Cooperation to counteract social unrest

Methodological manual

Jesper Lindblom

Västerort Police Area

www.polisen.se

https://polisen.azurewebsites.net
Preface

Social unrest is a relatively new term for a phenomenon that has affected disadvantaged areas throughout Europe in recent years. The project Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest is founded on knowledge and practical experience from several different sectors and occupational groups on both an operational and strategic level. We believe that it is essential to safeguard democracy and to work in a manner that promotes democracy focusing on equal and good values for the individual.

Throughout the project, cooperation has been undertaken with the research community, which has provided us with the possibility of placing our knowledge and experience in the same context as social science theories. All project partners involved in the project operate in the Swedish cities hardest hit by social unrest, which has allowed us to compare knowledge and experiences from different contexts. The project is based on an evaluation of the cooperation process in the Järva region along with study visits in Uppsala, Gothenburg, Malmö, London, Copenhagen and Paris. Common to these areas is that they have all been affected by social unrest in the form of violent riots, vandalism, arson and violence against representatives of society.

Counteracting the multifactorial causes of social unrest requires cross-sector cooperation from the highest strategic level to the lowest operational level. The Methodological manual is a guide from which professional and non-profit organisations can benefit from experience and successful practice in cooperation to counteract social unrest. The manual focus on a long-term cooperation carried out by the situational picture codes; green, yellow, red and orange.

Jesper Lindblom
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Contents

1.0 INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 BACKGROUND .......................................................................................................... 1
  1.2 AIM AND TARGET GROUPS ..................................................................................... 2
  1.3 STUDIES .................................................................................................................... 2
  1.4 PROJECT PARTNERS ................................................................................................. 3

2.0 COOPERATION ........................................................................................................... 4
  2.1 PRECONDITIONS FOR COOPERATION .................................................................... 6
  2.2 LOCALLY STRUCTURED COOPERATION ................................................................ 18
  2.3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE .................................................................................... 24
  2.4 FOCUS GROUP SFI (SWEDISH FOR IMMIGRANTS) ................................................... 28

3.0 SOCIAL UNREST ......................................................................................................... 33
  3.1 EXPLANATORY MODEL ............................................................................................ 33
  3.2 RESEARCH ............................................................................................................... 36
  3.3 THEORETICAL PREMISES ......................................................................................... 38
  3.4 NORMATIVE CHANGES IN SOCIETY ....................................................................... 49
  3.5 HISTORICAL RETROSPECT ....................................................................................... 54

4.0 PRACTICE .................................................................................................................. 57
  4.1 SITUATIONAL PICTURE ............................................................................................ 58
  4.3 GREEN SITUATION .................................................................................................. 60
  4.4 YELLOW SITUATION ................................................................................................ 81
  COOPERATION TO ENHANCE SOCIAL CONTROL ......................................................... 82
  COOPERATION WITH A FOCUS ON THE YOUNG PEOPLE ........................................... 84
  COOPERATION WITH THE FOCUS ON THE PLACE ..................................................... 85
  4.5 RED SITUATION ....................................................................................................... 86
  4.6 ORANGE SITUATION ............................................................................................... 88
  4.7 COMMUNICATIONAL APPROACH ........................................................................... 90
  4.8 ARSON ....................................................................................................................... 94

5.0 RESEARCH AND REPORTS ....................................................................................... 96

6.0 DISTRIBUTION .......................................................................................................... 98

7.0 CONTACT .................................................................................................................. 98

APPENDIX ...................................................................................................................... 99
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest
1.0 Introduction

In Swedish cities there are a number of disadvantaged urban areas where the socio-economic status is significantly lower than the rest of society. These areas have large youth groups, and a relatively high proportion of these leave compulsory school with incomplete grades. Unemployment and crime rates are also above average. In these areas, criminal attitudes are being normalised. In recent years, cooperation partners who work in the districts have seen a trend where more and more young people shut themselves off from established society and form subcultures with their own values, norms and laws. Crime has become more and more acceptable in these areas and an increasing proportion of young people seem to think that crime against authority is natural behavior. The consequences are that young people's chances to integrate into Swedish society is reduced, and that residents and parties in society feel insecure and experience fear. High crime rates in an area also leads to a reduction in or absence of influx of new inhabitants and the setting up of businesses. This leads to a self-segregation, where the area is run by the destructive forces, something which further complicates the integration of newly arrived individuals.

1.1 Background

2004 saw a period of unrest in the Järva area of Stockholm when riots occurred and stones were thrown at community representatives. The Swedish National Police Board therefore held a conference, to which other cities with similar problems were invited. The conference was called 'Polis i mångkulturellt område' [Police in multi-cultural areas]. Participants shared their experiences regarding working in a multi-cultural area. There was a lack of knowledge about how the police should interact with young people in these areas. One of the solutions discussed was cooperation – it was important to have a broad platform where parties in society could discuss experiences from different contexts. Gothenburg shared a successful cooperation concept known as 'Young and Safe in Gothenburg'. After the conference, the Västerort City Police District decided to create 'Young and Safe in Järva'. The project was later phased out in 2007 when the project manager assumed other work duties and the participants were no longer believed to be engaged and active. Another contributing factor for phasing out the project was believed to be the re-organisation of district councils after the change-over in power in conjunction with the Parliamentary election in 2006. Despite its failure, 'Young and Safe in Järva' set the groundwork for the participants. Cooperation work developed slowly in a positive direction, when the benefits of working together were realised. The police, district councils and positive forces created different forums where discussion of problems in society was made possible. The cooperation in the Järva area has been successively built up, both in project form and in the daily line operations. Today there is a wide network of cooperation partners who have a good understanding of each other's roles and duties. We have learned from the past "failed" attempts at cooperation, which have contributed to valuable experience for the future.
In 2011, work started on the project *methodological manual for the cooperation to counteract social unrest*. The project is funded by the EU Integration Fund under the auspices of the District Police Commissioner of Västerort City Police District. The project partners are Spånga-Tensta and Rinkeby-Kista District Councils. The project also includes newly arrived third-country nationals. A reference group was linked to the project, with participants from police authorities and district councils in Stockholm, Uppsala, Gothenburg and Malmö, the Swedish National Police Academy and the Swedish Fire Protection Association. The collaboration has also been run by FoU Väst, the University of Gothenburg and Malmö University.

### 1.2 Aim and target groups

The purpose of the methodological manual is to share experiences and successful working methods to cooperate to counteract social unrest. The manual is aimed primarily at cooperation partners within the police and the municipality, where the schools, social services and recreational activities come under the responsibility of the municipality. Other users may include the fire brigade, responsible parties for public transport, religious organisations, non-profit organisations, "good and relevant forces" as well as specific vocational courses such as those at the Swedish National Police Academy and social work programmes. The goal is for newly arrived individuals to be provided a good opportunity to integrate into Swedish society and for more young people to leave school with complete grades and increase their opportunities to become self-sufficient as adults. This should lead to a reduced breeding ground for social unrest, crime and social exclusion among young people in the future.

### 1.3 Studies

Field studies from the Järva area were conducted in Rinkeby, Tensta and Husby, focusing on which forms of cooperation had been implemented and which parties participated in them. The aim of the study was to recognize successful working methods within the cooperation area, in addition to pitfalls that should be avoided in cooperation work. The field study was based on qualitative, semi-structured interviews, observational studies and surveys. The respondents were persons whom the project group had identified as key persons for cooperation in the Järva area.

The project also visited Swedish and European cities affected by social unrest. These cities were Uppsala, Gothenburg, Malmö, London, Copenhagen and Paris. The information collected from the respective cities was characterised by the persons encountered, their roles within their organisations and additionally, how the study visits had been planned. By gathering new experiences and knowledge from the cities, the aim was to strengthen, dismiss and develop cooperation work in the Järva area.
1.4 Project partners

Project background
The cooperative work in the Järva region between the police and other parties in society have been built up successively over the years. In 2010, the then head of community police Ditte Westin initiated a project application with the Integration Fund in order to assess the cooperative work that had been carried out at Järva, and to utilise other good experiences around the world.

In September 2011, the project was launched, with the District Police Commissioner of the Västerort Police District as the project owner and Johnny Lindh, superintendent with the Västerort police, as the project manager. Project partners included Rinkeby-Kista and Spånga-Tensta District Councils (SDF).

A steering group was formed with superintendent Jörgen Karlsson, head of the Kista community police department, Per Granhällen, security and crime prevention strategist with Rinkeby-Kista SDF, Eva-Britt Leander, cooperation coordinator working with child and youth matters in Spånga-Tensta SDF.

A project group was formed, consisting of analysts Nina Axnäs and Annica Nord and Bilger Ulug-Çalisir as project administrator. Dejan Stankovic, Rinkeby-Kista SDF and Michael Frejd Spånga-Tensta SDF.

Other participants include Amina Qvist, fire safety information officer at Kista Fire Station and Roger Roffey from the Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI, in his capacity as expert, and economist Anette Behm.

The first stage of the project consisted of evaluating the cooperation efforts in the Järva region and taking stock of good experiences in the rest of Sweden and Europe. During the autumn of 2011, study visits were carried out to Uppsala, Gothenburg, Malmö, London, Copenhagen and Paris. The common denominator for these cities is that they have all experienced similar issues.

During the autumn of 2012 the second stage of the project was initiated, aiming to structure the collected information and establish a web-based methodological manual. Jesper Lindblom, student at the Department of Sociology at Stockholm University, was given a project employment for this task.

At the same time, a reference group was established, including representatives of the Västerort police, Stockholm City, police and municipal representatives from Malmö, Gothenburg and Uppsala. The Swedish National Police Academy, The Swedish Fire Protection Association.
The reference group consisted of:

Johnny Lindh, project manager Västerort Police District
Camilla Almlöf, project administrator, Västerort Police District
Dejan Stankovic, Rinkeby-Kista SDF
Michael Frejd, Spånga-Tensta SDF
Jörgen Karlsson, Västerort Police District
Per Granhällen, Rinkeby-Kista SDF
Eva-Britt Leander, Spånga-Tensta SDF
Katarina Aspegren, Skåne County Police Authority
Mats Brandström, Malmö City
Even Magnusson, Västra Götaland County Police Authority
Anette Hillskär Malmfors, Gothenburg City
Ulf Lundgren, Uppsala County Police Authority
Ida Bylund Lindman, Uppsala City
Sara Lind, Stockholm City
Hanna Lagerholm, Swedish National Police Academy
Björn Björkman, Swedish Fire Protection Association

The third stage of the project, starting in September 2013 aims to distribute the methodological manual through organized distribution, participation in conferences and training arranged by various possible target groups, and through the internet. As the manual is translated into English it will also be accessible to international visitors on the internet.

During the distribution stage of the project, the reference group will continue its work and be expanded with the addition of Tanja Ståhle from the Stockholm County Administrative Board and Rainar All from the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB).

2.0 Cooperation

A basic principle for cooperation is that it should be humble and attentive. The parties in the cooperation need to be open-minded towards each other and be prepared to think in new ways with regard to work methods and approaches, where they should keep a positive attitude towards redistributing and reorganizing their work where required. This is because a party's work methods and approach may not be the most suitable to obtain the common goal set for the cooperation forum. The attitude that a party displays in front of other parties often reflect their own personal values. The cooperation party should ask themselves the question: What am I fighting for? Am I fighting for the cause or for my own personal values? When is it time to draw boundaries and to punish, and when is it time to learn something new?
In order for a cooperation to function, the parties need to learn how to cooperate. To start with, this requires everyone to have a common view/idea of the problem. The parties also need to discuss solutions to the problem, and ask themselves questions such as: Can I solve this problem? Should I pass it on? How do I contribute in the best possible way? Rank the problems, and discuss which solutions are the most important. It helps to take an inventory of resources, where all cooperation parties discuss the available resources. Are there other external resources that can be integrated into the cooperation forum? During this process, it helps to evaluate and observe signs of progress, and to encourage and highlight positive factors in the work.

Knowledge gained from cooperation sets standards. The cooperation that takes place within the group reflects the cooperation that later on takes place out in the field with children, juveniles and young adults. It is important for managers to encourage and follow up the cooperation efforts. If the managers do not want something to happen, it will not happen; the manager implements and creates role models. The management of each respective party needs to display a commitment to society and the problems that exist therein. The cooperation needs to enjoy strong support from the management in order to maintain continuity. It also leads to employees becoming more committed, which in the end creates added value for the cooperation. If there is a lack of support from the management, there is a great risk that the cooperation efforts receive a low priority. When the cooperation deals with an individual at risk of entering into destructive behavior and crime, it is suitable to think about what type of secrecy is important and needs to be applied. Think about the purpose of the legislation and how the existing laws and ordinances are used. Often, secrecy constitutes an obstacle for cross-sectorial cooperation.
2.1 Preconditions for cooperation

The methodological manual is based on a field study conducted in the Järva region, more specifically in the areas Rinkeby, Tensta and Husby. The field study identified different forms of cooperation that were utilised in the area, as well as the success factors, flaws and fears connected to such cooperation. The field study is based on qualitative, semi-structured interviews, observation studies and a survey taken at a briefing. The respondents were identified by the project group and the control group as key persons for the cooperative effort in the area.

Visits have been made to Swedish and European cities affected by social unrest. These cities were Uppsala, Gothenburg, Malmö, London, Copenhagen and Paris. The information collected from each respective city was characterised by the persons encountered, their roles within their organisations and how the study visits had been planned. By gathering new experiences and knowledge from the cities, the aim was to strengthen, dismiss and develop cooperation work in the Järva area. The results from the field study and study visits have been divided into four main categories: Basic requirements, value-adding factors, complex factors and areas for improvement.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

- Basic requirements – Relates to factors that are considered essential for the cooperation to function.
- Value-adding factors – Relates to factors that have led to positive developments in the cooperation, such as encouragement and clarity.
- Complex factors – Relates to factors that add value, but which can be risky and have a negative impact on cooperative work.
- Areas for improvement – Relates to factors that are flawed and that require improvement as they have been identified as valuable.

Summary

The field study and the situational analysis show that the working methods used in different places in Sweden are very similar. It is not surprising that the cooperative methods in Sweden are similar, as agencies and organisations communicate and share experiences with each other, and shared policy documents are produced by Swedish authorities where working practices and guidelines are provided. The majority of the success factors emphasised in the field study are also similar to the ones found in London and Copenhagen. Based on the field study of the Järva region, it is also clear that there is a consensus regarding what is missing in the cooperative efforts, as practically the same fears and flaws are highlighted. There is a consensus regarding the major challenges that the problems entail. One basic problem is that there is no national cooperative forum for organisations, meaning cooperation is difficult to measure.

A national cooperative forum is important, mainly to ensure the continuation of the cooperation work even when departments are reorganised. Cross-sectorial cooperation is therefore of the utmost importance. Studies from London and Copenhagen show that social unrest can be avoided. In London, 2011, the CSP (Community Safety Partnerships) meetings concluded that even if there was unrest in some areas, several other potential riots could be prevented by high police presence, long-term cooperation with the municipality and daily briefings during the unrest.

In Copenhagen, the Danish National Police can point to disadvantaged areas where they expected social unrest but where no violent incidents occurred. During the riots of 2008, there were a total of 780 incidents of arson, only three of which happened in Fyn, one of the most segregated and socially disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen. Unlike the other cities covered by the project, there were no specific events or intervention by the police that triggered the riots in Copenhagen. On the other hand, long-term dissatisfaction among young people reached its peak. This dissatisfaction derived from young people of foreign descent feeling harassed because of constant police checks and they also stated that there had been cases of racist abuse during these checks. The Danish National Police is currently working actively to ensure that such is not to be repeated.

Common to both London and Copenhagen is that their well-developed cooperation work is based on structure, regularity, continuity and personal relationships. A precondition for achieving this is focus and priority from the management.
Basic requirements for cooperation

Goal-oriented cooperation

The study shows that cooperation sometimes overruns day-to-day operations, instead of becoming an integrated part of them. Sometimes, the goals and purpose of the cooperation are also perceived as unclear. For that reason it is important to set clear goals and make sure to monitor the effects of the cooperation. Since the cooperative structure intersect all levels of the organization, flexible goals might be preferable, i.e., goals that can evolve as society changes. In order to make the cooperative efforts effective and focused on the issues, it is very important to set a goal based on a shared situational picture.

A shared situational picture

Continually meeting in various cooperation forums is of vital importance to create a shared situational picture. One important tool for creating a shared situational picture are the briefings held on Fridays and Saturdays as well as weekdays during school holidays. During these briefings, all the participants share their view of the situation in the area, and any knowledge they may have gained regarding special incidents, important events, parties or similar. A discussion regarding the situation at hand also makes it easier to notice warning signals, issues or irregular behaviors in groups or individuals as soon as possible. All the parties issuing a shared situational picture also lessens the risk of confusion and rumors spreading in the local population.

Continual meetings on several levels

Continual meetings on several levels are required to achieve a shared situational picture, to plan measures down to the individual level in order to expedite decisions and interventions.

An experienced organisation

The study shows that the previous cooperation forum 'Young and Safe in Järva' was of little worth to the participating organisations because it did not have the necessary experience to cope with the change entailed by the project. The respondents state that there was disagreement between the organisations and that they all had different goals for the project. They also state that these organisations blamed each other for the problems in the Järva region. In order for an organisation to be prepared for change, there must be no conflict – internally or externally – and it must have a clear and sustainable goal and purpose. It is also important to have a committed management that realised that change is necessary.

Time frame

One precondition for a well-functioning cooperation is allowing the start-up of the project to take the time it needs. It is important for the participantes to get acquainted and build an understanding of each other's roles and responsibilities. Cooperation should be founded on respect, humility and a good relation – three factors that take time. You should not expect quick results from the cooperation, its effect will be gradual and takes time to build.
Continuity
The study emphasises the importance of continuity in the cooperative efforts, including regular meetings to discuss the shared situation assessment as well as tasks, roles and delegation of responsibilities. Continuity is a contributing factor to the successful cooperation in the Järva region. Continuity within the Järva region refers to regular briefings and sending out text messages with the situation assessment, daily meetings between security personnel and property owners, cooperation between authorities, SamTidigt FörSt, Järvaandan and safety walks. It is also important to find a balance between time and continuity; if there are a lot of small, inefficient meetings, the cooperation can easily be seen to take over the day-to-day activities.

Relations
Showing each other interest and humility
It is important to have a genuine interest in the partners and their tasks, roles and responsibilities and to treat them with humility. It is essential that all parties involved feel comfortable getting close to each other.

Understanding each other's roles and responsibilities
The study shows the importance of understanding the roles, responsibilities and conditions that each respective professional role entails. It is also important to consider the various participants capacity to participate in the cooperative efforts, and to respect and value everyone's work equally.

Risks associated with relations
The cooperation must not be based solely on personal relations, as there is then a risk of the cooperation falls apart if the relationship does. Cooperation must therefore be based in the respective professional role of each party, and have clearly defined responsibilities, mandates and expectations.

Commitment
Working in disadvantaged areas requires a great deal of commitment. In the Järva region, the cooperation partners' commitment has been a great success factor. There are dedicated people who, in their spare time, have implemented the text message chain in times of unrest, and who have also coordinated staff efforts. These individuals and tools are the key factors to the successful cooperation in the Järva region. Another important thing is to show commitment and presence in the day-to-day activities, in order to build trust in the local community.

Support from management
In order to maintain a successful cooperation, a committed management that shows interest in the community and the problems at hand is required. The cooperation must be well-established with the management in order to maintain continuity. If there is a lack of support from the management, there is a risk of the cooperation becoming less of a priority, and resources will be allocated elsewhere.
The management should also be actively involved, as this signals to the cooperation partners that their work is valuable, which in turn makes them more committed, and the end result is an improved effort.

**Value-adding factors**

**The dedicated individuals and driving forces**

*Dedicated participants* are central to the cooperative efforts due to their commitment and deep knowledge of the local community. The *driving forces* are the person in the cooperation who are structured and persistent and who have high standards, which leads to higher quality.

**Encouragement**

Working in disadvantaged areas requires a great deal of commitment and energy. It is therefore extremely important to continuously highlight the positive achievements of the cooperation partners; the professionals, the residents and volunteers alike. If not, there is a risk that the efforts will focus too much on the problems, which could lead to negativity and lack of positive results.

**Measures tailored to needs**

As mentioned earlier in this report, it is important to have a shared situation assessment and common goals. The cooperation partners must analyse the problem they are faced with and determine who ‘owns’ this problem; only then is it possible to do an inventory of available resources and decide which of these would be useful in dealing with the problem at hand.

**Recruiting in the local community**

The vision of Järvaandan is for the organisation to primarily hire staff from the local community, with the aim of increasing employment for the residents. Members of the local community also have the best knowledge of the problems in the area. They are seen as the "experts". Thanks to their position of authority in the area, they are sometimes able to step in and calm a situation down, when the presence of the Police only creates more unrest.

However, the study also shows that there might be downsides to only hiring staff from the local community as this leads to a risk of the community isolating itself from the rest of society. It may also lead to the residents feeling comfortable only seeking employment within their own district, which could lead to increased segregation instead of increased integration. Another risk of using local resources is that a cooperation partner might keep a hidden agenda, or that the cooperation becomes infiltrated by negative influences.
The Police

It is essential for the Police to show commitment to the cooperative efforts and the positive forces in the community. The residents often have a positive experience collaborating with the community police whereas encounters with central police units responding to a call are less positive. The responding units are less familiar with the area, the young residents and the local cooperation partners, which can lead to breakdowns in communication and misunderstandings. It should be emphasised that the community police and the responding units work with different tasks and conditions.

Cultural understanding and establishment

One major success factor in the Järva region is the cooperation with the mosques, which the respondents view as a great asset due to the large number of Muslims living in the area. When there has been social unrest, representatives from the mosque have gone out to calm the young people involved. Close cooperation with religious leaders was also a success factor in connection to the 2011 London riots, when the Imam managed to calm the rioters down.

The community police in Rosengård have been educated about both Arabic language and Islam, in order to lessen the risk of cultural clashes and to make it easier to have conversations with parents on a daily basis. It is important to integrate all religious communities in the cooperative efforts, so that no community is excluded.

Local associations

The study shows that local associations in the area have much influence with the residents. In cases where these associations are of a religious nature, it is important that they take responsibility and are open to the cooperative efforts. It is important to strive towards the creation of a strong and serious association life, where all associations have a chance to cooperate with one another. Problems may arise when you come across less serious associations, with an unclear purpose. It is therefore important for the associations to clarify why they want to do volunteer work in the community, and to what end.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Communication

Communication is a cornerstone of cooperation. The communication between the cooperation partners must be active, broad and clear, with as open a dialogue as possible towards the local community. Earlier instances of unrest have often begun due to a Police intervention perceived as unjust by the young people in the area. In those situations, it is important to elicit the help of the cooperation channels at hand, in order to clearly communicate why a certain action has been taken.

In the Järva region, the Police has turned to various local associations in times of social unrest to gain information about what is happening; they have, for example, asked parents to keep children and young people at home. After the unrest, a shared situation assessment has then been communicated to the residents, in order to facilitate follow-up efforts and keep the calm. The residents have then realised the value of the work done. It is essential for the residents to feel that there are people fighting for their community.

Positive role models

The lack of positive role models in disadvantaged areas is often very noticeable. The respondents feel that the need for such role models is enormous, both for individuals and organisations. This opinion is something that the cooperation partners have taken into account when employing staff in the Järva region, where the community and youth representatives are good examples of organisations that have been built to act as positive role models. These organisations are characterised by equality and diversity, so that everyone in the community can relate to them.

The right person at the right time

The study shows that having the right people take part of the cooperative efforts makes it possible to achieve a lot together.

The large network that has been built in the Järva region has made it easier to quickly reach a concerned person, without any unnecessary detours. When seven people were killed in a fire in 2009, the mosque, district council, church and police were able to set up crisis management centres within two hours. Without an established network, this would not have been possible in such a short time. If the concerned persons are unable to be on site, another person can cover for them, thanks to their knowledge of the other's organisation.

Solidarity – Trusting the systems of society

The respondents in the study say that one of the sought-after effects of the cooperative efforts is to erase the negative view that young people have of the Police and other officials. By collaborating on multiple levels, you can increase these young people's trust in the systems of society and break the negative image created in disadvantaged areas.

Clarity

Being clear with one's role and the obligations it entails, makes it easier to build trust between the cooperation partners. Being clear also reduces the risk of misunderstandings.
The respondents felt that cooperation as a valuable signal has been very successful in the Järva region.

**Closing the gap**

The study shows that the police feel that the cooperation has led to a closer relationship with the local community. Other cooperation partners are also of the opinion that the cooperation has led to the police becoming part of the community and that there is less of a distinction between "us and them" now. Small cooperative steps lead to something great in the end.

**Complex factors**

**Young people contributing to their local community**

Young people contributing to their local community through, for example, a summer job can be a success factor. Planting flowers in the community flower beds means that the individual takes part in and contributes to the community. What you have helped create, you do not wish to destroy.

At the same time, the respondents feel that there are risks with involving young people in the work with the local environment, as some young people are believed to participate in this work for the wrong reasons. It is therefore vital to have a discussion with the young people regarding their intent and goals for their work.

**Youth recreation centres and venues for young adults**

Whether the youth recreation centres have a positive function or not depends on the character of the youth recreation leaders. Many youth recreation centres serve as growing grounds for criminal careers, but there are also examples of well-functioning youth recreation centres where the leaders are dedicated and passionate professionals. In Malmö, all youth recreation activities have been moved to school premises, where the pupils can get help with their homework.

**Excessive application**

Since cooperation involves several organisations with different missions, it is important that cooperation is not excessive and done for the its own sake. This relates to what has been said previously regarding personal relationships and respecting each other's professional tasks.

The study shows that cooperation sometimes overruns day-to-day operations, instead of becoming an integrated part of them. In order not to take up too many resources, the cooperation meetings must be qualitative in nature, and only involve those parties that are concerned and can contribute; otherwise there is a risk that the parties loose interest in the cooperation. It is important for all the parties not to get caught in abstract discussions on what ought to be done, but instead deal with the actual conditions and what is to be done.
Media

The respondents feel that it is important for the cooperation partners to have a joint media strategy based on a shared situation assessment. There must be a common agenda for what to share with the media, and how. Considering the media as a cooperation partner is beneficial, since they can contribute to more unrest by publishing incorrect or insufficient information.

One of the respondents stated that they avoided answering any questions from media that could trigger competition between different disadvantaged areas, such as “how many cars were set on fire yesterday?” This sentiment was confirmed by young people who felt that there is often a sort of competition between the worst areas. One successful strategy has been to ask the media to reduce their coverage, since the social unrest increases the more they report it. However, there must be a dialogue characterised by mutual respect for each party's role, in order not to provoke the opposite reaction from the media.

Professional secrecy

One issue brought up by the respondents is professional secrecy, which limits the cooperation within each organisation. However, they feel that this used to be a bigger problem, and now they have learned how to handle it.

Areas for improvement

The role of parents

Both the field study and the study visits have proven that parents do not participate enough in the cooperative efforts. The parents are the people with the greatest opportunity to influence their children. Parents also have a greater chance of influencing who their children spend time with. A close cooperation with the parents can also have a positive impact on young people’s attitudes.

In the Järva region, there are already several parents involved in the cooperative efforts, which is a great success factor in crime prevention. The schools are good cooperation partners that can reach out to the parents. In segregated areas at a socioeconomic disadvantage, the majority of residents will have their ethnic origin in another country. When it comes to newly arrived families, language presents a barrier, and it is therefore important to communicate information in the parents’ first language, and to teach them Swedish.

Conclusions and proposed measures

During this project, we have identified a number of good examples of successful and structured cooperation. At the same time, we are aware that much remains to be done. Presented below are propositions for concrete measures and areas of development. The propositions have been categorised according to three cooperation levels: participants, management and organisation.
Participants

Briefing meetings

Briefing meetings require participants with adequate mandate to make decisions, and the opportunity to build confidentiality and trust, so that an exchange of information can take place at an individual level. The reason for this is to ensure the quick expedition of measures and intervention, and for the judicial process to be upheld. The purpose of the briefing meetings is also to add knowledge of the different tasks and powers of the different actors, and to create continuity through a common attitude and working method.

Briefings

Briefings should continuously be evaluated by the participants, which is why a structure is required where an agenda and a record are kept. This documentation should contain relevant information regarding the participants, a situation assessment of the past, present and future, a common goal for the evening as well as an expected result. A final point to briefly sum up how the evening went, along with any proposed improvements, is also valuable.

Parents

The study shows that parents are one of the most important factors when it comes to their child's chances of not feeling alienated and ending up in a criminal lifestyle. It is therefore very important to get the parents involved in these areas. The parents must be encouraged to participate in the cooperative efforts, both as parents and as peers.

Showing respect for people's different backgrounds, a dialogue can be held to increase the understanding of what Swedish society expects from parents in terms of responsibility, obligations and opportunities. At the same time, the cooperation partners have a chance to develop their own knowledge of other cultures, and their expectations of Swedish society.

Residents

Those who suffer most from the occurrence of social unrest are the law-abiding people, i.e., the majority of the residents and people working in the area. Over the course of the project, we have heard many stories of residents who are afraid to testify or speak up. Our experiences have been that by involving the residents in night patrols and joint activities, we have seen an increase in the feeling of solidarity and unity.

Creating a relationship with the young people

Trying to give the young people a name and a face to every police officer working in the area has had positive results. Through dialogue and an increased understanding of each other's roles, conditions and experiences, helps avoid culture clashes and arrive at mutual respect. It requires time and continuity, which in turn requires support and commitment from management.
Management
Throughout the study, the importance of consensus and understanding has been emphasised, from the lowest operational level to the highest strategically level. It is important that the view of cooperation is shared by superiors on all levels and the entire organisation, partly to benefit the staff in regard to budgeting, and partly in the contact with other organisations.

In regard to staff
The management has to be understanding of the fact that the staff needs the time and mandate required for cooperative efforts. The superior has to create continuity when it comes to cooperation, so that this work does not depend solely on one person as a driving force, but continues even if the staff group changes. It is at the management level that the purpose of cooperation is defined and it is from this level that support, coaching and encouragement must come when this work feels like a struggle.

In contact with other partners
If the cooperation is not working optimally, it is the superior's job to contact other cooperation partners and organisations that, for example, have not fulfilled their commitments. Management is also important when it comes to cooperation with other management forums with regard to functions, exchanging experiences and development work.

In regard to budget responsibilities
The superiors are often forced to prioritise between different operational areas in connection to budgeting. These priorities must be well considered, motivated and defended in various contexts. This has often proven the greatest challenge for middle management, both within the Police and the District Council. When social unrest occurs, all available operational resources are used to calm the situation. These resources are often allowed to remain in the area for a while afterwards, in order to guarantee that the area remains calm.

The regular staff is forced to cancel placements and allow the long term cooperation take a back seat to assist at sporting events, investigations, reinforcement to central commissions or regular interventions etc.

Organisation
Measurements of cooperation
Decision-makers often prioritise the methods that have a clear effect on results. If it is possible to prove that the cooperative efforts are effective, or that available resources are used efficiently, the likeliness increases for the cooperation to be prioritised. In order to carry out long-term, sustainable cooperation, a shift in focus is required; from results to process. This is particularly true for the Police, but also for the District Councils.

A process-oriented organisation
In the 2000s, the Police and many other organisations within the public sector have been characterised by goal-orientation. Goal-orientation, in short, means that different units are assigned requirements and targets. Each unit then decides how these requirements and targets
will be fulfilled. This method may seem to provide freedom and room for individual units and middle-management to take responsibility and initiative. However, a problem arises if the outcome falls short of the target, at which point all focus will be on the negative result. In the absence of other policy instruments, the negative result may be given so much attention that the management and politicians begin to micromanage with one sole purpose: to reach the target.

In a process-oriented organisation, activities are guided by routines, check-lists, templates and service mindedness. Once an organisation is focused on the process rather than the results, and separates value-adding activities from wasteful ones, time is liberated; time which can be used to make improvements. A process-oriented organisation also uses various measurements. However, the major difference is that these measurements measure the process in order to develop it, not to reach an end result. In an organisation that implements the Lean principles, the improvement proposals come from the employees, which strengthens their involvement and commitment. In the end, this leads to improved results.

Prioritisation

In this study, three policy documents have been searched for a number of words that have been identified as key terms in the cooperative efforts. The searches were done in the 2012 Letter of Regulation for the Police, the 2012-2014 Police Planning Prerequisites and the 2012 Stockholm City Budget. The key words were social unrest, disadvantage, disadvantaged area, alienation, segregation, segregated, integrated and integration. The key words occur sparingly in all three documents; one possible explanation could be that this is not a national phenomenon. A search for cooperation and young people will have more results. ‘Cooperation’ comes up 81 times and ‘young people’ 149 times in the 369 pages long Stockholm City Budget. In the 52 pages of the Police Planning Prerequisites, the same words come up 34 and 25 times respectively.

We can then conclude that the Police and Stockholm city both focus on cooperation between authorities, which is a good start. In the mid-90s, the community police introduced an increased focus on crime prevention efforts, convinced that this was an important aspect. A little over 15 years later, we still have no measurement indicating that we are going about this in the right way. If we are to be successful in our cooperative efforts, politicians and heads of authorities must come to a shared view of the problem that stretches across party and organisation lines. They must prioritise crime prevention in order to reduce alienation and youth crimes, and really take on the fundamental causes of social unrest; only then will the organisations be able to prioritise crime prevention in their day-to-day activities. In order to make this possible, documentation indicating what, in these cooperative efforts, is effective.

Conclusion

The effects of crime prevention efforts are not easily measured. To prove that cooperation has a positive effect is even more difficult. But we believe that the benefit to society from this type of cooperation is great, and that good cooperation in day-to-day crime prevention is essential to an effective and successful cooperation in emergencies as well, leading to lower costs, less material damages and less human suffering.
In this study, we have identified the forms, forums and factors that the cooperation partners in the cities we have visited feel have been successful in their cooperative efforts. We believe that organisations must strive to develop a measurement for cooperation that shows whether the cooperation partners are focusing on the right things; what needs to be prioritised further and what is a waste of society's resources, so that time and effort can be put into relevant areas. It is the police, the district councils and the municipalities that are the prerequisites to propel this development.

2.2 Locally structured cooperation

Gothenburg, Malmö and Uppsala use a successful local cooperation structure that derives from Copenhagen, where a collaborative structure consisting of social services, schools and police (SSP) has been in development since the 1970s. The structure covers the entire city, focusing on crime prevention work with children and young people. Even the Spånga-Tensta district council in Stockholm makes use of a locally structured cooperation that is inspired by the Copenhagen model.

The need for a solid and structured collaborative method in major Swedish cities came about as a response to the increased number of confrontations between criminal groups, increased recruitment to criminal gangs among young people and the incidence of violent riots in disadvantaged areas. The established model from Copenhagen was considered suitable to be implemented in the districts where it would provide conditions for a specific and clear direction in cooperation and in measures for the young people. The police and the city had expressed the need for a single organisation for cross-sector cooperation that could carry out joint interventions.

The aim is to create options for children and youth who have gone wrong and ended up on the wrong track. Options could be a recreational contact, an easy and quick contact with social services or work experience. This method can create long-term crime prevention and a situation in which children and young people are taken care of and given the opportunity to develop positively. Speed and early detection are important and successful factors in cooperation work. A structured cooperation between social services, schools and the police simplifies and facilitates work with those factors that the methodological manual identifies as basic requirements for cooperation, for example, shared situational picture, regular cooperation meetings at different levels, an experienced organisation, time, continuity, personal relationships, commitment and support from management. Below is a presentation of the cooperative efforts conducted in Gothenburg, Malmö and Spånga-Tensta district council.

SSPF, Gothenburg

SSPF in Gothenburg is a permanent forum for the exchange of information between schools, social services, the police and recreation centres that is run in all the city districts and
surrounding municipalities, Ale, Mölndal and Partille. SSPF represents the hub of the work with youth problems and social unrest.

**Purpose and target group**

The purpose is to prevent and minimise the criminal activity, substance abuse and risk behavior of young people. The goal is to create a safe and secure city where young people have a belief in the future and a sense of involvement. The target group for SSPF is children and young people aged 12-18 who play truant, are suspected of committing crimes, abuse substances or spend time in destructive environments.

**The SSPF network**

The social services, schools, police and recreation centres always form the backbone, but in situations deemed valuable, other partners may also be brought in, such as child and adolescent psychiatry. Also attached to the SSPF networks are upper secondary school welfare officers. There are also efforts to make it easier for independent schools (which have a different legal structure) to participate in SSPF.

**Steering groups and operational groups**

SSPF is based on cooperation at two different levels. Every city district has both local steering groups and operational groups.

Local steering groups (meeting twice a semester) consist of:

- Area director, social services.
- Area director, school.
- Head of unit, police.
- Area director/Sector director, recreation centre.

Operational groups (meeting every other week) consist of:

- Heads of unit, social services.
- Head teachers, school.
- Investigation officer juvenile police/social worker at the police.
- Heads of unit, recreation centre.

The steering group has an overall organisational responsibility for strategy and objectives, effects plans, defines needs and decides on operations and method development. The steering group is also given as a coordinating and executive function from the local working group, which also develops methods. A meeting with the local working group is structured according to a general and an individual level. The fixed agenda is as follows:
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

General
- Current situation in the area.
- Calendar of shared commitments.
- Action plans for youth groupings of concern.

Individual
- What has happened with follow-up and consent since last time?
- New matters with consent.
- Create common commitment plans.

Coordinator between the two groups
Every city district has an SSPF coordinator. The majority are employed by social services. The coordinators meet in a network a couple of times each semester under the guidance of designated quality assurers for the development of the work.

Based on the guardian’s suspension of confidentiality
SSPF requires the guardian to give written consent to employees from the three agencies to be permitted to suspend the confidentiality agreement and discuss their children openly. The work to suspend confidentiality has been successful, with the majority of guardians giving their consent. Through the various agencies communicating and sharing information about their work with children and young adults, the ability to implement collaborative measures in the right order is enhanced.

Faster decision making
SSPF means faster decision-making processes related to children and young people at risk. Speed is an important factor in the work to prevent youth crime and recruitment to criminal gangs. Activities require a firm and clear structure with regular meetings to facilitate contact channels and create better conditions for long-term crime prevention. The inclusion of recreation centres in SSPF is of great importance because they constitute an important crime prevention factor by presenting other options to continuing on the path of crime.

Advantages for major police operations
SSPF is also used in conjunction with major police operations in which young people are to be apprehended. With the help of SSPF, the police can plan ahead with schools and social services, thus ensuring better handling of the situation by all the authorities concerned.

Recommendations
The following is recommended when implementing the SSPF model: a good frequency of meetings (every two or three weeks), predetermined meeting days, communication between the groups (e.g., exchange of meeting minutes) and developing forms for upper secondary schools and independent schools, where necessary, to be included in local working groups.
SSP, Malmö.

Malmö also has a local cooperation structure similar to that in Gothenburg. SSP in Malmö is a local crime and drug prevention collaborative forum between schools, social services and the police that covers the City of Malmö as a whole. The city districts are managed by a central management group consisting of one representative from the police, two city district directors, one head of training and two SSP coordinators from the secretariat. The central management group's task is to take the overall responsibility for the activities, develop strategies and goals and to allocate resources to various projects. The management group's guidelines are supplemented with local priorities and initiatives. Every city district has a local management group and a local group for field work and, in addition, a coordinator.

Every city district has a local management group (steering group) that directs the local work, consisting of representatives in management positions at the three authorities. Every city district also has local groups under the steering group, which draft proposals for action plans and implement initiatives following a decision by the steering group. Some city districts also have groups attached to the school management area. These groups include representatives from schools, social services, the police and recreation centre. Every city district also has an SSP coordinator who is responsible for keeping the work integrated and for convening meetings of the steering group. The SSP coordinator in Malmö is the equivalent of the Gothenburg SSPF coordinator.

SSP also has a secretariat consisting of one representative from the police, one central planning secretary for children and young people as well as two central coordinators for crime prevention. The secretariat is an executive body whose work includes method development, preparing cases for management group meetings, information and financial reports.

Working method and objectives

The work is based on joint action plans. These may, for example, relate to measures against truancy, criminal youth gangs and the early detection of substance abuse among young people. The goal is to prevent and minimise the criminal activity, drug use and other risk behavior of young people by working in environments where children and young people spend time.

Key words and decided points

The key words for SSP are cooperation – mobilisation – coordination. A joint action plan is drafted on the basis of a common assessment of the situation in the city district. The action plan contains four points. The first two points are decided centrally and apply to all the city districts in Malmö. The two subsequent points are decided locally in Limhamn-Bunkeflo. The four points are as follows:

- Develop strategies against serious truancy.
- Measures to prevent access to alcohol and drugs among schoolchildren.
- Counteracting racist attitudes in schools.
- Initiatives against threats and offensive behavior among schoolchildren on the internet.
Schools, social services and the police have the task of collaborating with each other since the assignment is complex and extends across traditional sector boundaries. By assuming a cross-sectorial approach, the cooperation work becomes a means for each authority to achieve greater effectiveness in their own assignments.

**SamTidigtFörSt, Södra Järva.**

**Background and purpose**

SamTidigtFörSt is a collaborative forum in the city district of Spånga-Tensta outside Stockholm which stands for Samverkan, Tidigt, Först och Strukturerat (cooperation, Early, First and Structured). The purpose of SamTidigtFörSt is long-term cooperation with children and young people who are at risk of delinquency.

**Objective**

The overall objective is to assume, in terms of organisation and content, a holistic approach to cooperation between schools, social services, the police and recreation centres. The early and coordinated implementation of various initiatives in different places can create effective work with children and young people. Furthermore, SamTidigtFörSt is accommodated within the collaborating organisations' existing resources. The three intermediate objectives of the project are summarised as follows:

- To increase knowledge and understanding of each other's professional roles and circumstances.
- To strengthen cooperative skills so as to gain a common foundation on which to stand in relation to one another and to children, young people and parents.
- To build a structure for organised and trusting work between different authorities.

**Structure of activities**

SamTidigtFörSt is composed of a steering group that brings together the most senior managers about four times a year; a cooperation management that meets every six weeks, consisting of unit heads with the mandate to make operational decisions; and school groups at every school that focus on specific and general needs in and around the particular school. The school groups meet at least four times per year.

In Tensta, there are many children and young people who do not participate in meaningful and structured activities. For this reason, Södra Järva also has a “recreation centre, field and police group” that shares current information about the situation in the area and which meets once a month and also before school holidays. In addition, it organises four conferences a year in which all those involved in the cooperation participate. The conferences spread knowledge about how the various activities work, which assignments have precedence and where the focus lies. They also present “good examples” of successful work.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

In addition, invited speakers contribute to the development of the method and approach sought. The objective is for all involved to understand their role in the greater context. Many contacts are made over the days these conferences take place, and new collaborative ideas take shape and are developed further. A coordinator employed at the district council is responsible for supporting the conference and all the forums and for keeping the work integrated and updating contacts.

**Management, structure, consensus, stimulus**

Achieving stable and successful cooperation between authorities at the regional and local levels requires management, structure and consensus (Josefsson et al, 2007). SamTidigtFörSt has also added a fourth term, stimulus, which means that the cooperation partners should also have the opportunity to meet and develop together.

SamTidigtFörSt defines the three terms for success as follows:

- **Management** - That a joint application has been made, that a steering group has been appointed, that an overall objective has been formulated and that intermediate objectives have been specified.

- **Structure** - All the participants in SamTidigtFörSt must see and understand their contribution as part of a greater context and commitment at multiple levels. Meeting places for networking must be continuous and recurrent at several levels, and each network level must understand its task, seeing the task as meaningful and being able to manage it. Furthermore, all the networks have a general working method that supports and enhances cooperation skills.

- **Consensus** - SamTidigtFörSt should contribute to the creation of new opportunities regarding difficult occurrences and situations as well as terms to describe them. Communication should be used to increase trust, confidence and the joint expertise for taking action (Prajans, 2007 & Info, 2007).
2.3 Historical perspective

Cooperation over time
Cooperative work has been conducted in Sweden for a long time. As early as 1898, *Svensk läraretidning* [a Swedish teachers' magazine] wrote:

*Each era has its catchwords. And so does ours. One of the most worn-out catchwords of our time is "ligapojkar" [gang members]. Human history has seen a plethora of troublemakers and violent types. As a final resort, the police have found a remedy for evil... a good beating is the only thing that will work to rectify the minds of these young madcaps. The hazel stick is the only thing that will help. A few days in prison does nothing to deter these young perpetrators* (*Svensk läraretidning*, 1898, 17:th edition, no. 50).

In 1958, female police officers were a new phenomenon. Within the police force, it was consequently discovered that women had a special aptitude for working with children and young people. At the same time, "social police" was introduced: these police officers patrolled the streets and did outreach work in the community. Institutions working with crime prevention were also introduced (Edvall Malm, 2012).

Thus, gang formation amongst young people is a wide-spread phenomenon with severe consequences. The members of such gangs often behave in an aggressive manner against ordinary, decent people, and direct acts of violence are not uncommon. The police officers that the investigation has been in contact have also emphasised the importance of gang formation for the rise of serious crime. (*Swedish Government Official Report*, 1958:34, p. 22).

During the investigation, it has been found that there are deficiencies in the cooperation between police and social services. There is no consensus on the measures which should reasonably be taken in order to prevent crime, and the parties do not fully understand the work duties of the other party (*Swedish Government Official Report* 1958:34, p. 36)
In 1969, issues concerning cooperation in crime prevention were discussed within the police. It was thought that collaborative efforts in large cities of between 10,000 and 40,000 inhabitants required other conditions and solutions, e.g., a collaborative institution between management and the field (Swedish Ministry of Justice Official Report, 1969:2 p. 18). The cooperation between the police, the child custody board and the schools was intensified in 1970 (Edvall Malm, 2012). The Swedish Code of Statutes (SFS) established that "Society's resources for promoting the development of children and young people and for preventing and counteracting crime and other types of maladjustment amongst children and young people need to be coordinated and used efficiently" (SFS, 1970). The intensity level of the cooperation rose in the following year in conjunction with clear recommendations being issued concerning collaborative institutions placed between the police, schools and social services. The problems discussed in a report from 1971 can be clearly linked to the social unrest that has taken place in the 2000s:

The influx of people into large cities may lead to financial difficulties, overcrowding and issues such as emotional strain, isolation or the dissolution of family and friendship ties. For immigrant families, these problems can become particularly urgent, and they can be aggravated by language difficulties and the adaptation to a new cultural environment (the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, the National Police Board and the National Agency for Education 1971, p. 3).

In 1987, the government decided that collaborative efforts were to be used to target juvenile crime which had increased steadily since the post-war period. Social services had previously been criticised for long processing times and insufficient measures. The time it took to process criminal cases involving young people was to be reduced, and prosecutors were given the right to revoke abstention from prosecution if a person did not comply with their treatment plan (Edvall Malm, 2012). The questions of which measures are to be taken against juvenile crime is pretty much always in focus in the crime policy debate. Even if the dramatic increase in juvenile crime that took place between the end of the Second World War and the 1970s has levelled out, it can be said that young people commit crimes to an extent that is not acceptable and which requires society to take forceful counter-measures. Juvenile crime needs to be targeted on a wide front (Government bill 1987/88: 135 p. 95).

In 1993, crime rates stagnated somewhat. The government demanded better coordination and faster reactions during the investigative phase. Special juvenile administrators were appointed within the police force, the prosecution service and in the social services with social workers working closely with the police. At the same time, social services were criticised for a lack of cooperation with the police. Parents of juvenile criminals were also to be involved in a better way (Edvall Malm, 2012).

One problem with the contact between the police and social services is a lack of reciprocity. As a principle, the police is required to submit all relevant information about the young person to
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

social services. On the other hand, the social services are not required to provide the police with practically any information at all. (Swedish Government Official Report 1993:35 Part a, p. 238).

We believe that the judicial system should be responsible for determining legal sanctions for crimes, both with regard to their content and their scope, while social services should be responsible for ensuring that help and supportive measures are provided to those who need them (Swedish Government Official Report 1993:35 Part a, p. 26).

A new secrecy act was presented in 2003, which contained a proposal for the social services to be able to provide information about persons younger than 18 years of age to the police for crime prevention purposes. There was an emphasis on the need for immediate police intervention in conjunction with narcotics or alcohol being given to young people. The investigation criticised the cooperation between the police and social services: "The problems that arise in conjunction with the authorities' work to prevent juvenile crime are mainly found in the everyday cooperation between – primarily – the police and social services" (Swedish Government Official Report, 2003:99, p. 357).

Since 1996, crime prevention efforts have been made wider, for example by creating local crime prevention councils with the purpose of preventing young people from adopting a criminal lifestyle. Schools, social services and parents focused on early interventions. Strategic crimes were also emphasised, such as vehicle theft, robberies and thefts. The circular cooperation model of 1971 was considered unstable and too focused on the individual, and it was therefore replaced by strategic cooperation, which focused on solutions, in-depth knowledge acquisition and an understanding of each other's work. A shared definition of 'cooperation' was required (Edvall Malm, 2012).

The aim of the general strategy and in-depth material was to form a basis and a support for the work to draw up local strategies for cooperation, focusing on the target group of children and young people who are harmed or are at risk of being harmed. The commission from the government was based on the notion that the cooperation needed further development, both on an individual and an overall level. The government was of the opinion that a strategy would make the cooperation less vulnerable and dependent on individual persons (the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, the National Police Board and the Swedish National Agency for School Development 2007, p. 10).

In 2007, the National Police Board established that an overarching cooperation agreement between the police and municipalities would present a more realistic image of the police, and thereby increase the trust in them (the National Police Board 2007, p. 10). In 2010, there had been no general increase in juvenile crime in recent years. However, there had been a rise in assault and hate crimes. There had also been a large number of unrecorded cases of juvenile
crime. It was said that the police had become more interventional rather than adopting preventive work with school information etc. Furthermore, the social services cut down on their outreach work. In spite of this, parents and family were still seen as the most important protective factors (Edvall Malm, 2012).

The parental strategies used for bringing up children are decisive for the development of the young person. A strategy based on committed parents who set adequate boundaries and monitor the young person's school work and leisure activities provides good protection for the young person. The norms and values of the parents also influence the behaviour of the young person. (Ministry publications series 2010:9 p. 42).

Using concepts borrowed from the police intelligence model, the steps in the process leading to the social welfare committee decision on measures to prevent a career in crime can be described as information acquisition, processing, analysis and implementation (Ministry publication series 2010:9 p. 55).

A government investigation from 2010 established that those persons who run the greatest risk of approaching or being drawn into criminal networks are relatively easy to identify on the group level, but not on an individual level. There was a focus on criminal groups, with the purpose of preventing recruitment and of making it easier to leave the group. Risk factors on the individual level were also identified, such as learning difficulties, drug abuse and aggressive and violent behaviour. A large responsibility for the work with crime prevention is placed on municipal organisations. Social task forces and the police 'parent phone' were created. Three changes to legislation were suggested: easing secrecy requirements, increasing possibilities to take young people under the age of 18 into care, and a clearer focus on parental responsibility in social services, schools and the police (Swedish Government Official Report 2010:15).
2.4 Focus group SFI (Swedish for immigrants)

Third country citizen participation – The SFI-Västerort Focus group

Background
During the spring of 2012 the project group and Spånga-Tensta district council, together with SFI-Västerort, formed a focus group consisting of newly arrived immigrants. The focus group consisted of a dozen newly arrived immigrants with limited or no knowledge of Swedish. Furthermore, they had had limited or no education. The majority of the group was Somali women with the rest coming from Eritrea, Morocco and Iraq. The group also included a person from SFI supporting them in their language acquisition.

Purpose and objective
The goal of the group was to give the newly arrived immigrants knowledge about the police, judicial system in general, municipal commitments as well as individual rights and responsibilities in Swedish society. The purpose was also to create trust and confidence in the police and other authorities, as well as giving the students more knowledge of the subject and helping them learn the Swedish language.

During the spring of 2012 five meetings were set up for the focus group, in order to inform the group about the conditions in a democratic society, with a focus on the police and the role of the legal system. An important element was to explain the difference between the state, county council and municipality’s responsibilities, the duties of the social services and the cooperation with the police.

The assessment of the meetings shows that the students found the meetings good and informative. Many of the students find the Swedish judicial system abstract and completely unlike the corresponding system in their home countries. At its core, SFI focuses solely on teaching Swedish, but teachers involved with the project requested that other authorities – e.g., the social services and the tax authority – collaborate with SFI and provide information about their respective fields so as to provide students with a better, comprehensive view of Swedish society.
For this project, the meetings provided an opportunity to gain knowledge about the experiences and beliefs of newly arrived immigrants with regard to the Swedish society, both concerning possibilities and difficulties. In the spring of 2012, the participants often expressed frustration and feelings of being lost with regard to the best way of bringing up children in Sweden. There is a large need for help and support in the parental role, which needs to be met.

Experiences from the spring 2012 meetings can be summed up in five points

- Make a rough draft together for each lesson
- Speak more Swedish
- More active work such as group assignments
- Talk about everyday events and subjects
- Be attentive to the students’ needs

An important element was that the SFI teacher went through a number of keywords on the day before each meeting, to improve the students understanding of the subject. The day after the meeting, the SFI teacher recapped what they had been talking about and the students were allowed to reflect and summarise how they felt the meeting went, in their own words.

Summary of the 2013 meetings

First meeting: The focus was on creating relationships and trust, and to explain the role of the police in democratic society. The constitution and the role of institutions. Keywords: government, democracy, state governed by law, constitution.

Second meeting: The mission of the police, coercive measures and sanctions, and the police cooperation with local communities. Presentation of the police’s premises and equipment. Key words: crime, coercive measure, sanction, cooperation.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

**Third meeting:** Municipal responsibilities and how a district council works. Key words: municipality, district, municipal services, publically funded operations, social services, motivation, advice and support, coercion – taking into care.

**Fourth meeting:** How the police and justice system work with domestic violence, primarily in the form of violence towards women and children. Key words: Gross violation of a woman’s integrity, crime under public prosecution – withdraw police report, public counsel, restraining order. 
*Domestic violence* and the film *Tens of thousands are secretly subjected to domestic violence*

**Fifth meeting:** Information about the general parenting support ABC (Alla Barn i Centrum – All Children in Focus) where the parental role is discussed in four themed meetings. Key words: parenting, role model, attention, relation, recreation, recreational activities and setting boundaries. 
[www.allabarnicentrum.se](http://www.allabarnicentrum.se/)

**Sixth meeting:** Information and practical exercises about Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation (CPR). Information about how to administer first aid to a person who is unconscious or is not breathing. Recognise warning signals of a person having a stroke. Keywords: inflation, compression, airway obstruction, defibrillator, intervention, stroke. 
[www.HLR.nu](http://www.HLR.nu) and [www.vardguiden.se](http://www.vardguiden.se)

**Facebook**
A great challenge for authorities in segregated areas lies in creating trust and confidence. The general public’s confidence in the judicial system is important, both for its legitimacy and its effectiveness. We have used Facebook to reach more parents, newly arrived immigrants and young people in these areas.

The SFI students have used our Facebook page to give written feedback regarding our meetings. We have noticed that there is a definite need for information and knowledge about this subject, and that the way we have provided it has been appreciated. The comments below can be found on *Facebook: Polisen Kista näpo*

"Now we know a little more about the constitution, democracy and youth violence”

"Now I understand how the police work”

"I learned that the police are working for the citizens”

"It was fun seeing the police equipment”

"I need to learn even more”

"I learned about hate crimes and how to report such crimes”

"I learned new words: discrimination, sexual orientation and victimisation”

"Now I know how many political parties there are in Sweden”
"It was interesting to learn about how the municipality works, about taxes and taking children and young people into care"  
"Rights and responsibilities are important"  
"It was good that we got to visit places outside of Tensta"  
"Sometimes they used words that were too difficult"  
"I used to be scared of the police, but now I am not"  
"It is important to have the right information"  
"I understand more about Stockholm and its districts"  
"We want to learn more about the Swedish laws"  
"No one has given us this information before"  
"Now I understand more about rights and responsibilities"  
"Social problems arise when we don’t understand Swedish laws"  
"I have learned more about young people and their problems in Tensta/Rinkeby"  
"It has been great having language aides, Mahad and Hirey"  
"It is important that the school, police and parents all work together"  
"It is important that we get to discuss how we think in Somalia and compare it to Sweden"  
"Now we know that the social services will not take our children away"  
"I learned that the municipality has information about holiday recreational activities for children"  
"Now I know that is important to be more aware of where your children are when they go out”  
"I feel safe knowing that the police are in charge of the streets”  
"I learned that there is parent counselling and what it can offer”

Conclusions
All parties can benefit from outlining rough plans for the meetings and determining the subjects of the meetings for the entire semester. Ahead of each meeting, SFI has prepared a number of keywords in order to prepare the group for the intended subject. Five meetings is a good amount to create good relationships and a well-functioning dialogue. At the same time, it is good to be flexible and attentive to the requests of the students and for there to be a possibility to adapt the subjects according to needs. Following the meetings in the spring semester of 2012, the message from the students was very clear: they wanted more information about how to raise children in Sweden. For this reason, a new direction for the programme was introduced in the autumn: parenting skills.

At the first two autumn meetings, there were many questions about the municipality’s commitments and the role of the Civic Office. Therefore, an additional meeting was held with the group at the Civic Office in Tensta. This meeting provided the students with information
about the municipality’s commitments in various areas and what the Civic Office can do for them. The students have appreciated the fact that the meetings have been held at various locations, at the respective authority. This has enabled them to get out into society and get new impressions. The idea has not been for the teaching to be conducted in lecture form, but the meetings are rather supposed to be held in the form of a dialogue, in which Swedish is used as much as possible. Since the target group has very limited Swedish skills, a person working to support their language acquisition is a necessity.

Visits to and dialogues with various institutions need to be included in SFI teaching. It is important to obtain information from the ‘right’ source. Many of the newly arrived immigrants live segregated from Swedish society and rely solely upon their friends and relatives for knowledge about it. Unfortunately, that information does not give the right impression of authorities in Sweden. Many people also have negative experiences with the authorities in their home countries. In conjunction with the various visits, the students have confirmed their fears and lack of knowledge with regard to the role and work of the police and social services. During the first two semesters that SFI was conducted, the view of these institutions changed and became more positive, according to the students.

These types of initiatives should take place as early as possible after the person has arrived in Sweden. As a teacher, SFI is a language-developing asset and a challenge, and it is important to raise the bar in the teaching process. It is important to clarify challenges and areas for development in which concepts such as freedom, democracy and Swedish law are misunderstood and often abused, meaning that the contents that we convey should be repeated on various occasions over time if we are to achieve good results in the future. Experience has shown that students often interpret Swedish society based on their own frames of reference, which entails a risk of culture clashes in everyday situations. There is both a lack of education and literacy amongst many people who come to Sweden, and they are in great need of the right assistance in order to become active in a workplace in this country as soon as possible.
3.0 Social unrest

3.1 Explanatory model

FoU Väst (Russell Turner, 2013) points to five levels of multi-factorial reasons for why adolescents become involved in destructive behavior and crime.

* Society – Refers to prevailing economic conditions, integration, the labour market, attitudes to immigration and cultural values. At the overall level of society, segregation occurs when social and geographical differences coincide. The segregated areas affected by social unrest are characterised by socio-economic vulnerability and a high rate of unemployment. On a society level, the cultural attitudes and values of the community are reflected.

* Local community – Refers to socio-economic status, access to resources and housing environment. The disadvantaged areas are characterised by a state of exclusion from the rest of society. The socio-economic status is low and access to community resources is often poor. This gives rise to feelings of injustice and powerlessness. The housing environment can also be characterised by poor standards and overcrowding. Within the local community, there are often pro-social role models and natural meeting places where young people interact with adults. Often, the presence of youth groups engaged in crime increases.
**Family** – Refers to family relationships and the housing situation. The lack of pro-social role models within the family is a risk factor: for example, there may be domestic violence or family members may become involved in criminal activities. A poor role model or lack of a male role model within the family creates a risk factor for boys in particular. Little interaction from parents in addition to strict discipline also creates a risk factor. Crowded living conditions are common amongst many families in disadvantaged areas which leads to adolescents avoiding spending time at home, instead choosing to stay out for longer in the evenings.

**Friends** — Refers to meaningful free-time and belonging. In disadvantaged areas, there is great mistrust and bitterness towards the society they believe themselves to be excluded from. Adolescents are often drawn to other frustrated adolescents in the same situation. In these destructive circles, they suddenly feel recognised, meaningful and proud. The sense of belonging and trust is incredibly important.

**Individual level** — i.e. psychological (ill)health, developmental phases, impulsiveness and needs. The reason for an individual getting involved in social unrest or crime may be due to an increased need for social status, self-confidence or self-esteem. The individual looks for status and respect, the feeling of ‘being’ someone. In connection with the unrest, the individual can be triggered by driving forces, while peer pressure can also play a significant role in the unrest since it is often a smaller number who are at the core. The instigators are often young men with a criminal lifestyle who gain from the contempt of society that is cultivated in these areas.

There is an interaction between all levels, where the individual level is seen as a filter for the other levels, where we see the world through our own eyes. Exclusion permeates all levels, resulting in area-specific norms, values and laws being formed in disadvantaged areas. Young men with criminal values benefit from this exclusion and the distrust of society that is cultivated as it increases the recruitment of adolescents and keeps social institutions at a distance. This creates a vicious circle, where exclusion leads to even more social isolation.

**Structural prevention: Better living conditions**

In order to create a safe and secure society, cross-sectorial cooperation is required between authorities and the community, from the highest strategic level to the lowest operational level. Politicians need to make decisions and work to combat segregation and improve people’s living conditions. Measures are required to increase people’s chances of having work and education, improved healthcare, child care and recreation centres in order to reduce their vulnerability to socioeconomic stress. It is important to give newly arrived immigrants the tools to integrate into society and to combat segregation and negative attitudes towards immigration.
**Social prevention: Supporting families and individuals**

Social prevention is aimed at individuals, families and groups of children and young people who are in need of support. Disadvantaged areas need to receive enforced social resources in order to reduce alienation and socioeconomic stress. Pupils with psychological, behavioural and/or school-related problems require support from the affected parties. Focus on positively strengthening the self-esteem of young persons. Home visits can also be beneficial for various information and knowledge purposes, as well as risk and consequence counselling. It is important to improve living conditions, relieve the crowded housing situation, and to create meaningful recreational activities, as well as to increase the presence of pro-social role models in these areas, which is an important complement to the operations carried out in schools.

**Situational prevention: Area and location-based measures**

As some residential areas are particularly exposed to social unrest, it is important to utilise area-based analyses and measures. An area is jointly examined from a safety perspective, where places that can cause social unrest are addressed, for example, by removing debris, flammable objects and areas with poor lighting. Additional recommendations for short and long term measures are then drawn up. It is also important to identify locations and hot spots where it is possible to analyse which types of incidents take place. Such an analysis can highlight some of the motives and the activities that take place in the context, for example in the case of car fires certain motives may be the root cause, such as insurance frauds or thrill-seeking behaviour. School fires occurring during the day and during the night most likely have different causes. If container are on fire, yet other reasons may exist. Based on a shared situational picture, the affected parties can draw up recommendations for suitable measures, for example changes to the public environment.

Measures are required to strengthen the civil society and social control. Positive forces can provide valuable information about which activities are taking place at a location, whether there is typically an escalation before the unrest breaks out, or if the unrest is usually triggered by a specific event. At this stage it is beneficial to analyse long-term statistics. The risk of being discovered is a deterrent for young people, which is why it is important to create flows and convergence spots for adults.
3.2 Research

Previous research

Michael Haas (1986) writes that American riots throughout history have been connected to ethnic factors, for example in Harlem in the 1960s. According to the author, these riots attracted a lot of public attention, and various theories about the source of the violence influenced the focus of the research. According to Haas (1986), most definitions of social unrest stem from materialistic phenomena, which means that physical violence is rooted in objective poverty and inequality experienced by the rioters. Haas (1986) also notes that there are theorists who instead claim that physical violence springs from psychological factors such as attitudes, alienation and frustration. Metaphysical realists propose that the reasons for physical violence are a mixture of materialistic phenomena as well as attitudes, where the two are causally linked (Haas, 1986). Haas (1986) has examined two previous written reports where deviant behavior is explained by a lack of integration into social norms. The reports describe insufficient assimilation as a clear lack of social norms and as a result of confusion among the immigrants living in the suburbs. Herman (2005) has studied several riots in the USA from 1919 to 1992. Several of these riots resulted in deaths. The author describes how violent confrontations broke out in 1992 in Los Angeles between Latin American and Asian immigrants, as well as Caucasian and African-American citizens. The confrontations were about access to work, housing and power. Competition between newer and older ethnic groups for work and social territory has also taken place in Chicago and Detroit, subsequently leading to collective violence (Herman, 2005).

Mucchielli (2009) has studied the riots that took place in the suburbs of Paris in the autumn of 2005. The study is based on interviews with rioters and people living in two of the areas affected by the riots. Mucchielli (2009) states that the rioters are mainly unemployed young people of foreign descent, whose destructive actions are aimed at the police. According to the author, this is the result of a process wherein France over the past 15 years has undergone a “ghettoising” process where violence and car burning have become recurring features. The events in 2005 started, as is often the case, with a police intervention. In conjunction with the events, the French Prime Minister labelled the violence as “social unrest” rather than “riots”. Unlike the events of the early 90s when large groups of young people clashed with the police, the events of 2005 took place in smaller, mobile groups. In conclusion, Mucchielli (2009) claims that the unrest was caused by the poor living conditions of the residents in these areas, characterised by unsafe conditions and alienation. These areas suffer from a lack of communal spirit, with large groups of immigrants, extremely high levels of unemployment and an ambivalent relation to social institutions (Mucchielli, 2009).

Mucchielli’s (2009) study also corresponds well with the picture provided by the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) (2011b), which describes how the unrest has appeared in segregated areas where many people live with socioeconomic problems. According to MSB (2011b), this leads to a vicious spiral of alienation, failed schooling and unemployment, which in turn leads to increased isolation form the rest of society. The residents are often suspicious of
mainstream society, with the distrust often being aimed at the police, who act as the ultimate symbol of this society. According to Botkyrka municipality (2010), the risk that young people influence each other to act in situations of social unrest increases if they are in a socioeconomically vulnerable position. When the police subsequently confront the young people, the resulting situation may benefit criminal elements, who can then recruit young people in the local area.

In their publication *Stadens bränder – Anlagda bränder och Malmöns sociala geografi* [The city's fires – Arson and the social geography of Malmö], Per-Olof Hallin and Nicklas Guldåker (2013) at Malmö University have studied cases of arson from 1998 to 2012, noting that they have increased by 215 per cent since the late 1990s. The authors also note that many schools have suffered the effects of this increase. In addition to the increase in fires in Malmö, the last few years have also seen several conflicts between young people – primarily young men – and the police and emergency services. During these clashes, fires have been used as instruments in the conflict (Hallin & Guldåker, 2013). Hallin and Guldåker (2013) explain the increase in arson as the result of two social processes. One is cable fires, which are used to steal copper that the perpetrators then sell. The second is an increase in arson in a few select residential areas. Between 2000 and 2009, two areas saw almost 30 per cent of the increase in arson, with 10 per cent of the investigated sub-areas constituting 75 per cent of the increase. Hallin and Guldåker (2013) note that these areas are characterised by worse living conditions, the two areas where arson is most common having a population with a large number of children and young people, living under crowded housing situations. A statistical analysis shows that the number of children and the education level of the population are two important factors affecting the number of arson cases. These factors, in combination with informal population growth, poorer health, high healthcare needs and a low proportion of pupils graduating with sufficient grades for upper-secondary school create conditions characterised by socioeconomic and psychological stress. This has led to conflict between young people and the police. These conflicts peaked in the form of riots and street clashes in 2008 and 2009. The authors state that the young people feel tension and frustration and that they are looking for revenge, and thus they start fires as a way of practicing conflict against the police and emergency services (Hallin & Guldåker, 2013).

Otto Adang, Hani Quint and Ronald van der Wal have, in an unedited draft called *Are we different? Why there are no ethnic riots in the Netherlands* investigated why the Netherlands has not had large-scale violence between ethnic groups or between ethnic groups and the police. The authors have studied national and international literature, and they have examined five incidents in the Netherlands where ethnic tension and the risk of collective violence similar to that in France in 2005 existed. The authors claim that the Netherlands being spared had nothing to do with luck. From a structural perspective, risk factors related to ethnicity are accumulated. The way that Dutch authorities cooperate with social partners and the police, and implement policies focusing on social cohesion and eliminating poverty contributes to relations that are more harmonious and more focused on cooperation with the various population groups. A more natural strategy, combined with preventive work and repression, empathy and implementation appears to be essential in preventing riots. For such a strategy to be possible, the police needs to
be integrated into the social structure so that they can successfully address and maintain existing contacts and relations (Adang, Quint & van der Wal).

The authors point to the fact that the Dutch police work according to the concept *community policing*, which means being present everywhere in disadvantaged areas, where the police maintain the relationship with the residents. The community police officers know these areas, their problems and their residents. They spend their working hours among the residents, including scheduled, official meetings. The result is that the police are not strangers in and to their own areas, and the relationship becomes more positive and allows the police to have a more social role in these areas. The Dutch government acknowledges the value of community police operations and has a national programme supplying disadvantaged areas with additional police resources. There are cooperation forums on a national and local level, as well as local contingency plans. The authors claim that there is a large upside to the Dutch police investing in multicultural knowledge, as it allows them to understand and act based on the local context (Adang, Quint & van der Wal).

Adang, Quint & van der Wal also describe how the police have an integrated strategy where they are part of a network of local authorities, social services and positive forces. In conjunction with incidents, the police can mobilise its network, which can also assist the police with valuable information. The authors claim that even if simple preventive and repressive work complement each other, the characteristics stemming from a repressive strategy cannot be applied in a local relationship-building context. Even when repressive and preventive work is presented as each other's counterparts, it is important to realise that a one-sided repressive strategy cannot succeed without preventive and relationship-building measures (Adang, Quint & van der Wal).

### 3.3 Theoretical premises

This chapter presents the social science theories that support our crime-prevention cooperation efforts.

**The integrated theory**

The *integrated theory* is based on the assumption that an individual enters a situation with a particular tendency to break the law. This tendency is largely determined by the individual's degree of self-control and the strength of the social bonds to mainstream society. From a crime prevention point of view, this means that the goal is to strengthen the individual's self-control and social ties to conventional society (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995). With the methodological manual, we aim to strengthen the individual's social ties to conventional society by sharing successful methods for how the Police, municipality and other stakeholders can cooperate across sectors. These could include working with contact police officers, parent training and risk counselling. These methods aim to reduce the sense of alienation that earlier research has shown to be one of the fundamental causes of social unrest, where residents often have fragile social ties to mainstream society. In the integrated theory, every situation entails a
decision to make. In this case, the decision is whether or not to commit a criminal act. From a crime prevention point of view, this means that you must try to influence the individual to choose not to commit crimes (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).

The individual's decision of whether or not to commit a crime is influenced, in addition to his or her criminal propensity, by how the individual perceives the risk of his or her actions resulting in a punishment, and by the level of temptation (such as the accessibility to poorly monitored objects) or the friction that occurs in connection to a given situation (i.e., actions or events that give rise to anger and aggression). In times of unrest, this type of temptation may be countered by cleaning up the area; clearing away unnecessary shrubbery, loose stones and potential weapons, burnt-out and abandoned cars as well as open container and moveable rubbish bins. We call this method 'safety patrols', during which areas are inventoried from a safety point of view and cleaned up. Also related to this method is the value of finding summer jobs for the young people of the area, as it is our experience that a young person working in their own neighbourhood is less inclined to destroy what they have helped create and build. These jobs could include various forms of park work. Summer jobs also create motivation and give the young people something to do. The purpose of the summer jobs is to integrate young people into the labour market, which in turn strengthens social ties and increases the young person's self-control (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995). We feel that it is important to create connections out in these areas, using dialogue police, field workers, and positive forces. A positive relationship between young people and the Police is important, since a police intervention in a disadvantaged area is a common trigger for violence.

**Individual propensity to commit a crime**

The group in society that regularly commit crimes is known as *chronic offenders*, and it is a small group compared to all those who have broken the law on one or a few occasions. The chronic offenders are the ones that commit the majority of the most serious crimes. Torstensson & Wikström (1995) are of the opinion that it would be a premature conclusion to assume that this group should be the primary target of crime prevention efforts. Resources should rather be focused on preventing individuals from becoming chronic offenders, since serious crimes are often committed at a later stage of a criminal career. The best way to prevent serious crimes is thus to reduce the recruitment to the chronic offender group. Areas that are characterised by socioeconomic vulnerability have proven to be a breeding ground for recruitment to criminal organisations and extremist groups. We would therefore argue that it is of vital importance to cooperate on crime prevention directed at children and young people. In connection to earlier instances of unrest, there has often been a smaller group of young people acting as a propellant, who have instigated these events. These young people often lead a criminal life, and therefore benefit from the contempt for mainstream society that is often promoted in these disadvantaged areas, as they want to facilitate the local recruitment of children and young people, whilst keeping social institutions at bay, primarily the Police. It is therefore of the utmost importance that resources are provided at an early stage of the young person's life, in order to stop the trend in these areas (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).
Social Control Theory

One of the most prominent criminology theories is the Social Control Theory, which emphasises that an individual's criminal propensity is to a large extent dependent on that person's degree of self-control. The departure point of the theory is that all people have the sufficient motivation to commit a crime but that there is an individual difference with regard to self-control on the one hand, and social ties on the other, connecting a person to conventional society as an explanation model for individual differentiated in criminal propensity. Persons with a low level of self-control and weak social ties to conventional society will, according to the Social Control Theory, have a higher propensity to commit crimes (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).

Self-control

Self-control is defined as:

*The individual's ability to resist momentary temptation (such as breaking the law) and provocation* (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).

The ability for self-control can be perceived as a result of various personality traits that develop primarily during childhood. Individuals with a low level of self-control are often characterised by impulsiveness, self-centeredness, wanting immediate satisfaction of their needs and insensitivity/indifference to the needs and suffering of others. Strengthening the self-control of children and young people is one of the most effective ways to prevent crime. A strong sense of self-control also means that the individual has good chances of functioning well in society. It will thereby be easier for the young person to develop social ties to conventional society, which in turn contributes further to reducing his or her criminal propensity (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).

As research shows the importance of working on crime prevention with children and young people, our starting point in this methodological manual are children, adolescents and young adults. We present several concrete examples aimed to catch individuals at risk as early as possible, for example through contact police officers, juvenile police units, field operations, staffed meeting places, parent training and risk and consequence counselling.

Social ties to conventional society

A strong sense of self-control is no guarantee that an individual will adhere to social rules, norms and values. The individual must also develop strong social ties to conventional society. 'The individual's social ties to conventional society' generally refers to:

*How much the individual has invested in a conventional lifestyle (education, employment, etc.) and to what degree the individual has adopted a moral conviction regarding the value of adhering to the laws and regulations of society* (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).
The more the individual has invested in a conventional lifestyle, the stronger their moral conviction is to follow law and regulations, and the stronger their ties to conventional society. Weak social ties to conventional society imply that the individual lives outside of mainstream society. This in turn means that the individual has less to lose by committing crimes, which could also be expressed as the social costs to the individual being low. The social cost could be defined as the expected negative reactions from people that are socially significant to the individual. Individuals living outside of conventional society are often referred to as being socially marginalised (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).

Social marginalisation

Sernhede (2002) has for many years been researching the stigmatisation and marginalisation of Gothenburg's suburbs. He explains that people from the inner city and the newly arrived labour force from around Sweden and the other Nordic Countries could quickly and simply obtain housing in the Swedish Million Programme Areas. However, many chose to leave these areas when they acquired a negative stigma, founded in social issues and alienation. Sernhede argues that our modern societies have not yet come to terms with the poverty issue. His argument is based on interviews with young people, where the results indicate how the stigmatisation has separated them from the society around them.

Marginalisation and stigmatisation of suburbs is often a product of policy, labour market and media, which would mean that they take place outside of the actual area in question (Kamali, 2006). The residents are branded as being passive and maladjusted; they are thought of as being dependent on social welfare and are often blamed for their own marginalised position (Dahlstedt, 2002). Areas affected by social unrest are places that have been exposed to territorial stigmatisation. One major contributing factor to the riots that have taken place in Europe and the USA is an increased stigmatisation of certain residential areas and social groups, both in everyday life and in the social debate (Wacquant, 2008).

A marginalised society is accompanied by a feeling of powerlessness. A marginalised position in society may lead to difficulties controlling one's own life and to feelings of being set aside and not being listened to, having no influence and carrying previous experiences of being silent and afraid. This induces a feeling that there is no point in raising your voice together with others in the same position to demand social change, which may lead to people finding it difficult to get their problems and issues brought up on the public agenda (Dahlstedt, 2002). From a crime prevention perspective, it is important to encourage individuals to be invested in conventional society, through for example education and a professional career, and to attempt to contribute to the individual's understanding and adopting of the laws and values of society (Torstensson & Wikström, 1995).
Alienation

The term alienation is used in a context of estrangement, a feeling of powerlessness, futility, social isolation and a lack of identity. Economic vulnerability, crowded living situations and child poverty may, not least for the young people, create a feeling of injustice. The cause of alienation is an inability to see one's own possible paths of development, whilst often being described or pictured as a problem or a threat. Since humans are active creatures, who are not indifferent to various social structures, they can develop different adaptation and conflict strategies in order to deal with or react to their situation in life. On occasion, these systematic, symbolic and subjective forms of violence may become interwoven and expressed in terms of more violence, often directed at the Police or emergency services (MSB, 2011a).

Sernhede (2002) argues that, in these areas, there is a sense of insecurity and alienation in relation to mainstream society. Sernhede explains that children and young people share certain experiences that are common to them alone, and different from the experiences of young people in the rest of Sweden. The young people's need for recognition, respect and inclusion is characterised, in a way that is different from ethnically Swedish youths, by alienating encounters with the official Sweden. These rifts lead to discontent and mistrust, contributing to undermine the legitimacy of the social order in the eyes of the lower classes, which in turn may lead to young people redirecting their hostility towards the Police, as a symbol of the insensitiveness and oppression of the state (Wacquant, 2008).

Hallin, et al. (2010) say that the reason why young men commit violent acts may be that they, compared to others, have a less positive relationship to other social networks, such as a school, family, group of friends and associations. Some young people cannot, or do not have the chance to, handle the alienation process, and may even experience a double alienation, which means that they not only feel alienated from the Police and the society, but also come into conflict with others in their own neighbourhood.
The situational approach

The theories and fundamental ideas within situational crime prevention are, according to many, more useful and applicable for the Police in their daily operations than earlier, more traditional criminology. This is because the situational approach is about the immediate, situation-based causes of crime and temptations, possibilities and insufficient monitoring of the crime target (victims and property) are also included (Clarke & Eck, 2006).

One of the main theories within situational crime prevention is the routine activity theory. This theory stipulates that a criminal act occurs as a result of the convergence of a motivated offender, a suitable target, and a lack of capable guardianship. Since human greed and selfishness are sufficient explanations of criminal motivation, the theory takes the assumption of a motivated offender taken for granted. There is no distinction between a human victim and property, as both may serve the criminal's purposes. The guardianship can be provided by both human beings and security systems. This theory resulted in the original crime triangle, with three areas corresponding to crime, victim or property, and location (Clarke & Eck, 2006).

![Crime Triangle Diagram](image_url)

- Attractive object/crime victim
- Motivated offender
- Absence of adequate guarding opportunities

The routine activity theory is a useful analysis tool for three recurring problems:

- Repeat offenders who attack different victims/properties in different locations, known as specialised repeat offenders.
- Repeated exposure to crimes, which involves victims being repeatedly subjected to crimes by different offenders, known as vulnerable targets.
- Repeated problems in the same location, which involve different offenders and different targets (victim or property) which all converge in one location. These locations are characterised by being particularly exposed to crime or by being trouble spots.
Most incidents are a mix of the problems described above. To each of the original levels, routine activity theory also adds another level, known as the “controllers”:

- For the target (victim or property), this is the capable guardian - normally persons protecting their own or their family's property. The same is true for the guardianship of presumptive victims of crime.

- For the offender, the handler is a person who knows the offender well, and who can exercise a certain amount of control over the offender's actions, such as a parent, sibling, teacher, friend or partner.

- With regard to the location, the manager is the person in charge of monitoring behaviours in a certain place, such as a train conductor or a teacher in a school (Clarke & Eck, 2006).

By adding these outer levels, a theory is created about how crimes occur and reoccur. The problems of specialised repeat offenders occur when the offender is able to find a target or a location that is temporarily vulnerable. The persons controlling these targets and locations may be able to prevent future attacks, but the offenders will then move on to other targets and locations. It is the lack of connection between the offender and the handler that makes it easier for the offender (Clarke & Eck, 2006). Problems with vulnerable targets occur when presumptive victims are in constant contact with potential offenders in various places without taking measures to increase their own safety, whilst their guardians are absent or inefficient. The handler can prevent the offender from committing more crimes, and the managers can improve their control of the behaviour in the locations they are responsible for, but the victim would then meet other offenders in other places. The same is true for vulnerable property (Clarke & Eck, 2006).

Problems with places particularly exposed to crime occur when new potential offenders and new potential targets converge in one location where the manager is weak. The surroundings will keep on facilitating incidents, even if the handler prevents law violations, and the guardian prevents the exposure to crime (Clarke & Eck, 2006). Understanding how these reoccurring problems arise is applicable in the collaborative efforts against social unrest. It is not only a matter of arresting young people throwing stones, but also of preventing a repetition of this situation through better use of the handler; one example is the importance of acknowledging the significance of parents in the crime prevention work, and include them in training and cooperation (such as risk counselling, SFI and distributing information). Furthermore, it is a matter of what the target (in the case of social unrest, this could be representatives of society, schools and cars) can do to reduce the risk of being subjected to another crime. For example, the contact police officers in schools can contribute to creating a relationship between the pupils and the Police. It is also important to discover the changes that can be made to the locations where the problems occur, such as keeping these areas clean, and clearing away loose stones and flammable objects. Furthermore, the property owners can be seen as the managers, when cooperative efforts are being made in terms of security inventories etc.

The working methods presented based on each respective situational picture is based on a model that in turn is founded in the routine activity theory. This model focuses on central
cooperation, where the working methods and measures are directed at young people, the location and social control.

One example of cooperation to increase social control is to hold briefings every Friday and Saturday as well as on school holidays. The aim is to create a shared situational picture and to develop proposals for measures. In addition to the Police and the City Districts, anyone who wants to help can participate. All positive forces. In conjunction with every briefing, text messages will be sent out to all participants, containing information and a situation update.

One example of cooperation focusing on young people is the MBU project (the person behind the uniform), where young people in Gothenburg have had ten occasions where they have had the chance to get to know and be trained by adults working in uniform. The purpose is for the young people and staff to get to know and understand each other. The goals are for the young people to become more involved in society and for crime to go down as a result.

One example of cooperation focusing on the location is the safety patrol, which systematically inventories locations and venues from a safety perspective. The purpose of the patrols is to discover locations and circumstances that could cause social unrest and to take the appropriate measures, e.g., by removing loose stones, burnable objects, burnt-out/abandoned cars, and by taking care of open container and moveable rubbish bins.

**Strain theory**

Strain theory was developed by American sociologist Robert Merton and is one of the most prominent theories within criminological research. The English word strain is translated into Swedish as “pain” or “frustration” and is a major risk factor for crime, deviant behaviour and social problems. Strain theory is a structural theory arguing that crime and deviance are based in the social structure. Merton's theory has been greatly influenced by French sociologist Emile Durkheim and his Anomie theory. Durkheim argued that forceful and quick political, social, economic or cultural changes to society could lead to a dissolution of the social system of norms, which he calls anomie. This in turn could lead to deviant behaviour, such as suicide and criminality (Merton, 1967).

According to strain theory, society's institutional and cultural systems of norms are the main cause of strain. These norms are based on ideas of material and monetary success, which affects most individuals and social groups, however, far from everyone has the conditions and legitimate means to fulfil them. This contradiction between goals and means is defined by Merton as strain. He goes on to present five adaptation strategies applied by the individual to counteract or overcome strain. These are conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion (Merton, 1967).

Conformity describes the factors deemed to make up “a good life”, such as a successful professional career, financial wealth or similar ideals. This category of individuals shares the life goals of society and meet the necessary conditions to fulfil them, for example through intellectual or social talents. In this category, there is not really a contradiction between goals and means, which means there is a low risk of strain leading to criminality and deviancy. This
adoption strategy is the most common and most individuals are considered to belong to this category (Merton, 1967).

*Innovation* describes the category of individuals who share the life goals of society but does not have the personal circumstances to meet them. This category often includes the social classes that cannot meet society's life goals in terms of financial success. Immigrants, who may have a higher standard of living in their new home country, but who lack the personal circumstances to advance on the social ladder due to insufficient language skills and education and/or discrimination. Through innovation, the individual therefore finds other ways, such as criminal acts, to achieve the financial success that society demands (Merton, 1967).

Individuals in the category *ritualism* keep to the legitimate means of society, but lose the life goals in the process. These individuals are slaves to institutional rules, with no regard for the consequences that their behaviour has for other individuals. They do not normally develop criminal tendencies, however, they may cause problems for other individuals as they follow all rules without considering the consequences. A “ritualist” can be the caricature of a bureaucrat, in the negative sense (Merton, 1967).

*Retreatism*, according to Merton, is the most uncommon category. It includes excluded groups who are considered to be outside of society, such as drug addicts, homeless people and subcultural groups. These individuals have not embraced the life goals of society nor the means to achieve them. These groups may instead create their positive experiences through substance abuse or various forms of social inclusion, for example through belonging to extreme sects or political groups. This category also includes juvenile offenders and career criminals who use violence and crime as a means to financial success or values such as power and respect. The life choices of these individuals are unacceptable from society's point of view. It is, however, debatable whether these individuals belong to the retreatism category, since values such as power and respect are accepted life goals in society, and only the means of obtaining them might be contrary to the system of norms (Merton, 1967).

*Rebellion* describes the individuals who actively resist society and established norms, both in terms of goals and means. As opposed to the retreatists, the rebels want to create a new social order, and the means to get there might include law violations, for example, extremist political groups or animal rights activists (Merton, 1967).

Earlier research has shown that riot-like incidents, such as stone-throwing, arson and destruction, are based in segregation and exclusion, which entail unemployment, inadequate education and stigmatisation. These are factors imbedded in the social structure, i.e., problems that must be dealt with at a government level to achieve positive results at the local level. The dissolution of norms that, according to strain theory, leads to deviancy and criminality could explain the unrest that cities around Europe has been experiences. In the areas where the unrest has taken place, the people are living in exclusion from mainstream society, which prompts them to create their own norms, values and laws. The innovative individuals, for example, commit criminal acts to achieve the financial success that society demands, which causes a shift in norms where deviant and criminal behaviour become accepted means to fulfil society's life goals.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

These life goals also make the individuals compare their own and their area's situation to other individuals and areas, which creates feelings of frustration, injustice and powerlessness. Such feelings have more than once resulted in violence, where one of the fundamental objectives has been to regain the power and respect perceived to have been lost. The theory of the ritualists, who unquestioningly follow institutional rules without regard to the consequences, may also be applied to the cooperation efforts against social unrest. It is extremely important that the Police, schools and social services build up a relationship in disadvantaged areas; with the young people as well as the parents. It has previously been proven to have negative consequences when riot police enter these areas, as it has created an even greater sense of frustration with the young people, at which point riots have broken out. The methodological manual presents several successful working methods that local organisations and parties can use to cooperate and create a rapport with the local community.

Furthermore, the categories of rebellion, and to a certain extent retreatism, can be connected to the recruitment of young people to extremist religious groups. Recruitment to extremist religious groups has been known to happen in disadvantaged areas affected by social unrest; a scenario that has also been connected to alienation in Swedish research (Hallin, et al., 2010).

Levels of strategic efforts

Crime prevention literature, like medical research, usually makes a distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary crime prevention. With a foundation and knowledge of these three levels, cooperative work can be put into a context that facilitates the implementation of suitable crime prevention measures.

- **Primary prevention** – the primary level refers to measures intended to prevent crimes in the entire population, everything from child rearing to the imposition of punishments. Also counted in this level are technological measures to prevent crime, such as the installation of locks and alarms.

- **Secondary prevention** – the secondary level refers to measures directed at specific persons, locations and situations that are exposed to a risk of crimes, such as measures for young people who, based on their school or family situations, are deemed to be at risk of committing crimes, but (as far as the authorities are aware) have not yet done so. Increased police surveillance in risky locations, or of persons deemed to be at risk, also belongs in the secondary prevention level.

- **Tertiary prevention** – the tertiary level entails preventing persons who have committed crimes from relapsing into criminal behaviour. It also includes measures intended to prevent victims of crime being subjected to crime again. This is mainly a matter of various punitive and treatment measures with individual preventative purposes, which, in accordance with the law, are taken against persons who have been found guilty of a crime (Sarnecki, 1992).
Local measures

Crime prevention measures must be based on knowledge of the nature of criminality. Criminology research has shown that crime is concentrated to certain locations, times, situations and persons (victims, offenders). The distribution of criminality is not random, and knowledge of its regularity is an important tool in crime prevention. By concentrating, for example, the cooperation activities to those locations, times, situations and persons that are the most exposed to social unrest, the intended resources can be used efficiently. A significant proportion of crime-preventing factors are of a local nature, such as the social control exerted within the neighbourhood, family or workplace. Crime prevention efforts often strive to reinforce this type of control. The authorities' crime prevention efforts are often locally organised, for example, with the Police, social services and schools. Resources for crime prevention are thus collected at a local level (Merton, 1967).

In many cases, the criminality is also of a local nature. It is possible to draw parallels to social unrest, where violent expressions often arise within the neighbourhood. If you strive to delimit crime prevention measures, it will make more sense to do it based on geographical limits than on legal limits (type of crime). When measures are based on local conditions, it might be difficult to make any general statements or conclusions about them. However, the measures are all found within the three levels of crime prevention (primary, secondary and tertiary). Measures at the secondary level have the highest chance of success. These can include both measures intended to reduce criminal propensity and those intended to make it more difficult to commit crimes (Sarnecki, 1992), such as risk and consequence counselling or safety patrols.

It should also be mentioned that many measures on the tertiary level fall outside the scope of crime prevention. Local crime prevention efforts cannot, for example, affect the courts' sentencing. However, there are some possibilities within the framework of the social service provided. Some local efforts of a tertiary nature have been assessed for the purpose of crime prevention, such as targeted monitoring of criminally inclined individuals. These measures are reported to have had positive effects. Efforts to reduce criminal propensity should primarily be focused on “risk families”, where the parents for one reason or another are unable to fulfil their parental role. Support for these parents, especially when their children are young, can yield very good results (Sarnecki, 1992). Since parents are an important risk and protection factor, it is, as mentioned, essential to involve them in the cooperation efforts, something that is done in many different ways, for example, through parent training and various counselling platforms. These methods are discussed in more detail under green situation. Measures intended to affect criminal propensity are often of a long-term nature. To evaluate their effects has proven to be difficult. The general opinion among today's researchers is that crime prevention measures are the most effective if they are taken at an early stage (Sarnecki, 1992). For this reason, this methodological manual focuses on long-term cooperation aimed towards children, adolescents and young adults.
3.4 Normative changes in society

Introduction

The problems of today's society are multi-faceted and there is no answer sheet. There are no simple solutions. The processes dealt with in this section are primarily a matter of norms and value systems, but there are of course other powerful processes affecting social development and other mechanisms that are equally important, such as socioeconomic factors and psychosocial processes in the form of identity formation, migration and alienation. Due to limited space, this text will not go further into the details of these processes. Instead, it will primarily look at the problems relating to the normative changes that will be made.

Changing norms – parallel power structures and legal systems

All humans live in a context consisting of a social and physical environment. This environment dictates the survival conditions for various groups of people on the planet. The difference in survival conditions has led to the development of various survival strategies between different groups based on the context they live in. These strategies originally aim to maximise the group's survival rate. In this text they will be translated into norms and value systems. Thereby, differences in norms and value systems are explained as different forms of survival strategies, and not as differences in the 'culture' of different groups.

The structural changes that have taken place in many of our segregated areas include changes in norm, value, penal and power systems. These have changed at such a pace that the regular social systems have not been able to keep up and thus parallel power structures and legal systems have been created. The changes on the structural/normative level are mainly caused by a derailing of the modern society based on individuals. This can be seen as a result of the government dismantling school, recreation, health care and social service facilities and other social institutions in combination with a strong presence of a social structure based in a more traditional, collectivist view. This, in combination with a strong influence from customary law systems founded in a system of honour norms, has in some instances created, or risks creating, a state within the state.

These changes occur at a local level but have increasingly clear consequences for society as a whole: consequences in the form of an altered system of values and norms, but also in the form of democratic marginalisation and a decreased influence of Swedish law and order, giving way to different customary law systems. There have also been consequences in the form of changes to the criminal structures and in the recruitment of children and young people into criminal networks. Furthermore it could be said that the more segregated an area is, and the less resources are available to its residents, the greater the impact of the parallel power structures and legal systems. In the areas where these changes have occurred, there has been a shift in the social sphere. The influence of regular social organisations has decreased and other, locally based institutions have taken over many of the social functions.

The consequences of these parallel power structures and legal systems taking over are, among other things that people are left without protection from the law. There is no guarantee that the customary law practiced takes individual needs into account or promotes the perspective of
women and children. Nor are there any guarantees that the parallel power structures respect the rules of democracy. There are not only differences in the norms and value structures of different groups, but there are also great differences in who might be found guilty, how this is decided and what kind of punishment may be sanctioned. In many cases, the punishment can be in stark contrast to Swedish legislation and penal law. In many collectivist societies, the group is obligated to protect the individual members and to pay for the wrongs done by one of the group's members, which basically means that someone other than the culprit can be made to pay fines or be subjected to physical punishment, in the worst case scenario, by death.

The system of respect

The system of respect can be described as an aberration, or a criminalised, anomic form of the honour system. The difference is that there is no social regulation of the nature of punishments, instead the individual decides, based on their own self-image, what constitutes disrespect and how severe the punishment should be. When it comes to the criminal networks, it is becoming increasingly clear that they have a high propensity for violence. They build their personal power and that of the group on their capacity for violence – a capacity that must be kept effective by being displayed regularly. Violence creates fear, and isolates the area's residents, who are also punished for communicating with representatives and keepers of the regular social systems.

In addition to the criminal networks, we see power structures consisting of families, whose influence is entirely dependent on the group's capacity for violence. These families are found in many of the areas in question, and in most of the emerging criminal networks. Like the criminal networks, the families are dependent upon a limited geographical area, and are therefore more dependent on the local residents of that area as they often live, raise their families, have friends and conduct criminal activities in one place. The recruitment of young people often takes place in the local community. The difference between the networks and the families, however, is that the geographical areas of the families stretch to all the places where they have relatives, which makes it easier for them to expand.

There is information to suggest that in the cases where crime is involved, the members of the family and their allies are used for, for example, smuggling drugs or weapons. However, the power of the families and the criminal network is dependent upon the people in the local area understanding the basic language of power and its codes. This results in them living in a sort of symbiosis with their area of residence. They need to control the area and physically defend it against competing criminal groups and other norms and value systems (i.e., the police and other social institutions or other representatives of the Swedish system). Integration poses a threat to the power of criminal networks and families, as it is completely based in parallel social systems, thus making these groups dependent on all their recruits being of the same mentality.

It can also be added that the system's influence over the individual is not dependent on that person's ethnicity, but on the number of resources available to them. Individuals with many resources are assumed to be able to resist systems more easily. This is due to structures being self-generating and affecting the choices available to an individual. It should also be added that
the violence, which is the factor supporting these systems, in its own right is a major social issue and has devastating consequences in the form of elevated stress levels and symptoms of PTSD.

**Assessment**

The situation in some cases is critical. It is vitally important that the authorities take structured and cooperative action. This must be done to avoid abandoning the children in the areas with the least resources, who are otherwise at risk of having to provide their own social and physical safety net. Other consequences of parallel systems developing are that people risk falling into democratic marginalisation. This marginalisation may mean that their access to regular social systems that follow the rules of democracy, such as the judicial and political systems, is lessened and in some cases minimised. This happens when the state can no longer provide physical and social protection for the individual, which in turn may lead to the legitimacy of these social institutions being questioned, as they cannot live up to the task they are expected to perform because the parallel systems have taken over parts of their functions. If the state is perceived as weak, and the parallel systems are given too much power, the violence against state representatives can also be expected to increase. This is part of a power struggle and of a way to manifest power outwards and inwards. These attacks should primarily be expected from the criminal systems.

The development of parallel systems furthermore leads to increased segregation and alienation as a result of differences in the real and perceived choices of the individuals risking to increase catastrophically. Because the parallel powers are dependent on the residents in their local area, it is not in their interest to have the people of these disadvantaged areas integrate with mainstream society. Segregation, feelings of alienation and anomie are important for the criminal networks to grow strong, recruit members and keep their direct influence over the people in an area. This influence is a necessary precondition for conducting their criminal activities. The criminal networks and other representatives of the unofficial authorities can be said to have a direct dependency on people's feelings of being lost and insecure. Violence creates fear, and isolates the area's residents, who are also punished for communicating with representatives and keepers of the regular social systems. It is thereby in the direct interest of the criminal groups to counteract all forms of integration with mainstream society. The weak give power to the strong.

**Choice of method**

The problem described above can be seen as an enormous opportunity to develop working methods and strategies as it so clearly reflects the flaws in various social bodies. Several efforts have been made throughout the years, both by the police and by other instances. The success of these efforts is hard to determine, particularly with regard to the ones of a social nature, since these results are harder to evaluate. We can therefore learn the value of evaluating the implemented measures as a basic condition for developing working methods in various fields. Previous operational measures taken by the police in the area, however, show the importance of a shared problem assessment and stamina, both with regard to time and to focusing on the issue.
If we choose to view the problems from a perspective of social processes, it helps us to see the various implementation areas for measures. It then becomes evident that measures are required on both a community development level and on an individual level. This is made clear in the model below.

This model gives us two steps to work on before we reach a stage of social unrest. The first step, in the box with social processes, it is natural to cooperate with other organisations for the purpose of community development. If we only work with the social processes, however, these issues will not go away automatically. There are already individuals who have developed antisocial forms of behaviour – individuals who affect their environment and thereby the conditions for other residents.

In the middle box, we find antisocial behaviour, and this is also where most of our assumed culprits are found. We have to work continuously with this box, so that what we do in the social processes box can be effective. In order to create a platform for individual measures shared by all the authorities in the middle box, it can be divided into three different levels.

- A top level, which should include persons involved in serious crimes and/or multiple problems that require extensive measures from, e.g., the correctional authorities, the police, the social authorities and the health care system.
- The level in the middle should include persons with less serious issues than in the top. This might include juvenile criminals and persons with less extensive health care needs and a less developed level of criminality.
- The third level should include all other children and young people in the community. For this group, the inter-authority measures should primarily aim to empower, protect and create meaningful alternative routes, goals, norms and values. One excellent example of such a measure is the project 'The person behind the uniform', which was implemented in Västra Frölunda together with the emergency services.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Another group that should be mentioned here are all the positive counterforces that always exist in every community. There are always individuals or groups that can be highlighted. The strategic choice of method should thereby be to, on the one hand, cooperate strategically on social development and, on the other, conduct operational police work in order to initiate legal proceedings, or otherwise attempt to alter the antisocial behaviour of the individuals on the different levels. In addition to cooperation strategies, there is a need to investigate and reshape the police authority's own measures from several perspectives, something which could be seen as a great opportunity for development and change. Generally speaking, there are certain success factors when it comes to strategies and methods of counteracting antisocial behaviour in a community:

- A deeper level of cooperation between authorities.
- A good relationship with the residents of the community in question.
- Availability in the form of physical presence.
- Coordination between authorities and residents.
- Stamina when it comes to strategic efforts

Strategy

If we can accept that we need to work on both a strategic social level and an operational individual level, we can also see that these methods are not contradictory, but rather that they complement each other. In order to maximise the benefit gained from both methods, a coordination strategy should be developed. Such a strategy could be divided into three different phases:

- A coordination phase
- An operational phase
- A community development phase

During the coordination phase, the authorities concerned can discuss the operational phase together. It could be a discussion about the individuals that are active and considered for measures, and which measures seem the most effective in each case. The coordination phase should also include a plan for what needs to be done in the third phase – the community development phase. This plan could vary depending on the area, as the circumstances are different in each one. It is very important that there is a plan already from the start for what needs to be done in the local community in order to improve the conditions for the residents and increase the feeling of solidarity, commitment and security. This lowers the risk of criminal recruitment. The operational phase is important as it is a basic precondition for the community development phase. It should aim to lessen the influence and presence of criminal elements in these areas, in order to minimise the resistance there and facilitate a more strategic social effort.
3.5 Historical retrospect

Over the last few years there has been unrest involving young people in suburbs and million programme areas. The unrest has been seemingly random or sparked by almost trivial events that then spiralled into stone-throwing against various representatives of society, arson and vandalism. Some of the areas that have appeared in the media coverage are Rosengård in Malmö, Ronna in Södertälje, Hjällbo in Gothenburg and Gottsunda in Uppsala. The phenomenon of young people collectively using violence or committing vandalism is nothing new - it is a problem that has recurred time and time again since the Second World War. An early example is the "Berzelii riots" in Stockholm in 1951 when young people gathered in the Berzelii park. The riots gradually became more serious for a number of nights after the police had arrested suspected criminals on 20 July (Msb, 2011b).

When supporters of those arrested came to the park that same week, the police sent in a larger force to take charge of the area. A few more rowdy nights followed with more and more people joining in, along with an equivalent police response and mass media coverage. The riots came to a head on 26 August when the police had enlisted officers from five cities as well as military police to face approximately 3,000 young people. After the events it was established that the riots had been caused by the young people having nothing to do during the summer; this was combined with a prevailing police strike which meant a reduction in staff (Msb, 2011b).

It was August 1965 in Hötorget in Stockholm when the "mods riots" occurred. Hundreds of young mods had gathered during the day to spend time together. Most of the young people came from the suburbs and were seen by the police as disturbing public order. Extensive riots broke out when the young people refused to move after which fires were started along the street and shop windows were smashed. The investigation carried out by Stockholm City stated that the riots were caused by a combination of the young people's sense of not belonging, poor parenting, overcrowding and underemployment. It was also evident that the majority of the young people lived in poor social conditions (Msb, 2011b).

During the 1960s and 1970s there were repeated reports in the media about the "greaser fights". The greasers were called "Motorised youths" who through their behaviour and their lack of compliance with social norms, got into fights and disrupted the general public. The greaser fights culminated in the infamous fight in Södertälje between greasers and immigrants in 1977. During the 1980s there was another type of juvenile unrest when suburban youths gathered to fight in Kungsträdgården in central Stockholm. At this time, a new phenomenon and group of young people entered the scene – skinheads. With this group there is a grey area between what, on one hand, can be considered a youth culture with a strong identity and a degree of political awareness, and on the other hand, activism within extreme right-wing tendencies (Msb, 2011b).
In 2005, the Södertälje district of Ronna witnessed a riot that started after a few boys had thrown a bit of chocolate that hit the head of a young girl. The girl fetched her father who armed himself with a baseball bat. When the fight got out of hand, the police were called and three of the boys were arrested. The friends of the arrested try to free them and threw rocks at the police. The police then called for backup which led to extensive riots involving a large number of people. The violence ended with people firing automatic weapons at the police station in Södertälje, which was in revenge for the arrest of the three young people. In Stockholm, social unrest has been concentrated in a triangle consisting of Tensta, Rinkeby and Husby in west Stockholm. Unrest occurred in Rinkeby and Tensta in December 2007 when young people shot fireworks at metro trains. The Rinkeby metro station was shut for four days. In Husby, there was unrest in October 2008 and as a result of the events in Rosengård in December 2008, unrest occurred in Tensta at the same time. In June 2009, stones were thrown at fire engines in Husby and Tensta. Stone-throwing also occurred in October of the same year when police and security personnel were attacked and one of the police officers was hit in the face by a stone (Msb, 2011b).

In September 2010, young people launched an attack on the metro station in Husby outside Stockholm. The police station was also later vandalised. There was speculation about whether the motive for the attack was the arrest of a friend of the youths. Stone-throwing aimed at buses and the metro, as well as arson, had been common even prior to 2008. The situation has subsequently grown more serious and it escalates when young people lure the police and rescue services to come to a location only to ambush them with rocks (Msb, 2011b). In December 2008, a riot broke out in Rosengård in Malmö after a housing company and the police decided to shut down club premises that had been used as a mosque. The premises were to be refurbished and used for other activities. A group opposed the premises being closed down and decided to occupy them. When the police came to remove the occupants, they walked into the premises with their shoes on, and with police dogs; this was seen by the occupants as provocation. Over the course of three days there were several fires, stone-throwing and riots (Msb, 2011b).

For two months during the autumn of 2009, the number of arsons in the Gothenburg area rose from 51 to 161. There were also 40 registered cases of stone-throwing and of glass being broken. The worst affected areas in Gothenburg included Backa, Biskopsgården, Hjällbo/Hammarkullen, Bergsjön and Västra Frölunda. The cause of the events was that the police, on 10 August, arrested a person on suspicion of unlawful possession of weapons. Ten or more customers in a shop in Backa were pulled out into the street and searched. Initially, the events received a great deal of attention in the media and in subsequent weeks, unrest spread to other parts of Gothenburg (Msb, 2011b). Between 27 August and 15 October 2009 there were several cases of arson in the residential areas of Gottsunda and Stenhagen in Uppsala. The riots started when a police patrol became the subject of stone-throwing and called for back-up. When the back-up arrived, the stone-throwing escalated. The unrest continued for two days and
involved several cars being set alight, two assaults, and a fire bomb being thrown into the public swimming pool (Msb, 2011b).

Social unrest is also a recurring problem overseas. In October 2005, a series of riots broke out in the suburbs of Paris. The riots spread to central Paris and other cities around France and the violence continued into the middle of November. The reason behind the trouble was that the police received a call about a group of young men committing burglaries in the city of Clichy-sous-Bois, outside Paris. At the time of the arrest, three of the men escaped and climbed into a transformer plant to hide. Two of the men, aged 15 and 17, died from electric shocks. The third man suffered severe injuries (Mucchielli, 2009).

In February 2008, the "Winter war" broke out in Copenhagen when cars and container were set on fire at the same time as police and rescue services were attacked whilst trying to rescue people and extinguish the fires. The reason behind the trouble was that some young people with a foreign background felt harassed and discriminated against as a result of the frequent police checks. They also stated that there had been racist abuse during the checks. In August 2011, protests broke out in Tottenham in London after a person had been shot to death by the police. The protests spread rapidly over London and the rest of Britain with substantial damage the result. The riots are often referred to as the "BlackBerry Riots" as people were using their mobile phones and social media to mobilise in connection with the riots (Stockholm County Police Authority, 2012., HMIC, 2011).

What seems to link the juvenile unrest from the 1960s with that of the 1990s is that the trouble either occurred in major cities or that they were connected with specific groups of youths with their own identity. However, during the 2000s this pattern has changed. Riots involving young people have occurred around the country in residential areas with socioeconomic issues. The unrest often has an ethnic aspect, where many young people carry with them experiences and conflicts from their home countries that are then reproduced in their new environment. These areas are characterised by extreme segregation, alienation and socioeconomic vulnerability. The segregation leads to a negative spiral of alienation, unemployment and a distrust of society which, in turn, leads to increased isolation (Msb, 2011b).
4.0 Practice

The working methods presented in the methodological manual have been identified within the project as successful ones in terms of cooperation efforts. Much emphasis has been placed on the application of social science theories behind the working methods, mainly from the criminology and sociology disciplines. These working methods are implemented based on the situational picture, i.e., green, yellow, red or orange situation. In brief, the methodological manual derives from a model based on the routine activity theory. This model focuses on central cooperation, where the working methods and measures are directed at young people, the location and social control.

![Diagram](image)

Fig. Attractive object/crime victim Motivated offender Absence of adequate guarding opportunities

An example of cooperation to enhance the social control is briefing meetings held every Friday and Saturday and school holidays. In other situational pictures briefing meetings may be more frequent. The aim is to create a common situational picture and creating action plans.

To create a common situational picture and to find indicators and warning signs of social unrest use the checklist, a tool that also enables easy implementation of measures. An example of cooperation with a focus on young people, MBU (Man behind the uniform) in which young people in Gothenburg on ten occasions get the chance to learn about and trained by adults in uniforms bearing professions. The aim is that the young people and staff to get to know and to understand each other. The goal is that participation of young people in society will increase and that crime therefore be reduced.

An example of cooperation with a focus on the location is safe walks out systematic inventory of places and space from a security standpoint. The purpose is to detect and correct places and circumstances that can cause social unrest, such as by removing stones, flammable objects, burnt cars, open containers and loose trash cans.
4.1 Situational picture

The cooperation work practices presented in the methodological manual have their starting point in four situations:

1. **Green situation** – In the green situation, a normal situation prevails with the line operations. Long-term work with crime prevention is being carried out here, with its focus on adolescents.

2. **Yellow situation** – In the yellow situation, information has been received with regard to unrest or a specific incident that could result in an outbreak of violence. In the yellow stage, it is important to prepare the collaborative organisations for the red stage.

3. **Red situation** – In this situation, the situation has escalated to collective violence in the form of arson, stone throwing, vandalism, and violence and intimidation of community representatives. It is important to promptly subdue the unrest by implementing the organisation and the measures that have been planned.

4. **Orange situation** – After the unrest, it is important to convey information to the residents of the area as well as to all involved collaborative partners. The local collaborative organisation is maintained until the prevailing situation has returned to the green situation.

The cooperation work is run in a process where working practices of the everyday line operations are used also during the other types of situational pictures. This may relate to the briefing meetings in the green situation being performed during weekends and holidays, but during times of unrest they intensify and instead are held daily. The same applies to concern and consequence conversations with young people, which are also intensified during the unrest. Each event encountered in the areas is deemed unique. There is no key to how work should be carried out, the working methods vary depending upon the context of the event.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

One condition of the preventative work is that municipalities, city districts and positive forces collaborate with a unanimous focus on adolescents in the risk zone.

Preventative work with adolescents takes place in the daily line operations, i.e., the green situation. In the social situation that exists in disadvantaged areas, correct and routine police intervention can become the igniting factor that leads to violence, with the spread of rumours as the catalyst. When reports are received of unrest or of a specific event that has occurred, it is important to prepare the organisation for a critical situation. In these instances, the situational picture is updated to yellow situation. Information is gathered and provided for those affected, risk counselling is carried out with the adolescents and work to secure resources is conducted. In cases of violence, it is important to quickly subdue the situation by taking action against those who participate. On these occasions, red situation is advised. Once violence has subsided, an orange situation enters into force, where information is issued to residents.

4.2 Checklist

Here is a checklist designed to be used as suggestions as to how the analysis can be facilitated when it comes to assessing whether there is a danger of social unrest in a community / neighborhood. The checklist is intended to be used in conjunction connection between eg municipality, police and emergency services in order to create a common situation picture that facilitates the implementation of measures.

Signals and signs must be interpreted and put into context. An area’s image problems and community resources vary and change over time. The checklist is attached to this document as an appendix,
4.3 Green situation

The working practices are structured on a model based on the routine activity theory. In the model, the focus is on cooperation where the working practices and their measures are directed at the young people, the location and the social control. This may, for example, concern "youth centres" where measures are directed at young people and parents in need of help and support, or the importance of cleaning areas so that they are free of loose objects and potential weapons, abandoned cars and open containers, as well as night patrols that aim to increase social control. It should be added that most working practices concern and have an impact on all three areas of the routine activity theory.

Cooperation to enhance social control

SSPF - School, social services, police and free time.

Gothenburg, Malmö and Uppsala use a successful local cooperation structure that originates in Copenhagen, where a collaborative structure consisting of social services, schools and police (SSP) has been in development since the 1970s. The structure encompasses the whole city and it involves crime prevention work focused on children and young people.

In Uppsala there are four SSP groups that are divided up by area. The aim is to detect young individuals who are at risk of adopting destructive or criminal behavior. The SSP work is based on consent forms that are intended to encourage consensus and cooperation and meetings that highlight individual cases and other areas of concern in the local area. Where necessary, staff from local after-school recreation centres are also involved in this cooperative forum. In Gothenburg, an "F", which stands for "Free Time" has been added to the SSP cooperation (SSPF) . SSPF can be found in all city districts and in the adjacent municipalities of Ale, Mölndal and Partille. The majority of work conducted in Gothenburg with regard to youth problems and social unrest is based on SSPF.
The aim of SSPF is to prevent and minimise crime, drug abuse and other risk-associated behavior among young people. The objective is the creation of a safe and secure city which young people can be a part of and where they can look to the future with confidence. The target group for SSPF is children and young people aged 12-18 who play truant, are suspected of having committed crimes, are addicts or who find themselves in a destructive environment. Social services, schools, the police and after-school recreation centres are always the core of the operation, but in situations where it is deemed worthwhile, other parties such as the child and adolescent psychiatry unit can get involved. Welfare officers from upper secondary schools are also connected to the SSPF network. There is also an ambition to make it easier for independent schools (that are classified as another legal entity) to be able to participate in SSPF. In every city district there is an SSPF coordinator. The majority are employed by social services. The coordinators meet in a network a couple of times each term under the supervision of specially appointed quality assurers, in order to develop their work.

SSPF is based on the guardian granting their written consent so that employees from the three agencies are permitted to temporarily suspend the confidentiality agreement and discuss the children openly. The temporary suspension of the confidentiality agreements has been successful, since the vast majority of guardians have given their consent. Through the various agencies communicating and sharing information about their work with children and young people, there are better grounds for implementing measures collaboratively and in the right order.

SSPF is based on cooperation on two different levels. In each city district there are both local steering groups and operative groups.

Local steering groups (which meet twice per term) consist of:
- Area Manager, social services.
- Area Manager, school.
- Unit Manager, police.
- Area/Sector Manager, after-school recreation centre.

Operative groups (which meet every other week) consist of:
- Unit Managers, social services.
- Head teachers, schools.
- Investigating officer, juvenile police unit/police social workers.
- Unit Managers, after-school recreation centres.

The steering group has the ultimate organisational responsibility for issues concerning strategy and objectives. The steering group establishes plans, defines needs and decides on initiatives and the development of suitable methods. The steering group also has a coordinating and executing function for the local working group, which is also a method developer. A meeting with the local working group is structured based on a general level and an individual level.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

The set agenda is as follows:

General

- Current situation in the area.
- Calendar with mutual commitments.
- Action plans for groups of young people where there is concern.

Individual

- What has happened since the last meeting regarding follow-ups and consent?
- New cases with consent.
- Create mutual commitment plans.
- Possible home visits to young people who may need support.

SSP in Malmö is a local crime and drug prevention cooperation between schools, social services and the police. The overall objective of SSP in Malmö is to prevent and minimise crime, drug abuse and other risk-associated behavior amongst young people. Social services, school and the police work within the SSP cooperation to reinforce protective factors and reduce risk factors in environments in which children and young people reside. The work encompasses both social and situational prevention and can involve:

- Collaborative initiatives against criminal youth gangs.
- Increased adult presence in high-risk environments (street work).
- Work to limit access to tobacco, alcohol and narcotics.
- Safety walks
- Initiatives to support parents.
- Work to create trust and relationships between young people and the authorities.

The SSP organisation consists of a central cooperation group for the whole of Malmö which has overall responsibility for the SSP operation with regard to its objectives and direction, as well as monitoring from a municipal perspective and a perspective covering several police districts. The central cooperation group is classified as a steering group for the cooperation agreement between the City of Malmö and the Malmö police district - Trygg och säker stad 2012-2016 (A safe and secure city 2012-2016). The central cooperation group meets three times per term and its main task is to create conditions whereby cooperation between social services, schools and the police can work at a local level, i.e., between city districts and police districts, but also between central administrations with municipal responsibilities (the Social Resources Administration; the Streets and Parks Department; the Leisure, Recreation and Sport Administration, etc.) and the Malmö police district. The central cooperation group consists of the District Councillor, the head of the Individual and Family Department, the head of District Development, the head of education for primary/secondary schools, the head of education for upper secondary schools, the head of the Social Resources Administration, the head of the
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Leisure, Recreation and Sport Administration, the head of the Streets and Parks Department, the operational strategist for the emergency services, the operations manager for the police's crime prevention unit and the head of the crime unit. All participants represent their respective management groups.

Reporting directly to the central management group there is a secretariat that works as an executive committee with responsibility for case and meeting preparation, method development, skills development, monitoring and communication. The SSP secretariat is organisationally linked to the Safety and Security Department at the City Office and works continuously with SSP issues at a strategic level.

In each district there are local management groups that establish local objectives, utilise resources and take responsibility for following up the work.

The District Councillor convenes the meeting of the local management group which consists of the head of the Individual and Family Department, the head of District Development, the head of education for primary/secondary schools and the head of the local police. Reporting directly to the local management group there is an SSP coordinator who is responsible for the coordination, planning and monitoring of the SSP work in the district. The SSP coordinator is part of an inter-municipal coordination network with representatives from all districts and police districts convened by the City Office's Safety and Security Department. In the districts there are one or more operative SSP groups at local level that draw up proposals for measures and put these into action. The SSP groups comprise head teachers, school welfare officers, social workers, field assistants, recreation centre leaders, local police, SSP coordinators, etc.

A precondition for successful SSP work is that the cooperation comes about from the mutual knowledge that the police and the municipality share with regard to the local problems. All parties involved contribute their knowledge so as to present as comprehensive a view as possible of both the risks and local problems and the significant protective factors and positive resources in the district. Based on a common view of the problems, a causal analysis is conducted that indicates the risk factors that should be removed and the significant protective factors that should be reinforced. After this, the chosen areas for initiatives are ranked in order of priority and each party involved contributes to the work based on their area of expertise. Other local parties can also be involved in the work, depending on the current requirements, i.e., clubs, property owners, non-profit organisations and other agencies and municipal administrations, such as the Streets and Parks Department and the emergency services. Based on the prioritised initiative areas, the local SSP groups establish annual action plans in which they describe the initiatives that are to be conducted during the year, how they are to be conducted, the resources that will be available and how the initiatives will be followed up. The annual action plans are confirmed and approved by the local management groups, which are also responsible for following them up.
Briefing meetings

In the Järva region, briefing meetings take place every Friday and Saturday and during school holidays, when all positive forces assemble. With other prevailing situations, briefing meetings can be held more often. The aim of the briefing meetings is to create a common situational picture and to bring clarity, sustainability and a clear structure to the cooperation. In order to create a common situational picture and to detect warning signals and other indicators of social unrest, the check list is used, a tool that can also make the implementation of measures easier. The collaborating parties then confirm the resources that are available in the area, exchange contact information and discuss the current situation. In addition to the police and the district administrations, other parties involved might be security guards, community representatives, youth representatives, parents, street workers, youth centre staff, the emergency services and night patrols. All positive forces in the area that are willing to help are welcome.

Text messages are sent out to collaborators in conjunction with each briefing meeting. Text messages, including a status report, are sent out to a list of recipients. The aim of this message is to spread awareness of the current situation throughout the area.

ViS (Violence and serious incidents in school)

ViS (Violence and serious incidents in school) is a working method conducted in Gothenburg based on guidelines that are there to help children and young people in trouble or those who risk getting into trouble. The objective is that schools are to be free from violence and a place that creates the conditions for motivation and the desire to learn. The guidelines contain signal systems where the division of responsibilities and proposed measures are clearly stated. The guidelines also provide clear suggestions for further developing the cooperation in order to reduce violence and serious incidents in schools.

PiS (Police reports in school)

PiS (Police reports in school) provides instructions and shows the best way to make a report to the police. The aim is to create awareness regarding the importance of making a report to the police when a crime occurs at school. All teachers are to have a good level of awareness of the guidelines that the City of Gothenburg and the police authority have agreed on with regard to making a report to the police from the school. It is also important that the school is recorded as the entity making the report, as this protects those affected. All school staff are involved but it is
the school's head teacher who bears the main responsibility for making the report to the police. PiS has led to more reports being made by schools, and this has been done and shared in a better way than before. There is now a clearer routine in the day-to-day work. The schools also now have a better reputation since they have shown that they care about those affected.

In Uppsala there is a governing document at all schools with guidelines for procedures regarding making reports to the police from the school. The aim of this is also to make it clear and simple for school staff how they should make a report to the police from school. The police, the Swedish Prosecution Authority, Uppsala municipality and the local branch of the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention are involved with PiS. In this way, schools can easily follow procedures regarding how and when they should contact the police. It is important that children and young people who are exposed to crime feel that the adult world takes their problems seriously and that they offer adequate help as quickly as possible. This is also important as far as the culprit is concerned. Crimes that happen in schools have a major impact on children and young people and affect large amount of people.

**Continuous telephone meetings**

*At police authority level*

The aim of continuous meetings at police authority level is to create a common situational picture where updates are provided continuously by operations management. Telephone meetings are held between the various police authority districts and each district reports the latest events and what can be expected to happen over the next day or so. The police districts' operations managers are involved with this.

*At police district level*

Units within the various police districts also hold a telephone meeting every morning where operations management provide an update. The various police units report the latest events and what can be expected to happen over the next day or so. These meetings involve the operations managers of the various police units.

*At municipal level*

In addition to the above, every Thursday morning a telephone meeting is held involving all police units and each municipality or district. The aim here is also to create a common situational picture which will form the basis for common actions. When there is social unrest, it can be decided to hold telephone meetings every day. During the meeting the police units and municipalities/districts report the latest week's disturbances and what can be expected in the future. The meetings involve the police district's operations manager, the police units' operations managers and representatives from the municipalities/districts, the emergency services and Västrafik (the local traffic provider), etc. The telephone meetings are a good way of creating a common situational picture between the police and the municipalities/districts, from senior management right down to the lowest level. Understanding between the police units and the districts improves and it becomes easier to distribute staff evenly so resources can be allocated to the locations where the need is greatest.
Local police

Police with local connections have proven to have great success in crime prevention work. Local police stations are placed in those areas where there is most crime. The aim is to create networks and to build relationships within these areas and also to be able to react quicker to crimes. Police officers in the field have the job of establishing solid contact with residents, schools, after-school recreation centres, field assistants and clubs and associations. The residents thus get a chance to get to know the police a little better and to have more confidence in them.

The police work within a restricted geographical area where there are many problems. These police officers are known by various different names, for example, district police or contact police. Their task is largely the same: to build relationships and to establish trust amongst the local residents. There is also a major focus on children and young people in the crime prevention work that aims to reduce recruitment into criminal gangs. In some cities, a police officer has been appointed who is a direct link between the police and the school management and in such cases, the police and the schools have joint responsibility for the cooperation. Dialogue meetings are held in the schools where discussion topics include the legal process, narcotics, the age of criminal responsibility and current incidents that may be genuine or purely rumours. In Gothenburg, theme days are held in the schools where, for example, there are panel debates where the students can get answers to any thoughts and questions they may have. The work is conducted in accordance with the school’s governing document. The police often have specially appointed juvenile investigators.

The use of police motorcyclists has also proven successful in districts where there has been unrest. The police motorcyclists collaborate with the district police and local police, and with field operations, the emergency services, public cleaning organisations and property owners. This way of working is also designed to create contact with young people and to improve safety in the areas concerned.

Field operations

The aim of field work is to come into contact with children and young people in environments where there are not usually any adults. By building relationships, there is the chance to motivate
and influence children and young people to making choices that will lead to a positive lifestyle. The field assistants work in a network with parents, schools, after-school recreation centres, clubs, social services and the police, where the field assistants provide the link to the support that the children and young people need. For the field assistants to achieve good results, competence, structure, engagement and professionalism are essential factors.

Their work with the young people is voluntary, which means that the field assistants must be good at building and maintaining relationships with the young people whilst at the same time remaining loyal to the adult world; in the first instance to parents, and secondly to the professionals operating within the social services and the police. This way of working is intended to counteract crime and abuse in youth environments and is conducted based on the needs established in the cooperation with the SSPF steering group. When the field assistants are concerned about something or discover improprieties, their first duty is to make the parents aware of the situation, but they are also responsible for contacting or making a report to social services and/or the police. The work of the field assistants is invaluable to other operations as they can describe a situation that exists in locations where adults are seldom present.

**Community representatives**

Community representatives are intended to reinforce social control. Their presence creates a feeling of safety and as such they are a source of support to individuals in the area. Community representatives visit local centres, residential areas, individual stairwells, basement premises, pre-school gardens, schools, football pitches and parks. They collaborate on crime prevention with property caretakers, the police, security companies, etc., in order to improve safety in the area. The community representatives make the work of the police easier by continually reporting situations and can, with their excellent local knowledge of the area and its needs, be helpful in many different situations.

**Youth representatives**

The idea behind employing youth representatives is that young people will get a view of the social work that is being conducted in their district. The aim is to encourage a feeling of harmony in the area and to inspire young people to continue their studies or to find work. The youth representatives operate in the young people's own environments, i.e. youth centres and other meeting places. During school holidays, all of them work full time; at other times, at least one group works every Friday and Saturday.

**Night patrols**

The night patrols shall be role models for adults, children and young people in the area. The aim is to build a broad network of contacts that reinforces the general presence of adults in the area. The night patrols are active over the weekends and during school holidays. The night patrols' way of working is based around a clear structure, set times, assembly points, uniform clothing and briefing meetings with an agenda and telephone list. Night patrol members who are active and want to be involved are contacted via an SMS list every weekend and in emergencies, in which case a description of the situation in their area is provided.
Cooperation with national organisations such as ”nattvandring.nu” makes the work easier. In the Järva region, a club or one of the district’s departments is responsible for the patrols. It is important that someone is appointed to take responsibility. Field assistants, after-school recreation centres and local police also participate. All adults are welcome to take part. The night patrols may also collaborate with neighbourhood watch organisations and police volunteers when required.

**Staffed meeting places for young people**

To meet the needs of young people of different ages, age-segregated activities with staff present have been established in parks, youth centres and other meeting places. The aim is to develop meaningful, structured activities separately or in cooperation with others. Activities and exchanges with organisations outside of the district are important for integration work. The staff is important role models for young people. This means that it is important to invest in competent, well-educated staff who are committed – staff that work towards a goal and that can build networks with other organisations. This is particularly important if the SSPF collaboration is to be effective. It is important to see the opening times of the staffed meeting places from a strategic perspective, and to schedule activities based on the needs in the area, regardless of holidays.

**Summer planning between the police and the municipality**

The aim of joint summer planning between the police and the municipality is that police juvenile units, district police, field assistants and social workers work as a team to organise meaningful leisure activities combined with supervision and, when required, support targeted at young people during the summer holidays. A joint duty list with telephone numbers makes contact easier during holiday times. It is important that line operations continue during holiday times, as many have free time.

**Fire prevention officers in schools**

Fire prevention officers visit schools in order to inform young people of the best way for them to protect themselves from fire and accidents and how to prevent them. The officers may also make home visits. After a number of minor fires and incidents at a school in the Järva region of Stockholm, the local fire brigade initiated a project together with the school affected. The evaluation of the project has been positive as fire-related near-accidents have decreased noticeably.

This way of working also creates good relationships between the emergency services and young people, which increases their understanding of each other. These relationships are also a resource, should there be any fire-related near-accidents at the school. The pupils are therefore given information regarding basic fire prevention.

**Religious communities**

Religious communities are important meeting places for many people and they have a great local influence. Religious communities can calm down young people in the event of disturbances and create a forum for discussion and issues concerning their faith and how this
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

affects their everyday life, upbringing and their way of life in general. In the Spånga-Tensta and Rinkeby-Kista district administrations, a number of religious communities are working together in a dialogue forum. The police, district administrators and schools are also involved. The project has meant that it has been possible to communicate information to the general public quicker, and this has been a great help in crisis situations. Religious communities are thought to contribute greatly to reducing social unrest.

Local transport

It is important to integrate local transport into the cooperation as they are a major player in the area and part of the local safety work. Representatives from local transport participate in the briefing meetings which the line operation (green situation) holds at weekends and school holidays. When there has been trouble, buses have on several occasions been subjected to stone-throwing. Cooperation with local transport therefore means that it is easier to mobilise resources when an emergency situation arises.

Security companies

Security companies are often on duty around the clock, every day. It is the responsibility of the security company to quickly be on the scene when something happens, to make contact with residents and to monitor the area after the property owners’ staff has gone home. The security companies collaborate with property owners, the local police, Lugna Gatan, community representatives and youth representatives. They also participate in the briefing meetings. The security guards are the police’s right hand when there are disturbances; they often have a very good level of contact with local residents as they are in their vicinity around the clock.

Emergency mobilisation

When there is a disturbance, there must be a capacity for an "emergency mobilisation” of police and municipal resources. The aim is to prevent and minimise any disturbance. SMS lists are sent out to the local community’s positive forces in order to get people out onto the streets. In a green situation, it is therefore important to have SMS lists in order to be prepared for this kind of emergency mobilisation. When mobilisation is initiated in connection with disturbances at a yellow situation, this might entail a measure such as quickly finding activities for young people to do, i.e., by opening a school’s gymnasium for a football or floorball tournament, etc.

Knowledge development

Knowledge development is a collaborative forum that is used in Malmö in association with the formation of gangs and criminal groups. Many young people are influenced and recruited by criminal gangs in their local area. For this reason, the knowledge and skills of staff in the district are being increased through education, information and cooperation with others. The police, social services and schools participate in this knowledge development.

Personnel planners within the police

The aim of having personnel planners is to create consensus within the police authority so that resources can be better utilised to deal with social unrest. The personnel planners are part of the operational management group. For every decision that is made, the personnel planners help by
allocating resources to various departments and police districts. The police districts, units and departments have appointed operational personnel planners. They enable resources to be utilised better, which provides greater capability in the event of violence.

**Social media**

In 2008, the police authority in Helsinki formed the NettiPoliisi unit. The unit has three full-time police officers who are responsible for a way of working known as *Virtual community policing*. The aim of this way of working is to make it easier to make contact with the general public, and to prevent and solve internet crime. NettiPoliisi is primarily targeted at the residents of Helsinki but also has national coverage where they use Facebook, IRC-Galleria, Messenger, the Homma forum, Demi, Suomi24, Kuvake and YouTube. NettiPoliisi has thousands of followers.

Work with social media makes it easier for the general public to contact the police and talk about more personal subjects. NettiPoliisi, which is also called the “virtual police”, works primarily to prevent crime by informing the general public of police-related matters and by answering the public's questions, which creates a feeling of security on the Internet. The web pages include a *FAQ* (Frequently Asked Questions). The key to success is cooperation across sectors, where social workers, school staff and many other parties are involved. NettiPoliisi provides a voice for all of these parties, and the focus is on bilateral and confidential dialogue with private individuals. It is important to make a distinction between NettiPoliisi and the regular police, since NettiPoliisi’s work is primarily based on creating relationships with the general public, e.g. by presenting a great deal of information through its media. The unit focuses on internet crime such as bullying, sexual offences, radicalisation and cases in which children are harmed.

NettiPoliisi receives a great number of tip-offs that lead to crimes being solved. Sensitive information of another nature can also be submitted through private messages. The unit also looks for people who are wanted or missing by searching through their internet profiles. For example, NettiPoliisi can ask the wanted person to attend an interrogation or ask the missing person to contact the police or their family. When people are wanted for various reasons, pictures of them and other information may be placed on NettiPoliisi's web pages. A person might make themselves unavailable by telephone or e-mail but they often still use social media continuously. NettiPoliisi often receive tip-offs from the general public regarding bullying. They can then contact the bully with ”virtual warnings” which often lead to the end of the bullying. On a few occasions, people have written offensive comments about the police, various public authorities or other internet users. These comments are not deleted since everyone has a right to express themselves. Instead, efforts are made to start a dialogue. Overstepping the mark is never acceptable.

Social media make it easier to make contact with young people in integration work or in creating relationships with minorities. NettiPoliisi collaborates with local police which is active via social media. On NettiPoliisi's web site, all active profiles are public with first and last names and a picture, so that everyone can see who the genuine police are and which accounts are fake. The profiles of the local police are also public. The virtual police are not allowed to
limit the freedom of expression or to moderate their pages but they always act against threats, bullying, sexual offences or other internet crimes. The virtual police can also act as a resource in criminal investigations. Out of all sexual offences that were reported throughout Finland in 2011, 15-20% was reported via NettiPoliisi.

Social media is an effective and exciting tool to be applied in vulnerable areas. The focus should be on making life more secure for children and young people. For example, working against bullying can help those affected by it to feel better and help them cope with school which, at the end of the day, strengthens their bond with the community around them. In previous school shootings, there has also proven to be link between the shooting and previous bullying. To work to create relationships through social media creates a better understanding of the work that social representatives carry out, and shows that there is a human being behind the uniform. This is important since in many socioeconomically deprived areas there is contempt towards representatives of the society and the community in general. Furthermore, relationships can be built with minorities and work can be conducted to tackle discrimination and racism, which creates better conditions for integration into society. It is important that the media channels collaborate cross-sectorally so that all parties have a shared situational picture and stand united publicly; this reduces the risk of rumours spreading. In this way, the positive forces can be enlisted and mobilised when there is unrest. This also enables social representatives’ access to information and tips in connection with the unrest.

During the 2011 riots in London, social media such as Facebook, Twitter and the Blackberry Network were used a great deal by both sides involved in the disturbances. It was primarily used by troublemakers to stimulate, and in certain cases, incite others to participate in the riots. CSP (Community Safety Partnership meetings) were working actively at that time to monitor the tension and events in social media. CSP is built around cooperation meetings. Since 1998 it is a statutory requirement that each municipality shall have a CSP that consists of representatives from the police, local authorities, the emergency services, the probation services, primary healthcare, voluntary organisations and industry. CSP’s role is to work with crime prevention and to promote safety through collaboration with the local community.

The majority of CSPs have their own Facebook and Twitter pages with an increasing number followers which, during the riots, allowed them to correct false information in order to improve safety. Despite the fact that many troublemakers were using social media to provoke acts of violence, CSP did not attempt to restrict access to social media but retained its activities as normal, allowing the authorities to not only gain access to indicators of social unrest and warning signals but also to important evidence that led to legal action. Many areas that expected to become involved in the riots were spared. The reason for this is thought to be the preventative work and the presence that CSP had in social media.

By spreading messages, CSP used social media to minimise major congregations of people, to protect objects that CSP identified as potential targets for troublemakers and to maintain security and order. The Twitter account Riot Clean Up (#RiotCleanUp) mobilised people to take part in local activities and, above all, to help clean up the area after the disturbances. Compared with the total of 5,000 people who were arrested after the riots around England in 2011, a relatively small percentage of people are actively involved with social unrest.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Further information:
https://www.poliisi.fi/nettipoliisi (Finnish)
https://www.facebook.com/Suomenpoliisi (Facebook)
https://twitter.com/Riotcleanup

Crossroads 18+ Centre in Tjingberg

Crossroads works with young adults aged 18-25 who are suspected to be on the way into a criminal lifestyle. In special circumstances, persons under the age of 18 may participate, e.g., if the person will soon turn 18, or if they have close contact with Crossroads employees. In other cases, the person is referred to another organisation that works specifically with younger target groups. Crossroads has been in operation for about 3 years and can also be found at five other locations in Copenhagen, 3 of which are at Nørrebro and one is at Tjingberg. One of the main reasons behind the 18+ initiative is the history of trouble that Tjingberg has suffered, which has meant that measures have been placed high on the political agenda.

A mapping of the individuals at the 18+ centre has been conducted and they have been roughly categorised into three groups. The first group contains those who are not at all seriously involved in any kind of crime, the second group contains persons who have a tendency to a criminal lifestyle, and the third group contains those who live outside the norms of regular society and who have a strong connection with gang crime. All categories are represented within the project where the composition of individuals in the groups varies depending on the geographical area in which the project is located.

The centre does not go out looking for members: young adults make contact with the centre themselves. Activities consist primarily of group discussions alongside any other activities that can be provided, i.e., computers, video games, table tennis, food preparation and day trips. The group discussions focus on reinforcing the young people's social bond with society and showing them the advantages that being part of a community can provide, as opposed to a criminal lifestyle. The centre cooperates with job centres, social service departments, exit programmes, training programmes, the correctional system, the police and addiction treatment centres. Approximately 85 young adults participate in the project and there are around 30-35 visitors every night. Two leaders work at the centre every day together with a teacher/counsellor. The opening times vary between the various centres, but Crossroads is open from 5-10 pm Sunday to Thursday, and from 5-midnight on Fridays and Saturdays.
Upload 18+ in Nørrebro

Upload in Nørrebro works in the same way as Crossroads in Tjingberg works with its 18+ project. In total there are five 18+ centres in Copenhagen. Upload's work often consists of dialogue with individuals. The individuals are offered anonymity so that they can approach the centre regardless of the issues they may have. Upload works in close collaboration with the department of education and the public employment service and, to a certain extent, it sometimes employs young people who have previously been involved in the project. The centre does not admit anyone with a gang connection as the project does not have the security that work associated with gangs requires. The participants therefore have no direct connection with the two rival gangs in Nørrebro, although there is often an indirect connection to one of the gangs as family members or friends are often involved in these. The centre has six employees and around 30-35 visitors every night; it is estimated that around 80 young people visit the centre on a regular basis. At the centre there is access to computers, training facilities, TV and other activities.

Hot Spot Nørrebro

The aim of the project is to increase safety and reduce crime. The project is in the second of its four years. The operation was initiated as a result of a great deal of money being invested into preventative measures which, at the time, produced minimal results. Hot spot coordinates the initiatives and makes them more effective, both in terms of preventative measures and those designed to improve security. The cooperation structure consists of many different administrations, i.e., the Social Services Administration, the Employment and Integration Administration, the Security Administration, the Children and Youth Administration and the Technical and Environmental Administration. The project also incorporates the improvement of the skills of those who work with young people and new youth centres have been opened in the area for 15-18 year-olds and 7-13 year-olds. Other major investments include leisure activities, sports halls and the employment of more activity leaders. Hot spot has also paid attention to local businesses that were being subjected to extortion. When a bar was subjected to extortion and vandalism, local residents reacted and organised a street party to show their support for the pub, and also to stand up to the local gang’s extortion. Two managers and two investigators work within Hot Spot.

The Copenhagen team

Tjingberg is an area that is characterised by low incomes, large families and small apartments. This leads to overcrowding, a lack of schooling, isolation and a lack of knowledge with regard to welfare services. The Copenhagen team consists of six people who work within specific areas. The group is described as a ”mobile team” since they are able to quickly relocate should a situation occur. However, they are usually stationed in the same area for a considerable length of time. The team is thus a response group that is used in emergency situations, at the same time as they work to create contacts in the everyday line operation.

When the Copenhagen team is working in an area, the focus is on observation and forging contacts with local residents. Situational pictures, crime and any problems are mapped. For
example, there was a period of time when buses were subjected to stone-throwing in Tjingberg and many resources were mobilised without it actually being known what the problem was. The Copenhagen team talked to the local residents and it emerged that local Muslims thought the bus driver had been rude to them. This was connected with the conflict in the Balkans. Using this information, the problems could quickly be remedied with minimal resources.

The team also organises football tournaments that become symbolic assembly points, a leisure activity and a meeting place where players, youth leaders and staff from social services can meet each other in a more natural manner. In Denmark there has been no obligation for the municipality to work with persons over 18 – these people have been expected to be able to take care of themselves. However, there is a major need for everyday knowledge for some individuals since they do not have family or friends to turn to, and they may need help with everything from welfare services to notifying a change of address. In Copenhagen there are seven different administrations, so a high degree of cooperation is required. The strength of the operation lies in the fact that the departments are dependent on each other, and the organisations that have emerged have had to find their own role in the structure.

The Copenhagen exit programme

The exit programme is a new project within the Copenhagen social services that is directed at the 18+ target group. The project consists of a programme for drop-outs, in addition to a programme targeted at people who are involved in dangerous activities but who are not involved in organised crime. The programme for drop-outs involves 6-12 months of work with the individuals concerned, whilst the other programme’s work lasts for 1-2 years. Programme participants are found within the correctional systems where the motivational work is initiated. The police and social services also provide information about the project. To start with, the staff visiting the correctional facility investigates how motivated the person is to make a break from their criminal lifestyle. Following that, social services decide if the person is qualified to take part in one of the programmes.

The exit programme is primarily based on the TGB discussion method in combination with MI (Motivational interviewing) and coaching techniques. The programme also collaborates with the municipal employment service (Jobbcentre+) in Copenhagen. The exit programmes consists of staff from the Children and Youth Administration, the Employment and Integration Administration and the Social Services Administration, all of whom are organised under a project manager. The staff also visit the Crossroads 18+ centre where they continuously take part in group discussions, which means that the participants get more personal contact with the programmes and the staff. It is therefore not seen as being wrong to seek help, nor is taking part in the programme anything to be embarrassed about. The total capacity of the exit programme is 25 people per year and the programme often handles 8-10 people at the same time.

Din betjent (At your service)

Within each police district, 2-4 police officers work ”at your service”. This means increased foot and cycle patrols and also additional car patrols. The aim is to be visible and come into better contact with citizens so that there is dialogue, which also helps the police in their work. The advantage of the work is that there is more time left over for dialogue and, following an
incident, officers can remain at the scene to clarify the situation for local residents and to listen to their observations and answer their questions. On occasions the officers can also take part in the young people's leisure activities in order to get closer to them. Every “at your service” officer has a telephone number where they can be reached if necessary. The officer visit locations such as the 18+ centre on a daily basis, in order to build relationships. However, it is important to remember that ”at your service” is a balancing act between dialogue and the exercising of police authority.

Cooperation with a focus on the young people

Copenhagen's fire cadets

In Copenhagen, all firemen are trained as mentors for young people and each fireman has responsibility for one young person. Sikker By (Safe City) set aside DKK 2.3 million for 68 fire cadets. The idea behind the fire cadets is to increase understanding of the fire brigade's work so that firemen do not encounter stone-throwing when they go into certain areas. The work with the fire cadets creates a relationship between the firemen and the young people, which increases their understanding of each other. The youth fire brigade is in itself nothing new, since 12-15 Danish municipalities already run such operations, and more are also waiting to start their own projects as the municipalities have clearly advocated that fire brigades should play a more central role in the community. Firemen have a great ability to pass on knowledge and discipline, something that many young people need and want. The training also builds self-confidence and self-esteem.

The main aim of the project is to create relationships between fire stations and their local areas. Both firemen and administrative personnel in the Copenhagen fire brigade receive training in mentorship, teaching and how to react in different situations. The fire cadet has the same mentor throughout the entire project. Strong bonds are created, not just between the firemen and the fire cadets, but also with the fire cadets' families who support the project by, for example, coming to the station with home-cooked food or by letting the young people spend time at the fire station in the afternoons and evenings. Furthermore, the fire cadets have often accompanied the firemen when they have been called out. The young people undergo a 36 hour training course in fire extinguishing, first aid, fire prevention, safety and cooperation. They learn everything from how to prepare fire hoses to following orders, and they come to realise the importance of mutual trust. Keeping discipline amongst the young people has not been seen as a problem – the young people are able look the firemen in the eye and follow their instructions.
Schools and after-school recreation centres help to find young people in grades 7-8 (14-16 years) who have no particular leisure interests and who need to build up their self-confidence. Good fire cadets can look forward to six months of work in their spare time at DKK 49 per hour, and after that, the fire brigade helps them to find other work. In this way, the young people can continue to have some form of connection with the fire brigade until they turn 18. Over 200 proud parents came to the ”graduation” of the first fire cadets and the Copenhagen fire brigade has noted a decrease in the amount of stone-throwing and harassment of the fire brigade out in the areas concerned.

The person behind the uniform (MBU)

"The person behind the uniform” (MBU) project involves young people, on ten separate occasions, getting to know and be trained by adults who wear uniforms in their daily work, i.e., the police, emergency services, ambulance paramedics, security guards and public transport staff. The aim is that the young people and staff will get to know and understand each other. The young people that undergo the MBU training become certified ambassadors for MBU and then work as role models for other young people in their districts.

The objectives of MBU are to increase the participation of young people, to reduce crime and to bring together and increase understanding between young people and the professions that support society. The MBU work focuses on openness and influence. By having an open dialogue it is possible to show that, behind the uniform, there is a completely normal person with the same needs and desires as anyone else. And under the baseball cap is a young person who wants to find out more. MBU is also an opportunity to sow a seed amongst the young people who may themselves take up one of these professions in the future.
Rinkeby-Kista's young ambassadors (RKUA)

The aim of RKUA is to create a forum where young people can participate and feel involved and feel that they have an influence, and to build bridges between young people and politicians that are missing in many deprived areas. The young people meet every other week to discuss and plan their current and future situations. Various activities and projects are also involved. A staff member from the district administration coordinates and provides support to the RKUA work. Politicians from the district committee also participate. Many young people approach RKUA as the project leads to better conditions for everyday life, school life and a commitment to a non-profit organisation. The hope is that they will motivate other young people to do the same thing.

Summer jobs

Many district administrations and municipalities prioritise creating and offering summer jobs for young people. The aim is to promote participation in the community and to provide valuable experience to young individuals who find themselves in isolated situations. Summer jobs for young people are found primarily within pre-schools, elderly care, park work and in non-profit organisations. In Stockholm, the district administration, together with the City, create a central organisation to handle the application process, the process of getting a job, employment agreements and wage payments. The summer jobs are thought to have a calming influence on the young people, which leads to less social unrest as they have something to do, earn their own money and feel needed and acknowledged.

Social workers in the police's juvenile groups

Within many police juvenile groups there is also a social worker, and this has proven to be very successful. The aim is that the social workers shall have the same situational picture as the police in connection with an initiative or a response, so that measures can be achieved quickly and so that preparations for cases can be made successfully. Together with the juvenile groups, the social workers prepare the cases, provide support to the victims of crime, the perpetrators and parents, and work in a conciliatory capacity. This method of working has increased understanding in the work that the other parties do and has contributed to considerably shorter investigation times within both the police and the social services. It has also led to the help offered to victims and perpetrators being improved and made more tangible.

Safe in Tensta (TiT)

TiT is aimed at young men aged 18-23 who have left upper secondary school with poor grades and/or have not managed enter the labour market. TiT is intended to encourage young people to get involved; it presents good local role models and shows the possibilities that exist in and outside of the local area, in addition to reinforcing the self-esteem and confidence in the future of young people in the risk zone by developing new forms of cooperation and working methods with parties within the labour market. The Spånga-Tensta district council is responsible for the management of the project. The project managers collaborate closely with parents, schools, social services, clubs and associations and after-school recreation centres.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

The young people selected for the project are supervised and coached to create goals for their life and their future. Over the course of a year with enhanced income support they receive help with training, work and establishing new routines in their everyday life. They are expected to act as good role models for younger people and their peers, for example by taking part in night patrols and by assisting youth leaders. Recruitment occurs through suitable candidates being approached, or by recommendation, and after an interview.

Safe in Tensta Junior team (TiT-J)

TiT-J is aimed at young people in Tensta aged 13-17 who want to invest in themselves, in school and in their future. The group consists of 15-20 young men and women who are either good role models, or who are in a criminal risk zone. TiT-J aims to present good role models amongst the young people in the area and shows the possibilities that exist in and outside of the local area, in addition to building up young people in the risk zone by developing new forms of cooperation and working methods around their free time.

The group is involved with coaching, personal development conversations, discussions, value exercises, study visits, activities, training and camps. They plan and carry out various projects together. Spånga-Tensta district is responsible for the management of the project. The project managers collaborate closely with parents, schools, social services, clubs and associations and after-school recreation centres. Young people in the risk zone who have taken part have felt that it was cool and OK to look after themselves and to invest in something positive. The young people expand their social networks and develop new prospects for the future. Participants are recruited through collaboration between schools, after-school recreation centres and social services. There are not enough places for all who want to be involved.

Parental training

The aim of the parental training is to support parents in their role and to provide more knowledge regarding the additional support that society provides and the relevant legislation. For this reason, several different types of parental training are offered – there are both general courses and more specific courses based on particular needs. For example, the training may include showing parents how they can handle fights and conflicts with their children and young people in a calmer and more successful manner.

In cooperation with pre-schools/schools, social services and ethnic associations, various different needs can be met. A district or municipality has much to gain through productive meetings with parents, using evidence-based methods and flexible teaching methods. Great sensitivity with regard to the parents' needs and interests must be complemented by skills, experience and humility. Interest and support will often have to follow the specific initiatives taken by various associations and groups. These initiatives are based on the problems and needs that the associations have experienced themselves.

The district administration can benefit by mapping and coordinating needs and what is available to the parent groups, and by taking an inventory of the collaborative partners that have natural meeting points and a wide scope of influence. The district administration can also coordinate the contact between schools and associations. Various professional groups are
prepared to work with particular issues. For example, the police handle issues concerning narcotics and crime, whilst social services handle issues concerning reports, investigations and social service legislation. Through these training courses, it has been noticed that parents have a greater awareness of their responsibilities and of the opportunities they have to influence their children's development, free time and future. This has led to the parents participating more in their children's everyday lives. The staffs responsible for the parent groups have also increased their knowledge and understanding of the different cultures of the parents and how the parents think with regard to these issues.

**Risk counselling**
Risk counselling is initiated by the police, social services or street workers. The target group is custodians and the young person in question who has been noticed in unsuitable places, at unsuitable times or with the wrong crowd. The aim is for the young person to become aware of their situation and be offered a second chance, and also to make the parents aware of their child's situation. The police, social services and street workers meet the young person and custodian in their home where they inform them about the child's activities, the fact that there is reason to worry and the help that is available. There is also often a visit to the victim of the crime where the young person is given a chance to apologise. Other supporting measures are often offered. Examples of these may be Spånga-Tensta Family Centre's "Alla Barn i Centrum" (ABC) which is built around showing love, getting involved, leading the way and "picking your fights". The aim of ABC is to strengthen the relationship between parent and child. Issues discussed include attitudes and approaches to bringing up children. In Uppsala municipality, risk counselling has been conducted with several individuals who have been identified as those actively involved in social unrest. The counselling has been held in local schools. This approach has been successful as the troublemakers have often calmed down.

**The youth centre**
The youth centre works with young people and families that need some form of support and help. They may have been subjected to or have witnessed crime, addiction, difficult conditions at home or at school, or they may have poor self-esteem. The focus of the centre's conciliatory efforts is crime prevention – the young people get a greater understanding of the consequences of crime and this leads to the perpetrator not repeating it.
Social workers, nurses, psychotherapists and family counsellors work at the youth centre, amongst others. The centre offers support, advice and treatment. Discussions are held between the victims of crime and the perpetrators. Furthermore, drug samples may be taken in cases where there is a suspicion of drug abuse. The centre also runs a mentor programme where those involved receive support to help them enter mainstream society.

**Social task forces**
The work with social task forces concerns cooperation at individual level for young people aged 15-25 who are at risk of adopting a criminal lifestyle, or who need support and help to make a break from criminal networks – "drop-outs". This may involve offering the young person work or practical experience, etc. The main responsibility for the activity rests with social services in
the municipality where the young person lives. Social services are responsible for involving other cooperating parties, based on the young individual's specific needs. Social services, the police and other authorities involved use their collective skills in the work. This means that all parties share knowledge of the young person, which means that it is more likely that the right authorities do the right things in the right order.

The difference between the way in which the social task forces operate compared with the traditional form of cooperation, where information is kept anonymous or is handled on an overall level, is that the cooperation in social task forces takes place on an individual level, based on consent being granted to exchange information. Due to current confidentiality laws, the young person and/or the custodian are required to give their consent for an exchange of information between authorities.

The cooperating parties concerned make their particular contribution based on the needs of the young person, with the support of an established, individual action plan which states the measures that are to be implemented, by whom and the time period in which they are to be implemented. According to the National Police Board, it is important that the cooperation with the school is effective in the work with the young person, since the school is an important risk and protection factor for children. There are clear links between poor school results and crime.

**Cooperation with clubs and associations**

Uppsala municipality provides grants to clubs and associations which operate in prioritised districts and whose work is based on helping young people in the risk zone. After-school recreation centres and clubs make a positive contribution to a city's development which is characterised by active cooperation between municipal organisations and clubs and associations. The aim is to systematically work to improve integration, participation and to reduce exclusion. The municipal organisations cooperate extensively with non-profit organisations. The area leaders in the prioritised districts support local non-profit projects and stimulate active cooperation between the various organisations.

**Cooperation focusing on the location**

**Property owners**

The aim of integrating property owners into the cooperation work is to raise the area's standing in the rest of the community. In order to prevent social unrest, the property owners carry out security inspections together with the police, where inventories are taken.

**Safety patrols**

And decisions are made regarding the properties. In 2007, a cooperative forum of property owners was founded and today there are 26 members with approximately 16,000 apartments. The property owners cooperate with the police, Stockholm Public Transport, the Greater Stockholm Fire Brigade, Riksbyggen and the City of Stockholm. This means that procedures
and responsibilities can more easily be clarified, for example, questions such as who is responsible for burnt-out cars in the area.

Safety patrols are based on a systematic inventory being made of an area from a safety point of view. The aim of the patrols is to discover locations and circumstances that could cause social unrest and to take the appropriate measures, e.g., by removing loose stones, burnable objects, burnt-out cars, and by taking care of open container, plastic rubbish bins and places with poor lighting. Safety patrols also provide the opportunity for more in-depth democratic conversations between local residents and those responsible for the community's various social initiatives.

During safety patrols, locations and spaces that could feel unsafe and which could be potential crime scenes are noted, as are the physical circumstances that lead to such places being considered unsafe. Suggestions for short and long-term solutions are then presented. The safety patrol group includes local residents, representatives of local clubs and associations, field assistants, housing companies, politicians and the police.

The safety patrols can be successfully conducted with pupils in the vicinity of local schools. The aim is to increase the influence and cooperation of pupils with regard to safety and harmony, and to promote a bond with the local community and the desire to take responsibility for it. Safety patrols can also be conducted with a focus on the most vulnerable locations where violent acts occur as a form of entertainment. Following an analysis of locations and points of time, the regulation of traffic, voluntary operations, and the installation of security cameras can be organised, along with police who are scheduled according to specific times and locations.

**Micro locations**

Work with micro locations focuses on the significance of a location with regard to crime. The aim is to create a common situational picture, to detect and disrupt criminal activities, to increase safety and to reduce crime. Based on the situational picture, suitable measures are decided upon, e.g., security cameras, traffic regulation, changes to the street environment, information to property owners, pub owners and clubs, etc.

### 4.4 Yellow situation

The working practices are structured on a model based on the routine activity theory. In the model, the focus is on cooperation where the working practices and their measures are directed at young people, the place and the social control. It could, for example, be “youth centres” where measures are directed at young people and parents in need of help and support, or the importance of cleaning areas so that they are free of loose objects and potential weapons, abandoned cars and open container, as well as night patrols that aim to increase social control. It should be added that most working practices affect and have an impact on all three areas of the routine activity theory.
Cooperation to enhance social control

Establish local staff
The purpose of establishing local staff is to create a joint and continuously updated situational picture and suggestions for measures. The collaborators are mobilised through a pre-planned organisation and contact list. The organisation consists of the police and the district council. Depending on the situation, other parties may also be included e.g., the rescue services or schools. The progress of the staff is documented.

Briefing meetings
The time and place are set for a briefing meeting which is led by the police. All active field workers should work together with the “positive forces”. Briefing meetings are described in more detail in the “green situation” section.

Checklist
The checklist is used in cooperation forums to create joint situational awareness, which makes it easier to implement measures. Further information: Checklist in appendix

Impact analysis
When implementing initiatives in sensitive areas, an impact analysis is conducted in collaboration with local parties before central initiatives are implemented. Analyse the potential impact and consider whether an initiative should be implemented, or if it would be better to wait until the situation is calmer. A situation could, for example, be justified from a legal point of view but tactically inappropriate as the consequences may be worse than the situation you are trying to solve.

Media strategy
In a situation of unrest there is often fluctuation between the different situational picture codes. That is why it is important, in a yellow situation, to conduct a pre-established media strategy. Continuity and straight talking with the media are important in order to avoid the spreading of rumours. It is also an advantage if one person is responsible for representing the entire organisation, as this facilitates the building of relationships with the media and the general public. It is important to choose someone, preferably with a local connection, who has credibility and knowledge of the local context. This also makes it more difficult to question or quash the trust that the person has built up for the organisation. It is a great advantage for each organisation to have a communication plan with the aim of coordinating the communication at yellow situation, by establishing the main message and a clear division of responsibility within the organisation and between the parties involved. The main message should be to the effect that there is broad cooperation around social unrest that is built on presence and dialogue. The organisation collaborates closely with other participants where the unrest is handled in a cross-sector manner. Focus on continuity and perseverance. Secondary messages in the media
strategy could be to be present on site in order to make local residents feel safe and enable other operators to carry out their missions. The organisation should strive towards being present and accessible to the public and each other in traditional media, social media and through their own channels. An intense media presence counteracts communication challenges such as the spreading of an image that is negative for the organisation, that social unrest is the result of the organisation’s work or that the organisation seems to be compliant and avoiding answering questions.

The positive forces
Mobilise the positive forces for general or specific efforts using text messages and make updates through social media. Appoint roles and responsible persons within each group. The positive forces are those people in the area who get involved, who participate in various cooperation forums such as night patrols, people such as community representatives, youth representatives, street workers, religious associations, security guards and firemen.

At yellow situation it is important to visit petrol stations in the area and inform the staff that there is a risk of violence breaking out. In connection with previous events, petrol station staff have confirmed to the police that young people had been there to fill up, and they had later forbidden the youths from filling up cans and plastic bottles. Cooperation with petrol station staff has also led to the identification and arrest of troublemakers.

Social media
At yellow situation it is important to update social media in order to mobilise collaborators and parents as well as spreading information to the public. Examples of social media are Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Appoint a person responsible for coverage and updates. Working to create relationships through social media makes for a better understanding of the work of social representatives and also shows that there is a person behind the uniform. This is important, as in many socioeconomically disadvantaged areas there is contempt towards representatives of society and the society in general. It is important that the media channels collaborate cross-sectorally so that all parties have a shared situational picture and stand united publicly; this reduces the risk of rumours spreading. In this way, the positive forces can be enlisted and mobilised when there is unrest. This also enables social representatives’ access to information and tips in connection with the unrest. Read more about social media under “green situation”.

Preparation for red situation
Prepare for escalation to red situation (e.g., violent riots) that is led by local staff and/or inter-agency staff, e.g., an on-duty police chief and/or the city’s head of security.
Response group
The response group includes the police, social services, rescue services, street workers, youth centre representatives, schools, leisure services units, property owners and managers as well as the positive forces. Based on the situation in hand, it is important to have a clear structure regarding who is participating, who is updating and who is maintaining a daily dialogue during yellow situation.

Cooperation with a focus on the young people

Mapping active individuals
Intelligence regarding active individuals is compiled by the Criminal Intelligence Department’s (KUT) tactical centre. The aim is to target these individuals with suitable measures, e.g., consequence conversations or contact with parents. Be vigilant of any active individuals who are being released, especially when the original arrest occurred in connection with the event in question. There is a great risk of the individual wanting a quick “revenge” and continuing to be a driving force in the unrest.

Risk counseling
Risk counselling is initiated by the police, social services or street workers. The target group is custodians and the young person in question who has been noticed in unsuitable places, at unsuitable times or with the wrong crowd. The aim is for the young person to become aware of their situation and be offered a second chance, and also to make the parents aware of their child’s situation. The police, social services and street workers meet the young person and custodian in their home where they inform them about the child’s activities, the fact that there is reason to worry and the help that is available. There is also often a visit to the victim of the crime where the young person is given a chance to apologise. Other supporting measures are often offered. Examples of these may be Spånga-Tensta Family Centre’s ”Alla Barn i Centrum” (ABC) which is built around showing love, getting involved, leading the way and “picking your fights”. The aim of ABC is to strengthen the relationship between parent and child. Issues discussed include attitudes and approaches to bringing up children.

Consequence conversation
Young people who are considered instigators and who actively involved with unrest are contacted with the purpose of making the individual aware that they are being monitored, and what the consequences of their behaviour may be. The consequence conversation is conducted in different manners depending on the age of the young person, their previous contact with the police and their family situation. Consequence conversations are described in more detail under “green situation”.

84
Youth activities
Questions that must be asked at yellow situation are: Are there planned activities that may increase the risk of social unrest? Can activities decrease the risk of social unrest? This involves being observant and having a contingency plan should there be parties or large events where there may be a risk. It might also be a good idea to plan activities during school holidays, e.g., football tournaments or barbecues so that young people and residents are kept busy.

Cooperation with the focus on the place

The physical space
A safety inspection is performed in places that might become arenas for social unrest. Pay special attention to the presence of flammable materials e.g., open container and construction waste as well as loose rocks or other objects that may be thrown or used as weapons. Clearing away broken glass and graffiti, towing away burnt-out or abandoned cars and removing plastic rubbish bins can reduce the chance of social unrest. It is therefore a great advantage to maintain smooth and rapid channels of communication between the Traffic Administration Office, the municipality, the rescue services and the police. The physical space is described in further detail in “green situation”.

![Car](image-url)
4.5 Red situation

In a red situation, the police have the primary responsibility. For specific events, the management of the work can be lifted from the local staff (City Police District) to the authority level. Apart from the police, the local staff also includes personnel from the municipality and the emergency services. When the situational picture has been upgraded to red situation, it is important to assuage the unrest quickly. The initial police operations focus on securing the activities of the emergency services, protecting their own premises, protecting preschools/schools as well as proceedings against crimes committed. The objective in red situations is to create secure conditions for citizens where predominantly positive forces are on the streets. There should be a high capacity to sense the mood and which way things are going, and the conditions for legal proceedings should be good. It is important for the structure and procedures to be functional in all situations, even during holidays, and it is important to update the situational picture and measures using the checklist.

In connection with violent situations, positive forces in the area can keep the police and the municipality continuously updated on the current situational picture. The advantage is that they have access to places it is difficult for the police to reach. A functioning cooperation in a red situation requires good relationships and trust between all the participants. These relationships are not only established on the basis of the red situation, but must be fostered in daily operations. It is also important for the participants that are out in the areas to have natural links to the area, with local and personal knowledge. It has, for example, been found to be problematic to bring in night patrollers from other places where conflict has arisen between night patrollers and young people. It can also be risky for positive forces to be out in the area during a red situation, which is yet another reason why it is very important to have good relationships between positive forces and young people. In connection with earlier cases of unrest, there has been success with respect to planning and implementing various activities for young people and other residents, such as football tournaments or barbecues.

In recent years, the situation has become more serious, with young people tricking the police and emergency services into coming so as to ambush them and attack them with stones. In these situations, it is very important to have positive forces to contact inside the area. For example, there have been instances of the police receiving a call about an assault in progress, but when the police checked with a cooperation partner in the area, this has proved to be a hoax. In connection with violence, it has also been successful to enlist the help of religious associations in order to calm the young people down. In London, cooperation between the mosque in White Chapel and the police has continued since the mid-2000s when the first initiative to cooperation was taken by the imam of the largest mosque. It is also the imam who is the contact person for the police. This cooperation works very well, both in calm situations and during unrest. The imam believes that cooperation with mosques and other religious forums is a precondition for long-term success in disadvantaged areas.
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Many of the working methods used in daily operations are also employed in a red situation, such as briefings and risk counselling. It is also very important to continuously clear the place from loose stones, loose plastic bins and to shut containers. There is a great advantage in quickly retrieving burnt-out cars and getting them away from the area. This requires flexible and fast channels between the traffic department, municipality, emergency services and the police. It is important for the cooperation to have clear channels regarding the situational picture and the spread of rumours, so that appropriate measures can be deployed quickly. It should be clear who is to be contacted at the municipality and with all partners involved, and who has the mandate to make decisions. A contingency plan with an alert list should be available, clearly stating, among other things, who conducts the dialogue with different groups and residents. In some earlier cases of unrest, representatives of society have enlisted the help of individuals and groups in the belief that they were positive forces, in order to calm the young people down. However, these groups have subsequently proved to belong to criminal elements, something which resulted in these forces then considering the representatives of society to be indebted to them. A precondition for successful cooperation with positive forces is that they are loyal and able to influence young people in the area. Therefore, a close and confidence-building relationship in the daily operations is a precondition.

Continuity and frank dialogue with the media are important in avoiding the spread of rumours. It is also an advantage if one person is responsible for representing the whole organisation, because this makes it easier to build relationships with the media and the general public. It is important to have a person, preferably with a local connection, who has credibility and knowledge of the local context. This also makes it more difficult to challenge or destroy the trust that the person has built up on behalf of the organisation. It is a great advantage for each organisation to have a communication plan to coordinate communication in a red situation by establishing the primary message and a clear division of responsibility within the organisation and between the cooperation partners involved. The primary message should be formulated in relation to a broad cooperation on social unrest based on presence and dialogue. The organisation has close cooperation with other organisations, with cross-sectorial management of unrest. The focus is on continuity and perseverance. Subsidiary messages that are good to have in the media strategy are presence on site, the creation of security for residents and enabling other participants to perform their tasks. The organisation should strive to be present and available to the general public and to each other in traditional media, social media and in their own channels. A high media presence counteracts communication challenges such as the spread of a negative image of the organisation; that social unrest would be the result of the organisation’s work or that the organisation appears acquiescent and avoids answering questions.

In a red situation, it is advantageous to update social media in order to mobilise positive forces and spread information to the general public. Examples of social media are Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Designate someone as responsible for coordination, monitoring and updating. Building relationships through social media creates a better understanding of the duties that representatives of society have and shows that there is a person behind the uniform. This is important because in many socio-economically disadvantaged areas, there is acontempt
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

towards these representatives and the rest of society. It is important for these media channels to link to a cross-sectorial cooperation so that all the participants have a shared situation assessment and display a united front, thereby reducing the risk of rumour-spreading. In this way, positive forces can be engaged and mobilised in connection with unrest. This also makes it possible for representatives of society to receive information and tip-offs in connection with the unrest. Read more about social media in green situations. It is also a good idea for the organisation’s website to have a list of FAQs (Frequently Asked Questions), where the general public can get answers to questions and find out where to turn in various matters.

In a red situation, it is important to cooperate with the personnel at petrol stations in the areas and inform them about the unrest. In connection with previous events, personnel at petrol stations have confirmed to the police that young people had been there for petrol, and since then have banned young people from filling up cans and plastic bottles. The cooperation with personnel at petrol stations has also resulted in troublemakers being identified and apprehended.

4.6 Orange situation

When the red situation is under control, it is important to have a structured contingency plan for a quick return to green situation, both for the organisation and for cooperation partners. In order to succeed, mobilisation of positive forces and crisis groups are necessary, among other things. It is also good for the most senior management to make appearances in the area. Positive forces should be out in the areas virtually around the clock, so it is important to plan ahead so that they do not burn themselves out. Extra resources must be in readiness at the same time as the situation returns to green. It is also important that everyone involved from the highest strategic level to the lowest operational level is offered debriefing and has time to relax. One must not forget to acknowledge, highlight and allow the residents who have suffered personal losses (e.g., had their cars set on fire) to vent their feelings; this is also a good opportunity to establish relationships and build trust. Many municipalities make use of POSOM groups. It is important to continue with briefings and to update the checklist. It is also important to be present and for there to be representatives of the dialogue with various groups and residents in the area, particularly to avoid the orange situation going back to red. In an orange situation, the physical environment must be quickly restored by removing loose stones, combustible objects and attending to open skip containers and places with poor lighting. There is a great advantage in quickly retrieving burnt-out cars and getting them away from the area. This requires flexible and fast channels between the traffic department, municipality, emergency services and the police.

In order to return quickly to regular day-to-day operations, it is important for the working methods employed in a green situation to also be employed in an orange situation. There should always be a locally structured cooperation. Just as in the red situation, it is also an advantage in the orange situation to plan and implement various activities for young people and other residents, such as football tournaments or barbecues. Make sure that police officers are out
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

among pupils in schools, answering questions and providing information. It is good if these are local police officers that the young people recognise.

In an orange situation, written and verbal information is issued in the area, often with the help of the area’s positive forces. The message conveyed includes what has happened, what we do now, where can you turn, what will happen and where to leave tip-offs and witness details. Have a contingency list of appropriate youth activities to implement after the crisis, such as theme days in schools or sports activities. After the event, it is important to evaluate and reflect on what has happened. Be clear about who is leading the evaluation and who has the mandate to delegate duties. Issues discussed are:

- What triggered the crisis?
- What signs were there?
- What do we know about similar events?
- What can we improve in green, yellow and red situations?
- What preventive work can we do?

In connection with unrest, there is often a rapid flow back and forth among the various situational pictures. It is therefore important in orange situations to continue with a pre-defined media strategy. Continuity and frank dialogue with the media are important to avoid the spread of rumours. It is also an advantage if one person is responsible for representing the whole organisation, because this makes it easier to build relationships with the media and the general public. It is important to have a person, preferably with a local connection, who has credibility and knowledge of the local context. This also makes it more difficult to challenge or destroy the trust that the person has built up on behalf of the organisation. It is a great advantage for each organisation to have a communication plan to coordinate communication in an orange situation by establishing the primary message and a clear division of responsibility within the organisation and between the cooperation partners involved. The primary message should be formulated in relation to a broad cooperation on social unrest based on presence and dialogue. The organisation has close cooperation with other organisations, with cross-sectorial management of unrest. The focus is on continuity and perseverance. Subsidiary messages that are good to have in the media strategy are presence on site, the creation of security for residents and enabling other parties to perform their tasks. The organisation should strive to be present and available to the general public, and to each other, in traditional media, social media and in their own channels. A high media presence counteracts communication challenges such as the spread of a negative image of the organisation; that social unrest would be the result of the organisation’s work or that the organisation appears acquiescent and avoids answering questions.

Social media are a valuable tool for reaching out to the general public and mobilising positive forces in the area. In connection with earlier unrest, religious communities have been very
helpful. Examples of social media are Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Designate someone as responsible for monitoring and updating. Building relationships through social media creates a better understanding of the duties that representatives of society have and shows that there is a person behind the uniform. This is important because in many socio-economically disadvantaged areas, there is a contempt towards these representatives and the rest of society. It is important for these media channels to link to a cross-sectorial cooperation so that all the participants have a shared situational picture and display a united front, thereby reducing the risk of rumour-spreading. In this way, positive forces can be engaged and mobilised in connection with unrest. This also makes it possible for representatives of society to receive information and tip-offs in connection with the unrest. Read more about social media in green situations. It is also a good idea for the organisation website to have a list of FAQs (Frequently Asked Questions), where the general public can get answers to questions and find out where to turn in various matters.

Because there is often a rapid change back and forth between red and orange situations, it is an advantage in an orange situation to visit petrol stations in the areas and inform their personnel about the unrest. In connection with previous events, personnel at petrol stations have confirmed to the police that young people had been there for petrol, and since then have banned young people from filling up cans and plastic bottles. The cooperation with personnel at petrol stations has also resulted in troublemakers being identified and apprehended.

4.7 Communicational approach

Communication is an art form
Meeting and communicating with people can be perceived as difficult, it can be easy to dismiss someone by deciding that they are not interested in listening. By having the right approach and being aware that your behaviour dictates how the other party will react and act, you will find that you have the power to determine the outcome. The idea of a dialogue is that it is open and inviting, and that it is the result of several different methods. Listed below is knowledge gathered from the Police Negotiation Organisation, collected by former Dialogue police and Negotiator Stefan Holgersson, and which addresses the concept of active listening. A technique that may help you to maintain or establish necessary and desired communication.

Some tips when it comes to active listening
- The tone (body language) is usually more important than a brilliant argument…
The purpose of active listening:
- Calm down emotions
- Increase rational thinking
- Build trust in order to influence
- Gather information
- Achieve a change of behaviour

Active listening consists of:
- Identifying emotions
- Paraphrasing
- Reflection
- Summarising
- Open-ended questions
- “I” messages
- Effective pauses
- Showing presence

Identifying emotions:
What emotion are you perceiving? (If you are unsure, go with your instinct)
- You sound sad… You sound angry…
- Help the other party understand their emotions. Generally, this prompts a reaction
- Incorrect reaction easily handled (I did not say that you were angry, I just said that you sounded angry)
- Identifying underlying emotions that have not yet been expressed or identified by the other party themselves is very effective and builds trust (You sound… And it seems like this situation has hurt you…)
- Never let an emotion pass without handling it (People love and want others to understand how they are really feeling)
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

**Paraphrasing:**
- Connect the content of what you have heard with your own words (Other party: She always talks and never pays any attention to what I say. You: She doesn’t listen to you)

**Reflection:**
- Repeat the last words in a sentence that the other party has said (Other party: She doesn’t give me any attention and it makes me angry. You: It makes you angry)
- Keep the other party oriented. It motivates them to keep talking.
- Be careful not to sound too much like a “psychologist” (important to combine it with the right tone of voice, body language etc.)

**Summarising:**
- Periodically summarise the other party’s account and emotions with your own words (You have told me that… And you feel… Have I understood this correctly…?)
- Effective when you need time or new leads.

**Open-ended questions:**
- Questions that cannot be answered with a yes or no
- What, when, how, who (What happened today? How would you like to resolve this?)
- Avoid making it feel like an interrogation.
- Provides greater freedom for answering and expressing oneself
- Be careful when asking why. It is perceived as aggressively questioning.

**Convey “I” messages**
- You are there, not the authority
- Effective when building trust after being verbally attacked (When you shout at me, I become upset because it stops me from listening to you…)

**Effective pauses:**
- Most effective just before or after saying something important
- When you want them to talk
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

- When someone is “preaching”/”ranting” too much – or when they are angry and shouting (if they cannot see your presence, for example by telephone, they will wonder if we are still there and may interrupt themselves)

  Show presence:
  - Small sounds that show that you are present (Ah, ok, mm)
  - Best to use during venting
  - People want to know that someone is listening
  - Implies that you want to hear more.

Active listening:
- Do not be a counsellor
- Do not be judgmental
- Do not involve your own judgments and values
- Only discuss what the other party has brought up
- Empathy is being able to understand someone’s thoughts and feelings so well that you can summarise them for him or her
- Empathy does not equal sympathy
- Trust is not earned automatically (you should be set on working to get it)
- Phrases that may undermine trust:
  o Calm down!
  o Why??!
  o You should..!
  o You shouldn’t…!

Refrain from suggesting solutions until the other party is “ready” for it! It is very easy to suggest a solution too quickly! I have often negotiated and through active listening had the other party themselves suggest a solution (“How do you think we should solve this?” can be a good question) If you offer up suggestions too quickly, the other party may not accept the suggestion even if they would have accepted it had you “played it cool”.

If you offer up suggestions, you may be met with a confrontation. Do not act threatening or judgmental if this happens (use effective pauses and “I” messages)
4.8 Arson

Arson is a great social issue, costing society billions each year.

Everything from dustbins to industrial premises are subject to arson attacks. However, schools, recreational facilities and apartment buildings are particularly at risk. Often, these fires are started in containers, loading docks, building entrances, cellars, storage rooms and attics. Car arson is also common. In the Swedish Penal Code, arson is classified differently depending on the scope of the fire and risk of it spreading, as either arson or infliction of damage through fire.

In Sweden, every fourth fire is the result of arson. When it comes to fires in schools, the number is much higher, perhaps as high as eighty or ninety per cent. The Swedish Fire Protection Association (SFPA) focus area ‘Arson’ is mainly intended to reduce the number of fires set in schools, partly because they are a large and costly problem in Sweden, and partly because we are convinced that it is possible to do something about this situation.

The motto of SFPA in the battle against arson is that young people who feel seen, heard and validated do not set fires. Young people are often aware that criminal liability begins at 15, but they do not know that the Tort Liability Act has no lower age limit and that they may be sentenced to pay millions in damages.
School fires
Every day, there is a fire in one to two Swedish schools. These school fires cost several hundred million each year, and cause disruptions to the teaching, unsafeness and unrest and they constitute a risk to anyone who is in the school. Most school fires are started indoors during the day. They are normally set in rubbish bins or staircases. These fires rarely spread, as they burn out or are extinguished by someone in the school. The fires that cause the most extensive damage are the ones started outside on nights and weekends. They normally begin in the facade of the building. The arsonists are often young. The reasons for starting a fire can be divided into four main categories: Vandalism, disrupting school activities, psychological issues and covering up break-ins at the school.

Research from the University of Gothenburg has shown that arson is mainly a youth-related issue, which to a great extent is similar to other youth crime. This research also concludes that the crime prevention efforts should include:

“Investing in both social and situational measures; specify purpose and target group; promoting positive attitudes, roles and activities; paying attention to the situation of both boys and girls, investing in trust-building social relationships; family members and/or professionals with particular knowledge of children should participate in all measures relating to them”
Sven-Åke Lindgren et al., at the Department of Sociology and Work Science at the University of Gothenburg.

The research also indicates that it is important that the prevention efforts are clearly visible and well-established within the executing organisation, up to management level. Cooperation between different parties should also be developed and promoted, and time should be spent on evaluation and methodology.
Social preventive measures may be combined with technology systems in order to prevent and deter arson. More information regarding arson can be found on the SFPA website www.brandskyddsforeningen.se/anlagdbrand

Research
Between 2007 and 2012, the Swedish Fire Research Board carried out an initiative called ‘Arson’, a project intended to reduce arson in schools/preschools. The project consisted of several smaller projects carried out in departments of both social science and technology at several higher education institutions. The final reports and recommendations of this project can be read at http://www.brandforsk.se/forskningsprojekt/anlagd_brand.

Pupil training
SFPA has received funding from the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency to provide an education programme in schools to prevent arson. This education programme is directed at young people in lower secondary school and deals with the consequences of school fires and of their own behaviour and actions. This programme is called ‘Upp i rök’ [Up in smoke] and is free of cost for the schools. Read more about the ‘Upp i rök’ project on the SFPA website.

http://www.brandskyddsforeningen.se/utbildning/anlagd-brand/00000031-upp-i-rok
4.9 Media

The media play an important role in connection with social unrest. It is not only the conflicts between representatives of society and young people that have been highlighted. From time to time, extensive debate has broken out in the media about religious fundamentalism, youths on the rampage, powerless police, difficult living conditions, refugee reception centres, Islamisation and poor housing conditions. The image has often been mediated by journalists, politicians, authorities and researchers as their interpretations are given priority and are based on strong positions of power that are difficult to challenge.

Often, the residents themselves have not had a chance to give their views about the situation. The problem is that the media almost exclusively reports on the negative events that occur in the areas and rarely about something positive. The image reported by the media subsequently becomes the accepted truth in the eyes of the general public. This contributes to disadvantaged areas and their inhabitants being readily perceived as dangerous and different, something which leads to a social and territorial stigmatisation and a polarisation process that produces an “us and them” whereby we have areas of social exclusion on the one hand, and the surrounding society on the other. This in turn fuels both protest parties as well as radical and militant forces.

 Appearing in the media is one of the motives for young people’s participation in social unrest. It becomes a way for young people to make their voices heard, to create a self-image and identity; recognition of their existence. Media reporting on previous unrest has served as a trigger for young people and created an effect of unrest spreading between areas. Social unrest can start for many different reasons, but often there are triggering events that are not reported in the media, such as a police intervention.

5.0 Research and reports

This section lists some of the research and reports written on the subject of social unrest and riots, both in Sweden and abroad.


Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest


Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest


6.0 Distribution

The project aims is to raise awareness in the methodological manual national and internationally to all parties both on the strategic and operational levels. During the fall 2013 and spring 2014, the project will organise a number of conferences spread across the country. Are there any requests from your county, your city, district, authority or organisation to take advantage of the knowledge in the methodological manual, we from the project can help arrange a conference with you. For more information contact project manager Johnny Lindh, see under contact.

7.0 Contact

Questions and comments on the contents in the methodological manual or suggestions?

Send a message to the project manager Johnny Lindh

johnny.lindh@polisen.se
Methodological manual for cooperation to counteract social unrest

Appendix

Warning signs/indicators of social unrest

This checklist is a proposal for how the analysis can be facilitated when it comes to assessing whether there is a risk of social unrest in a district. The checklist is intended to be used in a cooperative context between municipalities/districts, police and the emergency services. Signs and signals must be interpreted and placed into context. An area's problems and resources vary and change over time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Evaluate the following on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is not at all and 4 is very much</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police and other organisations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Have the police carried out a major operation in the area perceived as offensive or discriminatory?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Have the police carried out actions against individuals perceived as offensive or discriminatory?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Have any other organizations’ (security personnel, traffic wardens, the emergency services or any other representatives of authority) been prevented from carrying out their duties or been exposed to provocations?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The municipality/district and surrounding areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Has the municipality/district implemented any major cuts/changes in different aspects (social services, leisure, school, etc.) which have led to protests?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Is there social unrest in other districts of the municipality, or in other parts of Sweden?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Is there any violent conflict in the world (city, Sweden or internationally) affecting the municipality/district?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Are there political activities in the form of e.g. campaigns, petitions, demonstrations or occupations that indicate dissatisfaction on parts of the population?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Signs of unrest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Have there been cases of stone throwing or threats against police officers?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Have there been any cases of arson in the area?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Is there a pattern in the area with regard to minor cases of arson/hoax calls?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Are there piles of stones and weapons at locations near the incidents of arson?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Are rumors spreading in the area?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Are there discussions on social media that may indicate unrest?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Are there any individuals who have recently been arrested/released in connection with the unrest?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Have serious criminals recently been released?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Has the media reported about the situation in the municipality/district?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Is there any other intelligence information?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other aspects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Is it school holidays or are the school holidays impending?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Is it the holidays or are holidays impending?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Is the weather situation favorable for outdoor activities?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>