavioral and cultural changes, which will be more slowly paced. The approach suggested by Burnes (2009) when implementing an organizational change in structures and processes, is an emergent change approach. He further suggests a bold stroke approach, which includes both collaborative and political dimensions of change (Burnes, 2009). Hence, the merge of police districts is likely to become more successful if the change is implemented bottom-up, anchored in the employees. If most police employees agree that the change initiatives are necessary, the change is more likely to become

a success (Cunningham et al., 2002; Eby et al., 2000). In addition to this, it is important that all employees in the police are familiar with the reasons why such a large-scale change is necessary, and that readiness for change is established (Holt et al., 2007). In this way, the employees are more likely to accept the change, even though they might be hesitant towards it at first (Burke, 2011). Further, the change is more likely to sustain with the support from the employees (Buchanan et al., 2003; Holt et al., 2007).

In connection to the implementation of structural change, the debate regarding the number of investigators versus the number of operational police is applicable. After the 'crime waves' in Oslo and the terrorist attack, the focus from the media and the general concerns in the population have been towards a wish for more operative units and more visible police on the streets. More visible, operational police results in less people working with investigation and the solving of cases. According to several investigators in this study, more operational work will most likely affect the clear-up rate and reduce the quality of investigation. On the other hand, the Norwegian Police Federation (Politiets Fellesforbund, 2013) write that the demands towards more effective and efficient police work, with increased clear-up rate and reduced time spent on processing the cases, can affect the directed operative police work that seeks to prevent crime and create a feeling of safety in the local communities. According to the Norwegian Police Federation, this staffing problem will sustain unless more police positions are created (Politiets Fellesforbund, 2013). The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that both the operational units and the investigators are concerned about the development in the society and the structure within the police, and that resources is a critical aspect of development and change within the Norwegian police. Thus, a structural, organizational change where the learning communities are centralized, can be a solution where the resources are being used more strategically. As a result, an increased quality of investigation can be an expected outcome.

Implications of this Study

Practical implications. This study's practical implications for the Norwegian police are first and foremost an overview of how the investigators perceive an organizational change to affect the quality of investigation. A merge of districts can induce more effective use of resources towards creating better learning environments, improved competence, and more efficient work methods. Moreover, these findings agree with several aspects in the Police Analysis (NOU 2013: 9, 2013), which must be a good indicator for the future change. Mainly, the investigators acknowledge the need for a structural change, and they see several opportunities in connection to it. Information about how certain groups of employees are

prepared to meet future changes can be useful if and when the police districts are to be merged, because the managers can prepare the change initiatives in a more adjusted manner. Additionally, knowledge about the investigators' experience with change, and their opinion on how the employees themselves are prepared for structural changes in the future, may be a valuable lesson and indication on how they will react to a change. Further, this may give the managers a heads up on what to expect and how it might be clever to go through with the change for it to be the most efficient and sustainable.

Theoretical implications and further research. This study has shown how the relationship between changes and an organization's results can appear in a specific context. Moreover, this study includes more knowledge about which factors that affect the quality of investigation in the Norwegian police, in the investigators opinion. This is a contribution towards understanding more about the mechanisms behind organizational change in the specific context of police investigation.

A possibility for further research is to seize the opportunity to study the organizational change process in the police when the process is ongoing. Unlike experimental psychologists, researchers in organizational psychology cannot interfere with organizations and conduct all kinds of experiments to test different interventions and outcomes of a change, unless the change is really occurring. That is why researchers need to take advantage of studying organizational phenomena when they happen in real life. Therefore, a structural change in the Norwegian police is a golden opportunity to study the change process closely, and increase the knowledge about organizational change in the Norwegian police.

After the implementation of the organizational changes in the police, it would be interesting to conduct a follow up study after a few years, and investigate the consequences of the change and merge of the police districts. Regarding the project as a whole, there are several opportunities for further research. For instance, it would have been interesting to conduct equivalent interviews with operative police officers as well, and find out more about what they see as strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats against the work they are performing out in the field. Afterwards, a comparison between police investigators and operative police officers would be possible. Further, it would also be interesting to find out if the change have resulted in increased investigation quality like the investigators in this study perceived.

Limitations

Some limitations need to be taken into consideration regarding this study. First, a possible bias is linked to the selection of participants. The chiefs of police in each district

received the task of choosing the investigator and principal investigator who should participate in the project; hence, the selection was not randomized. Because of this, it is possible that people with a positive attitude towards research and development volunteered or was selected for this study. If this was the case, the participants in this study might be more positive towards organizational change than the average investigator.

Second, this study is a part of an ongoing project, and several people have been involved in different parts of developing the data set. This might be a limitation for the reliability of this study. Even though there was one main interviewer who conducted all the interviews in the police districts, several students have taken part in the transcription-, unitizing-, and coding processes. Consequently, individual preferences on the length of statement units, or different interpretations of themes within these statements, may have affected the reliability. Nevertheless, to be able to develop the data material and build on it further, the researchers will have to trust previously made decisions to a certain degree.

Third, the number of statements can be perceived as a limitation. Even though change was mentioned in 80 of the 89 interviews, only 733 of 18,929 statements were coded on the category change in the inductive 'content model' by Arnesen (2013) and Sætre (2013). Nevertheless, the 733 statements provided lots of valuable information about the police investigators' experiences and thoughts on the subject. Whilst conducting the thematic analysis, I experienced that several statements could be coded on more than one theme, because many of them are about how a change in one field affects another field. Hence, there might be more than 733 statements concerning change. Change is a concept that usually is mentioned in connection to other topics, because one talks about a change of *something*. E.g., a change in procedures or a change in demands. These are separate themes in the 'content model'. Hence, many statements could have been coded on change when they are coded on, for instance, procedures or demands. With this in mind, the change category could have been a lot larger than what is appears to be, and the exact number of statements within each theme may be debatable.

Fourth, the interview questions solely asked about the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats regarding *the quality of investigation,* which brings up the question of validity when using this data set for studying organizational change. Specific questions about change in the police were not asked, and whether change would appear as a topic, was individual. Semi structured, open-ended interviews as a method for collecting data is a valuable tool that can provide researchers with lots of information and the possibility to ask follow up questions and receive unique stories that cannot be obtained through, for instance, a

questionnaire. On the other side, researchers depend on the participants' memory and ability to reflect, because they cannot provide them with questions unless they bring up a certain subject themselves. Nevertheless, 89.89% of the participants did talk about change at some point during their interview, and the opportunities-question often triggered the topic change because it allowed the participants to reflect upon possibilities in a future dimension.

Regarding generalizability, all the participants in this study were police investigators, principal investigators, or chief police officers. Hence, none of the operational police units were involved. They might have other points of view than the investigators on certain issues. However, because the Norwegian police education is a generalist bachelor program, all the police investigators have received education, training and practice in operational police activities as well. In addition, many investigators have been working operative before they became investigators, something that appears in statements in the data set as well, so they might have both aspects in mind while answering the questions.

The police, including its special units, is the only organization in Norway that works with policing (Politiloven, 1995). Hence, the generalizability of this study may be limited to the police only. However, the police is also a public organization, and by some it is categorized as a learning organization (Glomseth et al., 2007). The results might be generalizable to other public organizations or learning organizations as well.

Conclusion

This thesis has three contributions. First, the police investigators in this study are mainly positive towards a structural, organizational change and a possible merge of police districts, and they mostly see the need for change in the organization. Second, the inductive model of organizational change in the Norwegian police shows how a change might improve the quality of investigation. External changes like societal, criminal, and technological development are perceived to create a need for change within the organization. By meeting the need for change with a structural, organizational change, more precisely a merge of police districts, larger investigation environments will be created. This can further generate learning environments and improve the competence of the investigators, more effective work methods, possibly reduce work load and stress, and free resources that can be spent more strategically. Third, implementation of organizational change in the police was discussed, and Burnes' framework for change (2009) can be a useful guideline when implementing the future change in the Norwegian police.

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POLITIHØGSKOLEN

Politimesteren i
XXX politidistrikt
Postboks XXXX

NORWEGIAN POLICE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Deres referanse: Vår referanse: Sted, Dato

PROSJEKT ETTERFORSKNING

Vi viser til tidligere presentasjon på Politisjefsmøtet. Som vi gjorde rede for har Politidirektoratet gitt Politihøgskolen i oppdrag å gjennomføre et prosjekt med sikte på å undersøke organiseringen av politiets etterforskningsarbeid i Norge.

Fra Politihøgskolen består prosjektgruppen av:
* Professor Tor-Geir Myhrer.
* Professor Johannes Knutsson.
* Politiinspektør Trond Myklebust.

I tillegg har vi et formelt samarbeid med faggruppen for arbeids- og organisasjonspsykologi ved Psykologisk institutt, Universitetet i Oslo.

Vi vil kontakte politimesteren i hvert politidistrikt med forespørsel om deltakelse i prosjektet. Prosjektet vil samle inn informasjon ved å ha intervjuer med:
i)   Politimester/vise-politimester
ii)   Etterforskningsleder
iii)   Etterforsker

Det er frivillig å være med og hver deltaker har mulighet til å trekke seg når som helst underveis, uten å måtte begrunne dette nærmere. Dersom en deltaker trekker seg vil alle innsamlede data fra personen bli anonymisert. Opplysningene vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og ingen enkeltpersoner vil kunne gjenkjennes i prosjektets skrevne sluttprodukt (rapporter/artikler).

Undertegnede vil en av de nærmeste dagene ta kontakt med deg for å avtale tidspunkt for et eventuelt intervju med deg eller vise-politimester. I tillegg ber jeg deg å velge ut aktuell etterforskningsleder og etterforsker for prosjektet, slik at jeg kan ta direkte kontakt med disse for informasjon om prosjektet samt avtale om tid og sted for eventuelt intervju.

Intervjuene vil være strukturert etter en såkalt SWOT-tilnærming og består av følgende fire tema/spørsmål:
I.   Fortell om det som i dag fungerer godt ved etterforskningsarbeidet her i politidistriktet – vi kaller dette styrken i etterforskningsarbeidet.

      II.   Fortell om det som i dag <u>ikke</u> fungerer godt ved etterforskningsarbeidet her i politidistriktet – vi kaller dette svakheten i etterforskningsarbeidet.

     III.   Fortell om det du i dag ser som muligheter for å forbedre kvaliteten i etterforskningen her i politidistriktet – vi kaller dette for mulighetene i etterforskningsarbeidet.

     IV.   Fortell om det du i dag ser som truslene mot å forbedre kvaliteten i etterforskningen her i politidistriktet – vi kaller dette for truslene i etterforskningsarbeidet.

Vi ønsker primært lyd- og billedopptak av intervjuet, men dersom i praksis kun lydopptak lar seg gjennomføre, ønsker vi å ta opp intervjuet i MP3 format. Lengden på intervjuet vil variere ut i fra informantens mengde med informasjon. Fra tidligere prosjekt vil denne type intervju ta omlag 90 minutter.

Intervjuet vil bli anonymisert slik at navn og personopplysninger om den intervjuede ikke transkriberes og blir følgelig ikke tatt med i analysene.

Vi takker for at ditt politidistrikt på Politisjefsmøtet har sagt seg positiv til dette prosjektet. Eventuelle spørsmål eller kommentarer til prosjektet bes rettet direkte til undertegnede (e-mail: trond.myklebust@phs.no , tlf direkte 23 19 98 55, tlf sentralbord 23 19 99 00).

Med hilsen

Trond Myklebust
Politiinspektør/PhD

Kodedokument

Endringer i:

Struktur og organisering
- Sammenslåing av distrikter, enheter, kontorer
- Omorganisering
- Struktur
- Arbeidsdagens organisering på overordnet plan (turnus, stillingshjemler…)

Arbeidsmetoder
- Fordeling av arbeidsoppgaver på lokalt nivå, hvem gjør / bør gjøre hva
- Samarbeid (innad, med andre distrikter, med andre etater, med utlandet)
- Støtte / debrief etter alvorlige saker
- Arbeidsbelastning / work load
- Hvordan velge saker
- Effektivisering og balansering av arbeidsmetoder
- Kvalitetskontroll av saker
- Forskjeller i arbeidsmetoder mellom individer eller nabodistrikter
- Arbeidsmetoder og –modeller (KREATIV osv.)

Ressurser
- Endringer / ønskede endringer i ressurser, som:
- Bemanning (antall mann, for få mann)
- Økonomi (hvis vi hadde hatt mer penger, så..)
- Tid («altfor mange saker å oppklare på alt for få mann»)
- Lokaler, bygninger og utstyr, eller mangel på dette
- Lønn og belønning

Kompetanse
- Kunnskaper
- Ferdigheter
- Utdanning, hva som er basis fra PHS
- Videreutdanning og påfyll
- Kursing
- Trening og øvelser
- Endringer i hva de kan eller hva de burde kunnet
- Skape fagmiljøer, gjøre hverandre gode
- De kriminelles kompetanse, holde seg oppdatert og henge med på de kriminelle

Kriminalitetsbildet og samfunnsutviklingen
- Hvilke typer lovbrudd begås
- Hyppighet av kriminelle handlinger
- Hvem den kriminelle er («omreisende bander», etc.)
- Arenaer for kriminalitet
- Endringer i samfunnet og utenforstående faktorer som påvirker politiarbeidet / etterforskningen
- Lover og reguleringer som kommer utenfra (Stortingsmeldinger f.eks).

Teknologisk utvikling
- IKT
- Datasystemer
- Muligheter som finnes innen teknologi som kunne vært brukt
- Teknologisk utvikling