

# Strategic Change Management

## Change Management Challenges in the Danish Police Reform

Degnegaard, Rex

*Document Version*

Final published version

*Publication date:*

2010

*License*

CC BY-NC-ND

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Degnegaard, R. (2010). *Strategic Change Management: Change Management Challenges in the Danish Police Reform*. Copenhagen Business School [Phd]. PhD series No. 7.2010

[Link to publication in CBS Research Portal](#)

### General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us (research.lib@cbs.dk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 03. Jul. 2025

**COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL**  
**HANDELSHØJSKOLEN**  
SOLBJERG PLADS 3  
DK-2000 FREDERIKSBERG  
DANMARK

[www.cbs.dk](http://www.cbs.dk)

ISSN 0906-6934  
ISBN 978-87-593-8417-6

ISBN 978-87-593-8417-6



# Strategic Change Management

PhD Series 7.2010



**Copenhagen  
Business School**  
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

## Strategic Change Management

Change Management Challenges in  
the Danish Police Reform

**Rex Degnegaard**

Doctoral School of Organisation  
and Management Studies

PhD Series 7.2010

## **Strategic Change Management**

Rex Degnegaard  
*Strategic Change Management*  
*Change Management Challenges in the Danish Police Reform*

1st edition 2010  
PhD Series 7.2010

© The Author

ISBN: 978-87-593-8417-6  
ISSN: 0906-6934

The Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies (OMS) is an interdisciplinary research environment at Copenhagen Business School for PhD students working on theoretical and empirical themes related to the organisation and management of private, public and voluntary organisations

All rights reserved.

No parts of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

# Strategic Change Management

*Change Management Challenges in the Danish Police Reform*



*To Elaine M. Amoss*

*For opening my eyes to the values of knowledge and achievement and for always supporting me in my endeavors.*





## ABSTRACT

Since its commencement in January 2007, the Danish police reform has been a hot topic in the media, at universities, dinner parties, and in waiting rooms. The general perception of the police reform is that it is a failure. During 2008, the reform has been subject to much public debate, which has linked many unfortunate cases of police neglect with the police reform. Furthermore, the public debate has created a picture of a police not in control and with the reform to blame.

Given this troublesome context of the police reform, the question which everyone is asking is: why did it go wrong? Along with the question of: whose fault was it? The current thesis does not provide one single answer to the chaotic situation surrounding the police reform. Neither does it place the responsibility of the unforeseen consequences of the police reform. Rather, this thesis focuses on unforeseen consequences of the reform in regards to change management and organizational implications.

This thesis is submitted as a doctoral thesis at Copenhagen Business School in completion of a three-year Ph.D. study. The thesis is the result of a longitudinal research study on change management challenges in the Danish police reform. The study rests on a multi-sited methodology comprising an array of research methods such as interviews, field studies, presentations, meetings, written document studies, etc. over the course of the three years' duration of the study. The study draws from different strands of literature, primarily change management literature and institutional literature, including resource dependency theory.

The research question, which guides the thesis, is as follows:

*What are the change management challenges and the organizational implications of introducing a reform, which has a functional-rational logic of modernization and efficiency to the Danish police, which is a strongly institutionalized organization?*

The research question has been answered through the analysis, which is divided into three sections:

- Change management in the reform,
- Content of the police reform, and
- The external control of the police.

## Conclusions

The findings from the thesis will be summarized in the following. First, the general findings will be presented, and following these, the contributions to theory, methodology, and practice will be presented in brief summary.

The change management efforts in the police reform have been thoroughly planned and coordinated with much focus and dedication. In conclusion, the study points to lack of organizational ability rather than lack of willingness or commitment as the main factors in why the Danish police reform cannot be described as a success. The findings in the current study point to lack of organizational abilities in regards to change management and strategic change leadership.

### *Findings in the analysis*

The findings in the study highlight the fact that the planning of the implementation of the police reform has drawn upon change management technologies which have been developed based on premises other than those of the police organization. This has been the case in the communication strategy which has partly resulted in an unsuccessful communication in the implementation of the reform. Furthermore, the police have looked to experts and advisors from the outside for assistance in implementing the reform rather than looking inwards to draw on the organizational resources with the result that the informal relations in the police which is an essential organizational resource in the police has been neglected. In looking outward to implement the reform, the focus has been on how to implement the new initiatives in the reform. Therefore the positive aspects of the current and previous organization have been neglected in the pursuit of reforming the future police by implementing the reform initiatives. In the reform, the management initiatives targeted individuals in the organization rather than the collective. This was new to the organization and therefore created confusion at a time when it was necessary to stand together. Furthermore, the reform initiative of filling new positions created competition and rivalry in the organization which was unforeseen and unfortunate in that it served as a threat to the trust in the organization. Trust is particularly relevant in the police due to their function of sustaining democratic awareness in society.

The content of the reform has been based on a functional-rational logic which has disregarded symbolic action as being irrelevant which has served as confusion in regards to prioritization of police activities when confronted with feeling of safety versus real security. Much of the content of the

police reform relies on technologies. Some are IT technologies, including phone systems. Others are management technologies. Both have been subject to skills gap – or skills backlog – in that the technologies have been implemented before the necessary skills to handle the technologies have been developed. On the side of IT and phone systems, this has partly resulted in a chaotic situation regarding reaching the police. On the management side, it has resulted in an introduction of management technologies in the organization which has become much more complex without developing the necessary management skills to handle the new reformed police. The police appear to have been too impatient due to external pressures and demands to implement the police reform as politically decided.

The external control of the police has played a special role in the implementation of the police reform. The police apparently have not been able to assess the importance of the external environment and its influence on the discretion of the organization and the managerial space. It has not taken on the discretionary role to changing the environment and so gives discretionary space for managerial action. This neglect of the external level in the police reform has resulted in loss of discretion on the organization and unfortunate consequences for both the managerial level and operational level.

#### *Contributions to theory, methodology, and practice*

In the current study, there are clear connections between theory, methodology and practice. The three are intertwined and supplement each other in the study. Therefore, the broader perspective in which the combination of theory, methodology and practical implications is seen as a whole must accompany the analytical knack of dividing the contributions into these three parts. However, in the following, the structure into these three parts will be followed to give specific attention to the contributions of each part while at the same time realizing that this is an analytical knack.

This study makes its theoretical contribution to several strands of literature and primarily to the literature on change management and to the scarce theoretical strands of police management.

The study contributes to change management theory in two main ways. The first is for contemporary change management theory to increase emphasis on the external environment, particularly for institutionalized organizations. In the current study, an analytical framework has

highlighted how the external level must be acknowledged in change management regards as it influences the managerial level and the operational level immensely, particularly in highly institutionalized organizations such as the police. This framework divides the efforts into the following three levels: The external level, the managerial level, and the operational level. Thereby the current study challenges the predominantly internal perspective of contemporary change management theory to direct more attention towards the external perspective. The other main contribution to change management theory regards a call for a strengthened focus on utilizing existing organizational resources in vast organizational change. Current change management theory has an intense focus on what should be changed with specific attention to how the new organization should be structured, organized, and how it should perform. The current study points to a need for supplementing change management theory by including focus on the organizational characteristics, which have enabled the organization to perform prior to the change. A central aspect is that of culture which is often considered a liability rather than an asset. The findings in the study direct a need for further attention to existing organizational resources in change management literature with the aim of improving both the implementation process and the future performance of the organization. The study further indicates how change management theory can gain from including concerns of organizational character at a strategic change management perspective and thereby include regards to the constitutive effects of change management initiatives. The theoretical contributions also regard the scarce and emerging field of police management. The weighing majority of police studies are concerned with criminology. In recent years, the field of police management is emerging with the waves of New Public Management and public reforms and a tendency to increased transparency of police at operational and organizational level. This study highlights how the organizational character of the police requires that the emerging field of police management bridges the specificity of the organizational character of the police to the established bodies of management theory and organizational theory.

The methodological contributions from the study relate to two main concerns. The first regards how to gain access to an organization such as the police which is closed to the outside given the nature of its operations and its historical heritage. The methodology has applied a specific coupling between theory and practice throughout the course of the study to gain further access to the organization and to engage practitioners in research perspectives. Furthermore, acquiring knowledge of the organization through field studies and action research has been essential in

gaining access to the organization. In the process of gaining deeper access to the organization, using tales from the field has been highly relevant and has proven as an essential methodological approach in gaining access to organizations which are operationally closed to the outside. The other methodological contribution relates to the questions of how to acquire knowledge of vast change initiatives such as public reforms, which are influenced by both external factors and internal factors at various levels. The study has shown how multi-sited methodology (Marcus, 1995) can serve as a methodological approach to capture the different levels when combined with analytical triangulation across the sites. In the study, the richness of the ethnographically rooted field studies supplements the strategic traditional organizational analysis, action oriented activities, and document studies necessary to capture external aspects. By combining multi-sited methodology with analytical triangulation, the methodology serves as a way to capture decoupling between external, managerial, and operational level. Thus, the methodology applied has shown to be able to shed light on crucial change management aspects by illuminating decoupling between different perspectives and levels, which would otherwise not be revealed.

The contributions to practice of the current study is structured into two parts. The first part focuses on the implications of the findings for the Danish police. The second part focuses on the main contribution to change management practice in other organizations.

The most crucial finding in the study with direct implications for the Danish police is the importance of having a clearly defined strategy to lean upon in turbulent times. The study clearly shows that in times of vast change, it is essential to complete a strategy for how to manage and lead the organization through transformation which acknowledges the specific organizational character of the police, and thereby activating and utilizing the unique resources of the police comprising the social capital which is an essential resource in the police. Furthermore, the reform process has shown the importance of having a clearly defined strategy on how to engage in the public debate and how to handle the external control of the organization. Thus, the study shows a need for the police to work with strategically anchored approaches to the operational level, the managerial level, and the external level. When developing these strategies, the police must necessarily acknowledge the difference between what is described as symbolic and real police work at a higher level – that of efficiency vs. effectiveness, the latter being an externally determined measure of success. In relation to specific change management aspects, the study indicates that the police can make better use of

the unique resources of the police organization at the heart of which are the mutual trust and the informal relations between those in the police force. The organizational character and culture of the police should be utilized in a constructive manner and used as an essential driver in reaching the organizational targets. These aspects call for a dramatic shift in the police in regards to some of the main aspects which have been brought forth in the current analysis such as a strategic mindset, an increased focus on culture, added attention to management development, and a much stronger relation with external stakeholders to ensure discretion for the police to set strategy and direction which can in turn improve the police services to ‘maintain safety, security, peace and order in society’ as stated in the first paragraph of the Police Act.

The contributions from the current study to change management practice of a more generic character relate to some of the themes which have been described above. A couple of these points should be mentioned with specific attention to the general contribution to change management practice. Even though the topic is mentioned across management and organization studies, the lessons from the current thesis highlight the importance of not applying generic solutions to local challenges but rather to customize management technologies which have been imported from other organizational contexts. Another general contribution from the study is the importance of treating change management as more than a planning exercise and a series of organization development activities. Vast organizational change must be accompanied by change management strategy. Such a strategy should encompass the external level, the managerial level, and the operational level. Developing such a strategy is resource demanding; yet the risks of not having a specific change management strategy outweigh this aspect when facing vast organizational transformation. Content wise, the study points to the fact that such a change management strategy should identify the organizational resources and culture and use these as an asset rather than a liability which is valuable in both the implementation phase as well as in the new organizational setting. Furthermore, the study shows that the more institutionalized the organization, the more the external perspective is of importance. Therefore, it is essential to include both efficiency and the externally determined effectiveness measures and to monitor and influence the perception of these in the public debate to ensure managerial space which is essential, particularly in times of vast organizational change. With specific regard to change which is politically decided, the current study points to the role of management which must step up to the plate and assess and challenge how the reform can be implemented in the reform. It is the responsibility of the management to assess and analyze the

expected resources required to implement the reform regarding time, finances, and qualifications. These three aspects must be central elements of implementation concerns and to be included in a change management strategy. Making it happen is a management responsibility.





## DANISH ABSTRACT

Siden startskuddet den 1. januar 2007 har politireformen været et varmt emne i medierne, på universiteterne, til middagsselskaber og i venteværelser landet over. Den overordnede opfattelse af politireformen er, at den er en fiasko. I løbet af 2008 har reformen ofte været debatteret i det offentlige rum, og det har sammenkædet mange uheldige sager om politisvigt med reformen. Debatten har desuden skabt et billede af et politi uden styr på tingene, hvor skylden har været kastet på reformen.

På grund af denne problematiske kontekst stiller alle spørgsmålet: hvorfor gik det galt? Efterfølgende kommer gerne spørgsmålet: hvis skyld var det? Denne afhandling giver ikke ét entydigt svar på den kaotiske situation, der har omgærdet politireformen. Den placerer heller ikke ansvaret for reformens uforudsete konsekvenser. I stedet fokuserer afhandlingen på uforudsete konsekvenser af reformen i forhold til forandringsledelse og organisatoriske implikationer.

Denne afhandling er indbragt Copenhagen Business School som en Ph.D.-afhandling, der afslutter 3 års Ph.D.-studier. Afhandlingen er resultatet af et længerevarende studie af forandringsledelsesmæssige udfordringer i den danske politireform. Studierne hviler på en multi-sitet metode, der omfatter en række forskningsaktiviteter såsom interview, feltstudier, præsentationer, møder, dokumentstudier etc. i løbet af de tre års studier. Studiet trækker på forskellige typer litteratur, primært litteratur om forandringsledelse og institutionalisme, herunder resource dependency teori.

Problemformuleringen, som guider afhandlingen, lyder:

*What are the change management challenges and the organizational implications of introducing a reform, which has a functional-rational logic of modernization and efficiency to the Danish police, which is a strongly institutionalized organization?*

Problemformuleringen er blevet besvaret igennem analysen, som er inddelt i tre sektioner:

- Forandringsledelse i reformen,
- Reformens indhold, og
- Den eksterne kontrol af politiet.

## **Konklusion**

Resultaterne fra afhandlingen vil blive opsummeret i det følgende. Først vil de generelle resultater blive præsenteret og dernæst vil bidrag til teori, metodologi og praksis blive præsenteret i opsummeret form.

Indsatsen med forandringsledelse i politireformen har været grundigt planlagt og koordineret med megen fokus og engagement. Afhandlingen påpeger i sine konklusioner manglende organisatorisk formåen frem for manglende vilje eller engagement som den fremtrædende årsag til, at implementeringen af den danske politireform ikke kan betragtes som en succes. Resultaterne i den forestående afhandling pointerer manglende organisatorisk formåen i forbindelse med forandringsledelse og strategisk forandringslederskab.

### *Resultater fra analysen*

Resultaterne i denne afhandling fremhæver, at planlægningen af implementeringen af politireformen har trukket på forandringsledelsesteknologier, der er udviklet på præmisser, som er forskellige fra dem, der er gældende i politiet. Dette har været tilfældet i kommunikationsstrategien, hvilket har resulteret i en delvist mislykket kommunikation i forbindelse med etablering af reformen. Politiet har desuden søgt rådgivning hos eksterne eksperter og rådgivere i implementeringen af reformen i stedet for at søge internt og trække på organisationens ressourcer med det resultat, at de uformelle relationer i politiet, som er essentielle organisatoriske ressourcer i politiet, er blevet forsømt. Ved at kigge udad for inspiration og ressourcer til at implementere reformen har fokus været på, hvordan man implementerer de nye initiativer i reformen. Derfor har de positive aspekter af den nuværende og den tidligere organisation været forsømt i stræben efter at reformere fremtidens politi ved at implementere reformens initiativer. I reformen var de ledelsesmæssige tiltag rettet mod individer i stedet for det kollektive. Dette var nyt for organisationen, og det skabte derfor forvirring på et tidspunkt, hvor det var nødvendigt at stå sammen. Derudover skabte initiativet med at besætte nye stillinger splid og konkurrence i organisationen, hvilket var uventet og uheldigt, idet det skabte en trussel mod den gensidige tillid i organisationen, som er særligt relevant i politiet på grund af politiets funktion med at opretholde og udvikle den demokratiske bevidsthed i samfundet.

Indholdet i reformen har været baseret på en funktionel-rationel logik som har tilsidesat symbolsk handlen som værende irrelevant, hvilket har skabt forvirring i forhold til prioriteringen af politiaktiviteter, når politiet er blevet konfronteret med krav om prioritering mellem følelsen af sikkerhed kontra reel sikkerhed. Meget af indholdet i reformen beror på teknologier. Nogle er IT-teknologier, herunder telefonsystemer, og andre er ledelsesteknologier. Begge har været omfattet af kompetencekløfter eller kompetenceefterslæb, idet teknologierne er blevet implementeret, før de nødvendige kompetencer til at håndtere teknologierne er blevet udviklet. I forhold til IT og telefonsystemer har dette delvist resulteret i en kaotisk situation i forhold til at få fat i politiet. På ledelsesfronten har det resulteret i en introduktion af ledelsesteknologier i organisationen, som er blevet meget mere kompleks, uden at udvikle de nødvendige ledelsesmæssige kompetencer til at håndtere det nye politi. Politiet synes at have været for utålmodige på grund af eksterne krav og pres i forhold til at implementere reformen, som den er politisk besluttet.

Den eksterne kontrol af politiet har spillet en særlig rolle i implementeringen af politireformen. Politiet har øjensynligt ikke været i stand til at vurdere betydningen af den eksterne omverden og dens indflydelse på ledelsesrummet i organisationen. De har ikke taget den rolle på sig i forhold til at forandre omverdenen og dermed give rum til ledelsesmæssig handlen. Denne forsømmelse af det eksterne niveau i politireformen har resulteret i tab af ledelsesrum og haft u hensigtsmæssige konsekvenser for både det ledelsesmæssige og det operationelle niveau i organisationen.

### *Bidrag til teori, metodologi og praksis*

I nærværende studie er der klare forbindelser mellem teori, metode og praksis, som er sammenvævet og supplerer hinanden. Derfor fordrer en sådan opdeling af bidraget til hver enkelt af disse tre elementer, at det ses i det overordnet perspektiv, hvor kombinationen af teori, metode og praksis ses som et hele. I det følgende præsenteres bidraget med dette analytiske varsel særskilt.

Det teoretiske bidrag fra denne rapport tilflyder flere teoretiske områder, hovedsageligt til forandringsledelseslitteraturen og til den knappe, men voksende teori om politiledelse.

Studiets særlige bidrag til forandringsledelseslitteraturen rummer to områder. Det første vedrører et øget fokus på de eksterne omgivelser i kontemporær forandringsledelseslitteratur, særligt vedrørende institutionaliserede organisationer. I nærværende studie har det anvendte analytiske

model fremhævet, hvordan det eksterne niveau nødvendigvis må indtænkes i relation til forandringsledelse, idet det eksterne har indflydelse på ledelsesniveau og operationelt niveau, særdeles i højt institutionaliserede organisationer som politiet. Denne model opdeler indsatsen i tre niveauer: det eksterne niveau, ledelsesniveauet og det operationelle niveau. Dermed udfordrer rapporten det interne perspektiv, som er dominerende i kontemporær forandringsledelsesteori mod en retning af i højere grad at rette opmærksomheden mod det eksterne perspektiv. Det andet væsentlige bidrag til forandringslitteraturen er et styrket fokus på at anvende organisationens eksisterende ressourcer i omfattende forandringstiltag. Forandringslitteraturen har særligt fokus på, hvordan den forandrede organisation skal struktureres, organiseres og fungere. Dette studie fremhæver et behov for at supplere forandringslitteraturens primære fokus på den fremtidige situation med et styrket fokus på de organisatoriske karakteristika, der har været medvirkende årsag til, at organisationen har præsteret inden forandringens ikrafttræden. Et centralt element heri er kultur, som ofte ses som en forhindring frem for en ressource. Med baggrund i resultaterne i rapporten ses der et behov for at styrke opmærksomheden på de eksisterende organisatoriske ressourcer i forandringsledelseslitteraturen med henblik på at forbedre forandringsprocessen og den fremtidige organisations evne til at præstere. Ydermere indikerer resultaterne fra studiet, at forandringslitteraturen kan bidrage til at tage et strategisk forandringsledelsesperspektiv ved at inddrage overvejelser over de konstitutive effekter af forandringsinitiativer. Studiet bidrager ligeledes til den knappe litteratur inden for politiledelse. Studier af politiet er primært med baggrund i et kriminologisk perspektiv. Dog er der i de seneste år opblomstret en interesse for politiledelse som følge af New Public Management initiativer og offentlige reformer samt en tendens til øget gennemsigtighed i politiaktiviteter, herunder organisatorisk og ledelsesmæssigt. Dette studie fremhæver, at politiets særlige organisatoriske karakteristika fordrer, at de opblomstrende felt inden for politiledelse har særligt fokus på at koble de særlige organisatoriske og ledelsesmæssige forhold i politiet med de etablerede teorikomplekser inden for ledelses- og organisationsteori.

Det metodiske bidrag fra dette studie relaterer sig til to primære områder. Det første vedrører, hvordan man som forsker får adgang til en organisation som politiet, som er lukket for omverdenen givet dens funktion og dens historiske baggrund. Den anvendte metode har fokuseret på en specifik kobling mellem teori og praksis gennem hele studiet for på den ene side at få adgang til organisationen og på den anden side at engagere praktikerne i forskningen og forskningsresultaterne. Ydermere har feltstudier spillet en særlig rolle i at få adgang til

organisationen. I processen med at få dybere kendskab til organisationen har fortællinger fra felten vist sig af særlig relevans og har vist sig som en essentiel metodisk tilgang til at få adgang til en ellers lukket organisation. Det andet metodiske bidrag relaterer sig til spørgsmålet om, hvordan man skaber viden om omfattende forandringstiltag såsom politireformen, som er influeret af både eksterne faktorer og interne faktorer på forskellige niveauer. Dette studie har fundet, at multi-sitet metode (Marcus, 1995) kan bidrage til at gribe de forskellige niveauer ved at kombinere metoden med en analytisk triangulering på tværs af de forskellige sites. I studiet er feltstudiets dybde suppleret med traditionel strategisk analyse, aktionsorienteret forskningsaktiviteter og dokumentstudier for at få forståelse for de eksterne påvirkninger. Ved at kombinere multi-sitet metode med analytisk triangulering bidrager metoden til en måde at gribe dekoblinger mellem det eksterne, det ledelsesmæssige og det operationelle niveau. Således har den anvendte metode vist sig i stand til at kaste lys på afgørende forandringsledelsesmæssige aspekter ved at fremhæve dekoblinger mellem forskellige perspektiver og niveauer, som ellers ikke ville have været afdækket.

Det specifikt praksisrelaterede bidrag fra studiet relaterer sig til henholdsvis implikationer for politiet og bidrag til forandringsledelsespraksis i andre organisationer.

Det mest afgørende resultat fra studiet med implikationer for politiet er vigtigheden af at have en klart defineret strategi at støtte sig til i turbulente tider. Studiet viser klart, at i omfattende omstillinger er det essentielt at have en strategi for, hvordan man styrer og leder organisationen gennem forandringen, som også indbefatter politiets særlige organisatoriske karakteristika, hvorved man kan aktivere og anvende de unikke ressourcer i politiet, heriblandt den sociale kapital, som er en væsentlig ressource i politiet. Ydermere har reformprocessen vist vigtigheden af at have en strategi for, hvordan man indgår i den offentlige debat, og hvordan den eksterne styring af organisationen håndteres. Dermed viser studiet et behov for, at politiet arbejder med en strategisk forankret tilgang til det operationelle niveau, det ledelsesmæssige niveau og det eksterne niveau. I udarbejdelsen af disse strategier er det vigtigt at have øje for, hvad der beskrives som forskellen mellem symbolske politihandlinger og reelle politihandlinger på et højere niveau gennem overvejelser af efficiens vs. effektivitet, idet effektivitet udgør et eksternt determineret succeskriterie i modsætning til efficiens. I relation til specifikke forandringsledelsesmæssige aspekter indikerer studiet, at politiet med stor fordel kan bringe den gensidige tillid og uformelle relationer, som er unikke organisatoriske ressourcer i politiet i anvendelse på en konstruktiv vis for

at nå de organisatoriske mål. Samlet set vil disse aspekter medføre et dramatisk skift i politiet i relation til nogle af de primære emner, der er fremhævet i studiet såsom strategisk perspektiv, øget fokus på kultur, mere opmærksomhed på lederudvikling og en væsentligt stærkere relation med eksterne interessenter for at sikre ledelsesrum for politiet med henblik på at kunne sætte strategi og retning, som derved kan forbedre politiets evne til at "virke for tryghed, sikkerhed, fred og orden i samfundet" som angivet i Politilovens § 1.

Det generelle bidrag til praksis inden for forandringsledelse fra dette studie relaterer sig til nogle af de emner, der er berørt ovenfor. Her vil dog blive fremhævet nogle generelle forandringsledelsesmæssige emner med særlig relevans for praktikere i andre organisationer. Den første pointe, som bør fremhæves på trods af, at det ikke bidrager med ny viden, er vigtigheden af ikke at applikere generiske løsninger til lokale problemstillinger, men at det er nødvendigt at tilrette ledelsesteknologierne, som er udviklet i andre organisatoriske sammenhænge til den lokale kontekst. Tillige viser studiets resultater, at forandringsledelse må betragtes som mere end en planlægningsøvelse og en række organisationsudviklings-øvelser. Omfattende organisatoriske forandringer må nødvendigvis ledsages af en forandringsledelses-strategi. En sådan strategi skal rumme både det eksterne niveau, det ledelsesmæssige niveau og det operationelle niveau. At udvikle og indarbejde en sådan strategi er ressourcekrævende, men ressourcerne opvejes af de risici, der er forbundet med ikke at handle ud fra en klart defineret strategi i omfattende forandringer. Indholdsmæssigt påpeger studiet, at forandringstiltag bør rumme en identifikation af de organisatoriske og kulturelle ressourcer og anvende disse som værdifulde ressourcer frem for som forhindringer både i forandringsprocessen og i den fremtidige organisation. Ydermere viser studiet, at des højere grad af institutionalisering af organisationen, des vigtigere er det eksterne perspektiv. Derfor er det essentielt at inkludere både efficiens-faktorer og de eksternt bestemte effektivitets-faktorer samt at monitorere og influere på udviklingen i, hvordan organisationen vurderes på baggrund af de succeskriterier, der lægges vægt på hos de væsentlige eksterne interessenter for at sikre ledelsesrum, som er essentielt særligt i større omstillingsprocesser. Af særlig relevans for forandringer, der er politisk besluttet, bidrager studiet med en væsentlig pointe i forhold til ledelsens rolle. Resultaterne fra studiet viser, at det er ledelsens ansvar at vurdere og analysere, hvilke ressourcer den pågældende forandring måtte kræve i forhold til tid, økonomi og kvalifikationer. Disse tre aspekter er helt afgørende elementer i overvejelserne over

implementeringen og må nødvendigvis indarbejdes i en forandringsledelsesstrategi. Ansvaret for opgaven med at få det gjort tilfalder ledelsen.





# CONTENTS

<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Danish Abstract.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>	<b>25</b>
My way into change management .....	25
How the research study came about .....	27
Clearance and confidentiality .....	28
Good researcher – bad researcher.....	31
Research Question.....	33
The Draft Research Question.....	33
Revising the Initial Research Question.....	34
The Final Research Question.....	35
Labeling the Study – Case Study or Field Study? .....	37
Delimitations.....	38
Contributions to Practice, Theory, and Methodology.....	38
<b>Chapter 2: The Danish police reform in a historical context.....</b>	<b>41</b>
Contextual setting of the police and the current police reform .....	42
The birth of the police institution in Denmark .....	43
Historical demarcations and changes within the police.....	43
Context of the current police reform.....	45
Connections with the local government reform.....	47
The nature of the police reform .....	48
The Diderot effect in the police reform.....	52
Turn of events.....	53
<b>Chapter 3: Concepts and Theory .....</b>	<b>57</b>
The role of concepts in the thesis .....	57
Concepts central to the study.....	60
Organization.....	61
The concept of organization applied in the current study.....	70

Organizational culture and character.....	70
Culture .....	71
Organizational character .....	81
Theory .....	83
Change Management .....	85
Lewin's three-stage model vs. Pollitt and Bouckaert's three stage model .....	90
Contemporary change management model - John Kotter's eight-step model.....	90
Institutional theory .....	95
<b>Chapter 4: Methodology.....</b>	<b>111</b>
The nature of the research subject .....	112
Methodological concerns in capturing change .....	112
Methodological concerns in gaining knowledge of social organization.....	116
How to gain knowledge of the research subject.....	120
Ways of gaining knowledge of the research subject.....	120
Fieldwork.....	137
Fieldwork – action research vs. observation field studies .....	139
Breaking into the organization and breaking out.....	141
The relation between theory and practice.....	143
Using tales.....	147
Using tales and anecdotes in the study .....	149
<b>Chapter 5: Analysis.....</b>	<b>159</b>
Change management in the police reform.....	161
Cruelty or Concern – The Mindset behind Change Management in the Police Reform ...	161
Communication; Line Communication vs. the Grapevine .....	168
Activating employees; “We have a plan. How about you?”.....	178
Filling new positions; appointing managers, wish round, and interim management .....	181
Decoupling and couplings between change management initiatives and organization.....	187
Concluding remarks on change management in the police reform .....	190
Contents of the Police Reform .....	191
The Vision Committee's Report ‘The Future Police’ .....	191
Contents of the reform – The Future Police .....	200

A Coherent Reform.....	218
Duality between rational and symbolic initiatives in the reform.....	223
The managerial police reform.....	225
The Role of Culture in the Police Reform.....	228
Concluding remarks on contents of the reform .....	244
The External Control of the Police.....	247
The main stakeholders in the reform .....	249
The public debate which led to a review of the police reform .....	255
The review of the police reform .....	258
The external influence on the police.....	266
Different measures of success in the police reform – the many faces of effectiveness.....	268
Concluding remarks on external control of the police.....	282
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusion.....</b>	<b>283</b>
Findings in the analysis .....	283
Change management in the police reform .....	284
Content of the police reform.....	286
The external control of the police.....	287
Contributions to theory, method, and practice .....	288
Contributions to theory .....	288
Contributions to methodology .....	292
Contributions to practice.....	294
<b>References.....</b>	<b>303</b>



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to provide an understanding of how this research study came into being. How I, the researcher of the study, gained access to research this historical change within the Danish police. The study ranges from the very first discussions within the police on how to work with the reform, through the implementation and up until two years after the kick-off of the reform when the reform had clearly taken a downfall. The National Commissioner of Police was consigned to the Ministry of Justice by the newly appointed Minister, and parliament requested the police to develop a plan for how to get the reform back on track.

### *My way into change management*

During the late fall of 2005, I returned to Copenhagen Business School after having worked in industry for almost six years. I graduated from CBS in early 2000 and since then I had lectured and acted as supervisor for thesis students while working full time with organization development in a Danish pharmaceutical company. In my work with organization development in practice, I had done much work on change management.

The organization in which I had worked had gone through some rather comprehensive organizational transformations. Seeing the organizational consequences of these organizational restructures it became clear to management that the organization needed to pay more attention to how organizational transformation was managed. Change management had been a standard part of the mandatory management development programs in the organization for years. However, it seemed as if the change management lessons were not transferred from the class room into the organization. As a result, a colleague and I started working on developing a corporate concept for change management to serve as a framework for managers when faced with vast organizational changes in their practice. As a result of this work on professionalizing change management, the bitter experiences with previous organizational transformations, and a growing general tendency to implement vast organizational management initiatives, change management slowly started to be acknowledged as a management discipline rather than being something which human resource consultants give presentations on at management meetings when invited. In the process of developing the change management framework, my colleague and I studied how other large organizations worked with change manage-

ment. Surprisingly, the result was not impressive. Apparently, most of the organizations which we visited had no change management concept, framework or model even though we selected large organizations which had reputations for being top of the line in organization and management development. In our meetings with these organizations on their change management concepts, we found that – at best – they pulled out a generic communication plan which could be used for anything from product withdrawals, acquisitions, organizational restructurings, etc. The lack of change management professionalism in these large, established, highly professional organizations stood in stark contrast to the vast literature and consulting practice in the field. This contrast stood very clear to me during that time since I taught change management to academics at the business school and to managers while at the same time working with change management in practice and getting a feel for the practical application of change management in other organizations through working on developing the change management concept. Apparently there seemed to be a discrepancy between how much the academic literature, consulting practices, and management training programs paid attention to change management compared to how much attention it was given in practice during organizational transformation initiatives.

After finalizing the developing of the change management concept, I had the opportunity to apply the framework on a number of organizational change initiatives. By this time, I had developed a great interest in change management, and I began to consider digging deeper into the field through a research study. The interest in change management led me back to Copenhagen Business School from where I had graduated some six years earlier. I started working at the department of Management, Politics and Philosophy during the fall of 2005 with the aim of setting up a doctoral study in change management. During the first 6 months at CBS, I worked on an array of different projects centered around change management. Among these was an interesting study with Professor Flemming Poulfelt on organizations' view on cooperation with management consultants on organizational transformation projects. Furthermore, I did lectures in change management for graduate school students, executive programs, etc. Meanwhile, along with my work at CBS, I worked on setting up my PhD with valuable assistance and guidance from Professor Mette Mønsted. We developed a business model in which the research was partly financed by an organization which had a particular interest in change management. The model relied on doing action research in that I would work on change management challenges in practice part time and part time researching the practical work. The model led to some interesting dialogues with relevant organizations who were

interested in such cooperation. Quite early in this search for an interesting and relevant case, I started a dialogue with the National Police Commissioner's Office. From the beginning, the dialogue centered on doing some action research and a greater deal of communication and mediation of research based knowledge. The dialogue regarded setting up a research study on change management in the police reform which would end up being my empirical field of study for the following years and serve as the empirical object for this thesis. The dialogue with the police and the initial concerns regarding the research are described in the following section to give an understanding of how the research problem came into being.

### ***How the research study came about***

In early November 2005, the National Commissioner's Office contacted Professor Mette Mønsted at CBS to make an inquiry about the possibilities for linking the police closer to research based knowledge in regards to the coming police reform. Furthermore, the police wished to explore how to conduct research on management aspects of the police reform. Given my experience with change management and interest in further researching change management, Professor Mette Mønsted asked me whether I might consider the police reform as the empirical object for the study on change management which I was setting up. I agreed on a meeting with the people from the National Commissioner's Office even though I had just recently been given the opportunity to conduct an interesting PhD study on change management in the management consulting sector.

In November 2005, Professor Mette Mønsted and I met with people from the National Commissioner's Office. People with roles and functions closely connected to the then future reform and positions centrally based in the organization. At the meeting it became clear that the police could see that the police reform would be a management challenge of historical dimensions. A challenge which would change the police. Therefore, they wished to have someone conduct specific research on relevant management aspects of the police reform and to provide input on change management in the process. At this point in time, the police reform was at its very first stages. The reform bill had not yet been presented to parliament, employees and managers were fairly unaware of the scale and scope of the whole thing, and the news of an upcoming police reform had not yet had much impact on the general public. Needless to say, I was thrilled with the prospect of closely following and researching this grandiose transformation of historical dimensions of one of the most central

and influential institutions in society. Back from the meeting, I began working on a research design to be discussed further with the National Commissioner's Office.

Following the first meeting with people from the National Commissioner's office, I constructed a draft research design to be discussed with the police. From the very beginning it was clear that the research should contribute to both theory and practice. Therefore the input from the police was necessary in the construction of the research design. Furthermore, the research design would prove to be an important document for the police in granting me access to the organization, establishing buy-in from top management, etc. At the second meeting, the research design was presented and soon after a contract for the research study was signed by both parties, The National Commissioner's Office and Copenhagen Business School.

The negotiations ended up with an agreement that the research and I as researcher should contribute to practice with two main contributions, both evolving around knowledge diffusion. Firstly, I was to contribute with methods and perspectives during the change process and assist in raising constructive questions during the course of the research by presenting interim research findings to management. Secondly, it was agreed that I was to present the findings from the study at the end of the research by conducting presentations to relevant management groups. From these discussions it is clear that my main focus of the thesis is on management aspects of the police reform. With this focus, some may argue that I am biased towards management in that I do not take the employee point of view or that of the union. However, the current thesis should be seen in the light of a study which points to management challenges and therefore it does have a specific focus on management.

### ***Clearance and confidentiality***

It was clear from the first discussions about the research study that the study would include much interaction with people throughout the police organization. When working closely with the police it was evident that I would have access to confidential information during this longitudinal study stretching over a span of three years. Therefore it was necessary to go through a security clearance. The security clearance included very precise and strict directions for confidentiality. Furthermore, I was informed that the punishment for breaking this confidentiality was many years of imprisonment. These formal matters raised the need for discussions on confidentiality versus independent research.



Historically, the Danish police have been almost hermetically closed to the outside world. There has been a long tradition of solving matters internally in the police and not letting others gain access to the organization. The structure of the organization is so that it has been possible to sustain this closure up until this time. Locally, each Chief Constable has formally referred to the Ministry of Justice which has explicitly noted that it will not interfere with police business. Thus, police business and priority has very much been a local matter. The National Commissioner's Office has to some degree influenced the force by initiating country wide action plans on certain matters such as traffic, prostitution, gang related crime, etc. but at a very general level and with no specific formal mandate. Furthermore, complaints against the police have been investigated by the Prosecution Services which is a part of the formal and real organizational structure.

Traditionally, the police have nested in a comfort zone fairly free of disturbance and influence from the outside world. These matters are of relevance to the current discussions on clearance and confidentiality in that the research project can be seen as a marker of a dramatic shift for the police in regards to closeness/openness to society. Prior to the current study, only one PhD study has been conducted in the police. A study on the criminological aspects of community policing conducted by Lars Holmberg (1999). Thus, the current study is the first research study in the police with focus on police management. Of course several research studies have been conducted on the police and some with access to parts of the organization. However, the current study and that of Holmberg's PhD have been the only two research studies in which the police have committed themselves to open up to research from the polished floors in the National Commissioner's office to the backseats of a patrol car. Thus, opening up the organization to researchers, inviting us into the organization is new to the police. It is a tendency which is seen across the spectrum of relations. Thus, during the past years, the police have worked heavily on communicating police priorities and efforts to the general public, and with the reform, the organizational structure with a direct reporting structure from the police districts, to the National Commissioner's Office and the concurrent intensification of steering via contract from the Ministry to the National Commissioner and down to each district. Furthermore, the police work on being more transparent by making response times from each district available for the general public. All these initiatives are examples of how the police are opening up the organization these years. Some are at the initiative of the police and others at the initiative of others. The current research project falls into the line of initiatives which open up the

police. This was explicitly stated in the concrete discussions on confidentiality versus independent and free research. As mentioned above, the process of security clearing and signing confidentiality agreements made this question unavoidable very early in the process. Thus, the topic was discussed in an early meeting with the Chief Constable from the National Commissioner's Office who was in charge of the police reform. During the meeting, we spoke of practical matters in gaining access to other parts of the organization etc. When I asked her about the aspects of confidentiality, she immediately answered:

By bringing you in, we know that we open up. That is one of the reasons for initiating this.

(Chief Constable from the National Commissioner's Office in charge of the police reform)

In regards to publishing findings, the message was equally clear. When asked the question of how to approach matters of publishing, the response was:

We would like to know what you publish so that we do not get caught by surprise when the press starts calling us.

(Chief Constable from the National Commissioner's Office in charge of the police reform)

This openness from the top of the organization poses ethical challenges for research. The confidentiality agreement which has been discussed regarded only police business, not organizational and managerial aspects. However, in a study which stretches over several years, it is evident that the researcher experiences concerns which could be of interest to tabloid news. This was beautifully put by a contact person in the police who at a meeting quite early in the process mentioned: "Every household has dirty laundry". Altogether, the confidentiality aspects for the study have been clear. The current research is free and independent. Everything of relevance to the research object has been taken into account and will be presented in a form which best illustrates the research point. However, this is not a research study which is aimed at revealing the police or to establish sensational tabloid headlines. The study is on change management in the police reform. It revolves around change management, management, organization, and in turn contributes to an emerging field of police management.

### ***Good researcher – bad researcher***

As suggested above, it has been a long process of meetings and adjustments back and forth from the initial dialog with people from the police to the final agreement. Furthermore, when the final project was agreed upon, and the research project commenced, it took a long time to establish relations within the police. These matters are described further in the chapter on methodology. The important point in this regard for now is that gaining access to the organization, establishing sound relations, and – in Mats Alvesson's terms – 'breaking in' to the organization is a long and demanding process. Presenting the research in this thesis marks a critical moment. It is given that my relations with the police will somehow change with the publishing of the thesis. This is a classic dilemma in contemporary field work. In the early days of anthropology, field workers could travel to a distant culture, hop on a boat, travel back home, publish the findings and not worry about the locals relating to their studies. Today, this has changed dramatically. Fieldwork based research is read by those among whom the fieldwork has been conducted, and the research feeds into the discourse inside the field. Sometimes by disregarding research as non-sense and at others by regarding aspects of the research as constructive. The fact that the insights from the research feeds into the organization is one of the main reasons for the police to initiate a research collaboration in the first place. During the process of the study, I have given research based input on a regular basis, and based on the experiences, it is certain that the relations between me as a researcher and the police will change. Most probably the relations will not change to the worse or to the better. As described above, the published research is not a sensational recovery or a praise of the police as such. However, some aspects of the police will be presented as overlooked resources and others as adverse acts or tendencies. Therefore, most probably some of the parts of the research will be greatly welcomed by parts of the organization and disregarded by other parts of the organization. These concerns are in part fueled by the questions of doing research *among* or *for* the police which is thoughtfully described by Lars Holmberg (2000) who by the police is described as the first researcher who was invited into the organization. Holmberg describes how doing research *among* the police can be considered fairly harmful within the organization whereas doing research *for* the police will necessarily seem to the reader as if the researcher is taking part with the results that some relations between the researcher and police may be strengthened and others may be weakened (Holmberg, 2000). This current research is in part *for* the police. Not for the police in a sense that the police have had influence on the research and its conclusions. But for the police in the sense that the research is meant to contribute to both research and practice which is further described in the

chapter on methodology. Thus, as a consequence of the publishing of this thesis, I suspect that I will be considered good-researcher in some parts of the organization, and in others I will be considered bad-researcher. My intentions with the publishing are not to take sides. It is not to take the part of management, of employees, of the Vision Committee, or of the politicians. My hope is not to be considered good-researcher or bad-researcher. My hopes – and my expectations in the longer run – are for this research to contribute to the knowledge of change management, to organization theory, and to an emerging field of police management. In practice and in theory.

The descriptions above have framed how the research came into being. The purpose of the description has been to provide a context for the research study presented in this thesis. From this foundation, the research question will be presented in the following chapter.

## **Research Question**

This chapter will present the research question of the current thesis. Furthermore, it will frame the research question. The framing consists of first a short description of how the research question came into being. As we will see, the research question has been adjusted during the research study. In the outset of this chapter, I will describe how the research question has changed and why. Secondly, the framing will consist of crystallizing some of the concepts used in the research question. Thirdly, I will describe how the research question will be pursued in the analysis into three analytical chapters which discuss and analyze the implications of the research question. The thesis will answer to the research question by these three analytical research sub questions.

### ***The Draft Research Question***

In the previous chapter, I described how this research study came about. In the process of setting up the study, it was agreed that the study should contribute to practice by three main contributions: Contribute with methods and perspectives in the change process, act as sparring partner and assist in raising constructive questions regarding the change process, and give research based information externally to the academic community and internally at management rallies and seminars. These were the study's contributions to the police. The contributions of the thesis itself are not congruent with the contributions of the study. The study has contributed to the police partly by the three factors described above. Furthermore, the study has contributed to research through papers which have been presented at conferences, articles in journals (Degnegaard, 2006) and books (2008), and comments in newspapers and on television news.

The initial research question was formulated prior to the commencement of the study. It has been adjusted during the process of the study. The initial research question read as follows:

How can organizations consciously utilize the tensions in change management processes which emerge and erode during large reorganizations?

This first draft working research question of the study focused on some of the traditional tensions in change management. The intention of the study was to study how these tensions would emerge and erode in the Danish police reform. The tensions in question at first were planned/emergent change, order/disorder, bottom-up/top-down, employee/manager perspective, etc. The intention was to study

these tensions. The initial intentions of the study included studying the tension between planned and emergent change which has a central role in the more recent change management literature (Beer and Nohria, 2000). The intention was to study how change management was planned in the Danish police reform and how emergent changes during the transformation process challenged the plans and then to pursue this tension between planned and emergent change by studying its dialectics. The focus on order/disorder (Cooper, 1986) regarded a study of how order is perceived in the change process by employees and managers. Furthermore, a study of by whom or what the order appears to stem in the perceptions of the different stakeholders – and likewise with disorder. The study was also intended to study how top-down processes and bottom-up processes interacted (Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington, 2005; Beer and Nohria, 2000). How top-down and bottom-up processes supplemented each other in some situations and how they conflicted in other situations.

### ***Revising the Initial Research Question***

At the outset of the research study, I devoted much of my attention to understanding the planning of the police reform. During this first phase of the study, I spent most of my time with the program office in the National Commissioner's Office studying their activities. They were the architects of the project plans which were used in the entire organization. They completed the project plans, arranged information meetings, kick-off meeting, training seminars, etc. My intentions were to follow how these plans would change in the implementation, to study how the planning perspective could incorporate emergent changes, and how emergent changes could unfold in the planned context. The locus then, in the light of the initial research question, was plans and change management initiatives in the reform. The focus was to be on the iterations between planned and emergent change.

In the early stages of the study, after having studied the planning of the police reform from the perspective of the program office, I decided to spend some time getting to know the organization. And what better way to do so than to be where the rubber hits the floor. During the summer of 2006, I arranged to spend two weeks doing field studies in a police district. During these two weeks, I would spend much of my time with the uniformed police, some time with the criminal investigation department, and some time in the control room and the guardroom. During my field study, I found that the relation between planned and emergent change had a relevance which I had not previously been aware of. I realized that there was a tension between plans and emergence

which had a much different nature than the one which I had anticipated. I had anticipated that the tension would largely unfold as iterations between plans and emergence and that the preconditions for developing the plans would be fixed which would then allow for changes in plans to accommodate for emergence. However, what I found during my field studies was that there appeared to be a conflict between the change management plans and the organizational character. The preconditions of the change management plans and initiatives appeared to be different from the actual organizational conditions. I knew that the change management plans and the change management initiatives were based on rational-functional logic. However, the organizational character and what appeared to be distinct organizational resources were not rational-functional in nature. During the field studies, I experienced how the apparent disconnect – which in the following will be termed decoupling – between change management logic and organizational character appeared to have implications for the success of the change management. Furthermore, this apparent decoupling appeared to have potentially unforeseen implications for management in the police and for the police organization in the longer run. During the course of the study, a third element proved itself too important to disregard, that of the external control of the police. During 2008 there was a massive public debate about the police reform which linked the police reform to serious cases of police neglect. The public debate led to two consecutive nationwide analyses of police neglect and surfaced what appeared as a chaotic management situation in the police. These matters led to severe consequences for the police in terms of discretion and have had such an impact on the police reform internally in the police that the research included this third external aspect of change management in the study. Taking these experiences and lessons into account, the research question was adjusted and revised into the final research question which can be seen below.

### ***The Final Research Question***

The current thesis rests on the following research question:

**What are the change management challenges and the organizational implications of introducing a reform, which has a functional-rational logic of modernization and efficiency to the Danish police, which is a strongly institutionalized organization.**

The study will focus on the tensions between the functional-rational logic of the reform and the institutionalized police organization. The tensions will be analyzed by studying the couplings between the logic of the reform and the organizational characteristics.

A couple of clarifications in regards to the research question will be provided at this point. When in relation to the reform, the term ‘introduce’ is used rather than ‘implement’, it is to acknowledge that not all parts of the reform have necessarily been implemented and at the same time acknowledge that the mere introduction of elements may have implications even if they have not been implemented. The term couplings is used as a synonym for connect. By using the term couplings, I also include lacking coupling which could be described as decoupling or disconnects. When describing that the study will focus on the ‘tensions’, it is implied that the tension may evoke constructive as well as unfortunate implications. In the outset of this thesis, the police is recognized as an institutionalized organization, much in line with the perspective of Brunsson and Olsen (1993, p. 12): “Our analysis starts from the recognition that formal organizations and their environments are often institutionalized, which means that ways of thinking and acting are governed by culturally determined rules”. However, the definition of institutionalization which is unfolded in the current study stretches farther than to that of culturally determined rules. It includes culture, pattern, and organizational function as is discussed in the chapter on theory.

The analysis of the current study will be conducted based on change management initiatives which will provide the basis for discussing the consequences of couplings between organizational characteristics and management initiatives in the three analytical frames which are outlined below.

Implications of the tensions and couplings between the functional-rational logic of the reform and the institutionalized police organization will be analyzed with regards to:

- **Implications for the success of change management in the reform.**

In this section of the analysis, I will focus on the ‘how’ of the police reform. On how the reform has been introduced to the organization. The tension between the functional-rational logic of the reform and the institutional organizational character of the organization will be studied with focus on the implications on the success of the implementation of the reform.



- **Implications for the organization and the managerial space.**

This section of the analysis studies how the introduction of the police reform has implications on the managerial space in the police. It studies how the reform has implications on how management is conducted in the organization.

- **External control of the police.**

In this last section of the analysis, the influence by the external environment on the police reform will be studied. It will focus on the couplings between the external level, the management level and the operational level by studying how the police has been influenced by the external environment.

### ***Labeling the Study – Case Study or Field Study?***

The current study is a study of the Danish police reform. In that sense it could be described as a case study in the terminology of Stake (2000) as we will see below. However, in a business school context, the term case study evokes associations of studies of a study of a different nature which does not rely on several methodologies, among these field studies as is the case in the current study. Thereby labeling of the study falls into the problem which Stake puts forth in the following quote:

In many professional and practical fields, cases are studied and recorded. As a form of research, case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used. Perhaps a majority of researchers doing casework call their studies by some other name. Howard Becker (personal communication, 1980), for example, when asked what he called his own studies, reluctantly said, "Fieldwork," adding that such labels contribute little to the understanding of what researchers do. Some of us emphasize the name case study because it draws attention to the question of what specifically can be learned from the single case.

(Stake, 2000, p. 435)

Without labeling the current study as either a case study, a field study, or perhaps a multi-sited study (Marcus, 1995), we can relate to the fact that the study "draws attention to the question of what specifically can be learned from the single case" (Stake, 2000). The methodology applied in the study is described at length in the chapter on methodology.

### ***Delimitations***

When conducting a longitudinal study such as the Ph.D. upon which this thesis builds, it is necessary to ruthlessly delimit the study from various themes and perspectives which could have been both interesting and relevant. This was also the case in the current study. Some of the delimitations which were marked out at the outset of the study were as follows: It was decided that I would focus on organizational aspects of the reform rather than psychological aspects or group dynamics. Furthermore, I would not pursue the reform with the perspectives from the field of mergers and acquisitions since the reform entailed much more complexity than the merging of 54 police districts into 12 and thereby inscribing much more complexity into the reform. Finally, I decided not to assess the police professional aspects of the reform – the criminological dimension. Not to disregard the importance of the criminological aspects of the reform but to focus on the managerial and organizational aspects of the police reform.

Some of the delimitations in the current study were made after the empirical part of the research was commenced. As described above, the research question has been adjusted during the course of the Ph.D. as new knowledge and insights emerged. Some insights have proven to be of much relevance to the police reform but at a given time in the study appeared to be of a different nature than what would seem to be relevant according to the research question at that time and therefore seemed irrelevant to incorporate in the study. Among these perspectives in the current study is that of the role of the public debate, the media, and the political arena. During the study, however, it became evident that the role of the media and the political arenas have had such an impact on the police reform and played such an essential role that its consequences for the research demanded it be included in the study.

### ***Contributions to Practice, Theory, and Methodology***

The current study contributes to practice, methodology, and to theory. The contributions to practice have been described in the previous section and will be further described in the methodology chapter. The methodological contribution is in methods for accessing organizations which are not used to being open for research. The methodological concerns which are discussed in the chapter on methodology can give inspiration to using tales and anecdotes in research and to working with multi-sited methodologies in organizational studies. The theoretical contribution of the study will be

mainly to the theory on change management, to public management, and to the emerging field of police management. The contribution to change management lies in the methodological approach of the study and in the theoretical supplementation from institutional theory. The field of public management can gain some knowledge of the implications of managerial space when introducing rational-functional management technologies to institutionalized organizations. Police management is a field which is emerging. The field is just starting to emerge as police institutions are beginning to open up for research into police management by acknowledging the need for professionalization of management as we have seen in for example health management.



## CHAPTER 2: THE DANISH POLICE REFORM IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

January 9<sup>th</sup>, 2007. The Danish police reform had been in effect for nine days. 400 managers and union representatives were gathered in the lecture hall of the university in Odense, a city which is geographically located right in the center of the country to make it equally convenient to get to from each outskirt of the country. Management and union representatives from all 12 new districts were present at this major event which served as the kick-off for the police reform. The event included the three most powerful figures in the Danish police as key speakers; the National Commissioner of Police, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and the president of the police union. The first speaker was a consultant who had played a central part in planning the implementation of the reform within the police.<sup>1</sup>

“This is your once in a lifetime chance. Most likely, none of you will ever experience a challenge of these dimensions again. Career wise and development wise,” said the consultant from the podium when he addressed the room which was filled with police managers and union leaders. The historical dimensions of the police reform were all backed and elaborated upon by both the National Commissioner of police, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and the President of the police union as they took turns addressing the crowd in giving their talks on the police reform. After the kick-off, the message was clear to people who were speaking in the hallways: Top management believes that this is a reform of historical dimensions.

The kick-off event which is depicted above marked the formal initiation of the police reform. The reform came as no surprise as it had been on its way for years. Every participant had been informed of the content, scale and scope of the reform which had been clear since the summer of 2006 when the reform was passed in Parliament. Thus, the event did not necessarily shed light on any new information for the participants. The event did, however, underline the importance of the police reform and the fact that the reform is of historical dimensions for the police. This was made clear in the content of the event in how each of the speakers described the reform as a historical event and a one-shot opportunity for the Danish police. The latter was stressed by the Director of Public Prosecutions by stating several times that “there is only one shot in the barrel” as he stressed the importance of a successful implementation of the reform. The importance and the high priority of the reform were also stressed by the form and the format of the event. The very fact that the top 400

---

<sup>1</sup> The event marked the kick-off for reform of both the police and the prosecution service. However, this research focuses solely on the police reform.

managers and union leaders in the Danish police had been pulled out of operations at the same time to participate in the event demonstrated the importance of the reform and the attention of the success which top management would give to ensure that this historical task would be a success.

The historical dimensions of the police reform have been stressed not only by top management at management rallies. The message has been repeated in various settings from many voices throughout the reform process. This has been the case from the outset of the current reform which can be seen in the report from The Vision Committee which prepared the ground for the reform and served as architects of the proposal for the police reform. In the report, the historical dimensions of the police reform were described as follows:

The police reform recommended will be far and away the greatest renewal of the Danish police since 1938.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, translation from the Ministry of Justice)

The quotation above and the depiction from the kick-off event for the reform illustrate how the expectations for the police reform have been immense. This police reform which took effect on January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 thus marks what is described as the most comprehensive transformation since 1938. A reform of these dimensions does not take shape overnight. A brief description of how the reform took shape is described in the following.

## **Contextual setting of the police and the current police reform**

The following chapter provides an understanding of how the reform process has created expectations from within the police as well as for stakeholders outside of the police and to illustrate how the political scene has a relevant voice in the development and implementation of the reform. Thus, the aim of this section is not to serve as an account of the historicity of the reform for future historical or scientific use. The aim is to provide substantial information for understanding the implications of the historical process on change management aspects of the implementation of the reform.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> For more specific accounts of the historicity of the police reform, refer to the forthcoming PhD by Mikkel Jarle Christensen, Copenhagen University.

The point of departure in this chapter is a description of the establishment of the formal police institution and how it was linked to the changes which found place in Denmark during that time in history. Then a brief outline of historical demarcations within the police through time and how the changes have been linked to changes in society. Finally, the context of the current police reform is described with specific focus on links between the police reform and the local government reform.

### ***The birth of the police institution in Denmark***

The Danish Police is an old, established institution which carries more than 300 years of history. The police dates back to 1682 when Claus Rasch was appointed Chief of Police as the first person in Denmark.<sup>3</sup> He served in Copenhagen with a police force counting 17 officers (Politiforbundet 2002). The purpose and objectives of the police were in broad terms described in the Danish Act of 1683.<sup>4</sup> This Danish Act followed the introduction of absolute monarchy in Denmark in 1660. The Danish Act started out as an initiative by the king, King Frederik III, to create a legal foundation for the country altogether and to ensure that the current local laws did not interfere with the absolute monarchy. Thus, the ambition level of the Danish Act was immense, and the mandate for the commission established by the King in 1660 was not fulfilled. In the late 1660's, the level of ambition was lessened to the level of creating an act which could encompass existing Danish laws. In 1683, under King Christian V, The Danish Act was commenced which meant the formalization of the police institution. As it can be seen in these first formalized developments of the police, the progression of the police institution is closely linked to developments in the surrounding society. This will prove to be the case also in other large transformations of the police which follow through history.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Historical demarcations and changes within the police***

Throughout time, incremental changes in society such as industrialization and urbanization have brought new challenges and opportunities to the police. These changes have naturally led to

---

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.politi.dk/Koebenhavn/da/omos/om\\_politikredsen/historie/](http://www.politi.dk/Koebenhavn/da/omos/om_politikredsen/historie/)

<sup>4</sup> Chr. V's Danske Lov af 23. juni 1683

<sup>5</sup> The close link between changes in the police and in other parts of society has consequences for the change management aspects of the police reform in several ways.

changes within the structure and organization of the force. Furthermore, some specific events during the course of history have demarked dramatic changes for the police force.

The previously mentioned appointment of the first Chief of Police in Copenhagen as part of the Danish Act in 1683 can be seen as a first marker of the formalized police. Later in time, the passing of the Danish Constitution in 1849 was another notable change in Danish history which led to vast changes for the police service. Thus, following the Danish Constitution of 1849, the first specific Police Act was passed to set specific accounts for police service throughout the country. The Police Act was commenced in 1863 for Copenhagen and in 1871 for the remaining parts of the country. With this first Police Act of 1863, a corps of criminal police was established. With various addendums this first police act would prove to stand ground until 2004 when the current police act was passed.<sup>6</sup>

Following 1863, one of the notable changes in Danish police history is the establishment of a state police (Statspolitiet) in 1911.<sup>7</sup> The state police consisted of a Chief of State Police and a number of officers. Their tasks were largely to support the local Chief of Police when they required assistance and to prevent crime at their own initiative.<sup>8</sup> The local Chief of Police and the State Chief of Police were considered to be at the same rank and level of authority. This change was one of many during the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Denmark. In 1901 parliamentarism was introduced in Denmark. This period was marked by drastic changes such as women's right to vote for parish church councils in 1903, for municipal councils in 1907, and in 1915 women and domestic servants were granted the right to vote for parliament.

In 1919 after the First World War, the police were divided into 65 police districts, and with the addition of the districts in Southern Jutland, the number of districts were 72. Up until 1938, the police force was structured around municipal police entities with some changes in the responsibilities and jurisdictions of the state police along the way. One change was the expansion of the state police by 100 officers in 1933 as a means of mobilizing a southern border defense against the threats from Germany (Stevnsborg 1992, p. 99). The organization around municipalities

---

<sup>6</sup> Lov nr. 444 af 9. juni 2004. (Police Act no. 444, 9<sup>th</sup> June 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Lov nr. 105 af 13 maj 1911.

<sup>8</sup> Instruks 241 af 30.9.1911, here in the National Archives B1952 and B1953.



changed in 1938 with the unification of the Danish police. The primary reasons for introducing a unified police was the most 'rational.'<sup>9</sup> As of April 1<sup>st</sup> 1938, a national police commissioner's office (Rigspolitiet) was established, which meant that all police officers and other employees in the police were now employed by the state rather than by the municipality (Politiforbundet 2002).

Following the Second World War, the police was subject to some minor adjustments but not until 1973 did the police experience a larger reform of the geographical districts. This reform of the police followed the Danish local government reform in 1970. The primary purposes of the police reform of 1973 were to create sustainable police districts and to create main police stations which would gather administration and night shift personnel in one station. These same two arguments were posed for the local government reform in 1970. One regarding buildings which were spread out across boroughs, and the other regarding organizational entities – parishes in the case of the 1970 reform – being too small to function as sustainable units which lead to poor service for local citizens (The Ministry of the Interior and Health 2005). The police reform in 1973 changed the number of police districts down to 54 but did not bring about severe changes regarding other aspects of the police structure until the 2007 reform.

### *Context of the current police reform*

Prior to the enactment of the police reform bill in the early summer of 2006, the reform had been on its way for many years. The initial actions to establish a foundation for the reform were made in 1998 when the government then in office established a Police Commission that was given the mandate to evaluate the current police service.

The commission completed two white papers: One on the legal foundation for the police and one on the structure of the police. The white paper on the legal aspects of the police service (Police Commission's white paper 1410/2002) laid the foundation for the police act which was passed in 2004.<sup>10</sup> In the police act of 2004, the purpose and duties of the police are described in the first paragraphs which read as follows:

---

<sup>9</sup> This argument and the content of the unification of the police were opposed by the opposition in the parliament. The opposition argued that the unification would risk losing the proximity of police and population (Stevnsborg 1992, 99).

<sup>10</sup> Lov nr. 444 of 9. Juni 2004 om politiets virksomhed.

The purpose of the police is to maintain safety, security, peace and order in society. The police shall further this purpose by means of prevention, assistance and law enforcement.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, this white paper which states the purpose of the police and its tasks and responsibilities plays a central role in the police and in the police service.

The commission also delivered a second white paper on future police structure (Police Commission's white paper 1409/2002). To a large degree this white paper dealt with the specific issues which would in turn end up in the 2007 reform. In this white paper, the commission concluded that the demographic, cultural, social, and technological context of the police had changed since the previous geographically structural change of police districts which had taken place in 1973. The commission concluded that a reform of the Danish police should not exclusively focus on the geographic structure but rather include personnel management, culture, prioritization and performance management, technology, and aspects of the organizational structure (Police Commission 2002). However, the commission did not see it necessary to change the governance structure between the police districts, the National Commissioner's Office, and the Ministry of Justice (Røn 2007). This aspect would in the later Vision Committee's report show to be of great importance in that it evidently changed the governance structure into a direct management structure with severe consequences for management in the organization.

Following the commission's recommendations, a new committee – the 'Vision Committee' (Visionsudvalget) – was established by the government in 2003 (Ministry of Justice, press release 2003). This committee consisted of representatives from the police, the Prosecution Service, the Court Administration, the unions, the Ministry of Justice, local councils, universities, and corporations. The terms of reference for the Vision Committee were to further evaluate the police organization and to provide recommendations for improvements to the future organization of the police (Visionsudvalget 2005).

The changes within the police can roughly be divided into two types of changes: legal and organizational. Legal and organizational changes are mutually influential even though they are quite

---

<sup>11</sup> Lov nr. 444 af 9. juni 2004. Translation available on the official homepage of the Danish police. [http://www.politi.dk/en/About\\_the\\_police/duties/](http://www.politi.dk/en/About_the_police/duties/)

different in nature. Also, they appear differently. DiMaggio and Powell (1984) describe how “... structural changes are observable, whereas changes in policy and strategy are less easily noticed.” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1984, p. 79). This is also the case in the police reform and in the reorganization of the police. The organizational changes are very visible and as a consequence subject to much discussion within the police as well as in the public debate whereas the legal aspects which are the very foundation of the police reform and the organizational changes are not subject to much discussion. We have seen this schism in the passing of the police act.

### ***Connections with the local government reform***

This current reform has a close link to local government reform as was the case with the previous change in the police in 1973 which was not quite as extensive. The current police reform was commenced along with the local government reform. Both were commenced on January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007. As with the police reform, the local government reform was based on the results of the work by a commission, the Commission on Administrative Structure which was appointed in 2002 by the government then in office. The members of this commission largely consisted of representatives from local governments, ministries, and people with special expertise (The Ministry of the Interior and Health 2006) as was the case of the police reform.

The concurrent commencement of the two reforms is of course not a coincidence but rather intended to ensure the structural ties between the police and other authorities. These ties between the police and local government in some cases concern concrete tasks. This is the case in for example administration around issuing passports and driver’s licenses. The responsibilities for administering these concrete tasks, which are very resource demanding to an organization, were taken from the police and passed on to the municipalities with the reform.<sup>12</sup> Thereby the concurrent commencements of the reforms have ties regarding operational tasks. However, the principal argument for concurrent implementation of the police reform and the local government reforms would most likely to be found not at the practical level but rather at a structural level. Structural collaborations between the police and local government take a central part in the reform, as will be described below in the outline of the contents of the reform. The police reform attempts to pursue a

---

<sup>12</sup> Lov nr. 551 af 24. Juni 2005 om ændring af færdelsesloven og pasloven.

closer link between local governments and the police to ensure stronger coordination by formalizing the structural links. The report by the Vision Committee thus reads:

In the Committee's view, the police reform, taken in conjunction with the local government reform, will make for a distinct enhancement of the interaction between the police and the local governments.

(Visionsudvalget 2005)

The strong ties between the police reform and the local government reform thus have consequences at a broad spectrum regarding policy level, task allocation, geographic demarcation, and political prioritization which may in part explain the concurrent commencement of the two.

The fact that the police reform and the local government reform were commenced concurrently does not, however, necessarily be solely due to the practical reasons mentioned above. As seen in the description of the history of the police in the previous, it appears that the police have changed as society has changed. It is difficult to understand the dynamics inherent in the interconnectedness of changes within the police organization and changes within society by merely observing the changes at a historical glance as we have done in the previous section. To enrich the understanding of this interplay between police and society, we need to reach out to other theoretical bodies of literature which deal with such dynamics.

### ***The nature of the police reform***

Throughout the history of the police institution, we have seen that changes within the police have close ties to changes in other parts of society. Given that the current police reform and the local government reform are structurally interconnected to such a great extent, the proposed link between changes in surrounding society and the police proves to exist also in the current reform. The outline in this chapter has focused primarily on domestic historical changes in society which have had connections with changes in the police. The changes in society, however, are embedded in an international setting. This international context cannot be disregarded in the case of the current police reform when discussing change management aspects of the reform due to the nature of the reform.

The reforms in question are thus both modernization and renewal programs which are commonly recognized from the New Public Management wave (Hood, 1991) which has swept across the public landscapes all across the world in the wake of globalization (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004), however, with great differences in how reforms and New Public Management tools are unfolded (Peters 2001, Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004, Greve 2006).

The reasons for introducing these reforms are based on rational-functional arguments of efficiency and effectiveness through modernization initiatives which are general themes of public reforms. This is seen both internationally as well as in the Danish public sector. The Danish police reform is one of several modernization reform initiatives that have swept through the Danish public sector since the beginning of the 1980s. These reforms, along with the introduction of new public management initiatives, have set the management agenda in the public sector since the first program of its kind got underway in 1983; it was marketed as ‘the modernization programme’ by the conservative government of the time (Greve, 2006).

In recent decades, reform has been associated with positive connotations. The term suggests that the change is intended and beneficial. Pollitt and Bouckaert describe it as follows:

In English we are conscious that ‘reform’ is only one among the congeries of alternative and competitor terms (including, significantly, several from the business world, e.g. ‘transformation’ and ‘reinvention’, as well as others with a longer public sector history, e.g. ‘modernization’ and ‘improvement’). Like all these words, ‘reform’ is a ‘loaded’ term, in the sense that it strongly implies not just change but beneficial change – a deliberate move from a less desirable (past) state to a more desirable (future) state.

(Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004, p. 15)

The term reform signifies a positive action. Much in line with the term ‘change’ which has the same connotations during these years as we have seen lately in the campaign slogan by Barack Obama in the American presidential election which focused on the positive aspect of the term change. An aspect which Du Gay describes as follows:

‘Change,’ in today’s management terminology, is often represented as an unalloyed good.

(Du Gay, 2000, p. 136)

The police reform proposes a vast change – reorganization by ‘modernizing’ all vital organizational elements. The reform specifically targets changes in the chain of command throughout the organization, the organizational structure in each district, locus of prioritization through decentralization, the size and number of districts, title designations, personnel and management policies, IT systems, control systems, performance management systems, management education and police school training for police officers. The changes in each of these areas have been described in varying detail in the report by the Vision Committee and in the reform bill as we will see in the following chapters.

The Danish police reform is what we can describe as a public management reform which rests on the main pillars of New Public Management initiatives which have been outlined by Hood (1991) as follows:

1. *Hands-on professional management* which gives management the power, discretion, and mandate to set direction and make decisions. Factors which are essential in the Danish police reform in which establishment of line management and breaking down consensus management have been essential factors as seen in the following chapters.
2. *Explicit standards and measures of performance*. In the Danish police reform, the introduction of service contracts to the level of Police Commissioners and the intensification of measures such as case review processes and particularly response times for the 24-hour incident management services clearly mark this tendency in the Danish police reform.
3. *Greater emphasis on output controls*. In the police reform, great parts of personnel management and budgets are decentralized to the districts as opposed to earlier. These aspects mark the focus on output control rather than managerial control or process intervention from the National Commissioner’s Office.
4. *Shift to disaggregation of units in the public sector*. This tendency to break with formerly monolithic units into so called corporatized organizational units in a line management structure is also seen clearly in the police reform with the establishment of a single-file line of management from the Minister of Justice, to the National Commissioner, and into the districts through the Police Commissioners.
5. *Shift to greater competition in public sector*. This aspect is referred to by Hood as ‘rivalry’ as a driver of greater efficiency. This tendency is seen in the Danish police reform both in

the structure of the districts which is based on ten comparable units and in the personnel mindset which focuses more on individual performance, etc.

6. *Stress on private-sector styles of management practice.* This aspect refers to the introduction of management technologies from the private sector to create flexibility and efficiency in the public sector. This aspect is also quite evident in the police reform as we will see how an array of management technologies has been introduced to the organization as part of the police reform.
7. *Stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use* which focuses on cutting costs, prioritizing efforts and comparing to expected outcome. This last doctrine of New Public Management is equally relevant in the Danish police reform as the previous as the reform has brought much focus to prioritization and to economy of police actions compared to its expected outcomes. These discussions are highly relevant both in the strategic focus areas for the police and also in the public debates and the political negotiations on how the police should prioritize its efforts.

As we can see above, the NPM doctrines which were outlined by Hood in 1991 are all strongly reflected in the Danish police reform. How come the Danish police reform is so much alike traditional NPM initiatives as we have seen above? One explanation could be rational-functional in that these were the pillars of public management reform which were best suited to public organizations throughout the developed world. However, given the different contexts between societies, and between sectors, this explanation cannot stand alone. In this search for an understanding of the relation between the police and other parts of society, institutionalism offers a framework for an enriched understanding in this field with the concept of isomorphism which is elaborated upon in the theory chapter. Isomorph means 'same shape'. Isomorphism suggests that organizations look to other organizations which are believed to be successful and that organizations mimic these organizations in order to obtain legitimacy as in the case of the successful organization. DiMaggio and Powell describe isomorphism as follows:

Organizations tend to model themselves after similar organizations in their field that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful. The ubiquity of certain kinds of structural arrangements can more likely be credited to the universality of mimetic processes than to any concrete evidence that the adopted models enhance efficiency.

(DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991, p. 70)

Isomorphism rejects the solely rational arguments of organizational design by referring to factors of perceived success and legitimacy. In the case of the Danish police reform, the reasons for introducing the police reform with the managerial technologies which rest on the traditional doctrines of new public management (Hood, 1991) must necessarily be ascribed to the legitimacy of these initiatives in society. In Denmark and internationally along with the reform wave and NPM wave which has been described above. Thus, an essential explanation for the introduction of the police reform is that of legitimacy – of jumping the wagon of a predominant wave which is considered successful in other parts of society and other parts of the world which we consider successful forerunners in public management.

### **The Diderot effect in the police reform**

Another explanation which complements the functional and the legitimacy arguments is based on what is described as ‘the Diderot effect’ (McCracken, 2005). The Diderot effect has its name from Denis Diderot (1713-1784) who was chief editor and author of the first encyclopedia, *Encyclopedie*. The Diderot effect takes its name after McCracken (1988) who used the term to describe a dynamics of renewal which Diderot elaborated upon in an essay which he titled “Regrets on Parting with My Old Dressing Gown” (McCracken, 1988). In his essay, Diderot describes how he found himself sitting in his study and realizing that the study had undergone a change from one end to the other: “It was once crowded, humble, chaotic, and happy. It is now elegant, organized, beautifully appointed, and a little grim.” (McCracken, 1988, p. 118). McCracken (1988) points out how Diderot describes the change as a gradual change which started out with the dressing gown which was a gift from a friend. Diderot replaced it with his previous “ragged, humble, comfortable old wrapper” and later realized that this was to be just the first step in a transformation of his study. Thus, just weeks after the arrival of the dressing gown, the desk seemed not up to standard and so it was replaced, then his bookshelf, clock, chairs, etc. were replaced to live up to standard. McCracken notes how Diderot concludes that the entire transformation of his study was the work of an “imperious scarlet robe [which] forced everything else to conform to its own elegant tone” (1964: 311 in McCracken, 1988, p. 119). McCracken (1988) emphasizes how the transformation which the Diderot effect results in will likely result in a loss of something valuable. Thus, he writes:

Diderot looks back with fondness and regret to his old dressing gown, and its “perfect accord with the rest of the poor bric-a-brac that filled my room.” He has lost his



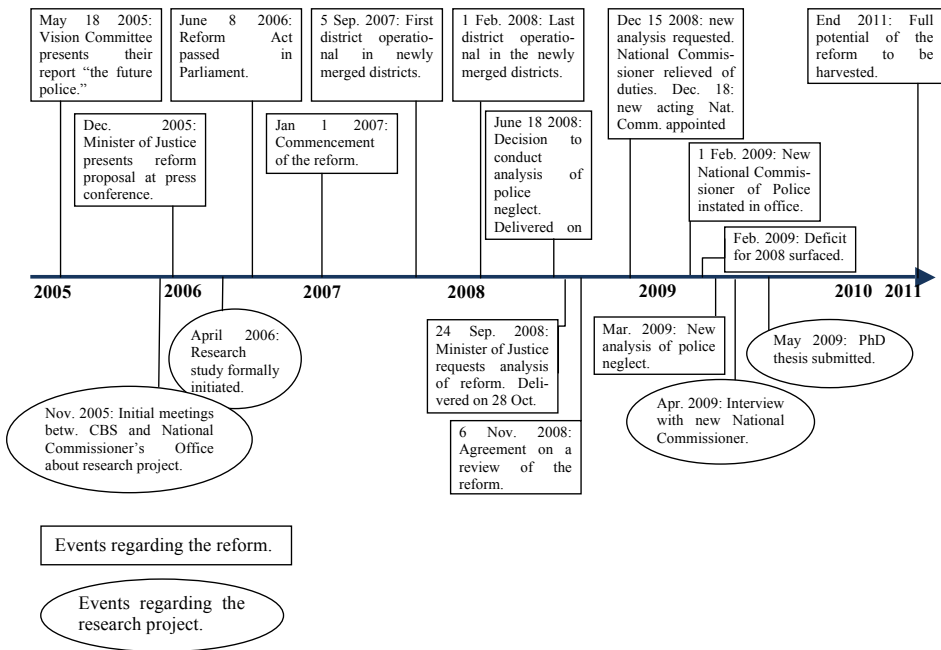
dressing gown, the bric-a-brac, and most important, the accord itself. “Now the harmony is destroyed. Now there is no more consistency, no more unity, and no more beauty.”

(McCracken, 1988, p. 119)

The reason for bringing Diderot’s dressing gown into the current discussion of the police reform is that the dynamics behind the Diderot effect may partly explain the vast scale and scope of the introduction of management technologies as part of the new public management wave. When transferred the dynamics in the Diderot effect to a reform setting, one can imagine how one managerial initiative leads to renewal of the remaining organizational aspects. Furthermore, the Diderot effect suggests that one is lured into focusing only on what should be renewed and changed and at the same time tends to disregard the positive aspects of the current or previous situation. In the analysis, we will see how these two dynamics have been very valid in the Danish police reform. Both the fact that every aspect of the organization has been redesigned to be transformed and the fact that there has been focus on the new situation – the future police – with very little focus on current and previous values, resources and virtues of the police which should be brought into the new reformed police.

## **Turn of events**

This section will present main turn of events in the police reform as well as their correlation to the research project at hand. The events are what is determined as critical incidents (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, and Maglio, 2005) in regards to the current study. Thus, these critical incidents may not be the most relevant for another purpose and surely the timeline is not an attempt to provide a full chronology of major events in the police reform. The purpose of this section is to provide a fairly quick overview of what went on from May 2005 until now with particular attention to events which have shaped the current study.



As the timeline above suggests, the police reform took off on May 2005 when the Vision Committee presented their report "The Future Police." That report serves as the blue print for the police reform. As for the present studies, they had their point of departure in November 2005 when the initial meetings between CBS and National Commissioner's Office took place about establishing this research project in order to study the police reform. In April 2006 the research study was formally initiated, and in May 2009 the thesis was submitted. In chapter 4 on methodology, is a fuller insight into the chosen empirical data.

Returning to the police reform itself, the Minister of Justice presented the proposal for the reform at a press conference on December 16<sup>th</sup> 2005, and on June 8 2006, the Reform Act was passed in parliament. January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 then marks the commencement of the reform and on September the 5<sup>th</sup> 2007 the first district is operational in the newly merged districts, and on February 1<sup>st</sup> 2008 the last district is operational in the newly merged districts.

In the early summer of 2008, the public debate on police neglect became heated, and on June 18 2008 a decision between Minister of Justice, National Commissioner of Police and Director of Public Prosecutions was made to conduct an analysis of police neglect. On September 5, the analysis on was delivered. The analysis included 298 cases of police neglect. Only 21 months after the commencement of the reform and less than a year after the last district was operational in the new, merged districts, the Minister of Justice requested an analysis of the reform to review the reform on September 24 2008. On October 28, the National commissioner of Police and Prosecutions services delivered their review of the reform and on November 6 settlement parties agreed on a review of the police reform financed by an additional 843 million DKK.

Later that year, additional cases of police neglect surfaced in the public debate and on December 15 the Minister of Justice requested a new analysis and in the following days the National Commissioner of Police was relieved from his duties. The Minister of Justice appointed a new acting National Commissioner of Police on December 18 who was instated in office on February 1<sup>st</sup> 2009. Shortly hereafter, a deficit of 340 mill DKK in the police for 2008 surfaced and on March 1<sup>st</sup> yet another analysis of police neglect was presented by the Minister of Justice containing an additional 120 cases.

All in all, the first quarter of 2009 has brought a new National Commissioner of Police and many changes to the structure and strategy of the National Commissioner's Office. The interview conducted with the Commissioner in April 2009 about the reform and future challenges of the police is included in this thesis in the analyses.



## **CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTS AND THEORY**

This chapter frames the theoretical foundation of the thesis. It provides an understanding of the theories which are necessary to understand the analyses within the study. The aim of the chapter is not to construct a comprehensive description of the theoretical fields in question or to give a thorough introduction into these theoretical fields. Rather, the aim is to introduce aspects of the theoretical fields which are relevant to the analysis in the thesis. Equally important, the aim is to provide an understanding of the reasons behind the selection of the theoretical bodies upon which the study rests.

The chapter is structured into two main sections. The first section frames concepts which are central to the thesis. It will describe the importance of concepts and the need for crystallizing central terms into concepts. Furthermore, the section will frame concepts which are central to the thesis such as concepts of organization and organizational character. The second section frames the theory which is applied in the thesis. The section sets out discussing the role of theory in the thesis and in particular its role in the analysis of the study. Following this framing of the role of theory, the primary theoretical contributions will be framed. The strands of change management theory which have particular relevance to the reform will be presented. Change management theory is supplemented by institutional theory which is then presented with particular attention to its contribution to the current study.

### **The role of concepts in the thesis**

This thesis is about organizational change. It deals with management challenges in organizational change. More specifically, we focus on managerial aspects of the organizational changes in the police reform. Thus, this thesis is about change management in the police reform. However, organizational change can take many forms and be inscribed with many meanings. In this study, organizational change refers to the definition which is used by DiMaggio and Powell which they describe as follows:

By organizational change we refer to change in formal structure, organizational culture, and goals, program, or mission.

(DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991: 81).

From this seemingly clear description of the objectives of the current study, an array of questions arises even before we can begin to discuss and analyze change management challenges in the police reform. Questions such as: What is organizational change, what is an organization, etc. These specific questions are in themselves a call for a further precision in the terminology which is brought into play in the study. The questions stand forth with a demand for clarifying and defining concepts which are central to the theoretical foundation of the study and thereby an understanding of the analysis in the study depends on the meaning which is inscribed in the use of the concepts in this specific context. These definitions and explanations thereby act as a necessary crystallization of words into concepts. Furthermore, and more specifically, they act as contextualization of these concepts. Precision in this sense is necessary due to the ambiguity of the concepts in use. Koselleck (1982) presents the importance in an illustrative manner. He describes what we call crystallization of a word into a concept as “stamping of a word as a concept” (Koselleck, 1982, p. 418). He further marks that the consequences of this crystallization depends on the use of the word – and in turn the concept. He points out that this process “might occur without noticeable disturbance, depending on the linguistic use of sources. Primarily this is because of the ambiguity of all words, a property shared – as words – by concepts.” (Koselleck, 1982, p. 418) Koselleck thus states that words and concepts are ambiguous. The ambiguity of words, however, is not necessarily a given. Koselleck notes that the ambiguity of a word can vaporize through the material meanings of a word in use. He clearly states that “In use ... a word can become unambiguous.” (Koselleck, 1982, p. 418). Concepts, on the other hand, are of a different nature. Concepts will always necessarily remain ambiguous. Thereby, concepts are linked closely to the context. Context thus plays a central role in dealing with words, concepts, and the crystallization process of a word into a concept. The relation between word and concept and the anchorage to context is described by Koselleck as follows:

a concept must remain ambiguous in order to be a concept. The concept is bound to a word, but is at the same time more than a word: a word becomes a concept when the plenitude of a politico-social context of meaning and experience in and for which a word is used can be condensed into one word.

(Koselleck, 1982, p. 419.)

This description of the nature of a concept serves as a clarification of the concept of concept. This current discussion regarding ‘concept’ took its outset as we were about to define some of the

concepts which are pivotal in this study. Thus, the clarification of the nature of concepts is relevant in that it describes what we are dealing with. This clarification, however, does not only provide an understanding of what a concept is. It also provides an understanding of why concepts are of vital importance to the study. The reasons for this are to be found in the specificity of concepts. The quote above by Koselleck describes how the specific context frames and establishes the concept. This contextual premise of a concept provides the specificity which enables concepts to serve as razor sharp analytical tools. In a concept the plenitude of context can be encompassed with precision by its specificity. Koselleck describes the uniqueness of a concept as follows:

A concept binds together the variety of historical experience with a collection of theoretical and practical references into a relation that is as such only given and actually ascertainable through the concept.

(Koselleck, 1982, p. 419.)

Thus, in one word, a concept provides a rich context with specificity and precision which are essential in creating a qualified analysis.

These discussions on Koselleck's work contribute to this study in several ways. The distinction between word and concept and the contextual premise of a concept provides a concrete foundation for the chapter on theory. The discussions prove the necessity of clarifying concepts and theories which are central to the study and illustrate the gains from doing so. The discussions not only lend themselves to create the foundation for the analysis of this study. They also contribute to the analysis itself. Within the analysis, we will discuss the ambiguity of some of the empirical findings. Specific words are inscribed with different meanings in different parts of the police reform. Words such as 'modernization' or 'renewal' are central to the police reform as will appear in the following chapters.<sup>13</sup> From the discussions above, we know that these words are ambiguous at the outset. We also learned, however, that the word can become unambiguous in use. The ambiguity of the word vaporizes in action. In the words of Søren H. Jensen: "Clarification is created in the course of action, in the implementation" (Jensen, 2003, p. 19). In action, by using the concepts, and by discussing them in their relevant context, the concepts crystallize as the ambiguity vaporizes. Mary Jo Hatch describes this process with an illustration of concepts as baskets which must be filled with

---

<sup>13</sup> See the analysis chapter 'Contents of the police reform' for examples of how these terms play a central role in the reform.

experience: “Concepts are like empty baskets to be filled with experience.” (Hatch, 1997, p. 10). In the case of the police reform, the words and descriptions in the reform bill, the reform act, the Vision Committee’s report, etc. are highly ambiguous. The ambiguity will remain until the directions and descriptions are turned into action. In the discussions of concepts central to the study, we will work with these concepts by relating them to their context of the police reform and the relevant theories to crystallize them in the face of their context. We will primarily use the report by the Vision Committee to contextualize the concepts in the context of the police reform given the central role of the report in the reform.<sup>14</sup>

### **Concepts central to the study**

The specific questions regarding definitions and concepts which this chapter deal with, are supplemented by a discussion of the theoretical foundation of the study. The theoretical discussions evolve around the three following bodies of theory: *organizational theory*, *change management theory*, and *institutional theory*. As the discussion unfolds, it will be clear that institutional theory, and in particular what is described as ‘new institutional theory’ has a central role in the study and therefore much of the discussions will be centered around the parts of institutional theory that have particular relevance in the study. Firstly, however, we must go back to what was stated in the beginning of this chapter. Back to the fact that ‘this study is about organizational change. Given the pivotal role of ‘organizational change’ we will take this opportunity to discuss and frame this concept. To do so, we must pursue a clarification and crystallization of a few other concepts to which organizational change is tied closely. Thus the concepts of ‘organization’, ‘organizational characteristics’, and ‘culture’ will be framed prior to a framing of the concept of organizational change. Following these conceptual crystallizations, we will go on to discuss the three main bodies of theory and their roles in the current study.

---

<sup>14</sup> See the analysis chapter ‘Contents of the police reform’ for a discussion on the role of the report by the Vision Committee in the reform.



## ***Organization***

The first and last entity of a study on organizational change is, necessarily, the organization. Therefore, the concept “organization” will be discussed to the extent that it enables us to crystallize the term into a concept upon which we can build upon and upon which the analysis can rest.

The exercise of conceptualizing ‘organization’ is a difficult task. As Gareth Morgan states in his classical work on different perspectives on organizations, “Images of Organization” (Morgan, 1986),

...the problem of understanding organization is more difficult in that we do not really know what organizations are, in the sense of having a single authoritative position from which they can be viewed.

(Morgan, 1986, p. 341)

Morgan provides several different perspectives on organizations; Organizations as machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psychic prisons, flux and transformation, and instruments of domination (Morgan, 1986) rather than taking one single position. He further notes that “many writers on organization attempt to offer such a position – for example, by defining organizations as groups of people who come together in pursuit of common goals”, and that “the reality is that to an extent we are all blind men and women groping to understand the nature of the beast.” (Morgan, 1986, p. 341). Morgan’s reluctance to take one specific position in regards to crystallizing the term organization into an unambiguous concept could thus seem to oppose the exercise at hand which is just that: crystallizing the term organization into a concept. However, Morgan conceptualizes the term organization in his own way. He frames organization into a context in which he aims at breaking free of the instrumental orientation which he felt to be the most influential at the time of his writing. He describes this instrumentalism in organization as follows:

Organizations are rarely established as ends in themselves. They are instruments created to achieve other ends. This is reflected in the origins of the word organization, which derives from the Greek *organon*, meaning a tool or instrument. No wonder, therefore, that ideas about tasks, goals, aims, and objectives have become such fundamental organizational concepts.

(Morgan, 1986, pp. 22-23)

Morgan thus opposes this instrumentalism and creates his own position from which to analyze organization. From his position, using several metaphors which do not mutually exclude, and by

working with the interrelation between these metaphors, created his position in regards to organizational analysis. He writes about his analytical position in the following words:

The analytical scheme that I have developed is thus best understood as a sensitizing or interpretive process rather than as a model or static framework. Good analysis rests not just on spotting “what metaphor fits where” or “which metaphor fits best,” but in using metaphor to unravel multiple patterns of significance and their interrelations.

(Morgan, 1986, p. 342)

From this analytical framework, Morgan then coins the term “*imaginization*”: organization as a way of thinking”. By coining this term, he provides a position in which he crystallizes the term organization into a concept which is to be understood as a way of thinking. (Morgan, 1986). He notes how this conceptualization challenges the dominant way of thinking about organization and provides a new position from which organizational analysis can flourish:

...the word organization derives from the Greek *organon*, meaning tool or instrument. It is thus hardly surprising that the concept of organization is usually loaded with mechanical or instrumental significance. In coining the word *imaginization* my intention is to break free of this mechanical meaning by symbolizing the close link between images and actions. Organization is always shaped by underlying ideas and ideas; we organize as we imaginize; and it is always possible to imaginize in many different ways.”

(Morgan, 1986, p. 343)

The position by Morgan thus establishes the link between the epistemological concern regarding how we think about organization and the ontological questions of what is organization.<sup>15</sup> Without answering the ontological question, Morgan establishes an observant position from which he works with organization. From this position he acknowledges the fact that the position and the perspective of the observer have influence on what is being observed. In regards to his specific field of study, organization, he thus writes:

In recognizing the close link between thought and action in organizational life, we recognize the way we “read” organizations influences how we produce them.

(Morgan, 1986, p. 343 f.)

---

<sup>15</sup> Ontology is the study of the nature of things or of existence. Epistemology is the study of the nature of knowledge (Burr, 1995)

This quote is essential to understanding Morgan's position in regards to the epistemological and ontological questions derived from the theory of science. Morgan challenges the instrumental position as he states in the quote above and moves into a social constructivist paradigm in which the way we read and create meaning from the observed in turn reproduces the observed. The social constructivist notion of organization is rather clearly described by Robert Cooper as follows:

each statement about "system" or "organization" is not merely a piece of information about a particular subject matter but – significantly – the statement "produces" what it denotes.

(Cooper, 1986, p. 332)

Cooper takes a systemic approach to organization whereas Morgan refrains from resting within one of the traditional specific theoretical tradition. In Morgan's spirit, I will refrain from subscribing to one specific position in regards to the concept of organization. Rather, piecing together a conceptualization of the term organization which can serve as a way of thinking about organization in the police reform. This way, the term is conceptualized in its context. Crystallizing the term organization into a concept in this context will necessarily include surveying how the term 'organization' is used in the police reform and how organization is perceived in the theories which are central in the analysis of the current study.

In this pursuit of conceptualizing organization, we will take the point of departure from the word of Weber who has provided a very specific description of the concept of organization. Weber's has a central place in the theoretical framework of this study in that his work has had much inspiration on organization theory, institutionalism, and in particular on public administration. Therefore, Weber is already an essential part of the context of this study and he also provides a good outset for defining organization due to the specificity of his definition. Weber thus defines organization as follows:

A social relationship which is either closed or limits the admission of outsiders will be called an organization (...) when its regulations are enforced by specific individuals: a chief and, possibly, an administrative staff, which normally also has representative powers.

(Weber, 1978, p. 48)

This definition by Weber puts forward two founding premises. He notes that organization is a social relationship and that admission of outsiders is limited. Furthermore, Weber points out that organization necessarily has regulations which are enforced by specific individuals and that there is

a chief. The points about how an organization necessarily has regulations will not be discussed further as it is clear how the police organization is regulated by specific individuals. Politicians decide prioritizations of police service, the Ministry of Justice specifies demands for the police through the service contracts, and the National Commissioner passes these prioritizations down into the organization through service contracts. These demands are then unfolded in practice by the managers within each district. Thereby the hierarchy which Weber suggests is clear within the police organization.<sup>16</sup> Weber also suggests that the organization has an administrative staff which in the police is also fairly clear. Both in the National Commissioner's office and in each district. One of the intentions of the current police reform was to decentralize from the National Commissioner's Office to districts. This has resulted in an increase in the role of the administration in each district and thereby also the representative powers of the administration (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Thus, the concerns regarding how regulations are enforced by individuals and how there is an administrative staff which has representative powers are both clearly understood in that they do not require more discussion. The two initial premises, however, are of a more ambiguous nature and therefore require some discussion and crystallization. In the following, we will discuss the social premise of organization and the premise of limited admission of outsiders to conceptualize these two organizational premises within our understanding of organization in this study.

### *The social premise of organization*

The first premise regarding social relationship denotes that organization is more than lines on an organizational chart or a product.<sup>17</sup> It is no surprise that the social aspect is the first and foremost premise of organization in this study as in other works within the social sciences. Weick also emphasizes the social by his focus on interaction. Weick has a central position within contemporary social sciences and in the literature on organizational change which we will see below in the description of change management theory. In Weick's work on sensemaking in organizations, he mentions two different descriptions of organization which accommodate sensemaking and coordination. One emphasizes routines and generic subjectivity (Weick, 1995) which will not be

---

<sup>16</sup> See the analysis chapter 'Contents of the police reform' for a further discussion of the performance structure within the police after the reform.

<sup>17</sup> See a discussion on how the police reform is more than plans and a map of the territory in the chapter 'Contents of the police reform.'

elaborated on further in this context. The other emphasizes “quality of interaction” and thus puts the social aspects in the foreground as in the case of Weber’s definition. Weick words this description as follows:

The description of organization as a “quality of interaction” seems especially apt, because it is precisely the quality of susceptibility of an interaction to replacement and substitution of the interactants that is an important defining property of organization.

(Weick, 1995, p. 73)

In this description, Weick focuses on how organization depends on the quality of susceptibility of the interaction; on the ability of organization to retain and reproduce meaning and sensemaking in the organization even when individuals are replaced. Thus, Weick transcends the social from the relation to both an interaction between the meaning which is inscribed within individuals and to the interaction between these individuals in their mutual process of exchanging meaning. This process of exchanging meaning and reproducing meaning is what Weick describes as making mutually reinforcing interpretations (Weick, 1995). He stresses the importance of being able to do so in the organization even when the individuals in the organization are replaced. Weick thus writes:

If the capability to make mutually reinforcing interpretations is lost when people are replaced, then neither organization nor sensemaking persist.

(Weick, 1995, p. 73.)

In regards to the social premise of organization, we see that the definitions by Weber and Weick can serve as some guidance. The social is underlined also by Robert Cooper whose work derives from systems theory (Cooper, 1986). Cooper confirms the social aspect of organization and furthers that the social organization entails an intention.

Social organization may be defined as a structure which relates people to each other in the general process of managing nature and themselves

(Cooper, 1986)

The intention which Cooper inscribes is that the organization intends to manage nature and themselves. The intention of organization may be more or less clear and more or less explicit. For example an emergent organization such as a lodge may have very implicit intention. In the case of the police, however, the intention is very explicitly stated in the first paragraph of the police act. This intention plays a role in the social in that it offers a stepping stone for the individuals into the

shared identity creation process which is essential in order to maintain the social which will be discussed in the next chapter. Weber thus points out that the social is a premise of organization. Weick further proposes an understanding of how the social transcends, and with Cooper we acknowledge the importance of a shared intention. With these aspects in mind, we move on with the acknowledgement of the importance of the social as a premise of organization.

### *Limited Admission of Outsiders*

The second premise of organization in Weber's definition is limited admission of outsiders. A premise which dictates that organization cannot be open to its context but must have some border which draws the line between what is within the organization and what is not. A border which is not only a demarcation of the limits of the organization; but is also a border which limits in itself. It is a border which limits access to the organization and thereby creates a clear distinction between inclusion and exclusion. This limitation of access to the organization thus creates the distinction inclusion/exclusion. Inclusion/exclusion by definition functions as the demarcation of the border of the organization. The distinction also has an important function in relation to the social dynamics of the organization. In a lecture on different perspectives on agency and organization, Ralph Stacey discussed the inclusion/exclusion and its role in organization. Ralph Stacey plays an important part in the chapter below on change management theory. As we will see below, he contributes greatly to the understanding of complexity and emergent change in organizations. In regards to inclusion/exclusion, Stacey contributes to the understanding of limited admission of outsiders by linking the limitation – which he terms as the distinction inclusion/exclusion – to identity and to power. Ralph Stacey describes the interrelation between these concepts as follows:

We become persons in the power relations between us. And this power relation we always feel as inclusion/exclusion ... in which we are continuously creating groups of outsiders and insiders. And what's very important in this is that we acquire our identity in this process.

(Stacey, 2006)

Stacey thus takes a social constructivist position from which he places emphasis on power relations which he considers the structural conditions for inclusion/exclusion as the quote above illustrates. Furthermore, he describes how the inclusion/exclusion process is important because it is through

this process that the organizational entities acquire their identity. Stacey thus directs his focus to the individuals within the organization rather than to the organization itself:

I take an organization to be biological individuals relating to each other in the medium of symbols, thereby forming, while simultaneously being formed by, figurations of power relations between them, and between their group or organization and others in a community.

(Stacey, 2001, p. 165.)

The inclusion/exclusion process plays a role in the analysis when discussing the relationships internally in the police. These discussions will be linked to discussions of social capital which is an essential organizational resource in the police. Stacey's primary function being the biological individuals and their relations is not surprising since his way into organization theory has been via his training as a psychologist with a systemic approach. Stacey's approach to organization is different from the position I take in the current study. Thus, the emphasis is on organization as the primary focus rather than the individuals which make up an organization. However, we do acknowledge that the social is an essential premise of organization as discussed earlier. This is in line with the definitions of Weber, Weick, and Morgan as discussed above, but contrary to Stacey's position, I consider organization as the primary focus rather than the individuals themselves. This does not, however, flaw Stacey's contribution to the current study. Rather, it does set demands for precision in regards to which areas of Stacey's work are used in this understanding of organization. As can be seen in the quotation above, Stacey assigns a central part in organization studies to power which he ascribes structural dynamics. For now, we shall return the focus to the inclusion/exclusion aspects in regards to its links to limited admission of outsiders. The quotation above shows the link between identity and inclusion/exclusion. As Stacey notes, we as people in an organization acquire our identity through the process of drawing the border between the organization and the outside world, between 'us' and 'them', between inclusion/exclusion. He talks about the border as a prerequisite for identity:

As soon as one talks about a particular group or organization, one is making a distinction between "it" and other groups and organizations. In other words "it" is being ascribed an identity that makes it different to other groups or organizations. A boundary is being delineated between "it" and others.

(Stacey, 2001, p. 164)

In the discussions on organization above, we get to this point which leads us to defining what the organization is and we are thereby prompted with the questions of what organization is not. To mark the organization, we thus work at the borders of the organization. With the contribution by Stacey, we are guided by the distinction inclusion/exclusion and we acknowledge that this distinction is essential for the identity of the organization which in itself is what enables the organization in the first place. In organization theory the role of identity is traditionally thought of as being seen from the perspective of the individuals within the organization. Mary Jo Hatch takes this position very clearly in describing that

Organizational identity refers to members' experiences of and beliefs about the organization as a whole... It refers to how the organization's members regard themselves as an organization.

(Hatch, 1997, p. 257)

Hatch defines the organizational identity solely through perspective of the members within the organization which Stacey to a certain degree also leans toward as can be seen in the quote earlier. Mary Jo Hatch's very distinct inside-out perspective, however, does not include the mutual creation of identity between organization and outside – between the included and the excluded. The reasons for the fact that the identity creation is dominated by an inside-out perspective may be found in its systemic origin. In this perspective, the system is a system by distinguishing it from its boundaries. Furthermore, the environment of the system is referred to from an inside-out perspective:

Systemic approaches in social science distinguish between system and its environment and often emphasize the importance of boundary maintenance between the two. [...] It is significant that the analysis is invariably couched in binary terms, revolving around the distinction between system and environment. It is also significant that it is the system that has boundary and not the environment, i.e., the boundary belongs to the system, which further supports the idea that the boundary serves to frame the system, encapsulating it as a thinkable entity and thus preserving its metalinguistic identity. Traditional conceptualizations of system are therefore structured so as to give preference to the idea of systemness, of articulated unity and order. The system (with its boundary) becomes conceptually detached from background or environment and thus takes on a life of its own.

(Cooper, 1986, p. 303)

Seeing organization as an organization which has a boundary and an environment is a simplification which allows us to grasp some aspects of the organization out of its complexity to study organization. Any such analytical procedure will necessarily simplify the complexity of the



organization which is being studied and thus strip it of some of its richness. If oversimplified, the study risks losing the essential dynamics of the organization. In the case of the type of systems which we call organizations the inside-out perspective strips the organizational dynamics from the point of view of the environment and to a large degree neglects the influence of the environment to the organization. In this case, the analysis risks focusing on the organization as a 'detached' unit as Cooper describes above. Such a narrow organizational perspective could probably describe intra-organizational dynamics. However, when applied to the Danish police at large, it will fall short since the police are in such close interactions with its environment. This practical argument is backed by the theoretical foundation of this study. In the previous section we argued that organization is relational in that it rests on a social premise. This requires that the character of the relation between the organization and its environment must also necessarily be social. The consequence of this apparent paradox is that we must broaden this inside-out perspective to include an outside-in perspective. In systemic terms, Cooper describes this as follows:

The system is just as much inside the environment as the environment is inside the system.

(Cooper, 1986, p. 303)

Applied to the organization, the consequence is that the organization must necessarily include the outside-in perspective along with the inside-out perspective. In the perspective of the current study it must be broadened to include the perception by the included of how the excluded perceive the organization as well as concrete actions in and/or between the environment and the organization. To understand this identity process, we must look in the direction of the personal identity creation process. In this process, mirroring has an important part as "Individuals' self-concept and personal identities are formed and modified in part by how they believe others view the organization for which they work." (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991 in Weick, 1995, p. 21). Thereby we acknowledge Hatch's position that identity does refer to members' experiences and beliefs about the organization but necessarily broaden the description to include the members' perception of how others perceive the organization. In the police, the point that members' perception of how citizens, politicians, and other stakeholders view them is central to understanding the dynamics of the police organization.

In these discussions on limited admission of outsiders, we realized how the inclusion/exclusion process creates and reproduces the organization and organizational identity. The importance of exclusion/inclusion is thus important to acknowledge in studying organization. When studying

organizational change, this process of inclusion/exclusion is even more evident as we shall see during the analysis in the current study on organizational change. Stacey who has contributed greatly to the understanding of the importance of the inclusion/exclusion process thus proposes a word of caution in stating the following:

When one ignores the shifts in power relations and insider/outsider dynamics generating and generated by change, one is taken by surprise at the unexpected turns that change takes.

(Stacey, 2001, p. 156)

### ***The concept of organization applied in the current study***

Given the discussions above regarding organization, we adopt Weber's definition of organization in acknowledging the two main premises of organization: that organization is social rather than being merely structural, and that organization necessarily has a limited admission of outsiders. The latter we elaborated upon and found how the process of inclusion/exclusion is of great importance in studying organization and organizational change. These aspects of our concept of organization will be brought into play throughout the study and particularly in the analysis.

In the following, we will use this concept of organization as an outset for further exploring the organization in what we term organizational characteristics.

### **Organizational culture and character**

In the current study, we will analyze organizational change in the Danish police reform. During the analysis, we encounter discussions regarding the uniqueness of the organization. Questions which evolve around how the organization functions, how it responds to organizational change with regards to the nature of the organization. In the following, we will lay the foundations for these discussions which will be unfolded in the analysis of the study. We will do so by rounding up these terms which describe the nature of the organization or the unique traits of the organization. We will do so by crystallizing the terms organizational culture and organizational character into concepts which we can bring into play in the analysis. During the following, we will crystallize these two concepts and in the process, we will pay particular attention to the concept of culture for two main

reasons. The first reason is that the term culture is widely used in the police reform as well as in the social sciences and therefore carries much ambiguity. The other reason is that these theoretical discussions have close links to the discussions regarding methodology in the current study. Thus, we will see that our concept of culture sets certain demands for organizational studies which embrace culture. Therefore, these discussions have consequences for concerns regarding methodology in the current study. In this chapter, we will begin by conceptualizing culture and then broadening our understanding of the nature of a specific organization by framing the concept of organizational character.

### ***Culture***

Originally, culture grew out of anthropology for which it has been a central concept for long (Morgan, 1986; Schein, 1999; Hatch, 1997). A much influential anthropological text is Clifford Geertz's "Note on the Balinese Cockfight" (1973a). In this text, Geertz defines the term culture from an anthropological perspective as follows by specifying his definition of culture of a people:

The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong."

(Geertz, 1973a)

Being an anthropologist, Geertz emphasizes the role of the anthropologist in studying culture in the quote above. He provides us with a notion that we have to 'look over the shoulders of those' whom we study when studying culture. These concerns have been important considerations in the chapter on methodology in which the importance of field work and of interacting with practice was emphasized. Geertz further notes how the methodology of studying culture is difficult:

There are enormous difficulties in such an enterprise [ed: studying culture], methodological pitfalls to make a Freudian quake, and some moral perplexities as well."

(Geertz, 1973a)

In the chapter on methodology, some of these difficulties in relation to the current study have been discussed. We also did some approaches of crystallizing the term culture by discussing the nature of the research object in the current study. Thus we acknowledged that we study what we described as

a 'more-ness' which we ascribed to 'culture'. In doing so, we used the definition of culture Richard Jenkins (2002):

Here 'culture' is simply everything that humans do and make. It is every aspect of human life and endeavour: from language to tin openers, roadside hovels to Beethoven, nuclear weapons to money, sexual behaviour to religion, aeroplanes to vulgar childhood rhymes.

(Jenkins, 2002, p. 54)

Jenkins thus highlights the social and relational attributes of culture which also Geertz (1973a) acknowledges. From the fields of anthropology and sociology, culture made its way into organizational theory.

Culture made its entry into organization studies following the success of Japanese companies in the 70's and 80's (Morgan, 1986; Schein, 1999; Hatch, 1997). The success of Japanese companies during these decades was ascribed to the cultural differences between Western culture and Japan and from then on, the impact of culture on organization theory has grown (Schein, 1999). Culture has become an essential part of organization theory which can be seen in some of the classical texts within the organizational sciences. For example one of Morgan's images of organizations in his classical work from 1986 is 'organizations as culture' (Morgan, 1986), and Schein in his ten schools of thought in strategic management assigns one of these schools of thought to 'the cultural school' (Schein, 1999). Culture has been approached from many different perspectives and a growing number of academic strands have taken on the concept of culture and integrated in their studies as well as in practical applications (Schein, 1992). This vastness of the cultural concept in organizational theory and in the social sciences at broad along with the multitude of ways in which it is being applied in theory and practice could easily be seen as a threat to culture. Marshall Sahlins, a trained anthropologist, addressed this apparent threat in his speech at the Decennial Conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth at Oxford in 1993:

The word "culture" has become common fare. For the present generation it does much of the work that was formerly assigned to "psychology" or again "ethos". We used to talk about the "psychology of Washington (D.C.)" or "the ethos of the university;" not it is "the culture of Washington" and "the culture of the university." It is also "the culture of the cigar factory," "the culture of drug addiction," "the culture of adolescence," "the culture of the Anthropology meetings," etc. For a long while I was worried about this apparent debasement of the anthropological object. One day I realized that Economics is still going on as a discipline despite that everyone talks about "economics" and

“economies.” Sociology likewise survives all the uses of “social.” And recently I saw the following poster in a hotel elevator: “50 hotels, 22 countries, one philosophy.” You think we got trouble with “culture?” What about Philosophy? Everybody’s got a philosophy. It didn’t kill Philosophy.

(Sahlins, 2002, p. 34)

In the quote from Sahlins’ speech above, we get an insight into the concerns around the widespread use of culture within the field of anthropology that has used the term for long. Sahlins’ conclusion, however, leaves us with an assurance that we can work with our respective objects of study even when we may experience that concepts which are central to our studies are used – and sometimes misused or abused – all around us. The term culture is filled with such ambiguity. Therefore it is necessary to crystallize the term into a concept which we can work with in the current study.

In our pursuit of defining our working concept of culture, we shall take a theoretical departure from institutional theory.<sup>18</sup> Selznick creates a distinction between culture and character which we will use in the chapter regarding organizational character. In the process of creating the distinction, Selznick gives a brief definition of culture which we will use as the outset of our crystallization of the concept:

Culture is the symbolic expression of shared perception, valuation, and belief.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 321)

In the brief definition above of the concept of culture, we need to dissect his definition to crystallize it into a working concept for use in this study. We must necessarily broaden and specify the understanding of ‘symbolic expression’ and of ‘shared perception, valuation, and belief’ since these two terms in themselves are highly ambiguous. Symbolic expression is closely related to culture in the different strands of theory that use culture as an analytical concept. In his classic work on cultures and organizations, Hofstede speaks of how culture manifests itself partly through symbols. Hofstede is introduced in the current thesis for two main reasons. One is that he bridges the anthropological literature of the study and the traditional strategy literature. Thus, Hofstede bridged national culture and organizational culture and greatly influenced how culture is understood in organizational settings. The other reason for introducing Hofstede is that we use his cultural terms at a couple of occasions when analyzing consequences of certain aspects of police culture.

---

<sup>18</sup> See the theory chapter for a discussion on how institutional theory contributes to the current study.

A common critique of Hofstede's work regards the generalization of findings based on a study in just one company. His work was based on a single case study at IBM offices in different national cultures and from these different cultures, he created his framework for studying organizational culture. Furthermore, the work of Hofstede is subject to critique regarding the perspective of the study. Thus, the cultural analysis of Hofstede takes a perspective of the Western civilization (Schein, 1992). Regardless of this critique, however, Hofstede's framework for analyzing culture and for understanding the nature of culture can give us some access to a deeper understanding of this highly ambiguous field and elaborate further on our brief working definition which is presented above by Selznick. Hofstede thus describes symbols as one of three categories of practices encompassing symbols, heroes, and rituals. Along with values, he notes that these four cover the concept of culture; symbols, heroes, rituals, and values. Hofstede describes how values form the core of culture since they are acquired early in childhood when speaking of national culture. Also, values cannot be seen directly by others and are therefore not transparent for the outside. Heroes in Hofstede's definition are people "who possess characteristics which are highly prized in a culture, and who thus serve as models for behavior." (Hofstede, 1991, p. 8). Rituals are "collective activities" which do not necessarily cause specific output but rather have symbolic meaning. Symbols, which is the term which we currently pursue, is by Hofstede defined as "words, gestures, pictures or objects that carry a particular meaning which is only recognized by those who share the culture" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 7). In the case of the police, the symbols would include the police badge which is used in many internal events. One example being the kick-off meeting for the reform which was described earlier at which the police badge was on the very front page of the program which was handed out to all participants. Other symbols within the police include the jargon and the professional terms for specific criminal acts which enables precision in the communication within the police regarding police services. Hofstede's note that these symbols are only recognized by those within the culture creates some confusion in regard to the cultural border.

In relation to symbols in the police culture, the police badge is an important cultural carrier in the police. However, the badge is recognized by most people outside the police organization and apparently this would cause a problem in Hofstede's description. This requires a little more elaboration. As we discussed earlier, organization was defined partly by drawing a border between the organization and its environment. Through the inclusion/exclusion process, a clear border was

demarked. In this cultural understanding, however, the concept does not seem to necessarily correlate with the organization border. And yet, Hofstede makes a clear note on the importance of recognizing the cultural symbols within and without the culture and thereby creates a demarcation between culture/environment which again leads to a notion of inclusion/exclusion as we discussed in regards to organization. In order for us to utilize the cultural conceptions of Hofstede, we must necessarily expand our understanding of who shares the culture. When Hofstede notes that the cultural acts are only understood by those who share the culture, in our understanding, this does not necessarily imply that one is a part of the culture. In the case of the police, citizens understand the meaning of the police badge even though a citizen is not part of the police culture. Other symbols, however, would be impossible for a citizen to understand such as the professional abbreviations and codes which determine the character of criminal acts. The culture, however, is more than these symbols which have been described above. In Hofstede's definition, the symbols are the most obvious denominators of a culture but not the deepest rooted. Heroes, being "people who possess characteristics which are highly prized in a culture" (Hofstede, 1999, p. 8), and Rituals are deeper layers within the culture. Rituals are more difficult to grasp and much for an outsider it is much more difficult to break the code of rituals than for symbols. An example of rituals could be "Ways of greeting and paying respect to others" (Hofstede, 1999, p. 8) which in the police is an important cultural act. When people in the police meet, they shake hands. To a much larger degree than people outside the police. They do so to more people and more often. The extended use of a handshake thereby becomes an important way of showing respect within the organization. Values rest at the core of the culture. They are the most essential cultural level and the most difficult to grasp and to change (Hofstede, 1999). An example of a cultural value in the Danish police is that of 'mutual trust' which is elaborated upon in the culture chapter in the second section of the analysis. In the current study, we will see how deeply rooted values in the police have great importance for organizational change in the police reform. In these discussions, mutual trust plays a central part. We will see how these deeply rooted values within the police culture are difficult to grasp both for those who are a part of the culture and for those who are not. The analysis in the current study shows how a disconnect between organizational culture and character creates disturbance and inexpedience regarding organizational change and result in risks of unintended organizational implications.<sup>19</sup> The cultural level of values carries much complexity in that the values cannot be

---

<sup>19</sup> See the second section in the analysis chapter for discussions on the impact on cultural aspects of the police organization on change management aspects in the police reform.

accessed directly or understood as easily as symbols, heroes, and rituals. Thus they carry much ambiguity. The ambiguity of values goes even further than to peeling off the ambiguity for an observer of a given culture. It extends even for those who carry the values themselves. Thus, Hofstede notes that one must distinguish between desirable and desired values. His point is that people in a given culture may answer a question from the desirable values of the culture, from what is *comme il faut* in the culture; but when confronted with the question in real life, the person may choose from the desired value which is “what people want for themselves.” (Hofstede, 1999, p. 9). This poses some methodological concerns regarding data validation and construct validity. Given these dynamics, one cannot simply ask questions concerning values of the culture because the respondent may respond to the question by referring to the desirable values but in real life the respondent may very well act according to the desired values. If these values do not correspond in regards to the question asked, then the answer to the question will not predict future performance. Thereby questions regarding cultural values may provide the wrong basis for decisions and may therefore as a result lead to unintended organizational consequences.<sup>20</sup> These discussions on the nature of culture bring us somewhat closer to a working definition of culture being the symbolic expression of shared perception, valuation, and belief. With Hofstede’s framework, we specify the symbolic aspect as being that which is carried out for its own sake regardless of the outcome, as Hofstede described in regards to rituals as mentioned above. We do, however, extend the symbolic to the entire range of cultural aspects rather than merely rituals. With our discussions on inclusion/exclusion in regards to culture, we have defined that culture necessarily has a social aspect as well as organization. However, the border between inclusion/exclusion is not determined as in the case of organization and the border is more of a grey zone. The important aspect in this regard is that the symbolic expression regards a socially constructed and negotiated matter and thereby stems from a *shared* perception, valuation, and belief as Selznick notes. In Hofstede’s definition of culture, the social is very specific also. He defines culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.” (Hofstede, 1999, p. 5). Hofstede further provides a precision of what Selznick determines as perception, valuation, and belief through his four layers of culture. When working with these two academics who do not share their theoretical outsets, it is difficult from our

---

<sup>20</sup> These methodological concerns will be discussed further in the methodology chapter at which methodological concerns and the methodology of the current study will be laid out. During those discussions, the relation between desirable and the desired will be discussed with a parallel to the relation between espoused theory and theory in use.



perspective to combine their categories. Whether perspective, valuation, and belief were all to be categorized within Hofstede's value category or whether some of these may overlap may not necessarily be relevant to the discussions at this point. What is relevant, however, is *that* culture is symbolic rather than merely rational. *That* culture expresses something which is shared within the culture, and *that* culture is deeply rooted in people's values and beliefs. These points are all shared by Hofstede and Selznick and provide a foundation for the understanding of culture in the current study. The consequences of applying this understanding of culture in practice will be explored in the analysis. In the following, we will discuss the role of culture in change management theory, with particular attention to the role of culture in the parts of change management theory which have been applied in the police reform.<sup>21</sup>

### *Culture in Change Management*

From the origins of the concept of culture in anthropology and sociology, it made its way into organization theory, partly with the contributions from Hofstede who created a link between national cultures and organizational cultures as discussed above. In this perspective, we saw that the notion that culture is symbolic, shared, and deeply rooted in values and beliefs was retained from its origins. The shift to organization theory did, however, have a consequence in the perspective on culture. Whereas the anthropological challenge has been to study and uncover culture, the entrance of culture into the organization scene has resulted in a functional perspective on culture. In organization theory, culture has a function which tends to provide a normative view on the phenomenon as we will see in the following. Hofstede (1991) does not merely transfer the cultural term from anthropology into organization theory but very specifically frames culture in a functional context within organization theory. Thus, Hofstede (1991) explicitly suggests how to manage organizational culture, gives suggestions for managers on how to cope with cultural differences, etc. Culture has made its way into change management literature through organization theory. In the parts of change management theory which have played a central role in the police reform, culture has been approached in a normative manner with a functional perspective. As we will see, John Kotter (1995, 1996) and his change management model play a significant role in the police reform.

---

<sup>21</sup> See the chapter on change management theory below for a further discussion on which parts of change management theory have played an important role in the police reform.

In this perspective, culture plays a significant role. The definition of culture is quite similar to the definitions which we have worked with above. Kotter defines culture as follows:

Culture refers to norms of behavior and shared values among a group of people.

(Kotter, 1996, p. 148)

Even though the definition of Kotter resembles those of Geertz (1973), Selznick (1992), Jenkins (2002), and Hofstede (1991), Kotter's (1996) perspective on culture is clearly normative as we saw to some degree in Hofstede's (1991) perspective and highly functional. Thus Kotter describes why culture is important:

Culture is important because it can powerfully influence human behavior, because it can be difficult to change, and because its near invisibility makes it hard to address directly.

(Kotter, 1996, p. 148)

In this perspective, culture is something which is functional. Something which is a means to an end. In the case of Kotter, the end being organizational change. Kotter is by far the only proponent for functional approaches to culture in organizational change. He is emphasized in the current study due to his significant role in the police reform and also since his model of change is one of the most influential theoretical contributions to contemporary change management (Palmer, Dunford and Akin, 2006) as we shall see below in the discussions on theory of change management. Kotter notes that culture has been a driver in change management theory for years (Kotter, 1996). He further notes that the role of culture has been to function as a spear head for organizational change:

One of the theories about change that has circulated widely over the past fifteen years might be summarized as follows: The biggest impediment to creating change in a group is culture.

(Kotter, 1996, p. 155).

While Kotter disagrees with the approach to change culture which these models apply in addressing culture first, he still agrees that culture is one of biggest hurdles in change management (Kotter, 1996). Kotter suggests that culture should necessarily be changed but that the cultural change comes last, not first since the nature of culture makes it difficult to change or alter:

"Culture is not something that you manipulate easily. Attempts to grab it and twist it into a new shape never work because you can't grab it. Culture changes only after you have successfully altered people's actions, after the new behavior produces some group

benefit for a period of time, and after people see the connection between the new actions and the performance improvement.”

(Kotter, 1996, p. 156)

Kotter further notes that it is important to understand culture in order to ensure successful change management techniques:

The better you understand the existing culture, the ore easily you can figure out how to push the urgency level up, how to create the guiding coalition, how to shape the vision, and so forth.

(Kotter, 1996, p. 156)

The role of culture in Kotter’s perspective as well as in the dominant perspectives of change management is that culture is a hindrance. Culture is something which poses a risk to change initiatives. Therefore culture must be understood in order to manipulate it, as Kotter notes above. Cases of organizational change often reproduce this notion. An example in the widely used text book on corporate strategy by Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington (2005) describe the cultural implications of a case as follows:

What emerged from this analysis was that the organisation’s current culture was largely unsuited to desired future strategy.

(Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington, 2005, p. 511)

They further describe how to work with culture and understand the cultural context for change. Following the analysis, they pose the question “what are likely to be the main problems in making changes indicated by the [ed: cultural analysis]” (Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington, 2005, p. 513). Thus culture has a function, and the function in the dominant change management theory is that it is a hindrance to the change in question. In this perspective, culture stands as a signifier of resistance which is embedded in the social, in people. With a slight caricature of this perspective, we can relate to the following quote by Diefenbach:

For the proponents of managerialism there is not only an “enemy outside” but also an “enemy inside” – the people.

(Diefenbach, 2007, p. 138)

### *The Concept of Culture in the Current Study*

In this current study, we shall stick with the concept of culture very well knowing – both from the theoretical accounts above and from the empirical accounts of the use of the term – that the term is difficult to grasp and therefore difficult to crystallize into a concept which can be brought to use as an analytical tool. This perspective is seconded by Van Maanen who was one of the pioneers in using ethnography in organizational studies with his “Tales of the Field” from 1988:

The term ‘culture’ does not denote any concrete reality. It is an abstraction and, as commonly used, a vague – but still useful – abstraction.

(Van Maanen, 2001, p. 238-239)

Van Maanen stresses how the term ‘culture’ is difficult in that it is commonly used and an abstraction and therefore vague. These aspects are clear from the discussions above. Firstly, that the term is an abstraction in that it is a symbolic expression and that its subject is shared perception, valuation, and belief as we derived from our working definition which we owe to Selznick (1992). Secondly, the common and vague uses of the term are evident in the theoretical and empirical accounts which were discussed above. In spite of the difficulties involved in working with the term ‘culture’, Van Maanen sticks with the term as an analytical concept:

I realize that some influential modern work on culture suggests that we might be best off avoiding the hyper-referential word altogether and write more specifically about knowledge, practice, tradition, technology, discourse, ideology, or habitus. There is much to be said for such a tactic. It may dispel the totalitarian overtones and perverse idealism that sometimes surround the use of the term ‘culture’. But substituting alternative concepts merely defers, and does not solve, the analytical difficulties.

(Van Maanen, 2001, p. 239)

In the current study, we do acknowledge the difficulties in working with ‘culture’ as an analytical tool. However, as Van Maanen, we point to the fact that merely substituting the term by another term or crystallizing its meaning into another concept would not solve the problem of ridding the ambiguity to create an analytically precise tool. Acknowledging the fact that the term is ambiguous yet useful does not provide us with enough precision to use the term as an analytical tool either. Rather, the ambiguity of the term stresses the importance of establishing some precision with which the term is approached and brought to use in the current study to crystallize the term into a concept. In doing so, we will introduce the term organizational character in the following to enrich the

understanding of organizational culture to further our crystallization of the term into a concept for use in the analysis.

### ***Organizational character***

In the section above, we discussed how the ambiguity of the term ‘culture’ appears in theory and practice. Furthermore, we concluded that the term is important for organizational studies. The short definition of culture by Selznick which marked the outset of these discussions has provided a positive demarcation of the culture which has brought us closer to an understanding of what culture is. However, as seen in the discussions on culture, the common use of the term signifies aspects which may not be included as culture in this sense. A way forward in being more precise around the use of the concept is by creating a negative demarcation around the term. By stating which organizational aspects are not ascribed to ‘culture’, Selznick provides a sound basis for such a discussion by including both the positive and the negative demarcation of ‘culture’.<sup>22</sup> In his understanding, culture is a part of the character of an organization. He further notes that there is more to an organization’s character than culture:

As applied to institutions, “character” is a broader idea than “culture”. [...] The character of an organization includes its culture, but something more as well. A pattern of dependency – for example, on a specific labor force, a market, or particular suppliers – may have little to do with symbols or belief. The character of a company or a trade union owes much to the structure of the industry, the skills of employees or members, the alliances that can be fashioned, and many other practical limits and opportunities. Attitudes and beliefs account for only part of an organization’s distinctive character.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 321)

In the quote, Selznick exemplifies how some organizational patterns of dependencies such as the labor force, skills of the employees, the role of the trade unions etc. influence what he describes as the organization’s distinctive character. The examples by Selznick are clearly derived from institutional theory. They are institutional in that they describe how the organization is influenced by the larger field of actors. In our definition of organizational character, we stretch this definition to include organizational traits such as organizational structure even though the structure can be said

---

<sup>22</sup> Selznick discusses character versus culture in relation to institutions rather than organizations. The difference between the two will be discussed in the theory chapter. In the current context, however, Selznick’s arguments are equally relevant to organizations.

to be of a more tangible nature than the characteristics described by Selznick. In the section below, we will take a closer look at institutional theory and discuss how institutional theory has a special place in the current study. As we will see below in the discussions on institutional theory, the theoretical field is divided into 'old' and 'new' institutional theory. One of the differences between the two is that the 'old' institutionalism focused on how the environment influenced the organization whereas the 'new' institutionalism also focuses on how the organization influences its environment. For now, the institutional argument which is relevant in this regard is to acknowledge that the organization is influenced by the broader field within which it is located. Thus, the police organization is influenced by the dominant role of the trade unions which historically have been very influential in the police, by the interdependencies between districts, the National Commissioners office, and the Ministry of Justice which has resulted in a certain way of setting direction and establishing targets in the police by the bureaucratic training and development structures which result in a particular shared identity, etc. In the next chapter, we will unfold these organizational characteristics to create a richer picture of the organizational character of the police and show the distinctive character of the police which will be subject to analysis in the study.

These institutional characteristics supplement the cultural aspects of the organization which have to do with symbols and beliefs. Institutional characteristics and culture together make up the organization's character. With the concept 'organizational character', we broaden the concept of culture to include the patterns of dependency which Selznick describes the institutional factors which we discussed above. Further, we inscribe organizational characteristics such as for example organizational structure and management control systems which can be argued to be of a more tangible character than Selznick's examples. These aspects will be determined as institutional in that they are somewhat intangible and have constitutive effects in the organization which will be discussed further below in the chapter on institutional theory. Cultural and institutional perspectives on organization thus play an important role in this study as they are perceived to make up the core of the organization which signifies the distinctive character of the organization. The role of institutional theory will be discussed and presented below with emphasis on how it contributes to an understanding of the distinctiveness of an organization which again is essential in working with organizational development and in particular with change management

## Theory

The role of theory in the current study is difficult to categorize in traditional terms. In the chapter on methodology, we discussed how theory and practice are intertwined and how they feed on each other. What we call oscillation between theory and practice above is due to what Gregory Bateson (1972) describes as a reflexive relation. The relation between theory and practice is of a reflexive nature in that one supplements and enriches the other and vice versa. Therefore, the theory applied in the outset of the study has necessarily been supplemented by other theoretical contributions after being exposed to practice and having practice feed back into the theoretical foundations of the study. Thereby theory from different theoretical strands are in play in the study. Given the methodology, it is also given that the study cannot be solely inductive or deductive in nature but must rather be seen as forming parts of a reflexive relation in which theory acts with an inductive function at times and at other times during the course of the study a deductive function. A second reason for the not so straight forward use of theory in the current study rests upon the fact that the theory which has been primary to the research is not necessarily primary to practice. Thus, practice has applied a certain theoretical approach to change management in the police reform whereas the research has applied a different theoretical approach to studying the field. In the current study, the police have applied a theoretical change management approach within the management tradition of 'the design school' (Mintzberg, Alhstrand and Lampel, 1998). The research has drawn much upon institutional theory. Therefore these two theoretical strands will be emphasized in the discussions on theory below. A third and final reason for the non-rigidity of the use of theory in this thesis is to be found in the value of using several theoretical perspectives in the research. The argument is consistent with the arguments brought forward in the discussions on methodology in which we advocated for a multi-sited methodology. As we discussed in the chapter on methodology, the risks of non-method is that the research may succumb to an 'anything-goes' study which in turn deprives it from scientific status. The risks involved in applying several theories is that the thesis could succumb to an eclectic approach which can be criticized as an 'anything goes' approach to theory. Therefore, the current section discusses and describes at some length how theory is applied and why.

The arguments for using theoretical contributions from different literary strands are concerned with the term of binocular view and the values of triangulation. Binocular view provides depth in the study by combining an additional perspective. By using a theory from a different theoretical strand

than the one used in the relevant argument, we find that sometimes it provides depth in the analysis. A sense of a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied. We will see several examples of this in the current thesis. For example in the chapter on the origins of the police reform, we will discuss how the reform came about in its current form. We will argue that legitimization which will be discussed below in the chapter on institutionalism has had a significant role in the police reform. However, we also use McCracken's (2005) perspectives on 'the Diderot effect' to supplement the understanding of how the police reform came into being. As it will appear in the analysis, the two are not mutually exclusive but rather supplementary to an understanding of why the reform was decided in its present form. At times during the analysis, we will work with theoretical contributions from more than two theoretical strands to get a closer look at the phenomenon being studied. The reasons for doing so lies in the arguments for using triangulation; in that several perspective enables such a closer study.

The theoretical strands which will be discussed in the current section are primarily change management and institutional theory. Change management theory will be described with particular focus on the tradition which falls within design school since this has been the predominant inspiration for the police in working with change management in the police reform. Institutional theory will be presented with particular attention to the fields within institutional theory which are of relevance to the analysis in the current study. These two bodies of literature are not, however, the sole theoretical contributions to the thesis. Contributions from the theoretical strands of social capital, new public management, studies on bureaucracy, and individualization also play important roles. However, these theories will be presented in the analysis as they are applied. Thus, this chapter on theory discusses the role of theory in the current study and presents the dominant theoretical contribution to practice being change management and the dominant contribution to the research perspective which is institutional theory.

In the discussions on the research question, we discussed how this study to some extent can be described as a case study in that we focus specifically on the Danish police reform. Thus, when doing a study of the police reform, a lengthy presentation on police studies could be a way to enter the field. However, the methodology applied in the current study pulls us in a direction towards theories which can describe management and organizational aspects of the reform rather than specific police related studies. However, some studies on police organizations will be drawn in



during the analysis. In the problem discussion, we noted that the current thesis is one of the first studies on management and organization in the Danish police. Therefore the literature in the field is very scarce. This same tendency is seen in other Scandinavian countries. Most police studies are within the theoretical strands of criminology and police professional concerns. Within these fields there is a vast body of literature (Finstad, 2005; Høigård, 2005) and a much more established research tradition than within the emerging field of police management. Even within the more established police research tradition, most research is in the Nordic languages (Høigard, 2005) and thereby the research is not open to a dialogue outside of the Nordic languages. The inherent risk in not opening up to dialogue internationally is that the research closes around itself within the Nordic region. This would appear as a paradox if the research community due to language borders closed around itself within the Nordic countries now that the police have opened up to research to a far greater extent than previously as discussed in the problem discussion. Some of the police studies which will be applied in the current thesis are on the nature of police work such as Lipsky's (1980) work on street-level bureaucracy. Other studies are on organizational transformation of police organizations, and again others are on methodology in studying police. These studies will be treated as empirical accounts rather than as theoretical perspectives. The latter has played a great role in the methodology in which John Van Maanen's (1988) work "Tales of the Field" has been of great inspiration.

The remaining sections of this chapter will frame the two main theories which are brought to use in the study; change management and institutional theory. Firstly, change management literature will be framed with specific focus on the configuration strands of change management literature – the design school – which have been central in the implementation of the police reform.

### ***Change Management***

Change management has become a large field within organizational theory over the past fifty years. Today, change management comprises a vast body of literature and it is accompanied by much attention by managers which again has resulted in much attention from the consulting industries:

There is an enormous literature and consulting practice aimed at helping managers deal with major change in their organizations – turnaround, revitalization, downsizing, and the like.”

(Mintzberg, Ahlstrand, and Lampel, p. 324)

In the police reform, change management played a great role in providing managers with guidance on how to implement this major change in the organization. In the first section of the analysis we will discuss more specifically how change management was carried out in the police reform. Specific focus on change management in the police is new to the organization. One argument for this could be that it hasn't been necessary since the current reform is the largest change within the Danish police since 1938. That would not, however, explain why some of the minor changes in the police up until this point have not been subject to specific change management concerns. Changes which must be considered large reorganizations such as the district reform in the beginning of the 70'ies.<sup>23</sup> Another explanation is that the notion that change should be managed and that change management is a management discipline is fairly new. Diefenbach notes that there is a general tendency towards viewing change as something which should be managed,

Our era is a period of change. This is not unusual in the history of mankind. What perhaps is different this time is that change shall be managed.

(Diefenbach, 2007, p. 126)

This view acknowledges the fact that change has always been a premise for organizations and that the new aspect is that change should be managed. During the past two decades, changes in the organizational landscape as a result of globalization, technological innovation, and economic fluctuation has led to further exploration in how to manage change in organizations. (Burnes, 2004) As such, change management is a fairly new management discipline. Not only is it new to the Danish police but also in general as Diefenbach notes in the quote above and particularly in the public sector. It has, however, made its entrance in public organizations during the past decades.

Organisational change management does not only happen in business organizations but increasingly also in public sector organizations.

(Diefenbach, 2007, p. 126)

Change management in the public sector is associated with managerialism and has been introduced in the public sector hand in hand with New Public Management, or rather that change management

---

<sup>23</sup> See the chapter 'Historical overview of the police' for more information on changes within the police from its origin in 1682 up until present time.

is a part of New Public Management.<sup>24</sup> Diefenbach establishes this focus on organizational change as a part of managerialism which is closely associated with performance-, cost-, efficiency- and audit oriented New Public Management initiatives:

There is a particular understanding based on neo-liberalism about the nature and objectives of organizational change which dominates discourses and policies – new public management or managerialism [...] It might be defined as a strategic initiative, if not ideology, to make public sector organizations – and the people working in them – “market-oriented” and “business-like”, i.e. performance-, cost-, efficiency- and audit-oriented.

(Diefenbach, 2007, p. 126)

Thus Diefenbach closely associates organizational change with managerialism and New Public Management initiatives. As we stated in the section on the content of the police reform in chapter 5, the reform is a traditional New Public Management reform. We saw that the reform at large and the different initiatives within the reform clearly focus on performance-, cost-, efficiency- and audit-orientation by introducing traditional NPM management technologies. In this current discussion on change management, however, it is important to distinguish between the ‘what’ and the ‘how’ in regards to the police reform. The ‘what’ is the content of the reform and the ‘how’ is the process or the way in which the content is implemented. The importance hereof is voiced by Burke as follows:

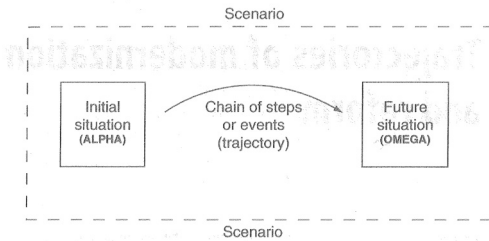
The content of organization change is one thing, and the process another. The distinction is important because the former, the what, provides the vision and overall direction for the change; and the process, the how, concerns implementation and adaption.

(Burke, 2002, p. 14.)

Change management theory regards the ‘how’ of organizational transformation. It concerns how to implement the content and how to bring the organization from its status quo, through the implementation phase and into the desired situation. This can be illustrated as follows:

---

<sup>24</sup> See the chapter ‘Contents of the police reform’ for a discussion on how the Danish police reform is a NPM initiative.



(Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2005, p. 66)

In the model, Pollitt and Bouckaert illustrate how organizational change can be seen as going *from* a status quo situation (ALPHA), *through* a transformation phase (trajectory), *into* the new situation (OMEGA). The new situation is the desired situation which the architects behind the reform initiative have developed. Simplifying such a complex case as the police reform into three boxes can almost be seen as a caricature. However, this categorization has been used in the police reform in practice for police managers to understand the reform and in research to raise relevant concerns about the reform. These will be unfolded in the analysis chapter. In the case of the police reform, the change management aspect can be said to follow this same logic in that it regards how to take the organization from the status quo of an organization which is inexpedient and inefficient, through a transformation phase into the new state where the organization has been reformed according to the plans which have been described by the vision committee's report and by the reform bill which was passed in 2006.

This way of seeing change management is characteristic for a certain part of the change management literature which is often referred to as planned or programmatic transformational change (Beer & Nohria 2000, Mintzberg et al 1998, Weick, 2000, Pettigrew 2000). This sort of change management in which the change is analyzed and then structured and planned in phases stems from the early work of Kurt Lewin who was a pioneer in the field of organizational change (Burnes, 2004b). He did his most essential work in the 1940's, and he has had a remarkable influence on social psychology and organizational theory (Burnes, 2004b). Some of his early thoughts on organizational change still remain today, more than sixty years later. This is clearly reflected in Weick's article from Beer & Nohria's anthology from 2000 with contributions from leading authors in the field of change management. Weick writes as follows:

If people want to change a system in which they feel inertia runs deep, then their best bet is to start with Kurt Lewin's prescription for change: unfreeze-change-refreeze.

(Weick, 2000, p. 235)

Weick's general prescription in this quote on how Lewin's three-stage model is the best suited approach to organizational change when battling organizational inertia is reflected in later organizational change models. Hendry even goes as far as to state that this three-stage model is the underlying idea in every change model,

Scratch any account of creating and managing change and the idea that change is a three-stage process which necessarily begins with a process of unfreezing will not be far below the surface. Indeed, it has been said that the whole theory of change is reducible to this one idea of Kurt Lewin's (1952). Most accounts of organizational change implicitly follow this pattern, and describe or employ a mix of cognitive and political strategies through successive phases of unfreezing, change, and refreezing.

(Hendry, 1996, p. 624)

As noted above by Burnes (2004a), Lewin was influential in various fields. His influence at the time of his active research was equally influential in for example developing action research (Burnes, 2004). In the current study we will focus on his contribution to change management in regards to planned change. His three-step model to organizational change was most probably his most influential contribution to change management (Hendry, 1996). With his three-step model, Lewin established the first phase model for organizational change in which he described that organizational change is a three-stage process. Edgar Schein in his influential (1987) book on process consultation explicitly uses Lewin's three-stage model of social change in a management setting. Schein describes how the model has been "elaborated at various times to fit the kinds of change management processes in human systems that consultants and managers have to deal with" (Schein, 1987, p. 92 f.). Below, we will see how Lewin's influence stretches all the way up to John Kotter's model on change Management (Kotter, 1995, 1996) which is one of the most influential contemporary models on organizational change (Palmer, Dunford and Akin 2006).

Lewin's model is based on the three phases of unfreezing, changing, and refreezing. Firstly, it describes how the organization must be taken through an unfreezing stage in which the organization will be made ready for taking in the change. A task which Lewin did not consider an easy task:

To break open the shell of complacency and self-righteousness it is sometimes necessary to bring about an emotional stir up.

(Lewin, 1947, p. 229 in Burnes, 2004b, p. 313.)

After the refreezing phase, the organization is taken through a *moving phase*. In this phase the organization is changed and altered according to the change in question. In Lewin's view, this phase required iterations of action, evaluation, and iterations (Lewin, 1947 in Burnes, 2004b). Lastly, according to Lewin, the organization must go through a re-freeze phase to ensure that the change will remain.

### ***Lewin's three-stage model vs. Pollitt and Bouckaert's three stage model***

Lewin's model could apparently seem to be in line with the illustration above by Pollitt and Bouckaert. An importance difference between these two illustrations, however, which at a first glance may seem alike, is that they illustrate two very different aspects of organizational transformation. Pollitt and Bouckaert's model illustrates that the change in question can be regarded as a transformation from one state, through a transformation, into a new state. Transformational change of this nature is contradictory to incremental change which by nature is a continuous change which is often used for example in continuous improvement processes which is the essence of Kaizen (Hill, 2005) which is often seen in the increasingly popular LEAN processes (Hill, 2005; Meredith and Schafer, 2007) in private and public sector organizations.

Lewin's three-step model does not describe how the organizational change in question is transformational. It presupposes that the change is transformational by nature. It presupposes that the organization is in a situation which management plans to change through a transformation process into a new stage. Thus, Lewin's model suggests how the transformation stage in Pollitt and Bouckaert's model can be managed.

### ***Contemporary change management model - John Kotter's eight-step model***

John Kotter's model on change management (Kotter, 1995, 1996, Kotter and Cohen 2002) is one of the most influential contemporary models on organizational change is the eight-step model by John Kotter (Palmer, Dunford and Akin, 2006). The model was used as a framework for the change management efforts in the Danish police reform as will be discussed in the analysis. The model was

developed by John Kotter. In developing the model, he studied what went wrong in major organizational transformations. Then he focused on how to avoid these errors. He found the following eight errors that were common to organizational transformations:

Eight Errors Common to Organizational Change Efforts and their Consequences (Kotter, 1996, p. 16)

Common Errors

- Allowing too much complacency
- Failing to create a sufficiently powerful guiding coalition
- Underestimating the power of vision
- Undercommunicating the vision by a factor of 10 (or 100 or even 1000)
- Permitting obstacles to block the new vision
- Failing to create short-term wins
- Declaring victory too soon
- Neglecting to anchor changes firmly in the corporate culture

These eight errors, Kotter believed, resulted in the following five consequences (Kotter, 1996, p. 16):

Consequences

- New strategies aren't implemented well
- Acquisitions don't achieve expected synergies
- Reengineering takes too long and costs too much
- Downsizing doesn't get costs under control
- Quality programs don't deliver hoped-for results

Kotter meant that these unfortunate consequences of the errors of organizational change efforts were not inevitable (Kotter, 1996). He noted that the key to overcoming the errors lies in “understanding why organizations resist needed change” (Kotter, 1996, p. 16), and of “how the leadership that is required to drive that process in a socially healthy way means more than good management” (Kotter, 1996, p. 16). Kotter thus distinguishes between management and leadership. In this distinction, management is seen as the functional, rational, structural elements whereas leadership is what drives the direction setting. Kotter illustrates the importance of leadership in change management by describing leadership as “the engine that drives change” (Kotter, 1996, p. ix f.) and by further stating that “a purely managerial mindset inevitably fails, regardless of the quality

of people involved.” (Kotter, 1996, p. x). With this precondition that leadership is required in change management, Kotter provides roadmap for organizational transformation which suggests how to overcome the errors of change efforts. The model is depicted below.

The eight-stage model is clearly an elaboration upon Lewin’s model which we discussed above. Kotter (1996) thus describes that the first four steps “help defrost a hardened status quo.” (Kotter, 1996, p. 22) which is in the same as Lewin’s unfreezing even though Kotter does not make a direct reference to Lewin’s model. Kotter further describes how “Phases five to seven they introduce many new practices” (ibid.) which is in essence equivalent to Lewin’s ‘movement’ phase, and Kotter finally notes that the last step in his model “grounds the changes in the corporate culture and helps make them stick” (ibid.), quite as was described in the last phase of Lewin’s model, the refreeze phase. The reminiscence of Lewin’s work is obvious in that the underlying logic of Kotter’s (1995, 1996) model is quite the same as that of Lewin’s (1947).

The sharing of common logics between the two models stretches further from that of content and phase-orientation to include concerns regarding top-down vs. bottom-up and emergent vs. planned. Both models suggest that the change is planned and initiated from the top management and implemented down through the organization to the employees. This top-down methodology in applied change management can be criticized as being totalitarian or non-humanistic as illustrated in the quote by Diefenbach (2007) above in which managers view people in the organization as the “enemy within”. However, the intention of conducting top-down change management processes in the views of both Lewin (1947) and Kotter (1996) have been motivated by humanitarian reasons. Particularly in the case of Lewin. In developing his phase model, Lewin’s outset was based in a humanitarian perspective. Lewin was a humanitarian and he worked with resolving social conflict. Not only in organizations but also conflict of religious, racial, or marital character (Burnes, 2004b). His phase model and his approach to change through a planned sequence was an attempt to resolve conflict in changing and transformation organization. Burnes thus writes:

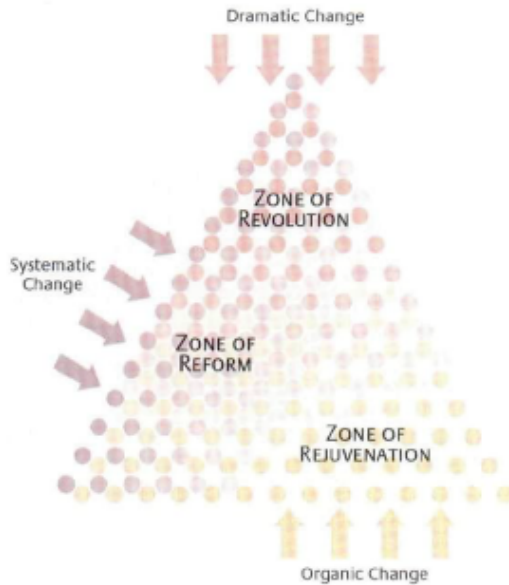
Lewin believed that the key to resolving social conflict was to facilitate planned change through learning, and so enable individuals to understand and restructure their perceptions of the world around them.

(Burnes, 2004b, p. 311)



The humanist perspective which is very clear in Lewin's perspective as seen above can also be traced in Kotter yet not necessarily with the humanist argument as the primary concern as in Lewin's case. Kotter mentions the importance of overcoming the eight errors partly due to economic consequences for the organization but also because "The impact on families and communities can be devastating." (Kotter, 1996, p. 15). Thus, both Lewin and Kotter perceive the top-down process to be the best way in both effective and humanist perspectives.

These phase models focus on planned change rather than emergent change (Pettigrew, 2000; Weick, 2000). These change management approaches work with systematic models as opposed to other change approaches such as Appreciate Inquiry processes (Magruder and Mohr, 2001) or Patricia Shaw's work on changing conversations in the organization and consulting in the shadow systems in which she works bottom-up process which consists of initiating dialogues in the organization around themes rather than end-targets (Shaw, 1997, 2002). In these sorts of processes the end-target is fairly open and the basis for the target is largely formulated through the bottom-up process (Shaw, 1997). The work of Patricia Shaw (1997, 2002) and Appreciate Inquiry (Magruder and Mohr, 2001) aim at capturing the emerging perspectives within the organization in bottom-up processes and focus on creating more perspectives in the organization rather than the phase models of John Kotter (1995, 1996) and Lewin (1947) which try to crystallize the perception of people in the organization into the perspective which the future change will invoke. The difference in perspectives can be illustrated by using the figure below by Huy and Mintzberg (2005):



Shaw's work and Appreciative Inquiry would focus mainly on what Huy and Mintzberg (2005) describe as the zone of rejuvenation and on organic change which can roughly be compared to what is also described as emergent change (Pettigrew, 2000; Weick, 2000). The phase approach would have its primary contribution to the zone of reform in the systematic change as well as to dramatic change in the zone of revolution in Huy and Mintzberg's (2005) terms. Thus, the planned and systematic approach to change through Kotter's model is not aimed at capturing the emergent change. Rather, it is aimed at implementing reforms or revolutionary initiatives by fairly mechanistic methods into the organization.

As we saw above, Kotter's model has been developed on the basis of a number of change initiatives in various organizations. Thus, it is the result of a generalization from occurrences into a generic framework for handling organizational change. Such a 'one-size-fits-all' solution is not uncommon in planned change, as Weick notes below:

Planned change often takes the form of off-the-shelf standardization solutions that focus on one issue and are driven through the organization by directives from top management.

(Weick, 2000, p. 232)

Given that Kotter is one of the most influential contemporary change management models (Palmer, Dunford and Akin, 2006), it should not come as a surprise that planned change is generic in its approach and led by a top-down process since these are characteristics of Kotter's model. In the analysis, we will discuss the implications of applying generic change approaches, for example John Kotter's model, in the police which is far from generic given its distinct organizational character.

These discussions on change management theory have focused primarily on the strands of change management literature which have been dominant in the police reform. In the following, we will discuss institutional theory which contributes with different perspectives on the reform. These are perspectives which the rational-functional perspectives of change management cannot grasp.

### ***Institutional theory***

Institutional theory offers pivotal contributions to the current study. As we have seen above we refer to academics within the strands of institutional perspectives in our working concepts of culture and organizational character such as Selznick. The reason being that institutional perspectives emphasize perspectives of context, interconnectedness, decoupling, etc. These elements will be discussed in the following.

Institutional theory consists of a deep and wide body of literature. A common nominator within the field of institutional theory is that it describes how organizations develop and change and how this can be studied through patterns of interaction.

Institutional theory traces the emergence of distinctive forms, processes, strategies, outlooks, and competences as they emerge from patterns of organizational interaction and adaptation. Such patterns must be understood as responses to both internal and external environments.

(Selznick, 1996, p. 271)

As Selznick mentions in the quote above, institutional theory is relational and has a focus on emergence and movement. In the following, we will see how institutional theory enables us to capture emergence and how it is relational. We will also see how these two aspects of institutional theory compliments change management theory.

Even though institutional theory is not a change management theory, it does provide us with certain ways of studying organization and organization development which are helpful in these regards. Pollitt and Bouckaert thus note that

... in the field of public management reform – the broader forces of economics and politics are almost always mediated through networks of institutions. The specific characteristics of these networks, and of the individual institutions that compose them, frequently have a profound shaping effect upon what actually happens during the course of reform, and therefore upon what actually happens during the course of reform, and therefore upon the final results and outcomes of the change process.

(Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004, p. 23)

The broader forces which Pollitt and Bouckaert describe are a part of the institutional effects as described above, which again make up an important part of the organizational character. In the quote, they mention how the broader forces have an effect on the course of political reforms and thereby that the broader forces are an important aspect of implementation. Institutional theory is not a change management theory per se. It does not give directions on how to implement reforms, on how to change organizations or develop in a certain direction. It does, however, provide us with certain ways of studying organizational dynamics which are relevant in understanding what happens to organizations over time and thereby what happens as organizations change. Institutional arguments and concepts such as isomorphism, heterogeneity, mimetic processes, legitimacy, etc. provide the institutional lenses which help study and analyze change processes.

...even though neoinstitutionalism is not a typical change theory, it is a valid approach with which to explain not only the similarity of isomorphism and stability in the organizational field, but also organizational behaviour, heterogeneity, and the creation of competitive position as a response to dynamic and turbulent environments.

(Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006, p. 509)

The quote above mentions some of the institutional concepts which we will discuss below in relation to the police reform. Also, it indicates that the field of institutionalism is divided into neoinstitutionalism and an 'old' institutionalism and that the contributions to change management is to be found in neoinstitutionalism:

Despite having been considered in its origins a theory with no potential to explain change, we must have deduced from institutionalism processes insights related to

change and adaptation (Johnson et al., 2000), like the isomorphism, the mimetic processes and the legitimacy.

(Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006, p. 509)

Dividing institutionalism into ‘old’ and ‘new’ institutionalism serves a purpose in theoretical sense. The division marks a change in neoinstitutionalism from ‘old’ institutionalism in several ways. As the quote above indicates, neoinstitutionalism has a potential to explain change. In ‘old’ institutionalism which derives from the theoretical strands of human ecology (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2004; Jensen, 2003; Scott, 2008) the managerial and direction setting aspects of organization were neglected as pointed out by e.g. Pfeffer and Salancik (2004) and described very clearly by Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera as follows:

The management of change has played a key role in neoinstitutional theory. Traditionally, change has been a controversial issue because the old institutionalism of Selznick did not include ideas of change and adaptation; instead, inertia and persistence were emphasized (Zucker, 1977; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996; Kraatz and Moore, 2002). Institutionalism was criticized mainly because it neglected the managerial role and assumed, therefore the passivity of organizations and determinism of the institutional context (Bada et al., 2004).

(Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006)

These quotes seem to indicate that the contributions of ‘old’ institutionalism is useless in regards to change management. This is, however, not entirely true. ‘Old’ institutionalism has provided a way of seeing organizations in their environment. It has provided a focus on the interrelations between organization and environment. The ‘old’ institutionalism mainly focused on how the environment influenced the institution whereas ‘new’ institutionalism focuses on the relation between institutions. It focuses on how the institution has influence on its environment in return (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2004; Jensen, 2003; Scott, 2008).

### *Focus on Emergence and Movement*

Institutional theory has a focus on emergence, movement, and change. It focuses on emergence of “distinctive forms, processes, strategies, outlooks, and competences” (Selznick, 1996). This essential trait of institutional theory provides an important contribution to organizational theory and in particular to change management theory. Traditionally, organizational theory and change management theory has been dominated by theories and models which favor the static and the fixed

over movement and emergence as Robert Chia notes in the first lines of his influential 1999 article on ‘a rhizomic model of organizational change and transformation’:

We are not good at thinking movement. Our instinctive skills favour the fixed and the static, the separate and the self-contained. Taxonomies, hierarchies, systems and structures represent the instinctive vocabulary of institutionalized thought in its determined subordinating of flux, movement, change and transformation. Our dominant models of change in general and organizational change in particular are, therefore, paradoxically couched in the language of stasis and equilibrium.

(Chia, 1999, p. 209)

With these words, Chia voices the concern that much of organization theory and in particular change management theory cannot capture movement. It is apparently a paradox that change management theory which by definition focuses on movement cannot capture movement.

In this chapter, we shall discuss how the literature on institutional theory is not dominated by reductionist ways of studying organizations and organizational change as is the case with change management as we have seen above. We saw that dominant change management literature neglects the influence of external and internal environments. The discussion at this point serves to illustrate the point that institutional theory – as opposed to change management theory at large – provides a focus on movement.

Institutional theory is relational in that it focuses on how organizations come into their shape through “patterns of organizational interaction and adaptation” where patterns refer to “both internal and external environments” (Selznick, 1996). Thus, institutional theory provides a lens for seeing how interaction between organizations and influence from other organizations are essential factors in shaping the organization and its organizational characteristics. Institutional theory, then provides a theoretical framework for capturing how internal and external interconnections shape the organization.

In the discussions on organizational character above, we discussed how the organization is partially shaped by what Selznick describes as patterns of dependencies. The patterns of dependencies which are mentioned briefly above include patterns between the institution and other institutions (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004). In the case of the current study, a highly relevant example of these patterns in the external environments would be relations between the police organization and the political

institutions. The political institutions set focus areas, define steering and control mechanisms for the police and at the end of the day they lay the very foundation for the police institution by law. Furthermore, patterns of dependencies include patterns within the institution – what Selznick in the quote above terms responses to internal environments (Selznick, 1996) – such as union relations, training and development systems, etc. (Selznick, 1992). These patterns of dependencies partially shape the distinctive organizational character along with the organizational culture. These discussions around patterns of dependencies are relevant in the current study as the analysis will show how the organizational character is an essential premise for the implementation of the police reform.

By including both internal and internal aspects of the organization in the institutional perspective and by focusing on both formal and informal rules and patterns, institutional theory comprises a steering which is different from governing at a policy level and also different from management at an organizational level. Institutional theory is relational across levels and formal or informal barriers. The term governance can offer a term to illustrate the steering dynamics of this perspective. Lynn, Heinrich and Hill (2001) have designed a levels of governance which we will discuss below. Their definition of governance in which they draw on Williamson 1996 is as follows:

The term governance is widely used in the public and private sectors. It includes global and local arrangements, formal structures and informal norms and practices, spontaneous and intentional systems of control.

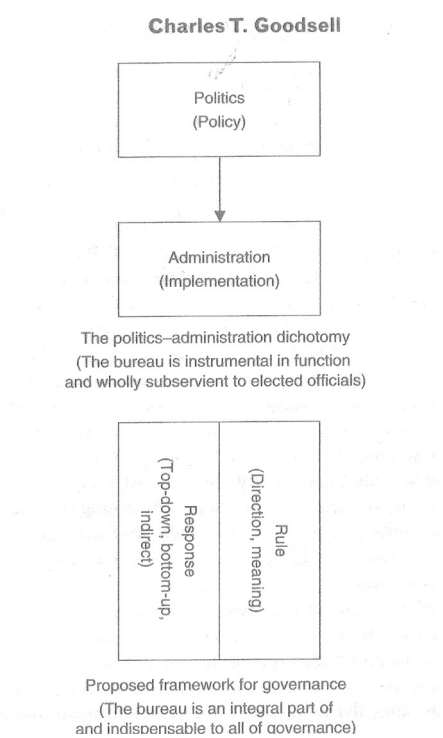
(Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill, p. 5)

The definition by Lynn, Heinrich and Hill is closely related to the definition which are applied by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) who have also worked with levels of action in an institutional perspective with particular emphasis on public management reform. They highlight the definition of governance by Keohane and Nye (2000) as a more considered definition.

By governance we mean the processes and institutions, both formal and informal, that guide and restrain the collective activities of a group. Government is the subset that acts with authority and creates formal obligations. Governance need not necessarily be conducted exclusively by governments. Private firms, associations of firms, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and associations of NGOs all engage in it; sometimes without government authority.

(Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2001, p. 10)

The last definition which draws on Keohane and Nye is also used by Goodsell (2005) in his work on the bureau as unit of governance. Goodsell illustrates how the bureau, in our case the police, is an integral part of governance in that it is intertwined with government and other institutions. He illustrates how governance crosses the formal and informal boundaries in the following model:





Institutional theory focuses on the non-rational aspects of organization. Cooper describes how the formal-functional emphasis which we found in the dominant change management theories is characteristic of organization theory as such.

Contemporary usage of the concept of organization gives it a formal-functional emphasis and this is nowhere more evident than in that branch of social science we call organization theory.

(Cooper, 1986, p. 299)

Institutional theory, however, focuses on the intangibles of organization, of what Jenkins (2002) described as the 'more-ness'. Thus, institutional theory provides an important lens for studying organizational character.

### *Institutional Fields*

One of the main contributions by institutional theory lies within the focus on institutional fields. DiMaggio and Powell define institutional fields as follows:

By organizational field we mean those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products. The virtue of this unit of analysis is that it directs our attention not simply to competing firms, as does the population approach of Hannah and Freeman (1977), or to networks of organizations that actually interact, as does the interorganizational network approach of Laumann, Galaskiewicz, and Marsden (1978), but to the totality of relevant actors.

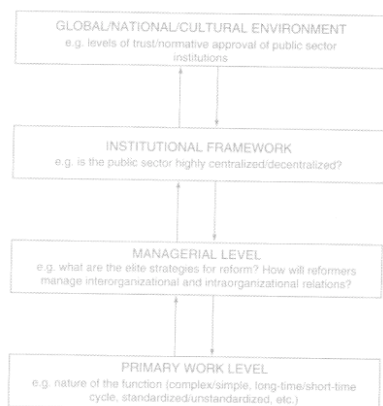
(DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991)

From the definition, it is clear that institutionalism incorporates patterns, as we saw in the definition of organizational character which we derived from Selznick (1992). It also focuses on context. Rather than focusing on the entity being studied, it focuses on the patterns in the field which the object of the study and on the influence from the field to the organization being studied. Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) describe how in public management reform it is clear that the institutional field has influence on the reform.

... in the field of public management reform – the broader forces of economics and politics are almost always mediated through networks of institutions. The specific characteristics of these networks, and of the individual institutions that compose them, frequently have a profound shaping effect upon what actually happens during the course of reform, and therefore upon the final results and outcomes of the change process.

Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004, p. 23.

Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) show how the institutional field of an institution in public reform influences the reform. In the figure below, they further illustrate how there are different levels of influence.



The illustration above shows how the behavior and decisions at one level is influenced by other levels in the illustration. Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) draw on Lynn, Heinrich and Hill (2001) in the model with the different levels. The latter has worked with how governance altogether can be divided into levels of governance for analytical purposes (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001). They divide governance into the following three levels:

1. *The institutional (public choice) level of governance* which concerns “establishment of governing relations, or broad strategic alignments, at the legislative level [...] (i.e., between public/stakeholders and legislators, between legislative preferences and the formal authority and the organization and management of public agencies and programs)” (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001, p. 35-36.)
2. *The managerial level of governance* which concerns “the further shaping of governing relations, or the elaboration of strategies, by organizational actors [...] (I.e., interactions between organization, management, and administration and the core technologies and primary work of public agencies)” (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001, p. 36)
3. *The technical level of governance* which concerns “the primary work level, where strategic alignments are given their operational expression (i.e., interactions between primary workers

and the consequences or outcomes for service recipients and other stakeholders).” (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001, p. 36)

In the institutional perspective, we see how the focus on the organization is broadened to include different levels with a focus on the dynamics between the different levels and their mutual influences. This broadening is yet another example of the rejection of reductionism which is an essential character of institutionalism. Schneiberg and Clemens (2006) note how the institutional perspective rejects reductionism:

A rejection of reductionism lies at the core of institutional theory. The behavior of actors – whether individuals or other entities – is attributed not to the characteristics or motives of that entity, but to its context or to higher-order factors. Thus, individual action derives from scripts or schemas drawn from shared cultural systems. Firm behavior and attributes are shaped by the organization of industries, fields, or national politics. The policies of nation-state are reactions to a world polity rather than to national-level factors such as economic development or political conflict. Instead of reducing higher-order phenomena to aggregates of behavior, institutional theories reverse this causal imagery.

(Schneiberg and Clemens, 2006, p. 195)

Even though Schneiberg and Clemens do not explicitly state that the relation between higher and lower level goes both ways, it is clearly illustrated in the figure by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) above. The impact from a lower-order level to higher-level will be discussed below with the term ‘agency’.

This notion of the environment influencing the system being studied is very well known from for example systems theory (Stacey, 2003) or strategy (Mintzberg, Lampel, Quinn and Ghoshal, 2003). The institutional perspective, however, focuses on the constructs rather than more material perspectives on context as described by Fligstein:

The idea of a field differs from the idea of a niche or the environment in one important sense. Both concepts imply an objective reality that is imposed on any given organization. The idea of a field suggests that the environment and the niche are themselves constructions of organizations and their key actors.

(Fligstein, 1991, p. 313)

This constructivist perspective on fields and on organization provides a certain way of studying organizations. In this perspective, organizations are seen as institutions rather than as organizations.

Brunsson and Olsen (1993) who have done influential work on organizational reform with their institutional perspectives describe this shift in perspective as follows:

In a world of bounded morality, intelligence, and power, political organizations may be conceptualized as institutions rather than as instruments. When political organizations are analysed as institutions, they are seen to be collections of rules.

Brunsson and Olsen (1993)

The argument by Brunsson and Olsen above on why organizations are to be seen as institutions rather than organizations rest in the bounded nature of organizational study. In the institutionalist tradition which is often referred to as ‘old’ institutionalism, the so called ‘rules’ of the institutional fields, the patterns and connections to other institutions, and the influence on higher level systems perceived the institution itself as a somewhat passive entity. New institutionalism, however, has put much focus on the role of the institution as an active agent in constructing and reproducing institutional fields (Scott, 2008; Jensen, 2003). Scott describes this active role of the institution in the term ‘agency’. The agency notion is one of the factors which is ascribed to what we termed ‘new’ institutionalism above.

Agency refers to an actor’s ability to have some effect on the social world – altering the rules, relational ties, or distribution of resources.

(Scott, 2008, p. 77).

As in the example of Brunsson and Olsen (1993) above, Selznick also acknowledges the difference between the instrumental organizational perspective and the institutional perspective.

A “pure” organization is a special-purpose tool, a rational instrument engineered to do a job, a lean, no-nonsense system of consciously coordinated activities. An institution, on the other hand, is better understood as a product of social adaptation, largely unplanned, often a result of converging interests. A given enterprise need not be solely either one or the other. On the contrary, most are complex mixtures of designed and adaptive problem-solving.”

(Selznick, 1992, p. 233)

In an acknowledgement that the ‘more-ness’ of organizations is difficult to grasp and that its relevance to organization is too important too detest. Brunsson and Olsen describe how organizations are collections of rules when they are institutions. Where Brunsson and Olsen work with the notion of collections of rules, Selznick focuses on patterns as we have seen above and on embeddedness in the larger society:

The term “institution” may refer to a group or a social practice, to the Catholic Church or the ritual of communion. This ambiguity is easy to live with, for the basic phenomenon is the same. The group itself may represent an institutionalized way of carrying out a social function. Whether it is a group or a practice or both, a social form becomes institutionalized as, through growth and adaptation, it takes on a distinctive character or function, becomes a receptacle of vested interests, or is charged with meaning as a vehicle of personal satisfaction or aspiration.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 233)

The perspectives by Selznick (1992) and Brunsson and Olsen (1993) can be illustrated by their perspectives within institutional theory. Thus, the resource perspective (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2004) focuses on patterns and embeddedness (Scott, 2004; Pfeffer and Salancik, 2004) whereas institutional theory traditionally has

...tended to focus on social rules, expectations, norms, and values as the source of pressures on organizations to conform, rather than the patterns of transaction and exchanges that formed the focus for resource dependence.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2004, p. xv).

The resource dependence perspective is more dominant in Selznick’s perspective than in that of Brunsson and Olsen (1993). The perspectives by Selznick (1992) and Brunsson and Olsen (1993) are not mutually excluding. Embedded patterns which are not questioned can be seen as rules, and rules can be seen as patterns of embeddedness. The important common denominator is the focus on embeddedness, interconnectedness, and the essential role of context.

### *Institutions and organizations*

In institutional terms, an organization – or institution – can be more or less institutionalized. Selznick describes how the degree of embeddedness influences the degree of institutionalization.

The more settled the practice, the more firmly vested the interests, the more values at stake, the more sense it makes to speak of an “institution”.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 233)

When speaking of an institution rather than an organization, the ‘more-ness’ of the organization thus plays an important role. Furthermore, the embeddedness in the larger system, in the institutional field, has a role in determining the degree of its institutionalization.

A developed institution is not readily limited to narrowly defined goals. It is valued for the special place it holds in a larger social system. Institutions endure because persons, groups, or communities have a stake in their continued existence.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 233)

The quote above describes how the embeddedness in society is an essential factor in the institutionalization of an organization. In the quote, Selznick talks about institutionalization of institutions. Thereby he presumes that the organization is institutionalized and that the concern is the degree to which it is institutionalized. In the current study, we do not distinguish between institutions and organizations in the sense that we ascribe the police to a categorical box of organization or institution. However, in some situations where we highlight the institutional aspects of the police, we may refer to it as an institution. Yet in other situations where we focus on non-institutional aspects of the police, we may refer to the police as an organization. However, we must necessarily clarify that the perspective taken in the current study is that the police is an organization which has been institutionalized through its embeddedness in society. The police is by far one of the most influential institutions in society given that we all, citizens, and other institutions, depend upon its existence and value its function. The transformation of organization into institution is difficult to grasp. According to Selznick (1992), the process of transforming organizations into institutions is a two-step process. The first step is the formal creation of an organization as a solution to problems of coordination and economy (Selznick, 1992). The organizational formalization entails “Explicit goals and rules; a chain of command; channels of communication” (Selznick, 1992, p. 234). As Selznick notes, the need for such organization is the need to enhance the coordination and economy by the very formalization: “these *designed* modes of social integration overcome the looseness, instability, and limited rationality of ad hoc or contractual arrangements.” (Selznick, 1992, p. 234). Beyond this first formal step in the transformation of organizations into institutions lies what Selznick describes as a texture of social reality enacted through people. This extension of the formal organization is described as “thick” institutionalization (Selznick, 1992). Thus the formal organization does not stand alone but is permeated by informal aspects. Selznick describes this relation between the formal and the informal as follows:

The official design is always supplemented by an informal structure, which is composed of attitudes, relationships, and practices that arise in the course of social interaction – as individuals and groups bring into play their own personalities, values, and interests.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 235)

Thus, the formal organization is always paired with informal structures which creates a thickness and a richness of the organization which must be acknowledged when studying organizations – and institutions. Institutional theory, and in particular ‘new’ institutional theory provides a frame for studying the non-formal aspects of organization as DiMaggio and Powell state:

The new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supraindividual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals’ attributes or motives.

(Dimaggio and Powell, 1991, p. 8.)

From DiMaggio and Powell’s quote, we clearly see that institutional theory rejects rationality as the sole explanation for action. This perspective of institutionalism is important in that it supplements the change management theory and other organizational theories which rely on rational-actor models.

Institutional theory leads us to focus farther than merely acknowledging the rational organizational aspects of the organization upon which much change management theory rests. It incorporates both the formal and the formal aspects and thus supplements change management theory. This perspective is important in the current thesis as we shall see in the analysis. However, institutionalism also provides more than merely a perspective to the study. It also provides specific lenses for studying organization which will prove essential in the analysis. One of these is isomorphism which will be described below.

### *Isomorphism and the Role of Legitimacy in Shaping Organizations*

In this section, the concept of isomorphism will be described and brought into play in pursuit of a deeper understanding of why organizations take on their shape and form. The concept of isomorphism will be used in the analysis to study how the police reform came into being in its present form.

Isomorphism means ‘same shape’. This is exactly the point about this institutional concept. The concept stems from human ecology.

The principle of isomorphism was first applied to organizations by human ecologist Amos Hawley (1968), who argued that “Units subjected to the same environmental conditions ... acquire a similar form of organizations”

(Scott, 2008, p. 152)

As described above, ‘old’ institutionalism which draws upon human ecology has a rather deterministic perspective on organization and change. This can be seen in the quote from Hawley. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) who are influential in ‘new’ institutionalism draw on Hawley’s work in human ecology to crystallize their working definition of isomorphism. They define isomorphism as follows:

... isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions.

(DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 149)

DiMaggio and Powell thus see isomorphism as a process which constrains and forces itself upon a unit – in our case the police – to resemble other institutions. In the analysis, we will pursue this perspective to how the shaping of the police in the design of the police reform has traces of isomorphism.

Isomorphism goes further than to say that organizations ‘mimic’ each other. It provides an explanation for the phenomenon. An explanation which is not based on rational aspects. Selznick describes this as follows:

The formal structure of an organization, it is said, cannot be understood as a rational system for coordinating activities, nor can it be accounted for by a logic of transaction costs. Rather, the formal structure is institutionalized from without as well as from within, and it reflects prevailing concepts of how work should be organized.

(Selznick, 1996, p. 273)

Thus, isomorphism rejects rational-functional logic in its description of how organizations come into being and of why they take their form and shape. The explanation in an institutional perspective lies within the realms of legitimization rather than efficiency:

Organizations tend to model themselves after similar organizations in their field that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful. The ubiquity of certain kinds of structural arrangements can more likely be credited to the universality of mimetic processes than to any concrete evidence that the adopted models enhance efficiency.



(DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991, p. 70)

The legitimization element in isomorphism is one of the more recent developments in institutional theory as Selznick describes:

“New institutionalism” sets forth some new directions compared to “old institutionalism”. One of these new directions is the focus on legitimacy as an organizational imperative.

(Selznick, 1996).

This concept of isomorphism thus rejects the rational-functional explanations of how organizations come into being in their present shape. Ideas of rational functional explanations are supplemented – if not substituted – with explanations of legitimacy.

#### *The contribution by institutional theory*

In the framing of institutional theory, we have crossed a number of aspects and perspectives which will prove to be of great importance in the analysis of the current thesis. Among these is the importance of context. Whereas the dominant change management theory is reductionist, institutionalism incorporates contextual issues. Furthermore, it focuses on interconnectedness by seeing the impact of initiatives at one level or at a specific point in time and projecting the proposed implications forward in time or to other levels of analysis. This way, institutionalism is a way of grasping factors which move too slowly for the eye to see. Tendencies in an institutional field can be projected and its constitutive effects can be foreseen in these perspectives. The dynamics of constitutive effects can be difficult to describe even though it can serve as a clarifier of very complex dynamics. A way of describing constitutive effects which has proved to be of value when speaking with managers in the police about these dynamics is by using a metaphor from ceramics:

Constitutive effects of change management can be difficult to understand because the ‘organizational settlements’ cannot be seen and collected in the same way that you can collect a fossilized sea urchin from the ground. To understand these at times abstract and theoretical constitutive effects of change management, ceramic handicrafts can help provide a tangible image of what happens in organizations when you do change management in pervasive change initiatives such as public reforms.

During a writing residence at Klitgården retreat in the early summer of 2007, I was working on my field notes from the police. A number of interesting and inspiring people were there at the same time, among others the ceramic artist, Helle Bovbjerg.

On the afternoon before she left the retreat, she invited us to an opening in the workshop where we could see what she had been doing during her stay. She told us about the various works and at one point she told us about a series of box like works that resembled each other, and she pointed at one and said: "This one will get crooked." She had pointed at one out of many that all had even sides looked the same. We probably all wondered what she meant and fortunately one asked her: "How do you know it'll get crooked?" She immediately replied: "That's because I dented it when I made it. And even if it is made straight immediately after, it will bend where I accidentally pressed it when it is burnt. It is as if the clay remembers but I don't know why. Maybe you know?" she asked a physicist from Risø who was on the retreat to write about bio fuel. "Yes," he said. Very unimpressed by his own amazing insight in something that seemed abstract, unworldly and hidden to the rest of us, he briefly said, "That's because the molecules become oriented." The molecules in the clay are oriented in the process of shaping and thus create traces in the ceramic work, the same way change management leaves imprints on the managerial space in the organization.

Institutionalism further contributes in that it rejects rational-functional explanations and provides us with a perspective which acknowledges explanations of legitimacy and presumably symbolic action. Thus, institutionalism enables us to see couplings and de-couplings in the patterns between seemingly unrelated aspects such as management steering technologies and social dynamics such as mutual trust and social interdependencies. These characteristics will be unfolded in the analysis.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter will set the methodological frame for the current study. It will provide an understanding of the grounds on which the study analyses the research object. This is done by discussing the nature of the research subject – the organizational change in the police reform. This chapter discusses the nature of the research object with regards to how research can gain access to organizational change, knowing fully well that research data in studies of this nature cannot be collected from the field like picking strawberries. This chapter describes how the research goes about gaining knowledge of the research subject and further discusses how the study analyzes the organizational change which given its nature cannot be taken into a lab to determine its nature or be punched into a calculator to see if it measures up to standard.

The discussions on methodology in the following will evolve around and answer to the three methodological questions which Egon G. Guba (1990) poses:

1. *Ontological*: What is the nature of the “knowable”? Or, what is the nature of “reality”?
2. *Epistemological*: What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the known (or knowable)?
3. *Methodological*: How should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge?

These questions will be discussed throughout the chapter. Yet not with the rigidity of Guba (1990) given the nature of the current thesis and the research study. The scientific theory position in the current thesis will be discussed and framed in the chapter without labeling the research with a particular paradigmatic tradition.<sup>25</sup>

The chapter sets out by describing the nature of change management in the police reform as a research object. Then it describes the methodology which has been used in the research to gain knowledge of the research subject. These operational methodological concerns then lead to a discussion on how to draw research based conclusions and a further discussion on the usefulness of these conclusions to theory as well as practice.

---

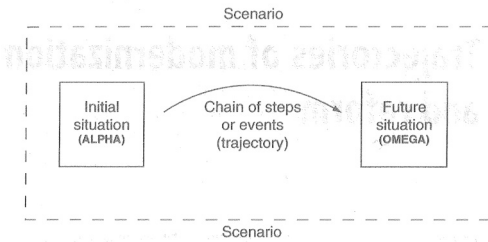
<sup>25</sup> Labeling research paradigms for a certain research project is certainly meaningful – and useful. However, the position of the current study does not call for such a labeling or paradigmatic categorization which is seen in for example Guba (1990) or Burrell and Morgan (1982).

## The nature of the research subject

This study is about organizational change. The nature of organizational change confronts research into this field with two essential methodological challenges which have a high degree of relevance to the current study. One is the difficulty of researching change, given that change is movement. The other contains the difficulties in studying social organization which is relational. These two methodological challenges will be discussed in the following sections.

### *Methodological concerns in capturing change*

Change is movement. Movement from one situation to another. In the case of the police reform, the change is quite clear. The organization is to move from status quo to a new situation which is prescribed by the reform act and in an architecture which has been developed by the Vision Committee and described in detail in their comprehensive report “The future police” (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The organizational change in the police reform can be illustrated in very broad terms using Pollitt and Bouckaert’s (2004) model on public reform.<sup>26</sup>



(Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2005, p. 66)

The model shows how organizational change, more specifically public reform, can be seen as going *from* a status quo situation, *through* a transformation phase, and *into* the desired situation which has been described and prescribed by the architects behind the reform initiative which in the case of the Danish police reform is the Vision Committee. The transformation phase in the model above shows the change; the movement which the organization is to go through during the process of the police

---

<sup>26</sup> See the chapter on theory for a further discussion on this model and its relation to other change management models and concerns relevant to the study.

reform implementation. The depiction above is very clear and serves a purpose in describing and discussing the change. Certainly, the model has been found useful in discussing change management concerns in the police reform<sup>27</sup> as well as in the change management literature.<sup>28</sup> The model, however, treats the transformation phase, which indicates the movement, as a 'black box'. In capturing the movement, it freezes it.

This apparent paradox – or precondition which some may argue – of freezing movement in order to capture it is a methodological concern which is known not only in the social sciences but also in the natural sciences. By trying to make sense of movement in the social sciences, we tend to work with conceptualizations that capture the movement and freeze it into static terms, models, and depictions (Fuglsang, 1998). Even in the more established natural sciences, this methodological challenge tends to pose a methodological challenge of seemingly paradoxical nature for example in that it is impossible to determine an electron's position and velocity which is termed the Heisenberg principle (Gribbin, 1984).

In the social sciences, and in particular in this study which has focus on organizational change, the question of 'how to' study change without freezing it, is difficult to answer. The answer to the question may necessarily be that it is not possible. It is not possible to capture movement, to make sense of it and to share useful scientific knowledge about the movement without capturing it into models, concepts, or some sort of 'black box'. Thus when studying change, we necessarily strip it for some of its complexity. The consequence is not that we should refrain from studying change. We should, however, acknowledge – as we do in the current thesis – that we strip the research object of some complexity in the process of capturing movement.

An additional challenge lies in the following: Let us assume that it were possible to capture movement without freezing it, and that the crystallization of the movement occurred only when making sense of the movement, or perhaps even later in the process of sharing this valuable knowledge. Given this assumption, we would not be able to share the knowledge and thereby it would not prove itself useful in research. Thereby, when asking the question of 'how to' study

---

<sup>27</sup> For further elaborations on how this model has served as grounds for relevant discussions in the police reform, refer to the analysis chapter.

<sup>28</sup> See the chapter on theory.

change without freezing it, the question in itself is negated. The question must be rephrased to embrace the assumption that movement – in our case, change – will necessarily be crystallized which will result in loss of some of its dynamics and thereby also result in a loss of valuable complexity.

In the current research, we aim at retaining as much of the complexity in the study. This is done partly by working with a methodology of thickness and triangulation which will be discussed at length in this chapter.

This rather abstract elaboration upon methodological challenges of studying movement which has been put forward above has very practical and operational implications. The discussion raises some basic methodological questions and reveals some of the foundations in regards to theory of science in the current study. Firstly, it raises a question of ontology. Questions of ontology into the research subject ask ‘what does it consist of?’, and ‘what is it?’ (Jenkins, 2002), and as we mentioned above, with Guba’s (1990) question of its nature. Questions of whether there is a reality to be captured by science, or whether what we in daily terms describe as ‘reality’ is a social construction, whether it is perhaps somewhere in between, or whether different aspects of the research subject must be considered differently. In the outset, I take on a pragmatic position in regards to this question (Andersen, 2005). This default position will be subject to some adjustment – or rather to some supplement in the next sections – but in the current study, this default position will be established. The pragmatic position takes its outset by recognizing that the world is real. I can feel the keys on the keyboard of my computer below my fingers as the cursor moves across the page. On my screen, I can see that the punching of the keys has a direct, accurate, and predictable response to the text which I am writing. I am sure that the keys which I feel below my fingers are there. I am sure that they are real and that the computer is real. I am also sure that my text would be lost if I threw my computer into the ocean right outside my window. I am sure that there is a reality out there. A reality which is not merely a social construction. A reality which would most probably be here regardless of anyone being here to witness it. This question of whether reality exists *per se* is the essence of the existential question ‘would a tree falling in a forest make a noise’. While the question is an interesting riddle, it lacks relevance in the context of the current study which takes a pragmatic position in this regard. The question, then, cannot be answered but will instead be negated for the same reasons as described above in the abstract discussion on how it is possible to capture

movement without freezing it. When we cannot know of the falling tree because there are no accounts of it falling, it is not of relevance to the study. In this scientifically based text, it may seem ignorant to apparently disregard what from a reader's point of view may seem as valuable knowledge. The methodological position, however, does not disregard this sort of knowledge. It does not mean that the research disregards what is difficult to acquire knowledge of, such as tacit knowledge in Polanyi's (1966) term. As Van Maanen (1988) writes, it may lead to frustrations when one has a sense that the author of a study which one has a particular interest in, knows more than the author can say.

When I try, for example, to do a frame analysis as I imagine Goffman (1974) might, my results feel and look rather awkward and stilted, if not downright stupid. While this is surely partly my own doing, I suspect part of it also lies with the fact that Goffman knew more than he could say to the rest of us.

(Van Maanen, 1988, p. 131)

Whether the sense that the author knows more than he can say is actually correct or not in the type of situation which Van Maanen describes above, is not the main point in this discussion. On the contrary. One note to the point is that whether the sense is correct or not, may not have consequences for the end reader. The main point in this discussion lies in the word 'could' say. That Goffman in Van Maanen's quote knew more than he possibly could say to the rest of us. This poses a challenge of trying to communicate what is relevant for the reader very well knowing that it is impossible to say it all. Some things are disregarded as not being relevant, and yet others may seem to be of highest relevance to the reader but cannot be said as the case of Van Maanen's sense about Goffman's knowledge.

This pragmatic stance is not, however, a methodological free ride. On the contrary, this pragmatic position requires that the research is conducted with great attention to the forest and with different ways of gaining knowledge of accounts of relevance to the research subject.<sup>29</sup> The operational consequences of these considerations will be discussed in the following sections.

---

<sup>29</sup> The basic stance in regards to discussions on theory of science will be elaborated upon in the following chapter when discussing challenges of studying social relations. In this discussion I will show how the pragmatic ontological position is enriched by social constructivist perspectives.

As a researcher studying change, one is then left with two challenges as a direct consequence of the methodological discussion above. One challenge is to aim at ensuring as rich complexity in the subject as possible, knowing that it is impossible to conserve its complexity in full, particularly when researching movement. The methodological response to this challenge in the current study is to use tales which allow for a thick description of the empirical accounts in order to preserve some of the depth of the subject being studied. The use of tales and the importance of rich description to the study are elaborated upon in the chapter below on how to gain knowledge of the research subject. The other challenge is to try and understand the dynamics of the movement. Study the movement itself and gain as much knowledge of the movement as possible from different angles and then use this knowledge to project the consequences of the movement. The methodological response in this study to understand – make sense of – change is to approach the change from different angles. By applying different perspectives to the change and relying on not just one but several ways of gaining knowledge of the change. This approach is described below in the discussions on multi-sited research. In regards to the challenges of projecting the consequences of the change, the methodological response in the study is to study the constitutive effects of the initiatives in the change. These methodological responses will be elaborated upon in the following sections along with other methodological concerns which are relevant to the current study and necessary in understanding the research design.

### ***Methodological concerns in gaining knowledge of social organization***

Organization is social.<sup>30</sup> It is in its nature relational. Conducting research on organizational change therefore implies studying social relations. Studying social relations poses specific methodological challenges which will be discussed in the following section. The first and foremost question refers back to the questions of theory of science which were discussed in the previous section in relation to discussing methodological challenges to studying change. When faced with studies of a social relational character, the pragmatic approach to ontology which we established as a theoretical outset above must necessarily be expanded to include the relational. When studying social relations, the theoretical outset must acknowledge that what is being studied is more than the material world

---

<sup>30</sup> The working definition of organization in the current study is by Weber (1978). It rests upon two fundamental premises: that organization is social and that it is closed or limits the admission to outsiders. See the Theory chapter for an elaboration on the working definition.



which we can pick as strawberries and bring into a lab for further study. When studying relations, the research focuses on the ‘more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts’ (Jenkins, 2002). Studying social relations requires a theoretical position by establishing an ontology of the collective which can embrace the fact that the nature of the research subject is ‘more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts’ (Jenkins, 2002). The methodological concerns regarding how to study such a research subject which is relational and by nature more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts is discussed in the next section which encompasses epistemological discussions which in short are discussions on how to gain knowledge of the research study. The question which we framed above with Guba (1990) as the nature of the relationship between the knower and the known. For now, I will focus a bit more on the ontology of the research subject. On what it consists of, what it is.

As is already established, the research subject in this study is organizational change. Organization is social, and the study therefore necessarily takes on an ontology of the collective in which what is being studied is more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts. What is this collective ‘more-ness’? (Jenkins, 2002) In the current study, the more-ness refers on the one hand to movement which I have discussed in the section above, and – of specific relevance to the discussion in this section – to social relations. Therefore, when studying organization – and in particular organizational change – we must necessarily study the relational aspects of organization. Study the social relations, relations between the individuals that produce and reproduce the organization. To do so, we must ask ourselves ‘whatever-it-is-that-is-more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts’ (Jenkins, 2002).

In the current study, the answer to ‘whatever-it-is-that-is-more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts’ is to be found in the distinctiveness of the organization. When researching change management in the police reform, the nature of the police organization and its distinctiveness is necessarily a primary subject of the study. If the research regarded a broader and more generalizable study such as change management in public organizations or change management in vast organizational transformation initiatives, the theoretical and methodological consequences would most probably shift compared to the current study. When acknowledging that the current study must focus on the distinctiveness of the police organization, the next question will necessarily be how to define its distinctiveness. With our ontology of the collective we start with the ‘more-ness’ of the collective. With the ‘more-ness’ of the social and the relational, the dynamics of the interaction. With this ontology, this ‘more-ness’

can be described as ‘culture’ by using the following definition of the term by Richard Jenkins (2002) in which he draws on the thoughts of Edward Tylor from the nineteenth century:

Here ‘culture’ is simply everything that humans do and make. It is every aspect of human life and endeavour: from language to tin openers, roadside hovels to Beethoven, nuclear weapons to money, sexual behaviour to religion, aeroplanes to vulgar childhood rhymes.

(Jenkins, 2002, p. 54)

The definition of culture by Jenkins emphasizes the social and the relational. It highlights action. Action which he describes as things that humans do and make. Thus the ‘more-ness’ of culture signifies something which is not static. Something which is relational and dynamic. As we discussed above, movement is difficult to capture, and with our definition of culture, we end up with an ontology of the collective which emerges in the collective, in the relational. This poses specific challenges to the methodology in that the research design must be able to gain knowledge of something which is relational. To gain knowledge of something which unfolds in action. The methodological consequences are described in the sections below by emphasizing the necessity for field work, intervention, and participatory research. In a strictly ontological sense, when asking “what is culture”, the question can be answered with less complexity than the discussion above which also encompasses some aspects of epistemological concerns by regarding how one can gain knowledge of culture. One answer which is relevant to this study is found in Selznick’s definition below:

Culture is the symbolic expression of shared perception, valuation, and belief.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 321)

The relevance of this definition of culture is linked to the impact which Selznick and institutionalism has on the analysis in the current study.<sup>31</sup> Selznick’s definition has a different perspective than that of Jenkins’ in that it focuses on the symbolic expression of shared perception, valuation, and belief which are in turn outcomes of the social relations rather than being the social relations themselves. In the current study, I will not distinguish between these cultural concepts but rather include both aspects in the working cultural definition. The common denominator on culture

---

<sup>31</sup> For further discussions on the role of institutionalism in the current study and theoretical foundations, please refer to the chapter on theory.

in this respect is that the methodological challenge is to interpret culture as a construction – which, as Van Maanen notes below – is a useful abstraction.

Whatever else it may be, ethnography is an interpretation. It is something added to all the wondrous facts that are collected or stumbled on during a period of fieldwork. The purposes of ethnography do not normally spring from the setting in which fieldwork is conducted but come (and leave) with the ethnographer. [...] It helps to keep in mind that we never observe or study a culture directly since the term ‘culture’ does not denote any concrete reality. It is an abstraction and, as commonly used, a vague – but still useful – abstraction.

(Van Maanen, 2001, p. 238-239)

Thus the culture of the organization which is a great part of the ‘more-ness’ of the organizational ontology encompasses both everything that humans do and make as well as the symbolic expression of the results hereof, being shared perception, valuation, and belief.

In this discussion of what organizational distinctiveness is, culture has proven itself an essential factor as described above. However, culture is far from the only factor which makes up the distinctive character of the organization. Selznick (1992) uses the term the “organization’s distinctive character” to describe the distinctive nature of the organization of which culture is a part but not a whole. Selznick describes organizational character as follows:

The character of an organization includes its culture, but something more as well. A pattern of dependency – for example, on a specific labor force, a market, or particular suppliers – may have little to do with symbols or belief. The character of a company or a trade union owes much to the structure of the industry, the skills of employees or members, the alliances that can be fashioned, and many other practical limits and opportunities. Attitudes and beliefs account for only part of an organization’s distinctive character.

(Selznick, 1992, p. 321)

In the quote above, Selznick describes how the ontology of the organization necessarily has to be expanded from merely being the cultural. The distinctiveness of the organization includes institutional aspects of the organization such as relations to other organizations, internal structures, capabilities, etc. This description of organizational character will serve as the working definition in the current study. When prompted with the ontological question of ‘what is’ organizational character, we may then refer to the quote above by Selznick. However, it leaves some questions of the nature of organizational character unanswered. One is the fact that it is difficult – if not

impossible – to determine the nature of the characteristics. Even to the degree of which aspects are ‘parts’ and which aspects are ‘more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts’. This question has some relevance to the methodology applied in gaining knowledge of the organization which we will discuss below. To approximate the question, cultural aspects will necessarily be categorized ‘more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts’ due to its relational and dynamic nature. How about the structure of the industry or the organization? Are these characteristics institutionalized to such an extent that they can be regarded as parts or are they themselves relational? How about the skills of the employees or alliances and partnerships? Categorizing these as parts or more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts is a difficult task. However, the one answer which can be given is that all these aspects of organizational character are of such a complex nature that they cannot be categorized as parts. They all entail components or aspects which amount to more-than-the-sum-of-the-part(s). The methodological consequences of the ontology which has been founded in this section will be described in the following, starting with the question of how to gain knowledge of the research subject given its ontological nature.

## **How to gain knowledge of the research subject**

In the previous chapter, I discussed the nature of the research subject. In the process of building an understanding of the nature of ‘the beast’, I drew strings to the questions of how to gain knowledge of the research subject at several occasions. In the following section, I will discuss how the research was conducted in gaining knowledge of its subject.

Firstly, I will introduce the different ways of gaining knowledge of the research subject. During this introduction, the value of each of the sources in the current study will be discussed. Furthermore, the reasons for including each of these will be presented. After presenting the different ways of gaining knowledge of the research subject, the role of using tales in the study will be presented and discussed.

### ***Ways of gaining knowledge of the research subject***

This section describes what is often referred to as ‘sources of information’ in methodology. This term, however, must be used with a word of caution. The hesitation in using this classic terminology in the current study has two primary reasons. The first regards the use of the word ‘source’ in this meaning. When speaking of a ‘source’ of information, it denotes that we speak of

people in or outside of the organization, and of different media such as newspapers, homepages, annual reports, etc. These so called sources were all used in the current study. However, the term source seems to suggest that the researcher sits down to identify which sources to approach, goes out and collects relevant data and brings it back home. This has of course to some extent been true in the current study. However, in the current study, it appeared that some of the most valuable ways of gaining knowledge of the organization could not have been planned up front. Some of the most valuable information has appeared at times when I was just waiting; in the men's room, or coming from people whom I could not have suspected would provide valuable knowledge of relevance to the study.<sup>32</sup> Using the word 'source' of information must therefore be seen in this light in the current study. The other reason for being hesitant in using the term 'source of information' is due to the word "information". The word "information" tends to suggest that information is a one-way street. That the researcher gets in-formed by the source rather than seeing information as being constructed in the meeting which Steinar Kvale (1997) emphasizes by using the term inter-view, signifying that the view is constructed between the informant and the interviewee in the case of interviews. However, the research in the current study has been of a very active nature which will be described in the following. Therefore it would diminish the value of the methodology to only speak of information in the sense of classic communication theory which relied on a model of sender-receiver. Much of the knowledge of the research subject in the current thesis has been unfolded in the event, in the meeting with the field being studied. Knowledge has been formed by combining information, knowledge, and situations. These discussions call for a further discussion on how to gain knowledge of the research subject. For now, we will look towards the specific ways of generating data in the current study.

### *Data generating activities*

The methodology applied in the current study rests on a number of very different data generating activities. The methodological anchoring will be described below in the section on multi-sited methodology. The methodological consequences in regards to challenges of generating data and analyzing based on the data are also described in the sections below. In the current section, the specific data collection activities will be outlined.

---

<sup>32</sup> See the discussion in the analysis of how the police organization described to people outside of the police that the police goes from a we-culture to an I-culture.

The primary data generating activities in the current study are as follows:

1. Field studies
2. Interviews
3. Presentations and discussions
4. Written documents

#### Re. 1) Field studies

During the first three months of the current study, I spent most of my time with the program office in the National Commissioner's Office. They planned and coordinated the implementation of the reform. They developed everything from kick-off meetings, through competency supporting workshops in the districts, to the development of the script book which had the function of project plan during the implementation. Throughout this period, I spent much time in their office following their work and their meetings and discussing their initiatives with them. As much of their time was spent at meetings and management rallies, much of my time was spent there as well.

To supplement the management perspective with the operational perspective, I spent some time doing field studies at an operational level. I did approximately 150 hours of field work in three different districts. During these field studies, I spent most of my time with the uniformed police since they are the largest employee group in the police and are leading in the culture of the police given that most employees throughout the police have started their career in the uniformed police. Some of the field studies were spent with the criminal investigation departments, and some at the operation control center.

#### Re. 2) Interviews

In the beginning of the study, I did a couple of interviews. One with the National Commissioner of Police and one with the Police Commissioner from the National Commissioner's Office who was in charge of the implementation of the police reform. Throughout the study, only three other formal interviews were conducted. In each situation the interview form was chosen because of the necessary focus on specificity. One example is an interview with a project manager who was describing complicated relations in the new organizational setting and therefore I did a formal interview form and recorded the interviews. An other example is an interview with the new

National Commissioner of Police who was instated in office January 2009. The reason for the formal setting of this latter interview was to capture the many new perspectives and initiatives which he had initiated in his first months in office. Most other interview-like settings were conducted in a more informal meeting-like setting due to the distinct organizational character of the police. In the section below on formal versus informal methodology, the reasons for doing so are elaborated upon.

#### Re. 3) Presentations and discussions

During the three years of the study, I conducted more around thirty presentations for management teams throughout the police. The first series of presentations were held at the first kick-off meetings for managers in the police in 2006. The following two series of presentations were held as part of the competency supporting workshops in the new management teams in the districts. These series were held spring 2007 and fall 2007 respectively. Apart from these three series of presentations, I held a number of ad hoc presentations. Twice at the National Commissioner of Police's annual meeting for his top management group. Some at workshops in working committees for specific initiatives in the reform, other for network groups, etc. A great part of these events where I did presentations were discussions and therefore the presentations have been an important 'site' at which I have been able to present interim findings and hypothesis and discuss with those in the field. Furthermore, the informal setting during breaks, before and after presentations, etc. have been valuable.

#### Re. 4) Written documents

Within the police, written documents have an essential role. Police service is based on law through the police act, and police activities are based on upholding the written law. Furthermore, the legal system and the police system is based on precedent which in turn refers back to written documents. This emphasis on written documents is reflected in the organization in the way that written documents carry particular weight compared to other types of organizations. This is also the case in the police reform. The single most important document in the police reform is the report by the Vision Committee 'The Future Police' (Visionsudvalget). The report serves as the blue print of the reform describing the content of the reform and the arguments behind the content. This document has been pivotal from the very first phases of the reform and in April 2009, it is still an essential document which is being referred to when working with reform related initiatives such as

management and organization development, management policies, organizational charter, etc. This report is used as a reference throughout the study since it is the reference in practice and the blue print of the reform as a whole. The reform act serves as a complimentary document for the police reform in that it contains the slight changes between the report by the Vision Committee and the final reform. However, there are only minor differences between the final reform and the report by the Vision Committee (Røn, 2007) and so the report by the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005) is the main reference to the content of the reform as it is also in practice within the police. Apart from the report by the Vision Committee, internal documents have been used as data in the current study. Information and updates from the National Commissioner's Office, from the program office, etc. serve as a background for the study.

In the third part of the analysis we focus on the relations between the police and the external environment. This includes the relations to the political arena and in particular to the Minister of Justice and the settlement parties behind the police reform. In this part of the analysis we will see how the public debate is influential to the police reform and to the police organization. In these discussions, press releases by the Ministry of Justice and the National Commissioner's Office play important roles. Furthermore, newspaper articles are used to reflect the public debate. The newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* did a focus on police neglect in relation to the police reform which they termed 'the crime'.<sup>33</sup> The work by this specific newspaper was of such great influence to the public debate that their focus will be used primarily as a signifier of the news arena's dominant perspectives in the public debate at the time. See the third section of the analysis 'External control of the police' for a further elaboration on how this focus was influential to the police reform.

Below in the chapter on multi-sited methodology, the character of information, knowledge, and events which have been essential in gaining knowledge of the research subject will be described and discussed.

### *Multi-sited methodology*

The methodology in the current study has combined information and knowledge from many situations and from an array of sources as we have seen above. To grasp the complexity of the

---

<sup>33</sup> In Danish: 'Forbrydelsen'.



research object, several sources of information have been used and the knowledge gained from one has been carried forth in the study. Thus, the methodology can be said to be multi-sited, including several sites, perspectives, and sources of information. George Marcus (1995) in his classic article “Ethnography in/of the World System: the emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography” brought together some of the emerging strands of multi-sited methodology in ethnographic studies. He pointed out that ethnography has been able to function as a single-sited methodology in times when it was possible to research a local field. However, with contemporary complexity and interconnectedness, the fields being studied cannot be grasped by using single-sited methodology. Marcus thus writes:

For ethnographers interested in contemporary local changes in culture and society, single-sited research can no longer be easily located in a world system perspective.

(Marcus, 1995, p. 98)

In the tradition of ethnography, Marcus suggests that the ethnographer follows different traces, or fields, to add perspectives to the research. This results in an interdisciplinarity which is in opposition to traditional methodology which in the case of ethnography, Van Maanen describes as follows:

“A fetish with fieldwork may deny the legitimacy of social observation beyond the tête-à-tête of interpersonal interaction. Other sources of information exist and the best – and most responsible – ethnographies are perhaps always interdisciplinarity.”

(Van Maanen, 2001, p. 239)

In the current study, the methodology has been inspired by multi-sited methodology because it is a way to get a richer understanding of change. The methodology in the current study focuses on several sources of information. Text has played a great role by illustrating the intentions and directions of the police reform. Thus, as we will see in the following chapters, the report by the Vision Committee (2005) plays an important role since it shows the intentions of the reform and provides the arguments behind the decisions for reforming the Danish police. Furthermore, documents from the Ministry of Justice have been very useful. As we will see below, interviews, meetings, and field studies have played important roles in the study as well. Together, this multi-sited methodology has provided patterns and combinations which have been essential in the analysis. This very characteristic of multi-sited methodology is highlighted by Marcus as follows:

Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography.

(Marcus, 1995, p. 105)

Thus, when working with a multi-sited methodology, an aspect which appears in one site, for example in a document, may also show itself in field studies, an interview, or a meeting. The multi-sited research at times enables the researcher to see the great in the small. Seeing patterns across different sites can be signifier of something which is difficult to see from just one sight. This has proved to be particularly relevant in the current study when researching organizational change. A major reason for this is that organizational change moves so slowly that it is difficult to see the organizational movement. Like on a clock, one can see the movement of the seconds dial but the movement of the slower hour dial is moving so slow that one cannot see its movement even though the movement of the hour dial has much more impact than the seconds dial. In the current study, this very abstract analogy has shown to be very useful in practice. As we will see in the analysis, the police reform has brought about vast changes to the police organization. The changes, however, are difficult to see because they are moving so slowly. However, it is possible to see indicators of the changes. An example of how this is used in the current study is the changes which the police reform brings to the social capital of the police. Social capital is roughly described as having the function of serving as an essential resource to the police through the social structures within the organization (Coleman, 1988). These social structures rest upon mutual trust (Fukuyama, 2001). As we will see in the analysis, within the police is an essential organizational resource which is determined as social capital. We will see that the social capital in the police is being devalued in these years with the introduction of initiatives in the police reform. This can be foreseen in the individualizing nature of an array of the new management technologies such as individual development plans, individualizing performance measures, and also in some of the essential change management technologies which were applied in the implementation of the reform. We will discuss these matters in the analysis section. However, there is no one specific quantitative measure of social capital which is applied to the social capital in the study. Therefore we have to rely on indicators of social capital. In this example, the site which indicates that we may see an individualization effect is the management technologies which are being introduced in the reform. A second site is that of the change management technologies used in implementing the reform. We will find that also the management technologies are individualizing. These two sites, however,

merely indicate an individualizing tendency in the police as we shall see. In this example, the effects are seen at other sites. One example is an informal talk with a manager in which he expresses his frustrations of how things are changing within the social spheres of the police. I spoke with him about a dissertation he was writing for the police further management education program (POL) during March 2008. He was writing about the reform and about the new management technologies which were being implemented as part of the reform.

During our discussion, he started reflecting upon how things were changing these years and mentioned how people seemed to relate to each other in a different way than previously: “You can just see the social events as for example the goulash arrangement which have almost become mandatory. Before, everyone would come; but now, hardly anyone shows up. They have even had to cancel some of them on a couple of occasions. Also things like swapping shifts. Before, it was no problem to swap your shifts. But now it’s something like: ‘then that person has to take one of my shifts’ and it has never been like that before.”

In this example, we see how the different sites supplement each other in drawing attention to one specific issue which in this case is the change in the social capital within the police. Thus, the content of the reform is defined as a ‘site’. To get an understanding of the content of the police reform, we must go to specific sources of data. In this case, the report by the Vision Committee, the presentation by the Minister of Justice, the reform act, etc. Change management initiatives are – as a whole – defined as another ‘site’. The reason being that they require different sources of data such as the script book, the implementation plans by the program office, kick-off meetings, management rallies, etc. These different sites require different methodologies. Some are based on written material. Others on structured and planned field work. Again, others are based on informal settings during which important matters surface. Some of the sites overlap. In the current example, the script book which functioned as the project plan for the reform internally in the police has given much knowledge about both the content and the change management aspects of the reform. It also crosses between sites in that it is a written document which one can gain information from by studying the document. The process of its coming into being through the work of the program office which I followed in the first three months of the research study and the application of it in the implementation process gives information about other aspects than a reading of the document. Thereby the different sites cross over and are intertwined. Thereby the process of accessing sites is not as structured as some classical methodologies. Ida Wentzel Winther (2006) emphasizes the

importance of this by using the term ‘field travel’ – or ‘field walkabout’<sup>34</sup>. A third site which is relevant in this example is one of these informal settings. In the example, the situation above is from an informal meeting with a person from the police whom I have met earlier at different occasions. The methodology for this third site which illustrated how the changes in social capital are surfacing in the organization is informal in its nature and thus it is not formalized and it is difficult to frame this sort of method in one classic methodology. As a methodology, it could be mistaken for what Karl Weick (2005) describes as bricolage. However, the multi-sited methodology emphasizes the different sites require different methodological approaches which is not necessarily the case in a bricolage methodology. The methodology resembles that of the multi-sited methodology (Marcus, 1996). The methodology is closely related in the current study to the analysis approach which is described as triangulation.

### *Triangulation*

The multi-sited method poses the challenge of how to analyze based on the data. In the current study, triangulation plays an important role in combining the methodology of the multi-sited with the analysis of the study.

Methodologically, the thesis partly rests its scientific measures on triangulation. Originally, triangulation is a method used in the natural sciences for determining the exact position of an object by using three reference points of which their positions are known. Triangulation can be used to determine position, but also distance to other objects. The methodological reference to triangulation is not in that the current study uses three perspectives to study each phenomenon. Rather, what is used in the current study is the mindset that in studying the research object from several perspectives, one gets a deeper understanding of the object being studied. Gregory Bateson (1972) noted that using two different perspectives provides what he termed a binocular view which in turn provides an extra dimension – depth – in the object of the study. The notion that studying the object from several perspectives provides more detail and more complexity in the study. Methodologically this is consistent with the pursuit of creating thick descriptions which has been discussed above. Thus, in the current study, these thoughts on methodology have been applied in that the research

---

<sup>34</sup> In Danish: Feltvandring.

questions have been pursued from different perspectives by people in different positions in the organization which is the general approach to triangulation as Stake (2000) describes:

Triangulation has been generally considered a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation.

(Stake, 2000, p. 443)

In the current study, triangulation plays this same role as described by Stake. However, triangulation also plays a role in providing not just different perceptions but also by providing different perspectives through the use of the multi-sited method.

In the following, I will discuss how the methodology is unfolded in the current study and how the different sites and sources of information have been important in gaining knowledge of the research object. Knowledge, associations and connections which combined have served as arguments in the research and which have been pursued in the analysis.

#### *The formal vs. the informal organization*

My first contact with the police on this study was in the form of meetings, primarily about the police reform. Meetings at which we discussed the challenges of the reform to the police, their view on the research project, and their intentions with participating in the research. On the other hand, I used the meetings to explain my research approach, the scientific premises of the project, etc. In the end, the meetings took the form of a sort of negotiation at the end of which we came to a mutual agreement on how to go about the study.<sup>35</sup> These are the functional, rational aspects of the meetings which indeed were valuable – and necessary – for the research project. The meetings also played another role, however. A less formal, non-rational and non-functional role which would prove to play as important a role in the research as the rational-functional aspects. The meetings proved to serve as an arena for getting a feel for what is valued in the organization and for building mutual trust. In meetings such as these, one sentence in the right context means a great deal which could not be thought of before hand to be put into an interview or a questionnaire.

---

<sup>35</sup> See the introductory chapter for a discussion on how these meetings were important in establishing the research project.

### *Formal interviews*

In the early stages of the research project, I had decided to conduct interviews with relevant decision makers and managers throughout the organization. My methodological training and education in doing empirical organizational research has primarily been from the business school. These methodological studies traditionally include conducting interviews which was also the case in my methodological training. Therefore conducting interviews seemed an obvious choice for me in collecting data in the research project. These interviews did prove to add valuable knowledge to the research and proved to have an additional function given their formality. The interviews did, however, prove to have some adverse influence in the current study as we shall see in the following.

The first formal interviews which I conducted were with the National Commissioner of police and another interview with the Chief Constable in charge of the police reform. The interviews were valuable, and the formal setting of the interview seemed to be appropriate at the highest hierarchical level of the organization to set the stage for the talk. During the first couple of years of the research, I conducted a series of interviews with these important decision makers in the reform.

### *Revising the methodological approach*

During the initial stages of my research, two events made me rethink my methodology in regards to using interviews and taking notes. One event occurred after a meeting in the National Commissioner's Office. At the time of the event, I had attended a handful of meetings with people from across the organization; the program office who were the National Commissioner's Office's project team in the police, project managers from specific reform initiatives, etc. At a couple of occasions, I had been wanting to go back into some of the documents from the meetings in order to refresh my memory on a specific subject, to get knowledge of what was decided versus what was discussed, etc. Therefore, I had made formal inquiries to request the documents from the meetings and further asked to be part of the distribution list for the minutes of the meeting. At my request I was told that there were no minutes from the meetings. This came as a surprise to me as it was obvious that the matters being discussed at these meetings were of great importance to the implementation of the reform. From then on, I started asking if there would be minutes from the meeting when participating in meetings. The answer was always the same. There were no minutes, no written report on the proceeding of the meeting. When I was told that there were no minutes

from the meetings, I started asking why not. I was surprised due to the obvious function of minutes as described above. I was also surprised of the lack of formality.

### *The formal and the informal organization*

My clear impression of the police up until this point was that the organization is very formal. Everything in the organization appears to be formal at a first glance. From how people in the organization are dressed, the way people in the police greet each other which is always with a hand shake to a much greater degree than in the surrounding society, the way people address each other often by last name, the formal settings of meetings, management rallies, etc. The first couple of times when I asked why there were no minutes from the meetings, my question seemed to be evaded. I could not seem to get a real answer to why there were no minutes from the meetings. Until one day after a meeting. The previous days had been rather hectic and I had spent much time in meetings and conversations with a central figure in the police reform. We had attended a meeting together during which I had asked if minutes would be available with the predictable answer 'no'. On the way out, I asked him why there would not be minutes? He turned halfway towards me as we walked through the narrow hallway while he said: "then we could be held accountable for it" with a grin. The answer came as a surprise to me for the reasons described above and due to the reason that my initial negotiations and discussions with the police prior to the beginning of the project had to be followed-up in writing. On many occasions, I had been asked to write up a memo on a certain topic which could be "carried around in the system" meaning that the written memo would be discussed with decision makers in the organization. Up until this point, my impression had been that everything was formalized. That everything should be in writing to ensure legitimacy. It would turn out that I was right about the police being formal. However, I had not realized that there was an informal side to it which plays at least as great a role as the formal. The fact that the police is two-edged in that it has a very formal organization and a very informal organization will be discussed further in the first section of the analysis 'Change management in the police reform' in which the organizational and managerial consequences to the police reform will be discussed. In the current discussion, we will elaborate upon the methodological consequences of this organizational characteristic.

### *Revised methodology*

With this newly acquired insight of the police, I began to slightly change my operational methodology. I began to be very obvious of my note-taking in some situations to illustrate the formality of the documentation and in other situations, I simply stopped taking notes. At a number of occasions at which I considered interviewing people, I held a meeting with them instead. If possible, an informal meeting. This approach seemed to work very well. I experienced that I was met with more openness and less formality when not taking notes or when just writing down key words or some scribbles on a piece of paper. This methodological point revealed itself somewhat later in the research project. I attended a management meeting in one of the newly formed districts following the commencement of the reform. The entire management group was gathered and they discussed their strategy and how to work with strategy in the new district. Apart from the managers, I and a teacher from a training academy were present. The teacher was there because she would be training the lower ranking officers in the police as a next step in the training cascade in working with strategy. During the meeting, she sat at her table with her computer open, tapping away on her keyboard to the obvious annoyance of the police managers in the room. Not because her tapping made a noise. Rather, presumably, because they felt that she was recording word by word what was being said at the meeting. During the meeting it was obvious that the annoyed glances towards her computer increased when controversial matters were being discussed. The methodological reasons for being hesitant about taking notes in the current study do not refer to an anxiety of being regarded as an annoying person. Rather, it refers to the fact that the formality through documenting conversation in writing or by taping conversations has shown to divert the conversation greatly in the current study. This is not only the case in the current study. Mats Alvesson writes about this methodological challenge in regards to field-studies as follows:

Notes-taking and, in particular, tape-recording may disturb the situation, create irritation and domesticate participants. In particular if the researcher-author is active in the situation [...] detailed notes-taking is difficult.

(Alvesson, 2003, p. 182)

Changing the methodology from the more formal interviews to the more informal meetings and when being hesitant about taking notes result in some methodological challenges. One challenge is that the research then necessarily relies on informal relations. The other which regards the note-taking is that the precision of the information may be lost.



### *Challenges in relying on informal settings in research*

Much of the knowledge which the research is based on was gained through rather informal situations during field studies and between events, as will be discussed in the section on field work below. The informal setting as a source of information could be disputed in methodological terms on the grounds that the informant may answer to a question of which the informant and the research do not have the same understanding. A more formal setting such as an interview usually frames the topic which is being discussed whereas an informal discussion lacks outlines which poses a risk that the conversation may run off track. This is beautifully illustrated in Gregory Bateson's metalogue: "Why do things have outlines?" (Bateson, 1987, p. 27 ff.) in which he illustrates how outlines on the one hand is helpful in social interaction and how on the other hand outlines are mechanistic in that we must acknowledge the unpredictable nature of the social (Bateson, 1987). Bateson further illustrates how lack of completely clear outlines – which is a precondition for the social – to some extent results in unpredictability and to confusion. Thus in the case of the current research there is a risk that the informant and the researcher may not have the same understanding of what they speak of which may result in the researcher concluding on the basis of information which was meant in a different context and which therefore one cannot use as basis for conclusion. In order to make use of informal settings for gaining knowledge of the field, one must get an understanding of the organization over time which is of particular relevance when discussing field work below.

### *Challenges in relying on scribbles and memory*

As described above, some interviews were conducted during the study. Some were recorded and others were captured by notes during the semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1997). One of the advantages of capturing the interviews on tape or by writing down extensive notes is the precision. Precision in assuring that the exact wording was captured and thereby the ability to represent the message from the informant exactly as it was said. This way the risk of the researcher recalling the wording wrong is reduced and thereby the part of the interview which is used in a scientific argument is exact. This exactness is tempting yet it may create a false sense of security. A specific sentence which is transcribed from a recording and taken out of context can give the wrong impression of the meaning of the sentence. Either because it is taken out of the context of the other sentences in the conversation or because it is taken out of the context of the situational factors such as the mood a person is in, the tone of voice, the gestures, etc. An ironic sentence taken literally

could give the impression that the informant in an interview was of the opposite opinion than what was intended.

By not recording or taking extensive notes, parts of the risks involved in presenting the recorded quote word for word could be reduced. The exactness of the representation in the research will necessarily be diminished, and the hasty scribbles may not include what later would seem to be of relevance in the research. What seemed important and relevant at the time of the incident may not be relevant in the final research. Van Maanen describes this methodological issue in the following:

My fieldnotes, hastily composed the morning after the incident, contain a terse two-page descriptive statement typed in fractured syntax and devoid of much other than what I took then to be the incidental highlights of the episode.

(Van Maanen, 1988, p. 117)

Thus, relying on scribbles and hasty notes, the methodology to a great extent relies on the memory of the researcher. When the research must rely on memory until there is a chance to write up the experience, the text will be written in context.

Not recording or taking extensive notes in the situation does, however, pose some methodological difficulties. One is that the exactness of the information is questionable. A sentence may come out slightly different than it was said. The sequence of events may be different in the memory of the researcher than they actually took place. However, the mood, gestures, and the entire atmosphere of the situation can be captured along with the text. The problems with exactness pose a scientific issue. In using this methodology, the research depends largely on the memory of the researcher. Van Maanen describes this challenge in relation to his own experience of conducting research as follows:

The heavy glop of material we refer to as fieldnotes is necessarily incomplete and insufficient. It represents the recorded memory of a study perhaps, but it is only a tiny fraction of the fieldworker's own memory of the research period."

(Van Maanen, 1988, p. 118)

When a researcher relies on memory to recall what happened rather than what is recorded in the setting, how does one distinguish between what is real and thereby asking the ontological question

‘what is it’? This current methodological discussion has very close links to the ontological discussions above.

### *Scientific measures; beyond exactness*

In the outset, we took a pragmatic stance in stating that material things are real and that there is a more-ness in studying organization given that organization is relational and organizational change is dynamic and movement. When studying relations, we study aspects of the human world which are to some extent socially constructed rather than merely parts of the material world. We acknowledge, as Jensen (2003) emphasizes with reference to Gustavsson (2001), that the world is both subjective and objective. Thus parts of the world are seen to be socially constructed. My relations to family, friends, and colleagues are socially constructed in that they emerge out of the social (Bubber, 1997) and conversely, they would not exist without the social interaction. Thus they are constructed in the relation, in the social. Therefore, our ontology of the collective brings forth methodological challenges. One challenge is the questions of what is real, or what is considered true. In the natural sciences, exactness can function as a signifier of validity. The exactness in turn ensures that scientific research in the natural sciences can be measured up against measures of reliability. However, in the social sciences, and in our case in dealing with a collective ontology which rests on a notion that our research subject is socially constructed, we cannot rely on scientific measures of validity in the sense of exactness or on reliability in the sense of acquiring the same results if the study is repeated.

The latter is evident. It is of course not possible to repeat the police reform to take measures of reliability in the reform. It is, however, possible to draw on knowledge from other public reforms, from organizational transformations of police units in other countries, from organizational transformations in private organizations, etc. This is also the case in the current study. However, when acknowledging that organization is social and when acknowledging that the subject matter to a great extent is socially constructed, it is not possible to apply the lessons from other studies directly. The distinctiveness of the current organization, the current situation and context play far too great a role to apply lessons from other studies into this study like mounting a fender onto a car. However, ways of thinking about organization and about management and about change management can serve as inspiration in the current study which we will see in the analysis in the current study.

The challenge of exactness and its relation to validity in the current study has close relevance to methodological operationalization. Since we have established that we cannot rely on exactness as a measure of validity and thereby ascribing results to a scientific truth, what then can we do? The methodological challenge of working with a socially constructed research subject poses a challenge in that every description of the subject will be slightly different. The social organization in its relational, collective nature will be subject to diverse presentations of reality. Furthermore, different perspectives will emphasize different aspects of the organization and of the situation. In taking this methodological position, no one presentation is more accurate than the other, and no one conclusion can claim to have presented the truth over other perspectives (Andersen, 2005; Jensen, 2003). This position within the theory of science is not, however, a position in which ‘anything goes’. Certainly, there are scientific measures to construct ‘what goes’. This concern is necessarily given in a research. Thus, Stake (2000) in Denzin and Lincoln’s influential ‘Handbook of Qualitative Research’ (2000) notes this concern in relation to case studies:

I have yet to meet any case researchers who are unconcerned about the clarity and validity of their own communications. Even if meanings do not transfer intact but squeeze into the conceptual space of the reader, there is no less urgency for researchers to assure that their senses of situation, observation, reporting, and reading stay within some limits of correspondence. However accuracy is construed, researchers don’t want to be inaccurate, caught without confirmation.

(Stake, 2000, p. 443)

Within our position in the current thesis, as with all other scientific positions, there are requirements for scientific accreditation. Within our perspective, the scientific measure relies on what Jensen (2003) describes as follows:

in the present thesis it is not the truth which is found on basis of the analyses but rather a truth which can be accepted if the premises that are put forth are true.

(Jensen, 2003, p. 37)

Thus, we rely on the premise of our ontology of the collective to ensure scientific validation and from this premise our methodology sets out rather than relying on scientific validation in terms of what Van Maanen describes as “the overrated criteria of reliability and validity” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. xi). This is the methodological consequence of the position in the current study in which there is no one dominant truth. Given this premise, much of the methodology has relied on

qualitative methodologies which set high requirements to the interpretation of the researcher and at the end provides a deeper, more contextual knowledge of the research subject. A method which emphasizes what Van Maanen describes as “the underrated criteria of apparency and verisimilitude” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. xi). These criteria will be discussed further in the chapter on using tales. For now, we will continue by describing the sources of information, or ways of gaining knowledge, in the study.

## **Fieldwork**

In the problem discussion, I presented how the initial problem of the research was adjusted slightly during the process of the study. From the outset, I had planned to rely much on interviews, but to a greater extent I started relying on the less formal meeting sessions and informal meeting. Very early in the research study, I decided to do field studies. To go into the organization and get a feeling for how the organization worked. Getting a grasp of the cultural aspects of the organization would prove to require much reflection during the research process. Fieldwork as a research method traditionally origins within anthropology and sociology (Van Maanen, 2006). The term fieldwork is closely linked to the term ethnography and the two are often used in referring to the same phenomenon. However, the difference between the two can be said to be that the ethnographer writes about the experiences from the fieldwork and shares the experiences. Van Maanen points this out clearly by stating that:

In a vague way, of course, we are all fieldworkers whenever we must make sense of strange surroundings and pass on our understandings to others. But ethnographic fieldworkers who mix the art and science of cultural representation are the obsessional professionals of the social sensemaking and translating trade. They publish their understandings.

(Van Maanen, 1988, p. ix)

The position by Van Maanen is that ethnography is “a practice I take to be concerned with the study and representation of culture.” (Van Maanen, 2006, p. 13). Fieldwork then is the method of ethnography and its subject is culture (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 1). Ethnography has experienced an explosive expansion in its practice and academic literature (Van Maanen, 2006). Traditionally, ethnography origins from the scientific strands of anthropology and sociology (Van Maanen, 2006). However, within the past years, there has been a growing tendency of contributions to ethnography from other theoretical strands:

more and more work is produced by those coming from beyond the usual ethnographic parade grounds of anthropology and sociology. Ethnography these days comes from students almost anywhere – cultural studies, engineering, business and medical schools, media and communication departments, observers and historians of technology, urban affairs, women’s studies, criminal justice and any other fields too numerous to list.

(Van Maanen, 2006, p. 17)

This current study is yet an example of such a study using ethnographic method of fieldwork and getting inspiration from ethnography on writing research. This will be explored below in the chapter on using tales.

Van Maanen emphasizes how it is difficult to understand the organizational culture and how this process is an interpretive process.

coming to understand a culture in a way even remotely similar to that of those that live within it is a continuous and, if the fieldworker is careful, a deepening interpretive process.

(Van Maanen, 1988, p. 118)

In the current study, this interpretation has gone hand in hand with reflections upon the applied methodology. At first, a great part of the research was aimed at studying how the implementation of the police reform was planned and how the plans would require adjustments. To get an understanding of how the reform was planned, I spent most parts of the first three months of the studies following the program office which was the project team in the National Commissioner’s Office. During these first months, I got a feel for how the National Commissioner’s Office functioned, for the culture of the organization, and for the distinctiveness of the organizational character. One example is the formal organization vs. the informal organization which has been described above.<sup>36</sup> During this time, I also participated in developing change management plans, gave input on change management aspects of the project plans, etc. Apart from field studies in the National Commissioner’s Office, I did several field studies in the police districts. During the course of the study, I did field studies in three different districts in the back seats of patrol cars, in investigators’ offices, guard rooms, control rooms, etc. During my first field studies in the districts, I spent twelve consecutive days with the uniformed police department, participating in a shift every

---

<sup>36</sup> For a further discussion of the distinctive organizational character of the police, refer to the culture section in the analysis chapter .

day, and during weekends' night shifts. These first weeks of being in the field in the districts served as an important base in understanding police work and getting a feel for how the operational organization functions.

### ***Fieldwork – action research vs. observation field studies***

The fieldwork in the districts took on a different nature than the fieldwork in the program office. One of the main reasons was that while I was in the districts, I was only observing, not participating in the work being carried out. As described in the first chapter on 'problem discussion', one of the few obligations I had as a researcher to the police was to give input to the change management process in the planning phase. Therefore, during my first three months of following the work of the program office, I was observing and at the same time participating. The methodological idea was to conduct a sort of action research. To participate in the task at hand, in this case the planning of the implementation of the police reform. The reasons for doing action research were two-fold. One reason was the obligation to the police as described above. The other was that action research could provide an understanding of the field which would be difficult to understand if merely observing. With the acknowledgement of culture as being something which unfolds in action as described above, the intention was to be part of the action to get a feel for the cultural aspects of the culture. Parts of the literature on action research have strict rules for how to establish a group of practitioners from the field to give input on the research in order to provide a practice based research (Elden and Chisholm, 1993). However, the action research conducted during the first couple of months was based so much in practice that it would not make sense to set up such a group. Later in the process, as we will see below, I conducted a series of presentations for management groups in the districts which practically served as mirroring the research with practice as described in the classic action research literature.

Prior to beginning my field studies in the districts, I was satisfied with the research input I had gained during the three months with the program office. I had gained much knowledge of the organization and of how the reform had been planned. However, when I began my field studies in the districts in a setting where my only task was to observe, I found that my perspective changed. For one, I was more focused on the relations in the organization, on the culture, and on the organizational character all together. I could focus fully on the organization rather than focus on the task. At a couple of occasions, I experienced situations at which I was tempted to give the police on

the job a suggestion or a hint at something I had discovered regarding their police work. However, I held back. Holding back on having ambitions on behalf of the research subject at street level would prove to be an important lesson regarding my research position. Finding a balance between providing input during the research and at the same time doing research is a difficult task. During the first few months with the program office, I was observing and at the same time giving input at meetings and making suggestions for specific change management plans, etc. Through the field work at street level, I realized that I should not provide input at the same level as they or any consultant could provide. In doing so, I would be too preoccupied with the end results to distance myself from the process in order to observe. From then on, I relied to a far greater extent on research based input. Research based in the sense of putting the research question first rather than devaluating the research as a means to an end. However, the research was still conducted as action research in the sense that I intervened at times but with a much clearer perspective by providing research based input (Elden and Chisholm, 1993). Thus, the input became of a different character. Rather than being of a nature which aimed at a solution, the input aimed at getting more knowledge of the situation to provide knowledge useful for the organization in making decisions rather than giving input which could solve problems on behalf of the organization. Thus, when speaking of action research or when speaking of intervention in research, it is important to distinguish between the perspective of the researcher, the intention of the action, and the researcher's position.

In addition to the field studies described above, I attended a number of meetings with reform work groups, a residential seminar with internal consultants during which they worked on their role in the implementation of the reform, and meetings with internal consultants. Most of these were somewhat interventionist in that I gave input at the seminar and at some of the reform work groups. At other times, I simply observed. When shifting back and forth between the observant position and participative position, I found that the participant position provided me with more insights into the task being solved than when I was merely observing. One reason could be the lack of focus on relations which then is diverted to the task, as described above. Another, perhaps contributing factor, could be that it is necessary. When merely observing, it is not necessarily important to understand and follow the work being carried out whereas an understanding of the task at hand is necessary when taking on the participative position. Thus, during the study there have been pros and cons for both participative and observant research positions. The mix of the two research positions has at times provided focus on relations and organization and at other times, the



participative position has been a valuable way to gain understanding and knowledge of the task. Given the vast scale and scope of the research subject and the time span of the study, it has been possible to combine these two positions in the current study. Thus, the two methodological approaches have supplemented each other well in this research project.

### ***Breaking into the organization and breaking out***

The research study is a long-lasting study for three years. Even though most of the activity in researching the police organization and the police reform was conducted during the first two years, it is still a long time to study an organization. During these years, I have weaved in and out of the organization between academic activities and activities in the police. One of the risks in conducting research inside an organization is the risk of ‘going native’ in the terminology of ethnography (Geertz, 1973b; Alvesson, 2003). The risk of studying a field which one is a part of. Going native is a term which refers to early anthropologists who went to a distant culture to do ethnographic studies and after a while could not distinguish between themselves and the culture being studied (Alvesson, 2003). Today, going native is still a term used in ethnographic method. A challenge in ethnographic method is to balance the pursuit of getting so close to the field studied that the researcher gets a feel for the culture on the one hand, and on the other hand remaining in a sort of objective position from which the field is studied. Alvesson (2003) has researched the methodological challenges of studying one’s own organization. He uses the term ‘self-ethnography’ to describe such a study:

A self-ethnography is a study and a text in which the researcher-author describes a cultural setting to which s/he has a “natural access”, is an active participant, more or less on equal terms with other participants.

(Alvesson, 2003, p. 174)

A situation in which the researcher ‘is native’ from the beginning. His research focuses on how to distance oneself from the field being studied. Alvesson’s elaborations on the methodology of self-ethnography are very useful in the current study even though the research position in the current study is not such a study in which the researcher was part of the police prior to the research. Thus, Alvesson describes the two opposing processes in ethnography vs. self-ethnography with ‘breaking in’ and ‘breaking out’:

While conventional ethnography is basically a matter of the stranger entering a setting and “breaking in”, trying to create knowledge through understanding the natives from

their point of view or their reading of acts, words and material used, self-ethnography is more of a struggle of “breaking out” from the taken for grantedness of a particular framework and of creating knowledge through trying to interpret the acts, words and material used by oneself and one’s fellow organizational members from a distance.

(Alvesson, 2003, p. 176)

Alvesson’s ‘breaking in’ refers to entering the field as was the case in the current study. I broke into the organization with the aim of getting to know the organization, its culture, and acquire an understanding of its distinctive organizational character. The process of breaking in and gaining access to the organization will be discussed in the section below on ‘using tales’. Alvesson’s elaborations upon the other process of exiting the field to create distance to the subject being studied can be transferred to the current study by referring to the weaving out of the organization into the research community to reflect upon the field from a research based perspective. When describing the methodological processes of breaking in vs. breaking out of the organization, Alvesson further uses the terms ‘burglar’ vs. ‘run-away’ to describe the role of the researcher in the two respective situations:

The burglar-researcher wants to overcome obstacles in order to get in contact with a target of interest, the run-away-researcher struggles in order to create sufficient distance in order to get perspective on lived reality.

(Alvesson, 2003, p. 176)

In the current study, I have weaved in and out of the organization. Weaved in to aim at getting deep inside the organization at times and weaving out, or breaking out, at other times to create a reflective distance. Alvesson (2003) suggests a number of ways to create distance in pulling out. However, when taking the role of the burglar-researcher, this process tends to be rather straight forward since the breaking out acted as a returning to the research base whereas in Alvesson’s case of doing self-ethnography, it is necessary for the researcher to find a theory, system, etc. to create distance (Alvesson, 2003), or in Alvesson’s terms: “creating distance towards one self and one’s cultural inclination” (Alvesson, 2003, p. 185). In the current study, when breaking out, I have used the research community to reflect upon the experience from the field. This has been done by presenting papers at conferences during which I have had the opportunity to discuss fragments of the research with other researchers. Another way of reflecting upon the research has been through conducting research seminars at the department with experienced researchers as discussants to provide input to the research and add perspectives to the research. Furthermore, I have attended

discussions with other researchers studying the police in a network of police researchers to create insights into other police focused research from other scientific strands. I have travelled to Norway and Australia to discuss with researchers of the Australian and the Norwegian police reforms. Furthermore, I have published interim results and participated in the public debate in the news to participate in discussions around the research subject to get feedback and to create a research base which can serve as the perspective on the research subject. Thus, the research community, academia, has had the function of enabling a reflective distance to the field.

In the process of weaving in and out of the organization, the research community has served as a sort of mirror for practice. A mirror which has reflected practice back in a research perspective. During the research study, practice has also served as a mirror for the research. This will be discussed further in the following.

### **The relation between theory and practice**

In the previous section it was demonstrated how the research community has played an important role in making sense of the field studies. In a way, one can say that theory has played a role in making sense of practice. Not only as a way of figuring out what happened in practice but to a great extent as a way of seeing new perspectives on the practice. New research based perspectives which have proven to be of value for practice as I will discuss below and unfold in the analysis. This reflecting between theory and practice has gone both ways and not just as one reflection but in a continuous oscillation at different occasions. In the current study, one type of events which has served as a very important way of communicating research to practice and at the same time reflecting practice back into the research were presentations. Throughout the course of the study, I have conducted a number of presentations for different groups in the police to serve as research based input to the implementation of the police reform. I have done presentations for some of the work groups in the reform process, for HR people in the reform, for all police managers at kick-off seminars to the reform, for top management during their annual assembly in January, and most importantly two series of presentations for the then newly established management teams in the new districts. The different presentations, which amount to around thirty presentations, have played a great role in the research. Doing these presentations has been an important way to present my research based input to practice. But the other way around has been equally important. During

presentations, I have invited for dialogues, discussions, and examples from the local areas on different topics with great result. Also, after presentations, and during the breaks, conversations in the hallways have been very informative. The two series of presentations in the new management teams were conducted a while after the commencement of the police reform at a time when I had an array of hypotheses from field studies, text studies, etc. During the presentations in the new management teams, I presented these hypotheses and got valuable feedback on them. Some of the hypotheses they could not relate to in their respective districts, and other hypotheses they could recognize clearly. During the presentations, I got feedback from practice on what appeared relevant to them and what did not appear relevant. In some cases if a hypothesis appeared irrelevant to them, I did not pursue it further. Thus, at a couple of occasions, I experienced that I had a hypothesis which I found not to be relevant after discussing it with these groups consisting of managers, human resource professionals, and union representatives. At other times, I pursued it further in the light that it may have relevance even if management could not recognize it as being of an issue. The latter was the case for example in some instances in which it appeared that some of the changes in the police reform were moving so slowly it was impossible to see when looking at them. These changes could only be recognized by triangulating perceptions and perspectives and projecting their constitutive effects. Thus, there has been a very close link between theory and practice in the study.

As described in the first chapter on problem discussion, the purpose of the research project was to provide insights for both theory and for practice. The research design of the current study was developed to contribute to both theory and practice in the spirit of Van de Ven (1989) and Simon (1967):

A central mission of scholars in professional schools of management, health, education, and social work is to conduct research that contributes knowledge to a scientific discipline, on the one hand, and to apply that knowledge to the practice of management as a profession, on the other.

(Van de Ven, 1989, p. 486)

The quote illustrates how research should be conducted with an intention for being useful for practice. Simon highlights that research should focus not only on ‘the what’ but also on ‘the how’ (Pettigrew, Woodman and Cameron, 2001). This study focuses on research which is useful and brought to use in practice. Not only describing ‘the what’ but giving suggestions for what to be aware of without prescribing ‘the how’. Thus, the research in the current study is founded in

practice with an intention to contribute to both theory and practice without setting specific directions for action. Van de Ven (1989) furthers his argument above to suggest that theory construction should be based on practice:

...we need to appreciate and strengthen our skills in developing good theory so that research conducted about these problems will advance the knowledge that is relevant to both the discipline and the profession.

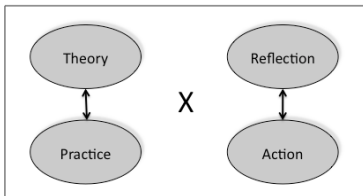
(Van de Ven, 1989, p. 486)

Following this quote, Van de Ven (1989) emphasizes Lewin's (1945) statement "nothing is so practical as a good theory" and thereby emphasizes the request for research which contributes to both theory and practice. This request has been raised again in 2001 in a special edition of *Academy of Management Journal* (2001, Vol. 44, No. 4) in which the introductory article on "Studying Organizational Change and Development: Challenges for Future Research" reads as follows:

The study of change and development is one of the great themes in the social sciences. [...] These theories of change in the fields of management and organization studies must face the double hurdle of scholarly quality and practical relevance.

(Pettigrew, Woodman, and Cameron, 2001, p. 697)

In the pursuit of contributing to both theory and practice, relationship between theory and practice in the current research project has grown to be mutually beneficial. The relationship between theory and practice in the study has been so important and the relation has played such a great role that the value of the relationships has been very clear. In the model below, the value of the relationship between theory and practice is illustrated by comparing it to the relation between reflection and action. The model was developed prior to the series of presentations for police managers to explain practitioners how theory can be of value to practice in case the practitioners disregarded the value of theory. This would turn out not to be the case, yet the model remains.



The basis of the model is that the value of the relation between theory and practice can be compared to the value of the relation between reflection and action. Action is the basis of everyday life. In everyday life, we go about our business, our daily routines and our daily tasks. When, during the day, we are confronted with a problem which our routines cannot come up with a

solution for, we reflect. We reflect upon the situation by trying to get a full picture of the situation, consult our previous experience or the previous experience of others, and in many cases deduct experiences from other sorts of problems and challenges.

An everyday example at the office could be a situation of a malfunction of a shared printer. For some this may seem as more of a routine but we will stick with the example for the sake of argument. Printing to a shared printer is an everyday task. Most people use the shared printer a couple of times a day, push 'print' on their computers in their offices, walk to the shared printer in the copying room and collect their prints. This is an everyday task which does not require much reflection, if any at all. However, when the printer malfunctions, the reflection necessarily kicks in. When confronted with the problem of the malfunctioning printer, we reflect upon the problem to find a way to solve the problem. Firstly by getting a full picture of the problem, trying to find out what caused the malfunctioning. Previous experiences are consulted, both one's own experiences and the experiences of others. Colleagues may be asked if they have experienced the same problem and can provide assistance. In some cases, experiences from other contexts can be deducted into this setting. A problem with Xerox some months ago may provide ideas for a solution for the malfunctioning of the shared printer.

The example chosen here regards a malfunction. This does not necessarily have to be the case. The reflection could also be caused by something which one wishes to gain more knowledge of without it serving as a problem. In the example of the case of the malfunctioning shared printer, reflection upon the action based on everyday routines was necessary to solve the problem.

The relation between action and reflection which is in play in this discussion has been studied by Karl Weick (1969, 1979). Weick stresses that the relation between action and reflection is essential in the sensemaking process and further that action precedes reflection (Weick, 1969; Strati, 1998). Reflection in turn "generates recipes for organizational action" (Strati, 1998, p. 317). Thus, reflection and action are closely linked. The two are intertwined and one serves as a precondition for the other.

The value of reflection to action in the current case can be transferred to illustrate the value of theory to practice. Thus, theory can add value to practice in the same manner as reflection to action.

In the current case of the police reform, theory is valuable in that it can help get a picture of what is going on at first. For example in relation to change management, the model by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2003) which was used above has provided a frame of understanding the change. In the analysis it will be shown how the model was used to shed light on a relevant challenge to practice of how one can change the organization when one is a product of the existing organization. Theory also adds value in seeing what others have done. In the current study, some direct experiences from the Norwegian police reform have been used as seen in the analysis. Also, theory from other fields than police reforms have added value to practice in the current reform. For example by the use of theories of social capital which have derived from trends in society rather than organizations.

The illustration of the value of theory to practice in the example above compliments the value of practice to theory which was described in the section above when discussing the role of presentations. This relation could be described in much the same way to establish how the value of practice to theory is valuable in the same way as action is to reflection.

As shown in the previous sections, the relationship between theory and practice has been of great importance in the current study. Theory and practice have been mutually beneficial through the weaving in and out of the organization. The weaving in and out of theory and practice has stitched a seam in the research study of the police reform which are both necessary. The seam would slip if one were missing.

### ***Using tales***

In the previous sections it has been made clear that the methodology applied in the current study is greatly inspired by ethnography and its method, fieldwork. As mentioned earlier, ethnography is about studying and representing culture using fieldwork for studying the culture (Van Maanen, 1988, 2006). The representation in ethnography, in which Van Maanen (1988) has been very influential with his book “Tales of the Field” (1988), is based on narratives, of anecdotes, and of tales. This study is not classic ethnography as discussed in the section ‘multi-sited’ methodology. Rather, this study integrates essential parts of ethnography such as fieldwork and to some extent using tales. The fieldwork is described in the sections above. In the following, I will present and discuss the role of using tales in the current study.

Tales have played an important role in the current study from the very beginning. Tales have played several roles in the study. At times in accessing the organization, at other times in interpreting the organization, and in presenting the research.

One important role which tales have played in the current study has to do with getting access to the organization. With entering – or in Alvesson’s term breaking into – the organization. Gaining the confidence and respect of those in the organization proved to be of great importance very early in the study. Before the formal commencement of the study, I was asked to contribute to a series of kick-off meetings for all top managers in the Danish police. I agreed to do the presentations relying on my previous theoretical and practical experience within change management. The meetings would be opened with a speech by the National Commissioner and proceeded with presentations and discussions by the chief psychologist explaining psychological factors in reforms, an external consultant who described the cross pressures of management, and myself speaking of change management challenges in the reform. To prepare for the series of meetings, a rehearsal was scheduled with the attendance of the speakers, the National Commissioner and the managers from the National Commissioner’s Office as listeners. At the rehearsal all presenters should provide a short version of the final presentation. At the day of the rehearsal, which was held at the National Commissioner’s parade hall, the speakers took turns giving their short versions of their presentation with the National Commissioner commenting after each presentation and asking his management team for additional suggestions. When my turn was up, I did a short version of my presentation and awaited comments. The National Commissioner took the scene and started commenting by saying: “I hear what you are saying.” and after a short break he continued: “maybe you should go out and talk to some of the managers in the districts. And see what their challenges are. With building new office buildings etc.” The message was that I should get a clear understanding of the challenges for local management so that I could direct my presentation directly to them. I had been too general in my presentation and it was obvious that I had no knowledge of the organization at this point in time. During the research study, I would learn just how important this would be in winning their trust and making them believe in me. Slowly I found that it was essential to be able to tell tales, having anecdotes, to contextualize the message and equally important to contextualize myself within the organization.



### *Using tales and anecdotes in the study*

As described above, tales and anecdotes are central to fieldwork. When speaking of tales and anecdotes and fieldwork in the same sentence one would probably think of how tales are used to describe the field to others in ethnographic studies and how anecdotes signify the culture being studied. However, the importance of tales and anecdotes in fieldwork stretches beyond that of telling tales and from the field through ethnographic writing and understanding anecdotes from the field. The terms anecdotes and tales will be used to describe much the same phenomenon. However, the term tale in the ethnographic literature usually denotes the telling/writing of a situation which the fieldworker has experienced. Anecdotes, on the other hand, is not necessarily a situation which the author has experienced. It can be anecdotes from the field which have been told and retold many times. In the current study, we do not distinguish between the value of anecdotes and tales but I use the terms rather synonymous in this thesis.

### *An amusing anecdote about a drug deal*

In the following, I will explore how the premises of anecdotes change within fieldwork as the setting, intention and purpose of the anecdote changes. To illustrate the importance of anecdotes, I will refer to a dialogue from the movie 'Reservoir Dogs' by Tarantino (1992). The dialogue is from a scene which has 'a amusing anecdote about a drug deal' as its pivotal point. The dialogue is between Freddy who is a young undercover cop trying to infiltrate a group of criminals that are planning to commit a robbery. In the dialogue, Freddy speaks with the experienced Holdaway who is Freddy's contact police officer. The two of them meet to speak of how Freddy goes about in Alvesson's term 'breaking into' the group of criminals.

#### **28      INTRO    MEN'S ROOM - L.A. TRAIN STATION - NIGHT**

Freddy [undercover cop] and Holdaway [Freddy's contact police officer] at one of their many rendezvous. Holdaway wears an extra large Lakers sweatshirt. Freddy sits on one of the sinks, wearing his high school jacket, looking at pieces of paper stapled together.

[...]

**FREDDY**

(referring to the papers)  
But what is this?

**HOLDAWAY**

It's a amusing anecdote about a drug deal.

**FREDDY**

What?

**HOLDAWAY**

Something funny that happened to you while you were doing a job.

**FREDDY**

I gotta memorize all this shit?

**HOLDAWAY**

It's like a joke. You remember what's important, and the rest you make your own. The only way to make it your own is to keep sayin it, and sayin it, and sayin it, and sayin it, and sayin it.

**FREDDY**

I can do that.

**HOLDAWAY**

The things you gotta remember are the details. It's the details that sell your story. Now this story takes place in this men's room. So you gotta know the details about this men's room. You gotta know they got a blower instead of a towel to dry your hands. You gotta know the stalls ain't got no doors. You gotta know whether they got liquid or powdered soap, whether they got hot water or not, 'cause if you do your job when you tell your story, everybody should believe it. And if you tell your story to somebody who's actually taken a piss in this men's room, and you get one detail they remember right, they'll swear by you."

(Scene from the "Reservoir Dogs" (1992), Quentin Tarantino's debut film as a director.)

The undercover cop in the anecdote above from the Tarantino movie about ‘a amusing anecdote about a drug deal’ faces specific challenges regarding the context of his anecdote in that he must learn the anecdote without having experienced it himself. An essential premise is that he himself has not experienced the setting yet others to whom he tells the story might have. By using this as an analogue to the current study, the point is not that the researcher has not necessarily lived the anecdotes which he tells. The point is that the researcher tells the anecdote to those who live the field. The researcher doing fieldwork must have an understanding of the perceptions of those who live the field to present an anecdote to the ‘natives’ which they will buy into. This premise of the anecdote requires that the anecdote is framed in a context of what in field work is described as culture and that it is accompanied by specificity and detail. The first premise, that of the cultural context, is described by Clifford Geertz (1973b) in his classic text on ethnographic method ‘Thick description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture’. Clifford describes the contextual nature of culture in relation to tales as follows:

Culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly – that is, thickly – described.

(Geertz, 1973b *in* Emerson, 1983, p. 46)

In the quote, it is clear that Geertz describes that the culture is the context which frames the situation described. Geertz emphasizes that the cultural context is important in interpreting the situation. Furthermore, he describes how the premise of specificity and detail are essential and how the cultural context is essential in interpreting the details. Thus Geertz uses an example of the boys by Ryle in describing these remises. The two boys are rapidly contracting the eyelids of their right eyes. One has an involuntary twitch which makes him contract his eyelid. The other twitches his eye to a friend to send a signal. If the two boys were filmed or the situation was described from what Geertz (1973b) describes as an “I-am-a-camera, ‘phenomenalistic’ observation”, the contractions would appear the same. However, in essence the difference is immense. One is a twitch and one is a wink. One is an involuntary act, the other is an intended signal. In order to capture the difference between the two, one must know the context. Furthermore, one must describe farther than to the point of the “I-am-a-camera, ‘phenomenalistic’ observation”. To describe something which is culturally embedded, one must use precision and details. Geertz uses the term ‘thick description’ which he adapts from Gilbert Ryle (Geertz, 1973b *in* Emerson, 1983). The thick

description captures the intention of the situation by interpreting the situation in the context of the culture rather than merely describing what is going on. In the current study, thick description plays an important role. As described earlier, what is being studied is change. A methodological challenge as consequence of studying change is to focus on capturing the complexity of movement by encompassing a richness in gaining knowledge of the research object which is done by conducting fieldwork and combining this with other perspectives as described in the section on ‘multi-sited methodology’. Furthermore, there is a challenge in describing the research object. Knowing fully well that the field cannot be captured in all its complexity, using rich description – describing situation in tales which are contextualized in culture – aims at approximating the complexity of the research object.

The context of culture and the attention to detail are essential in interpreting a situation in doing fieldwork. Furthermore, they are important in making those who live the field ‘buy into’ the description of the story. If the story is not framed in such a way that they can relate to the story – if they do not buy into it – then there is a risk that they will disregard the story as being irrelevant. They may ascribe the situation to the NIH-syndrome, the Not Invented Here syndrome (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Thus, cultural contextualization and attention to detail is essential in field work.

### *Making them swear by you*

In the example from the dialogue between Holdaway and Freddy in the scene from ‘Reservoir Dogs’, Holdaway explains how the details are essential in making the listeners buy into the story. Or in the case of written field work, make the reader believe in the story. Holdaway, the officer, describes this by saying: “The things you gotta remember are the details. It’s the details that sell your story.”

The undercover cop needs to focus on specificity and detail to appear convincing to those he addresses with his anecdote. He also has to be persuasive. In order to appear persuasive he has to act since he has not experienced the anecdote himself. An important passage from the scene which has been left out from the quote above describes this by Holdaway explaining to the undercover cop:

#### HOLDAWAY

A undercover cop has got to be  
Marlon Brando. To do this job you  
got to be a great actor. You got  
to be naturalistic. You got to be  
naturalistic as hell. If you  
ain't a great actor you're a bad  
actor, and bad acting is bull shit  
in this job.

Thus to 'make them swear by you', the undercover cop must remember the details and be a good actor when he uses his anecdotes in his work. This aspect is difficult to translate directly to the current research study. The researcher's role is different from Freddy's when addressing the challenge of how when using anecdotes in field work the researcher must be aware of what needs to accompany the anecdote to 'make them swear by you'. If it is not acting skills and attention to detail as in the case of 'a amusing anecdote about a drug deal', what is it then? Firstly, let us establish what it is not. It is not to make them believe that you're one of them as is the case in the scene from *Reservoir Dogs*. It is not to try to become 'native' as is the term used in ethnography. Clifford Geertz (1973b) describes this in the following:

We are not, or at least I am not, seeking either to become natives (a compromised word in any case) or to mimic them. Only romantics or spies would seem to find point in that.

(Geertz, 1973b *in* Emerson, 1983, p. 45)

As Geertz states above, the intention of doing field work is not to become a native or to pretend as is the case in 'a amusing anecdote about a drug deal'. The intention is, however, to understand their situation, to understand their culture in order to contextualize the research. In order to understand the culture, however, it is important to converse with the field. This, as Geertz notes below, is not as easy as one may take:

We are seeking, in the widened sense of the term in which it encompasses very much more than talk, to converse with them, a matter a great deal more difficult, and not only with strangers, than is commonly recognized.

(Geertz, 1973b *in* Emerson, 1983, p. 45)

In the current study, conversing with the field has been a challenge. As described above with the rehearsal for the meeting series, it has been essential to acquire understanding of the challenges of

those who live in the field. Of those who work in the police. During this process, it has been clear that the more I learned about the police, the more they shared their reflections, challenges, and perspectives with me. The better I could relate to their challenges and their situation, the better response I got from them. Relating to their challenges and situations has to a very large degree meant relying on tales and anecdotes from their daily lives. In these tales and anecdotes, the details have played exactly the role which is described in the scene from *Reservoir Dogs*. If a detail has been wrongly presented or the cultural context misunderstood, it has been clear that there has been a tendency to disregard the relevance of the input. Thus, ‘getting them to swear by you’ in fieldwork is a long process which requires attention to detail and understanding of culture.

In the current study, in ethnography and any other research based study, making ‘them’ meaning practice ‘swear by you’ is not sufficient. An equally – if not more important – target for the study is the research community. When ‘they’ are fellow researchers, then the sentence ‘how to make them swear by you’ requires quite a different answer. The scientific legitimization of the study will necessarily be of other than the traditional measures of validity and reliability which Van Maanen describes as “the overrated criteria of reliability and validity” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. xi). When Van Maanen (1988) thus criticizes the traditional scientific measures of validity and reliability he does offer a suggestion for other measures in ethnographic studies. He advocates for research criteria in ethnographic studies in line with likelihood, probability, or as he himself phrases it: “the underrated criteria of apparency and verisimilitude” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. xi). If we did accept these criteria as research criteria, we risk ending up as Freddy in the dialogue from *Reservoir Dogs* in which Holdaway states that the undercover cop/researcher: “has got to be Marlon Brando. To do this job you got to be a great actor. You got to be naturalistic.” The risks of adopting apparency and verisimilitude as the sole research criteria is that the researcher may end up being ‘undercover’. End up being an actor. If we completely disregard the criteria of validity and reliability and replace them with measures of apparency and verisimilitude, the scientific measure – the measure of truth – relies on what can be described as scientific orientalism. Thus, when we acknowledge apparency and verisimilitude, we must rely on additional scientific measures to ensure the scientific status of the research. This is analogue to the concerns of Weick (1989) who proposes that “plausibility is a substitute for validity” (Weick, 1989, p. 525). However, Weick further notes that substituting plausibility for validity would require specific selection criteria:

If theorizing is driven by concerns of plausibility rather than concerns of validity, it would follow that conjectures generated during theory construction are selected based on judgments of their plausibility, which can be assessed by a variety of selection criteria.

(Weick, 1989, p. 525)

In Weick's description, the selection criteria would be judged by for example whether they are interesting, obvious, believable, beautiful, or real. Criteria which range from aesthetics to ontology. In the current study, we will not adopt the specific criteria of Weick but acknowledge the need for additional criteria due to the nature of the study and the methodological approach. The discussion is particularly relevant when using tales and anecdotes in that the risks of uncritically adapting anecdotes which seem to beautifully illustrate a given argument are omnipresent. If an anecdote clearly illustrates a point which makes sense in practice and at the same time illustrates a theoretical argument, bringing these anecdotes in play can be seductive to the author. However, in this case, the current study does rely to some extent on some measures of reliability and validity – or at least with respect of acknowledging these measures in the current study.

When using tales and anecdotes in the current study, a couple of measures will be taken. One is the acknowledgement of the role of empirical accounts in the thesis. The purpose of empirical events in the thesis is to set the stage of the change management efforts in the reform to serve as an empirical frame of reference. One risk of attempting to provide such a frame of reference is that the accuracy of the description can – and will – be disputed, particularly by those involved in the process, and with good reason since the events described will appear differently from any given position or function in the organization (Van Maanen, 1988). In the current study, the empirical accounts act as an empirical frame of reference for the illustration of the research question rather than as a historical documentation claiming to validate the historicity of events in the reform.

Another important measure relates to using anecdotes. Anecdotes from within the organization can illustrate how people in organizations talk about a certain phenomenon. At other times, anecdotes from other contexts can be valuable in that they can illustrate complex matters which are difficult to illustrate by using the empirical accounts. In the current thesis, anecdotes will be used in both ways. When using anecdotes, however, it will be stated explicitly to which extent the respective anecdote is to be regarded as an illustration which helps in understanding a complex matters or whether the anecdote is to be regarded as an actual empirical account. Thus, the thesis at times uses non-

empirical accounts yet in respect of the measures of validity and reliability. Not in that only empirical accounts which can be subject to traditional measures of validity and reliability will be used in illustrating arguments but rather to note that they will be used. They will be used, however, by making the empirical nature of the anecdote clear to the reader to avoid the risk of scientific orientalism.

Thus, when using tales and anecdotes, in addressing the research community, we rely on the same scientific measures which we discussed earlier. To make the research community swear by the research in the current perspective, we found that the scientific measures must be what Jensen (2003) describes as follows:

...in the present thesis it is not the truth which is found on basis of the analyses but rather a truth which can be accepted if the premises that are put forth are true.

(Jensen, 2003, p. 37)

In the current study, the traditional research criteria of validity and reliability are acknowledged, yet with a notion that validation will be subject to different interpretations by people who experience the research object from different perspectives.

To avoid the risk of ‘anything goes’ research which was discussed earlier with the note by Stake (2000) that he has “yet to meet case researchers who are unconcerned about the clarity and validity of their own communications.” As we discussed earlier, we cannot rely on traditional measures of validity and reliability since the current study relies on interpretations and observations which are not repeatable (Stake, 2000). Therefore, the current study rests on the multi-sited methodology (Marcus, 1995) which we set out with in the methodological discussions.

### *Saturation*

The methodological discussions above on triangulations stated that including several positions to study a phenomenon would provide more complexity. With Bateson’s concept of binocular view, we took note of the fact that an additional perspective can provide an extra dimension to the study, that of depth. With triangulation, we found that it is possible to create more accurate accounts of the study and its relation to other entities and phenomena. The question then is: when is enough



enough? When do we have enough knowledge of the object of the study? This answer which is a question of methodological saturation is difficult to answer. The question relates both to the number of methodologies being used which create perspectives, to the number of people being propped which create perceptions, and to questions of duration of interviews, meetings, field studies, etc. It is clear from the methodological position of the study that there is no one answer to these questions. However, in the following I will discuss some of the concerns regarding saturation which have influenced the methodology of the current study.

In the current study, I did ethnographic studies in three different districts. The districts varied in history, size, demographics, geography, and criminal patterns. In spite of the differences between the districts, the input of relevance for my studies appeared to be of much the same nature. Uniformed police officers had the same questions about the police reform, managers had about much of the same concerns, and the organizational culture and character in relation to the reform and the police organization appeared quite homogenous between districts. Therefore I did not aim at setting up ethnographic studies in districts with varying organizational characteristics to do comparative studies between districts. The aim of the research is not to compare but rather to deepen the understanding of the object of the research. As Stake (2000) notes, comparison is the very opposite of thick description: "Comparative description is the opposite of what Clifford Geertz (1973b) calls "thick description." In the current chapter, we have established a methodology which includes thick description as an essential parameter, establishing the thickness through at least three different approaches; firstly, by using ethnographic methods, secondly by triangulating perceptions from different positions in the organization, and thirdly by triangulating perspectives through the multi-sited method including ethnography, meetings, interviews, text studies, and interventions. The pursuit of thickness is a way of capturing the complexity and the particular in the research object. As Stake (2000) notes, comparison is counter-productive in trying to capture complexity:

"With concentration on the bases for comparison, uniqueness and complexities will be glossed over" (Stake, 2000, p. 444). Thus, questions of saturation. The question of 'when is enough enough' in the current study will necessarily rely on whether the study can understand the research object to such a degree that the research question can be answered. This could pose an apparent methodological issue in that the research question is adjusted as the study evolves. On the other hand, it illustrates the link between the research question, the methodology, and questions of saturation. By acknowledging that the research question could always be adjusted to take on a

different perspective or to include other elements, the current thesis also necessarily acknowledges that more aspects should be pursued if the research question is adjusted to ensure saturation. Saturation in acquiring enough knowledge of the research question to analyze the question and deliver an answer to the research question which embraces our scientific criteria.

Thus the thesis respects these traditional research measures yet inscribes them into a social constructivist tradition in which no one truth is dominant. We end up with a focus on the acceptance of the premises. Acceptance from both practice and academia to which the thesis contributes.

## CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

The analysis in the current study is divided into three sections: 1) Change management in the police reform, 2) Content of the police reform, and 3) The external control of the police.

In the first section, ‘Change management in the police reform’, the focus is on the ‘how’ of the police reform; on how the police reform has been planned and implemented. The analysis will focus on the overall mindset in the change management initiatives and on three specific change management initiatives. Firstly, the communication strategy, secondly the activation of employees, and thirdly the process of filling new positions in the new organization. The analysis will be conducted with specific focus on tensions between on the one hand the rational-functional logic of the change management initiatives and on the other hand the organizational character of the police. This analysis will focus primarily on implications for the success of change management in the reform. Some of the implications which are derived from the analysis will be traced further to analyze the more permanent character of the implications of the change management initiatives in the reform. There are two main reasons for this. One is that the change management initiatives have constitutive effects in that the way the change has been managed will create organizational settlements which in turn co-constitute the future managerial space in the police. Managerial space meaning the organizational premises for practicing management. The other reason is that the change management initiatives can serve as a way of studying the nature of management initiatives and their implications whereas it can be more difficult to study the consequences of management technologies which have been institutionalized in the organization. In change management, the inherent logic of the management initiatives becomes more obvious and tends to surface. Change management can serve as a way of seeing the great in the small.

The second section of the analysis ‘Content of the police reform’ will focus on the ‘what’ of the police reform. In this section on the content of the reform, the analysis will shift focus to mainly concerning how the content of the police reform has implications for the organization and in turn how the content will have implications for the premises of management which will be described as the managerial space in the police. Firstly, the content of the reform will be framed with links to the inherent logics of the respective initiatives. Connections will be drawn to the change management initiatives in the police reform and to other recent management initiatives which have been implemented in the police in recent years to study whether it is possible to establish a pattern in the

logic behind management initiatives. During these discussions, the inherent logic of the management initiatives will be analyzed with respect to their tensions with the organizational character of the police. The analysis leads to discussions of how the management initiatives influence the organizational character. These analyses will illustrate how the tensions between management initiatives in the police reform and the organizational character of the police have impact on essential aspects of the organizational character of the police.

The third section of the analysis is titled 'The external control of the police'. In this section, we move from the internal aspects of change management in the police reform to the external aspects. This part of the analysis focuses on how the environment has influenced the environment in the police reform through the public debate in media and in the political arena. The section further addresses the importance of the couplings between the external level, the management level, and the operational level with specific focus on how these have influenced each other in the reform. The analysis shows the importance of managing the environment is equally important to institutionalized organizations such as the police as is the internal perspective.

## **Change management in the police reform**

In this section of the analysis, I will focus on the ‘how’ of the police reform, on how the reform has been introduced to the organization. The tension between the functional-rational logic of the reform and the organizational character of the police will be studied with primary focus on the implications on the success of the implementation of the reform. The analysis will lead into discussions on how the implications of change management initiatives in the implementation of the police reform have implications of a more permanent nature on the organization.

### ***Cruelty or Concern – The Mindset behind Change Management in the Police Reform***

Now we open up the window. And the wind is blowing in. The people in the organization scream out: ‘it’s cold’. I say: ‘Enjoy the fresh air’!

National Commissioner of Police, fall 2006

The quote above is from an interview with the previous National Commissioner of Police about the police reform. The interview took place in the fall of 2007, almost one year into the police reform which had commenced on January 1<sup>st</sup>. In the interview, it was clear that the National Commissioner perceived a great deal of resistance against the police reform. At the same time, he acknowledged his own role and the role of management in the transformation phase as window-openers and being those who introduce unpleasant winds to the organization which is clearly marked by the phrase above. The quote suggests that the National Commissioner perceives the police reform as a management initiative. Furthermore, it clearly suggests that the reform is bid welcome by top management as a fresh renewal whereas the employees experience the reform as harsh and unpleasant.

From the outset, it was clear to top management in the police that the reform would be experienced as a top management initiative which was forced upon the organization. An initiative which would demand much from management throughout the organization as well as from all employees. It was also clear that the reform would lead to serious demands on change management capabilities in the organization and in turn the vast transformation would result in changing demands on management. The National Commissioner and The National Commissioner’s Office were aware of the scale and

scope of the reform before most other people or institutions since the National Commissioner was part of the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005) who were the architects of the police reform.

As a result of the acknowledgement of the massive organizational challenge of the police reform, the National Commissioner's Office invested heavily in considering, planning, and coordinating the implementation of the police reform.

The National Commissioner's Office initiated a vast planning phase including people from all around the organization to carry out the implementation of the police reform. The reform was coordinated by a steering committee in the National Commissioner's Office which was chaired by the Deputy National Commissioner in charge of personnel. She had the organizational responsibility of the organizational development unit, the internal consultants, and the other organizational units which played very central roles in the coordination and implementation of the reform as we will see in the following. Thereby she played an essential role in many of the decisions in regards to how to work with change management in the police reform as both the program office and the executing units reported to her. Apart from the steering committee, the planning and implementation of the police reform was largely conducted through three project units: The program office in the National Commissioner's office, cross-organizational working committees, and local project managers in the districts. Firstly, The National Commissioner's Office set up a program office headed by an experienced police manager from the districts. The program office played an essential role in the reform in that it should plan and coordinate the reform activities. The program office acted as the architects of the script book<sup>37</sup> for the reform. The script book contained the project plan describing the different activities of the reform, suggestions for roadmap for the districts, and links to central activities. Secondly, a number of working committees were established in the early phases of the reform to give input on reform activities such as competency development, organizational structure, new control rooms, etc. The working committees consisted of relevant people from throughout the police, and in some instances – such as in the working committee on the training and education reform – the committees had included experts from outside the organization. Thirdly, each of the new districts appointed local project managers who were in charge of coordinating local activities and linking them to central activities.

---

<sup>37</sup> In Danish: "Dreжебog for politireformen".

The head of the Program Office chaired the meetings of the project manager group. These three ad hoc project organizations were formed to supplement the formal organization – employees, management, and union representatives – in the planning and implementation of the reform. The planning efforts included a number of competency supporting seminars, workshops, and courses. These competency supporting activities were very central to the implementation of the police reform as they gave valuable information to all parts of the organization and were intended to build the necessary competencies for implementing the reform. They were designed to enable the new management teams to navigate in the reformed organization. The activities were designed around three main target groups: Management (from National Commissioner to the level above personnel managers), personnel managers, and employees. The competency supporting activities were designed as a cascade in each district. The cascade can be seen in the following illustration which was used at the kick-off meeting for the police reform January 2007.

The process was designed as a top-down process which started with a series of four workshops for the management groups. Each workshop was followed by a course for personnel managers which covered the same topics as the workshops. Finally, two courses were established for all employees at which the different topics of the workshops were condensed into just two sessions. The four workshops consisted of the following topics:

<sup>38</sup> Translation: 'Øverste ledelse' means top management. 'Liniechefer' means line managers. 'Personaleledere' means personnel managers, and 'medarbejdere' means employees.

- *Identity*. The aim of this workshop was to establish a shared direction for the new identity of the districts and enabling managers to involve personnel managers and employees.
- *Goals and strategy*; The aim of this workshop was to create understanding of the development plan, PRES (Police Resource Evaluation System) and the targets and strategies of the police district.
- *Leadership*; The aim of this workshop was to initiate a process of defining good leadership in the district.

As mentioned above, each of these four workshops for management in the districts were followed by a course with the same overall topic. However, with the difference that the courses were related to the specific challenges of personnel managers in the process. For the employees, two courses were designed to cover these topics. These activities were supplemented by activities for internal consultants, local HR, and for local project managers. The internal consultants from the National Commissioner's Office played an important role in designing the competency development activities for the police districts. Each district was assigned an internal consultant who coordinated and planned the local implementation with management in the district and gave support at the events. The scale of these competency supporting activities shows the extensive planning and coordination efforts in the police reform. Everyone from the top to the bottom of the organization was involved in these activities which were completed as a cascade, top-down process. The process was intended to serve as a top-down process which also had a feed-back mechanism as seen in figure. However, the feedback mechanisms which are illustrated were not formalized and therefore they were fairly neglected in the process. Furthermore, given the organizational culture in the police which is analyzed further in the second section of the analysis, the informal organization has not been able to make up for the lack of formal feed-back loops. The consequence of this is that the top-down process has not had a feed-back mechanism and thereby in many situations concerns and frustrations at a lower level has not been available to managers at a higher level.

In the planning and the early implementation phases, experts and consultants were invited in to give advice, knowledge, and assistance to the implementation of the reform. This research project was initiated as a result of a decision by the National Commissioner's Office on acquiring knowledge of management and change management aspects of the police reform which could assist in the implementation of the reform as well as after the implementation of the reform. Experts were invited in by the police union and by the National Commissioner's Office to give lessons on



organizational transformation, public management reform, change management, etc. Professors from universities gave input on the challenges of the reform both at workshops and at information meetings. Consultants were likewise hired – primarily by the National Commissioner’s Office – to help with the planning and implementation of the reform and to give input at management rallies on management challenges in the police reform. These consultants, researchers and experts played an essential role in that their word proved to carry much weight. These aspects will be discussed further below.

The many considerations, planning and coordination efforts of the police on how to implement the reform not only concerned setting plans for the implementation process, involving people in the organization, and acquiring knowledge and expertise from people outside the organization with relevant experience. The considerations also involved a concern in regards to what should be the guiding mindset in the reform. Thus, in the early planning phases of the reform, The National Commissioner of Police decided that the reform should be a reform with ‘concern and consideration’.<sup>39</sup> These were, according to the National Commissioner of Police, to be the guiding principles in the implementation of the reform.<sup>40</sup> How, then, does this correspond with the quote in the beginning of this chapter which suggests that the National Commissioner of Police was very well aware that the reform initiatives were highly uncomfortable to people in the organization? A quote which could suggest more of a mindset of cruelty than concern. The answer is, of course, not that the brisk statement in the quote or the thoughtful mindset expressed in the guiding principles of ‘concern and consideration’ are either correct or false. The answer is probably closer to the fact that they may not be mutually excluding.

The mindset behind the change management efforts in the police reform draws clear lines to the predominant change management approach of systematic and planned change. This is clear both explicitly in the choice of change management model with the choice of Kotter’s change model (1995, 1996) and implicitly in the change management mindset with the development of a script book, and cascading top-down initiatives as we saw above, etc. The more explicit denotation of the change management mindset in the police reform lies in the approach to change. The approach

---

<sup>39</sup> In Danish: ”Omsorg og omtanke”

<sup>40</sup> See for example the interview with the National Commissioner of Police on the homepage of the Police Union: <http://www.politiforbund.dk/show.php?sec=1&area=4&show=2863>

which was chosen at an early stage was that of a systematic or planned change. Systematic change in the terms of Huy and Mintzberg (2005) in which they distinguish between dramatic change, systematic change, and organic change. Planned in the sense of planned versus emergent change (Weick, 2000, Pettigrew, 2000). Thus, the systematic and planned change approach is in opposition to the emergent and organic change.<sup>41</sup> The systematic or planned change management mindset is seen in the way the police reform has been planned. The focus on the script book with its project plans, gantt charts, project descriptions etc. illustrate the systematic planning efforts. The top-down process further underlines the mindset. The planning was done from the National Commissioner's Office and sifted down through the organization to top management in the districts, further down to the middle managers, and finally to personnel managers and employees. The model for this waterfall, as it described termed by the external consultant, effect seemed as a given in the early phases of the development. The consultant who served as the main advisor to the program office on the planning suggested including the waterfall model also in the competency development seminars which were conducted throughout the organization. These seminars played an important role in the reform in that they served as management meetings for the new management teams, as competency development seminars – individual development as well as management team development – and as a way of getting and spreading information about the reform. Furthermore, the change management model which played a central role in the planning was the John Kotter's model (1995, 1996). A model which, as discussed in the chapter on theory, relies on sequence, planning, and top-down process. Altogether, the change management approach in the police reform was clearly systematic, planned top-down process.

The very clear systematic, planned top-down change management approach in the police reform implicitly brings about a specific mindset. To label the mindset as being either cruelty or concern, however, does not necessarily make sense. In the chapter on theory, we discussed how a top-management driven planned top-down change management process can be considered as totalitarian or non-humanistic (Diefenbach, 2007). However, as we also realized from the discussions, the same mindset can be applied for humanitarian reasons – out of concern for those upon whom top management must necessarily impose the change. Thus, the work by Lewin (1947) on systematic and planned change was developed out of a humanitarian approach to change

---

<sup>41</sup> See the theory chapter for a further elaboration on these aspects of change management.

management (Burnes, 2004a). The systematic, top-driven approach was designed by Lewin to assist those going through the change in making sense of the change and working through the transformation. This mindset of working with a systematic and planned change management process through phases of firstly enabling the organization to take in the change, secondly initiating the change, and thirdly anchoring the change, is clearly reflected in John Kotter's (1995, 1996) change management model which was used in the implementation of the police reform. The mindset has surely been dominated by both the briskness of the quote by the National Commissioner of Police in which he emphasizes that it is time for change and by the guiding principles of 'concern and consideration' which the National Commissioner of Police mentioned at some occasions.

Altogether, the police have gone through an extensive planning phase to prepare for the implementation of the police reform. When they were given the responsibility of reforming the police according to the bill, from the outset they have acknowledged that the reform would have severe consequences for the organization and therefore they have done their utmost to prepare for the implementation by planning, involving people in the organization, inviting experts and advisors in, and considered under which guiding principles the reform should be implemented. Thus, the implementation of the police reform has been approached with good intentions and dedication. The good intentions and the dedication are most certainly essential in explaining why some aspects of the police reform have been a great success such as the focus on response times which was highlighted as the primary performance measure in the reform. However, during the process of the implementation of the police reform, it has become clear that some of the central change management initiatives in the police reform have resulted in what can in some cases be described as less successful results and others as unfortunate consequences for the change management efforts. In the following, we will analyze an array of the central change management initiatives with particular focus on their implications for the implementation of the reform. The analysis will focus on coupling between the logic of the respective initiative and the organizational character. The change management initiatives will be used to illustrate the tensions between the logic of management initiatives and the organizational character which will in some aspects point to essential disconnects and couplings which have implications for the success of the initiatives. These tensions will then be further explored and analyzed in the section on organizational implications of the reform. Thus, the change management initiatives appear as signifiers and as constitutive for the

managerial space. They will serve as signifiers in that they enable us to see the great in the small and as constitutive in that they in themselves have constitutive effects by creating organizational settlements.

Firstly, we will focus on the change management initiatives. We will analyze and discuss the following three change management initiatives: Communication, activating employees, and filling new positions. In the section on Communication; Line Communication vs. the Grapevine we will analyze the communication strategy in the implementation of the police reform. We discuss how the choice of line communication as communication strategy on the one hand supports the establishment of a management line which was intended in the reform but on the other hand has resulted in unforeseen consequences due to the distinct organizational character of the police which relies much on the informal organization. In the section about activating employees, we discuss how the intention of activating by targeting individuals conflicts with the culture of the police which in the police is described as a police of cousins. In the last section, we will focus on the way new positions were filled in the reform. How managers were appointed, how employees were given the opportunity to apply for their own future position through a 'wish round', and how the challenges of interim management were approached. In these discussions, we will see that the way these challenges have been approached have an effect on the organization which may have unintended constitutive effects on the organization in the longer run. Altogether, these sections discuss and analyze the organizational consequences of change management initiatives in the implementation.

### ***Communication; Line Communication vs. the Grapevine***

In the planning phase of the police reform, the National Commissioner's Office established a communication group which was located physically and organizationally shoulder to shoulder with the program office. This was done to ensure the best possible communication in the implementation phase of the reform. The communication group and the program office cooperated on the development of a communication plan. An expert on change communication was invited in to act as advisor on the communication strategy. With the advice from the expert, the communication strategy was developed regarding content to contain five main messages. The communication strategy also regarded process; decisions on how to communicate the messages. The final decision on the communication strategy for the communication process as a whole ended up being 'line

communication'. The meaning of line communication was that communication should flow from the top of the organization down through the organization by the management line. This was much in line with the top-down waterfall process of the competency development seminars as suggested by the consultant who gave advice on planning and coordination to the program office in regards to the implementation of the reform. The expert on change communication argued for the line communication strategy based on research on change communication which she had conducted earlier. Her research showed that employees prefer to get information on organizational change from their manager and that the top-down communication via the management line is the most effective communication method. Thus, the line communication strategy seemed obvious in regards to communication effectiveness. The strategy also had another positive aspect which was highlighted in the discussions which led up to the decision. One of the intentions of the reform was to strengthen the management line. As described in the report by the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005), the so called consensus culture in the police was seen as an unfortunate characteristic because it is resource demanding since it requires many meetings and involvement of many different stakeholders (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 108). Furthermore, the consensus culture is thought to be a barrier for managerial impact resulting in decision processes which may be set back or blocked due to disagreements (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 108). Furthermore, the Vision Committee stresses that consensus culture is a barrier for "dynamic development and effective target and performance management" (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 17). Therefore, an intention of the reform was to strengthen the line of management (Visionsudvalget, 2005). In line with this intention, deciding on a line communication strategy seemed the right choice at the time, both in terms of communication effectiveness and in terms of developing the managerial space. The decision on line communication was explained to managers from all around the country at reform seminars during early spring 2006. Also, from the time of the decision, the strategy was used in the central communication from the National Commissioner's Office. However, in spite of the many considerations regarding choice of communication strategy and in spite of expert advice, the strategy would prove to have unforeseen consequences. During a field study in the late fall of 2006, the problems with the line communication strategy surfaced in a conversation with a couple of police officers I had followed.

In the late fall of 2006, I was sitting in the back seat of a police car. I had followed the two officers sitting in the front seats on their patrol, tagging along with them on their shift. We had been on patrol in the car for some hours working on minor tasks and were now heading back to the station. As we approached the garage, the officer in the

passenger seat turned around and picked up on a conversation we started a little earlier on about the reform and said: "You know, It's a bit strange. I've tried to find some information about the wish-round but I just can't seem to find any information about it on the intranet or in any of the other information that's been passed out. And I even consider myself one of those who are updated. But I just can't seem to find any information about it." I knew of course that he was probing me for information to see if I had any information on the process; but rather than getting into a discussion on reform initiatives and their sequence, I replied back to him: "Have you asked your manager?" He didn't respond to my question. After a little while of silence, I reckoned he probably hadn't heard what I said. So I ask him again, this time in a louder tone: "Can't you just ask your manager?" He responded back to me by asking: "Ask who?" It appeared that we were not on the same page. So I tried to be a little more specific and replied: "Couldn't you just ask Jan (red: the name of the officer on duty on the shift)." ... "He doesn't know either" he replied. I could sense that he was starting to feel that I was being a bit annoying with my questions so I tried to help the conversation along by stating: "Well, if you ask Jan, then he could ask his boss. And if he doesn't know it either, then he could just ask his boss..." We had entered the garage in the patrol car and we were parking the car. The other officer who had been silent during this entire conversation turned off the engine, pulled out the key from the ignition, turned to me and said: "That's not how things work around here." Both officers opened their doors, got out of the car and started walking towards the door into the station. I tagged along, and we went for an afternoon coffee in the guardroom.

This episode shows several things which are essential to the police, aspects of the police which of course I did not realize prior to the episode. Two essential aspects from this episode are directly linked to concerns of organizational character. The first is very concrete in that the police officers do not expect their manager to have knowledge of organizational initiatives. My assumption that management would be the first to have been informed of organizational initiatives appeared to be wrong. My assumption was based on experience from other organizations in which it was a given that information would be pushed down through the line of management and spread in this way. That the formal line of management was the backbone in the information channel from which information would be spread from management to employees. It appeared that I was wrong. The notion in the police that managers are not better informed of organizational initiatives is not only how employees perceive the situation. Police managers themselves also share the perception that management is not necessarily better informed than employees. And in particular not better informed than the union representatives. An example of the acknowledgement by managers that they are not the best informed was illustrated clearly at a reform seminar in the early spring of 2006. The seminar was one of a series of seminars coordinated and planned by the program office. The intention was to give information to management about the reform. During one of the presentations, the speaker mentioned that it is essential that managers give information to employees. The

comment resulted in some frustration from the managers listening since they did not feel that they themselves had the sufficient knowledge to inform people in their district about the reform. On the contrary, they felt that they were the last to know of organizational initiatives. One managers voiced this frustration by stating that

It is really annoying when the union representative is smarter than me. He has the direct line. I have to go on the intranet, look through mails etc.

(Police manager on communication about the reform at management seminar, April 2006)

When the manager in the quotation above talks about ‘the direct line’ of information, he talks about a completely different line than the line of management. He talks about the direct line to information which he himself feels cut off from. The informal line, the grapevine. He feels cut off not just in spite of the fact that he is a manager but simply because he is a manager. As mentioned earlier, there are two essential organizational characteristics at play in this problematic field of information and communication about organizational initiatives. One aspect which we can describe as concerning the content of the problem and the other which concerns the form.

The content aspect is the lacking information. The fact that the manager does not have the relevant information. This tends to be a problem partly because managers draw decisions on behalf of the organization and the employees and therefore in a rational perspective should have the relevant information in order to make these decisions. An accompanying problem of a more irrational character is that the lack of information is perceived as a problem for managers themselves who wish to appear updated and knowledgeable. The problem is accentuated further by the fact that the information tends to flow more easily among employees and by the fact that the union representatives often seem more knowledgeable than managers. This latter issue of appearance is closely related to the other aspect of the problem of information about organizational initiatives. Thus, the aspect described above is primarily concerned with content, the content being information. As these discussions suggest, the content of information is clearly linked to the form of information and communication in the organization. Therefore we will go on to focus more specifically on the concerns of form in the communication.

The form aspect has to do with the accessibility of the information. Accessibility across the invisible line between managers and employees. Approachability is central to these discussions on

accessibility. Approachability in the sense that employees can approach managers and managers can approach employees. The answer from the police officer in the patrol car to my request on why he did not simply approach his manager implied that there was something more than simply a functional content issue at stake in the matter. The reply “that’s not how things work around here” clearly indicates that there was more to it than a question of information. That day, I did not pursue the question on why that was. However, I pursued it in the following months when speaking with police officers and police managers. When asking police officers why one would not approach managers about information on reform initiatives, they would mostly answer that they just did not expect them to know. So the same answer as the officer in the patrol car. When I furthered the question to whether it had something to do with them fearing that the manager did not know the answer, and that there was a tendency not to ask questions which the manager could not answer, I most often did not get a clear answer. The same thing would be the case when I asked managers at management seminars which I did on many occasions. I told them the story from the police car. They laughed because they recognized it so well. And yet they had difficulties describing why police officers would be hesitant to ask a manager for information – and in particular be hesitant if the officer was aware that the manager did not know the answer to the question. Apparently it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reason why police officers are hesitant to ask a superior a question about information on an organizational initiative which the superior may not have the answer to. Apparently the reasons are so deeply rooted in the culture of the organization that it is difficult to grasp. Apparently this simply is a question of “how we do things around here” – a question of culture. By acknowledging that this is a deeply rooted cultural trait of the organization, we are studying something which we cannot analyze by approaching face-on as discussed in the chapter on methodology. To get a better understanding of this, it is necessary to ask relating questions on relating topics and thereby switching perspectives and, furthermore, to ask these questions to people in different positions within the organization to get different perceptions. In regards to the latter, the results were fairly unsuccessful as described earlier. When I pursued the question by asking people in different positions, I got confirming answers. Thus, the cultural trait was acknowledged and its existence was established. However, I could not get much closer to the reasons behind it. When asking a different question, however, a cultural pattern appeared. The question was about approachability. Not about approachability from employees to managers but from managers to employees. The question surfaced at a management seminar during the spring of 2007. I attended a series of management seminars in the newly established management teams during that spring,



giving input on change management aspects of the reform and presenting interim research results. At the same time I used the seminars to probe hypotheses and questions related to my research. At the seminars, I talked about the formal versus the informal organization and of how the police rely very heavily on the informal organization. As, for example, we have seen above in relation to the importance of the grapevine in information matters. At the seminars, when discussing formal versus informal with the management group, the topic of formal versus informal information was often debated. At one of the first seminars, I asked how police managers can step into the informal arena. Very concretely asking whether it would make sense to have lunch with the police officers in the guardroom to get the hearsay and to talk with them in an informal setting and make themselves available for questions and discussions. Asking the question seemed obvious at the time. The answer from management came as somewhat a surprise. Very quickly a manager voiced out:

That's not possible. I can't just walk in there at lunch and sit down. They would shut up like a clam.

(Police manager at reform seminar, spring 2007.)

During the series of seminars, this point of view would prove to be dominating. Many managers would agree that it did not make sense to sit down in such an informal setting. In a few districts, however, they answered the question of whether it would be possible to sit down with the police officers in informal settings quite differently. On a couple of occasions, I was getting harsh comments for even thinking that they did not do so. One manager at a seminar replied in the open forum with: "of course we do. What did you expect?" Thus, it is clear that there is a dominant culture in which managers cannot approach employees in such informal settings to pick up conversations and initiate discussions. This cultural trait may be the dominant behavior but not dominating since in some parts of the organizations, this does not appear to be the case. This cultural trait is interesting in itself in that it gives a sense of how managers believe that the police officers perceive them in regards to approachability. It gives an insight into the power distance (Hofstede, 1991) between management and police officers. A power distance so great that managers tend to expect police officers would not believe that managers be approachable. With the knowledge of this cultural trait of vast power distance between police officers and management, there seems to be a cultural explanation as to why the police officer in the patrol car would not approach the manager with his question. The explanation would be in part that the manager is not expected to have the information and in part that the power distance is so great that a police officer does not simply approach a manager with just any question. The power distance in the police does

not only relate to episodes when individual police officers confront a manager. This cultural trait is evident also at management rallies and seminars at which it is very obvious that managers do not confront higher ranking managers. Even when a top manager does a speech to lower ranking managers, they will often refrain from asking questions even when these questions are not confronting in nature. Instead, the questions are often discussed during the following break. It could appear that the lack of vertical formal approachability supports the emergence of the strong informal organization. The organizational character of the police rests partly on a large power distance and a rigid hierarchy and partly on a very collective culture (Hofstede, 1991) which we discuss in relation to social capital in the section on culture in the analysis. These two aspects reproduce each other at the local level when we discuss the communication aspect of organizational initiatives as in our current context of the police reform. Thus, there is a great power distance between employees and managers, and there is a strong collectivity among employees. When we discussed organization in the chapter on theory, we saw how the inclusion-exclusion dynamics are central to the forming of an organization and organizational identity. The power distance thereby encourages further a collectiveness within the employees. Thereby it becomes even more difficult for managers to confront employees as the manager must approach not just an employee or a couple of employees but rather the collective. However, the same dynamics of inclusion-exclusion result in a collectiveness within the police which binds together employees and managers when seen in the perspective of the police vs. the environment. Historically, the police has been very closed to the environment as we have discussed in the introductory chapter, which has created a strong collective identity within the police. Thereby it is essential to the organizational character of the police that there are very strong groups formations within the police. Some which follow the hierarchical demarcations. Others which follow sub-units, and again others across formal structures. These strong collectives within the police can serve as an explanation for the difficulties of accessibility between employees and managers. Both from top-down and bottom-up. However, they can also serve as a resource if used in the larger collective by focusing on the collective within the police altogether, within a certain district, etc.

These discussions on communication strategy then lead us to discussions on formal versus informal organization. They illustrate that the line of management has not been very suitable as the primary strategic media in distributing information about the police reform out in the organization. Particularly not given that the tipping point argument for choosing line communication was based

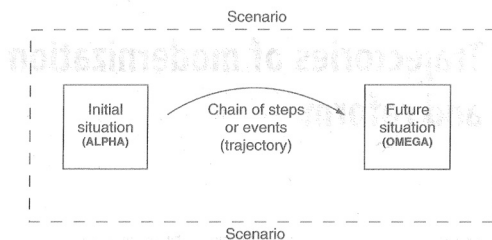
on the assumption that employees prefer to get information from their closest manager because this gives them a chance to ask questions regarding the reform and gives them a sense of providing input and thereby being heard (Petersen, 2000). This assumption simply does not hold up in the police. Line management has a set of preconditions; an established line of management that employees go to their managers for information, and that employees approach management with additional questions. The organizational character of the police clearly differs from the organization in which the studies on why line communication is the preferable choice in change communication. A well established line of management is a precondition for successful line communication. In the police, this was not the case. Therefore, the communication in the implementation of the police reform has missed its target to a great extent in spite of the good intentions and much effort in the planning phase.

Was line communication the wrong communication strategy? In hindsight, it is clear that basing the communication efforts on a management line did cause a lack of effectiveness of the communication efforts. It was known prior to the decision that the management line was not established in organizational matters. This was stated clearly in that one of the intentions of the reform was to strengthen the line of management (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The Vision Committee pointed to the inexpedient nature of what they determined as ‘consensus management’ and clearly described in their report that a strengthened line of management was needed in the future police in the place of consensus management which relies on a democratic decision platform (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Furthermore, the precondition of line communication that employees wish to hear information from their closest manager, and that they will ask questions to their closest manager was not satisfied due to the distinct organizational character of the police. However, line communication was also seen as a way of strengthening the line of management. That part of the strategy was very well thought through. That using line communication in the implementation reform would have constitutive effects which in turn would lead to a strengthened line of management which could serve as a backbone of future organizational initiatives. Seeing the reform as a major organizational development exercise – as pointed out by the main external consultant on the reform at the kick-off in January 2007 – the line communication strategy in the implementation of the reform has most probably been a good managerial exercise. However, it is clear that the communication would have been more effective if the strategy to a greater extent had taken the distinctive organizational character of the police into account. If that would have been the case, the

strategy could have accommodated the informal part of the organization and have included the role of the union representatives to a greater extent. This would end up in a broad-spectred communication strategy which would on the one hand accommodate the existing organization which has been the backbone of the organization so far and at the same time strengthen the line of management.

How, then, did the police end up deciding on a communication strategy which was decoupled from the organizational character? The answer to this question must necessarily be found in not just one reason but in several aspects which together can serve as an explanation. In the current case, there are three aspects which appear to have been of importance. The first of which has been discussed above – the decoupling between the organizational character and the preconditions of line communication as a technology. In the discussions above, it became evident that line communication in turn becomes more than merely a strategy. It becomes a technology (Thompson, 2003; Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003) in that it functions in a certain way, has its inherent logic and a given set of preconditions which must necessarily be satisfied for the technology to function. In the case of line communication strategy, the organization was not aware of the decoupling between on the one end, line communication as a technology and on the other end the organizational character of the police. The functions of line communication had been explicitly brought forward and had even been used as an explanation for why this strategy would be most effective. However, the organizational character was neglected in these considerations. The considerations of the effectiveness of line communication were decoupled from the organizational context in which this management technology should enter into. A second aspect is related to the use of external experts. The decision on choosing line communication as the primary communication strategy was heavily influenced by the suggestions from the external expert. The expert had some knowledge of the police via experience with teaching at the Police Academy. However, the external expert had expertise from other organizations and based the recommendations on studies conducted in a private pharmaceutical company. Thus, the police looked more to input from expertise from outside of the organization rather than studying the organizational character. Change communication was a discipline new to the police and therefore no one internally in the organization had knowledge of the organizational character and at the same time experience with change communication. Furthermore, no one in the process – neither the police nor external advisors or experts – had considered adjusting management technologies to the distinctive organizational character of the

police. Given that the police have such a distinct organizational character, input from the outside must necessarily be adjusted – or translated – to accommodate the organizational character. In the current case no one party, internal or external, had the knowledge of both the expertise and the organizational character, and there was not an awareness of the need to translate the expertise advice to the organizational context. A third aspect of why the police ended up with the decision is to be found in the eagerness to achieve the new goal. In the course of the implementation of the police reform, it was clear to the decision makers in the police that one of the intentions of the police reform was to strengthen the line of management. Therefore there was much focus on this new situation. More so than a focus on how the organization functioned in regards to communication up until the time of the implementation of the police reform. The risks of relying on line communication were discussed during the course of the implementation after I had presented interim research findings at a management rally. I discussed the issue with central decision makers and there was a clear focus on achieving the future goal – in this case a strengthened line of management – rather than using the existing organizational capabilities as a lever in reaching the new situation. The view of the reform from the perspective of the police seems to have been on the future situation in Pollitt and Bouckaert's model with three phases:



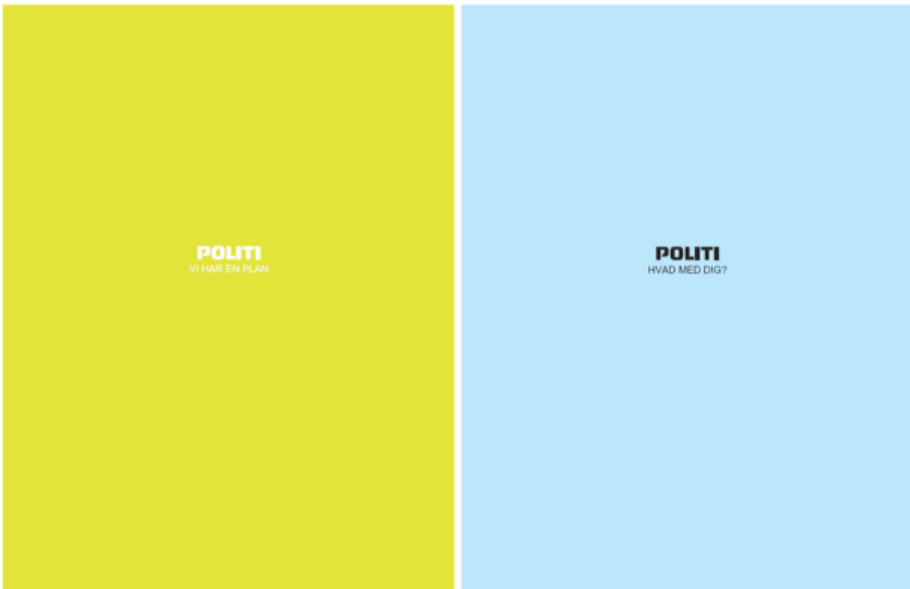
(Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2005, p. 66)

During the trajectory, there seems to have been such a strong focus on the future situation that the initial situation has been disregarded. This is seen also in the report by the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005) which described the police organization as inexpedient, outdated and inefficient (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The three aspects discussed above together form an explanation of why the decision on communication strategy could end up with such a heavy focus on line communication. The three aspects are related and point in the same direction. They form an explanatory pattern which points in the direction of looking forward and outward in the reform process. Looking forward to the future, desired situation and outward towards expertise and experience. This seems to have been at the cost of looking back to deciding on what to bring forth

into the reformed organization and inward for organizational resources and capabilities. This tendency to favor the new initiatives over established routines and external expertise over internal knowledge risks devaluing the resources of the police organization. Resources which have historically proved to carry the police through in spite of an organizational challenging setup, outdated technology, and vague prioritizations.

***Activating employees; “We have a plan. How about you?”***

In the early planning phase of the reform, the communication group and the program office in the



National Commissioner’s Office decided to spark the discussions about the coming police reform in the districts. The decision to start discussions in the districts led to several initiatives. The first initiative was intended to “tickle their curiosity” as one of the internal consultants phrased it. The National Commissioner’s Office had posters made which were posted in each station. Two different posters were hung shoulder to shoulder in a central place in the stations. Both posters had ‘POLICE’ (Politi) written in the center of the poster with fairly small letters and a very short text underneath. One poster was green with the following text underneath ‘POLICE’: ‘WE HAVE A PLAN’. The other poster was blue and underneath ‘POLICE’ was written: ‘HOW ABOUT YOU?’ The posters were posted early in 2006, almost one year prior to the commencement of the reform.

At that time, no official information about the reform had been sent out in the organization. The reform had been underway since 1998 when the police committee first began analyzing the potential for reforming the police and the reform had been awaited for long in the organization.<sup>42</sup> This poster marked the first official information. A clear signal of something new.

The posters were to signify that something new was on its way. This was the first information and its intention was to tickle the curiosity of people in the police districts without offering supporting information at that time. That did, of course, result in speculations from very different perspectives. The picture to the right shows a picture of a poster which hung in a police station. The poster had been supplemented with additional drawings and text written with markers. The additions were a picture of a face with eyeglasses has been added to the poster with the words ‘SIGHT TEST’ (synstest) and below is marked “Hesselbjerg’s (ed: the name of the former National Commissioner of Police) Optometry”



Picture of reformposter at police station, fall 2006. The text reads “Sight test” and “Hesselbjerg optometry”

(Hesselbjergs Optik). The humorous addition clearly shows that the curiosity by the local police employees had been tickled. The resemblance of the poster with the signs used at sight tests had obviously been picked up and the National Commissioner of Police was added as the optometrist. His office being the sender of the poster. Thus, the posters had been noticed, and they were the topic of discussion in the districts. Whether the attention was humorous or serious. Jokes aside, the posters mark an important point in spite of the short and clear message. The text ‘We have a plan’ is written on a green poster, the color code of the National Commissioner’s Office in the information campaign. The text ‘How about you?’ is written in blue, the color code of the districts. The one poster first of all signifies that the organization has a plan; that there is a master plan. At the same time, the other poster signifies that the individual needs to come up with a plan with the words

<sup>42</sup> See chapter 2 for a historical framing of the reform.

‘How about you?’ Thus, the posters imply that the individual is not part of the master plan. That every individual on their own must come up with a plan. This very brief and clear message implies important aspects in relation to change management and the police organization. It marks a distinction between the individual and the organization. The individual is excluded from the main organization which according to the poster has the plan. The individual is singled out and must come up with a plan in order to be considered included in the organization. Exclusion and inclusion processes are essential in organizational dynamics. As discussed above in the section on communication, exclusion is of such great importance to organization that it is a fundamental premise. This premise relies upon limited access to outsiders (Weber, 1978). Therefore the processes of exclusion and inclusion (Stacey, 2001) are dynamics which are always in play in organizations, and with the explicit exclusion of the individual from the organization, these dynamics are not only *in play*, they are very evidently *at stake*. Thus, the individual is symbolically excluded from the organization, from the collective. In the implementation process, the intention has been to include people in the organization as stated in the model by Kotter (1995, 1996) which has served as inspiration for the planning. This can also be seen in the many activities in the implementation process which have included everyone in the organization. Thus, the intention has been to include rather than to exclude. Yet the messages of the posters draw a marked line between the organization and the individual; a demarcation which leads to exclusion and in turn to individualization. The individualization which this message marks is very new to the police. Historically the collective has been the primary factor in the police. Training has always been homogenous and equal for every police officer. Advancement has been “when your turn was up”, as a seasoned police officer noted in a police district when I asked him about how the old ways were changing. The bureaucratic anonymity and uniformity of people in the organization have been characteristics of the police. However, this is slowly changing. The individual is being singled out to a still greater extent. This tendency is a tendency in society as a whole, not just the police (Rose, 1999; Sennett, 1998; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Furthermore, the individualization is not just something which the organization is forcing on the employees. It is a tendency which is driven also by the union and by the people in the organization themselves. Many of the individualizing processes are initiated by management as management technologies. In the police such management technologies count individual development reviews, individual development plans, career paths, competency based hiring, competency based development, etc. These management technologies all single out the individual from the collective. The unions also attribute to this tendency. An example



is the focus on individual development plans which the union fought for in the negotiations on the police reform (Peter Ibsen, kick-off seminar Odense, January 2007). Also the employees wish to be seen as individuals with unique skills and competencies. An HR manager from a district mentioned at a discussion about development that he was startled one day when a young officer who had not even finished his basic training at the police academy approached him at his office and wished to develop a plan for how he could become a manager. The HR manager mentioned how this is a tendency and a severe shift in mentality which they are seeing in the police. Thus, the individualization and personification is a clear tendency in the police. This change management initiative further strengthens the clear tendency towards individualization. In the implementation, the unfortunate implications of individualization were not acknowledged. The attempt to target the individual in order to prove the importance of the police reform went even further. Thus, the posters were followed up by information booklets about the reform process. These booklets were sent to the employees at their home addresses. This resulted in much aggravation from police officers because it was seen as a violation of their private sphere which they, due to the nature of their job, protect strongly. It also resulted in a strengthened focus on the individual, not only at a personal level but also into the private spheres of the individual. The intention with the change initiatives was to involve and create cohesion and collective stance which the National Commissioner of Police has mentioned on many occasions (see interview with the union, politiforbundet.dk, at the kick-off in Odense, etc.). However, these initiatives symbolically excluded the individual from the organization and singles out the individual. The implication of this unforeseen consequence is that it has a negative effect on the collective and the social relations which are essential in the police organization. These matters will be elaborated upon in the following with regards to social capital in the police.

### ***Filling new positions; appointing managers, wish round, and interim management***

During the summer of 2006, the reform initiatives were spreading hastily in the police. The future police commissioners had been appointed during the second quarter of 2006 and the reform initiatives were spreading like wildfire. At the time, I was spending a couple of weeks at a police station to get a feel for the organization. I followed the work of police officers on their shifts. Tagging along with police officers. Some days with the criminal investigators, some days at the operation control center, and most days with the uniformed police. One day when I was tagging

along with two officers from the incident management service, the following episode played out. It illustrates how the process of appointing managers had impact on the organization.

One day I was following two experienced police officers who had worked in the police for many years. We were sitting in the patrol car, driving only to minor incidents. The sun was shining and the officers were in a good mood. At one point, I leaned towards them and asked them about the reform. I asked very broadly: "So, what is it with this whole reform matter?" The officer in the passenger answered by saying very frankly "It's mostly a management reform." I replied by asking what consequences they thought the reform would have for them and for their work. Again, he replied: "It's really mostly a management reform. It won't have much influence on our daily work." After a short break, he continued: "But we can sense that the managers are concerned with it. It's like they're running around with their heads under their arms. It's like the whole organization is shivering."

The discussions with these police officers clearly marked that the organization was being reformed. That the reform was making its way into the organization. So much that the police officers could sense that the organization was 'shivering'. However, it was equally clear to the officers at that time that the reform would not have much influence on their work. That the reform was 'a management reform' meaning a reform made by managers for managers. During that time, the management positions were being filled in the organization. Starting with the appointment of police commissioners in the second quarter of 2006, managers were appointed in the layers downward over approximately the next half year with the appointment of Deputy Chief Superintendents in the fourth quarter of 2007. Thus, the appointment of managers in the organization followed a top-down process throughout the organization. During those months, I spoke with several managers in person. They expressed how that period was filled with anxiety and uncertainty. In an informal meeting with a manager in a district, he spoke of how he was frustrated because he could not see how he could find a job outside of the police. He did wish to stay within the police where he had laid his entire career up until this point but he felt that there was so much uncertainty of the positions that it was necessary to look outside of the organization. This was in spite of the fact that the National Commissioner of Police had stated very clearly from the outset of the reform that "No one will be laid off, no one will get a cut in their wages, and no one will be bossed around in the entire country" (Author's translation; Police Union, 2006; Degnegaard, 2008). Thus, the appointment process was so vague and left such an uncertainty that even experienced managers were not sure of finding a position in the future organization. The managers were to apply for future positions across the organizations. Many of them knew that they were competing for the same job. Some people even experienced that they had to apply for the job which they were already in which resulted in the

possibility of colleagues applying for one's own job. The process of appointing managers thus led to a further individualization in that each manager very concretely had to come up with a plan. As in the case of the manager mentioned before, the uncertainty of the future made it difficult to see oneself in the future organization. With the harsh competition between managers, it was difficult to discuss these frustrations internally. The competition for positions and the rivalry among managers were new dynamics in the police organization. Prior to the reform, there had of course been several applications for a given position. In this situation, however, it was difficult for managers to tell 'friend from foe'. It was difficult to tell whether your buddy was applying for the same position and if therefore in practice he was your rival. Given that organizational character of the police is distinct in that it rests heavily on mutual trust, rivalry poses a great risk to the organization. It creates serious cracks in the organization which has consequences in the every day police work since it is a barrier for the cooperation in the organization which is based on mutual trust which again is an essential organizational resource in the police.

Rivalry among managers internally in an organization is a dramatic and frustrating situation. For managers as we saw in the case before, but also for employees who clearly experience how the organization 'is shivering'. However, in the police there is an additional risk of introducing competition and in turn rivalry. This is due to the distinct organizational character of the police in which the relations are of great importance. In particular mutual trust (Manning, 2003; Lipsky, 1980; Degnegaard, 2008). In the Danish police, trust is marked as an important factor in the patrol car as well as in the offices. Its importance was illustrated to me during a field study. I was sitting in the back of a patrol car. We were driving around in the country side with no specific purpose – or multi purposes as it was described when reporting the activity to the performance system. I talked to the police officers about what made a good colleague. Their answers were close to the answers one would expect to hear in just about any organization; someone who is a team player, someone who makes good conversation which is important since they spend many hours together in a police car, someone fun to be with, etc. The answers were very vague and it was obvious that the answers to the question were difficult to come by. After talking for a while about what made a good colleague, I asked them: "What makes a bad colleague?" The answer to this question came straight away: "Someone you can't trust". Both police officers instantly agreed on this. In other situations, I have asked the same question, and the answer has always been around trust. For example one officer said: "Someone who hides." Meaning someone who does not support the fellow officer when facing

danger. The potential danger is an obvious element in why trust is so important in the police (Manning, 2003). This is illustrated in Lipsky's (1980) comment that "It is instructive that police officers who feel themselves dependent on their partners for personal safety are extremely intolerant of a partner's operational defects." (Lipsky, 1980, p. 203-204). There is, however, an additional reason to the danger element for the importance of trust in the police which must be taken into consideration. The reason lies within the job of policing in which trust plays an important role in several ways. Manning describes this as follows:

Patrol work requires trust. That trust is ironic and context bound, yet necessary. The shared nature of "police work," taught, learned, and valued, rests heavily upon learning to manage trust-contingent interactions. Policing is about establishing or verifying trust in the here and now, and often quickly.

(Manning, 2003, p. 214)

Manning's description of the role of trust in police work signifies how trust is an important factor in the police. Police officers need not only trust their colleagues. They also constantly work on instilling trust in citizens and the other way around assess to which extent they may be able to trust citizens. Even if these aspects are correct to police officers working in patrol cars, how then can they be said to be signifiers of the entire culture of the police? How can they be said to prove valid in the office hallways? Firstly, there are of course exceptions as we saw earlier in the discussions on approachability in which managers in certain districts apparently were approachable. A generalization can be made in the police due to its homogenous culture (Manning, 2003; Kleinig, 1996). The homogeneity of the police culture makes it possible to translate some of the distinctive features of organizational character from the uniformed police into management decisions. In the example of trust, the correlations are evident. Mutual trust among managers is an important feature in the police. This can be seen in the relations between managers when doing project work. In the first few months of the current study, I followed the program office and their planning of the implementation of the police reform. In the beginning of the period, I experienced an episode which clearly showed the importance of trust in the police in relation to organizational initiatives. The episode is described below.

The head of the program office had invited the project managers from all the technical reform initiatives such as establishing new operating command centers, introducing new radios, etc. Altogether a group of 13-14 people. The head of the program office chaired the meeting and I attended. As we left the office, walking down to the meeting room together, I asked the head of the program office: "So, how are you going to ensure that

they are all on track?” He looked at me calmly and said: “It’s not my role to control that they are doing it right. I just have to hear that they are on track and hear how everyone is doing.” I replied to him: “but how do you know, then, that they are actually doing what they are supposed to?” I was aware of the complexity of the entire program and the interdependencies of the different project and I had serious concerns on his behalf. My question must have reflected this given his reply. However, my projections seemed to ricochet off him like raindrops off a rooftop and he replied: “I know them. They’re all good men, and I’m sure that they are doing a good job. I don’t have to check up on that.”

The situation described above shows how trust plays a central role in the police. Not just in the patrol cars but also in organizational matters. It specifically illustrates how trust was unfolded in the planning of the police reform. The head of the program office did not control that everyone was on track by relating to performance measures, key indicators or mile stones. Rather, trust had the role of ensuring that things were on track.

Trust plays such an important role in the police that it is important to uphold. It is important in both police work and in organizational initiatives as we have seen above. The process of appointing managers to the new positions has posed a risk to this essential organizational resource. The internal competition and rivalry which the process brought about among management colleagues challenge the mutual trust and thereby the organization. Furthermore, the uncertainty throughout the process has contributed to an environment of mistrust. The uncertainty in the process was evident also in the so called ‘wish round’ during which employees were appointed to new positions.

In the beginning of this chapter, it was described how police officers believed that the police reform was only a management reform which would not have much influence on their work. However, as the reform moved closer to the commencement January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, it became a reality for all in the police that the reform would be a substantial change in the entire organization. In the first quarter of 2007, personnel managers were appointed, and in the second quarter, the ‘wish round’ was initiated. The intention of the wish round was that every employee in the police could wish for future positions in the district. The intention was to show concern for the employees rather than directing them to their new positions. The process, however, resulted in massive uncertainty from all employees in the organization. During the process, they had no idea of where they would be positioned in the future and at the same time every one of their colleagues could apply for the positions. The uncertainty which was evident in the process of appointing managers, which lead to shivering in the organization, was thus extended to the employees. That time was a time of no

stability since the then current positions would be obsolete and a time of massive uncertainty for the future. The lack of stability and uncertainty of the future are very unfortunate in the police due to the nature of the work. In police work, as in other public institutions, the bureaucratic ethos (Weber, 1978; Du Gay, 2000) is at the core of the task of the institution. The bureaucratic ethos is in essence that public service provides a fair, unbiased, and predictable decision in the services of the organization to uphold and develop democratic awareness. The ability to produce fair and predictable decisions was brought forward by Max Weber as the virtue of bureaucracy:

Max Weber said that the great virtue of bureaucracy – indeed, perhaps its defining characteristic – was that it was an institutional method for applying general rules to specific cases, thereby making the actions of government fair and predictable.

(Wilson, 1989, 334-335)

The relation to stability and uncertainty is that it is essential in police work. To uphold predictability and unbiased decisions in a public function such as the police, those who carry out the function must be able to retain a sense of loyalty to the rules and regulations and thereby to the organization. Thus, trust and loyalty go together with certainty and stability which are essential components in police work. For now, it has been important to point to the fact that trust is necessary in police work, which also Manning (2003) illustrated above. Furthermore, that rivalry, competition, instability and uncertainty lead to corrosion of trust. With these discussions, it is shown that the processes of appointing managers and the ‘wish round’ have been very challenging to the organization and to police work.

### *Interim Management*

A third aspect of trust in relation to appointing people to new positions is in relation to the issue of interim management. As noted above, the new police commissioners were appointed in the second quarter of 2006. From this time up until the commencement of the reform on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, the ‘old’ chiefs of police still headed the districts. This resulted in bizarre situations in some stations where the outgoing chief of police sat in an office on one side of hallway, formally heading the district, while the future police commissioner sat at the other side of the hallway and prepared the organization for the new and reformed district. This was discussed in the National Commissioner’s Office as a locked up situation since they had no formal authority over the outgoing chiefs of police and therefore could not take action on the situation. In the districts, the situation was described as

'strange' and it was clear to everyone that the situation was very unfortunate. Both for the management as such but also for the chiefs of police who could not get support from the National Commissioner's Office due to the formal organizational structures. The organization thus saw that chiefs of police were being neglected in the process. That they were left to sit in an 'awkward' situation with no assistance and many frustrations from having served the police for many years. This unfortunate situation has of course had consequences for management and for the decisions which were made during these many months. However, the symbolic value of this may have been even higher. In police organizations, the symbolic role of the manager is significant and the actions of managers are noticed with great attention in the organization (Jacobs et al, 2006). Therefore the symbolic value of the organization not supporting the local head of the organization in spite of many years of service is something which has been noted throughout the organization. Something which has obviously been the source of concern and discussions in the organization as mentioned by the uniformed police officer who described how the situation appeared to be 'strange'.

### ***Decoupling and couplings between change management initiatives and organization***

As we have seen above, some of the central change management initiatives in the police reform conflict with the distinct organizational character of the police. They are based on a managerialist rational-functional perspective which is adopted from private sector organizations. These initiatives rely on premises different from those of the public sector both in regards to organization and to reorganization. In the police and in other public sector organizations, the premise of reorganization and management orientation is different from private sector. In public sector, logic of reorganization must necessarily refer to the boundaries of society as the primary legitimization; in our case to democratic awareness and the functions of democracy (Goldschmidt & Kirkeby, 2006, pp. 41-42). Thus the main challenge for public management is to fill and develop the boundaries of society in function by performing the services of the organization to citizens. In the case of the police the primary function is to establish safety, security, peace, and order in society. Public management must be in pursuit of fair, unbiased, and predictable decisions in the services of the organization to uphold and develop democratic awareness. The ability to produce fair and predictable decisions was brought forward by Max Weber as the virtue of bureaucracy:

Max Weber said that the great virtue of bureaucracy – indeed, perhaps its defining characteristic – was that it was an institutional method for applying general rules to specific cases, thereby making the actions of government fair and predictable.

(Wilson, 1989, pp. 334-335)

The functions of public organization coupled with the virtue of bureaucracy thus proclaim specific challenges to public management.

In this inquiry into public management challenges, it becomes evident that a central management challenge is to ensure that the employees who perform the functions of the public organization do follow the rules and regulations which they administer and do make fair decisions in converting general rules to each specific case. To ensure this predictability in public organizations, stability is of essence. Richard Sennett describes how in the "... Weberian model: the functions are fixed, static. They have to be, so that the organization holds together, no matter who occupies any particular office." (Sennett, 2006, p. 29). This quote refers to the importance of organizational stability which is in its nature particularly vulnerable during reform.

Equally important to organizational stability is stability at an individual level. To uphold predictability in public function, those who carry out the function must be able to retain a sense of loyalty to the rules and regulations and thereby to the organization. Thus, trust and loyalty are essential components in public organization and an everlasting management challenges in upholding and developing predictability in the democratic function. Social capital is described by Sennett as follows:

My own view of social capital [...] emphasizes the judgments people make of their involvements. In my view, social capital is low when people decide their engagements are of poor quality, high when people believe their associations are of good quality.

(Sennett, 2005, pp. 63-64)

Sennett's view of social capital highlights its importance to the police. This abstraction in theory can be traced in practice. When asking police officers what is important on the job, they tend to refer to their relations with the colleagues in their response; often speaking of the importance of being able to trust the colleague whom you team up with. The relation to the officer on guard is also mentioned in this regard – even referred to as their 'lifeline'. In Sennett's view, it is this perceived necessity of relations within the organization which strengthens social capital.



In the job function as police officer where one's safety potentially is at stake to a great extent, social capital is not only an outcome of the function but also a precondition. This is stressed by Sennett in reference to military organizations:

Loyalty is a prime test of this version of social capital. Military organizations have high social capital, evinced when people are willing to sacrifice their lives out of loyalty to the institution or to the network of soldiers within an army.

(Sennett, 2005, p. 64)

The example of the military organization, which in many aspects is parallel to the police, gives a clear picture of why social capital is necessary. In the police, the element of safety is critical as seen in the military organization:

“Such peer relationship and teamwork are critical to policing because police officers believe themselves to be engaged in risky work, fraught with uncertainty, a work that is somewhat stigmatized and set apart from other types of work. They work largely either alone or with one other officer and look to their peers for symbolic and real support.”

(Manning, 2005, p. 182)

Even when transferred to other public organizations in which the safety aspects are not of relevance, the importance of social capital is evident. Though lacking the potentially dramatic consequences as for military and police organizations, absence of loyalty and trust in other public organizations may result in undesirable consequences resulting unpredictable decisions by administration. Thus, these characteristics illustrate dynamics of the logic behind public organizations which provide specific challenges to public management – and to public management reform. Essential for management in daily operations as well as in and serve as specific challenges to public management reform.

In conclusion to this inquiry into the change management challenges of the police reform, it appears that the primary managerial premise for the police rests upon stability which is a precondition for sustaining and enhancing democratic awareness and function. With the police being the executive power in society, it is essential that the employees obtain and further develop this specific trait which is also what Du Gay describes as a main argument in his praise of bureaucracy (Du Gay, 2000). Thereby it becomes clear that there is a close connection between management practices and the unfolding of operational practices. To ensure this predictability, it is a central management challenge to foster organizational and individual stability for which trust and loyalty are essential.

### ***Concluding remarks on change management in the police reform***

During this section, we have analyzed change management aspects of the police reform. We have seen how the reform has been planned and structured thoroughly from a rational perspective with a heavy emphasis on top-down processes. There has been much emphasis on the planning of and coordinating the reform in order to achieve the best possible implementation of the reform. In the analysis of specific change management initiatives which have been central to the reform implementation, we concluded that there is decoupling between the change management initiatives and the distinctive organizational character of the police. The change management technologies applied were based on formal aspects of the organization and disregarded the informal aspects of the organization which is highly essential in the police. This has had consequences for the success of the implementation of the reform. When analyzing the change management initiatives, we find that they have brought new types of management technologies to the police. Thus, some of the change management initiatives have relied on targeting individuals rather than the collective and some have brought with them competition which has in turn led to rivalry internally in the organization. These unforeseen consequences of the given change management initiatives are a threat to the trust inside the organization and to the social capital of the police which is an essential organizational resource to the police. Thus, change management in the police reform has been remarkably thoroughly planned and coordinated. However, some of the essential change management initiatives have had unforeseen consequences since they have conflicted in their logic with the distinctive organizational character of the police.

## **Contents of the Police Reform**

In this section, focus on the police reform is turned from the ‘how’ of change management to the ‘what’. In the following, the analysis will focus mainly on the content of the police reform and its implications for the organization and on how the content will have implications for the managerial space in the organization. First we will frame the discussions by presenting the content of the reform and analyzing its inherent logic. Then we will draw connections to the change management initiatives, recent management initiatives in the police to study patterns and directions in management initiatives. Finally tensions between these patterns and the organizational character of the police will be explored with attention to the implications on the organization and the managerial space in the police.

### ***The Vision Committee’s Report ‘The Future Police’***

In May 2005, the Vision Committee which was established by the Minister of Justice delivered their report ‘The Future Police’<sup>43</sup>. The report is the result of an extensive work by the committee in their pursuit of designing a future improved police organization by giving recommendations on how to adjust the police structure and organization. In the report, the Committee describes its objectives as follows:

The objective of the Vision Committee is that the Danish police should use its fullest potential to obtain the best police force and the most policing possible for the money available.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, translation by the Ministry of Justice)

Given this objective, it is clear that the scale and scope of its report are comprehensive. This is also evident in the final reform which would end up being an organizational make-over from one end to the other. The police reform as it would turn out after the bill proposal and in the enacted bill to a very great extent appears as was recommended in the report by the Vision Committee (Røn 2007, p. 23). Ergo, the reform itself contains drastic changes to the police. This vastness of the reform can be seen in the contents of the reform which are outlined below, discussed, and analyzed with focus on the tensions between the nature of the initiatives and the organizational character. We will see how

---

<sup>43</sup> In Danish: Fremtidens politi.

the reform covers all aspects of the police organization from size, structure and reporting lines to management competencies, personnel politics, and training and development. The comprehensive scale and scope of the proposed recommendations do not, however, come as a surprise when considering the mandate given to the committee by the government. The terms of reference for the Vision Committee are described as follows:

The committee shall summarise its deliberations in a report which should also, based on the overall objectives for the future policing set out by the Committee, contain deliberations of principle as to how the police should be managed and organised to meet these objectives. These deliberations should comprise overall structural issues within the police force, including the relationship between central and decentralised police authorities, the roles and functions of special police units, the potential for regional collaboration, etc.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, translation provided by the Ministry of Justice)

Thus, based on these terms of reference, the Vision Committee delivered the report “The future Police” which has served as the foundation of the police reform.

The Vision Committee’s report “The Future Police” plays a pivotal role in the police reform in acting as the central decision foundation for politicians and other stakeholders in the police reform process (Røn, 2007). In turn, the report serves as an essential source for unraveling arguments underlying the reform initiatives as well as a source of specific sub-conclusions within specific parts of the reform. As we will see, the report provides the architecture of the police reform, the premises of each architectural detail, and argumentation for the final decision in each area of this organizational architectonic construction. Thus, this report has been the single most important role in the police reform. From the very first discussions prior to the passing of the reform act to the review of the reform several years later<sup>44</sup>, this report has served as the basis of the reform in both content and mindset. These matters are of great importance in the current analysis of the nature of the reform and their coupling and decoupling with the organizational character of the police. Therefore, the report will be given particular attention in the following descriptions of the police reform.

---

<sup>44</sup> The review of the reform late 2008 is discussed in the third section of the analysis in which we see how the final agreement on the review of the police reform between the settlement parties refers back to the initial mindset of the police reform. In this referring back to the initial mindset, they refer to the focus on ‘real’ police work – as opposed to symbolic police work – which was brought forward in the report by the Vision Committee.

Given the mandate which is described above and the correlating objectives, the Vision Committee completed its analysis based on an array of analyses in different areas. The Vision Committee thus launched a citizen study to determine the demands, requirements and expectations from citizens towards the future police. This study, accompanied by other studies which will be described below, played an important role in determining the prioritization and focus of the police in the future as recommended by the committee in their report. Furthermore, the following analyses were conducted to serve as foundation for the committee's recommendations<sup>45</sup>:

- Analysis on the organizational structure of the police was completed by KPMG (Ministry of Justice. Strukturanalyse. November 30, 2004).
- Comparisons of the police in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and England/Wales (Ministry of Justice. Politiet i Sverige, Norge og England/Wales. November 11, 2004).
- Analysis of the future incident management service (Ministry of Justice. Det fremtidige beredskab i dansk politi. January 27, 2005).
- Implementation discussion paper regarding the costs and opportunities in relation to the reform (Implementeringsoplæg vedrørende reform af dansk politi. Ministry of Justice. March 14, 2005).
- Analysis of the basic training, further and higher education (Analyse af grund-, efter- og lederuddannelsen i politiet. Ministry of Justice. January 27, 2005.)
- IT consequence analysis (Ministry of Justice. IT-konsekvensanalyse – Dansk Politi. December 3, 2004.)
- Management survey (Det Danske Ledelsesbarometer. Ledelsesbarometer for politiets ledere. 2004).
- Employee satisfaction survey (TNS Gallup. Tilfredshed og motivation i politiet sammenlignet med staten som helhed. March 2005).

In the following, the analyses upon which the committee based its overall focus and resource prioritization for the future police will be outlined. These aspects will be elaborated upon since the

---

<sup>45</sup> See Visionsudvalget 2005, Bilagsbind, for summaries of the analyses.

committee's considerations in these regards have consequences for their recommendations in every aspect of the reform and in the organization of police service in the future.<sup>46</sup>

To provide an empirical basis for their recommendations, the committee completed a citizen study to assess citizens' perception of police services and their expectations towards the police. The study included more than 4,000 citizens and was completed through written questionnaires followed up by focus group interviews.<sup>47</sup> Based on the citizen study, the Vision Committee concluded that citizens expect the police to focus their attention on criminal incidents rather than to be present in quiet areas at times when there is no need for police action.<sup>48</sup> E contrario, the report concludes that citizens prefer not to see the police present in their own local spheres. The report thus concludes:

Above all, the general public thus wants the police to take targeted and professional action to prevent, investigate and solve crimes, also through analytical work 'behind the desk'. People do not look for visible police officers in their everyday lives. On the contrary, most people experience that the sight of a patrol car in their neighborhood is accompanied rather by worries of whatever has happened now than by an increased feeling of safety.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

Thus, the findings of this large scale analysis would seem to point in the opposite direction than what is often the popular opinion in the media; that visible policing leads to a feeling of safety by citizens (Visionsudvalget, 2005). To supplement the data from the citizens' survey, the committee used the findings from two other reports. One of which is completed by Institut For Konjunktur-Analyse (IFKA), an independent research institute which targets citizens' concerns regarding crime and safety. IFKA has measured citizens' concerns about violence and crime every three months since 1983 to track and illustrate fluctuations in citizens' feeling of safety in these regards. Based on

---

<sup>46</sup> The organization of police work in the future is based partly on the citizens' survey which concludes that citizens do not wish visible policing. This conclusion is carried along by the police until the review of the reform late 2008 (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008)

<sup>47</sup> The architects behind the questionnaire were Professor Flemming Balvig and Dr. Lars Holmberg from Copenhagen University. The questionnaire was followed up by focus group interview which were conducted by Balvig and Holmberg. For more information on the survey, see the appendices to the report by the Vision committee; Fremtidens politi, Bilagsbind. Visionsudvalget 2005.

<sup>48</sup> In essence, this is what in criminological terms is described as Problem Oriented Police work (POP) which has been introduced in the police in recent years (Gundhus, 2006).

these studies, the Vision Committee concludes that citizens' perception of safety in regards to crime and violence has fallen since the institute began measuring these fluctuations. Based on these measures, the committee in its report thus concludes as follows:

In the years from 1985 to 1993, 60-70 per cent of the population was very concerned about violence and crime. However, this figure has declined steadily from 70 per cent in 1993 to 37 per cent in recent years. The past ten years have thus seen a marked decline in people's concerns about violence and crime.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

The other survey which the committee used to supplement the citizen study was completed by the newspaper think tank Mandag Morgen and a private foundation TrygFonden. The survey resulted in a report on citizens' perception of safety and feeling of insecurity. Based on this survey, the committee concludes in its report that "... the population generally does not feel particular unsafe as concerns crime" (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice). The Vision Committee further highlights a comment in the study on the relation between perception of safety and insecurity and crime:

These studies of the population show that people, when asked, draw on completely different and far more diverse picture [ed.; e.g. crisis, sickness and death in the family] than the signals of increasing concern and lack of safety that often seem to be predominant in the media and the justice police debate.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p.13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

In its report, the Vision Committee states the fact that there has been much focus in the public debate about police service in relation to providing more visible policing. However, based on the studies described above and on the fragments which are highlighted in the committee's report, the committee does not share the opinion that the police should be more visible. The Committee does acknowledge that there is a request for more visible policing in the media but they disregard this message with the results from the analyses which have been described above. As we described in the introductory chapter, the police has been very closed to the outside historically which is also the case internationally (Metcalf, 2004) and has just recently started to open up for input into the organization and also to communicating to the environment. Therefore the police has a tendency to ignore the public debate as irrational and therefore irrelevant as we will see in the third section of the analysis. During that section, we will discuss the role of the environment in the police reform and we stress the importance of the police to working more specifically with its environment,

thereby also responding to the public debate. In this part of the analysis, the important point is that the police disregard the public debate as being irrational and therefore irrelevant.

The Vision Committee concludes that citizens do not require a greater degree of visible policing but rather wishes for the police to target their resources at criminal incidents and focus on crime detection. The Vision Committee does acknowledge that political voices and the press in recent years have argued for more visible policing as a means of strengthening a feeling of safety and security in the general public. Based on the studies above, the committee, however, contests this perception that the general public feels increasingly unsafe and insecure. The committee further challenges the presupposed notion that citizens wish for more visible policing. Thus the committee states that:

... the Vision Committee finds that the strong focus in the media and among politicians in recent years on 'the feeling of safety in the general public' and 'visible police', which are not in demand by the general public itself, is highly problematic when it comes to setting priorities and utilizing police resources.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

The Vision Committee's use of these reports and the conclusions which it draws upon are closely linked to the questions of how to prioritize and focus the police efforts in the future. As the quotes above illustrate, the committee acknowledges that there is a public debate in which politicians and the press push for more visible policing. However, in its analysis of how to focus and prioritize and focus the efforts of the future police service, the committee concludes that the public debate does not reflect the real concerns or wishes of the general public. In this apparent dilemma, the committee leans towards the findings from the studies described above rather than merely following the stream of the public debate. The committee thus describes this dilemma as follows:

In accordance with the findings of the citizen study, the Committee finds that the police resources should be used to meet real need for police action, where the resources can therefore provide measurable results and outcomes – particularly in the form of lower crime rates and higher detection rates.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice.)

With this conclusion, the Vision Committee suggests that that the future police focus on the rational objectives of police work. Rational in the sense that its results can be measured. This focus on the rational is clearly preferred over perceptions of safety which the committee describes as not being



rational because their output cannot be measured by other means than subjective opinions. Thereby subjective perception is disregarded as being 'irrational'. The committee acknowledges the fact that section one in the Police Act states that the police are to "maintain safety, security, peace and order in society". However, the committee distinguishes between 'real' safety and 'subjective' safety (Visionsudvalget 2005, pp. 33) and concludes that the police are to focus on real safety rather than subjective – or perceived – safety. The committee concludes as follows:

The committee thus finds that the police resources should be brought to use where there is a real need for police efforts and hence where the efforts can result in measurable results in the form of mainly lower crime rates and higher detection rates. If police resources are allocated into activities aimed at bringing citizens a feeling of safety and fighting (irrational) anxiety and worries to a too high degree then the police efforts will be of a more symbolic character.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 33. Author's translation)

In the quote above, the Vision Committee distinguishes clearly between real need for police action and symbolic police action. Symbolic police action is related to measurable results such as crime rates and detection rates rather than merely perception of safety which is subjective and therefore irrational. The discussions regarding the general public's opinion on police service and on citizens' expectations towards the police have been essential for the committee's work on recommendations for the future police. Thus, the committee bases its recommendations for how to structure the future police on activities which are rational, measurable, and outcome oriented. These aspects are brought forward on the cost of what is determined symbolic police action which is driven by subjective and thereby irrational arguments.

These discussions clearly show how the Vision Committee has chosen to build the organizational architecture of the future police around a frame which praises rational action and denounces symbolic action. The arguments which the Vision Committee put forward for doing rest on the results from the citizens survey. The Committee argues that it has put much emphasis on citizens' expectations in its recommendations which follow in this quote from the report:

The police exist to ensure safety, security, peace and order in society. Therefore, the targets and requirements of the future police must be based on *the citizens' requirements and expectations* of how the police force should rank its priorities and service the general public.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 12. Translation and display setting by the Ministry of Justice).

In the quote, when the Vision Committee refers to citizens' requirements and expectations, it draws attention to the rational perspective which was the outcome of the citizen survey. The Committee does acknowledge expectations which are based on subjective expectations and it also acknowledges requests from politicians and media regarding more visible police. However, they do not acknowledge that these requests should have an influence on the police priorities. When the committee states that the future police must base its priorities and service on citizens' requirements and expectations, it refers very specifically to the rational results from the citizens' survey rather than the expectations and requirements which are put forth by media and politicians. Thus, in the perspective of the Vision Committee there is a decoupling between on the one hand functional-rational requests from citizens which are derived from the analyses and on the other hand irrational, subjective focus brought forth in the public debate by media and politicians. The irrational, subjective is denounced as invalid in the perspective of the Vision Committee which can be described as functional-rational. The description of the perspective of the Vision Committee as functional-rational rests on a notion that the perspective is functional in that it has a clear function which leads to a known outcome and rational in that it rests on analytical approach which is based on measures and indicators. Thus, the term functional-rational has clear connotations to Weber's (1978) term instrumentally rational. By using the term instrumentally rational, Weber emphasizes a rationality which focuses on the end target and the action is an instrument in reaching the specific rational target. Thus Weber describes instrumentally rational action as follows:

Action is instrumentally rational when the end, the means, and the secondary results are all rationally taken into account and weighed.

(Weber, 1978, p. 26)

The term by Weber is closely related to the term instrumental rational by Thompson (1967, 2008). They both focus on the instrumental nature of rational action. Thompson focuses on the ends of the action in determining the instrumental nature of the rational action:

The essence of the instrumental question is whether the specified actions do in fact produce the desired outcome.

(Thompson, 1967, 2008, p. 14)

In these descriptions, it appears that Weber places more emphasis on the means than Thompson who focuses on the ends. In the rationality term applied in the current thesis, we use the term functional-rational to emphasize that we focus primarily on the means and partially on the ends. Thus, when the Vision Committee focuses on 'real' police work rather than symbolic police work and stresses how real police work is related to measurable outcomes (Visionsudvalget, 2005), the perspective rests on a notion that the outcome is rational. However, our focus is primarily on the function of the rational action rather than the outcome. On the function which is perceived to be rational regardless of whether or not the outcome actually does produce the expected results or not. Hence, the term functional-rational is used to denote action which is rational in the sense that it has an intended function which is believed to reach a certain result. For example crime rates, crime detection rates, etc.

With this functional-rational point of departure, the Vision Committee has set forward its recommendations for the future police. The perspective conflicts with that of the 'irrational' perspective which the Vision Committee reduces subjective feeling of safety to (Visionsudvalget, 2005). This battle between the rational and the irrational can be seen also in Weber's (1978) terms. Thus, he uses the term value-rational action as an alternative to instrumentally rational. Weber defines value-rational action as

determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetical, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects of success.

(Weber, 1978, p. 25)

The relation between value-rational action and instrumentally rational action is described very well by Weber who emphasizes how the relationship can be seen as a battle between logics. When seen from an instrumentally rational perspective, Weber mentions how

From the [ed.: instrumentally rational] view, however, value-orientality is always always irrational. Indeed, the more the value to which action is oriented is elevated to the status of an absolute value, the more “irrational” in this sense the corresponding action is.

(Weber, 1978, p. 26)

In the quote by Weber, we see how value based action will always be considered irrational from an instrumentally rational perspective. Weber further notes how there are degrees of irrationality in that the higher the value is elevated, the more the value perspective is considered irrational and thereby not being acknowledged as a rational. An example of the battle between the instrumentally rational perspective and the value-rationality perspective in the police reform is seen in the report by the Vision Committee by the way feelings of safety are disregarded in the functional-rational perspective of the Vision Committee with the argument that they are irrational (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Thus, the perspective of the Vision Committee who designed the police reform is based heavily on a functional-rational perspective which disregards so-called irrational symbolic perspectives. In the following, the contents of the reform will be outlined and discussed. We will also discuss how the functional-rational perspective has crowded out the symbolic perspective.

### ***Contents of the reform – The Future Police***

On December 16, 2005 the Minister of Justice presented the aim of the reform and the reasons for introducing the reform at a press conference.<sup>49</sup> Under the headline ‘Why a police reform?’, the Minister presented the reasons for introducing the reform. The presentation was based on the conclusions of the vision committee and included the following points:<sup>50</sup>

- A modern police which can lift the new and enhanced challenges of the future.
- Uniform and effective police service and quick response time throughout the country.
- Proactive crime prevention and professional and effective investigation of crime.
- Outdated and inexpedient management and control in the police.
- Almost all 54 current police districts are too small.
- Free up police officers to specific police work.

---

<sup>49</sup> Press release from the event and presentation available at [www.jm.dk](http://www.jm.dk).

<sup>50</sup> See presentation from the press event at [www.jm.dk](http://www.jm.dk)

These reasons for introducing the reform present an array of different types of reasons from abstract arguments such as modernization and uniformity over pro-activeness in police work, to the very concrete factors of efficiency and effectiveness and focus on core tasks. These aspects have been described and analyzed by the Vision Committee and described in full in their report (Visionsudvalget, 2005). As mentioned earlier, the commenced reform act largely reflects the recommendations by the Vision Committee upon which this presentation was built (Røn, 2007). Thus, the points which are brought forward in this section are all reflected in the final reform even if they were presented before the hearing which followed the proposed bill.<sup>51</sup>

The following account of the outline of the reform will primarily focus on the contents of the reform rather than go through each of the reasons for introducing the reform by itself. However, the reasons for introducing the reform will be incorporated in the descriptions which will follow below concerning the content of the reform in a somewhat implicit manner. The response to the proposed reasons behind the reform was also presented by the Minister as follows:

1. New organizational structures in the Police.
2. Larger districts.
3. Modernization of incident management service and management structure in police districts
4. Police contact and cooperation with local society.
5. New technology.
6. Modernization of the police personnel and management policies and reform of the education of the police.

These points account for the main contents of the reform. They will be described and discussed in the following.

## **Re. 1) New organizational structures in the Police**

---

<sup>51</sup> For a list of the changes in the reform compared to the proposed reform, refer to 'Oversigt over justitsministerens forslag til ændringer af lovforslaget om en politi- og domstolsreform (L 168)' May 18 2006 at [www.jm.dk](http://www.jm.dk). Note that these changes do not concern the overall aspects of the contents of the reform as described in this chapter.

The police reform has made changes to just about all parts of the police at all levels. The first change which we will discuss is how the reform has changed the formal organizational structures in the police at an institutional level by changing the connections between the police and its external stakeholders such as the Ministry of Justice as well as internally at a managerial level. The two levels are intertwined in that they are essential in the overall governance structures of the police. As we discussed in the theory chapter, governance can be divided into levels of governance for analytical purposes (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001). In those discussions, we saw how governance can be divided into three levels:

4. *The institutional (public choice) level of governance* which concerns “establishment of governing relations, or broad strategic alignments, at the legislative level” (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001, p. 35-36.)
5. *The managerial level of governance* which concerns “the further shaping of governing relations, or the elaboration of strategies, by organizational actors” (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001, p. 36).
6. *The technical level of governance* which concerns “the primary work level, where strategic alignments are given their operational expression” (Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001, p. 36). This level we also describe as *the operational level* (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004) to emphasize that it concerns the operational aspects of the police and furthermore to highlight the fact that it concerns operational police service rather than technical structures. In the discussions below, we will distinguish between the technical and the operational aspects of this level when discussing some points which relate to technology or technicalities regarding systems and planning versus operational aspects which we at times relate to the use of the technologies which need not be IT systems but can also be institutionalized procedures and routines.

The relevant levels in this part of the analysis are the first two levels: The institutional level and the managerial level. The operational level will be discussed when relevant, e.g. in the discussions on larger districts below. In the current discussions, we will start by discussing the institutional level.

Up until the reform, the governance structure in the police has had a tripartite management structure. Each chief constable used to refer in professional matters to the Ministry of Justice and to

the Director of Public Prosecutions, and to the National Commissioner of Police regarding budgets, personnel, equipment etc. (Visionsudvalget, 2005).<sup>52</sup> In this previous structure of the police, responsibilities did not match powers. The lack of a direct and clear management was described by the Vision Committee as ‘out-of-date’ and associated with a number of organizational dysfunctions. One of these being the risk of establishing and strengthening what is termed as a ‘consensus culture’. This is described in the committee’s report as reflecting widespread meeting activity with many actors, including union representatives (Visionsudvalget, 2005, pp. 107). The Vision Committee describes how the lack of a direct management structure has resulted in dialog based management. This is what in the police in general terms is described as a consensus culture. The consensus culture is discussed in the chapter on the role of culture in the reform in which we discuss how the Vision Committee in their report focus on the aspects of the culture which must be changed. One of these being the consensus culture which the Committee suggests is a disturbance and a threat to line management (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The committee further emphasizes how the consensus culture is tied closely to dialog based management and how these are the ‘factual management relations’ (Visionsudvalget, 2005). These factual management relations which are informal in nature conflict with the formal management aspects according to the Vision Committee. Thus, the committee stresses that the incongruence between the formal management structures and the informal, factual management relations, is a problem as it is stated in the committee’s report, “... the formal management structure and the factual management relations do not match.” (Visionsudvalget, 2005, pp. 16). The National Commissioner’s Office has developed national action plans for initiatives which have required coordination across districts. However, the National Commissioner of Police has not had the formal mandate to set requirements regarding country wide initiatives. Thereby the coordination has rested on a sense of goodwill in the sense that it has been difficult for the National Commissioner’s Office to ensure local action in the police districts and also to follow-up on initiatives since there has been no formal mandate to control local performance. There has been no formal line of management through the police which has made it possible to prioritize efforts other than to direct resources which has been the responsibility of the National Commissioner. Thus, the task prioritization and resources have been decoupled which has

---

<sup>52</sup> Even though the professional responsibility of the police lies within the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry has stated that it is hesitant to interfere with professional aspects of police service for reasons of principle and resources (Visionsudvalget, 2005).

resulted in a situation which has made it nearly impossible to prioritize tasks, set direction, and to implement such organizational strategic initiatives.

The new management and governance structures in the police aim at creating a clear and direct management structure in which responsibilities match powers (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The aim is to decentralize decision powers to the police commissioner in the respective police districts. This is done by transferring budgets, personnel, administration etc. from the National Commissioner's office to the districts. In the future organization, each police commissioner is responsible for operational concerns in police matters. Thus, the new structure aligns responsibilities for police service with powers to allocate resources within each district. In the new structure, the police commissioners report to the National Commissioner in most regards. The exception is for professional matters in regards to the prosecution service in which the commissioner reports to the Director of Public Prosecutions.<sup>53</sup> A new management technology in shape of service contracts is introduced into the superior-subordinate relation between commissioner and the National Commissioner. With the intensification of target focus and the broader use of service contracts, performance management will play an increasing role in the new police in the future (Røn, 2007, p. 44). The National Commissioner is also bound by yearly service contracts in his responsibilities to the Ministry of Justice.

Thus, the new management and governance structure in the police simplifies reporting lines and control measures from a multi-party structure to a direct line of management in most cases and clear superior-subordinate relationships in the governance structure. This simplification furthers intensified management control technologies which are seen in the broader and more extensive use of service contracts which focus on specific measurable results.

The reform has consequences also for the management structure within each district. Thus the reform introduces a line management structure with a top management group and three operational lines; 24-hour incident management, criminal investigation, and proximity policing. Top management consists of the police commissioner, an assistant police commissioner, a lead prosecutor, and a vice police commissioner. The new management structure for top management in

---

<sup>53</sup> Since this study focuses solely on the police reform, the consequences of the reform on the prosecution services will not be discussed further.



the districts is aimed at establishing clear reporting lines and establishing line management in the police.

Along with the above mentioned changes to reporting lines, the reform has resulted in two other changes to management and governance structures that are significant in relation to change management aspect of the police reform. One is the de-professionalization in police management.<sup>54</sup> The reform has set focus on professionalization *of* managers and de-professionalization *in* management. As we will see in sections below, the reform has a strong focus on modernizing and developing managers and the way the organization works with management. At the same time, the reform has resulted in less focus on specific legal professional competencies in the future which we describe as a de-professionalization in management. Prior to the reform, the Administration of Justice Act dictated that the National Commissioner and a chief constable must hold a law degree (Røn, 2007). However, with the reform, this demand for legal profession in top management is disregarded. Instead, top management will be evaluated based on which managerial and personal skills and competencies the respective job seems to require.<sup>55</sup> The second change is the forming of a joint management team consisting of the top managers in the police. The joint management team is referred to as 'koncernledelsen' which would translate to corporate- or enterprise management team or the executive board. 'Koncernledelsen' consists of the 12 commissioners, the National Commissioner, and when relevant the Director of Public Prosecutions. The management team discusses prioritization, country wide initiatives and coordination. The team does not have formal decision powers but serves as a discussion forum lead by the National Commissioner. At the series of management rallies before the kick-off of the reform, the National Commissioner of Police stressed the fact that he has the decision power even though strategic initiatives are discussed in 'koncernledelsen'. Stressing the fact that The National Commissioner has the final decision power may seem obvious given the clear organizational structure. However, it signifies how much of a turn-around this is to the organization. Both the fact that there is a clear management line from the National Commissioner of Police to the districts through the Police Commissioners and also the bare fact that decisions are taken top-down. The latter is in stark contrast to the part of the police culture which in the police is generally described as 'consensus culture'. Consensus culture is

---

<sup>54</sup> The de-professionalization in management in legal regards is substituted by a professionalization of management.

<sup>55</sup> Commissioners must, however, obtain the legal knowledge which is required to fulfill the function. However, this does not require formal education (Røn, 2007, p. 45).

described as a trait which relies on democratic decision making. It can be seen historically as a consequence of the professional bureaucracy of the police (Mintzberg, 1980) in which managers professionals who are promoted which generally results in a binding to the employees on the managers' behalf which in turn leads to the manager having difficulties deciding on behalf of the employees. These dynamics have been described as being evident in professional bureaucracies such as the health care system and the police in Denmark which is an egalitarian country (Hofstede, 1991) by the Danish professor in public governance Kurt Klaudi Klausen who describes these managers in professional bureaucracies as 'gang foremen'<sup>56</sup> (Klausen, 2006). In the police, this has been very evident which can be seen not only in the daily decision processes and in how people describe the difficulties of being personnel manager in the police with the same people, the manager went through police training with and with whom the manager has shared many notable experiences. After the commencement of the reform, the police has found that a number of the appointed personnel managers who have also worked as personnel managers prior to the reform have asked to be relieved of their personnel responsibilities. The arguments have mainly been the new demands on personnel managers of conducting performance reviews etc. which is discussed below. The gang foreman traits can be seen also in the formal structure in that historically it has been quite common that union representatives were also at the same time managers. Thereby there is a strong history in the police of personnel managers being enrolled in ties with the employees which they have the responsibility of managing which has been strong drivers in the emergence of what in the police in daily terms is described as consensus culture. The consensus culture has been described in the report by the Vision Committee as one of the cultural traits which is a barrier to organizational action. The cultural aspects and specifically that of consensus culture will be discussed in the section on culture in the second section of the analysis. The argument which is essential in the current discussion in this regard is how big of a turn-around the new structure is to the organization.

The overall changes in the police in regards to management and governance structures focus on strengthening the line of management. This is seen throughout the organization from the Ministry of Justice through the National Commissioner of Police down to each of the 12 commissioners in the new police districts. Within the management line, direction is now set through service contracts via

---

<sup>56</sup> In Danish: Sjakbajser.

the superior-subordinate relations of the line. These initiatives along with the forming of a joint top management team and, and a legal de-professionalization in management group all point in the direction of more focus on management structures and management technologies in the future. Structures and technologies which are developed on the basis of a functional premise from a structural perspective describing generic management structures and focus on generic management competencies rather than police specific.

These changes to the organizational governance structure conflict with the historical and cultural traits of the organization as described above. As such, the changes to the organizational structure are of large dimensions due to their impact on the distinct organizational characteristics of the police. Even though the organizational changes formally took effect January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, the changes do not happen overnight. An example of this is the comment by an internal consultant in the National Commissioner's Office.

During the summer of 2008, I was at a meeting in the National Commissioner's Office. I arrived early for the meeting and took time to walk around and chat with some of the people in the office who work on the reform projects to talk about how things were going. I spoke with one of the internal consultants about what he was doing at the time and I mentioned how I was currently studying the changes in the organizational structure compared to prior to the reform and of how surprised I was to learn that it had been quite common that personnel managers were at the same time union representatives. When I commented on this, he immediately responded by saying: "But we've gotten rid of that in almost all places."

The vignette above illustrates at least two points which are directly related to the current discussion. One is that that I was surprised by how in the police it has been possible to take on the two roles of employee manager and of union representative at the same time. The other point is that the consultant mentioned how things are changing. Even with my knowledge of the police and the inertia of decisions in the organizations which cause some transformation processes to happen very slowly, I was surprised at how more than one year after the commencement of the police reform including initiatives at strengthening the clarity of line management the organization still had such strong traces of what one would tend to believe was the historic organization. In this example, it is evident how the institutionalization of organizational characteristics leave traces in the organization which are difficult to change even with very clear and extensive initiatives such as those included in the changes of the organizational structures in the police reform. The changes are clearly vast. From the top of the organization by establishment of a direct reference from the Police Commissioners to

the National Commissioner of Police in the strengthening of the management line down through the organization to the employee managers.

## **Re. 2) Larger Police Districts**

In the presentation by the Minister of Justice it was made clear that almost all of the previous 54 police districts were too small, a conclusion which the Vision Committee had stressed in its report on the future police (Visionsudvalget, 2005). In the report, the committee concludes that the previous districts could not solve their tasks locally and that the smaller districts could merely solve routine tasks (Visionsudvalget, 2005). These were the same arguments that were also brought forward in 1973 when the number of police districts was changed from 72 to 54 (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Furthermore, an analysis completed by KPMG in commission by the committee concluded that there were great differences in police service and performance between the different districts in the police which are unfortunate from a citizen perspective (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 20). Based on these aspects, the committee concluded that the districts should be at a size where they will be self-sustainable to provide for the best police service. Also, to ensure that the changes in management and governance structures could be completed, the districts needed larger volumes since the decentralized responsibility for operational police service and administration require the necessary support functions which in turn require larger districts in terms of resources (Røn, 2007).

The changes in regards to geographic structures and the size of districts were therefore as follows: the number of districts went from 54 to 12. To provide a critical mass, each district was structured to carry a population of approximately 400,000 citizens and at least 700-800 employees (Visionsudvalget 2005). The arguments for this structure of police districts lie within the functional arguments of sustainability and critical mass in the decentralized support functions along with rational aspects of resource allocation. During the implementation of the reform, the National Commissioner highlighted an additional value of this structure (for example in the initial reform meetings for managers, early 2006). The argument which the National Commissioner raised was that the new structure creates ten districts which are comparable in size. This will lead to what the National Commissioner at several management rallies has described as 'a healthy competition' among the districts. Thus, there are rational-functional arguments behind the new structure of the districts which have been the main focus of the formal argumentation in the report by the Vision

Committee and by the Minister of Justice. These arguments are supported by arguments of a more practical matter from top management regarding control, coordination and steering.

The new and larger districts were introduced with the commencement of the police reform on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007. Thus, on New Year's day 2007, the Danish police stepped into the new organization. Merging 54 districts into 12 districts was subject to much analysis, planning, and coordination due to anticipation of the anticipated difficulties of such mergers of the police organizations throughout the country. However, the change in itself was marked by very little attention in the organization. Of course everyone in the organization knew that the organization would not be transformed over night. That point was made clear in the words of one of the then future police directors at a reform meeting: "The only difference between December 31<sup>st</sup> 2006 and January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 is the hangover." Even though it was clear to everyone in the organization and to myself as a researcher that the world would not transform as by the flick of a magic wand with the entering of the 1<sup>st</sup> of January no one was certain how the transformation would play out. The following situation from a police district serves as reflections in hindsight on the transformation.

On the morning of January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007, I had made an agreement with the police manager responsible of 24-hour incident management to tag along with the first shift in the new organization. The shift began at 7AM. It was a rainy New Year's morning and I arrived to the police station early. When I got to the station, I spoke with a couple of people before the shift started. They explained how it had been and unusual New Year's night, probably due to the rain. At 7 o'clock, I sat with the police officers who had been unfortunate enough to work the New Year's day shift chatting, drinking coffee and waiting for the morning briefing. The 24-hour incident report was being passed around and the officers took short glances at it and mentioned a few names from the incidents to colleagues, briefly chatting about a couple of the names and their family relations, etc. Everything seemed just like before the commencement of the reform. The manager in charge of the 24-hour incident management on the shift arrived to give the morning briefing. He said good morning and started out by saying that there was delicious food for lunch which they could look forward to. Then he apologized that the 24-hour incident report was so thick and explained it was because from now on they would get the incidents from a larger part of the organization. Then he went on to discuss the content of the incident management report.

The situation above shows how the very first shift in the new police organization was introduced as a shift just like any other. Except for the good food and a heavier 24-hour incident report which was apologized and thereby implicitly stating that great parts of the report were irrelevant to the police officers. One could argue that the data from the other parts of the new organization were in fact irrelevant to the police officers since the police districts were not operationally merged in regards to

24-hour incident services and thereby stating that the apology was indeed necessary. The first district to go into operations in the new larger districts did so on September 5<sup>th</sup> 2007 and the last district to go into operation did so on February 1<sup>st</sup> 2008. On the other hand, the given date had been presented as the formal date of the new reformed police for many months and many initiatives had been planned and coordinated around that specific date. Furthermore, even though the district did not go into service in the new merged district, many other organizational reform initiatives would start with this date for example cooperation within criminal investigation departments. After the briefing that morning of January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007, I spoke with some of the investigators on duty. They mentioned that due to the new organization, they had to cooperate with colleagues from other parts of the new district. They were not completely sure of how to go about it; but they would talk to them and find out how to deal with it. These arguments illustrate how there were both functional and symbolic calls for marking the new organization. Symbolically by somehow setting a formal stage for the entrance to the new organization to mark the importance of the police reform to the organization. Functionally to explain to the police officers how come the 24-hour incident report included the new districts and when the entire contents of the report would be relevant to them and why.

The situation illustrates a decoupling in the implementation between on the one hand the planning and coordination of the reform and on the other hand the operational embedding. The new reform and the larger districts which is a precondition for the other reform initiatives which we will discuss below anchored in the date of the new reformed police, January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007. However, in practice, it is a day like any other. Apart from the hang over.

### **Re. 3) Modernization of the Incident Management Service**

An essential aim of the reform is to ensure shorter response times throughout the country and homogenous incident management service in the different districts. As mentioned earlier, the creation of larger self sustainable units is aimed at enabling faster and more homogenous incident management service. Anchored in these new larger units, the reform has brought specific changes to the incident management service within the districts. Prior to the reform, the police have experienced inhomogeneous incident management as concluded in KPMG's report (Visionsudvalget, 2005). One change is the setting of clear targets for response times for all areas in the districts. In the reformed police, response times will play an increasingly important role in

managing, controlling and adjusting police service performance. Response times will be essential in the service contracts between the commissioners and the National Commissioner, they will be discussed in the joint management team, and they will be made visible for the general public on the police webpage. Thus, response times have been assigned as the heart of police performance in the future. Response times have been constituted as the primary target in the reform in the architecture of the future police. Transparency of response times in the future organization are intended to serve as motivators internally between districts since the districts were expected to function as 'healthy competition' between districts (National Commissioner, reform information meeting for management, 2006). Furthermore, it will enable the National Commissioner to manage in the new superior-subordinate relationship which is described above. Finally, the transparency was intended for the police to render visible its performance to its stakeholders. To show citizens, media and politicians that they perform.

Modernization of the incident management in the future police also includes the consolidation of incident management service in the new, larger districts by establishing one central operation control center in each district. Thus, incident management in the new districts is conducted and controlled from the main station while the operational police will be sent out from the different police stations within the district.

The modernization of the incident management service will be comprised of larger volume to enable efficiency gains through economies of scale in the larger districts, ensuring effectiveness by centralizing and modernizing coordination, and for enabling direction setting and targets by management in the districts as well as for top management. Furthermore, the initiatives include the intensification of specific measurable targets via the strong emphasis on response times. Both of which were pivotal in the changes to management and governance structures as well as the changes to geographical districts. Thus, the control technologies of response times fit with the functional rational aspects of the other reform initiatives. The response times are discussed further in the next section on proximity and cooperation with local authorities as well as in the section on IT and new technology.

The implementation of the modernization of the incident management service would prove to be more difficult than expected. Planning and coordination of the new incident management service

was centered around technical aspects which regard performance measurements through response times, GPS and fleet control systems etc. However, the non-technical operational aspects were largely neglected. After the commencement of the police reform, the police was criticized heavily for a large number of cases of police neglect which is described further in the chapter on ‘External control of the police’. In the review of the police reform (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008), it was agreed by the settlement parties to establish service centers in the police and to hire service oriented administrative personnel to answer the phones. The initial reform initiative in these regards had not taken into account that the operational personnel who should handle these new modernized. Thereby the handling of the new systems and processes resulted in cases of police neglect which played a great role in the heavy criticism of the police following the police reform. The decoupling between the technical and the operational aspects were then patched with the initiatives from the action plan in the review of the police reform late 2008.

#### **Re. 4) Police contact and cooperation with local government and other local stakeholders**

A common concern by the general public in reforms which imply expanding districts is loss of local focus and local presence.<sup>57</sup> This has also been the case in the police reform both concerning geographical distance to the police station and influence on police prioritization. Thus, these concerns are closely related to the reform initiative regarding larger districts which have been discussed above. In the report by the Vision Committee, the proximity concerns are acknowledged which appears in the following text from the report:

The idea of larger police districts has previously met with concern as to whether large districts will lead to increased centralization. Thus, as an argument against larger districts it has sometimes been said that they will result in greater distance between the citizens and the police, that the local anchoring will be weakened and that the citizens’ feeling of safety will suffer.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 20. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

The quote above shows that the proximity concerns are connected to both the reform initiative regarding larger districts and to the initiative regarding cooperation with local government and other

---

<sup>57</sup> See for example this topic discussed in the case of the Danish local government reform of 2007 (The Ministry of the Interior and Health, 2005)



local stakeholders.<sup>58</sup> The concern regarding geographical distance is addressed in the reform by dispatching technological tools which should ensure that patrol cars are present in all areas of the new districts.<sup>59</sup> These technological tools include GPS, GIS, fleet control systems, etc. The committee suggests the introduction of these tools as follows:

In the opinion of the Vision Committee, the police district re-alignment reform should also mean modernization of the incident management service of the police. A central element of such modernization will be the introduction of new technological tools in the form of GPS in patrol cars, electronic maps and GIS in the control room, IT-based planning systems, etc.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 22. Translation by the Ministry of Justice).

Even though the committee acknowledges that there is proximity concern regarding expanding the districts, the committee does not seem to share the concern. This can be seen in the following statement from the report by the committee:

Large police districts will not weaken the proximity and local anchoring of the police. On the contrary, sustainable districts with resulting increased real decentralization will ensure increased local presence and faster response times, also in the outlying areas. The police will thus be able to provide the public with greater real safety.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 20. Translation by the Ministry of Justice.)

The latter concern regarding local influence on police prioritization and local focus has much attention in the recommendations for the reform by the Vision Commission in their recommendations regarding cooperation with local government.

Thus, proximity concerns are disregarded by the Vision Committee by stating that IT technologies installed in patrol cars and the operational control centers will dam up for concerns of feeling of safety and proximity. Thereby an operational question of the presence of police officers is handled

---

<sup>58</sup> Note that this topic resulted in a heavy debate and resulted in a change of the proposed police reform to the final commenced reform act regarding the number of police stations which have 24-hour operations. The discussion was mostly around 'light in the windows' indicating that the questions was primarily a questions of whether there was light in the windows in the police station rather than the questions of whether a citizen could expect to locate police officers in the respective stations.

<sup>59</sup> See Visionsudvalget (2005) for a further description of the planned patrol dispatch system coordinated by the new operation control centers.

by technical and structural solutions which results in a decoupling which becomes evident when the citizens who are the carriers of the feeling of safety cannot access the police in person which has been highlighted in the public debate by the cases of police neglect. See the third section in the analysis 'External control of the police' for a further discussion of the cases of police neglect, the internal analyses requested by the Minister of Justice, and the public debate which lead to the focus on police neglect.

In the reformed police, the cooperation with local government and other local stakeholders has been formalized. This has resulted in the forming of a district council<sup>60</sup> for each district and a local council<sup>61</sup> in each district. The district council is headed by the commissioner in the district and further consists of the mayors from the municipalities in the district. The district council sets direction and targets for the cooperation and focus within the district for a 12-month-period which acts as a local service agreement between the police and local authorities. To supplement this overall cooperation, a local council is established to ensure that the direction setting and focus decided in the district council is unfolded and crystallized into initiatives in practice. The local councils consist of representatives from police, city council, relevant local clubs and associations etc.

Thus, the reform leads to two dominant streams in the intensified cooperation between police and local government and other stakeholders. One is formalization in the cooperation between the police and local authorities. The other is establishment of structures which facilitate direction setting and promote specific measurable target setting. Thereby the modernizations are based on control and coordination of police work and on governance structures. The initiatives are at the institutional level rather than at the operational level (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004; Lynn, Heinrich and Hill, 2001). The main objective of the cooperation with local authorities is concern of proximity and local presence of police. Concerns of whether the police will be present for citizens when necessary. However, the initiatives have been at an institutional governance level by ensuring coordination at a higher level between police in the person of police directors and local community in the person of mayors and at lower level between local police, social authorities, and school representatives. Both of these with focus on plans and strategies which are necessary to coordinate and prioritize efforts

---

<sup>60</sup> In Danish: Kredsråd

<sup>61</sup> In Danish: Lokalsråd

but not sufficient in concerns of proximity and local presence. The consequence is that the Police Directors have come closer to the mayors but the citizens have not come closer to the uniformed police officer.

### **Re. 5) New Technology**

According to the report by the Vision Committee, the "... police have lagged behind in the technological field. The systems priorities and developments in the IT field have not adequately guaranteed the necessary upgrades and the creation of new systems." (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 25. Translation by the Ministry of Justice). The outdated nature of the IT systems is seen in every aspect of every day use. From how regular desk computers cannot send emails because they are not connected to the internet to the non-user friendly reporting systems. Parts of the 'coherent' reform presupposes that a number of IT systems be implemented in order to ensure the rationalization targets of the reform and to ensure direction setting, coordination, etc. which have been described above (Visionsudvalget 2005). These IT systems include case management system (POLSAS), radio system (THOR), and the personnel administration system (POLPAI). Furthermore, the various reform initiatives presuppose IT support, for example in the cases of general productivity systems, GIS, GPS, fleet control systems, etc. As we have seen in the previous sections, IT plays an important role in the police reform. Thus, some of the reform initiatives require IT support and some even presuppose the IT systems such as introduction of new radio systems are a necessity for operation the new, larger districts with one large operation control center.

The new technologies have been planned and decided politically. Therefore in some instances technologies have been forced through such as the new direct number to the police 114. At a project manager meeting, the concerns around forcing this through were discussed. It was decided that since it was a political decision, it was necessary to find an interim arrangement until the technology was fully in place. However, this pacing of a technological solutions due to external pressure has created large problems in the phone systems and therefore this technical problem becomes a management challenge which is closely related to that of dealing with external demands as we will discuss further in the third chapter of the analysis.

Initiatives on new technology have been subject of much analysis. From these analyses, the requirements of the organization have been established, the development of the systems have been

initiated, and the systems have been implemented. Along with the reform, the implementation of these IT based technologies has been intensified. However, in the analyses, planning, and coordination prior to the implementation it appears that the focus has been on the technologies rather than on the use of the technologies. In the beginning of 2008, I spoke rather informally with a Police Commissioner about the challenges of the reform in his district. He was an experienced police manager and had been Chief of Police for years in a large police district. He spoke of how there were many challenges and of how they were busy getting everything in place in the new organization. He then mentioned one particular aspect which had surprised him much: "I have really been surprised at how bad the situation is with IT use", he said. "We have people who don't know how to turn on the computer. I knew we had *some* people who had trouble working with IT. But I had no idea it was *this* bad. And it's the same thing in the other districts." The message in the conversation about the lack of IT skills and how it came as a surprise to management illustrates how the analyses, planning, and coordination of the implementation of IT has focused on the technical aspects rather than the user aspects. Again, there seems to be a decoupling between the technical and the operational perspectives. The operational aspects of IT necessarily includes the user and the competencies of the user. However, in this case, the focus has been technology rather than the use of the technology which has resulted in vast gaps in the use of the technologies throughout the organization.

#### **Re. 6) Modernization of the police personnel and management policies and reform of the education of the police**

The police reform introduces drastic changes for management and other employees in the police as can be seen from in the different reform initiatives which have been outlined above. The reform initiatives will set requirements particularly for management which is illustrated by the following quote from the Vision Committee's report: "The proposed coherent police reform will increase demands on the management teams of the police." (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 23). The Vision Committee further links these increased demands on management to introduction of a management policy in the following:

A major challenge for the management team in charge of modernizing the Danish police will thus be to lay down the new management in the police which is to fill the new framework for the police.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, pp. 23).

Along with the formalization of expectations to management through the establishment of a management policy, the reform introduces several initiatives that have consequences for management. Among these changes is an increased focus on recruiting employees from outside the organization with specific focus on specialists and managers. The reform also introduces an increased focus on management competencies and personal skills in the recruitment of managers. In the process of filling management positions prior to the reform, competences were used as an essential selection tool for the first time in the police as a structured tool. Furthermore, every personnel manager was questioned on the wish to conduct performance reviews, development interviews, etc. during the interviews prior to the selection. This focus on generic management skills and management actions has been a notable change in the police. In the time after the reform, a number of experienced personnel managers have requested to be relieved of their personnel responsibilities due to the change in the role of the manager which in the new organization has much more focus on the personnel management role than earlier.

Thus the reform introduces a professionalization *of* management along with the legal de-professionalization *in* management. There is a professionalization of management in that the future police will bring added focus on management competencies and personnel management activities than previously. Generally management in the police is considered a discipline in itself. At the same time, *in* management, there is a de-professionalization of the police specific professionalization in that legal competencies play a less important role in the future as discussed in the previous section on modernization of management and governance in the police.

This added focus on competencies and skills for managers and employees will have consequences for employees in the police other than managers. Thus the training and education in the police will focus more on the individual and on the individual's competencies and skills in the future. This will be the case from the basic training at the police college as well as for further and higher educational courses. (Visionsudvalget 2005). Furthermore, the reform introduces systematic performance reviews for all employees.

The reform results in a revision and so-called modernization of training and education in the police to link the police education with the formal education systems (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Thus again,

as seen in other reform initiatives above, the reform introduces focus on specific measurable target and direction setting along with increased formalization of management and organizational aspects.

The management reform in the police is necessary to run the reformed police organization. In the future organization, managers must master the many new management technologies in the police such as performance management reviews, target setting for employees, individual development plans including development interviews, etc. The technologies are a requirement from the time of the commencement of the police reform whereas the development of the competencies required to successfully use the management technologies will take years to develop for the managers in the police. Thereby there will necessarily be a backlog of management competencies in the first years of the reform until management develops the necessary skills and knowledge required to master the new management technologies.

### ***A Coherent Reform***

In the outline of the different reform initiatives above, it is clear that the different parts of the reform are closely interconnected. The Vision Committee acknowledged these mutual dependencies in their analyses and realize that the reform be considered as a coherent. The committee explicitly concludes:

The Vision Committee finds it necessary to implement a coherent reform.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 16).

The committee further specifies how the reform initiatives should not be considered a number of separate initiatives by recommending that the reform is commenced in full:

It is implicit in the Vision Committee's proposal for a coherent reform that the individual elements of the reform are considered interdependent. The Committee therefore finds it important that all the main elements of the proposed police reform be adopted as a package.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 11. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

Thus, it was the intention with the police reform as noted by the Vision Committee that the reform should be treated as a coherent reform rather than a number of initiatives from which decision makers could pick and choose. When outlining the different reform initiatives above, their

interconnectedness illustrated how this argument of treating the reform initiatives as a coherent reform is not just an overall mindset but also has roots in practical concerns. Examples which we have briefly touched upon in the previous sections are the links between management competencies and the managerial technologies of performance systems. Also the links between the organizational governance structures, the larger districts, and the modernization of the 24-hour management incident service show how the initiatives are intertwined and mutually depending.

However, even though the Vision Committee suggested that the reform should be treated as a whole, the analysis and the recommendations within the report are necessarily divided into separate initiatives which cause a fragmentation of the reform. This is evident also for example in the implementation plan<sup>62</sup> for the multi-year agreement 2007-2010 for the police and the prosecution<sup>63</sup> service concluded with the parliament suggests a different mindset which focuses on the individual initiatives. In the implementation plan, the reform has been split into what is described as “five partial reforms”.<sup>64</sup>

1. *A district reform.* This partial reform contains the mergers of the 54 old districts into the new 12 districts.
2. *A management and steering reform.* This partial reform balances management development, steering, and governance structures.
3. *A training and education reform.* This partial reform includes a modernization and overall change in the training and education of the police.
4. *An incident management reform.* This partial reform is the change to the incident management services with introduction of new technologies, larger districts, new organization, etc.
5. *An IT reform.* The IT reform includes the many new IT supporting systems which are used in the everyday police work as explained above.

The structure of these five partial reforms is obviously different from the presentation which we have chosen above. The structure of the five partial reforms is according to the implementation plan for the police reform in the multi annual agreement. In the implementation plan, each of the ‘partial

---

<sup>62</sup> See “Udmøntningsplan for flerårsaftalen 2007-2010”, [www.politi.dk](http://www.politi.dk)

<sup>63</sup> See “Flerårsaftale for politiet og anklagemyndigheden 2007-2010”, [www.politi.dk](http://www.politi.dk)

<sup>64</sup> See “Udmøntningsplan for flerårsaftalen 2007-2010”, [www.politi.dk](http://www.politi.dk)

reforms' has one or more specific targets that are related to the specificity of the respective 'partial reform' which emphasizes the fragmentation of the proposed coherent reform. The measures relate to the functional-rational measures as cohesiveness is difficult to measure. Thereby the aim of being a cohesive reform is measured by measures which are separate and thereby measures which focus not on the cohesiveness but on fragmentation.

Thus, the mindset of the Vision Committee and the practical concerns advocate strongly for a coherent reform. However, the nature of the reform consisting of a number of initiatives tends to fragment the reform into 'partial reforms'. This is seen in the example of the implementation plan of the multi-year agreement for 2007-2010 in which the reform is divided into partial reforms in the efforts to assigning specific, measurable targets for the reform as a whole.

In practice, it is absolutely evident that a coherent reform has been necessary. We saw how the many new management technologies such as performance reviews, individual development plans, setting targets, prioritizing tasks, etc. require management development at a very broad scale. Thereby it is essential that there is a cohesiveness between the managerial and the operational level. We also saw how at the operational level there are technical aspects which relate to systems, structures and procedures which are related to operational competencies by the users. The daily police work emphasizes how these new initiatives are necessary and that they cannot stand alone. An example of this is the incident management service. The following situation illustrates both the need for the reform initiatives and the importance of cohesiveness.

Prior to the commencement of the police reform, I spent a couple of days in a large police district. To get a feeling of how police work was conducted in that part of the country and to see how they perceived the then future police reform. On the first day, I followed two experienced uniformed officers on their shift. The shift started out with a briefing from the 24-hour incident report. A couple of specific tasks were divided to some of the teams, and then coffee and a chat before the daily patrolling. After a coffee and a chat, I tagged along with the two experienced officers whom I was following on the shift. They started out by taking a look at their inboxes on the computer to see if they had received anything of importance. About an hour or so after the shift had started, we got our coats and headed out to the car. I sat in the back seat of the patrol car as we pulled out to the curb on the road. The driver turned to me and asked: "right or left?" I was surprised at his question and said: "Don't mind me. Just do as you normally do". He turned to me again and asked again: "should we go right or left?" I was surprised that he had not understood my answer at first so I repeated: "You should just do as you normally do. I just want to see what a normal working day is like". The



driver turned to me a third time and said: “Yes. But this is what we do. We drive up here to the curb and then we discuss: should we go right or left.”

The situation above illustrates how patrolling prior to the police reform was subject to arbitrary decisions on where and how to patrol rather than coordinated and prioritized patrolling. At a different time in an other district I was following a team of uniformed police officers on patrol. They drove off to a very scenic part of the district so that I could see the beauties of nature in the district. I asked them how they decide where to drive to on their shifts. One of the officers answered:

We like it out here where it's so beautiful. Some of the others. Mostly the young guys like it in the city where there's more action. In that way it evens itself out by itself.

The arbitrary nature of patrolling and the lack of coordination geographically and prioritization of tasks illustrates clearly that modernization of the 24-hour incident management service is necessary to improve the performance of the police and lift the ambitions of the police reform. The example shows how the technical systems for dispatching patrols by the means of fleet control systems, GIS and GPS are a great change to the way patrolling has been conducted prior to the reform. It is also clear that the technical aspects must be supported by a new way of coordinating work and setting priorities which require substantial management development. Furthermore, information systems must be linked to performance management measures which are an essential part of the performance systems in the reformed police from the National Commissioner to each Commissioner of Police and thereby to each district. From this quite simple example, the importance of a cohesive reform is evident. However, the cohesive nature of the reform has served difficulties to the implementation since the different initiatives are intertwined and mutually depending. Because of the nature of the initiatives as being intertwined, the concurrent introduction of the many initiatives have created competency backlogs. Whereas a system can be introduced from one day to another, competency development in using the system and management development in managing the operational level with the other aspects of the organization is a long process. Therefore a paced introduction would have made sense in a change management perspective whereas the institutional pressure on the organization to implement the contents of the reform seems to have forced the implementation. Thereby there appears to be a decoupling between the institutional framework and the operational level in regards to change management due to the cohesiveness of the police reform. It appears as a paradox that this could be avoided if management had learned how to manage reforms and more specifically how to balance the needs from the

operational level with the expectations from the institutional level which in the police reform primarily consist of the Minister of Justice and the settlement parties behind the reform. If so, then management might have been able to pace implementation and thereby balance the operational and the institutional framework. This aspect of balancing external demands and internal organizational aspects will be discussed further in the third section of the analysis 'External control of the police.'

### *Gains and Costs*

In their report, the Vision Committee has devoted a chapter to the title 'gains and costs' which refer to what is often described as costs and benefits. The chapter does produce the elements of a traditional cost and benefit analysis even though they choose to describe it as gains and costs. A traditional cost and benefit analysis is usually used as decision weighing costs up against benefits. The term gains and costs tends to indicate an information of what the gains are and what the costs are rather than a weighing of the two. The chapter introduces the estimated gains and costs of the police reform. They concluded that the different reform initiatives which are outlined above would trigger a rationalization potential of about 1,000 man-years. These estimates are based on a report completed by the consultancy company KPMG in commission by the Vision Committee as part of the analysis behind the committee's recommendations. The Vision Committee states as follows:

In KPMG's conservative estimate, the immediate, direct rationalization potential of the proposed police reform is in the order of 1,000 man-years.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 25. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

The committee further breaks down the presumed rationalization potential in the different reform initiatives with reference to KPMG's report as follows:

About half of the rationalization potential of approximately 1,000 man-years calculated by KPMG is related to the proposed modernization of the incident management service. The remaining rationalization potential relates to IT modernization and the introduction of 'best practice'.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 25. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

This direct rationalization potential thus proposes that the reform will free up 1,000 man-years as a direct consequence of efficiency effects of the reform initiatives. Given that the total number of employees in the police is less than 15,000; this is quite a remarkable rationalization. The

commission raises the long term rationalization expectations even further, again with reference to the KPMG report. The report reads as follows:

In addition, KPMG expects that the new structural framework for the police combined with new technology, modern management and HR policies etc., will make further considerable rationalization gains at an overall level possible in the long term, also in the National Police.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 25. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

Thus, it appears clearly from the Vision Committee's report that the committee ties the reform to vast rationalization effects. The different reform initiatives are thus connected to an assumption that they will each trigger rationalization effects either in the short run or in the long run. Thereby the proposed gains of the reform are quite pervasive.

### ***Duality between rational and symbolic initiatives in the reform***

The specific initiatives in the police reform which have been discussed above show how the police reform consists of more than merely changing organizational charts, altering the outlines on the map dividing the country into districts, or replacing the old police radios with a newer version. Each of the reform initiatives carry in their own turn complexity. The vision committee explicitly illustrates such an underlying complexity in regards to proximity concerns. In their report, they state as follows:

*Proximity* must be defined on the basis of people's needs – not in terms of 'bricks' and 'lines on a map'. The proximity on the part of the police which is of real importance to the general public is not determined by the location of buildings, organisational district borders or symbolic 'visible' patrolling where police presence is not specifically needed, see the citizen study.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 20. Translation by the Ministry of Justice.)

The quote above illustrates how the complexity of the specific reform initiatives must be acknowledged further than merely to a context free extent of the planned initiative. The reform and the initiatives within the reform must be seen in its context to embrace its complexity and thereby get a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the reform.

The example of proximity concerns above regards the distinction between rationality and symbolic action. It is clear from the discussions that the Vision Committee makes a distinction between

rationality and symbolic action. In this case of proximity, symbolic action is visible patrolling in situations when the potential need for police presence is unknown. However, even though the committee acknowledges the existence of symbolic action, at the same time it disregards the value of symbolic action and bases its recommendations in regards to proximity on what they describe as being of 'real importance'. What is determined as being of 'real importance' in this regard is what the citizen survey concluded based on a scientific study. Rationality thus overrules perception which is potentially irrational. Rationality in that the decision is based on a scientific study and that it is based on citizens' rational prioritization between symbolic police actions versus crime oriented police action. The position of the committee is clear. The committee takes a rational stand in focusing on what it describes as being of 'real importance' or, as 'real need for police action' as it was described above in the section 'The Vision Committee Report – The Future Police' in which the following quote was discussed:

In accordance with the findings of the citizen study, the Committee finds that the police resources should be used to meet real need for police action, where the resources can therefore provide measurable results and outcomes – particularly in the form of lower crime rates and higher detection rates.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, p. 13. Translation by the Ministry of Justice.)

The quote above underlines the rationality approach of the Vision Committee. It defines that the rationality approach in the form of measurable results and outcomes should be regarded in favor of subjective perceptions which in turn are regarded as irrational. Even though the committee acknowledges the irrational approach as a potential parameter, as discussed above, the committee disregards whether an argument from this approach would at all be consistent and therefore valid when deciding on the prioritization of police resources. The committee thus concludes as follows:

The general public thus wants the police to ensure real safety, that is, protection against the actual risk of becoming a victim of crime, etc. The study also clearly shows that the general public does not demand police action aimed at enhancing the subjective feeling of safety, that is, the individual's emotive experience of safety.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 4. Translation by the Ministry of Justice. )

Thus, the rationality approach of the committee appears to be consistent with the results of the citizens survey, as the quote above suggests. The study claims to show that citizens do not demand police action which enhances subjective feeling of safety or the individual emotive experience of safety. The scientific approach of the study could be questioned in regards to whether it could

conclude on subjective feeling of safety or individual emotive experience by using a methodology which is stripped of emotive experiences. It could be questioned whether the largely rational approach of the study could capture the essence of the irrational. However, for the sake of the discussion in this chapter on the nature of the reform, further discussions regarding validity of the underlying studies of the recommendation for the reform will be left out. What is relevant, however, is the nature of the studies and more importantly the nature of the perspective of the Vision Committee who utilized findings from the studies.

In the police reform, it is clear from the discussion above that the rationality perspective has been the dominant pillar upon which the police have been analyzed. Rationality has served as the focal point for the reform initiatives in favor of irrational aspects such as symbolic police action, subjective opinions, and individual emotional concerns. Thus when dealing with proximity concerns in the reform, the committee has relied heavily on logic of rationality which has resulted in a predominant functional-rational approach to the reform of the police. However, this functional-rational approach conflicts with the organizational character of the police which relies much on informal and symbolic actions. These matters were discussed in the chapter on change management in the police reform where we saw a decoupling between the change management approach and the organizational character. In the following chapter on culture in the police, we will elaborate upon this and highlight the reasons for the decoupling and discuss its consequences.

### ***The managerial police reform***

The initiatives in the police reform are based on a rational-functional logic as we have seen above. They reflect the mindset behind the New Public Management discourse of performance measures, audit-based management technologies, and efficiency (Hood, 1991; Metcalfe, 2004; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004; Hood, Diefenbach, 2007; Clarke and Newman, 1997). The reform reflects what Diefenbach describes as a neo-liberalistic understanding:

There is a particular understanding based on neo-liberalism about the nature and objectives of organisational change which dominates discourses and policies – new public management or managerialism (Dent and Barry, 2004, p. 7; Pollitt, 1990). It is a (inconsistent) set of assumptions and conclusions about how public sector-organisations should be organized, run and function in a quasi-business manner. It might be defined as a strategic initiatives, if not ideology, to make public sector organizations – and the

people working in them – “market-oriented” and “business-like”, i.e. performance-, cost-, efficiency- and audit-oriented.

(Diefenbach, 2007, p. 126)

The dominant discourse which Diecenbach describes above is just along the lines of the Danish police reform as we have seen in the sections above. The reform initiatives evolve around the business-like performance, efficiency and audit orientations as he describes is the dominant discourse of new public management or managerialism which is the term being used in the current study.

This focus on managerialist initiatives in the Danish police reform is fairly new. However, during the recent years prior to the police reform, some of these managerial initiatives have been introduced to the police by management technologies such as development plans. Thus, the police had initiated an initiative which translates to ‘from word to action’<sup>65</sup> in the meaning of ‘walk the talk’. The new public management wave which has swept across Denmark since the 80’s as described in the chapter on the historical context of the police have not had much impact on the police. Metcalfe describes the same tendency internationally. Earlier accounts of NPM in police organizations indicated that police organizations were not heavily affected of the managerial NPM wave to a great extent (Metcalfe, 2004) even though NPM was said to be one of the most “striking international trends in public administration” (Hood, 1991, p. 3; Metcalfe, 2004, p. 74). However, police organizations are now becoming much more managerialist by introducing NPM initiatives to a much stronger degree (Metcalfe, 2004; Pollitt, 1993). Thereby we see the same mimicking of managerial technologies from private sector to the police as in the public sector as a whole even though the police has been slower in picking up the managerial tendency (Metcalfe, 2004). The new management technologies which are implemented as essential parts of the reform brings a heavier focus on accountability to the police:

performance management as part of the new police management has brought with it a new principle of police accountability.

(Metcalfe, 2004, p. 71)

---

<sup>65</sup> In Danish: Fra ord til handling.

The new principle of police accountability which Metcalfe describes is an accountability which does not simply relate to specific police activities as was the case earlier but also to effectiveness and efficiency measures of police work:

Historically, assessment of police behaviour and conduct was principally concerned with specific police activities, rather than how well they performed them, so that police accountability is often conceptualized in relation to the rule of law, police powers and police corruption (Reiner, 2000; Jones and Newburn, 2002).

(Metcalfe, 2004, p. 72)

The intensified rational accountability which is part of the predominant managerialist direction in the police conflicts with the traditional police values of discretion and mutual trust. As we have discussed elsewhere in the current thesis, social relations and mutual trust are at the core of what is described as social capital which is an important organizational resource in the police. Social capital is a term for describing the value of relations in an organization (Coleman, 1988). It can be described as the goodwill which exists in the organization as a result of the social relations (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Sennett, 2000; Degnegaard, 2008). Adler and Kwon (2002) show how social capital can be exchanged as other types of capital. They also show the opposite, however. That social capital can be exchanged when another form of capital is brought into play. Given these dynamics of social capital, it becomes clear that introducing controlling and auditing technologies to the extent seen in the police reform will necessarily in turn exchange for some of the mutual trust. The mutual trust will necessarily diminish with the intensified management technologies which bring about control mechanisms throughout the organization as we saw above. Thereby introduction of the managerialist reform initiatives are at the cost of the important resource in the police, social capital, which will be devalued if it is not strengthened deliberately.

### ***The Role of Culture in the Police Reform***

The previous section has focused on the content of the police reform. We have concluded that many of the initiatives conflict with the culture of the police organization and with other parts of the organizational character of the organization. In this section we will frame culture in the empirical setting of the police and of the police reform. First, we will see which role culture has played in the police reform. Based on this, we will discuss how the intended role of culture from the planning perspective reflects the capabilities of the police both regarding implementation of the reform and in the longer run regarding the abilities of the police to unfold police service in society.

#### ***The role of culture in the police reform***

As we will see below, culture is such a widely used term in the police reform and therefore the term carries much ambiguity at an empirical level as well as on a theoretical level as we experienced in the theory chapter. In the following section, we will contextualize culture also in the empirical setting of the study, starting out by taking a closer look at the use of the term culture in the report by the Vision Committee since it serves as the blue print for the police reform and has done so from the first planning phases. The purpose of this exercise is not to conduct a thorough discourse analysis but rather to contextualize culture in the empirical setting to crystallize culture into a concept for further analysis.

In the report by the Vision Committee, there are 36 instances of the word culture. Throughout the 201 pages of the report, the term is used in an array of contexts. In the theory chapter, we discussed whether or not to disregard the term culture due to its ambiguity. With the argument by Sahlins (2002) who emphasized how the term ‘culture’ is no more devalued to those studying culture than the term ‘philosophy’ is to philosophers in spite of the fact that both terms have become part of everyday vocabulary rather than merely signifying analytical concepts. In the following, we will dive into the different uses of the term culture to get a grasp of how the term is used in relation to the police reform to shed light on the ambiguity of the term in the empirical context. In the following, we will analyze the different ways in which the word is used and categorize the contextual meaning which the term refers to. The categories have emerged from the context of the term within the report rather than forcing the term into a predefined framework. This is done to extend the contextuality of the term which is the aim of this entire exercise of conceptualizing the



term culture. The different contexts within which the term culture appears in the report can be categorized as follows:

1. Ethnic background
2. Cultural differences between organizational entities
3. Subcultures
4. Professional culture
5. Consensus culture
6. Equality culture
7. Civil service culture and police culture

### **Re. 1) Ethnic Background**

The theoretical discussions on the term culture pointed to the fact that the term has existed for long and has been the object of study for anthropologists long before it found its way into organizational theory. In anthropology, culture pointed to historical, national, geographic, and ethnic backgrounds. Traces from this way of using the term culture can be seen in the police reform. The first use of the term 'culture' in the police reform refers to ethnicity rather than organizational character. Culture is mentioned in correlation with ethnic background in the very beginning of the report with reference to the fact that the future challenges of the police will be different due to differences in the ethnic composition of citizens in society. It is argued that a main future challenge of the police is a current shift from a situation where we experience many guilty plea cases to a future situation which requires heavier loads on the police in regards to generating evidence since a larger ethnic distribution is expected to result in less guilty pleas (Visionsudvalget, 2005). In this first use of the term, culture plays a role in the argumentation for the reasons for this shift from guilty plea cases. The argumentation places culture centrally by stating that:

Based on its experience, the police deem this shift to be caused mainly by certain cultural differences implying that certain groups of young people of non-Danish ethnic backgrounds are reluctant to admit any guilt to the police.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 15. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

Culture is used in several other instances in the report in relation to ethnicity. Thus, the term is used with reference to ethnicity in regards to concerns regarding shifts in morals (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 57), and with concerns regarding the importance of gaining insights into other cultures by the

police (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 64, 163, 172, 176). Thereby this first use of the term is not an organizational aspect. This first mention of the term culture in the report regards cultural ethnic background of citizens. Furthermore, it regards criminological aspects of the police rather than organizational aspects. Both which are far from the meaning which we ascribe to the term culture in our organizational studies.

## **Re. 2) Cultural differences between organizational entities**

In the report by the Vision Committee, the term ‘culture’ is used on a number of occasions in regards to explaining differences between organizational entities. The term is used in this way to describe differences between the police and the prosecution services, between different police districts, and between uniformed police departments and criminal investigation departments.

The background for mentioning the cultural differences between the police and the prosecution services regards their organizational interconnections.<sup>66</sup> Thus, historically the prosecution services and the police have been integrated in the local police districts. This organization has been subject to some critique in regards to how the prosecution services can perform legal control over police activities (Visionsudvalget, 2005). In Western Europe, only Denmark and Norway include the prosecution services into police districts. The other West European countries have excluded the two by way of principle to ensure unbiased legal control over police activities (Visionsudvalget, 2005). In the report by the Vision Committee, they have considered how to approach these strong organizational links between the police and the prosecution services. In the reform, it was decided that the Prosecution Services locally were to be organizationally anchored within the police district referring to the local Police Commissioner. The Director of Public Prosecutions maintains professional responsibility over the prosecution services and acquired administrative and steering responsibilities (Ministry of Justice, 2006). The relevance of these matters to the cultural aspect is that these discussions regarding the separation or continued integration of the police and the prosecution services were based on pros and cons of separation or integration. In these discussions, culture proved to play a role among concerns regarding impartial legal control of police and

---

<sup>66</sup> The structure of the prosecution services will be dealt with only to the extent that it has specific relevance for the police reform. Its structure will not be dealt with in detail in this study since it primarily regards the reform of the Court Administration.

effectiveness in the processing of cases (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Thus, the Vision Committee in its report quotes the structural analysis by KPMG as follows:

Integrating the Prosecution Services in the police seems the best solution in regards to effectiveness since this enables planning of adjustments in the depth of investigation in the prosecution strategy. Furthermore, the districts note that the cooperation between the Prosecution Services and the police provides not just a better legal control but also better legal notes of guidance. A division will not only result in a loss of legal control but also that the cultural impact will be lost.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 148).

Thus culture is used as a pivotal argumentation for maintaining the often criticized close connections between the police and the Prosecution Services. In the context of the report, the term ‘culture’ is not specified or further explained but leaves one with the impression that culture in this regard refers to professional concerns. The report further quotes the KPMG analysis by stating:

It is the impression that the presence of the prosecution services has a positive effect on the effectiveness in the investigation and on the quality of the legal control.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 148)

Culture, in this regard, is in itself highly ambiguous, yet appears to be a very strong argument even in this sensitive matter. The use of culture in this specific situation marks a difference between the police and the Prosecution Services as organizational entities and clearly suggests a positive influence from one culture to the other; in this case from the Prosecution Services to the police. However, it does not specify the content of the culture or the positive aspects of the Prosecution Services which are desirable to reflect into the police. Mostly in the police reform, culture has been described as a negative which is a barrier to the future development of the organization. The positive use of the cultural term is rather unique in the police reform as will be discussed later in this chapter.

The term culture is also used in the report as a reference to differences between organizational entities within the police. The report quotes a report on the analysis of the basic training, further education, and management education in the police with reference to differences within the police.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> KPMG: “Analyse af grund-, efter- og lederuddannelsen i politiet”, 27. Januar 2005.

The delineation of uniformed police departments and criminal investigation departments is legendary, and the cultural differences between the individual police districts are recognized among employees in the personnel.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 172)

The quotation illustrates how the two demarcations of organizational entities are linked to the term culture.

The latter example, cultural differences between police districts, refers to how there tends to be cultural difference between the police districts. Differences between districts are not surprising as management in the different districts have very different approaches to managing their respective districts. The term cultural is used with reference to differences between districts which are not described further or are subject to precision. Judging from the context of the quote, we must gather that the term is used to describe differences in management approach, how employees relate to each other, how work is planned and carried out, etc. All in all, a very ambiguous use of the term.

The example of delineation of uniformed police departments and criminal investigation departments is highly relevant in relation to discussions on the use of the term culture. Up until 1938, the police was divided into two police corps; one being the uniformed police which was anchored in the municipalities, and the other being a state police which consisted of the criminal investigation police. With the unification of the police under the National Commissioner's office, the division was upheld and has been so until the current police reform.<sup>68</sup> The relevance of this – in the quote above so called “legendary” – delineation is that it is discussed extensively throughout the report by the Vision Committee as well as in practice within the police. Furthermore, the discussions are referred to in terms of ‘culture’ at several occasions and with different connotations. The first incidence of mentioning the difference between the uniformed police departments and criminal investigation departments in the report is quoted below:

The internal organisation of the police should no longer be based on the traditional division into uniformed police and criminal investigation departments. This division results in inexpedient cultural differences and the risk of double work. The future internal organisation should instead be based on the tasks. Such a unified unitary police will ensure both a better overall perspective in the entire police force and a more rational utilisation of resources.

---

<sup>68</sup> For more information on the historical aspects of the police, refer to chapter 2.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 24. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

The quotation very clearly reflects the concern with the delineation between the two traditional organizational entities. Furthermore, the quote illustrates how ‘culture’ is seen in the light of cultural difference which is considered an inexpedient factor. Culture is an opposing factor to the rational, in this case resource utilization, and to task dependent organization. In this sense, culture is the signifier of organizational cultural differences whereby it is cornered into an irrational, task-less, efficiency-opposing corner. In the discussions on the split between the two organizational entities, the cultural differences are described as “an old cultural gap” (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 171) quoting KPMG’s analysis on structure of the police.<sup>69</sup> The report further states that the organizational division has resulted in the cultural differences between the uniformed police and criminal investigation. The report reads:

The division in uniformed police and criminal investigation – and the following cultural differences and professional barriers between the two kinds of police officers – poses a barrier for an effective and flexible unified police as the Vision Committee sees it.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, 171. Author’s translation.)

Thus, the report suggests that the organizational structure is the reason for the cultural differences which in this case are considered a cultural barrier to efficiency and flexibility which are some of the main arguments in the content of the police reform as seen in the previous chapter on the content of the reform. Thereby the culture stands as a barrier for the reform itself and is therefore something which should be broken down.

### **Re. 3) Sub-cultures**

A third sense in which the term ‘culture’ is used in the report is in regards to sub-culture. Subculture is a term which is – and has been – used frequently in the police in relation to a different matter than that of reform in the police. The term is used in relation to some very unfortunate incidents in the beginning of the 1990’s. During these incidents, police officers were accused of violence and abuse against citizens and of covering up for each other. The incidents were closely related to the esprit-de-corps in the police which generally is described as the reason for the coming into being of these

---

<sup>69</sup> KPMG: “Dansk politi – strukturanalyse,” 30 November 2004.

sub-cultures in which police officers seemed to bend and even break the rules.<sup>70</sup> Since then, mentioning the esprit-de-corps in relation to the police awakens associations to the unfortunate forming of sub-cultures.<sup>71</sup> The risk of forming subcultures and the link to the esprit-de-corps is mentioned explicitly in the report by the Vision Committee as an important management challenge.

The Danish police are marked by a strong esprit-de-corps and loyalty. This civil service culture should of course be seen in connection to the tasks of the police and to the physically and mentally straining situations which employees in the police must handle. The roles of the police in society – among these the admission to use force against citizens – cites that employees have a strongly anchored common foundation of values. Therefore it is an important challenge for the police management to prevent sub-cultures which do not identify themselves with the common values. At the same time it is a challenge to ensure that the civil service culture will not become a barrier for development.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 169. Author's translation)

With the recommendations in the report, the reform turns toward a focus on sub-cultures as a potential risk which is a challenge for police management as seen in the quote above. The quote illustrates how the reform suggests a call for managers to focus on this risk of sub-cultures. The report also includes a more institutional and systematic approach to working with the apparent risk of sub-cultures through a management strategy. A central part of the police reform is the management reform which in the multi-year agreement with the government is described as such, namely a reform in itself. Within the sphere of the so-called management reform, a part of the police reform is the forming a management strategy. The report by the Vision Committee has plotted out for the management strategy to include concerns regarding which competencies will be needed in the police in the future and to include a management code of conduct (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The report suggests that the management strategy should include the management challenge of preventing sub-cultures within the police.

In forming the police management strategy, it should be noted that the job related tasks and the legal control require particular demands regarding visible management with

---

<sup>70</sup> The case of Benjamin who was subject to a violent arrest during New Year's eve 1991/1992 recently surfaced as he died as a result of the injuries which were brought on to him during the arrest. See for example the newspaper article "Hudafskrabninger på øjenlågene," *Information*, September 12 2008.

<sup>71</sup> In chapter 4 we describe how the esprit-de-corps is inherent in the police and discuss how the term esprit-de-corps awakens these negative conations in the police.

impact. The demands for visibility and impact will increase in the larger units in which it will be a considerable challenge to prevent the emergence of sub-cultures.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 165. Author's translation)

The quote illustrates how the report suggests that sub-cultures can – and should – be broken down via visible management and management impact. Thus, the term sub-culture is used in relation to something which should be prevented both in day-to-day management and in the more structural management aspects by including it in management technologies within the police.

#### **Re. 4) Professional culture**

A fourth way in which the culture is used in the report is in relation to professional culture. Professional aspects are central to the reform in that one of the two main arguments for increasing the size of the districts is to enable professional sustainable environments (Visionsudvalget, 2005; Røn, 2007). Professionalism is also a central argument in the discussions around future competencies in the police which is emphasized in the reform (Visionsudvalget, 2005; Røn, 2007). Furthermore, the report uses professional in relation to culture in regards to illustrating a strong professional focus within the realms of the Ministry of Justice. Thus the report uses the term professional culture in its reflection upon the effectiveness strategy of the Ministry of Justice which aims at a high degree of dialog based management (Visionsudvalget, 2005).<sup>72</sup>

The efficiency strategy by the Ministry of Justice shows that it aims at a high degree of dialogue based management in the realms of the ministry. A dialog based style of management rests upon values, cooperation, and motivation. The contradistinction to dialog based management is control based management in which the manager to a high degree uses rules, surveillance, and orders. [...] Dialog based management is a natural extension of the strong professional culture in the areas of the Ministry of Justice.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 107. Author's translation)

Professional culture in this regards signifies a strong professional focus in the realms of the Ministry of Justice. The significance of the term culture seems to be that professionalism pervades the entire organization which in the case above has consequences for the preferred style of

---

<sup>72</sup> For more background on the strategy, please refer to:  
<http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/fileadmin/downloads/strategi2004.pdf>.

management in the realms of the Ministry of Justice. Thus, culture is used in relation to the job in this sense. It is used job related in that it signifies that professionalism is how the job gets done.<sup>73</sup>

### **Re. 5) Consensus culture**

The last category in this categorization of how the term culture is used in the report by the Vision Committee has been named organizational culture in lack of a better word. Content wise, this categorization includes consensus culture, equality culture, and police culture. The term organizational culture could at a first glance seem to be misleading since one could argue that the previous four cultural categories are organizational. However, this category does include several aspects of the culture in the organization which are not covered by the other categories. It even crosses into some of the other categories due to the fact that the borders between these categorical constructs are at best grey zones and in some cases, they overlap.

The first cultural term in this category is *consensus culture*. Consensus culture is described on several occasions in the report (Visionsudvalget, 2005, pp. 17, 107, 108). The term consensus culture is used in the police to describe how decisions are made on the basis of consensus between management, employees, and union representatives rather than management instructions. As described above, dialogue based management style is preferred within the realms of the Ministry of Justice. Consensus culture, on the other hand, is undesirable as it appears in the following quote from the Vision Committee's report:

Besides the dialog based management style in the police there is, however, a certain consensus culture – particularly at a local level – which means that it becomes a practical condition that the actors accept management decisions. Such a consensus culture is in a way a natural side-effect from a poor formal management structure.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 108. Author's translation.)

Consensus culture is seen as an inhibitor of management decisions and thereby it is seen as a barrier for organizational development and achieving operational targets.

The present management structure implies that there is a risk of a consensus culture which requires many resources and is difficult to combine with dynamic development and efficient target and performance management.

---

<sup>73</sup> See the analysis chapter 'Content of the police reform' for a further discussion on the organizational consequences of the professional culture in the police.



(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 17. Translation by the Ministry of Justice)

From the report, it is evident that the use of the term consensus culture points to a management tradition within the police in which management has not set direction. Rather, decision making has been a collective process. It appears evident from the report that lack of direction setting and collective decision making processes are undesired in that they are contradictory to dynamic development and efficient target and performance which are highly desired organizational attributes in the reform.<sup>74</sup> The term consensus culture is also discussed in practice within the police. This happens often when management airs distress over the inertia of the organization and the slowness in decision making processes due to the consensus culture.

### **Re. 6) Equality culture**

Consensus culture has some connection to another cultural term, namely *equality culture*. This term describes that employees do not wish to differentiate themselves from the others or that others differentiate themselves from the rest. The report mentions the term in relation to the police employee survey.

The employee survey shows that employees in the police are to a high degree stamped by an equality culture.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 183. Author's translation)

This equality culture relates to the consensus culture above. In an equality culture, decision making processes are a collective matter and therefore could be ascribed to what in the police is referred to as consensus culture. Culture in this context signifies inter-relational dynamics between employees which are not desirable given the directions and prospects of the future police. Thereby, once again, culture is regarded as a barrier to the police and in particular to the police reform.

The two cultural terms, consensus and equality culture, are terms which are used in regards to local organizational cultural traits. As suggested in the quote above, they tend to be stronger at a local level. The next two cultural terms, civil service culture, and police culture have a slightly different character in that they describe cultural traits at a non local level.

---

<sup>74</sup> The analysis chapter 'Contents of the police reform' discusses the desired organizational attributes which are brought forward in the reform in relation to discussion on New Public Management in the police reform.

## **Re. 7) Civil service culture and police culture**

*Civil service culture* is mentioned in the report in the terms of reference for the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The terms of reference state that the committee shall take into consideration civil service personnel management and culture among 12 other factors (crime, demography, internationalization, etc.). The term culture thereby signifies a larger field than the organization by mentioning culture in relation to the entire public field. Another use of the term culture which is not used as a local issue in the report is the use of the term *police culture*. In the report, the term police culture is used in connection to discussions around generalist competencies vs. specialist competencies. The police is a largely a professional bureaucracy where everyone is a generalist. The report by the Vision Committee strongly suggests that the demands on sophistication of police work has increased as crime has become more complex (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Therefore, the report suggests a higher degree of specialization within the police. The report quotes KPMG's analysis of the basic training, higher education, and management education in the police as follows:

Thus, the training and education resources of the police could be brought to better use if it was considered to use some lower qualified work force, some work force with the actual qualifications, and some work force with higher qualifications. This would fundamentally challenge the police culture and set demands for management which not all managers today could handle.

(Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 173. Author's translation)

It is difficult to determine what the term police culture signifies in the quote. In the current context, police culture regards management and qualifications but apart from that, it is quite difficult to judge which aspects of the police, 'culture' signifies. The term is highly ambiguous in its context. It is clear from the context of the quote, however, that challenging the police culture is positive and that the culture should and must be challenged even though it is stated that not all managers today could handle to challenge the culture. Thus also the civil service culture of the police is described as a negative aspect which should be challenged.

### *Empirical accounts of cultural ambiguity in the police reform*

The accounts of the use of the term 'culture' in the previous sections clearly illustrate the ambiguity of the term 'culture' in the police reform. Given this ambiguity and the apparent carelessness of the use of the term culture, the quote from Sahlins (2002) in the theory chapter seems very evident. His

concern that the term culture is used for anything by anybody to signify just about anything seems to be a very valid concern. The point about the ambiguity and lack of specificity of the term culture is also stressed by Van Maanen (2001). He suggests that the study of culture should not turn away from culture in a perceived loss of meaning of the term since it would not solve the problem of lacking specificity to substitute 'culture' with a different term. In the current study, we will stick with the arguments by Sahlins (2002) and Van Maanen (2001) and work with the term culture.

The seven different contexts in which the term has been brought to use in the report by the Vision Committee and the many different meanings which the term signifies, illustrate the ambiguity of the term. Even within each of the categories, the use of the term proved to be ambiguous in that it is unclear what it signifies in the respective contexts. However, from the accounts of the use of the term in the discussions above, it becomes very clear that there is a strong tendency to refer to police culture in terms of a barrier and an obstacle to the future of the organization. However, that is not true in all cases. In the first case of the ethnic background, the term culture does not carry normative directions for the organization. In regards to professional culture and cultural difference between the police and the prosecution services, culture even appears as positive aspects. However, in the remaining cases, we see how culture is considered a barrier to the future police. This barrier is to be broken down in terms of how groups relate to each other internally which is described as subcultures. The subcultures which are believed to derive from the internal loyalty of the police and the esprit-de-corps are seen as a threat to control of the police and to organizational development which is considered to be highly necessary in the police reform. Consensus culture is seen as a barrier to decision making processes and to the managerial space in the organization. Equality culture is seen as a barrier to the modern management technologies of individual performance reviews, individual reward schemes, etc. Furthermore, the civil service culture is described as a barrier to development in general, and the police culture is considered a barrier to specialization due to the standardization of training and competencies in the police.

Thus, in the rational perspective in which the police reform was designed, most of the essential cultural traits of the police are considered a barrier apart from professionalism. Almost every aspect of the culture of the police is described as a barrier which is to be broken down, or an obstacle which must be overcome. However, when studying the police closer, the culture in the police appears to play an important role in how the police function. In this perspective, which is a counter-

perspective to that of the rational-functional perspective of the reform, the culture of the police is an important resource which should not be neglected in the reform implementation and in the future organization of the police but rather the culture should be considered an essential organizational resource. This perspective will be discussed in the following section.

### *Culture seen as an organizational resource rather than a barrier*

The culture of the police is often criticized in the public debate since it is linked directly to cases of police violence, situations in which officers cover each other's backs, etc. In the discussions above, we saw how from a rational-functional level the organizational culture is also criticized for being a barrier for development, efficiency, and modernization.

The positive aspects of the police culture, however, are often neglected even though the culture plays an essential role in the police. The loyalty and esprit-de-corps are essential organizational resources in the police which are in play in the everyday function of the police. Thus, when one follows how everyday problems are being solved in the police, they are solved through informal networks rather than through formalized work procedures. Whether in a patrol car or in an office, problems which cannot be solved with the resources at hand are approached through the informal networks. When confronted with a task which one does not know how to handle, employees in the police tend to always know someone who knows someone who has tried something similar. With this knowledge, they activate their networks often and further strengthen their networks by helping each other out. The informal networks are further strengthened by the fact that employees in the police have a very strong private network in the organization. In the police, they use the term 'police of cousins'<sup>75</sup> to describe the fact that they feel that they are all related in a familiar way. For employees, it is very common that one has a spouse, a cousin, a best friend, sports buddies, etc. and sometimes all of the above. Furthermore, the fact that everyone has gone through the same police training and can relate to the same background is a strengthening factor. In the police, mutual trust is necessary because police officers rely on each other for safety purposes. This creates a strong culture in the police and strong relationships (Manning, 2003). Thus, the informal networks are an essential resource in the police. The informal networks are based on mutual trust and make up what is described as social capital (Coleman, 1988) as discussed in the methodology chapter and further elaborated upon in the chapter on content of the reform. We discussed how social capital can be

---

<sup>75</sup> In Danish: Fætter-kusine politiet.

described as the goodwill between employees in the organization (Sennett, 2000; Degnegaard, 2008). Coleman focuses on the function of social capital and describes it as follows:

The function identified by the concept of "social capital" is the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests.

(Coleman, 1988, p. 101)

Coleman (1988) stresses that trust and trustworthiness are the essential factors in social capital. Thus, the essence of social capital is the value of social structures and informal networks which can be used to achieve one's interests. The social structures and informal networks are based on trust. This definition of social capital is dominant in the literature (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001; Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004; Halpern, 2005; Svendsen and Svendsen, 2006). In our case, the interests of the employees of the police are to conduct the best possible police service.

The strong relationships in the police and the importance of the informal networks are obvious when doing studies in the police. During my field studies in the 24-hour incident service department and in the National Commissioner's Office, this has been clear in the way police employees constantly refer to people whom they know and to how they draw on each other's knowledge in everyday tasks as well as in large projects. This is also reflected in the example from the change management chapter in which I described how the director of the program office trusted his project managers and did not see it his role to control because as he said: "I know them. They are good men." Thus, when studying police work in practice, the relations and the informal networks surface are essential organizational resources. However, in the reform initiatives, culture is not mentioned as a resource which should be applied in the future police. On the contrary. Culture is mostly described as a barrier to the future organization. Thereby the rational-functional reform focus risks neglecting this essential resource which could be used as a resource in implementing the reform which has consequences for the success of the police reform. Even more critical is the risk of devaluing the social capital in the police in the future organization. Traces of the devaluing of the police organization can be seen in the organization. It can be seen in the example which we described in the methodology chapter with the manager who mentions how the social activities are declining and how the relationships between employees is changing from a situation in which people helped each other to a situation now which is dominated by specific exchanges rather than mutual obligation. He described how previously it was not a big problem to have someone else take one's shift whereas the situation now is that there is a counter-demand when one requests help.

These are little signifiers of a cultural shift in the police. A shift from an organization which has relied on the strong relations in the organization to a future situation in which the police must rely more on specific exchanges. If not, the tendency will change again and counter-act against the rationality perspectives of the reform. In recent years, the tendency in society towards a rational-functional efficiency perspective has been agenda setting in the public sector with the New Public Management wave which has swept over the developed countries in the past decades (Hood, 1995; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004). These tendencies create a dominant stream toward managerialization of the public sector (Clarke and Newman, 1997). However, there is a counter-position to the managerial stream which calls for a praise of bureaucracy (Du Gay, 2000; Peters ed., 2001; Du Gay, 2005; Sennett, 2005). This counter-stream focuses on the positive aspects of bureaucracy. They highlight how the new public management wave and managerialism has done away with the positive aspects of bureaucracy:

These are not the best of days for bureaucracy. Everywhere its demise is reported, demanded and, more often than not, celebrated.

(Du Gay, 2000, p. 146)

In the counter-position to managerialism, the importance of bureaucracy to society is emphasized as an essential aspect of democratic society. Du Gay (2000) describes the importance of bureaucracy as follows:

...it is both misguided and remarkably premature to announce the death of the ethos of bureaucratic office. Many of its key features as they came into existence a century or so ago remain as or more essential to the provision of good government today as they did then. [...] These features include the possession of enough skill, status and independence to offer frank and fearless advice about the formulation and implementation of distinctive public purposes and to try to achieve purposes impartially, responsibly and with energy if not enthusiasm. Representative democracy still needs bureaucratic ethos.

(Du Gay, 2000, p. 146)

This counter-position to managerialism suggests that a bureaucratic ethos is essential in public sector organizations.

In the chapter on change management in the police reform, we argued how stability is important in reorganization. This current perspective on a bureaucratic ethos emphasizes how the traditional values of the police with respect to mutual trust are equally essential to the organization in the

longer run. Therefore, the culture should be treated, not as something which is a barrier to the future organization, but rather as an essential organizational resource which should be brought into the future organization.

Also the content of the reform points in a direction which risks further devaluing of the social capital of the police and thereby diminishing an essential organizational resource. These matters were discussed in the chapter 'Content of the reform' in which we saw how the management initiatives result in an individualization of the police organization. Within the police, they are starting to make the connection between culture and the rational-functional logic of managerial technologies which cause individualization.

During fall 2008, I was discussing organizational matters with a person from a large public organization. We discussed an array of new organizational initiatives which they were planning to implement. During the discussions, he mentioned that he had attended a meeting with people from different public organizations, among them, representatives from the police. Two project managers with the responsibility for very central projects in the police reform. They had described how the police reform was slowly changing the police culture; that they were going from a we-culture to an I-culture. They further explained how this was a risk to the police because in that way they might lose one of the strengths of the police.

The situation above illustrates how the police is now beginning to acknowledge that there is a dominant direction in the police by the content of the reform by way of the new management technologies, the way the reform has been introduced, and the specific approach to culture which all point in the direction of individualization which in turn leads to devaluing the social capital which has historically been an essential organizational resource to the police.

The importance of culture as an essential resource in the police is also being acknowledged from the very top management in the police. Thus, in the spring of 2009 the new Commissioner of Police describes how the culture of the police and the internal relations will be a focus area in the future.

However, the dominant stream of individualization and fragmentation is so strong that it will require a focused effort to change in order to ensure that the police will be able to bring with it the positive aspects of the strong relations into the future police organization. Thus, in an interview in April 2009, the new National Commissioner of Police mentions culture when speaking of his future challenges as National Commissioner of Police:

To create more cohesion in the police. Today there is so much ‘them and us.’ Between the National Commissioner’s Office and the districts. Between the main stations and the local stations etc. that will be a big challenge: to say this is us and we stand together and help each other.... It is also about culture. That we open up the culture – also in here [ed.: the National Commissioner’s Office] – that we are all part of a whole.

(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

The quote from the interview with the National Commissioner of Police and the remarks by the two project managers mark a new way of seeing culture in the police. From seeing culture as a barrier, it is now slowly beginning to be acknowledged as an essential resource. As discussed above, this turn is necessary in order for the police to be successful in the future given that the police work relies on mutual trust within the organization which is essential for the social capital which is considered to be an essential resource in the police organization.

### ***Concluding remarks on contents of the reform***

In this section of the analysis, we have focused on the ‘what’ of the police reform. We have seen how the reform has been structured from the blue prints of the report by the Vision Committee. The reform is constructed on a heavily rational-functional logic which has neglected and deferred symbolic arguments as irrational and subjective. In the content of the reform, the human development aspects have been regarded with the same rational-functional approach as technical aspects of the reform. The reform has been rushed. In some instances to satisfy the political arena where technology has not been quite ready as was seen in the case of the new 114 telephone number to the police. In other instances to satisfy the rational-functional planning aspects – which have had consequences at a broad scale across the organization – skills wise. From the analysis it is clear that there has been a skills backlog in that those who should operate the technologies whether it being employees’ IT competencies in working the new IT systems and phone systems or – most importantly – management skills in regards to handling the many new management technologies.

The need for management skills to handle the new reformed police with its many new management technologies and complex nature is emphasized by the new National Commissioner of Police in April 2009:

This demands some competencies. It demands management. It demands more management than we have ever seen before.



(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

The cultural discussions in this part of the analysis emphasized how the predominant perspective on culture has been that culture is a barrier that must be broken down to make way for the new and reformed police organization. However, the analysis points to the fact that culture is such an essential resource in the police which should not have been attempted to be broken down but rather be brought to use in the implementation of the police reform and brought into the future police.

Professionalization of management:

“We probably have not been clear enough in emphasizing that there is a difference between personnel management and managing professional tasks and resources.”

“We need to be professional in the job we occupy and that goes for management too. There is something called professional management and it means that you have to master some things. You have to have some tools in the toolbox so to speak.”



## **The External Control of the Police**

In the previous sections of the analysis, focus has been on change management in the police reform – on the how and the what. In the discussions of how the police reform has been implemented, the primary focus has been the police themselves. Focusing on the internal perspective is commonly seen in organizational change which is also reflected in the change management literature as we discussed in the change management chapter. The notion of working actively with the external environment in organizational change is not commonly seen as Pfeffer and Salancik note:

The idea of changing organizations by changing their environments is scarcely found in the literature on organizational change.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 278)

The current thesis has focused mainly on the internal aspects of the police reform in the previous chapters. In some of those discussions, the role of external consultants and the Vision Committee have been introduced to some extent, yet from the perspective of the police as the implementing organization. In the discussions on ‘what’ has been implemented, the role of the Vision Committee has been more prominent and in those discussions, we focused also on the differences between the Vision Committee as the strategy forming perspective and the police as the implementing perspective. However, the decoupling between the different perspectives has not yet had much emphasis even though they appear to have played an essential role in the police reform. The intention with the current section of the analysis is to focus specifically on decoupling between the different stakeholders. These acts of decoupling will then be discussed with regards to the consequences for the police and the police reform.

The current analysis of the Danish police reform is written in the privilege of looking at the reform in hindsight. In this privileged perspective, the analysis shows how some aspects of the police reform have resulted in problems and challenges. The analysis sheds light on aspects from a time when the knowledge was not yet available. Decisions and other actions were made from the information available to the different stakeholders. The aspect of bounded rationality (March and Simon, 1958; March, 1978; Thompson, 1967, 2008; Stacey, 2001) becomes clearer in hindsight when it becomes possible to analyze the bounded nature of rationality which adds an element of uncertainty to decision making.

Some of these problems and challenges could have been avoided if only at the outset of the reform, everyone knew what is known today. It is not possible, though, to do a 're-take' in the reform as if it were a scene on the set of a movie. The fact that the reform is an irreversible process was stated by the Director of Public Prosecutions several times during the internal formal kick-off event in the police in January 2007. He phrased it with the words, "There is only one bullet in the barrel." With these words, it was stressed that it is important to get it right at the outset because there is no option to go back and try over. The reasons for this may seem obvious and when the words of the Director of Public Prosecutions were said, probably no one in the auditorium was thinking that he was wrong. It seems so obvious when it is being said that it may be regarded as a statement which is not worth challenging. However, the reasons why the statement carries so much evidence and seems so obvious are not as obvious.

The reason why organizational actions are irreversible rests upon the fact that organizational actions have constitutive effects. In the organizational setting of the police reform, as in any organizational setting, actions have constitutive effects in the organization. In the methodology chapter we discussed the nature of constitutive effects in organizations and saw how constitutive effects can be seen as organizational settlements. We saw how we can use the analog from ceramics in the organizational setting where the molecules become oriented when given a direction through an action whether these actions being decisions, communication or strategic orientation which influence the actions in the organization.

The actions related to the police reform which are of particular relevance in the current part of the analysis are of very different nature. Some aspects relate to political actions, others to managerial actions, and again others to operational actions. This division in three levels is derived from the two institutional frameworks by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) and Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill (2001) which we framed in the theory section and also discussed in the previous section of the analysis. We ended up by using the levels: Institutional framework which in this context is at times referred to as the external level, the managerial level, and the operational level. Action at the different levels is linked to the different stakeholders in the police reform. Thus, the institutional framework is primarily linked to relations between top management in the police and politicians. In our discussions below, this is more specifically the National Commissioner of Police, the Minister of Justice, and the

settlement parties behind the police reform. These are of course influenced by the larger political system, by the relations to the top management in the police, to the public debate, the media, and the general public. Thereby it is clear that there is no clear cut distinction between actors and the three different levels which we have established for analytical purposes. The other two levels apart from the external level are the managerial level and the operational level. The managerial level is linked to managers in the police. The operational level is first and foremost linked to employees in the police. To the level where the actual police work gets done. Again, these levels are not excluding in that operational level does not exclude managers. Furthermore, the whole point about the model is to illustrate the importance of relations between the levels and to use the model to analyze couplings and decoupling between levels.

In the police reform all stakeholders seem to have made decisions which they have believed to be the best solution of the future police. The bounded rationality in the case of each of the stakeholders and the apparent decoupling between the stakeholders seem to have had consequences for the success of the police reform, for the police organization, and for the police organization's capacity to solve their tasks in the future.

### ***The main stakeholders in the reform***

When looking at the police reform from an overall perspective which encompasses all decision makers who have made decisions which have had direct impact on the police reform, it appears that the reform has been dominated by three main players. The first stakeholder is the politicians who decided on the police reform and passed the bill. The other is the Vision Committee who was the architect of the reform. The third group of stakeholders is the police who implemented the reform.

This categorization into stakeholder groups is, of course, a very simplistic way of dividing the stakeholders and a very reductionist categorization. In each of the groups, one could argue that the stakeholder group should be more sophisticated. For example that encompassing the police into one category should be unfolded and that the police should be divided into on the one hand the National Commissioner's office and on the other hand the police districts since the National Commissioner's Office were in charge of coordinating and planning the implementation of the reform. However, following this argument to its fullest extent would force the categorization into too complex a division because the same argument could be made throughout the organizational hierarchy. Top

management in the respective districts plan and coordinate the implementation in the reform. This argument would be applicable from the top with the National Commissioner's Office/Police districts down to that of managers/employees where the managers could be said to coordinate and plan the implementation and the employees to implement. Therefore in the current analysis it has become necessary to simplify the categorization to such an extent that the current arguments can be made. When relevant, the reductionist categorization is unfolded into subcategories. During those discussions, for the sake of argument in the analysis, the police are at some points of the analysis categorized into management, employees, and police union. However, for the sake of illustrating the current argument regarding the overall governance discussions in the reform, we will stick with these three categories; politicians, the Vision Committee, and the police.

The primary focus throughout this thesis is that of the police. When the roles of the politicians and that of the Vision Committee are included in this section of the analysis, it is with the focus of their influence on the police reform for the police organization. The role of politicians in the current section is limited to two main political decisions which have had much influence on the police reform. One was the negotiation and passing the police reform. The negotiations were not very complex which can be seen from how the reform act is very close to being a complete mirror of the recommendations by the Vision Committee in their report 'The Future Police' (Røn, 2007). The report by the Vision Committee plays a significant role in the analysis. Partly because it reflects the final reform, as noted above. More importantly because it plays a significant role in practice in the reform. The report is the point of reference in many discussions even several years after the commencement of the police reform. The report is still in April 2009 used as point of reference for organizational development initiatives, management development programs, etc. by internal consultants in the police in their daily work. Therefore the many references to the report by the Vision Committee refers not just to the design of the police reform but rather it refers to the document which is the main reference to the reform initiatives in the police and to other organization development initiatives which are all linked to the initiatives in the police reform. The other primary incident in which the politicians played an important role in the police reform is when the settlement parties requested a contingency plan from the police to get the reform on track after the police had been heavily criticized in the media on accounts of police neglect. In the debate in the media, the neglect was closely linked to the police reform. This discussion will be covered specifically in the next section. The stories in the media were primarily driven by the Danish

newspaper Berlingske Tidende which did an intense media coverage on police neglect. In more than 220 articles, the journalists focused on police neglect and linked it to the police reform (Danish Journalist Union January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2009<sup>76</sup>; Berlingske Tidende January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2009<sup>77</sup>).

The coverage of police neglect and the link to the police reform had a strong impact on the political debates around the police reform which had much focus on police neglect. The intense focus by the journalists at Berlingske Tidende had such a strong impact on the political agenda that they were granted the Cavling Award (See press release from the Danish Journalist Union, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2009) which is the most prestigious journalist award in Denmark. Given the agenda-setting impact of the media in the police reform, one may suggest that the media should be considered a stakeholder with the arguments of the media being the fourth estate not only in terms of government but also in this specific case, a fourth party of decision makers in the police reform. One may even suggest that the newspaper Berlingske Tidende as the main driver in the public debates around police neglect in relation to the police reform should be a stakeholder. The intention of the reference to media and their role is not to conduct a media analysis but rather to analyze how the public debate has had influence on the decisions in the police reform. In this analysis, we will focus on the main streams of the public debate of which Berlingske Tidende has been the main player which is reflected in granting the Cavling award to the work on police neglect in the police reform. In the discussions on the role of the media, we will refer primarily to the work by Berlingske Tidende due to the essential impact their focus has had on the media which in turn has had a heavy impact on the public debate as we will see in the analysis.

In the current section of the analysis, we will focus on *decisions* by the stakeholders in direct relation to the police reform. Therefore we focus solely on those stakeholders which have decision making powers in the police reform. It is, however, important to acknowledge that the media have played an essential role in the decisions in the police reform as will be discussed below in relation to the making of the police reform contingency plan. In the current thesis, I will not discuss whether the media or the specific newspaper Berlingske Tidende acted in the interest of ‘the fourth estate’, acting as a servant of society, the general public, and democracy, or whether the media acted as ‘homo economicus’ (Fengler and Russ-Mohl, 2008). Furthermore, the current study will not set out

---

<sup>76</sup> <http://www.journalistforbundet.dk/sw82793.asp>

<sup>77</sup> <http://www.berlingske.dk/article/20090107/forbrydelsen/90107170/>

to investigate further the dynamics of what could be termed as a media feeding frenzy (Sutter, 2001; Fengler and Russ-Mohl 2008) given the vast coverage of police neglect directly linked to the police reform. The Minister of Justice raised the risks of such a media feeding frenzy when he mentioned that there was a risk that the positive results of the police service would drown in ‘police smear campaign’<sup>78</sup> (Minister of Justice, October 9<sup>th</sup> 2008). Such discussions could serve interesting and relevant in regards to future communication strategies in public reforms. However, the main aspect from the role of the media which will be brought forth in the current study will remain within the realms of how the media have had an impact on the decision on the police reform contingency plan which is described below. Thus, the focus will be mainly on illustrating how the three decision making stakeholders have been influenced by the media with specific regards to how the public debate apparently has shaped the positions of the target groups.

The role of the Vision Committee in this thesis and in these discussions is mainly focused on its function of creating the architecture of the reform with their report ‘The Future Police’ (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Thus, the role of the Vision Committee has been to lay out the governing values of the reform, the direction for the reform, and very specific initiatives of the reform. The roles of the police are that of implementing the organization and at the same time target the implementation. The National Commissioner’s Office has planned much of the reform as described in chapter the first section of the analysis ‘Change management in the police reform’. However, the responsibility for the implementation has been local. Thus, the districts have not been forced to accept the change management initiatives which were offered from the National Commissioner’s Office even though most of the districts did accept the initiatives almost to their fullest extent.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> In Danish: ‘reform-hetz.’ (Ministry of Justice, October 2008).

<sup>79</sup> Apart from Copenhagen and Bornholm, the other ten districts accepted the offered change management initiatives from the National Commissioner’s Office to almost its fullest extent. Only slight changes were made to the plans and programs in the implementation process. Copenhagen has historically had a special role in the Danish police as seen in the chapter on history of the Danish police. This was also the case in the current police reform. Thus, Copenhagen accepted only parts of the offered initiatives and plans. Bornholm has a special place since it is a drastically smaller than the other districts and is geographically remote from the remaining parts of the country. In implementation matters, the districts were often described as ten plus two indicating that the ten were the target of the implementation whereas the remaining two were not to be included to the same extent as the other districts.



From the very first steps towards the police reform, it has been clear that all three stakeholder groups have had the ambitions to complete a reform of the police which helps the police to better serve their objectives in the future. This has been clear from the presentation by the Minister of Justice, December 2005 (Ministry of Justice) as well as in the presentation of the reform in the press releases (Ministry of Justice, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2005). Further, the intentions have been stated explicitly in the mandate which was given the Vision Committee which has been elaborated upon in the second section of the analysis on the context of the reform. The terms of references for the Vision Committee are described as follows:

The committee shall summarise its deliberations in a report which should also, based on the overall objectives for the future policing set out by the Committee, contain deliberations of principle as to how the police should be managed and organised to meet these objectives. These deliberations should comprise overall structural issues within the police force, including the relationship between central and decentralised police authorities, the roles and functions of special police units, the potential for regional collaboration, etc.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, translation provided by the Ministry of Justice)

Within the mandate which is described in the quote above, the mandate for the committee has been to restructure the entire police organization as can be seen in the quote. The Vision Committee has framed its objectives as follows:

The objective of the Vision Committee is that the Danish police should use its fullest potential to obtain the best police force and the most policing possible for the money available.

(Visionsudvalget 2005, translation by the Ministry of Justice)

From these references, it is clear that both the political scene and the Vision Committee have had an ambition to further the future abilities of the police. The police themselves have had the same ambition which is clearly seen in how the reform has been framed internally by management in the police. This can be seen for example in the press release by the National Commissioner's Office in which the National Commissioner expresses that the reform will provide the police with an opportunity to become a "more modern and effective police force better suited to fight crime in the future" (National Commissioner's Office, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2005). It was also stated explicitly at management rallies, for example in the presentation of the reform at the kick-off in Odense, January 2007 by the National Commissioner of Police who framed the reform as "a grand opportunity for the police and for each employee within the police". In a previous section, we noted how prior to

the commencement of the reform, the employees in the police believed the reform to be a management reform which would not affect their daily work greatly. This does not mean, however, that the reform was not long awaited. On the contrary. In general, prior to the reform, employees would mention how it was 'about time' with the reform. The reform has been in the works since 1998 and the more experienced police officers have awaited the reform for many years. Furthermore, prior to the reform, employees would often laugh at the outdated technology in patrol cars and in the offices with a reference to how a renewal of the police is necessary and how the reform will be a good thing for the police.

Thus, all stakeholders – politicians, the Vision Committee, and the police – have attempted to design and implement the reform in the best possible way to improve the police to serve society in the future. The ambitions for the reform have rested on a notion that the reform should be planned as thoroughly as possible. The Vision Committee therefore conducted extensive surveys with external consultancy firms and researchers from universities as described in the chapter 'Change management in the police reform'. We saw how the content of the reform has been planned and structured based on extensive surveys and calculations. The police also did their foremost in planning the implementation of the reform, as we also described in the change management chapter. We saw how the way in which the reform was implemented has been carefully planned and coordinated by the Program Office in the National Commissioner's Office into an overall script book for the districts to use as support in the implementation of the reform. Thus, the Danish police reform was planned and coordinated very carefully to improve, modernize, and renew the organization for the future. However, the reform would prove to be subject to much criticism in the public debate from media and from politicians. The reform which was ever so carefully planned was criticized to such a point that the Minister of Justice requested a review of the police reform to get the reform back on track. The review and the contingency plan which it resulted in would prove to be of high relevance for the police reform. The situation marks a change in the police reform and it signifies a number of cases of decoupling in the police reform which have had great significance to the police and to the implementation of the police reform. In the following, we will discuss the review of the police reform and its implications.

### ***The public debate which led to a review of the police reform***

On September 24<sup>th</sup> 2008, the Minister of Justice requested a review of the police reform to the National Commissioner of Police and the Director of Public Prosecutions. The primary reasons behind the request were the criticism of the police reform (Press release by the Ministry of Justice, September 24<sup>th</sup> 2008). The review of the police reform reflected that the reasons for introducing the reform were twofold: the criticism in the public debate and the internal dissatisfaction by employees in the police. The latter can be seen in the employee satisfaction survey by the police which detected a fall in job satisfaction (National Commissioner's Office, October 2008). Furthermore, talks in the hallways and the general perception in the police during the first few years after the reform has been negative. The many problems which the reform had brought about such as phone systems which did not work have been frustrating to employees in the police. In a meeting with the Police Commissioner in charge of the police reform in April 2009, she described how the employees were frustrated of the situation: "We could see in an office the cases piled up. That was what frustrated people. [...] You could see the cases piled up and no one knew who came and picked up the cases." (Interview with the Commissioner of Police in charge of the police reform, April 2009). These change management aspects are discussed further in the analysis chapter on change management in the police. During those discussions, we saw how the change is considered the reason for dysfunctions and how the reform itself is inscribed with an intention which leads employees and managers to cast blame on the reform rather than on the specific initiative within the reform which leads to the respective problem. In the current part of the analysis, however, we will focus mainly on the institutional framework and on the relations with the external environment and the consequences of the external environment to the police reform. The internal aspects of the police reform are of course related to the external. The criticism of the public debate stems from operational problems which in turn relate to managerial ineffectiveness. In turn, the criticism in the public debate influences on employees' job satisfaction which in turn reflects on the police service. However, in the current section, we will focus on the public debate and its influence on the police reform by its impact in relation to the review of the police reform.

In the press release, the Minister of Justice requests

a coherent review of the adjustments and alignments of the reform which have been implemented or are about to be implemented. At the same time, I have asked suggestions for which further initiatives should be considered to accommodate the criticism which the reform has caused.

(Minister of Justice, press release by the Ministry of Justice, September 24<sup>th</sup> 2008)

In the press release, the Minister of Justice mentions that the criticism “should be taken very seriously” including the parts of the criticism which relate to cases of police neglect. These cases refer to the focus by the media and in particular Berlingske Tidende which is discussed above. In the following, the background on the cases of police neglect will be framed for the further analysis.

As mentioned above, the Danish newspaper Berlingske Tidende did a much focused continuing theme on police neglect in relation to the police reform which they labeled ‘The crime.’<sup>80</sup> The theme was agenda setting for the police reform to such an extent that the journalists were granted the most prestigious journalist award in Denmark, the Cavling award (Press release by the Danish Journalist Union, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2009). The agenda setting character of the work by the journalists at Berlingske Tidende is also evident by the fact that the newspaper was mentioned specifically above other media by the National Commissioner of Police when commenting on cases of police neglect (Press release from the National Commissioner of Police, September 11<sup>th</sup> 2008).

The role of the media – and in particular Berlingske Tidende – in this case was expressed by the new National Commissioner of Police in an interview in April 2009:

Berlingske Tidende’s large campaign, police neglect, where citizens could report in and one could follow the pins on the electronic map and see that more and more pins came up on the map. That campaign ended up resulting in many things and in the month of June, it was decided to conduct an actual in depth analysis of police neglect.

(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

The heavy focus on police neglect by the media, driven by the newspaper Berlingske Tidende, led the Minister of Justice to request an analysis of complaints over police service (police neglect). On June 18<sup>th</sup>, the Minister of Justice made this request to the National Commissioner of Police and to the president of the police union in a meeting (National Commissioner’s Office, June 20<sup>th</sup> 2008<sup>81</sup>). On that background, the National Commissioner of Police requested a review from each police district on cases when a citizen who has requested police service has not been able to get in contact with the police or has not acquired timely service or in cases when the police have not arrived at the scene of the incident or have not arrived timely (National Commissioner’s Office, June 20<sup>th</sup> 2008).

---

<sup>80</sup> In Danish: ‘forbrydelsen.’

<sup>81</sup> See [www.politi.dk](http://www.politi.dk) for the relevant documents from the national Commissioner’s Office.

On September 5<sup>th</sup> 2008, the National Commissioner's Office delivered the analysis of police neglect. The police did state their perception of the level of police neglect and concluded that there have been neglects, and that some of them can be attributed to the police reform (National Commissioner's Office, June 20<sup>th</sup> 2008). The report explicitly creates the relationship between police neglect and the police reform. The report states as follows:

During the implementation phase of the police reform, there has been a higher risk of mistakes in greater dimensions than prior to the reform.

(National Commissioner's Office, June 20<sup>th</sup> 2008. Author's translation)

The analysis of police neglect had an influential part in the then future review of the police reform and in of the initiatives in the review (Press release by the Ministry of Justice, December 15<sup>th</sup> 2008; National Commissioner's Office and The Director of Public Prosecutions, October 2008). Apart from this, the analysis would prove to create further disturbances not only due to the cases of police neglect but due to the fact that the media discovered how certain cases of police neglect were omitted in the analysis. Therefore, the Minister of Justice requested a new report which should answer to the questions in the public debate (press release by the Ministry of Justice, December 15<sup>th</sup> 2008). The initiative by the Minister of Justice was aimed at clearing up the situation by conducting an analysis of police neglect (press release by the Ministry of Justice, December 15<sup>th</sup> 2008). However, the lack of substantial information in the first report and the public debate which has led to several analyses seemed to create more disturbance than clarity in the situation. The current analysis will not focus further on the confusion and its relation to the reform. The discussions above will serve as background for the review of the police reform. The current section of the analysis will focus on aspects of the review of the police reform which were in part consequences of the public debate including the focus of police neglect by the media as discussed above.

The review of the police reform was partly a result of the criticism in the public debate and among employees in the police (press release by the Ministry of Justice, September 24<sup>th</sup> 2008). It is difficult to determine what came first; the frustrations internally in the police or the criticism from the public debate and citizens. As the new National Commissioner of Police states:

It all relates. It all relates in the sense that the frustrations that are present altogether among politicians, among employees, among citizens, they are inextricably related.

(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

As noted above, the review should focus on adjustments and realignment initiatives of the police reform. Of which initiatives have been implemented, which have been initiated, and which initiatives should be considered to be implemented to get the reform 'on track' as the Minister of Justice said it in his speech to the legal affairs committee October 2008 (Ministry of Justice, October 8<sup>th</sup> 2008 presented on October 9<sup>th</sup> 2008).

### ***The review of the police reform***

In October 2008, the National Commissioner of Police and the Director of Public Prosecutions delivered the review of the police reform with the title 'a police in change – a police in close proximity to citizens'. The review was initiated with the following wording:

To explore the full potential of the police reform – and to accommodate the criticism which has been raised against the police service as a result of the commencement of the reform – there is a need for further initiatives apart from those already implemented and initiated.

(National Commissioner's Office and the Director of Public Prosecutions, 2008.  
Author's translation)

In the quotation above, it is clear that the review of the police reform is a consequence of the criticism of the reform in combination with the aim of exploiting the full potential of the reform. The latter has been a given premise since the design of the reform (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The first – that of accommodating criticism – is new. Below, we will discuss how the accommodation of criticism has led to new initiatives and how some of these conflict with the primary initiatives and mindset of the reform as designed and brought forth in the report by the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Firstly, we will do a short framing of the content of the review.

The review of the police reform contains three overall initiatives (National Commissioner's Office and the Director of Public Prosecutions, 2008):

#### **1. The accessibility of the police and the phone service is to be improved.**

Citizens should be able to reach the police and experience that they get a good and professional service. In each police district, a service center will be established to answer all phone based inquiries from citizen except from 112 calls (911). The centers will primarily be manned by professional service personnel.

**2. The police are to be more visible at street level and increase feeling of safety.**

Police visibility – and thereby safety creating efforts – will be increased through patrolling at times when and places where many citizens are present and/or at places where citizens find it unsafe to go.

**3. Fighting citizen related crime will be prioritized. Namely the efforts against violence and breaking in and entering will be strengthened.**

Proximity policing (local police) will be strengthened so that the efforts against citizen oriented crime which creates a sense of insecurity can be intensified. This particularly relates to the efforts against breaking in and entering residential property and violence.

These three main initiatives are accompanied by an array of other initiatives such as expressing clearly which service citizens can expect from the police, employee satisfaction initiatives, strengthening management competencies, prioritization of tasks for employees, etc. However, for the sake of argument in the current section of the analysis, we shall focus on these three matters and in particular on the second point. Altogether, the three elements are sharply targeted on citizen service. They all focus on actions which have visible and explicit character for citizens. This is much in line with the review being an accommodation of the criticism of the reform in the public debate. The review of the reform includes an action plan for each of the three main initiatives above. The plan was passed by the settlement parties behind the multi-year agreement which had been agreed on for the police for the period of 2007-2010. In the new agreement, the police were granted an additional 843.3 million kroner to “straighten out the things which have not been satisfactory in the course of the implementation.” (Press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008) The agreement aims at completing the actions which the National Commissioner and the Director of Public Prosecutions suggested in their report of October 28<sup>th</sup> 2008. The agreement further specifies that the implementation of the reform is to be followed more closely (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008). The additional funding was in most parts made up by two accounts. One is the addition of resources which will free up 200 full-year equivalent police jobs. The other is the strengthening of the police force by an additional 300 police officers (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008). This additional funding of the reform was laid on top of the initial financing of the police reform to finance the review of the police reform in itself.

### *The role of local presence and proximity in the reform*

In the agreement the importance of local presence and proximity policing is emphasized heavily. In the public debate which led up to the review of the police reform, the cases of police neglect were considered to be cases of lacking local presence. This had lead some of the settlement parties (the Danish Social Democrats and the Danish People's Party) to mention that they had been deluded by the government since they had emphasized the local presence of the police from the beginning (Berlingske Tidende, October 27<sup>th</sup> 2008). This is not necessarily a surprising political concern since proximity is a common concern in public reforms in which organizational entities are merged. In the criticism of the police reform and the supposed lack of local presence of the police, the spokesman from the Social Democrats even spoke of a breach of promise in relation to the police reform in relation to the fact that she considered the local presence of police to be a premise of the agreement behind the police reform. In the agreement on the review of the police reform, the local presence is emphasized. This is done by emphasizing that the police are to build local knowledge and extend their contact with the local community (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008). Furthermore, the agreement states that the settlement parties will discuss how to ensure "flexibility and decision powers" in relation to local presence and anchoring (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008). In the agreement, the settlement parties emphasize that change in the number of police stations with 24-hour service should not be made without consulting the representatives from the settlement parties. This is due to the fact that the number of police stations with 24-hour service was one of the only critical political negotiation matters in the political negotiations prior to the passing of the bill in parliament. This was brought forward by the Vision Committee in their report:

In the public debate, police stations with 24-hour service has been highlighted as a goal in itself. At times it has been argued that there should be 'burning lights in the window.'

(Vision Committee, 2005, p. 99. Author's translation)

The arguments behind the discussions on the number of police stations with 24-hour service were centered on local presence and regards to proximity. Thus, proximity plays a central role in the review of the police reform.

When tracking the course of the reform, it appears that proximity and local presence have played a central role in all phases of the police reform. From the design of the police reform



(Visionsudvalget, 2005), in the political debates prior to the passing of the reform act as discussed above, in the multi-year agreement, in relation to the cases of police neglect, and finally in the review of the police reform.

How come proximity has become a problem which needs to be addressed in the review of the police reform? One explanation to this is to be found in the decoupling between how the problem has been addressed in the early stages of the reform compared to how it is being addressed in relation to the review of the reform. It appears that the proximity is understood differently during different points in time. Furthermore, it appears that the different main stakeholders have understood proximity differently. This disconnect from the different ways proximity has been understood and thereby how it has been approached and tried solved will be discussed in the following.

#### *Proximity concerns in the design of the police reform*

The proximity concerns were taken into account in the design of the police reform. In this section, we will discuss how proximity has been approached in the report by the Vision Committee since it plays such an essential role in the police as we have discussed earlier. After this framing, we will analyze how this approach to proximity conflicts with the way proximity has been understood by other main stakeholders.

In the design of the police reform, the Vision Committee stated that merging police districts into larger organizational entities cause concerns of proximity (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The report describes how proximity is made up by the following five factors (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 99):

1. How quickly can the police get to the scene of an incident? (response time)
2. How responsive and accommodating are the police? (phone service, digital communication with the external environment and dialog with citizens)
3. How open are the police? (access to information about police activities in the community)
4. Do the police have a substantial professional knowledge of the local community, citizens etc?
5. How is the cooperation with local actors? (namely municipalities)

In the report by the Vision Committee, these five aspects make up the regards of proximity. However, when the report aims its focus on the concerns of proximity from the point of view of citizens, they focus on citizens' feeling of safety. In these discussions, the Vision Committee argues that the issue of buildings is not relevant for 'real' concerns of local presence since the presence of police officers is related to whether patrol cars are in the area rather than whether there is an open police station (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Furthermore, the Vision Committee acknowledges that the citizens will be farther away from the main administration in the police stations but that they will be closer to the operational police in the police cars. The citizens will not need to come to the police stations very often given the fact that the administration of passports, driver's licenses, and vehicle registration will be a municipal responsibility (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Rather, "it is the police that will come to the citizens." (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 120). Within these arguments, it is clear that the Vision Committee deals with proximity concerns through rational depictions of how patrol cars will be available in all outskirts of the new larger districts and how the new operation control centers will create an even better local presence through the use of "effective and flexible incident management covering the entire district" (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 119). Thereby the design phase has used a rational discussion of the concerns of proximity with the technology of dispatching police units. Thereby the design of the police reform has acknowledged that there are concerns of proximity but that these concerns will not be real due to planning technologies of the incident management. On the one hand, the Vision Committee emphasizes that the four bullet points above are all essential in ensuring local presence. On the other hand, the Committee stresses that the concerns of proximity will be solved with the technology of incident management.

### *Proximity concerns in the political debate*

As mentioned earlier, the political debates and the political negotiations prior to the passing of the reform act were centered on the number of police stations with 24-hour service. This is evident also in the report by the Vision Committee since this had been a political issue since 2002 when the first police committee published their report (Visionsudvalget, 2005). On the one end were politicians who would argue that 24-hour service is necessary in order to not lose local focus. On the other end were politicians who would argue that upholding 24-hour service takes time from crime preventing and crime solving activities. In the final agreements, it was determined that ten stations and the main stations would have 24-hour service. In these discussions, the concerns for local presence and police proximity were centered primarily on whether the police stations were permanently manned

24 hours a day. The political debate was unfolded in the multi-year agreement to focus on the contact of the police with local community.

*Proximity concerns in the multi-year agreement with police for 2007-2010*

The political debate was put into practice through the multi-year agreement with the police for 2007-2010. In the action plan (*udmøntningsplan*) for the multi-year agreement, the importance of local presence of the police is described as follows:

An element which is quite central to the police reform is that the contact and cooperation between police and local communities are continued and strengthened. This should be made in effect by e.g. a strong local police, establishing district councils and local councils, and via the crime preventive work, etc.

(Action plan for the multi-year agreement with police and public prosecutions 2007-2010. Author's translation)

From these initiatives which make up the contractual agreement between the police and the political system personified by the Ministry of Justice, the action plan has two partial targets. One is that the district councils and local councils should be established and that the first meeting in all district councils has been completed during the first quarter of 2007. The other is that an action plan and a cooperation plan are to be completed each year for the districts councils and the local councils (Action plan for the multi-year agreement with police and public prosecutions 2007-2010). In the multi-year agreement, the concerns for proximity have been translated into very operational initiatives from the political system. Thus, the multi-year agreement highlights that

police contact with local community must be strengthened via the local police in the police stations, by establishing district councils with the mayors in the police districts, by completing local cooperation plans and plans for particular efforts regarding kids and youngsters, by establishing local cooperation forums and by duty that the Commissioner of Police works for establishing a crime preventive cooperation (SSP).

(Multi-year agreement with police 2007-2010. Author's translation)

Operationalization of the political requirements for the proximity and local presence of the police regards governance aspects which have to do with overall links to other organizations or institutions.

### *Proximity concerns in the review of the police reform*

The importance of local police presence in the review of the police reform is very clear. Its importance is stated explicitly in the review as follows:

It is important for the trust from the general public that the police are easily accessible and will come to the scene quickly when needed. Therefore this is where the efforts will be made first and foremost.

(Review of the police reform, p. 2. In press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 8<sup>th</sup> 2008. Author's translation)

In the review of the police reform, it is clear that the criticism from the public debate is being accommodated by referring to the criticism from the general public. However, in the review it is stressed that the reform should not turn against the directions of the initial mindset of the police reform which is reflected in the report by the Vision Committee (press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008). The accommodation aspect refers to an added focus on local police presence as discussed above. The aspect of holding on to the initial mindset of the police reform refers to the fact that the design of the reform initially pointed out very explicitly that the police should disregard symbolic police action. The disregard of symbolic police action in the initial design of the police reform was discussed in the chapter 'Content of the police reform' and is stated clearly in the report by the Vision Committee (Visionsudvalget, 2005). In the review of the reform, the mindset of being clear about not doing symbolic police actions is softened up compared to the initial reform. However, the review does still emphasize that it is important to focus on what in the initial reform design is called 'real' police actions which are actions which lead to crime prevention and detection with measurable outcomes (Visionsudvalget, 2005). These so-called real police actions are in contrast to symbolic police actions which mostly have a safety ensuring function on citizens. The latter was elaborated upon greatly by the Vision Committee in their report. They stated very clearly that based on the citizen survey they believed that citizens preferred real police action over symbolic police action. In the review of the reform the balance between the two is described as follows:

The settlement parties furthermore find that it is important to maintain the mindset of the police reform regarding an analytic and problem oriented police which prioritize citizen oriented crime and the specialized investigation. At the same time it should be taken into account that there has been a wish for more presence by the police, primarily in the outskirts, and that police visibility can have both a crime preventive effect and a

feeling of safety creating effect. Therefore the efforts of the police should be organized in a way that it is pursued to combine visibility with an effective service and real presence.

(Review of the police reform, p. 2. In press release by the Ministry of Justice, November 8<sup>th</sup> 2008. Author's translation)

The agreement on the review of the police reform highlights the balance which is described above. As can be seen in the quote, it is stressed that it is important to maintain the mindset of the police reform regarding analytic and problem oriented police work. As described earlier, the agreement rests partly on the report by the National Commissioner's Office and the Public Prosecutions 'a police in change – a police in close proximity to citizens from October 2008 (National Commissioner's Office and the Director of Public Prosecutions, 2008. Author's translation). In that report, the emphasis on maintaining the initial mindset of the police reform was not quite as clear as in the final agreement on the review. This could seem surprising as problem oriented police work which in police professional terms is termed POP (Problem Oriented Police work) and analysis based police work are police professional arguments. Thus, the final agreement for which the political stakeholders have been the deciding factor has included police professional arguments to a higher degree than was the case in the report which was written by the police themselves. When the Minister of Justice requested that the police did a review of the police reform, it was in great part based on the public debate as discussed above and the political debate which was focused on police neglect and linked closely to police proximity and local presence and citizens' feeling of safety. Thereby the political arguments would tend to focus on these elements. The report by the police<sup>82</sup> focused on these political elements over the police professional aspects. Then, in the final agreement, the police professional aspects of problem oriented police work and focused analytical police work. One could expect that the political stakeholders would drive the political arguments and that the police stakeholders would focus on the police professional. However, this does not seem to be the case. Also, it could appear that the focus has shifted over time during the reform. In the following, we will discuss how the focus and the arguments have shifted. We will discuss how

---

<sup>82</sup> As stated earlier, the report was written by the National Commissioner's Office and the Director of Public Prosecutions. However, since the current thesis focuses on the police reform, the part about the Public Prosecutions is left out. This is why in the current argument, the report is described as the report by the police even though the report was by the public prosecutions as well.

this can be explained. Lastly, we will focus on how the police can work in this very complex context.

### ***The external influence on the police***

In the section above, we saw how the police reform has changed during the course of the reform. The example of proximity and local presence of police showed how the mindset of the reform in regards to not conducting symbolic police actions in the design phase of the reform was partly neglected in the review report by the police when the public debate focused on more visible policing. In the end, the final agreement for the review of the police reform ended up balancing the police professional arguments of problem oriented police work with the requests from the public debate on visible policing to create a feeling of safety in the general public.

In the reflections upon these matters, it appears that the police have neglected their own existence by emphasizing symbolic police action which from a rational police professional perspective is a waste of resources compared to problem oriented police work. The Vision Committee emphasized how the police reform should improve the effectiveness of the future police in their design of the police reform and highlighted the rational ‘real’ police work over symbolic police work as an essential driver in reaching this goal for the future police (Visionsudvalget, 2005). This seemingly obvious rational argument must however be seen in a broader perspective as is suggested in the discussions above on the role of proximity in the different stages of the reform. The initial discussions on police effectiveness by the Vision Committee were based on a rational planning perspective. It has emphasized focus on the internal organization. In the analysis chapter ‘Content of the police reform’ we discussed how the content of the police reform is based on a rational logic which is a common approach to reforming public institutions as it is seen in the dominant wave of New Public Management reforms which have swept across the country – and most parts of the developed world (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2001) – in the past decades. The rational perspective which has an emphasis on effectiveness, planning, and audit (Hood, 1991) as we discussed earlier does, however, neglect an essential aspect. It neglects the aspect of resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salencik, 2003). Resource dependency focuses on the importance of the external control of organizations by resource dependency. As with institutional theory in general, resource dependency, focuses on how the external environment influences the organization.

Institutional (or as it is sometimes called, neo-institutional) theory began much like resource dependence with an emphasis on the effects of the social environment on organizations.”

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003)

Institutional theory, however, focuses more on institutional norms or rules (Scott, 2008; Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003; Jensen, 2003). As we have seen in the discussions on the nature of the police reform, institutional theory can provide an explanation of how public reforms tend to build on the same logic and of how the wave of New Public Management has been influential in the design of the Danish police reform. Resource dependency focuses on some of the same dynamics as institutionalism but has a focus on how an organization’s dependency on resources influences its actions. It focuses on how the external environment is able to set demands on the organization and thereby constraints on the organization via the organization’s dependency of resources. Resource dependency rests on the notion that organizations must be able to navigate in an order which satisfies the demands from the external environment to survive.

Organizations survive to the extent that they are effective. Their effectiveness derives from the management of demands, particularly the demands of interest groups upon which the organizations depend for resources and support.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 2)

In this perspective, the external stakeholders of the organization set constraints for the organization with their demands. In the case of the police reform, the politicians play the role of the external stakeholder which can control the resources for the police. The politicians granted the police funding for the police reform which initially was estimated to cost roughly 500 million Danish kroner. In the review of the police reform, the settlement parties behind the reform granted the police an additional 843 million kroner to get the reform ‘back on track’. Thus, the police have been very dependent on the political system for resources. With this in mind, the political agenda has been of great importance to the police in the reform. The political agenda has – according to a resource dependency perspective – been the most important aspect for the police since it was the political system which granted the police the vast additional funding for the review of the police reform. The police have managed to navigate in the course of the police reform in such a manner that they have been successful in terms of resources in that they have managed to receive vast funding for the organization at the same time as it clearly has not been successful in conducting its police service when judging by the public debate and by the political debate as we have seen in the

discussions above. From a strict resource perspective, the police reform has been a success when viewed from the perspective of the police. In the eyes of the essential stakeholders, however, the police reform is clearly not a success. This is evident in the public debate which has had much focus on police neglect as discussed above. Also in the political debate we saw that the police reform has been subject to heavy criticism which led to the review of the reform about which the responsible minister described that it should get the police reform 'back on track'. Also within the police, the reform has been demotivating which can be seen from the job satisfaction surveys which are mentioned by the National Commissioner's Office in their report for review of the police reform. Thus, there is a clear decoupling between the success of the organization and success in a resource dependency perspective. This framing of success in the police reform illustrates clearly how measures of success are of ambiguous character. To get an understanding of these matters, we need to focus more specifically on measures of success in the police reform.

### ***Different measures of success in the police reform – the many faces of effectiveness***

In the following, different measures of success in the police reform will be discussed. I will do so through the concept of effectiveness (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). I will focus on how the measure of success in regards to proximity and local presence is ambiguous and how the measures of effectiveness are understood differently from different perspectives in the course of the reform.

Effectiveness is at the center of the discussions when analyzing and discussing the external influence on organizations. In our case, we analyze the external environment's influence on the police in regards to the police reform and in these discussions we will see how effectiveness plays a central role. The importance of effectiveness rests on the notion which we discussed above that

organizations survive to the extent that they are effective.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 2)

In the discussions above, we noted that the effectiveness is derived from the management of demands from stakeholders which have influence on the available resources for the organization. The term effective is used in many different aspects and is filled with ambiguity. This can be seen in general and in particular in the police reform. In the police reform, the report by the Vision Committee uses the term 'effective' 153 times in different ways on the 204 pages of the report



(Visionsudvalget, 2005). The term is often used as a signifier of quality or success and in the content of the police reform it is used in relation to efficiency improvements (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The use of the term in the current context has specific implications in that we state that 'organizations survive to the extent that they are effective.' The first aspect of this is that effectiveness is not necessarily judged from a positivist perspective in which the effectiveness can be measured. In the design of the police reform, the mindset was clearly on 'real' police work which can be measured (Visionsudvalget, 2005) as discussed above. However, in relation to the effectiveness discussion in relation to external influence on the organization, we must acknowledge that the measures of effectiveness are constructed in the relation between the organization and its environment. Pfeffer and Salancik describe this as follows:

The effectiveness of an organization is a sociopolitical question. It may have a basis on economic considerations, as when an individual declines purchase of a product because it is priced too high. The concept is not restricted, however, to decisions that are economically motivated. Rather, it reflects both an assessment of the usefulness of what is being done and of the resources that are being consumed by the organization.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 11)

Given that the effectiveness of an organization is a sociopolitical question as described in the quote above, the measures of effectiveness is necessarily an external measure. This is in contrast to the term efficiency which Pfeffer and Salancik describe as follows:

Organizational efficiency is an internal standard of performance. The question whether what is being done should be done is not posed, but only how well is it being done. Efficiency is measured by the ration of resources utilized to output produced.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 11)

The difference between effectiveness and efficiency thus supports a distinction between what should be done in order to be described as effective whereas efficiency focuses on how many resources it takes to reach a given output. The distinction between the two is not quite clear in every situation. The distinction is difficult to determine for example in the discussions on the content of the police reform where we saw how the argument of becoming more effective is used in relation to merging police districts, decentralizing etc. In these discussions, it can be difficult to determine whether the term effectiveness denotes to effectiveness as an external measure in that the change enables the organization to actually reach its goals or whether there is an element of efficiency in

that it enables the police to reach its goal with less resources. The concepts of effectiveness and efficiency are difficult to distinguish which can result in unfortunate situations.

In the police reform, the lacking distinction between effectiveness and efficiency has played a role in regards to proximity and local presence. In the design of the police reform, the Vision Committee described the four different aspects of proximity which are discussed above. The first of these is 'response times' (Visionsudvalget, 2005, p. 99). Response times have played an important role in the police reform since it was essential that citizens receive the same good service across the country. Therefore response times have been very high on the management agenda in the police since the commencement of the reform. An example of this is how in one district the response times were discussed even before the management group had a chance to get acquainted.

In one of the new police districts, the management team met for the first time. The occasion was a seminar which was intended to kick off the reform and to start discussing the implications of the reform for the district. At this very first management meeting the Commissioner of Police started out by explaining that they would spend some time discussing the new district and the reform. However, he noted, everyone should start out by taking a look at the handouts they had been given. The handouts were printouts of an excel sheet showing response times divided into geography and incident type. When everyone had picked up their hard copies, the commissioner told them to turn to a certain page and focus on a specific response time. "I was sitting with the other commissioners yesterday and got fried by the National Commissioner," he said. "We will be measured by these response times so we'd better get used to it. Yesterday, the National Commissioner asked me about how I can explain [the specific response time]."

The situation above clearly signifies how response times have become an essential parameter in the police. It also shows how the measurable nature of response times have such an impact that they set the stage for a very first management meeting with the intention of discussing how to work in the new organization and how to implement the reform. The response times were considered such an essential place in the performance of the police that it was decided to post response times on the police homepage where citizens can look up the response times in their local areas ([www.politi.dk](http://www.politi.dk)). As seen in the situation above, response times have been considered as the most important measure in the police by management. The consequence of management attention to response times is not just a management matter. It is spread quickly to the rest of the organization. The situation above illustrates this very clearly. The Commissioner of Police who had 'been fried' by the National Commissioner described how he called up the manager responsible for 24-hour incident

management service in the district to get an explanation. The responsible manager found the manager on duty who asked the police officers about the specific response time. They explained the reasons behind the unusually high response time which was then explained to the National Commissioner. Thus, the focus on response times is a matter which starts out as a management performance indicator but quickly becomes a specific control measure on the individual police officer whose performance is seen all the way up to the National Commissioner.

In the public debate, however, response times have not played an important role. The focus has been on cases of police neglect in which it has been impossible either to get in contact with the police, or cases where the police have refused to show up, or cases where the police simply have not shown up (see a collection of cases which have been highlighted in the public debate in the theme 'Forbrydelsen' from Berlingske Tidende; <http://www.berlingske.dk/section/forbrydelsen/>).

These two perspectives on proximity and local presence of the police have both been at play in the police reform. In the report for the review of the police reform by the police (National Commissioner's Office and the Public Prosecutions, October 2008), the police included both perspectives. Thus, they acknowledged the criticism of the police and mentioned how the police needed to improve in their service of the citizens. At the same time they highlighted how the police have improved on the measures of response time (National Commissioner's Office and the Public Prosecutions, October 2008). When the police actually have improved on response times, how come the criticism has been so massive in the police reform? The answer lies in the difference between the two perspectives above. The response time is a measure of efficiency. The police seem to have focused on response time as the measure for their incident management service which in turn they ascribe to measures of proximity and local presence. However, police neglect is not a measure of efficiency such as response time. Police neglect is a measure of effectiveness. The effectiveness is defined not by the police themselves but by the external stakeholders. When external stakeholders experience that the police are not accessible that they refuse to show up at serious incidents or when they do not show up after being called upon in serious matters as the incidents in the public debate have highlighted, then the efficiency measures become irrelevant. When the police are not doing the right thing which the effectiveness relate to, then it becomes irrelevant for the external stakeholders who define the effectiveness measures whether what is being done is done efficiently. A traditional case which is referred to in theory in this regard is how Ronald Reagan when Governor of

California was concerned that California universities indoctrinated students in left wing ideas. The administration responded by suggesting budget costs to demonstrate that students were educated at a lower cost. However, the response had the opposite effect in that the governor did not want the universities to produce revolutionaries at a lower cost (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). The example from California illustrates how concerns of effectiveness cannot be answered by response in terms of efficiency. In the example, the misconception between the two from the side of the administration even had the opposite effect. In the police reform, it is equally important to distinguish between effectiveness and efficiency factors. In the discussions on police neglect, the effectiveness questions is whether the police is accessible, present, and responds to assistance from citizens in situations where the police is obliged to assist the citizen. Responding to these concerns by a measure of response time which is an efficiency measure does not serve as a satisfying response. Even if response times were a measure of effectiveness, the measure would be criticized by the fact that a quick response time is irrelevant if the police does not pick up the phone every time the phone rings with an incident-related request for police response.

The public debate has not praised the police for improving on measures of response time when at the same time the police has not responded to a number of incidents which they should have responded to. The attempt from the side of the police to communicate the positive development in for example response times seems to drown in the specific incidents of police neglect. The Minister of Justice called for granting the police discretion to conduct their work:

For it is not quite fair that all the good results which our excellent police actually create daily will drown in something which almost could be called a reform smear campaign.

(Minister of Justice, October 9<sup>th</sup> 2008, speech to the legal affairs committee)

The calls from the police and the Minister of Justice for acknowledging the positive results of the police were not granted, however, which can be seen in the public debate (see for example Berlingske Tidende 'Forbrydelsen' whose focus on police neglect was influential enough to win the Cavling Award). The good measures on response time proved irrelevant in the face of multiple cases of police neglect. The police seem to have kept their focus on the measurable outcome-based performance measure of response times. However, the public debate has focused neither on the statistics nor on the efficiency of the police. The police have leaned up against measures of effectiveness in line with the mindset of the design of the police reform. As we discussed earlier, the mindset in the design of the police reform favored so called 'real' police work which can be

measured and counted over symbolic police work (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The police have focused on 'real', rational measures of response times while the criticism has rested not on statistical measures but on single incidents which have had an immense influence in the public debate. Thus, there has been decoupling between the logic of the police and the logic of the public debate. In the report for the review of the police reform, the police did, however, acknowledge the symbolic aspect of police work to accommodate the criticism to such an extent that they included a large section in the action plan which focuses on more visible policing. These initiatives in the action plan include police labeling the civil vehicles of the police so that the police will be more visible on the street "which will have a safety creating function in the everyday life" (National Commissioner's Office and the Director of Public Prosecutions, 2008. Author's translation). With this initiative, the police have made an essential turn from disregarding the value of symbolic police action which was the case in the design of the police reform (Visionsudvalget, 2005). Furthermore, the report for the review of the police reform indicates that the police have turned from the belief that visible police do not create a feeling of safety among citizens. Based on the results of the citizen survey of more than 4,000 citizens, the Vision Committee concluded that visible police does not create a feeling of safety. On the contrary, the Vision Committee concluded that visible police could have the opposite effect (Visionsudvalget, 2005). The report from the review of the police reform clearly suggests that the police believe that visible policing does create a feeling of safety. What changed, then, in the course of the police reform? Was it the police that changed their minds on which approach is more effective in creating safety, perhaps they learned along the way? Or did the police merely change their stance to accommodate the political arena to get resources? The answer to this question is of course not easy to come up with, and perhaps there is no one answer to that question. We can, however, analyze the factors behind the change to provide some insights into the field if not come up with a specific answer. The first factor which is relevant in this regard is related to the aspect of rational versus symbolic. The symbolic versus rational mindset has played an important role in the previous discussions in regards to the change management initiatives in which we found that the rational perspective was favored over symbolic aspects. In the current context, the rational versus symbolic is linked to citizens' view of police action. In the citizen survey, it appears that citizens wish for the police to prioritize their work favoring focused problem oriented police work rather than symbolic work. When asked to prioritize between different police activities, this is what the citizen survey showed. However, this seems to conflict with the general debate in which citizens seem to call for visible policing to create a feeling of safety. How can this

turn in the wishes of citizens be explained? One explanation is to be found in the difference between espoused theory and theory in use (Argyris, 1990; Argyris and Schön, 1996). Espoused theory versus theory in use is a theory on behavior which suggests that we may answer to abstract questions differently than the way we would act upon the situation in question when confronted with the situation in reality. Thus, when citizens are asked how to prioritize police activities, their espoused theory, as suggested by the citizen survey, leads to the rational result of favoring outcome-oriented police work which is focused, problem oriented police work. However, when confronted with cases of police neglect, the rational espoused theory may fall short and be substituted by the theory in use which in this case tends to suggest a prioritization of symbolic police work higher than in the survey context which asked of the espoused theory. With this explanation, the point of view has changed from citizens who have been registered by the police from the heavy criticism. The other possible explanation was that of which was based solely on the resource dependency perspective; that the police changed their strategy to accommodate the wishes from the political arena of more visible police which was so heavily requested in the public debate. This raises the question of what does it mean to be effective in a resource dependency perspective? As noted above, organizations need to be effective to survive. We further noted that effectiveness is an external measure. However, the experience of the police reform suggests that being effective does not necessarily mean having solved the problem. In the case of the police reform, it is quite clear that the police had not been granted an additional 843 million Danish kroner if the problem had been solved and there had been no need for a review of the reform. Being effective, then, in a resource perspective may in the context of the police reform be to initiate actions which accommodate the perspective of the stakeholders which control the resources rather than solving the problem. In this resource dependency perspective the political arena measures the effectiveness not only in terms of output such as response times but very much so in terms of input of organizational initiatives at institutional level rather than the operational level. The current example of police proximity and local presence shows how this is evident. Thus, the multi-year agreement with the police set focus on local presence and proximity by measures of the establishment of governance structures whether the district councils and local councils were established timely. This point indicates not only a decoupling between input and output in that it measures the input rather than the quality of the output of the initiative. It also shows decoupling between the different organizational levels which can be divided into external level, managerial level, and service level as discussed earlier. The initiative is at external level in that it focuses on the police organization's

cooperation with other organizations. However, the intention of the initiative is to ensure police proximity and local presence and to ensure the link between police officers and citizens. This did not happen as a result of that governance initiative. It brought the Police Commissioners closer to the mayors rather than bringing the police officers closer to the citizens.

The discussions above draw a picture of the police as being successful at acquiring resources and at the same time being unsuccessful at ensuring a feeling of safety in the general public. Thus, in a resource dependency perspective, the police have been successful even though they have been unsuccessful at an operational level. One could even suggest that the ability of the police to acquire resources to such a great extent as we have seen in the police reform is not *in spite of* the general perception of operational ineffectiveness but rather *because of* the general perception of their operational ineffectiveness. In this light, one may suggest that the management of the police has done a good job in ensuring the future of the police by ensuring resources for the future police service. However, the resources have come at a high cost to the organization. The most obvious cost has been the loss of the leader. During the fall of 2008, the National Commissioner of Police was relieved of his duties in the police and assigned to other duties in the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry of Justice has not specified whether the reason was the unsuccessful implementation of the police reform or whether it was due to the National Commissioner's private misuse of public expenses during a vacation. In a press release, The Minister of Justice mentions that the National Commissioner steps back from his position at the end of the year. He further notes that "It is the right decision in the given circumstances" (Press release, Ministry of Justice, December 11<sup>th</sup> 2008).

In a resource dependency perspective, it is not surprising that the National Commissioner was assigned to other tasks. Pfeffer and Salancik (1977, 2003) note how management acts as a scapegoat in some situations

The manager is a symbol of the organization and its success or failure, a scapegoat, and a symbol of personal or individual control over social actions and outcomes.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 263)

Pfeffer and Salancik note how one of three roles of management is a symbolic role. This role is the result of the mindset of personal causation (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003; Strickland, 1958) in which there is a belief that the manager is the cause of the success – or failure – of the organization (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003; Lieberman and O'Connor, 1972). Pfeffer and Salancik criticize the

mindset of causation by acknowledging the power of external influence and internal dynamics (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1977). Therefore they describe how a great part of the function of managers is symbolic rather than functional. They describe this as follows:

Leadership in organizations operates within constraints deriving from internal structures and procedural factors and from external demands on the organization. Because of this, the leader's power is probably frequently greatly overestimated by those outside of that position.

(Salancik and Pfeffer, 1977, p. 492)

Pfeffer and Salancik describe how the fairly abstract notion of the management role being symbolic is unfolded in very concrete mechanisms:

As a symbol of control and personal causation, managers and organizational leaders can be used as scapegoats, rewarded when things go well and fired when they go poorly.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 263)

Thus, the fact that the National Commissioner stepped down from his responsibilities may partly be due to other reasons; but the symbolic action would be seen as an essential factor in the explanation of why the National Commissioner and the Minister of Justice agreed that the National Commissioner should be assigned to other duties. The decision of the National Commissioner stepping down came after a series of unfortunate incidents regarding police neglect. Below is a framing of the series of incidents up until the point in time when it was decided that the National Commissioner was assigned to other duties in the realms of the Ministry of Justice:

On June 18<sup>th</sup> 2008, the Minister of Justice requested an analysis of police neglect in emergencies where the police should service citizens. The National Commissioner's Office concluded that there were 298 relevant cases of police neglect. On October 28<sup>th</sup> 2008, the National Commissioner and the Director of Public Prosecutions then handed in their report 'a police in change – a police in close proximity to citizens' which was partially initiated as a consequence of the analysis of police neglect. November 6<sup>th</sup> 2008 the settlement parties agreed on the review of the police reform which granted the police reform an additional 843 million kroner. In December, the public debate questioned the analysis of police neglect done by the police and as a consequence, the Ministry of Justice requested an amendment to the initial analysis on December 15<sup>th</sup> 2008. In March 2009, the police turned in the amendment of the police neglect analysis to the Minister of Justice. The amendment contained an additional 120 cases of police neglect to supplement the 298 cases of the first analysis. The Minister of Justice concludes that



“the amendment to the analysis confirms my initial conclusion that there have been too many problems with the phone service and support to citizens by the police during that period.”

(Press release, Ministry of Justice, March 19<sup>th</sup> 2009)

To define the role of management as a symbolic function and in this case a scapegoat is of course not a complete picture of the role of management. Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) mention that the symbolic role of management is one of three roles. The three roles are as follows: A symbolic role, a responsive role, and a discretionary role. In these roles, the function of management is described as follows:

Management’s function is to direct the organization towards more favorable environments and to manage and establish negotiated environments favorable to the organization.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 263)

In the symbolic role, we have discussed how the manager can act as scapegoat to relieve external pressure (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). Thereby the departure of a manager is a very effective way of responding to external demands. This is the case across different types of organizations. In the police, the symbolic role of the manager is even more evident than on other organizations since the organizational character of the police is strongly supportive of the views and directions of higher ranking officers (Gabriela et al, 2006).

The role of management in this resource dependency perspective is furthered from the symbolic role to include a second role, the responsive role of management (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). In this role, management analyses the environment of the organization and ensures that the organization responds to the demands from the environment.

In this role, the manager assesses the context, determines how to adapt the organization to meet the constraints of the context, and implement the adaption.

(Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 265)

In this role, the manager must first analyze the environment and then adjust accordingly. In this role, management must analyze, assess, and adjust. In this constant process, it is essential to not only assess which adjustment is required from the analysis but also – most importantly – to assess which demands to accommodate and which demands to disregard. In the current case of the police

reform, it appears that the police have disregarded the public debate which focused on the cases of police neglect. It appears that the police did not respond to the criticism until there was a formal request from the Minister of Justice to conduct an analysis and later to conduct a report on how to get the reform 'back on track.' Since the commencement of the reform with the introduction of contracts for the National Commissioner and also for each of the twelve police commissioners, the police have become much more open to the public which is for example seen in the availability of response times. Another clear example is the opening up of the organization to researchers from research institutions outside the police such as the case of the current study. The tendency towards much more openness of the police is an international tendency (Metcalf, 2004). Given this clear direction of more transparency into the police organization and on police operations, this managerial role of responsiveness will tend to play an increasing role for the organization in the future. The police must become more proactive in its response to organizational and operational criticism rather than being reactive as it has been historically. The police must analyze the environment, assess which of the tendencies from the environment to respond to, and adjust proactively so as to not lose discretion over the organization. A more reactive interaction with the environment in organizational and operational matters will broaden the discretion of the police in the future which is necessary with the many changes the organization is going through in these years.

The third and last role of management in this resource perspective is the discretionary role of management (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003). The discretionary role of management entails when organizations set in to modify or alter their environments. Not many organizations have the resources to modify their environment or the impact to do so. The police, however, are in such a privileged position. Thereby the police can work actively on modifying the environment by responding to the public debate and partaking in deciding how to improve the police in the future. As we saw above, the police have been reactive in the police reform in regards to the criticism of police neglect. Historically this has been a valid strategy for the police to pursue because the organization has been tightly closed to the outside. However, given that the police are becoming increasingly more transparent, the need for influencing the environment becomes more important.

The two roles – the responsive and the discretionary roles – are mutually dependent. The police must necessarily act more responsively in the future in order to build up a discretionary position. If

the police begin to act in response to the environment to a greater extent and more proactively then in time, this can establish a position which may grant discretion over organization and operations to a higher degree. This will allow the police to focus more on the operational aspects of their work rather than having to focus on keeping up with demands from the political arena which are posed because of a reactive nature of the police interaction with the environment. Thus, the police must react to the current demands and work more actively with the environment to build up a position which allows for more discretion in organizational actions as well as operational actions. Thereby we can see that an effective accommodation of the external level by relating to the important stakeholders of the organization is crucial for the managerial level to build the organizational capabilities and in turn also to the operational level which is where the police work is being carried out. The three levels are interrelated which is also suggested by the new National Commissioner of Police as he noted above that the internal and external perspectives are “inextricably related”. During a meeting in April 2009, a highly placed manager in the National Commissioner’s Office mentioned how the external pressures influenced their attention:

It was all about bashing down those cases [ed.: the cases of police neglect]. Instead of discussing the overall strategy.

(Meeting with highly ranked manager in the National Commissioner’s Office)

The quote shows As we saw earlier, management actions have constitutive effects. This is the case whether it is management actions inside the organization at a briefing meeting or whether it is at the highest level through the way top management acts in relation to the environment. Therefore managing the environment is increasingly important in the police since in turn it will affect the way police officers service citizens.

Thereby it is clear from the analysis that the police must work with both the external level, the managerial level, and the operational level to a higher degree than previously. The operational level is the bread and butter of the police. With the review of the reform, the police have the necessary resources to get that part of the reform ‘back on track’. The managerial level is slowly but surely improving as management in the police is becoming a professional discipline. Many of the reform initiatives have focus on this development. The external level, however, has been neglected up until now which has been obvious in the discussions above. As we saw, all three levels are interconnected. Therefore the police would need to focus heavily on their interrelations with the

environment to ensure that the operations and the organizational aspects of the police can improve in the future.

This challenge is being addressed by the new National Commissioner of Police who was instated in office February first, 2009. In April 2009, he states how the police has been through a challenging period:

We have had two years where there has been much criticism. The criticism came from political side, it came from inner ranks, it came from the press, and it came from the citizens. It came from all sides. And much of the criticism that came was started up from the inner lines. And that is in itself a challenge when we must conclude that there is stress and frustration and disappointment and concern in the organization that it spills over. That has dominated much of 2008.

(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

The new National Commissioner of Police has marked a series of changes to the police and in particular to the National Commissioner's Office. He has set focus particularly on the relations to external stakeholders in order to create 'elbow room' for the organization to operate. Furthermore, he has set focus on strategy and direction in the police. The combination of setting direction, strategy, and prioritization and opening communication to the external environment is a direct response to some of the challenges which stem from the reform as we have outlined above. The National Commissioner of Police describes the intensification on strategy and communication as follows:

What is important is that we open up to something which can be opened. Because we have to have a stringent organizational structure. You really have to have your things in place. You have to have a business plan, a business model and so on. Therefore some of the most important work we are working on is that we are getting a stringent planning in Danish police. [...] We have made a plan for the entire strategy process which we are starting in June and in September there is a large strategy seminar where the districts and the Prosecution Services set direction for 2009 and there is a double challenge because the multiple year agreement is running out for 2010 where we must give input for the political negotiations for the new multiple year agreement. This means that we must prepare ourselves to give input to the political negotiations.... What will happen in the future is that when we have a multiple year agreement, then there will be developed a strategy. A four year strategy which is linked to the multiple year agreement and that has never been done before.

(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

These initiatives are new to the police. Both the strategic initiatives which are aimed at linking police activities to multi-year agreements and the coordinated focus across districts as well as the strategic communication in which the police has begun involving external stakeholders to a much higher degree than before. These initiatives, however, set demands on managers in regards to strategy and communication. Therefore this may take some time for the police to develop these competencies in full but it appears that the police has learned from the early mistakes of the reform not to be impatient and expect change overnight. Thus, the National Commissioner of Police describes his optimism for the future police as follows:

It is true that everyone has talked about the police reform in terms of ‘it went wrong’ but it’s way too early to say that. I believe that it will end up going well. We just need some more time. Many positive things are going on at the time. I sense that there is a growing optimism and a belief that this will be a success and we will come out of this strengthened. But in what we have ahead of us, we have to be clear about the challenges about the change and so on and then also we have to be patient. We have been way too impatient. Everyone has been way too impatient and we should have been the ones to say: Now you are concluding something which you cannot conclude at this way too early stage. We should have handled the employees’ reactions much more up front and been better at doing more. [...] We should have done much more up front. And we’ve grown wiser.

(Interview with the National Commissioner of Police, April 2009)

The quote from the interview with the new National Commissioner of Police highlights a number of essential points in regards to the challenges of balancing the external and the internal perspectives of the police in the police reform. As he notes, the external pressures on the police have been severe throughout 2008 due to the public debate. Everyone speaks of ‘what went wrong’ in the police reform as if the reform has been a failure. Given the many instances throughout 2008 which have shown that the police have not had the situation under control, this common notion of the reform as a failure is no surprise. The situation appears somewhat chaotic from the outside given the many operational cases of police neglect followed by management’s inability to handle an analysis of the situation and a lacking communication to the external stakeholders and media by top management. These three levels have all pointed in the same direction. As the new National Commissioner of Police points out in the quote above, more should have been done. More should have been done both at an operational level, at a managerial level, and at the external level. Also, as we saw in the chapter on the content of the reform, patience was required and last but not least the external environment should have been handled to create the opportunities for the police to establish the new organization at the management level and the operational level.

### ***Concluding remarks on external control of the police***

Organizational transformation is most often approached from an internal perspective. However, as we have seen in this section, the external environment must necessarily be brought at play when dealing with reform of institutionalized organizations such as the police. We have seen how the external environment has influenced the police reform. It is clear from the police reform that the external level, the managerial level, and the operational level are intertwined. Furthermore, we saw that the heavy pressure from the external environment which has not been handled sufficiently by the police has had unfortunate consequences for the management level as well as for the operational level. The new openness of the police has resulted in demands for working with the external stakeholders to a much higher degree than before. The police have not been up front in handling this new challenge and therefore it has resulted in loss of a top leader, much confusion internally, and loss of discretion. The analysis suggests that the future of the police will depend in great parts on how successful the police will be in implementing the dramatic new initiatives along the lines of strategic governance and strategic communication which the new Commissioner of Police has initiated during his first few months in office.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION**

This chapter provides a concluding analysis in the current study on change management challenges in the Danish police reform. The chapter consists of two main parts. The first part is a concluding discussion of the findings in the analysis, which has been presented in the previous sections. This first part follows the structure of the main analysis in the thesis: Change management in the police reform, content of the reform, and the external control of the police. The second part of the concluding analysis focuses on the contribution of the findings. This second part of the concluding analysis is structured as follows: Contributions to theory, contributions to methodology, and contributions to practice.

### **Findings in the analysis**

The Danish police reform has been criticized for lacking commitment and focus in the implementation. Altogether, however, the analysis shows that the police reform has been subject to much planning and coordination. There has been much focus on the implementation of the reform, and it is clear from the analysis that the challenges to the reform have not been caused by lack of focus or commitment on either the side of the Vision Committee who developed the blue prints for the reform, the politicians who decided upon the reform, the National Commissioner's Office who planned and coordinated the implementation, or the districts which implemented the reform. All these stakeholders have obviously done their utmost to reform the police in the best possible way. The analysis does, however, point to a number of conclusions on the change management aspects which have had unforeseen and unfortunate consequences. Thus, the findings in the current research highlight the fact that the reform has been subject to much focus, commitment and willingness to making the reform a success by the main stakeholders. In conclusion, the study points to lacking organizational ability rather than lacking willingness or commitment as the main factors in why the Danish police reform cannot be described as a success. The findings point to lack of abilities in regards to change management and strategic change leadership. These conclusions are pointed out in the following.

In the previous chapters we have analyzed change management aspects of the Danish police reform with specific emphasis on the research question:

**What are the change management challenges and the organizational implications of introducing a reform, which has a functional-rational logic of modernization and efficiency to the Danish police, which is a strongly institutionalized organization.**

The research question has been answered by particular focus on the three levels of analysis:

- Change management
- Content of the reform, and
- External control of the police.

The research question will be answered with particular reference to each of these levels in the following.

### ***Change management in the police reform***

The findings in the analysis of change management in the police reform shows that the reform has been subject to thorough planning from all sides. From the Vision Committee which developed the blue prints of the reform and particularly from the National Commissioner's Office that planned and coordinated the implementation of the reform. The change management initiatives have been based on a top-down process in which it was the intention to create feedback-loops. However, the feedback loops were not operationalized in practice as part of the process. Furthermore, the informal aspects of the organization have not been able to make up for this lack of upwards communication. Given that feedback has not been given back into the organization, it has resulted in a lack of understanding of challenges, frustrations, and concerns in lower hierarchical levels in the organization. In turn, these aspects could have paved the way for further implementing planned initiatives of a technical character such as phone systems and management technologies such as new work processes, performance systems, etc. Thus, the technical logic of planning and coordination has been at the forefront in the reform at the expense of what has been perceived as irrational, subjective, and informal aspects. These aspects, it turns out, are particularly essential in the police organization, given the distinct organizational character of the police. By neglecting the informal, so called irrational aspects, both technical and non-technical aspects of the reform have suffered.



In the current study, change management aspects of the police reform were analyzed with particular attention to three change management initiatives which have been central to the implementation process of the reform: Communication strategy, activating employees, and filling new positions.

The communication strategy in the police reform was structured around line communication. However, line communication proved to be an unsuccessful strategy in the police since its prerequisite is an established line of management. In the police this line of management is established in operational matters as chain of command but not in organizational matters which in themselves are focus areas in the reform. This decoupling between the change management technology of line communication and the organizational characteristics has partly resulted in an unsuccessful communication in the reform.

The analysis further finds that the police have relied fairly uncritically on input from outside the organization via experts and consultants rather than looking inward throughout the process of implementing the reform. Thereby distinct organizational resources of the police in terms of social capital, informal networks, and mutual trust have been neglected. Such resources could have supported the implementation and the reformed future police.

This aspect highlights another important finding in the analysis; during the reform implementation there has been a sharp focus on the new situation, on the future police for which the Vision Committee created the blue prints with their report. However, the sharp focus on the new situation has left the current and previous situation unexplored. There has been a lack of focus on which parts of the current and previous situation should be brought into the new reformed police. This is described further below in the section on theoretical contribution.

The process of activating employees in the police reform was done by targeting individuals rather than the collective. This was new to the organization which up until the reform had relied on the collective in organizational initiatives. Therefore, the individual targeting resulted in a feeling of being singled-out for the employees at a time where cohesion and sticking together could have been more fruitful for the implementation of the reform. These individualization processes in the reform

further have constitutive effects in that they devalue the social capital which is an essential resource in the police organization.

Filling new positions in the new organization was a process which was intended to give employees the best opportunities in the new organization. This was emphasized by the term 'wish-round' which the process was described as. The wish round led to competition among managers and among employees, which in turn led to rivalry among colleagues. Competitive management initiatives are central to managerialism and new public management reforms such as the police reform. However, this aspect of the reform has severe consequences when applied to the police, given their distinctive organizational character. Corrosion of mutual trust in the organization has negative consequences for the organizational reform initiatives and furthermore, it is a threat to trust among police officers which is essential in their daily work where they need to instill trust in citizens. Lack of mutual trust in the police puts at risk the employees' ability to sustain and enhance the democratic awareness and function which is at the core of police service.

### ***Content of the police reform***

The Vision Committee developed the blue prints for the police reform which have been used as reference for practitioners in the reform throughout the process. This architecture of the reform was based on an array of analyses conducted by external parties. In these blue prints of the reform, it is clear that there is a heavy focus on rational-functional logic. Due to this predominant rational-functional perspective, symbolic action has been disregarded as being irrelevant which has been a source of some of the problems of police prioritization which have surfaced throughout the course of the reform.

The content of the reform has included introduction of many new technologies. Some are managerial technologies, others IT technologies. In the reform, there has been focus on the content without regards to the operationalization of the technologies. Thus, there has been a vast gap between the required skills and the actual competencies. The skills gap in regards to IT technologies, including the phone services, has been a dominant source of confusion and frustration. Furthermore, the many new management technologies which have been introduced and the vast increase in complexity to the organization as a whole have required management skills which take much time to develop. Therefore the simultaneousness of the reform initiatives has proven to be

troublesome in the reform. There has not been enough time to develop the necessary skills to handle the initiatives since the management skills were considered one of many partial reform initiatives which were to be initiated simultaneously. The fact that the reform was to be a coherent reform content wise has led to an over-looked aspect of the need for developing the necessary skills to handle the new technologies. As the police themselves realize today, they have been too impatient. This has particularly been the case in regards to management development.

Culture has played a specific role in the police reform. Content wise it has been considered a barrier to the development of the new organization and therefore in the blue prints to the reform. Culture is described in terms of which cultural traits should be broken down. However, culture is an essential resource in the police and a great part of the organizational character which should be dealt with more specifically. The police are slowly beginning to show signs of viewing culture as a resource rather than a barrier. The new National Commissioner of Police has aired a concern for the lack of attention to the positive aspects of the police culture as an essential driver in motivating the organization towards implementing the reform initiatives and at the same time preventing and solving crime – balancing development and operations.

### ***The external control of the police***

The external control of the police has played an important role in the Danish police reform. Thus, the public debate which linked the police reform to police neglect has been the driver of what must be described as chaotic conditions for the police. These conditions have had an unfortunate influence on the police at management level and at operational level they have resulted in an overall loss of discretion by restrictions of managerial space.

During the course of the first years of the police reform, the police have not worked with the external environment in order to create professional discretion at operational and particularly at managerial level. The police apparently have not understood the importance of the external control and have not been able to respond to the external environment. In the ongoing relations between the police and their external stakeholders such as the media, the Minister of Justice, and the settlement parties behind the police reform, the police have not realized how to respond to their external environment and to the concerns which became more clear during the course of the first years of the police reform. Through the analysis we see how the police have changed their arguments around the

logic behind prioritization of police action and revealed a lack of strategy and direction. This has led to loss of discretion by enhanced surveillance and control from the side of the settlement parties and to the loss of the former National Commissioner of Police. During the last few months of the current thesis, a number of dramatic initiatives have been taken by the new National Commissioner to work with the responsive and discretionary roles of manager, which the analysis has proven to be lacking in the police reform. To create 'elbow room' for the police, as he states.

## **Contributions to theory, method, and practice**

The current case of the Danish police reform is interesting in many aspects and has relevance for theory, method and practice in various fields. The analysis in the current study has focused mainly on managerial and organizational aspects of the police reform with regards to change management aspects of the reform. The discussions in the analysis have mainly concerned relevant change management aspects of the police reform in regards to implications for the reformed police organization and for the reform process.

In this section, the focus will be specifically in the contributions of the findings in the current study. The section is structured into three parts: contributions to theory, methodology, and to practice. By structuring this section into these three parts, it is possible to provide a specific focus on each of these three aspects which are necessary given the character of the current study being a Ph.D. study. There are, however, clear connections between theory, methodology and practice in the current study. As has been described throughout the thesis, the three are intertwined and supplement each other in the study. Therefore the analytical knack of dividing the contributions into these three parts will necessarily be analytically counterproductive if not accompanied by the broader perspective in which the combination of theory, methodology and practical implications is seen as a whole. However, in the following, the structure into these three parts will be followed to give specific analytical attention to each part at the same time realizing that this is an analytical knack.

### ***Contributions to theory***

The current study makes its theoretical contribution to several strands of literature. Thus, the current study combines several theoretical strands. The reason for doing so is that it provides what can be described as a binocular view in Gregory Bateson's term (Bateson, 1972). Furthermore, the current

study has focused on change management aspects of the police reform which require that other strands of literature are incorporated to supplement the current theory. This can be seen for example in how the current thesis has contributed to change management theory by including institutional aspects as described below. Therefore, the contribution can be seen both as a contribution to theoretical perspectives which incorporate different theoretical strands and the contribution can be seen as contributions in each of the theoretical strands incorporated in the current study. Even though the current study does contribute to several theoretical strands, it is not an ‘anything goes’ perspective in regards to the theoretical contribution. Some specific theoretical strands have been targeted specifically in the current study. The primary theoretical contributions of the current study are to the literature on change management and to the scarce theoretical strands of police management. The theoretical contributions will be outlined below.

#### *Contributions to change management theory*

The current study contributes to change management theory in two main ways: Firstly, emphasis on the external environment which challenges contemporary change management theory, and secondly, within the tradition of contemporary change management theory a strengthened focus on utilizing existing organizational resources of the organization in the change process and beyond as well as on acknowledging the constitutive effects of change initiatives.

This study clearly shows how the external environment has an essential influence on change management aspects of a public reform. However, as seen in the current thesis, the predominant change management theories focus on internal aspects of transformation. One of these theories, John Kotter’s (1995) model was used in practice in the Danish police reform for planning the implementation of the reform. These change management theories are derived from Kurt Lewin’s (1943) phase model. However, the theories have an internal perspective and thus cannot capture the external aspects which in the study have proven to be of utmost importance. To capture the external aspects of the Danish police reform, institutional theory supplements contemporary change management theories. Institutional theory is not new to organizational change and transformation (Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006). The contribution in the current study is to how institutional theory and what Fernández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera (2006) describe as ‘typical’ change management theory can supplement each other and furthermore how it is essential to supplement typical change management theory with the external perspective. In the current study, it has been shown how structuring the analysis into three levels with inspiration from Lynn, Heinrich

and Hill (2001) who used the structure: Institutional level of governance, managerial level of governance, and technical level of governance. In the current study, the following analytical structure has served the purpose of combining the external and the internal perspectives: External level, managerial level, and operational level. This analytical structure highlights how the external level must be acknowledged in change management



regards as it influences the managerial and the operational level immensely, particularly in highly institutional organizations such as the police. By expanding change management in this way paves the way for working with the external level by incorporating resource dependency (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003) perspectives in order to ensure and gain managerial space which is essential in organizational change. Thus, the current study challenges the predominantly internal perspective of contemporary change management theory to include the attention towards the external perspective. These aspects have severe implications for change management practice as we have seen in the current study. Both in regards to how to operate with the external level and also in that the expansion from a predominantly internal perspective to inclusion of the external perspective challenges the logic of change management in that it stretches the logic from an efficiency to an effectiveness. The latter is externally determined. The implications for practice are highlighted below.

A second essential contribution to change management from the current study lies within the realms of contemporary change management theory in that it regards the internal planning aspects of organizational change. The first is that the focus on the existing organizational resources should play a more central part in change management. Current change management theory has an intense focus on what should be changed and specific attention to how the new organization should be structured, organized, and how it performs (see for example Beer and Nohria 2000, Kotter 1995, 1996, Kotter and Cohen 2002, Palmer, Dunford and Akin 2006). However, the current study points to a need for supplementing change management theory by including focus on the organizational characteristics which have enabled the organization to perform currently. In this study of the Danish police reform, social capital has been identified as an essential organizational resource. Much of change management theory does not acknowledge the importance of ensuring the future existence of current organizational resources, let alone using them as drivers in the change process. The

approach to culture in change management theory has been regarded as an obstacle rather than as a resource. The current study shows how a more nuanced approach to culture in change management theory can serve as an essential perspective in change management. The other contribution within the realms of contemporary change management theory is the acknowledgement of constitutive effects of change initiatives. In the current study, the introduction of constitutive effects was introduced in relation to change management aspects. The study shows how change efforts have constitutive effects in the organization in that the change initiatives influence the managerial space. Examples from the current study are targeting individuals and creating a competitive environment and rivalry in an organization that relies heavily on social capital as an organizational resource has effects for the managerial space in the organization. Therefore, the question of how change initiatives are carried out is of strategic relevance in change management concerns. Change management theory does acknowledge these aspects in for example questions of activating employees and processes of involvement. However, the current study shows that change management theory can gain from including concerns of organizational character at a strategic change management perspective and thereby include regards to the constitutive effects of the change management initiatives.

#### *Contributions to police management theory*

Police management theory is a scarce field as discussed in the current study. It is, however, an emerging field which this research study is an indicator of. The work of particularly Michael Lipsky (1980), John Van Maanen (1988) and Peter Manning (2003) has linked police studies to the social sciences. However, the theoretical field of police management is very scarce even though the current study illustrates how the police organization requires certain specific managerial concerns specific to the police. The weighing majority of police studies are concerned with criminology. Furthermore, the police have been such a closed organization which has not allowed for much research based influence. In these years, police organizations are opening up as a consequence of the increased demand for visibility and accountability in the wake of New Public Management initiatives and public reforms. These tendencies enable – and in some cases require – research based input in organizational matters as well as in criminology. The specific contribution in these aspects from the current study is that of the specific organizational character of the police. The current study highlights how the organizational character of the police requires that the emerging field of

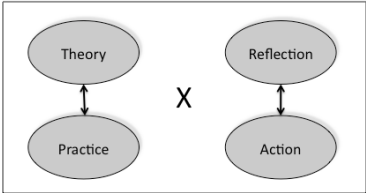
police management bridges the specificity of the organizational character to the established theoretical bodies of management theory and organizational theory.

***Contributions to methodology***

The contributions to methodology from this study relate to two main concerns. One is how to gain access to an organization such as the police organization which is closed to the outside given its nature. As we have seen in the study, the police are closed to the outside by their operational closedness in its tasks where it necessarily is police vs. citizen. Historically the governance structure of the Danish police has created a police force which has been closed from much political interference from the Ministry of Justice which has made an explicit statement of not interfering with police business. Furthermore, the previous police districts have each been lead by a police commissioner with little formal jurisdiction for the National Police Commissioner. Each of these structural and operational closures has contributed to a generally closed police which is a challenge research wise. The methodological contribution from the current study in this regard rely on using specific couplings between theory and practice, action oriented field work, and by using tales from the field actively.

The other methodological contribution regards how to acquire knowledge of vast change initiatives such as public reform which are influenced by both external factors and internal factors at various levels by using a multi-sited method (Marcus, 1995). The latter serves a methodological contribution by illustrating how a multi-sited method can provide essential insights to finding patterns and decouplings between different organizational perspectives and between the external, managerial and operational level as seen in the current study.

The current study came about as the result of a specific request for creating knowledge about the police reform to provide insights which can serve as input to practitioners in the police in regards to management in the police – to practice. Therefore the theoretical contribution of the current study is necessarily linked to practice. As described in the chapter on methodology, the current study has coupled theory and practice by working specifically with how theory has contributed to practice and how practice has contributed to theory respectively. Thus, there is a reflexiv e relation between



theory and practice in that one supplements and enriches



the other vice versa. The relation between theory and practice is seen as a parallel to the relation between reflection and action. The methodology in this study has been concerned both with how to couple theory and practice. Both on how to make sense of practice through theory and on how to use theory in practice. For the latter part, the parallel between the relation between action and reflection has served as a way of understanding the importance of theory to practice. In this study of the police organization which is generally not an organization which is open to the outside world it has been a challenge to gain access to the organization. The methodology used in the current study for this purpose has been with the aim of getting an understanding of the organization and also making it clear to the practitioners in the organization that the researcher has specific knowledge of the organization. Thus, it has a dual purpose: to gain further access to the organization and to engage practitioners.

To get knowledge of the organization, the current study applied a multisited methodology (Marcus 1995) including fieldwork. In the research process, using tales from the field has proven to play an essential role which developed throughout the study. The fieldwork and the tales have been essential in the relational work between researcher and the people in the police organization. Using fieldwork in this setting was not only an important way to ensure relations and bridging theory-practice, it also provided essential insights which would not have come to the researcher's knowledge by using other single-sited methodologies. Thus, as the study has shown, the multisited methodology serves as a way to capture decoupling between the external, managerial, and the operational level by analytical triangulation between insights from the different sites. In this way, insights from the field studies are used in combination with the action research, presentations and dialogs, and document studies. Thereby the richness of the ethnographically rooted field studies supplement the strategic traditional organizational analysis, the document studies which are necessary to capture the external aspects, and the action oriented research initiatives of the study in aggregated and triangulated patterns and couplings which in essence is at the heart of the contribution of multisited approach. The essential findings in this study regarding the decoupling between the planning of the communication strategy and the organizational character along as well as the decoupling between the external level and the internal managerial and operational level have been made available for analysis because of this specific multisited approach using triangulation between sites. In this way, multisited methodology has shown to be able shed light on crucial

change management aspects by illuminating decoupling between different perspectives and levels externally and internally which would otherwise not be revealed.

### ***Contributions to practice***

The current study came about as the result of a specific request for creating knowledge about the police reform to provide insights which can serve as input to practitioners in the police in regards to police management. Throughout the course of the research project, insights and input has been given to the police in various settings such as reform working committees, reform meetings, competency development workshops, management rallies, etc. Also, as a follow up, a practitioner version of the findings will be developed in corporation with the police to ensure that the knowledge which has been created during the past three years will be available to the police. In this current Ph.D. this topic will also be framed in broad terms to highlight the specific contribution to practice. The section on the contribution to practice is structured in two parts. The first part focuses on the implications of the findings to the Danish police. The second part focuses on the main contribution to change management practice in other organizations.

### ***Implications for the Danish police***

The implications for the Danish police of the findings in the current study must be seen in context of the current situation. Currently, at the time when this thesis is submitted, the police is going through vast reorganizations. Based on vast consulting reports and many organizational analyses, the reform initiatives are being revised, the National Commissioner's Office is being reorganized dramatically, and the police are working on strategy and structure at a whole new level. The implications of the findings in this report must, therefore, be seen in this context as one input of several in the further development of the reformed police. Even in the light of this precaution, there are a number of implications for the police derived directly from the current study. Some of these have been highlighted in the previous section on the general conclusions. In this section, the most pivotal of these – from a research perspective – will be highlighted in the following.

The most crucial finding in the study with direct implications for the Danish police is the importance of having a clearly defined strategy to lean upon in turbulent times. A strategy which is clear on strategic operational priorities and objectives. In the current case, we have seen how a lack

of operational strategy and understanding of necessity of how to implement the strategy has lead to a turbulent course for the entire organization. Thus, at the outset of the reform, the police relied on the consulting reports and the directives from the report by the Vision Committee which advocated for disregarding what was perceived as irrational symbolic police action. In the heat of the public debate, however, the police suggested to switch strategy to focus on symbolic police action as a response to the heavy criticism of the police neglect rather than correct the reasons for the cases of police neglect. The example illustrates the necessity of having a well-planned and implemented operational strategy. As seen in the case, if the strategic intention is not a carefully planned and thoroughly implemented operational strategy, then the organization will risk going in a different – and highly inexpedient – strategic course. At a managerial level, strategy is equally important to the police in times of vast change by means of a change management strategy. A change management strategy which sets direction in regards to how management handles transition and shows leadership. In the case of the police reform, much planning was done and many people were involved in the various committees, working groups, etc. The planning, however, was not linked to an overall change management strategy which could guide the direction and the perspectives of the planning processes. It must be said that the previous National Commissioner of Police did state several times that the vision of the reform should be ‘a reform with compassion and consideration’. Also, the communication efforts resulted in a communication strategy. From the perspective of change management strategy, these efforts could have had much more impact if they were parts of an overall implemented change management strategy. The visionary perspective of ‘a reform with compassion and consideration’ drowned in everyday planning instead of serving as a guidance of how to get past the hurdles of the reform process. The communication strategy was adapted from an organizational setting much different from that of the police which resulted in an unsuccessful communication because it relied on organizational structures which were not suitable to the strategic choice of communication and what was worse, it resulted in unintended individualization at a time where the social capital was needed the most. With these lessons and other experiences from the change process which have been discussed throughout the study, it is clear that a specific change management strategy is essential in times of vast change. A strategy for how to manage and lead the organization through transformation which acknowledges the specific organizational character of the police, and thereby activating and utilizing the unique resources of the police comprising the social capital which is an essential resource in the police. Finally, the reform process has shown the importance of having a clearly defined strategy on how to engage in the public

debate and how to handle the external control of the organization. As discussed in the chapters on the external control of the police, it is clear that the lacking acknowledgement of how to engage in the public debate on the police reform has had severe consequences for the organization. Both at managerial and operational level. As a consequence of lacking internal control and steering of the police and lacking engagement in public debate, the police is subject to immense external control of the organization which has occupied much management attention and not least managerial space and discretion. Therefore the importance of acknowledging the role of the external stakeholders and engaging in the public debate calls for a clearly defined strategy. Thus, an essential implication of the findings in the study for the police is to work on strategically anchored strategies in regards to the operational level, the managerial level, and the external level.

When developing and clarifying the strategies described above, the police must necessarily acknowledge the difference between what is described as symbolic and real police work at a higher level – that of effectiveness vs. efficiency. As discussed in the thesis, the planning for the reform and the operational analyses have been based solely on efficiency factors. However, the success of the police being institutionalized in society to such a great extent is judged, not solely by efficiency but rather on effectiveness. The two terms are difficult to grasp since they overlap in that efficiency factors may well also be effectiveness factors. The one important difference between the two is that effectiveness is a measure which is determined and judged externally, whereas efficiency factors are universal. An example from the police reform is the focus on police neglect which was judged externally as being extremely relevant even though the problem may not appear large scale when judged as a percentage of the number of cases. Another example from the current case is that of response times. Prior to the commencement of the reform, response times had a very central place in the public debate and therefore it took a central role in the planning of the reform initiatives. However, in the light of the cases of police neglect, the fact that the police had managed to improve response times drowned in the discussions of neglect and lacking operational and managerial control of the police. These examples highlight how the police efforts must be coupled with discussions of externally perceived effectiveness vs. efficiency. One approach could be to change priority and directions as the externally judged effectiveness factors change. Another – and more relevant – approach would be to influence the perception of effectiveness factors while at the same time honoring their importance. The latter requires a clearly defined strategy and thereby leads back

to the main point about working more strategically in the police at each of the three levels; the operational level, the managerial level, and the external level.

The implications described above concern an overall strategic management perspective. There are also some specific change management related implications which should be highlighted here with specific attention to the practical contribution of the study. First and foremost, it is crucial to use the unique resources of the police organization. As laid out in the thesis, the social capital of the police is a strong resource which has enabled the police to succeed up until the time of the reform in spite of inexpedient governance structures, outdated technology, and less attention to the role of management. In the police reform, there has been such a specific focus on the promises and possibilities of the future, reformed police as laid out in the report by the Vision Committee that the report was largely transferred into blueprints of the new organization. In that process, the resources of the current organization were disregarded. There was very little attention to which aspects of the existing police organization should be kept and perhaps even fostered. Furthermore, no analysis was made of what should be the resources which could bring the police through such a grand reform into a reformed organization. If these considerations had been granted attention, it would have been clear that the most valuable resources – the mutual trust and the informal relations between members of the police – should be activated to ensure the reform. In this case, we have seen how the change initiatives did much of the opposite. People were targeted individually, central initiatives increased competition and rivalry, and the communication strategy was based on a line of management, which was not in place in non-operational organizational matters. Thereby, the change initiatives eroded on the most valuable resources rather than fostering them. As described above in the part on contribution to theory, culture is often seen as an obstacle in change management. A specific contribution to the police is that this picture should be reversed. Culture should be utilized in a constructive manner and used as an essential driver in reaching the organizational targets. This way, the specificity of the police organization is set on the agenda, which enables management to work more specifically with police management. On the one hand, the police are becoming more generic in their management approach. This is caused mainly by the many new management initiatives which have swept through the organization as New Public Management initiatives and reform initiatives. The increased generic nature of management in the police is also caused by the opening up for professionals in the police who are not trained police officers. Both as internal consultants, specialists, managers, and along with the reform even police

commissioners. This tendency is important and necessary given the increased complexity of the police and its environment and also given the increased transparency of police organization and police operations. However, as all tendencies are pulling in the direction of applying generic management technologies and mindsets, the police should necessarily focus on what is specific to the organizational character of the police and how is this utilized, managed and lead. This perspective which is a clear finding in the current study implies further focus on police management.

These aspects of increased focus on strategy at the external, managerial, and operational level along with a sharper focus on utilizing the resources of the organizational character of the police in police management are essential implications for the police in the perspective of the current study. These two elements call for a dramatic shift in the police in regards to some of the main aspects which have been brought forth in the current analysis such as a strategic mindset, an increased focus on culture, added attention to management development, and a much stronger relation with external stakeholders to ensure discretion for the police to set strategy and direction which can in turn improve their police services to ‘maintain safety, security, peace and order in society’ as stated in the first paragraph of the Police Act.

#### *Contribution to change management practice*

Many of the findings throughout this thesis may serve as inspiration for change management practice in organizations other than the Danish police. By pointing to certain findings in favor of others there is a risk that a practitioner disregards findings which may be of more relevance to that given organization or subcome to the analytical pitfall of applying findings which were derived from one organizational setting to one’s own practice without regard for the importance of the local context. The latter of is a point which has been clearly illustrated in the current case in which the police has applied management techniques and technologies which rely on organizational premises which differ from those of the police organization. Therefore, one generic contribution to change management practice can be said to not apply generic solutions but rather to customize management technologies which have been imported from other organizational contexts. Based on the current thesis, a handful of more specific contributions to change management can be given following this word of caution on not relying on global solutions to local challenges.

The most essential contribution to change management practice from the current study is the illumination of the necessity of working strategically with change management. Change management challenge is often approached as a planning exercise and a series of organizational development (OD) activities rather than a strategic approach. In these cases, vast organizational changes such as public reforms or comprehensive restructurings in private corporations run the risk of losing track of direction and priority in the midst of change. This is the case partly because when the organization is going through vast change challenges often arise during that process. One explanation could be that a major reason for changing the organization is that the environment is changing. Thus, when the organization is faced with both internal and external challenges and pressures, a strategy is necessary in order to set direction in the organization and to influence the external environment. A change management strategy should encompass the external level, the managerial level, and the operational level. Setting up such a strategy is resource demanding, yet the risks of not having a specific change management strategy outweighs this aspect when facing vast organizational transformation.

Content wise, the current study points to the fact that such a change management strategy should identify the organizational resources and use these as a resource rather than a liability. As discussed in previous chapters, organizational character and specifically culture is often seen as a liability in terms of change management. Thereby the change initiatives risk running down essential organizational resources in the newly changed organization and furthermore, the change process will be less successful than in the case where the organizational character and culture is utilized in the implementation and therefore necessarily plays an essential part in the development of a change management strategy. Thus, an approach which treats the organizational character and culture as an essential asset rather than a liability is valuable in both the implementation phase as well as in the new organizational setting.

The contributions described above are relevant for organizations which are more or less institutionalized across the borders of public and private sectors, facing vast organizational change. Some of the contributions from the current study become more crucial the more an organization is said to be institutionalized. The first of these points regard the increased focus on the external judgement of success. The current case of the Danish police reform has shown how factors of success cannot be measured on an internal scale by efficiency factors. The more institutionalized

the organization, the more the success of the organization is judged externally by factors which are not necessarily based on efficiency measures. Therefore, it is essential to include both efficiency and effectiveness measures regarding the external judgement of what is considered effectiveness from the external stakeholders. This exercise is difficult as it cannot be determined by an analysis prior to the commencement of an initiative due to the externally determined nature of effectiveness measures. Furthermore, measures of effectiveness may change over time. The findings from the police reform showed how at the outset of the reform, the effectiveness of the reform was perceived to be based on response times, setting up local councils, etc., yet during the course of the reform implementation these measures became irrelevant in the face of cases of police neglect which set the agenda in the public debate and therefore flooded the organizational attention in the police. Thus, institutionalized organizations must balance efficiency and effectiveness factors, monitor and influence the perception of these in the public debate to ensure managerial space which is essential particularly in times of vast organizational change.

The last point which should be mentioned as a contributions to practice specifically regards public reform initiatives. The main point in this regard is that management in the institution which is subject to politically decided public reform must step up to the plate and challenge how the reform can be implemented in the organization. Prior to commencement of public reform, an array of analyses have been completed by external consultants and committees and scale and scope of such a reform have been discussed at an analytical level and at political level. However, as in the case of the police reform, most of these analyses have been conducted by people from outside of the organization focusing on what to change. Therefore, the organization must supplement these analyses by its own perspectives and knowledge of the organizational character, culture, and values in order to ensure that the organizational resources are utilized in the implementation and brought into the reformed organization. Furthermore, it is the responsibility of management to assess and analyze the expected resources required to implement the reform regarding time, finances, and qualifications. The current case of the Danish police reform clearly illustrates a case in which each of these three essential factors were underestimated – if at all estimated. The case contributes by highlighting that it is essential to be realistic regarding how much time the reform will take in order to influence the external expectations. There must be an assessment of what a realistic financial scale of such a reform may be by challenging the often optimistic efficiency gains put forward in consulting analyses and by including transaction costs related to the change process. Finally,



management must necessarily evaluate what are the demands for new and improved qualifications for each of the reform initiatives. Reform initiatives bring about many new operational and managerial technologies. These new technologies require that operational personnel and management have the qualifications and competencies needed to make the newly introduced technologies work in practice. Competency development requires time and resources and therefore these three aspects are interrelated and prove to be of uttermost importance in change management aspects of public reform. These three aspects must be essential elements in implementation concerns and to be included in a change management strategy – and making it happen is a management responsibility.



## REFERENCES

- Adler, Paul S. and Seok-Woo Kwon. (2002) "Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept." *Academy of Management Review*. Vol. 27, No. 1: 17-40.
- Allaire, Y., & Firsirotu, M. (1984) "Theories of Organizational Culture." *Organization Studies*. Vol. 5: 193-226.
- Alvesson, Mats. (2003) "Methodology for Close Up Studies – Struggling with Closeness and Closure." *Higher Education*. Vol. 46: 167-193.
- Argyris, Chris (1990). *Overcoming Organizational Defenses*. Prentice Hall.
- Argyris, Chris and Donald A. Schön (1996). *Organizational Learning II – Theory, Method, and Practice*. Addison Wesley.
- Andersen, Ib. (2005). *Den skinbarlige virkelighed*. Samfundslitteratur.
- Bateson, Gregory. (1987) *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. Jason Aronson Inc.
- Beck, Ulrich and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (2002). *Individualization*. Sage publications.
- Beer, Michael & Nitin Nohria. (2000) *Breaking the Code of Change*. Harvard Business School Press.
- Boje, David M. (1991) "The Storytelling Organization: A Study of Story Performance in an Office-Supply Firm." *Administrative Science Quarterly*. Vol. 36: 106-126.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1986) "The Forms of Capital." In John G. Richardson, Ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press.

- Botting, Fred and Scott Wilson. (2001) *The Tarantinial Ethics*. Sage Publications.
- Brunsson, Nils and Johan P. Olsen. (1997) *The Reforming Organization*. Fagbokforlaget Norway.
- Burke, Warner W. (2002) *Organization Change – Theory and Practice*. Sage Publications.
- Burr, Vivien. (1995) *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. Routledge.
- Burrell, Gibson and Gareth Morgan. (1982) *Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis: elements of the sociology of corporate life*. Heinemann.
- Burnes, Bernard. (2004a) “Kurt Lewin and the planned approach to change: a re-appraisal.” *Journal of Management Studies*. Vol. 41, No. 6: 972-1002.
- Burnes, Bernard. (2004b) Complexity Theories and Organizational Change. *International Journal of Management Reviews*. Vol. 7, Issue 2: 73-90.
- Butterfield, Lee D., William A. Borgen, Norman E. Amundson, and Asa-Sophia T. Maglio (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research*, 5(4), 475–497.
- Chan, Janet B.L. (1999) ‘Governing Police Practice: Limits of the New Accountability. *British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 50 (2): 251-270.
- Chesbrough, Henry W. (2003) The Era of Open Innovation. *MIT Sloan Management Review*. Vol. 44, No. 3.
- Chia, Robert. (1999) “A ‘Rhizomic’ Model of Organizational Change and Transformation: Perspective from a Metaphysics of Change.” *British Journal of Management*. Vol. 10: 209-227.

- Christensen, Tom and Per Lægreid, Eds. (2007) *New Public Management – The Transformation of Ideas and Practice*. Ashgate.
- Clarke, John and Janet Newman. (1997). *The Managerial State*. Sage Publications.
- Clemens, Elisabeth S. and James M. Cook. (1999) “Politics and Institutionalism: Explaining Durability and Change.” *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 25: 441-66.
- Collier, Paul M. (2001) “Police Performance Measurement and Human Rights.” *Public Money and Management*. Vol. 21, 3: 35-39.
- Conger, Jay A. (2000) “Effective Change Begins at the Top.” In Beer & Nohria, *Breaking the Code of Change*. Harvard Business School Press.
- Cooper, Robert. (1986) “Organization/Disorganization.” *Social Science Information*. Vol. 25, 2: 299-335.
- Cooper, Robert. (2005) “Relationality.” *Organization Studies*. Vol. 26 (11): 1689-1710.
- Czarniawska, Barbara. (1999) *Writing Management. Organization Theory as a Literary Genre*. Oxford University Press.
- Czarniawska, Barbara. (2004) *Narratives in Social Science Research*. Sage Publications.
- Dacin, Tina M., Marc J. Ventresca, and Brent D. Beal. (1999) The embeddedness of organizations: dialogue and directions.” *Journal of Management*. Vol. 25, No. 3: 317-56.
- Davis, Murray S. (1971) “That’s Interesting! Towards a Phenomenology of Sociology and a Sociology of Phenomenology.” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*. Vol. I: 309-344.

- Degnegaard, Rex. (2006). *Analytical Practice in Organizational Transformation – Organizational Tensions and Management Challenges*. Paper presented at The Critical Management Studies PhD Forum 2006, Copenhagen.
- Degnegaard, Rex. (2008) ”Forandringsledelse – Erfaringer fra politireformen.” In Dorthe Pedersen, Carsten Greve og Holger Højlund, Eds. *Genopfindelsen af den offentlige sektor – Ledelsesudfordringer i reformernes tegn*. Børsen Offentlig.
- Dent, Mike, John Chandler, and Jim Barry, eds. (2004) *Questioning the New Public Management*. Ashgate.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, Eds. (2000) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications.
- Diefenbach, Thomas. (2007) “The managerialistic ideology of organisational change management.” *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Vol. 20, No. 1: 126-144.
- DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. (1983, 1991) “Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality.” In Powell, Walter W. & Paul J. DiMaggio, eds. (1991) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago University Press.
- Du Gay, Paul. (2000) *In Praise of Bureaucracy: Weber – Organization – Ethics*. Sage.
- Du Gay, Paul, Ed. (2005) *The Values of Bureaucracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Dunleavy, Patrick, Helen Margetts, Simon Bastow and Jane Tinkler (2005). “New Public Management is Dead – Long Live Digital-Era Governance”. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. Vol. 16: 467-494.
- Dunphy, Dexter C. and Doug A. Stace (1988). “Transformational and Coercive Strategies for Planned Organizational Change: Beyond the O.D. Model.” *Organization Studies*. Vol. 9/3: 317-334.

- Elden, Max and Rupert F. Chisholm. (1993) "Emerging Varieties of Action Research." *Human Relations*. Vol. 46, No. 2: 121-142.
- Emerson, Robert M. (1983) *Contemporary Field Research: A collection of Readings*. Waveland.
- Fengler, Susanne and Stephan Russ-Mohl. (2008) "The Crumbling Hidden Wall: Towards an Economic Theory of Journalism." *KYKLOS*. Vol. 61, No. 4: 520-542.
- Fernanández-Alles and Valle-Cabrera. (2006) "Reconciling Institutional Theory with Organizational Theories. How Neoinstitutionalism Resolves Five Paradoxes." *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Vol. 19, No. 4: 503-517.
- Feyerabend, Paul. (1993) *Against Method*. Verso.
- Finstad, Liv. (2006) *Norsk kriminologi 50 år. Innlegg fra fagkonferansen 22. januar 2005*. Institutt for kriminologi og rettsossologi. Universitetet I Oslo. Bokserien nr. 1/2006.
- Friedland, Roger and Robert R. Alford. (1991) "Bringing Society Back In." In Powell, Walter W. & Paul J. DiMaggio, eds. (1991) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago University Press.
- Fuglsang, Martin. (1998) *At være på grænsen – en moderne fænomenologisk bevægelse*. Nyt fra Samfundsvidenskabernes.
- Fukuyama, Francis (2001). Social Capital, Civil Society and Development. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 1: 7-20.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1973a) "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." In Clifford Geertz (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books.

- Geertz, Clifford (1973b). "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." *In The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* in Robert M. Emerson (1983). *Contemporary Field Research: A collection of Readings*. Waveland.
- Gellner, David N. and Eric Hirsch, eds. (2001) *Inside Organizations – Anthropologists at Work*. Berg.
- Goodsell, Charles T. (2005). "The Bureau as Unit of Governance" in Paul Du Gay, Ed. (2005) *The Values of Bureaucracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Gordon, Raymond Daniel. (2007) *Power, Knowledge and Domination*. Liber – Copenhagen Business School Press – Universitetsforlaget.
- Granovetter, Mark. (1985) "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 91, No. 3: 481-510.
- Greve, Carsten. (2006) "Public Management Reform in Denmark." *Public Management Review*. Vol. 8 Issue 1: 161-169.
- Gribbin, John. (1984) *In Search of Schrödinger's Cat: Quantum Physics and Reality*. Bantam Books.
- Guba, Egon G. Ed. (1990) "The Alternative Paradigm Dialog." *In Egon G. Guba, The Paradigm Dialog*. Sage Publications.
- Gundhus, Helene Oppen (2006) *For sikkerhets skyld. IKT yrkeskulturer og kunnskapsarbeid i politiet*. Det juridiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Halpern, David. (2005) *Social Capital*. Polity Press.
- Hatch, Mary Jo. (1997) *Organization Theory. Modern Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*. Oxford University Press.



- Hawley, Amos. (1966) "Human Ecology." In David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*: 328-37. New York: Macmillan.
- Hill, Terry. (2005) *Operations Management*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hjorth, Daniel. (2001) *Rewriting Entrepreneurship*. Växjö University Press.
- Hofstede, Geert (1991) *Cultures and Organizations*. Harper Collins Business.
- Holmberg, Lars. (1999) *Politiets skön i rettsociologisk belysning*. Det samfundsvidenskabelige Fakultets Reprocenter,
- Holmberg, Lars. (2000) "We have nothing to hide – the difference between doing research *among* and *for* the Danish police." *Anthropology in Action*. Vol. 7, No. 3: 30-34.
- Hood, Christopher. (1991) "A Public Management for all Seasons?" *Public Administration*. Vol. 69: 3-19.
- Hood, Christopher and Guy Peters. (2004) "The Middle Aging of New Public Management: Into the Age of Paradox?" *Journal of Public administration Research and Theory*. Vol. 14, No. 3: 267-282.
- Huy, Quy Nguyen & Henry Mintzberg (2003). "The Rhythm of Change." *MIT Sloan Management Review*. Vol. 44, no. 4: 79-84.
- Huy, Quy Nguyen. (2001) "Time, Temporal Capability, and Planned Change." *Academy of Management Review*. Vol. 26, No. 4: 601-623.
- Huy, Quy Ngyyen. (2001) "In Praise of Middle Managers." *Harvard Business Review*. September. Vol. 79, no. 8: 72-79.

- Høigård, Cecilie. (2005) *Nytt Politi? En kommentert bibliografi over nyere nordisk politiforskning*. Institutt for Krimonologi og Retssociologi. Universitetet I Oslo, K-serien nr. 2/2005.
- Jacobs, Gabriele et al. (2006) "The Fatal Smirk – Insider Accounts of Organizational Change Processes in a Police Organization." *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Vol. 19, No. 2: 173-191.
- Jacoby, Sanford M. (1990) "The New Institutionalism: What Can It Learn from the Old?" *Industrial Relations*. Vol 29, No. 2: 316-340.
- Jenkins, Richard. (2002) *Foundations of Sociology: Towards a Better Understanding of the Human World*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jensen, Søren H. (2003) *Arbejdsmiljø som organiserende koncept*. PhD. Serie 25.2003. Handelshøjskolen i København.
- Kim, W. Chan and Renée Mauborgne. (2005). *Blue Ocean Strategy*. Harvard Business School Publishing Corporation.
- Kirkeby, Ole Fogh. (1998) *Management Philosophy – A Radical-Normative Perspective*. Springer.
- Kjær, Peter. (2008). "Institutional History" in Peter Nedergaard and John L. Campbell, Eds. *Institutions and Politics*. DJØF Publishing Copenhagen.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. (1982) "Begriffsgeschichte and Social History." *Economy and Society*. Vol. 11, No. 4: 409-427.
- Kotter, John P. (1995) "Leading Change: Why Transformation Efforts Fail." *Harvard Business Review*. March-April. Vol. 73, no. 2: 59-67.
- Kotter, John P. (1996) *Leading Change*. Harvard Business School Press.

- Kotter, John P and Dan S. Cohen. (2002) *The Heart of Change*. Harvard Business School Press.
- Klausen, Kurt Klaudi (2006). *Institutionsledelse. Ledere, mellemedere og sjakbajser i det offentlige*. Børsen.
- Kleinig, John. (1996) *The Ethics of Policing*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kvale, Steinar. (1997). *Inter-View*. Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Krishnan, Ranjani A., Satish Joshi, and Hema Krishnan. (2004) "The Influence of Mergers on Firms' Product-Mix Strategies." *Strategic Management Journal*. Vol. 25: 587-611.
- Laclair, Jennifer A. & Ravi P. Rao. (2002) "Helping Employees Embrace Change." *The McKinsey Quarterly*. No. 4: 17-20.
- Lavoie, Dina and Samuel A. Culbert (1978) "Stages of Organization and Development." *Human Relations*. Vol. 31, No. 5: 417-438.
- Legge, Karen. (1995) "HRM: Rhetoric, Reality and Hidden agendas." In John Storey, ed. (1995). *Human Resources Management. A Critical Text*. Thompson Business Press.
- Lewin, Kurt. (1943) "Psychology and the process of group living." *Journal of Social Psychology*, SPSSI Bulletin. Vol. 17: 113-132.
- Lewin, Kurt. (1947) "Frontiers in group dynamics." In D. Cartwright (Ed.) (1952): *Field Theory in social science*. Social Science Paperbacks: London.
- Lieberson, Stanley and James F. O'Connor. (1972) "Leadership and organizational performance: a study of large corporations." *American Sociological Review*, 37: 117-130.
- Lipsky, Michael. (1980). *Street-Level Bureaucracy – Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. Russell Sage Foundation.

- Lynn , Laurence E., Jr., Carolyn J. Heinrich, and Carolyn J. Hill. (2001) *Improving Governance – A New Logic for Empirical Research*. Georgetown University Press.
- Mabey, Christopher & Bill Mayon-White, ed. (1993) *Managing Change*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. The Open University.
- Manning, Peter K. (2003) *Policing Contingencies*. University of Chicago Press.
- March, James G. and Herbert A. Simon (1958). *Organizations*. John Wiley.
- March, James G. (1978) “Bounded Rationality, Ambiguity, and the Engineering of Choice. “*The Bell Journal of Economics*. Vol. 9, No. 2: 587-608.
- Marcus, George E. (1995) “Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 24: 95-117.
- McCracken, Grant. (2005) *Culture and Consumption*. Indiana University Press.
- Meredith, Jack R. and Scott M. Schafer. (2007) *Operations Management for MBAs*. Wiley.
- Metcalfé, Beverly. (2004) “New Police Management, Performance and Accountability.” *In* Mike Dent, John Chandler, and Jim Barry, eds. *Questioning the New Public Management*. Ashgate.
- Meyer, John W. and Brian Rowan. (1991) “Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony.” *In* Powell, Walter W. & Paul J. DiMaggio, eds. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago University Press.
- The Ministry of the Interior and Health. (2005) *The Local Government Reform – in Brief*. The Ministry of the Interior and Health.

- The Ministry of Justice (2006). *Politi- og domstolsreformen*. Brief from the Ministry of Justice, (CKV40500).
- Mintzberg, Henry (1980). "Structure in 5's: A Synthesis of the Research on Organization Design." *Management Science*, Vol. 26, No. 3: 322-341.
- Mintzberg, Henry. (1993) *Structures in Fives*. Designing effective organizations. Prentice-Hall.
- Mintzberg, Henry, Bruce Ahlstrand & Joseph Lampel. (1998) *Strategy Safari – a guided tour through the wilds of strategic management*. Prentice hall.
- Morgan, Gareth. (1986) *Images of Organization*. Sage Publications.
- Nahapiet, Janine and Sumantra Ghoshal. (1998) "Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organizational Advantage." *Academy of Management Review*. Vol. 23, No. 2: 242-266.
- National Commissioner's Office and The Director of Public Prosecutions (October 2008). "Review. About a police in change – a police in close proximity to citizens" (In Danish: "Redegørelse. Om et politi i forandring – et borgernært politi"). <http://www.politi.dk/NR/rdonlyres/AF8B0B3D-C81E-45BA-A32C-A126C721CACA/0/Redegoerelsen.pdf>
- Nedergaard, Peter and John L. Campbell, Eds. (2008) *Institutions and Politics*. DJØF Publishing Copenhagen.
- Oliver, Christine. (1997) "Sustainable Competitive Advantage: Combining Institutional and Resourcebased Views." *Strategic Management Journal*. Vol. 18,9: 697-713.
- Ouchi, T., & Wilkins, A. (1985) "Organizational Culture." *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 11: 457-483.
- Palmer, Ian, Richard Dunford, and Gib Akin. (2006) *Managing Organizational Change – a Multiple Perspectives Approach*. McGraw-Hill/Irwin.

- Pedersen, Dorthe, Carsten Greve and Holger Højlund, eds. (2008) *Genopfindelsen af den offentlige sector – ledelsesudfordringer i reformernes tegn*. Børsen Offentlig.
- Peters, B. Guy. (2001) *Governing – The Future of Governing*. University Presse of Kansas.
- Petersen, Helle. (2000) *Forandringskommunikation*.
- Pettigrew, Andrew M. (2000) "Linking Change Processes to Outcomes." In Michael Beer & Nitin Nohria. *Breaking the Code of Change*. Harvard Business School Press.
- Pettigrew, Andrew M., Richard W. Woodman, and Kim S. Cameron. (2001) "Studying Organizational Change and Development: Challenges for Future Research." *Academy of Management Journal*. Vol. 44: 697-713.
- Pfeffer, Jeffrey and Gerald R. Salancik. (2003) *The External Control of Organizations. A Resource Dependence Perspective*. Stanford Business Books.
- Polanyi, Michael. (1966) *The Tacit Dimension*. Doubleday & Co.
- Police Commission. (2002) *Politi Kommissionens betænkning 1409/2002*.
- Police Union. (2006) *Reform-avis*. Politiforbundet.
- Pollitt, Christopher og Geert Bouckaert. (2004) *Public management Reform – A Comparative Analysis*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Oxford.
- Powell, Walter W. & Paul J. DiMaggio, eds. (1991) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago University Press.
- Richardson, John G., Ed. (1986) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press.

- Rose, Nikolas. (1999) *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Free Association Books.
- Røn, Jens. (2007) *Politi- og domstolsreformen*. Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag.
- Sahlins, Marshall. (2002) *Waiting for Foucault, Still*. Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Salancik, Gerald R. and Jeffrey Pfeffer. (1977) "Constraints on administrator discretion: the limited influence of mayors on city budgets." *Urban Affairs Review*. Vol. 12, No. 4: 475-498.
- Sanderson, I. (2001) "Performance Management, Evaluation and Learning in Modern Local Government." *Public Administration*. Vol. 79 (2): 297-314.
- Schneiberg, Marc and Elisabeth S. Clemens. (2006) "The Typical Tools for the Job: Research Strategies in Institutional Analysis." *Sociological Theory*. Vol. 24. No. 3: 195-227.
- Schein, Edgar. (1987) *Process Consultation, vol. II*. Addison-Wesley OD Series. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Schein, Edgar. (1992) *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey Bass Wiley.
- Schön, Donald (1991). *The Reflective Practitioner – How Professionals Think in Action*. Arena.
- Selznick, Philip. (1992) *The Moral Commonwealth*. University of California Press.
- Selznick, Philip. (1996) "Institutionalism 'Old' and 'New.'" *Administrative Science Quarterly*. Vol. 41: 270-277.
- Sennett, Richard. (1998) *The Corrosion of Character*. Norton.
- Sennett, Richard. (2006) *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. Yale University.

Sennett, Richard. (2008) *The Craftsman*. Allen Lane.

Shaw, Patricia. (1997) "Intervening in the Shadow Systems of Organizations – Consulting from a Complexity Perspective." *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Vol. 10, No. 2: 235-250.

Shaw, Patricia. (2002) *Changing Conversations in Organizations – a Complexity Approach to Change*. Routledge.

Simon, Herbert A. (1967) "The Business School: A Problem in Organizational Design." *Journal of management Studies*. Vol. 4: 1-16.

Skålen, Per. (2004) "New public management reform and the construction of organizational identities." *The International Journal of Public Sector Management*. Vol. 17, No. 3: 251-263.

Smith, Irene Skovgaard. (2008) *Management Consulting in Action – Value creation and ambiguity in client-consultant relations*. Copenhagen Business School.

Stacey, Ralph D. (1996) *Complexity and Creativity in Organizations*. Berett-Koehler Publishers.

Stacey, Ralph D. (2001) *Complex Responsive Processes in Organizations*. Routledge.

Stacey, Ralph. (2003a) "Organizations as Complex Responsive Processes of Relating." *Journal of Innovative Management*. Vol. 8, No. 2, Winter 2002/2003.

Stacey, Ralph. (2003b) *Strategic Management and Organisational Dynamics – The Challenge of Complexity*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Prentice Hall.

Stake, Robert E. (2000) "Case studies." In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, Eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications, pp. 435-454.



- Strati, Antonio. (1998) "(Mis)Understanding Cognition in Organization Studies." *Scandinavian Journal of Management*. Vol. 14, No. 4: 309-329.
- Stevnsborg, Henrik. (1992) *Politiet 1938-47*. GEC Gads Forlag.
- Storey, John, ed. (1995) *Human Resources Management. A Critical Text*. Thompson Business Press.
- Strickland, Lloyd H. (1958) "Surveillance and trust." *Journal of Personality*. Vol. 26: 200-215.
- Sutter, Daniel. (2001) "The Social Costs of Media Feeding Frenzies." *International Journal of Social Economics*. Vol. 28, No. 9: 742-751.
- Svendsen, Gunnar L.H. and Gert T. Svendsen. (2004) *The Creation and Destruction of Social Capital*. Edward Elgar.
- Svendsen, Gert Thinggaard. and Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen. (2006) *Social kapital – en introduktion*. Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Thompson, James D. (1967, 2008) *Organizations in Action*. McGraw-Hill.
- Thorngate, W. (1976). "'In general' vs. 'it depends': Some comments on the Gergen-Schlenker debate." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. Vol. 2: 404-410.
- Tuchman, Barbara Wertheim. (1965) "History By the Ounce." *Harper's Magazine*. July 1965: 65-75.
- Van Maanen, John. (1988) *Tales of the Field. On Writing Ethnography*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Van Maanen, John. (1995) *Representation in Ethnography*. Sage.

- Van Maanen, John, Ed. (1998) *Qualitative Studies of Organizations*. Administrative Science Quarterly and Sage Publications, Inc.
- Van Maanen, John. (2001) "Natives 'R' Us: Some Notes on the Ethnography of Organizations." *In* Gellner and Hirsch (Eds.) *Inside Organizations – Anthropologists at Work*. Berg.
- Visionsudvalget. (2005) "*Fremtidens politi*." Danish Ministry of Justice.
- Watkins, Jane Magruder and Bernard J. Mohr. (2001) *Appreciative Inquiry: Change at the Speed of Imagination*. Jossey-Bass/Pfeiffer.
- Weber, Max. (1978) *Economy and Society*. University of California Press.
- Weick, Karl E. (1979) *The Social Psychology of Organizing*. McGraw Hill.
- Weick, Karl E. (1989) "Theory Construction as Disciplined Imagination." *Academy of Management Review*. Vol. 14, No. 4: 516-531.
- Weick, Karl E. (1995) *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Sage Publications.
- Weick, Karl E. (2000) "Emergent change as a Universal in Organizations." *In* Beer & Nohria, *Breaking the Code of Change*. Harvard Business School Press.
- Whyte, William Foote. (1991) *Social Theory for Action – How Individuals and Organizations Learn to Change*. Sage Publishing.
- Winther, Ida Wentzel (2006). *Hjemlighed – kulturfænomenologiske studier*. Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitets Forlag.
- Zucker, Lynne G. (1991) "The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence." *In* Powell, Walter W. & Paul J. DiMaggio, eds. *The New Institutionalism in Organizations*. Chicago University Press.

## TITLER I PH.D.SERIEN:

– a Field Study of the Rise and Fall of a Bottom-Up Process

### 2004

1. Martin Grieger  
*Internet-based Electronic Marketplaces and Supply Chain Management*
2. Thomas Basbøll  
*LIKENESS  
A Philosophical Investigation*
3. Morten Knudsen  
*Beslutningens vaklen  
En systemteoretisk analyse af moderniseringen af et amtskommunalt sundhedsvæsen 1980-2000*
4. Lars Bo Jeppesen  
*Organizing Consumer Innovation  
A product development strategy that is based on online communities and allows some firms to benefit from a distributed process of innovation by consumers*
5. Barbara Dragsted  
*SEGMENTATION IN TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATION MEMORY SYSTEMS  
An empirical investigation of cognitive segmentation and effects of integrating a TM system into the translation process*
6. Jeanet Hardis  
*Sociale partnerskaber  
Et socialkonstruktivistisk casestudie af partnerskabsaktørers virkelighedsopfattelse mellem identitet og legitimitet*
7. Henriette Hallberg Thygesen  
*System Dynamics in Action*
8. Carsten Mejer Plath  
*Strategisk Økonomistyring*
9. Annemette Kjærgaard  
*Knowledge Management as Internal Corporate Venturing*
10. Knut Arne Hovdal  
*De professionelle i endring  
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur*
11. Søren Jeppesen  
*Environmental Practices and Greening Strategies in Small Manufacturing Enterprises in South Africa  
– A Critical Realist Approach*
12. Lars Frode Frederiksen  
*Industriel forskningsledelse  
– på sporet af mønstre og samarbejde i danske forskningsintensive virksomheder*
13. Martin Jes Iversen  
*The Governance of GN Great Nordic  
– in an age of strategic and structural transitions 1939-1988*
14. Lars Pynt Andersen  
*The Rhetorical Strategies of Danish TV Advertising  
A study of the first fifteen years with special emphasis on genre and irony*
15. Jakob Rasmussen  
*Business Perspectives on E-learning*
16. Sof Thrane  
*The Social and Economic Dynamics of Networks  
– a Weberian Analysis of Three Formalised Horizontal Networks*
17. Lene Nielsen  
*Engaging Personas and Narrative Scenarios – a study on how a user-centered approach influenced the perception of the design process in the e-business group at AstraZeneca*
18. S.J Valstad  
*Organisationsidentitet  
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur*

19. Thomas Lyse Hansen  
*Six Essays on Pricing and Weather risk in Energy Markets*
  20. Sabine Madsen  
*Emerging Methods – An Interpretive Study of ISD Methods in Practice*
  21. Evis Sinani  
*The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Efficiency, Productivity Growth and Trade: An Empirical Investigation*
  22. Bent Meier Sørensen  
*Making Events Work Or, How to Multiply Your Crisis*
  23. Pernille Schnoor  
*Brand Ethos  
Om troværdige brand- og virksomhedsidentiteter i et retorisk og diskursteoretisk perspektiv*
  24. Sidsel Fabech  
*Von welchem Österreich ist hier die Rede?  
Diskursive forhandlinger og magtkampe mellem rivaliserende nationale identitetskonstruktioner i østrigske pressediskurser*
  25. Klavs Odgaard Christensen  
*Sprogpolitik og identitetsdannelse i flersprogede forbundsstater  
Et komparativt studie af Schweiz og Canada*
  26. Dana B. Minbaeva  
*Human Resource Practices and Knowledge Transfer in Multinational Corporations*
  27. Holger Højlund  
*Markedets politiske fornuft  
Et studie af velfærdens organisering i perioden 1990-2003*
  28. Christine Mølgaard Frandsen  
*A.s erfaring  
Om mellemværendets praktik i en transformation af mennesket og subjektiviteten*
  29. Sine Nørholm Just  
*The Constitution of Meaning – A Meaningful Constitution? Legitimacy, identity, and public opinion in the debate on the future of Europe*
- 2005**
1. Claus J. Varnes  
*Managing product innovation through rules – The role of formal and structured methods in product development*
  2. Helle Hedegaard Hein  
*Mellem konflikt og konsensus – Dialogudvikling på hospitalsklinikker*
  3. Axel Rosenø  
*Customer Value Driven Product Innovation – A Study of Market Learning in New Product Development*
  4. Søren Buhl Pedersen  
*Making space  
An outline of place branding*
  5. Camilla Funck Ellehave  
*Differences that Matter  
An analysis of practices of gender and organizing in contemporary work-places*
  6. Rigmor Madeleine Lond  
*Styring af kommunale forvaltninger*
  7. Mette Aagaard Andreassen  
*Supply Chain versus Supply Chain Benchmarking as a Means to Managing Supply Chains*
  8. Caroline Aggestam-Pontoppidan  
*From an idea to a standard  
The UN and the global governance of accountants' competence*
  9. Norsk ph.d.
  10. Vivienne Heng Ker-ni  
*An Experimental Field Study on the*

- Effectiveness of Grocer Media Advertising*  
*Measuring Ad Recall and Recognition, Purchase Intentions and Short-Term Sales*
11. Allan Mortensen  
*Essays on the Pricing of Corporate Bonds and Credit Derivatives*
12. Remo Stefano Chiari  
*Figure che fanno conoscere*  
*Itinerario sull'idea del valore cognitivo e espressivo della metafora e di altri tropi da Aristotele e da Vico fino al cognitivismo contemporaneo*
13. Anders Mcllquham-Schmidt  
*Strategic Planning and Corporate Performance*  
*An integrative research review and a meta-analysis of the strategic planning and corporate performance literature from 1956 to 2003*
14. Jens Geersbro  
*The TDF – PMI Case*  
*Making Sense of the Dynamics of Business Relationships and Networks*
15. Mette Andersen  
*Corporate Social Responsibility in Global Supply Chains*  
*Understanding the uniqueness of firm behaviour*
16. Eva Boxenbaum  
*Institutional Genesis: Micro – Dynamic Foundations of Institutional Change*
17. Peter Lund-Thomsen  
*Capacity Development, Environmental Justice NGOs, and Governance: The Case of South Africa*
18. Signe Jarlov  
*Konstruktioner af offentlig ledelse*
19. Lars Stæhr Jensen  
*Vocabulary Knowledge and Listening Comprehension in English as a Foreign Language*
- An empirical study employing data elicited from Danish EFL learners*
20. Christian Nielsen  
*Essays on Business Reporting*  
*Production and consumption of strategic information in the market for information*
21. Marianne Thejls Fischer  
*Egos and Ethics of Management Consultants*
22. Annie Bekke Kjær  
*Performance management i Proces-innovation*  
*– belyst i et social-konstruktivistisk perspektiv*
23. Suzanne Dee Pedersen  
*GENTAGELSENS METAMORFOSE*  
*Om organisering af den kreative gøren i den kunstneriske arbejdspraksis*
24. Benedikte Dorte Rosenbrink  
*Revenue Management*  
*Økonomiske, konkurrencemæssige & organisatoriske konsekvenser*
25. Thomas Riise Johansen  
*Written Accounts and Verbal Accounts*  
*The Danish Case of Accounting and Accountability to Employees*
26. Ann Fogelgren-Pedersen  
*The Mobile Internet: Pioneering Users' Adoption Decisions*
27. Birgitte Rasmussen  
*Ledelse i fællesskab – de tillidsvalgte fornyende rolle*
28. Gitte Thit Nielsen  
*Remerger*  
*– skabende ledelseskrafter i fusion og opkob*
29. Carmine Gioia  
*A MICROECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS*

30. Ole Hinz  
*Den effektive forandringsleder: pilot, pædagog eller politiker?*  
*Et studie i arbejdslederes meningstilskrivninger i forbindelse med vellykket gennemførelse af ledelsesinitierede forandringsprojekter*
  31. Kjell-Åge Gotvassli  
*Et praksisbasert perspektiv på dynamiske læringsnettverk i toppidretten*  
Norsk ph.d., ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur
  32. Henriette Langstrup Nielsen  
*Linking Healthcare*  
*An inquiry into the changing performances of web-based technology for asthma monitoring*
  33. Karin Tweddell Levinsen  
*Virtuel Uddannelsespraksis*  
*Master i IKT og Læring – et casestudie i hvordan proaktiv proceshåndtering kan forbedre praksis i virtuelle læringsmiljøer*
  34. Anika Liversage  
*Finding a Path*  
*Labour Market Life Stories of Immigrant Professionals*
  35. Kasper Elmquist Jørgensen  
*Studier i samspillet mellem stat og erhvervsliv i Danmark under 1. verdenskrig*
  36. Finn Janning  
*A DIFFERENT STORY*  
*Seduction, Conquest and Discovery*
  37. Patricia Ann Plackett  
*Strategic Management of the Radical Innovation Process*  
*Leveraging Social Capital for Market Uncertainty Management*
  2. Niels Rom-Poulsen  
*Essays in Computational Finance*
  3. Tina Brandt Husman  
*Organisational Capabilities, Competitive Advantage & Project-Based Organisations*  
*The Case of Advertising and Creative Good Production*
  4. Mette Rosenkrands Johansen  
*Practice at the top*  
*– how top managers mobilise and use non-financial performance measures*
  5. Eva Parum  
Corporate governance som strategisk kommunikations- og ledelsesværktøj
  6. Susan Aagaard Petersen  
*Culture's Influence on Performance Management: The Case of a Danish Company in China*
  7. Thomas Nicolai Pedersen  
*The Discursive Constitution of Organizational Governance – Between unity and differentiation*  
*The Case of the governance of environmental risks by World Bank environmental staff*
  8. Cynthia Selin  
*Volatile Visions: Transactons in Anticipatory Knowledge*
  9. Jesper Banghøj  
*Financial Accounting Information and Compensation in Danish Companies*
  10. Mikkel Lucas Overby  
*Strategic Alliances in Emerging High-Tech Markets: What's the Difference and does it Matter?*
  11. Tine Agee  
*External Information Acquisition of Industrial Districts and the Impact of Different Knowledge Creation Dimensions*
- 2006**
1. Christian Vintergaard  
*Early Phases of Corporate Venturing*

- A case study of the Fashion and Design Branch of the Industrial District of Montebelluna, NE Italy*
12. Mikkel Flyverbom  
*Making the Global Information Society Governable*  
*On the Governmentality of Multi-Stakeholder Networks*
  13. Anette Grønning  
*Personen bag*  
*Tilstedevær i e-mail som interaktionsform mellem kunde og medarbejder i dansk forsikringskontekst*
  14. Jørn Helder  
*One Company – One Language?*  
*The NN-case*
  15. Lars Bjerregaard Mikkelsen  
*Differing perceptions of customer value*  
*Development and application of a tool for mapping perceptions of customer value at both ends of customer-supplier dyads in industrial markets*
  16. Lise Granerud  
*Exploring Learning*  
*Technological learning within small manufacturers in South Africa*
  17. Esben Rahbek Pedersen  
*Between Hopes and Realities: Reflections on the Promises and Practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)*
  18. Ramona Samson  
*The Cultural Integration Model and European Transformation.*  
*The Case of Romania*
- 2007**
1. Jakob Vestergaard  
*Discipline in The Global Economy*  
*Panopticism and the Post-Washington Consensus*
  2. Heidi Lund Hansen  
*Spaces for learning and working*  
*A qualitative study of change of work, management, vehicles of power and social practices in open offices*
  3. Sudhanshu Rai  
*Exploring the internal dynamics of software development teams during user analysis*  
*A tension enabled Institutionalization Model; "Where process becomes the objective"*
  4. Norsk ph.d.  
Ej til salg gennem Samfundslitteratur
  5. Serden Ozcan  
*EXPLORING HETEROGENEITY IN ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIONS AND OUTCOMES*  
*A Behavioural Perspective*
  6. Kim Sundtoft Hald  
*Inter-organizational Performance Measurement and Management in Action*  
*– An Ethnography on the Construction of Management, Identity and Relationships*
  7. Tobias Lindeberg  
*Evaluative Technologies*  
*Quality and the Multiplicity of Performance*
  8. Merete Wedell-Wedellsborg  
*Den globale soldat*  
*Identitetsdannelse og identitetsledelse i multinationale militære organisationer*
  9. Lars Frederiksen  
*Open Innovation Business Models*  
*Innovation in firm-hosted online user communities and inter-firm project ventures in the music industry*  
*– A collection of essays*
  10. Jonas Gabrielsen  
*Retorisk toposlære – fra statisk 'sted' til persuasiv aktivitet*

11. Christian Moldt-Jørgensen  
*Fra meningsløs til meningsfuld evaluering.*  
*Anvendelsen af studentertilfredsheds-målinger på de korte og mellemlange videregående uddannelser set fra et psykodynamisk systemperspektiv*
12. Ping Gao  
*Extending the application of actor-network theory*  
*Cases of innovation in the telecommunications industry*
13. Peter Mejlby  
*Frihed og fængsel, en del af den samme drøm?*  
*Et phronetisk baseret casestudie af frigørelsens og kontrollens sam-eksistens i værdibaseret ledelse!*
14. Kristina Birch  
*Statistical Modelling in Marketing*
15. Signe Poulsen  
*Sense and sensibility:*  
*The language of emotional appeals in insurance marketing*
16. Anders Bjerre Trolle  
*Essays on derivatives pricing and dynamic asset allocation*
17. Peter Feldhütter  
*Empirical Studies of Bond and Credit Markets*
18. Jens Henrik Eggert Christensen  
*Default and Recovery Risk Modeling and Estimation*
19. Maria Theresa Larsen  
*Academic Enterprise: A New Mission for Universities or a Contradiction in Terms?*  
*Four papers on the long-term implications of increasing industry involvement and commercialization in academia*
20. Morten Wellendorf  
*Postimplementering af teknologi i den offentlige forvaltning*  
*Analyser af en organisations kontinuerlige arbejde med informations-teknologi*
21. Ekaterina Mhaanna  
*Concept Relations for Terminological Process Analysis*
22. Stefan Ring Thorbjørnsen  
*Forsvaret i forandring*  
*Et studie i officerers kapabiliteter under påvirkning af omverdenens forandringspres mod øget styring og læring*
23. Christa Breum Amhøj  
*Det selvskabte medlemskab om managementstaten, dens styringsteknologier og indbyggere*
24. Karoline Bromose  
*Between Technological Turbulence and Operational Stability*  
*– An empirical case study of corporate venturing in TDC*
25. Susanne Justesen  
*Navigating the Paradoxes of Diversity in Innovation Practice*  
*– A Longitudinal study of six very different innovation processes – in practice*
26. Luise Noring Henler  
*Conceptualising successful supply chain partnerships*  
*– Viewing supply chain partnerships from an organisational culture perspective*
27. Mark Mau  
*Kampen om telefonen*  
*Det danske telefonvæsen under den tyske besættelse 1940-45*
28. Jakob Halskov  
*The semiautomatic expansion of existing terminological ontologies using knowledge patterns discovered*



*on the WWW – an implementation and evaluation*

29. Gergana Koleva  
*European Policy Instruments Beyond Networks and Structure: The Innovative Medicines Initiative*

30. Christian Geisler Asmussen  
*Global Strategy and International Diversity: A Double-Edged Sword?*

31. Christina Holm-Petersen  
*Stolthed og fordom  
Kultur- og identitetsarbejde ved skabelsen af en ny sengeafdeling gennem fusion*

32. Hans Peter Olsen  
*Hybrid Governance of Standardized States  
Causes and Contours of the Global Regulation of Government Auditing*

33. Lars Bøge Sørensen  
*Risk Management in the Supply Chain*

34. Peter Aagaard  
*Det unikkes dynamikker  
De institutionelle mulighedsbetingelser bag den individuelle udforskning i professionelt og frivilligt arbejde*

35. Yun Mi Antorini  
*Brand Community Innovation  
An Intrinsic Case Study of the Adult Fans of LEGO Community*

36. Joachim Lynggaard Boll  
*Labor Related Corporate Social Performance in Denmark  
Organizational and Institutional Perspectives*

## 2008

1. Frederik Christian Vinten  
*Essays on Private Equity*
2. Jesper Clement  
*Visual Influence of Packaging Design on In-Store Buying Decisions*

3. Marius Brostrøm Kousgaard  
*Tid til kvalitetsmåling?  
– Studier af indrulleringsprocesser i forbindelse med introduktionen af kliniske kvalitetsdatabaser i speciallægepraksissektoren*

4. Irene Skovgaard Smith  
*Management Consulting in Action  
Value creation and ambiguity in client-consultant relations*

5. Anders Rom  
*Management accounting and integrated information systems  
How to exploit the potential for management accounting of information technology*

6. Marina Candi  
*Aesthetic Design as an Element of Service Innovation in New Technology-based Firms*

7. Morten Schnack  
*Teknologi og tværfaglighed  
– en analyse af diskussionen omkring indførelse af EPJ på en hospitalsafdeling*

8. Helene Balslev Clausen  
*Juntos pero no revueltos – un estudio sobre emigrantes norteamericanos en un pueblo mexicano*

9. Lise Justesen  
*Kunsten at skrive revisionsrapporter.  
En beretning om forvaltningsrevisionens beretninger*

10. Michael E. Hansen  
*The politics of corporate responsibility: CSR and the governance of child labor and core labor rights in the 1990s*

11. Anne Roepstorff  
*Holdning for handling – en etnologisk undersøgelse af Virksomheders Sociale Ansvar/CSR*

12. Claus Bajlum  
*Essays on Credit Risk and Credit Derivatives*
  13. Anders Bojesen  
*The Performative Power of Competence – an Inquiry into Subjectivity and Social Technologies at Work*
  14. Satu Reijonen  
*Green and Fragile  
A Study on Markets and the Natural Environment*
  15. Ilduara Busta  
*Corporate Governance in Banking  
A European Study*
  16. Kristian Anders Hvass  
*A Boolean Analysis Predicting Industry Change: Innovation, Imitation & Business Models  
The Winning Hybrid: A case study of isomorphism in the airline industry*
  17. Trine Paludan  
*De uvidende og de udviklingsparate  
Identitet som mulighed og restriktion  
blandt fabriksarbejdere på det aftayloriserede fabriksgulv*
  18. Kristian Jakobsen  
*Foreign market entry in transition economies: Entry timing and mode choice*
  19. Jakob Elming  
*Syntactic reordering in statistical machine translation*
  20. Lars Brømsøe Termansen  
*Regional Computable General Equilibrium Models for Denmark  
Three papers laying the foundation for regional CGE models with agglomeration characteristics*
  21. Mia Reinholt  
*The Motivational Foundations of Knowledge Sharing*
  22. Frederikke Krogh-Meibom  
*The Co-Evolution of Institutions and Technology  
– A Neo-Institutional Understanding of Change Processes within the Business Press – the Case Study of Financial Times*
  23. Peter D. Ørberg Jensen  
*OFFSHORING OF ADVANCED AND HIGH-VALUE TECHNICAL SERVICES: ANTECEDENTS, PROCESS DYNAMICS AND FIRMLEVEL IMPACTS*
  24. Pham Thi Song Hanh  
*Functional Upgrading, Relational Capability and Export Performance of Vietnamese Wood Furniture Producers*
  25. Mads Vangkilde  
*Why wait?  
An Exploration of first-mover advantages among Danish e-grocers through a resource perspective*
  26. Hubert Buch-Hansen  
*Rethinking the History of European Level Merger Control  
A Critical Political Economy Perspective*
- 2009**
1. Vivian Lindhardtsen  
*From Independent Ratings to Communal Ratings: A Study of CWA Raters' Decision-Making Behaviours*
  2. Guðrið Weihe  
*Public-Private Partnerships: Meaning and Practice*
  3. Chris Nøkkentved  
*Enabling Supply Networks with Collaborative Information Infrastructures  
An Empirical Investigation of Business Model Innovation in Supplier Relationship Management*
  4. Sara Louise Muhr  
*Wound, Interrupted – On the Vulnerability of Diversity Management*

5. Christine Sestoft  
*Forbrugeradfærd i et Stats- og Livsformsteoretisk perspektiv*
6. Michael Pedersen  
*Tune in, Breakdown, and Reboot: On the production of the stress-fit self-managing employee*
7. Salla Lutz  
*Position and Reposition in Networks – Exemplified by the Transformation of the Danish Pine Furniture Manufacturers*
8. Jens Forssbæk  
*Essays on market discipline in commercial and central banking*
9. Tine Murphy  
*Sense from Silence – A Basis for Organised Action*  
*How do Sensemaking Processes with Minimal Sharing Relate to the Reproduction of Organised Action?*
10. Sara Malou Strandvad  
*Inspirations for a new sociology of art: A sociomaterial study of development processes in the Danish film industry*
11. Nicolaas Mouton  
*On the evolution of social scientific metaphors: A cognitive-historical enquiry into the divergent trajectories of the idea that collective entities – states and societies, cities and corporations – are biological organisms.*
12. Lars Andreas Knutsen  
*Mobile Data Services: Shaping of user engagements*
13. Nikolaos Theodoros Korfiatis  
*Information Exchange and Behavior*  
*A Multi-method Inquiry on Online Communities*
14. Jens Albæk  
*Forestillinger om kvalitet og tværfaglighed på sygehuse*  
*– skabelse af forestillinger i læge- og plejegrupperne angående relevans af nye idéer om kvalitetsudvikling gennem tolkningsprocesser*
15. Maja Lotz  
*The Business of Co-Creation – and the Co-Creation of Business*
16. Gitte P. Jakobsen  
*Narrative Construction of Leader Identity in a Leader Development Program Context*
17. Dorte Hermansen  
*“Living the brand” som en brandorienteret dialogisk praxis: Om udvikling af medarbejdernes brandorienterede dømmekraft*
18. Aseem Kinra  
*Supply Chain (logistics) Environmental Complexity*
19. Michael Nørager  
*How to manage SMEs through the transformation from non innovative to innovative?*
20. Kristin Wallevik  
*Corporate Governance in Family Firms*  
*The Norwegian Maritime Sector*
21. Bo Hansen Hansen  
*Beyond the Process*  
*Enriching Software Process Improvement with Knowledge Management*
22. Annemette Skot-Hansen  
*Franske adjektivisk afledte adverbier, der tager præpositionssyntagmer indledt med præpositionen à som argumenter*  
*En valensgrammatisk undersøgelse*
23. Line Gry Knudsen  
*Collaborative R&D Capabilities*  
*In Search of Micro-Foundations*

24. Christian Scheuer  
*Employers meet employees  
Essays on sorting and globalization*
  25. Rasmus Johnsen  
*The Great Health of Melancholy  
A Study of the Pathologies of Perfor-  
mativity*
  26. Ha Thi Van Pham  
*Internationalization, Competitiveness  
Enhancement and Export Performance  
of Emerging Market Firms:  
Evidence from Vietnam*
  27. Henriette Balieu  
*Kontrolbegrebets betydning for kausa-  
tivalternationen i spansk  
En kognitiv-typologisk analyse*
- 2010**
1. Yen Tran  
*Organizing Innovation in Turbulent  
Fashion Market  
Four papers on how fashion firms crea-  
te and appropriate innovation value*
  2. Anders Raastrup Kristensen  
*Metaphysical Labour  
Flexibility, Performance and Commit-  
ment in Work-Life Management*
  3. Margrét Sigrún Sigurdardóttir  
*Dependently independent  
Co-existence of institutional logics in  
the recorded music industry*
  4. Ásta Dis Óladóttir  
*Internationalization from a small do-  
mestic base:  
An empirical analysis of Economics and  
Management*
  5. Christine Secher  
*E-deltagelse i praksis – politikernes og  
forvaltningens medkonstruktion og  
konsekvenserne heraf*
  6. Marianne Stang Våland  
*What we talk about when we talk  
about space:*
- End User Participation between Proces-  
ses of Organizational and Architectural  
Design*
7. Rex Degnegaard  
*Strategic Change Management  
Change Management Challenges in  
the Danish Police Reform*
- TITLER I ATV PH.D.-SERIEN**
- 1992**
1. Niels Kornum  
*Servicesamkørsel – organisation, øko-  
nomi og planlægningsmetoder*
- 1995**
2. Verner Worm  
*Nordiske virksomheder i Kina  
Kulturspecifikke interaktionsrelationer  
ved nordiske virksomhedsetableringer i  
Kina*
- 1999**
3. Mogens Bjerre  
*Key Account Management of Complex  
Strategic Relationships  
An Empirical Study of the Fast Moving  
Consumer Goods Industry*
- 2000**
4. Lotte Darsø  
*Innovation in the Making  
Interaction Research with heteroge-  
neous Groups of Knowledge Workers  
creating new Knowledge and new  
Leads*
- 2001**
5. Peter Hobolt Jensen  
*Managing Strategic Design Identities  
The case of the Lego Developer Net-  
work*
- 2002**
6. Peter Lohmann  
*The Deleuzian Other of Organizational  
Change – Moving Perspectives of the  
Human*
  7. Anne Marie Jess Hansen  
*To lead from a distance: The dynamic  
interplay between strategy and strate-  
gizing – A case study of the strategic  
management process*

## **2003**

8. Lotte Henriksen  
*Videndeling*  
*– om organisatoriske og ledelsesmæssige udfordringer ved videndeling i praksis*
9. Niels Christian Nickelsen  
*Arrangements of Knowing: Coordinating Procedures Tools and Bodies in Industrial Production – a case study of the collective making of new products*

## **2005**

10. Carsten Ørts Hansen  
*Konstruktion af ledelsesteknologier og effektivitet*

## **TITLER I DBA PH.D.-SERIEN**

## **2007**

1. Peter Kastrup-Misir  
*Endeavoring to Understand Market Orientation – and the concomitant co-mutation of the researched, the researcher, the research itself and the truth*

## **2009**

1. Torkild Leo Thellefsen  
*Fundamental Signs and Significance-effects*  
*A Semeiotic outline of Fundamental Signs, Significance-effects, Knowledge Profiling and their use in Knowledge Organization and Branding*
2. Daniel Ronzani  
*When Bits Learn to Walk Don't Make Them Trip*  
*Technological Innovation and the Role of Regulation by Law in Information Systems Research: the Case of Radio Frequency Identification (RFID)*