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Civil investigators on the rise

A case study of recruitment processes and their consequences in the Swedish Police Authority

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Abstract

This paper aims to deepen the understanding of how recruitment processes can appear and how these processes may affect the labour pool within a chosen setting - the Swedish Police. The study will firstly focus on a descriptive narration of the recruitment processes of civil investigators by following their entrance into the Police, and secondly to explore what consequences such recruitment processes could have for the current police labour. The foundation for the study is of a qualitative character, investigating the recruitment process from four different angles: an HR perspective, a recruiting manager perspective, a recruited employee perspective and a perspective from the police union. Data has been collected by conducting 18 interviews in total and additional written material has been collected in the form of relevant documents, contributing to secure a justifiable mirroring of the occurring recruitment processes. By using a theoretical framework consisting of boundary work, results are explicating how these processes are being structured and the consequences affecting the police profession. The theoretical tools that boundary work provide, help to detect recruitment boundaries and making them visible and exposed. The study identifies a recruitment process that is in many ways destructive to the police profession but also showing a process that highlights internal irregularities, exposing consequences and stressing the future enforcement of the current recruitment system. This paper provides new insights on how recruitment process can be performed in a manner that deviates from most of the fashionable recruitment methods of today. The paper may inspire to a broader discussion concerning how recruitment process can be interpreted and the detection of consequences that deviate from the initial plan.

Key Words

Recruitment, Civil investigators, Boundary Work, Professions, The Swedish Police

Introduction

Despite today's challenges and difficulties in attracting and competing for competent personnel (Orlitzky, 2007; Dögl and Holtbrügge, 2014), the Swedish Police Authority remain highly uncompetitive in their HR strategies and applications for the Police Academies are dropping to levels where admission places must remain unfulfilled, due to decreasing numbers of qualified applicants. Last spring, only 257 out of 300 admission places managed to be filled by the Swedish Defence Recruitment Agency (SVT, 2016a). Simultaneously, policemen are leaving their positions for employments outside the Police Authority, at a pace that is unfamiliar to the organisation (SVT,

2016b). This study, however, will focus on another phenomenon that is correlated to the decreasing police pool, namely the recruitment of civil investigators. As a result of the shortages in police professionals, civil investigators are now employed in large quantities, with the aim of working alongside police investigators. Merely in 2016, 952 civil workers were employed in total (Polisen, 2017) and another 700 civil are estimated to be employed by the Police in 2017 (DN, 2016). This is to be held in relation to the total number of employees that are approximately 28 500 (statistics from 2016), where almost 20 000 count for policemen and the other 8500 are civil workers. Civil workers are mostly performing administrative work and other important support functions, only a relatively small but constantly increasing percentage represent civil investigators. Historically, the investigational work belonged to and could only be performed by policemen but due to current circumstances, recruitment conditions are now changing.

A lot of research has been produced on the topic of recruitment over the last decades, both on the management and the organisational field but also to a large extent in psychological studies. However, there is still a great deal of uncertainty concerning why recruitment activities have the effects they do (Breaugh and Starke, 2000). Previous research can roughly be categorised as either focusing on how recruitment is made use of in organisations or how recruitment is structured as a process. In the past, a common goal for recruitment was to attract a large number of applicants (Wanous, 1992). However, the focus has evolved over time towards finding the most suitable candidates (Walter, 2005). Recruitment has in many ways turned into a subject for fashion. An example of this is talent management, which is a concept that has developed in response to competition for skilled employees, building on to the notion of finding the most accurate and promising individual for the job (Galagan, 2008). The concept of employer brand management is another response to the competitive labour market, where the employer takes responsibility for making the organisation a visible and attractive potential workplace for potential employees (Edlinger, 2015). Similarly, recruitment activities have also adapted to the changing environment and the rapid digitalisation to include phenomenons such as E-recruitment, where technology play a crucial part in the interaction between applicant and employer (Thompson, Braddy and Wuensch, 2008). Additionally, methods of recruitment have also developed to suit organisations' need for staff over time in the form of contingent and temporary staff to adjust the workforce to changes in demand without risking lay-offs (Bergström, 2001). Much of the previous research thus puts focus on the intended and desired outcomes of recruitment processes rather than the actual outcome. In addition, organisational goals and outcomes are often concerned to be of bigger importance than the effects that recruitment processes have, coupled to the workforce itself. This can thus be identified as a shortcoming in already existing studies, as recruitments tend to be viewed as strategic tools (Yu and Cable, 2012) with explicit goals rather than processes with multiple consequences. Hence, some of the existing literature tend to neglect the fact that recruitment processes are far from linear, despite the often standardised methods that are being used (Bergström, 1998).

Generally, a bigger focus is aimed towards examining recruitment as a part of a human resource management cycle and less attention is aimed at recruitment as a separate tool. A concern in the literature about recruitment is thus the distinction from other human resource activities, for

example the division between selection and recruitment where selection can be delimited to the choosing among candidates (Boxall and Purcell, 2011). Another distinction is that between attraction and recruitment, as many author treat them part of a symbiosis. It is thus common to view recruitment in relation to other HR-activities and only few studies are focusing on recruitment in isolation. For this reason, it is interesting to investigate how recruitment processes and complexities are handled in practice.

Further, research on recruitment as a process suggests different structures. For example, Breaugh and Starke (2000) are looking closer into recruitment processes suggesting that it can be divided into five steps that are mainly aimed at identifying and attracting potential employees: (1) recruitment objectives (e.g. number of applicants, diversity and quality of applicants), (2) Strategy development (e.g. whom, where and when to recruit and what message to communicate), (3) Recruitment activities (e.g. recruiters, recruitment completeness), (4) Intervening/Process variables (e.g. accuracy of applicant's expectation, applicant interest) and (5) Recruitment results (e.g. compare outcomes to objectives). Another take on the topic is suggested by Walter (2005), who describes the recruitment as a process of matching of work and labour that can be divided into two different methods, composing different approaches to what is being matched and how the matching should occur: the selection-oriented perspective and the social-interactive perspective. The first perspective favours well defined and objective measurements, psychometric tests and formalised recruitment work. Finding the most suitable candidate for the job, is the main goal for this specific method. Highlighted by Bergström (1998) is the fact that this standardised method is in place to achieve cost effectiveness and a uniform treatment of applicants. The psychometric tests are crucial here as a measurement of traits and behaviour (Mabon, 2002) but it can also be an evaluation tool for human knowledge and skill (Arvey and Campion, 1982; Ostell, 1996). Further, it contains a hierarchical order where the candidate's interests subordinates to the employer's (Hollway, 1984). In contrast, the second perspective emphasises interaction, exchange and reciprocity as the main pillars of recruitment. Here, recruitment is considered as a social process where the applicant is expected to have influence over the recruiting decision (Herriot, 1989). Further, the social-interactive approach is considered to be a response to the selection oriented approach and can also be considered to be a critique against it (Walter, 2005).

A recruitment process that is argued to be favored by social, informal and interactive strategies is that regarding recruitment of professionals (Scholarios and Lockyer, 1999), where personality and work experience are emphasised and highly valued. Herriot (1989) further argues that professionals are being powerful in their connections with potential employers when the labour market is constrained and organisations are struggling to attract suitable candidates. This perspective reflects a view of professionals as desired candidates in recruitment processes. To examine a recruitment process where a professional organisation opens up to neighboring occupations (Halpern, 1992) is thus interesting as it adds a dimension to the recruitment process that can possibly build up tensions on many levels.

Following this discussion, it can be seen that there are substantial amount of research on the topic. A large amount of studies concerns the organisational needs and goals in relation to the recruitment process (Yu and Cable, 2012), while lesser studies tend to focus on the groups and

individuals that make up the organisations. This study will focus on a recruitment process that it is an entry point to a professional sphere (Halpern, 1992) that opens up towards containing two types of labour groups: police investigators and civil investigators. The study will aim to contribute to the recruitment field, by portraying how a recruitment process can be done in a way that deviates from most of the prevailing and competitive recruitment strategies that can be found in organisations today (Yu and Cable, 2012). It will explain the recruitment process but it will also look the consequences coupled to it. The study will thus intend to answer the following questions:

How are civil investigators recruited into the police?

What are the consequences for the police labour in relation to this recruitment process?

The focus will be delimited to examine recruitment processes in one geographical region of the police organisation and the results can thus not be interpreted as a representative for the entire police organisation, local variances may therefore appear. To attempt to answer these questions, boundary work has been chosen to provide an applicable theoretical perspective. Further, Boundary work theory will hereunder be presented more in detail.

Boundary work
The theoretical framework in this study presents different tools for explaining why organizations tend to structure their work and routines in a certain way. Recruitment processes can be seen as a set of activities that shape an occupation or a profession and depending on how the recruiting is structured, consequences of different characters will follow. The study is using boundary work as a mean to understand organisational boundaries and demarcations and what they do. Boundary work, as a concept, was first developed to explain the division between science and non-science and how such demarcations are continuously attained in practice (Gieryn, 1983). The definition of boundaries has extended since then and may contain several descriptions, but a common perception is explained as a demarcation, or a sphere of activities, that defines the constraints of a space, which can contain knowledge and tasks but also hierarchical, physical, geographical, cultural, temporal/spatial, divisional, occupational and disciplinary boundaries (Abbott, 1988; Carlile, 2002; Orlikowski, 2002). Additionally, boundaries can also be understood as social objects, shaped by spatial locations, personal identification, patterns of interactions and legally defined distributions of rights and obligations (Barley and Kunda, 2001).

A substantial amount of literature on boundary work focus on the establishing of boundaries to protect and defend autonomy, prestige and control of resources and the sociology of professions (Abbott, 1988). HR strategies are often designed to support, maintain and defend professional groups. An example of a professional society that has been powerfully protected are the doctors. Doctors have high educational thresholds and spend several years on developing special skills (Abbott, 1988). Only individuals who qualify and fulfill medical education and training can be part of the doctor's profession. The control and dominance of abstract knowledge means defending against outsiders who attack that control. Abbott (1988) highly emphasises the importance of competition as the main accomplisher for explaining how occupations control their knowledge and

its use and also why the come forth the way they do. Interprofessional competition can also explain why occupational control can succeed and why it sometimes fail to maintain a profession. The professionals' prestige is directly coupled to the ability to convince others of the importance of their professional expertise and their perceived symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984). Abbott (1988) claim that professions build interdependent systems were each profession have their own jurisdictions, connected specific activities. At times, a professional group can lose control of their jurisdiction and will thus subordinates to another group. The boundaries of jurisdictions are in constant conflict, both in local practice and in national claim and it is the history of jurisdictional conflicts that determines the profession. Professions evolve when jurisdictions become vacant, due to a former tenant's inability to control them (Abbott, 1988). Additionally, Abbott (1988) mean that the division of labour must be negotiated, with the common result that boundaries of actual professional jurisdiction change to accommodate organisational imperatives.

There is 'an emerging focus in the sociology of professions concerns interrelations between legitimate professions and their sometimes competing, often subordinate, neighboring occupations' (Halpern, 1992, p. 994). Contenders for professions are to be found in many professional spheres and thus hierarchical conflicts may arise. For example, American accountants established superiority over bookkeepers in the early 20th century (ibid). Halpern (1992) conclude that there are mainly three approaches to explain outcomes in competitions for occupational control, where the first approach can be traced back to professionalisation theorists who mean that unfavourable group belongings or deficient knowledge level can undermine the status of a profession. The second standing connects occupational control to the achievement of the dominant profession, claiming that the control depends on how much influence the dominant has over the subordinates' structures, e.g. associations, certification, educations etc. The third and last view is constituted by Abbott's (1988) explanation of professional systems as results of jurisdictional dispute. Halpern (1992) highlights some gaps in the literature and adds another dimension to the field, by addressing 'the influence of relations between segments within a profession on its boundaries with neighbouring occupations - the impact of intraprofessional relations on interprofessional boundaries' (p. 996), seeing it as a crucial dynamic. Further, Halpern (1992) mean that intraprofessional dynamics is important due to the fact that different groups have varying interests and levels of involvement in boundary settlement with their neighbors. According to this perception, only support from established segments can enable a subordination of neighbouring occupations and the gaining of jurisdictional control (ibid).

In contrast to the first focus of boundary work is another approach facilitating strategies to manage cross-boundary connections with a main focus on boundary spanning actors (Bartel, 2001) and boundary objects (Beckhy, 2003), which contain processes and artifacts that contribute to establish a shared context and maintain a common identity across occupational groups (Star and Griesemer, 1989). This second approach to boundary work evolves around the position of members in a field, showing that changes are often related to new entrants (Hensmans, 2003). Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) emphasise and explain the importance of actors' work to create, preserve and interrupt legitimate practices within a certain field and the boundaries between individuals and group, meaning that such ways are working in recursive configurations to support cycles of

innovation, disputes, stability and restabilisation. Recent studies are contributing by highlighting the importance of visibility of boundaries as a result of boundary work but also that the visibility is a prerequisite for boundary work itself, meaning that boundary work is a continuous process facilitated by the recursive relationship between practice and boundaries (Lindberg, Raviola and Walter, 2017). Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) argues that boundaries together with practices and actors' capacity to attempt boundaries, in combination, sets off transitions between the cycles that may influence the creation of new boundaries, that can also be referred to as boundary breaching (ibid). Carmel (2006) adds a dimension to boundary work by highlighting the relationships between boundaries, not only seeing it as a mutually analytical tool. Through the example of doctors and nurses, a case emerges where the different labour groups are strengthening their organisational boundaries but simultaneously indeterminate their professional boundaries. This is in many ways a contrasting view towards Abbott's (1988) division of labour and the role of prestige and control over professional resources.

Boundary spanning is also a function that is argued to alleviate segmentation of work for solving complex organisational problems and creating adaptive learning (Hsiao et al., 2012). Boundaries can here also be seen as learning mechanisms and resources for development (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011) that carries learning potential. A development of boundary spanning is boundary blurring, where abstract knowledge and skills in established professional spheres is converted into synthetic knowledge that overlaps expert domains (Evans and Scarbrough, 2014). This blurring make boundaries languish between groups of labour to enable a broader exchange of knowledge in daily work practices (ibid).

Methodology

Design of the Study
As the aim of this study is to derive a deeper understanding of a specific phenomenon; how civil investigators are recruited and the consequences of that recruitment process, a case study was suitable (Flyvbjerg, 2006). To use a case study as a base allows for a multifaceted view on the specific setting where the phenomenon appear (Silverman, 2013). Also, a qualitative study enables a combination of different data collection methods, giving a broader and more comprehensive foundation for the analysis.

Data collection
To enable a good structuring of information, the data collection was divided into two different phases. The first phase contains a deeper insight within the police authority and how the work of recruitment unfolds in practice and this was firstly accomplished through interviews with HR consultants in the western region of the police, as they are the support function for recruitment activities and recruiting managers for that specific region. Further, interviews were held with recruiting managers with staff liability at the police stations in the same region (eg. the managers that are responsible to employ new personnel when shortages appear), as well as interviews with recruited criminal investigators and also a chairman from the police union from the same region

(for a division of interviewees, see table 1). In total, 18 interviews were conducted with respondents from the western region of the Swedish Police. All being considered as highly relevant since it will not only help explain how recruitment work is dealt with in its initial theoretical state from different conceptional angles, but also the practical and operational understanding of recruitment as it plays out in daily work. The time length of the interviews varied from 30 minutes up to 200 minutes, depending on how much information the respondent was able to share. A special consideration was thus kept against a biased representation of data, to hinder certain respondents to dominate the presented material. Hereunder is a presentation of all interview respondents:

Department:	Position	Role in recruitment process:	# of interviews
National HR (part of the police organisation)	HR manager HR consultants	Unit manager for HR consultants Structures the recruitment processes and supports recruiting managers when needed	1 3
Local police district	Recruiting managers (former and current)	Mediates a shortage in employees in his/her unit. Conducts interviews with candidates selected by HR. Determines who to employ from that selection.	7
Local police district	Recruited civil investigators and policemen	Have been through the recruitment process during the last 1,5 year.	6
Police union	Chairman	The voice of the policemen.	1
Total:			18

Table 1: showing the departments and positions of the interviewees.

Throughout the collection process, interviewees were asked to nominate other relevant participants, which is an operation mode called the snowballing method (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008) where respondents hold the ability to identify additional key respondents. This specific method revealed to be successful in identifying knowledgeable and relevant interviewees but it also gained access to other respondents in a trustworthy manner as the initial interviewees reinforced and established a connective link to the recommended interviewees. However, using the snowballing method is also risky, since respondents may suggest interviewees that reinforce their own narratives. Having that in mind, respondents were also chosen based on complementary basis, e.g. choosing respondents that could contribute with additional dimensions, for example having different occupational positions and backgrounds. Data was gathered by using interviews as the mean for giving voice to the people of the specific organisation, the Swedish police authority, and also as an enabler to understand the context from a subject's point of view (Kvale, 2006). The interview guide was semi-structured with open-ended questions that gave the interviewees the possibility to talk without restrictions (Silverman, 2013). The combination of having respondents from both the HR department and also managers with staff liability, recruited investigators and a representative from

the police union gave enriched material. Here, it was important to recognise the power dynamics to ascertain objectivity and ethicality during interviews (Kvale, 2006). As the interviewee could become vulnerable to the oppressive situation of sharing and giving away information, it was important for me as an interviewer to build trust to limit the risk of discouraging the respondent (ibid). The respondents were encouraged to answer all questions but could also chose to not answer if feeling uncomfortable in the situation. All respondents were then treated equally in the writing process and where only referred to by their functions and not by their names, so that the identities remain indistinguishable. A regard was held towards secrecies, since the Police is a confidential organisation in many aspects. However, it was considered not to be delimiting for the study, because of the fact that the interview process was scantily concerned by confidential constraints. The interviews were then recorded and transcribed, and notes was taken to keep record of additional insights and thoughts that appeared during the interviews, that could later contribute to the analysis of the material (Czarniawska, 2014; Martin & Turner, 1986).

The second phase involved the gathering of relevant documents, such as the Nomenclature (Polissamordningen, 2014) and the publication "To employ" (Arbetsgivarverket, 2014), provide a complementary and anchoring dimension to the narratives given by the interviewees. The documents on recruitment guidelines and specifications was recommended by the interviewees, containing firm-specific work routines, providing another dimension to the report to increase the knowledge and apprehension of the specific aim. The documents provided information about the recruitment process and was thus an important base for the first aim of this study: to investigate how civil investigators are recruited. Here, it is important to take into account for whom and by whom the information is written, when sorting out the material (Silverman, 2013). In this case, however, most material is fairly objective, since it is to describe a work method. The documents are also of public character, meaning that the information was not to be treated in a confidential manner. The combination of different qualitative research methods, in this case document analysis and interviews, allows me as a researcher to draw upon multiple sources of data (Bowen, 2009; Silverman, 2013) and that will in turn increase the trustworthiness of this report. In combination, the complementary document base will contribute to the interview material and the entire paper since it will: (1) provide context, background and historical insights, (2) can suggest questions needing to be asked, (3) provide additional supplementary data, (4) allow to track changes and findings and (5) function as a verifier of findings (Bowen, 2009). Both documents and interview material will make out a thick and nuanced the foundation for the analysis.

Data analysis

Since this study is based on both interviews and documents, it becomes appropriate to use a grounded theory as an analytical tool for combined research methods (Martin & Turner, 1986), that allows for a thorough analysis of data and evolving theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Further, grounded theory is especially well suited since it enables the researcher to make a comparative analysis of the material (Martin and Turner, 1986). However, there also limits to the method since it may affect the content of the study through incorrect or misaligned preconceptions (ibid). In addition, grounded theory is also designed to handle the large amounts of data that interviews are

containing, which suitable for the character of this study. Furthermore, this specific method is particularly useful to sort out and examine a recruitment process was perceived from different angles of an organisation.

The first stage of processing data involves transcription of interviews, which is a time consuming task that entails extensive amounts of data. After the transcription the material was sorted out and categorized, to create concepts and themes (Martin & Turner, 1986). In this case, it was crucial to keep the recruitment process in focus and to make the content it easy to follow, so a chronological construction of data was used, containing three different stages of a recruitment process; (1) before-, (2) during- and (3) after recruitment. To then turn data from its original form into concepts is a movement through different levels of abstraction (ibid) that enables a higher level of meaning of the collected material. A focal point was to highlight activities or objects that were guiding or determining the different stages and the outcome of the recruitment process. The extent of the material allowed for an identification of emerging patterns, that could confirm and validate the order and content of the process of recruitment, here treated as facts of an ethnographic study (Van Maanen, 1979). In the second part of the coding process, data was categorised into themes closer to the given theoretical framework; (4) Labour, titles and functions (5) Division of recruitment activities (6) Recruitment processes and the police profession and (7) Boundary spanning and civil investigators. These concepts became useful when explaining and organising the facts that was first presented. However, not all material was of use, since some data was not making sense to the purpose of the study (Silverman, 2013). The concepts became the fundamental mean for what material to focus on and what material to exclude. The documents were here contributing to context and background (Bowen, 2009), being especially valuable to this study since it provides a neutral stance and objective depiction of a process that is independent from the narratives of the respondents.

Furthermore, to support, organise and make sense of the field material, Boundary work is used as a theoretical framework. The underpinning of theoretical concepts will simply enable a suitable way of moving up the ladder of abstraction (Martin & Turner, 1986). In turn, a foundation for understanding will start to emerge that will enable a dissection and perception of how recruitment is dealt with. Furthermore, a continuous presentation and discussion with supervisors and colleagues was especially helpful in the guiding of the process of the analysis.

To enable a deeper understanding of the chosen organisation, a short presentation of the Swedish Police, will here follow.

The Swedish Police

Provided here is background knowledge about the organisation in question, the Swedish Police. Historical facts will together with current data, enable a better ground for a deeper understanding of the complex situation that occurs within the police. In total, the Swedish Police employs almost 20 000 policemen and 8500 civilian workers. Statistics from 2013 (Polisen, 2013) show that 4404 policemen and 737 civil workers are labelled with the function investigator. Additional statistics shows that almost 1000 civil workers were employed merely during 2016 (Polisen, 2017) and another 700 civil workers are expected to be employed during 2017 (DN, 2016).

The police organisation of today has a history that can be traced back centuries in time but it is first in the beginning of the 18th century that a police occupation is starting to emerge. It was then a twofold function containing both police duties but also a responsibility to fight fires. Later on, the occupation was refined to strictly seclude police work (Polismuseet, 2017a). The general requirements to become a policeman in the late 19th century was a height of over 170 centimeters and a male gender. In 1910, the first police academy was opened up in Uppsala and the education was focusing on prevailing laws and local knowledge to prepare policemen to be assigned a local patrolling district. It was first during 1957 that the first female police was employed (Polismuseet, 2017b). To be a policeman is today a profession, with jurisdiction coupled to specific activities and skills (Abbott, 1988). The police academies are the selective instances and the entry points the profession (ibid). No other entrants than those from Police Academies can be part of the profession.

The Swedish police organisation of today has two core areas of activity: crime preventative activities and investigational activities. Crime prevention can here only be conducted by policemen. In opposite, investigational work can be performed by both civil investigators and police investigators. An investigational work process is always preceded by a registration of crime, mainly conducted by policemen working with crime prevention. The crime registration can then either be terminated, in absence of proof or other, or it can lead to further investigation. The investigation process is built upon some main constituting activities: interrogation, confiscation of proof, body check, liberty depriving means of coercion, house search, other investigational activities and a final notification of crime (Polisen, 2013). These are all activities part of investigational work but not all parts must be included in every investigation. An investigation can also be terminated during the process, for the same reasons as mentioned above. Commonly, investigators work independently with their cases and only bigger investigations are demanding several investigators. Every investigation has a appointed investigational leader, that is either a police or a prosecutor from the court. The investigational leader make decisions if a crime registration can proceed to investigation or if should be terminated and also if and when the investigation should be handed over to court. Additionally, the investigational leader makes decisions such as if a house search is to be conducted or not (ibid.).

A report from the Swedish Police (2013) on behalf of the government, presents amendments of law that concerns the investigational work within the police. To go further into this, a description of policemen and civil workers is important. A police is a person who has an education from one of the three police academies in the country and an aspirant training of six months. These requirements allows for an individual to formally become a police and to earn a police title (see table 3). Civil workers, however, face no corresponding requirements to be employed under a civil title (table 3). Several of the work assignments that concerns investigations are of such character that they are not suitable for civil investigators, especially tasks that include practicing of violence and means of coercion. In contrast, some other rights are common to both civil and police investigators, for example: holding interrogations, final notification of crime, photographing suspects and collecting salivary sample (ibid). The report from the police (2013) examines the investigational process and what type of competencies that is required. A focal point is that the

competencies within in the police must be strengthened and that there is a need for a broad and multidisciplinary competence base.

A recent police reform was implemented into the police organisation in 2015 and one of the concerned areas was the uniformity in the Nomenclature (see table 3) and how it should be applied to enable an efficient use of resources through planning and managing of the organisation, economics and the competencies of the organisation (Polissamordningen, 2015). A consequence of the reform was a shift from the general principle of recruitment, towards predominant numbers of staff management decisions, especially concerning the recruitment of unit managers (see table 2). A decision that was questioned in hindsight because of the comparatively less structured and less comprehensive processes that a staff management decision entails (Statskontoret, 2016). This trend is thus standing in contrast to the recruitment activities that currently concern investigators within the Police.

Findings

Provided in this study are subjective narratives from four different angles on recruitment processes regarding civil investigators within the police organisation: an HR perspective, a recruiting manager perspective, a recruited employee perspective and a perspective from the police union. All together giving a nuanced and detailed description of the recruitment processes. This study will specifically focus on the recruitment of civil investigators within the police organisation. The presentation of findings is divided into three main sections; the first section will represent the fundamentals for the recruitment process (*prior to recruitment*), the second section will disclose how the recruitment process unfolds in practice (*during recruitment*) and the third section will focus on the transition from recruitment to employment (*after recruitment*).

The foundation for recruitment

It is important to explain on what premises the recruitment process of civil investigators are based on. Since police investigators and civil investigators make up an occupational group, it is vital to describe and connect the two parties in order to enable a deeper understanding of the recruitment process.

Due to a new reform, there has been some modifications in the way that the recruitment unfolds. For example, as of January 2015 the entire organisation is built upon a square network, where each square represents a unit of 8-12 employees and 1 unit manager. The number of squares, as well as how many employees and unit managers, are static and non-negotiable, directly based upon statistics of registered crimes and the size of the population, which will determine the need of employees. When a gap appears in a square it is up to the Deputy Police Commissioner, together with regional HR departments and other important parties, to decide which units are allowed to employ and how many to employ, however, there will be no redundancies. Additionally, a decision is made whether to look inside the organisation for candidates through a *staff management decision* or to make an external request through *recruitment* (see table 2). This entire process is called a staffing dialogue.

One recruiting manager describes the staffing dialogue as a distinct tool that allocates resources towards the two core areas of the police: crime prevention and investigation. He refers to the old police authorities where special units were sometimes created without having clear purposes, stealing resources from the core areas. The local chairman of the Police Union is not agreeing, meaning that the staffing dialogue is far too static and unable to adjust to the current recruitment need, since it is based on aging statistics. Hereunder is a table showing the two different types of recruiting activities that appear within the Police; staffing and recruitment. The accentuated area of recruitment in table 2 is the main focus for this study, as it concerns the recruitment of civil investigators.

Umbrella term	Division	Activities	Definition
Recruiting activities within the Police	**Recruiting** (new titles or new employments) **e.g. Civil investigators**	Internal and external: Announcements for open job positions	Formal recruiting process: Position is announced internally (the Police Intranet) and externally (Polisen.se, the Public Employment Agency and other sites). Process supported by HR consultants. Recruiting manager decides who to employ from candidates chosen by HR. Measurements: Skills and Years of service (LOA).
	Staffing (when already employed) **e.g. Police investigators**	Internal: **Staff management decision**	A discussion between employee and manager concerning altering of job assignments due to ambition goals/inadequacy in current position or other. Can be a work potentiality but it is also based on where resources are needed the most and can thus hold individuals back. Appear most often without HR intermediaries. Measurement: "good enough for the position".
		Internal: Declaration of interest followed by **Staff management decision**	Position is only announced internally (the Police Intranet). Employees in the organisation with accurate function and/or title can respond to the declaration of interest. Discussion between employee and manager precede decision to move employees. Measurement: "good enough for the position".
Repositioning of employees: pregnant women that can no longer work on external duty and/or employees with work related injuries in need of altering in job assignments and/or other similar situations. Loose coupled from ordinary recruitment processes (staffing and/or recruiting).			

Table 2: Recruitment activities within the Police

Further, is important to fully explain the prevailing circumstances within the police to understand on what conditions recruitments are made. As mentioned above, the police organisation is said to have two core areas of their operation - *crime prevention* and *investigational work*. Crime prevention is also called "the blue side" of the organisation, where only trained and educated policemen are allowed to work. On the investigational side, however, appears a combination of civil and police investigators. An HR consultant describes that civil investigators are almost exclusively recruited and can seldom be part of a staff management decision, only when transferring from one unit of crime investigation to another, when already employed. Whereas

policemen can only be recruited to become investigators when applying for a civil position, otherwise they will be subjects for staff management decision. Only when the staffing dialogue confirms a need to employ, can a recruiting manager contact the national HR department and make a request for recruitment *or* a declaration of interest if it concerns a staff management decision. Historically, almost every investigator held a police title and police background, but today it is different.

Important to know is that a civil employee can never hold a police title but a police can apply for a civil title if they are willing to hand in their police badge and give up their police warrants. A lot of things are similar for police and civil investigators but there are also things that differ. Civil investigators and police investigators are both working under the same *function*, namely investigator, but are separated by their *titles* (see table 2) and *work obligations*. An HR consultant explains it further:

*The only possible combination for a civil employee to work with investigation is by being employed as a caseworker (title: caseworker, function: investigator) but as a police you can be either Police Sergeant or Police Inspector and hold the function investigator (title: Police Sergeant, function: investigator **or** title: Police inspector, function: investigator). Your title is directly coupled to a work obligation, telling what you can and cannot do within the framework for your work description* - HR consultant, National HR

Nomenclature Employment titles within the Swedish Police Authority (as of january 1st, 2015)	
Employment titles for policemen	Employments titles for civilians
Police Aspirant (Polisaspirant)	Administrator (Administratör)
Police Sergeant (Polisassistent)	**Caseworker (Handläggare)**
Police Inspector (Polisinspektör)	Special advisor (Sakkunnig)
Police Commissary (Poliskommissarie)	Director (Direktör)
Assistant Commissioner (Polissekreterare)	
Police Superintendent (Polisintendent)	
Deputy Police Commissioner (Polisöverintendent)	
District Police Commissioner (Polismästare)	
National Police Commissioner (Rikspolischefen)	

Table 3: the nomenclature within the Swedish Police (source: Polissamordningen, 2014

The recruitment process

To employ a civil investigator is a procedure that deviates completely from employing a police investigator, in terms of labour legislative measures (see table 3). The law of public employments (LOA) is the foundation for all new recruitments of civil investigators and its content is rigorous, leaving little space for personal preferences, from either HR, recruiting manager or other. The major pillars and evaluation tools in the recruitment process are *skills* and *years of (public) service* (skicklighet och förtjänst), where skills are measured from a profile of demands, put together by HR and recruiting manager. An HR consultant describes the process when a staffing dialogue have turned into a decision to employ and a recruiting manager has sent a request to the national HR department:

> *When a recruiting manager needs 10 new investigators, for example, I will acknowledge that manager's request and make an appointment with him/her. The meeting can appear over phone or face to face and here is where we discuss important qualifications for the profile of demands, how long the process should take and in the best of scenarios we will also set a time for interviews and a time for the first selection of candidates.* - HR consultant, National HR

Currently, every staffing dialogue concerning investigators ends up in a decision to recruit *civil investigators* due to the fact that there is a major shortage of policemen within the organisation. Both recruiting managers and the HR department can confirm that almost no policeman can make a request or apply to transfer, or in any way be moved, from the crime preventive side to the investigational side. One recruiting manager explains how it works:

> *The aim is to recruit civil investigators but the advertisements are not disclosing that we are searching for 'civil investigators' specifically, only 'investigators'. But the ambition is to keep policemen in our core operations within crime prevention, where they have a given place, they are needed there. That is why civil investigators are brought into the organisation.* - Recruiting manager

The level of skills is the main measurement for evaluating applicants but when two or more candidates are considered to be equally skilled, years of service will determine who gets selected. Skills are defined as *theoretical and practical education* relevant to the work description, as *personal traits* and as *work experience from other public and/or private organisations*, according to Arbetsgivarverket (2014). An applicant's adequateness for a position is to be remarked as it determines the ability to perform the job. However, from praxis (ibid) it will be clear that such appropriateness is awarded a relatively delimited importance in relation to the above mentioned types of skills. All applicants in the recruiting process are in competition against each other on these premises. The bigger majority of civil applicants that come in question for employment, have educational backgrounds from university studies, 3 years or more, and that is one of the parameters

that gets valued in the recruitment process as it is a skill measurement according to LOA. A former recruiting manager identifies a moment of vexation in the neglected skills of policemen:

> *Approximately 80-90% of all policemen have been through a university education of some sort, prior to their police studies. Otherwise, they would not have qualified for the police academy, because competition is fierce.* - Former recruiting manager

This former recruiting manager highlights that a lot of competencies are to be found in the current police employees but the employer chooses to look outside the organisation for new employees. To have a recruitment strategy that ties policemen to their current positions and withhold them from job advancements is a new way of handling personnel and it moves the recruitment procedures to new arenas, outside the police organisation. An HR consultant identifies difficulties in the external recruitment process, in the hunt for civil investigators:

> *There are very few applicants that hold the competencies that we are searching for. It is not a problem that is unique to us, it's a struggle that is common to many employers. It is also challenging to attract applicants when they can be offered wage levels that are 10 000-12 000 higher than we are able to give them, for similar job positions elsewhere.* - HR consultant, National HR

The applicants that are interested in the job position are sending in their applications containing cover letter and CV and the HR consultants are selecting the most suitable candidates based on level of skill and years of service (LOA). The appointed HR consultant will then reveal the selection to the recruiting manager, who will contact the candidates and conduct interviews. Present at interviews are recruiting managers together with one or two other employees from the police. The recruiting manager can also request for HR personnel to be present but it rarely happens in practice. Representatives from the police union used to be present at interviews but as of january 2015 and the new reform, a decision was made by HR to exclude the union.

> *The managers want for us to be present at interviews, they value our input. Now they will instead involve us in discussions (parallel to the interviews) and ask for our opinions before they make a decision, but we can't be present at interviews. The managers question the exclusion.* - Chairman, the local Police Union

When going back 8-10 years in time, there was a grade system for applicants with a scale containing five steps and the Police Union made an assessment of all applicants, resulting in a grade that was based on recommendations from other colleagues. Now, there are instead CVs, a recruiting manager explains. Another former recruiting manager adds comments to the changing recruitment routines:

Before, the Police Union was involved to a much bigger extent and the processes took longer time. They had more influence in the process, both for better and for worse. But there was a heftiness to the recruitment decisions. - Former recruiting manager

Several respondents can confirm that there is a massive pressure on the National Police Commissioner (Dan Eliasson) to make changes in the structure of the organisation and to increase the pool of investigators, due to the fact that statistics are showing declining numbers of investigational results. The chairman from the local police union describes the situation:

... They are shovelling in civil investigators to improve on the investigational results. There are lots of things about the civil investigators that are completely new to us, we are not used to it. Politicians are making decisions, having no idea what the consequences are on a operational level. I call it a quick fix. They excavate the warrants that are exclusive to policemen, giving the civil investigators the right to perform both this and that. It is a new world - Chairman, the local Police Union

Last year, an advertisement for civil investigators was announced and the response was massive. Thousands of applicants turned into almost 80 new positions for civil investigators in one region. The entire recruitment process stretched over a period of more than eight months, resulting in that some of the applicants were offered other jobs elsewhere.

I got another job in the meantime and had to quit when I was offered the job at the Police. It was the longest recruitment process I have ever been through. - Civil investigator

The positions were announced in the end of january 2016 and applicants were called to interviews throughout the spring months. The local chairman of the Police union highlights a situation that was induced by this specific recruitment process: Among masses of civil applicants was a female police that saw the advertisement for civil investigators and wanted to apply. She was aware that it would mean for her to sacrifice the police title and warrants but her private situation demanded daytime work, so she applied for the job on those premises. Several of her police colleagues wanted to apply as well but was advised not to, when they discussed the matter with their managers. The managers explained to the others that the job position was meant for civil investigators. The female police was the only policeman that applied for the job, according to the local chairman, together with abundances of civil applicants. She got the job, together with a 35 000 kr salary and also got to keep her police title. The reason for this was that the District Police Commissioner decided that they had better use of a police than a civil. The reaction from the other policemen who wanted to apply but was advised to abstain, was furiosity. The local chairman of the Police union was well informed about this specific case, since it involved a lot of agitated feelings from various parties in the recruitment process, especially policemen.

Some recruiting managers mean that recruiting processes are not as locally anchored as they used to be and that the police stations are therefore losing the grip of the recruitment processes, on

behalf of the national HR department. Another recruiting manager says that the initial selections of candidates made by HR are not disclosed, meaning that recruiting managers are unaware of what type of candidates that fall through before reaching their desk, in the form of profiles for possibly suitable candidates. However, the final ranking of candidates is a decision that is always made by the recruiting manager, together with the decision about what candidates that will be offered a job

> *We (recruiting managers) who conduct the interviews are not informed on what ground the selection of candidates are made. Why was this person chosen and not that one? And then you can see that… okay, that person has a formal education and so forth. But we want the one that is best suited for the job.* - Recruiting manager

Simultaneously as many positions for civil investigators was announced, there was also investigational leader positions open at Crime duty (krimjouren), which is the only part of investigations where only police investigators can work. The chairman means that it was only fortunate that the application periods ran intertwined and that the policemen who applied got positions at crime duty. Otherwise, he thinks that it would have gone into full battle as the entire system would have been put to test. A policeman who applies for a civil position is part of a recruitment process and should therefore be measured according to skills and years of service and the chairman means that a policeman with several years in the profession can hardly be unrivaled by civil applicants. Instead, the policemen were satisfied with their new positions at crime duty and the system was never put to its test. Additionally, due to recent changes in law it is possible for civil employees to work at Crime duty. However, since the profile of demand for such positions equals an applicant with prosecutor background or similar, it is hardly realistic in practice, for prosecutors are used to wage levels that are 20 000 kr above the level that the police authority offers. A recruiting manager confirms that civil applicants have not yet been employed to Crime duty, even if it is has been made possible in theory.

The final stage in the recruitment process results in that the applicants who got the best ranking will receive a job offer and will simultaneously agree to go through a background check, taking up to six weeks, before they have secured the job. This background check is an obligatory procedure for all employees in the police organisation.

Recruitment turns into employment: investigational work
The majority of newly employed civil investigators comes from outside the organisation and the material shows an array of job backgrounds; the social services, the public employment agency, the prison and probation service, the Swedish tax agency, the Swedish customs, the Swedish armed forces, the social security office, insurance companies and others. Many have investigational experiences from prior jobs and have apprehensions about the work. A common perception about the civil investigators is that they are efficient and good at what they do. Both HR consultants, recruiting managers, the chairman and police colleagues can confirm to the value that civil investigators contribute. Civil investigators also feel that they are selected for specific reasons, based on what they can bring into the organisation.

The police investigators have another background and insight about what to do and when to do it, but we (civil investigators) contribute with our specific background and knowledge - Civil investigator

Another reflection from a civil investigator is:

I truly do believe in the combination of police investigators and civil investigators. It can only end up in good things. The police has been a closed up organisation for so long now, of course there will be changes when civil employees are working with investigations. - Civil investigator

Still, there are massive discussion about the occurring situation. After approximately one month's employment, civil investigators are given a ten week education concerning investigational work, provided by the police academy and fully paid by the employer. In contrast, policemen are educated at police academies for two years but are financing education with loans or from their own pockets. Civil investigators are employed to work alongside police investigators and in terms of administrative work, there are no apparent differences. Work obligational divergences lay in *means of coercion* and *practicing of violence*, where only police investigators are authorised to perform these acts. In practice, this means that only police investigators (in combination of two) can fetch suspects for interrogations, be present at custody trials, carry out house searches and carry guns, among others. Civil investigators can be present, but two policemen are still required to be there. The result is that policemen feel that they become facilitators and errand boys for the civil investigators and they have no time for their own investigations.

I think that we have reached the limit, we cannot handle any more civil investigators. It has nothing to do with them, because they are very skilled, but if a suspect decides not to show up for an interrogation, then we must extricate police investigators for hours in a row and the policemen's investigations will be delayed and suffer massively. - Recruiting manager

Another recruiting manager also values civil investigators, saying the she willingly recruits them as they are competent, flexible and highly adaptable on their new positions. However, she can see an additional issue related to expectations on work content and sees some patterns regarding how the different labour groups are handling their day-to-day work.

Some of the civil investigators are not prepared for what is demanded from them, for example giving a final notification of a crime. Police investigators have a better apprehension about the expectation level for an investigational position. They have experiences from working with troublesome individuals, people who have been abused, children and so forth. - Recruiting manager

Additionally, some police colleagues are clearly expressing their irritation towards internal division of labour and how civil and policemen are being treated differently. Civil investigators are having a delimited *work obligation* in terms means of coercion and practicing of violence, but they are also given substantially higher wages than the police investigators, who are allowed and expected to perform the entire investigational work according to their *work obligations*. A police investigator describes the situation:

I do the exact same work as a civil investigator (plus means of coercion and violence practicing) and I get paid 25 000 kr per month, whilst a civil investigator gets paid 32 000 kr per month, so there is a difference. The question about wage equalisation is brought up all the time at management meetings but the explanation that we hear is that the civil investigators are competitive on the labour market and that higher wages must be offered to be able to attract civil employees, they would not agree to 25 000 kr per month. It makes you feel stupid for choosing to become a police. It is a sad feeling - Police investigator, reallocated

Despite this, none of the civil investigators claim to be driven by the wage level. Many of them say that wages for similar jobs outside the Police are substantially higher and that they underlying motivators to apply was instead a desire to do greater good, alter job assignments and contribute to society. However, a response to the wage differences between police investigators and civil investigators is that a lot of policemen feel disfavored and replaced. There has been a discussion for a very long time to upgrade the police profession but both managers and policemen express the counter productiveness in what is happening right now with the high numbers of newly employed civil investigators. The civil investigators are agreeing that police investigators are underpaid and a lot of them are feeling the irritation from their police colleagues at meetings and on coffee breaks. Many of the civil investigators explain that the frustration is not aimed at them but towards the situation in general. It is an ongoing discussion. Even the HR manager admits difficulties with the career paths for policemen and says that they are needed where they are. This is, according to her, the biggest recruitment challenge of today.

Many policemen get frustrated because they feel stuck:

When I applied for the police, I was told that there are endless opportunities. There is sooo much you can do, they said; dog handler, forensic technician and the list went on and on. But once you start working, you discover the exact opposite. You are stuck where you are and cannot go anywhere. - Police investigator, reallocated

Not only do they lack the opportunity to advance in their job but they are also stuck with three-shift working; days, evenings, nights and weekends. Policemen that for some reason may need or want daytime working hours are trapped on "the blue" side. Increasing numbers of policemen are leaving the organisation and those who stay are often dissatisfied with their job situation. Many of

the respondents recognise the problem and the discussions are loud but without managerial response.

> *There is a will, from my managers, to follow up on why people leave. But they rarely do, it turns into nothing.. They are not digging into it.. and perhaps they do not want the answers on the questions that we need to ask and need to know the answers to.* - Former recruiting manager

Discussion

Revealed in this study is a recruitment process that is interesting on many levels. First, it is historically important since it portraits circumstances that are new to the organisation and in many ways protruding from the recruitment field. Second, it reveals an internal division of two kinds of labour, with the shared purpose to work under the same function as investigators. Third, the recruitment process treats the two different types of labour in deviating manner, recruitment wise. In relation to this, there are also consequences. The data will be analysed in a chronological order: beginning with the different constituents of the recruitment process and intertwine the process with the consequences of recruitment.

Labour, titles and functions

The data shows a recruitment process that is initiated from statistics and numbers in a staffing dialogue. Here, it seems that employees are viewed in an equal manner through numbers, meaning that one can only identify to what group an employee belongs. There will be no decision made whether to look for civil employees or to search for policemen, in the initial part of the staffing dialogue. The staffing dialogue can here be seen as a tool that matters only about the magnitude of the need for staff and where employees are needed, not whom to employ. The division of labour in of the initial part of the staffing dialogue is simply geographical and activity based (Carlile, 2002). It is only later, when a need to employ has been established, that the character of individuals start to matter.

There is a clear division of employees within the organisation and the perhaps most powerful example of this is the nomenclature. To elaborate on the nomenclature is interesting especially for three reasons: First, it separates the two groups of labour and their titles (dividing and protecting). At a first glance, the division of labour tend to be in place for structural reasons and to set occupational boundaries (Orlikowski, 2002), hindering each group of labour to inhibit the other group's set of titles. In this case, the boundaries protecting the police titles can be seen as solid and impenetrable, thus protecting the police profession. Whereas civil titles are fairly open towards multiple kinds of entrants. At a second glance however, the nomenclature also reveals to be a fundamental establisher that allows, welcomes and give the right to both labour groups to work within the same police organisation. Second, it separates work obligations (jurisdiction). The nomenclature sets the boundaries for work obligations, telling what certain combinations of titles and functions can and cannot do (Barley and Kunda, 2001). However, as can be seen from the data, the nomenclature is not a stable entity. Over time, amendments in the law have shifted the content

of the work obligations to match the demand of the organisational imperatives (Abbott, 1988). The material shows a police organisation that is adjusting according to macro factors, such as labour supply and finances, which are crucial determinants for recruiting activities. Third, it creates bridges in the form of functions, e.g. investigator (interconnections). Besides the nomenclature demarcations, there are also interconnections, e.g. functions that span over and connect the different labour groups to each other. In theory, a function can be seen as a condition for a shared context and a bridging object (Bechky, 2003). The nomenclature thus provides an area for collaboration and activities under a common function where employees can meet and cooperate or even clash and create conflicts.

The nomenclature is also a hierarchical tool that puts the different titles in a ranking order, where Police Aspirant (police) and Administrator (civil) are of lowest status in the social order. A higher status can be achieved when moving up the nomenclature ladder. What the nomenclature cannot explain is the ranking order and relations between the two labour groups (Carmel, 2006), since there are two independent sets of titles, separating the labour groups. For example, the nomenclature will not define whether a Police Commissary (police) is of higher social order than a Special advisor (civil), or not. One possible enabler of the ranking order of civil and police in relation to each other is thus the functions, where a shared set of activities and practices can provide resemblances and a mutual ground for comparability.

To see the nomenclature as a separate entity is crucial, because it provides visible demarcations (Lindberg, Raviola and Walter, 2017) that is both constraining but also enabling. It closes doors but simultaneously provides entry points for individuals with different competencies, skills and backgrounds. It is a demarcation skeleton for the entire work force. However, since it is not stable over time, it should be viewed as a combination of boundaries that are under constant negotiation (Abbott, 1988). Entry points can here be defined as openings and transition routes between different titles (recruitment) and the function altering within a title (staff management decision). It is the last part of the staffing dialogue that rules over those entry points, transition routes and function alterations.

Division of recruitment activities
The data shows a recruitment process that used to operate in the shadows. However, it is only now that the process gets revealed and is put to its test when straining circumstances and imbalances in demand and supply of policemen, become apparent.

Central forces are guiding in this process of recruitment. As the employer sees no possibilities to lift their current police employees, as an effect of staff shortages, they search for new entrants (Hensmans, 2003) from the labour market. In doing so, they achieve a collective preclusion of all police applicants to a delimited area of the function. Looking back in history, when policemen used to make up the entire organisation, it seems severely strange that policemen are now denied the competing rights to their own sphere (Abbott, 1988). By secluding police applicants from civil applicants in different sets of recruitment activities, the employer is thereby actively disarming policemen from defending their profession (Abbott, 1988). Halpern (1992) argues that only support from established segments can enable a subordination of neighboring

occupations. In this case, however, the employer will instead withdraw that support and offer it to outside contenders, which will in turn jeopardise the jurisdictional control that policemen have over their profession (ibid). Furthermore, it lies a paradox in the inclusion of a title that is compatible with a function that simultaneously equals an exclusion from the same function. In other words, because of the fact that policemen are already holding a title that is combinable with the function investigator, it simultaneously excludes them from the recruitment process aimed for that function. Unless the policemen are willing to give up their warrants. There is thus a demarcation between the two occupational belongings that seem to promote one group, while punishing the other.

One recruiting manager mentions that they are not officially searching for civil applicants but that the underlying aim is to select civil candidates and keep policemen on their current positions. Thus, this may indicate that there are in fact no physical hinders for policemen to apply for civil investigator positions and there are also examples of individuals that are willing to cross boundaries to compete against and on the same terms as the new entrants (Hensmans, 2003). One specific policewoman proves to be a case of this when being willing to offer her access to the police belonging, she then challenges the recruitment system (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010). There are still many drawbacks for policemen when applying for civil positions and those are for example losing their police title, belonging and identity. Even though civil applicants are promoted by the employer in the recruitment processes, there are still requirements for the civil applicants and a profile of demand that is directly coupled to the work obligation. Hence, the employer is still looking for a certain level of skills and competencies. A major difference is, however, that the employer may likely not find that type of abstract skill that can only be obtained from accumulated police experience (Abbott, 1988).

There has been a shift in the power dynamics in the recruitment process. Historically, the Police Union was a major influencer in the processes and the final decisions of whom to chose for a certain position. The ranking scale of candidates that was based upon colleague assessments indicates towards an organisation that made such a procedure possible, namely an organisation where more or less all applicants were known by the police employees. Also, it further indicates that the Police Union was seen as an actor that was suited to determine what type of candidates that would best fit the organisational needs. In other words, an expert in their domain (Bourdieu 1984). Since the Police Union is to be seen as the voice of policemen, this could in many ways be understood as a double exclusion of policemen in recruitment processes, both as candidates and also in regard of their spokesmen that defend the policemen's rights (Barley and Kunda, 2001). Nowadays, the HR department has banned the Police Union from the recruitment processes and the interviews, but instead there is an unofficial discussion between recruiting managers and the union, since their expert knowledge is still highly appreciated in these situations and thus the Police Union have a highly perceived value in these processes (Bourdieu 1984). Their official replacer in interview processes are the HR consultants from national HR. In contrast, HR rarely appear on interview, suggesting that a lower perceived symbolic value is attached to the HR department relatively to the Police Union (ibid).

Not only is the HR department changing the conditions for how recruitment should be done, there are also a political interest concerning the employment in the police organisation. The

National Police Commissioner is pressured by the declining investigational results and is thus a major initiator and an impeller in the hunt for a bigger number of civil investigators. Per unit labour, the civil investigators are more expensive than police investigators but they can be attained faster, in a less time consuming process. When employing policemen, there is always an educational turnover time of two and a half year with an exact limitation that is defined by the number of police students. There is also a time delay to the fluctuations in the need for police employees that is hard to predict.

Further, when digging deeper into the example of the policewoman who applied for a civil position reveals an obvious example of boundary negotiation (Abbott, 1988). When the changes were first made in recruitment routines it could been seen as a negotiation of boundaries that resulted in increased work obligations for civil investigators, but when a police starts to apply for such a position it will turn back and attempt and renegotiate those boundaries (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010) and the recruitment processes. Here, it becomes evident that the hierarchical order (Carlile, 2002) is favouring the law and the employer thus has to subordinate to the requirements of skills and years of service in LOA, to treat all candidates in an equal manner (Bergström, 1998) and so the policewomen is considered as the most suitable for the position. This specific incident is an example of an interruption in the established routines of recruitment (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010) that negotiates the relations between the two groups (civil and police). In addition, the policewomen who applied for the civil position can be seen as a boundary spanning actor when bridging the boundaries between the two labour groups (Bartel, 2001).

Recruitment processes and the police profession
Seen in this study is a case of a recruitment process with a main purpose to fulfill organisational duties and to turn around the declining investigational results. At a first glance, it seems to be a simple solution to an organisational concern, namely shortages in staff. It can be seen that the police organisation may fulfill their aim to employ a satisfying number of investigators but they are simultaneously creating consequences for their current labour. The data tells about a centrally forced decision to employ civil, instead of focusing on the attracting and employing more policemen.

It is common for professions to defend and maintain their jurisdiction, e.g. their specific skills and activities (Abbott, 1988) and the policemen, as a collective, make up a profession like that. The entire crime preventative side of the organisation belongs solely to the police profession. On the investigational side however, policemen are still making up a profession but are together with the civil investigators creating an occupational group. Investigators are thus to be referred to an occupational groups, containing both the civil investigator occupation and the police investigator profession. Boundary spanning activities has been conducted in the shape of law amendments that have gradually given access for civil occupants (Hensmans, 2003). Based on the provided data, a reasoning will here follow, suggesting that a part of the police profession has deliberately been given to civil, for them to share together with policemen. There is still some important parts of the police profession that civil cannot access, and so parts of the police profession remain defended and protected (Abbott, 1988), for example the practicing of violence and the

means for coercion. In contrast, other parts of the profession become exposed to competition because of the recruitment process (ibid). To connect back to Bourdieu (1984), it appears if though the policemen, to some extent, have lost their ability to convince their employer about the importance of their professional expertise and perceived symbolic capital and thus results in lacking professional prestige. The employer opens up the recruitment lanes for competing and neighboring occupations (Halpern, 1992) and simultaneously give their new entrants access to a compressed education in investigational work. By letting new entrants access the sphere, the employer the initiating force that tear down the monopoly of competences that policemen used to have, leaving only a limited jurisdictional rights for policemen to keep to themselves (Abbott, 1988).

Currently, the police profession is holding abstract knowledge and a jurisdiction connected to their specific activities (Abbott, 1988). However, because recruitment strategies have been altered to shift focus towards external competition, the jurisdiction is now partly given away by the employer, to share with others. The profession and jurisdiction is directly related to the prestige and the status of it and when the jurisdiction is attacked, then so is the status of those who inhibit the profession. Here, the employer seems to be little convinced about the importance of the expertise and value of their current staff (Bourdieu 1984). What the employer thus achieves when choosing to employ the way they do, is to break to monopoly of competencies that professions otherwise keep to themselves (Abbott, 1988). Further, the recruitment strategies in combination with the nomenclature and management decisions are also creating frictions between the two labour groups that builds up for disputes and conflicts (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010). This can be exemplified in the different treatments that the labour groups get, through diverging wage levels and different work obligations. An equation that further seem to poorly add up, since the labour group that is entitled to do more gets paid less, and the other way around. This will likely shatter the shared context that the nomenclature function provides and also is likely decrease the chances of creating a common identity within the occupational group (Star and Griesemer, 1989). One recruiting manager means that the organisation is saturated and cannot handle any more civil investigators, which is a statement that can be interpreted as an amplifier for the policemen's importance in relation to their abstract skills and parts of the jurisdiction that still belongs to them (Abbott, 1988).

Since the recruitment processes aimed at employing civil investigators has increased in numbers and the positions open for policemen are less than those for civil, some respondents are arguing that the recruitment system will soon be put to its test. Until now, only few policemen have actually applied for civil positions, however, it can be seen from the data that the interest from other policemen is there. As mentioned earlier, there are no physical hinders for policemen to apply and when they do, they must be treated in the same uniform manner as the civil applicants (Bergström, 1998). If this situation was to occur, it would severely jeopardise the entire organisation and its labour allocation. The chairman of the Police Union means that policemen are often of advantage in measurements concerning skills and years of service and that would thus mean that the employer would have to justify every recruiting decision according to the law (LOA), if concerns regarding observance were to be questioned. Imagine a scenario where policemen

would outrival civil in the recruitment processes and as a consequence, the crime preventative side would shrink in a pace that is not accounted for, meaning that police students cannot make up for such shortages. Consequences are a negative spiral that devalues the police profession and where application number for police academies are dropping to even lower levels and where policemen are also quitting their jobs, leaving the police organisation. It is very much possible that the current trend will continue and that the organisation will face severe shortages in police staff. From the data, one can also learn that policemen cannot be employed from elsewhere, only police academies, and consequently there will be lesser individuals that are allowed to perform police warrants. Until now, law amendments have made it possible for civils to cover for some parts of that police duties but the question is whether this evolvement can be maintain over time. There are at least two possible outcomes; one option is that civil workers will continue to take over police obligations and this will in the long run extinguish the police profession (Halpern, 1922) and the other option is that the police profession will be upgraded in response to this situation, so that the attractiveness of the police profession can return (Abbott, 1988) to levels where to organisation will manage to meet their needs, concerning suitable police candidates.

Boundary spanning and civil investigators
To elaborate on Hensmans' (2003) statement about new entrants is an interesting input in this analysis. So far, a discussion has been held considering mainly the negative effects of the recruitment process. However, there are always nuances to every narrative. To employ abundances of civil investigators is a stress to the system and its framework (Abbott, 1988). It is a challenge. When looking closer at it, however, the massive recruitment processes are also highlighters that draws attention to the imbalances concerning the different groups, civil and police. There are two main points that can be argued here: first, that the many recruitments of civil investigators is a revolution that considerably attacks the ground for occupational differences and divisions and second, the competence contributions, learnings and change initiators that can be drawn from this.

The recruitment processes regarding civil investigators can here been seen as a stress test to the occupational division (Abbott, 1988), since it encumbers the fundamentals in the divisional construction. For that same reason, it can also contribute to the welfare of police profession, depending on the outcome. It may not be apparent at first, however, as competition is the main accomplisher for knowledge control (Abbott, 1988) it will thus, in the end, determine if the police profession will succeed or fail to maintain and protect their professional jurisdiction (ibid). The civil investigators enter an organisation that historically has been delimited to policemen and the civil investigators' entry challenges the routines, efficiency and work skills of police investigators. To be seen from the material are consequences in the form of disputes that arise, causing irritation and segregation between the two groups (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010) and also an instability in the current situation. Additionally, there are also glimpses of encouragement in the material, for example, one civil investigators is strikingly positive about the collaboration between police and civil. With a capacity to attempt the dividing boundaries, actors can thus stabilise the situation to help produce a shared context (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010).

The multiple boundaries that occur between policemen and civil are under constant negotiation (Abbott, 1988), now more than ever. Despite this, there is another takeaway to be drawn from the situation. Akkerman and Bakker (2011) suggest that boundaries are to be seen as learning mechanisms and resources for development. In that sense, civil investigators can here be seen as initiators of change (Hensmans, 2003) and a contributing party for solving organisational issues (Hsiao et al., 2012). Currently, it seems that the employer has blurred the boundaries between the two labour groups, providing civil investigators with synthetic knowledge (Evans and Scarbrough, 2014) in the form of teen week educations and a highway into the police organisation. Evans and Scarbrough (2014) further suggest that boundary blurring can enable a broader exchange of knowledge between different labour groups. In this case, it seems that focus is currently more on the problematic aspects of the new labour constellations. As it appears from the data, the civil investigators are more willing and open to see the benefits of the cooperation, than some of the policemen. The data shows multidisciplinary backgrounds on civil applicants, a true blend of competencies and skills, which is something that the police organisation may actually take advantages from. It is important to highlight that competencies and skills are not only given by policemen to civil, but it can also be distributed in the opposite direction, when policemen are receptive to the knowledge that civil can share (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011). When civil and police are to manage cross-boundary connections (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010), learnings be drawn and thus contribute to a settlement in the boundary negotiations. An emerging take on the recruitment situation is that the massive inflow from civil investigators may be the initiator to solve the bigger organisational issue of the depreciation of the police profession (Hsiao et al., 2012). The reason to think that these recruitment processes are good for the police profession is because it firstly tears it down with the result of conflicts and disputes, imbalances in wage levels and workload, policemen leaving their jobs for better wages elsewhere and potential police students that choose not to apply for police academies. Insofar, it appear to be purely destructive to the police force. However, since policemen are demanded within the organisation it will push for a change and a possible upgrading of the police profession (ibid). Here, the civil investigators are helping in making the issues and the relations between practices and boundaries become visible (Lindberg et al, 2016). The visibility may here become the key initiator that makes this professional depreciation to a an issue that is hard to disguise. For many policemen have university backgrounds that are equal to civil workers' backgrounds and the organisation may thus appear as unwise when choosing to neglect the competence pool that they already hold and move towards a quick fix solution to the recruitment issues, instead of valuing and investing to a bigger extent in current and new policemen. Civil investigators may thus be seen as attackers on the police profession, facilitated by the employer and the HR department, in the initial state of this process. However, in the long run the civil investigators may also be the reason for why an upgrading of the police profession can be made possible. Civil and policemen can then work together to strengthen both organisational and professional boundaries (Carmel, 2006).

Conclusion and Implications

This study tells the story of a recruitment process and its consequences within in a specific organisation - the Swedish Police. The study may contribute to a bigger debate about how recruitment processes can be used in different ways and it may also highlight how different recruitment consequences can be hard to predict and thus deviate from the initial plan. The result shows a recruitment process that was not fully prepared and worked out in detail, when initiated and implemented. This process can be seen as an example of boundary negotiation, resulting in both conflicts, attacks against the police profession and emerging organisational changes and possibilities.

This study was aimed to contribute to the recruitment field by examining a recruitment process that, in contrast to many other recruitment strategies, appear as destructive to the current labour pool and its police profession. The first research question concerned the process of recruitment of civil investigators and how it was managed in practice. In relation to this, some main findings could be seen. It contained a recruitment process that was guided by a selection oriented method argued to treat every applicant in a uniform manner. However, it could be seen in practice that certain police individuals were actively advised to abstain from applying. Furthermore, it was a process that constrained the visible nomenclature, where recruitment activities were closing certain entry points into functions, especially for policemen. The second research question concerned the consequences of the recruitment process for the police labour. As no similar positions were displayed to policemen, it initiated a lock-in effect for the police labour. Especially since the recruitment processes opens up and give away parts of the police profession to share with new entrants, while simultaneously depreciating and neglecting the current police labour. In contrast, it also shows the possible advantages and change initiators that can be drawn from the new increased competence base and the visibility that the recruitment processes brings. Also, it shows that a recruitment process that aims to create solutions for organizational issues, namely shortages in staff, can also result in consequences that were not considered from the beginning. Further, this study can also be said to contribute to already existing theories of boundary work, by showing a case where recruitment processes are attacking professions instead of defending and protecting them.

A limitation in this study is that it that the data collection stretches over a limited period of time, meaning that some of the data may result in that single appearances are given more or less attention, than what is reasonable. Thus, a suggestion for future studies is to adopt a longitudinal approach. Further, this study may include local variances that can have a biased representation of data. As a result, the findings can thus not be seen as applicable for a bigger population. However, the material serves as an example of how recruitment process and consequences in a context where two labour work together under the same function.

In order to substantiate the relevance of this study, additional studies on how the development of the police profession occur, would be interesting. Since this is a process that is in an active state, some results are not yet visible. Also, as can be seen in the data there are interests and conflict of power in this recruitment process. It would thus be interesting to further investigate the power struggles and tension that can be found within the police organisation.

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