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Project Turnstone: Successful Collaboration and Collaboration Obstacles in Police, Border, and Coast Guard Cooperation

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2015

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Yakhlef, S., Basic, G., & Åkerström, M. (2015). *Project Turnstone: Successful Collaboration and Collaboration Obstacles in Police, Border, and Coast Guard Cooperation*. (Network for Research in Criminology and Deviant Behavior). Lund University (Media-Tryck).

Total number of authors:

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Project Turnstone

Successful Collaboration and Collaboration Obstacles
in Police, Border and Coast Guard Cooperation

Project Turnstone

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Successful Collaboration and Collaboration
Obstacles in Police, Border, and Coast Guard
Cooperation

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Cover: Axelform.

ISSN: 1104-1153

ISRN: LUSADG/KVN--02/2--SE

Printed in Sweden by Media-Tryck, Lund University
Lund 2015



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Abstract

Project Turnstone is a collaborative project funded in part by the European Commission. The project is an initiative by the Stockholm Police. Collaborating partners in the project are the Swedish Coast Guard, Region Northeast; the Helsinki Police; the Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District; the Police and Border Guard Board in Estonia; the State Border Guard of the Republic of Latvia; and the State Border Guard Service at the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania. The aim of this project is to decrease trans-boundary criminality and improve day-to-day cooperation between border officers in the Baltic Sea region. This study analyses this collaborative project, especially the intelligence and operative joint activities conducted during the implementation of Project Turnstone. What is unique about the Turnstone model is the implementation of the operative action week, during which officers have the chance to exchange, share, and cooperate with immediate action in the same office using their own information channels. The purpose of the study is to map and analyse how the staff of the different organizations experience, understand, and define successful cooperation and the collaboration obstacles encountered during cooperation with neighbouring organizations. The study is qualitative and based on ethnographically gathered material, including field observations at the different border agencies and qualitative interviews. A total of 73 interviews were conducted with border officers, police officers, border guards, and coast guard officers from the participating organizations. The interviewed officers view Project Turnstone as a rare opportunity for close, personal cooperation through which officers can build strong police, border, and coast guard networks and increase and strengthen previous cooperative practices. This cooperation is possible due to colocation and interpersonal interactions in which officers can learn about each other's organizational practices, establish trust, and achieve the same goals. On the other hand, language and communication difficulties, differences in national legislation,

and fear that the opportunities for joint action weeks and close cooperation will diminish after the termination of Project Turnstone were raised as obstacles to collaboration. Nonetheless, interviewed officers shared a common sense of purpose and motivation and viewed close interpersonal cooperation as the best way of protecting the EU and Schengen area from criminality in the Baltic Sea area.

Key words: Project Turnstone, border guards, Europe, EU borders, Baltic Sea area, successful cooperation, collaboration obstacles.

Projekt Turnstone: politsei, piirivalve ja rannavalve vaheline edukas koostöö ning koostööraskused

Projekt Turnstone on koostööprojekt, mida rahastab osaliselt Euroopa Komisjon. Projekti näol on tegemist Stockholmi politsei algatusega. Projektis osalevad koostööpartnerid on Rootsi Rannavalve kirderingkond, Helsingi politsei, Soome lahe rannavalveringkond, Eesti Politsei- ja Piirivalveamet, Läti Vabariigi riiklik piirivalve ja Leedu Vabariigi siseministeeriumi riiklik piirivalveteenistus.

Projekti eesmärk on vähendada piiriülest kuritegevust ja parandada Läänemere piirkonna piiriametnike vahelist igapäevast koostööd. Antud uuring analüüsib nimetatud koostööprojekti ning eriti projekti Turnstone rakendamisel teostatavaid operatiivseid ühistegevusi. Turnstone'i töömudeli ainulaadne osa on operatiivtegevuse rakendamise nädal, mille käigus on ametnikel võimalik samas kontoris olles ja isiklikke teabekanaleid kasutades üksteisega teavet vahetada ja jagada ning teha silmapilksete tulemustega koostööd.

Uuringu eesmärk on kaardistada ja analüüsida, kuidas kogevad, mõistavad ja defineerivad organisatsioonide töötajad edukat koostööd ning koostööraskusi, millega puututakse kokku naaberorganisatsioonidega koostööd tehes. Uuring on kvalitatiivne ning põhineb etnograafiliselt kogutud materjalil, nagu välivaatlused piiriagentuuride juures ning kvalitatiivsed intervjuud. Kokku teostati uuringus osalevate

organisatsioonide piiripolitsei ametnikega, politseiametnikega, piirivalvuritega ja rannavalveametnikega 73 intervjuud.

Tulemused osutavad asjaolule, et intervjueeritud ametnikud näevad projekti Turnstone haruldase võimalusena tihedaks ja isiklikuks koostööks, mis võimaldab ametnikel rajada vastupidavaid politsei, piiri- ja rannavalve vahelisi võrgustikke ning laiendada ja tugevdada eelnevaid koostöötavasid. See tuleneb ühises paigas toimuvast ja isikutevahelisest vastastikmõjust, mille käigus saavad ametnikud tutvuda üksteise organisatsioonide tavadega, võita üksteise usaldust ja saavutada ühiseid eesmärke. Teisest küljest toodi välja ka koostööalaseid probleeme, nagu keele- ja suhtlusprobleemid, riiklike õigusaktide vahelised erinevused ning hirm, et pärast projekti Turnstone lõppemist vähenevad ühise tegutsemise nädalate ja tiheda koostöö võimalused.

Vaatamata nendele takistustele jagavad intervjueeritud ametnikud ühist eesmärgi ja motivatsiooni tunnetust ning näevad tihedat isikutevahelist koostööd parima viisina, kuidas kaitsta EL-i ja Schengeni ala Läänemere piirkonna kuritegevuse eest.

Võtmesõnad: projekt Turnstone, piirivalvurid, Euroopa, EL-i piirid, Läänemere piirkond, edukas koostöö, koostööraskused.

Turnstone-hanke: Onnistunut yhteistyö ja yhteistyön esteet poliisin, rajavallvonnan ja rannikkovartioston alalla

Turnstone-hanke on Euroopan komission rahoittama yhteistyöhanke. Hankkeen alullepanijana on Tukholman poliisi. Hankkeen yhteistyökumppanit ovat Ruotsin rannikkovartiosto, Koillinen alue, Helsingin poliisi, Suomenlahden rannikkovartiostoalue, Viron poliisi ja rannikkovartiosto, Latvian tasavallan valtiollinen rannikkovartiosto ja Liettuan tasavallan sisäasiainministeriön valtiollinen rannikkovartiostopalvelu.

Hankkeen tarkoitus on vähentää rajat ylittävää rikollisuutta ja parantaa päivittäistä yhteistyötä Itämeren alueen rajavallvontaviranomaisten välillä. Tämä tutkimus analysoi tätä yhteistyöprojektia ja erityisesti Turnstone-hankkeen täytäntöönpanon aikana tehtyjä operatiivisia yhteistoimia. Turnstone-toimintamallin ainutlaatuinen piirre on operatiivisen toimintaviikon täytäntöönpano siten, että viranomaisilla on mahdollisuus vaihtaa ja jakaa tietoja sekä toimia yhteistyössä suoraan toimien samassa toimistotilassa omia tiedonkulkukanaviaan käyttäen.

Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on kartoittaa ja analysoida, miten eri organisaatioiden henkilöstö kokee, mieltää ja määrittelee onnistuneen yhteistyön ja yhteistyön esteet, joita he kohtaavat yhteistyössään naapurijärjestöjen kanssa. Tutkimus on kvalitatiivinen ja perustuu etnografisesti kerättyyn materiaaliin, kuten kentällä tehtyihin havaintoihin eri rajavallvontavirastoissa sekä kvalitatiivisiin haastatteluihin. Haastatteluita

käytiin 73 eri osallistujaorganisaatioiden rajapoliisiviranomaisten, poliisiviranomaisten, rajavartioiden ja rannikkovalvonnan viranomaisten kanssa.

Tulokset antavat olettaa, että haastatellut viranomaiset pitävät Turnstone-hanketta harvinaisena tilaisuutena olla läheisessä ja henkilökohtaisessa yhteistyössä, jossa virkailijat voivat luoda vahvoja, poliisin, rajavalonnan ja rannikkovartioston verkostoja ja lisätä ja vahvistaa aikaisempia yhteistyökäytäntöjä. Tämä johtuu yhteisten tilojen käytöstä ja henkilökohtaisesta vuorovaikutuksesta, jossa virkailijat voivat oppia toisten organisaatiokäytännöistä, rakentaa luottamusta ja päästä samoihin tavoitteisiin. Toisaalta esille tulivat yhteistyön esteet, mukaan lukien kieli- ja kommunikaatiovaikeudet, kansallisen lainsäädännön eroavaisuudet sekä pelko siitä, että tilaisuudet yhteistoimintaviikkoihin ja läheiseen yhteistyöhön vähenevät Turnstone-hankkeen päätyttyä.

Huolimatta näistä esteistä haastatelluilla viranomaisilla on yhteinen tavoite ja motivaatio ja he katsovat läheisen henkilökohtaisen yhteistyön parhaaksi tavaksi suojella EU:ta ja Schengen-aluetta Itämeren alueen rikollisuudelta.

Avainsanat: Turnstone-hanke, rannikkovartiosto, Eurooppa, EU:n rajat, Itämeren alue, onnistunut yhteistyö, yhteistyön esteet.

Projekts "Turnstone": Veiksmīga sadarbība un sadarbības šķēršļi policijas, robežas un piekrastes apsardzes dienestu sadarbībā.

Projekts "Turnstone" ir kopīgas sadarbības projekts, ko daļēji finansē Eiropas Komisija. Projekts ir Stokholmas policijas iniciatīva. Projekta sadarbības partneri ir Zviedrijas krasta apsardze (Ziemeļaustrumu reģions), Helsinku policija un Somijas līča krasta apsardze, kā arī Igaunijas policija un robežsardze, Latvijas robežsardze un Lietuvas Iekšlietu ministrijas valsts robežsardzes dienests.

Šī projekta mērķis ir samazināt pārrobežu kriminalitāti un uzlabot ikdienas sadarbību starp Baltijas jūras reģiona robežsardzes dienestu darbiniekiem. Pētījumā tiek analizēts šis sadarbības projekts, īpašu uzmanību pievēršot kopīgām operatīvajām aktivitātēm, kas tika veiktas projekta "Turnstone" īstenošanas laikā. Unikāla projekta "Turnstone" īpašība ir operatīvās sadarbības nedēļas ieviešana, kuras laikā dažādu dienestu darbiniekiem viena biroja ietvaros ir iespēja apmainīties, dalīties un sadarboties izmantojot personīgos informācijas kanālus.

Šī pētījuma mērķis ir analizēt un noteikto to, kā dažādu organizāciju darbinieki uztver, izprot un definē veiksmīgu sadarbību, kā arī noteikt šķēršļus sadarbībai, kas tika atklāti sadarbības laikā ar kaimiņvalstu organizācijām. Pētījumā tiek izmantota kvalitatīvā pētījuma metode. Pētījums balstās uz etnogrāfiski apkopotajiem materiāliem, piemēram, dažādu robežsardzes dienestu darbības novērojumi un kvalitatīvas intervijas.

Pētījuma ietvaros tika intervēti 73 robežpolicijas, policijas, robežsardzes un krasta apsardzes dienestu darbinieki.

Pētījuma rezultāti liecina par to, ka intervētie dienestu darbinieki projektu "Turnstone" vērtē kā retu iespēju tuvai un personīgai sadarbībai, kas ļauj veido spēcīgu policijas, robežsardzes un krasta apsardzes tīklu, kā arī stiprināt un uzlabot iepriekš ieviestās sadarbības prakses. Tas ir iespējams pateicoties tam, ka iesaistīto dienestu darbinieki atrodas kopā un veido personisku komunikāciju, kas ļauj viņiem uzzināt vairāk par citu organizāciju praksi, veidot uzticības pilnas attiecības un īstenot kopīgus mērķus. Tomēr tika atklāti arī šķēršļi sadarbībai, piemēram, valodas barjera un komunikācijas grūtības, atšķirīgā valstu likumdošana, kā arī bailes par to, ka iespējas organizēt operatīvās sadarbības nedēļu un jau izveidotā ciešā sadarbība zudīs līdz ar projekta "Turnstone" noslēgumu.

Par spīti šiem šķēršļiem dienestu darbinieki izjūt kopīgu mērķi un motivāciju, kā arī uzskata tuvu, personisku sadarbību par labāko veidu, lai aizsargātu ES un Šengenas zonu no kriminalitātes Baltijas jūrā.

Atslēgas vārdi: Projekts "Turnstone", robežsardze, Eiropa, ES robežas, Baltijas jūras reģions, jūras reģions, veiksmīga sadarbība, šķēršļi sadarbībai.

Projektas “Turnstone”: Sėkmingas bendradarbiavimas bei bendradarbiavimo iššūkiai policijos, pasienio bei pakrančių apsaugos bendradarbiavime

Projektas “Turnstone” yra bendradarbiavimo projektas, kurį dalinai finansuoja Europos komisija. Projektas yra Stokholmo policijos iniciatyva. Projekto bendradarbiavimo partneriai yra Švedijos pakrantės sargyba, Šiaurės rytų regionas, Helsinkio policija, Suomijos įlankos Pakrančių apsaugos rinktinė, Estijos policija ir Pakrančių apsaugos taryba, Latvijos respublikos Valstybės sienos apsaugos tarnyba bei Lietuvos respublikos Valstybės sienos apsaugos tarnyba prie Vidaus reikalų ministerijos.

Šio projekto tikslas – sumažinti tarpvalstybinį nusikalstamumą ir pagerinti kasdienį pasienio pareigūnų bendradarbiavimą Baltijos jūros regione. Šis tyrimas analizuoja šį bendradarbiavimo projektą, ypatingą dėmesį teikdamas bendriems operatyviniams veiksams, atliekamiems įgyvendinant projektą „Turnstone“. „Turnstone“ darbo modelio unikalumas pasireiškia įgyvendinant operatyvinių veiksmų savaitę, kurios metu pareigūnai turi galimybę apsiekti, pasidalinti informacija bei patirtimi ir bendradarbiauti imdamiesi neatidėliotinų veiksmų tame pačiame biure naudodamiesi savais informacijos šaltiniais.

Tyrimo tikslas yra išsiaiškinti ir išanalizuoti, kaip skirtingų organizacijų darbuotojai patiria, supranta ir apibrėžia sėkmingą bendradarbiavimą bei jo iššūkius, su kuriais susiduria bendradarbiavimo su kaimyninių šalių

organizacijomis metu. Šis tyrimas yra kokybinis ir yra paremtas etnografiniu pagrindu surinkta informacija, kaip, pavyzdžiui, darbo, atliekamo skirtingų pasienio tarnybų, stebėjimu (vietoje) bei kokybinio tipo interviu. Šiam tikslui buvo paimti 73 interviu iš pasienio policijos pareigūnų, policijos pareigūnų bei pasienio ir pakrančių apsaugos pareigūnų, dirbančių projekte dalyvaujančiose organizacijose.

Rezultatai rodo, jog tie pareigūnai, iš kurių buvo paimti interviu, projektą „Turnstone“ mato kaip retą galimybę artimam bei asmeniškam bendradarbiavimui, kurio metu pareigūnai gali sukurti stiprius policijos, pasienio bei pakrančių tinklus ir išplėsti bei sustiprinti prieš tai egzistavusią bendradarbiavimo praktiką. Taip yra dėl to, jog projekto metu pareigūnai turi galimybę gyventi kartu bei pabendrauti asmeniškai ir sužinoti apie kolegų organizacinę praktiką, sukurti tarpusavio pasitikėjimą bei siekti tų pačių tikslų. Kita vertus, buvo paminėti ir bendradarbiavimo iššūkiai, tokie, kaip sunkumai dėl kalbos ir bendravimo, skirtumai tarp šalių nacionalinių teisės aktų bei baimė, jog galimybių rengti bendrų veiksmų savaites ir glaudžiai bendradarbiauti labai sumažės pasibaigus „Turnstone“ projektui.

Nepaisant šių iššūkių, pareigūnams, dalyvavusiems interviu, būdingas bendras tikslas ir motyvacija. Jie mano, jog glaudus tarpasmeninis bendradarbiavimas yra geriausias būdas apsaugoti ES bei Šengeno erdvę nuo nusikalstamumo Baltijos jūros regione.

Raktiniai žodžiai: Projektas „Turnstone“, pasieniečiai, Europa, ES sienos, Baltijos jūros regionas, sėkmingas bendradarbiavimas, bendradarbiavimo iššūkiai.

Projekt Turnstone: Framgångsrik samverkan och hinder under samarbete mellan polis, gräns och kustbevakning

Projekt Turnstone är ett samverkansprojekt delvis finansierat av Europeiska kommissionen. Projektet är ett initiativ av Stockholmspolisens gränsbevakningsenhet. Samverkanspartners i projektet är Svenska Kustbevakningen, Region Nord öst; Helsingforspolisen; Gränsbevakningsväsendet, Finland; Polis och Gränsbevakningen i Estland; Statliga Gränsbevakningen, Lettiska republiken; och den Statliga Gränsservicen för inrikesministeriet Litauiska republiken.

Syftet med Projekt Turnstone är att minska gränsöverskridande brottslighet och förbättra dagligt samarbete mellan gräns, polis och kustbevakare i Östersjöregionen. I denna studie analyserar vi detta samverkansprojekt och speciellt gemensamma underrättelse och operativa aktiviteter som genomfördes under Projekt Turnstone. Syftet är att analysera hur deltagande poliser, gränsbevakare och kustbevakare definierar framgångsrikt samarbete och samarbetshinder. Denna kvalitativa studie baseras på etnografiskt insamlat material som fältobservation och intervjuer. Sjuttiotre intervjuer genomfördes med gränspoliser, gränsbevakare och kustbevakare från de deltagande myndigheterna.

Denna studie visar att deltagande polis, gräns och kustbevakare beskriver Projekt Turnstone som en möjlighet att utveckla ett nära och personligt samarbete där deltagarna kan bygga och starka bevakningsnätverk och därmed också behålla och förstärka gamla nätverkssamarbeten. Detta är

möjligt på grund av samlokalisering och personliga möten där deltagarna kan lära sig mer om varandras organisationspraktiker, skapa förtroende och sträva mot att uppnå gemensamma mål. Arbetsmodellen som används i Turnstone framställs vara unik på grund av införandet av operativa veckor där deltagarna kan byta och dela information samt samarbeta med omedelbar verkan. Deltagarna arbetar på samma arbetsplats med tillgång till sina respektive informationskanaler och databaser.

Denna studie visar även samverkansproblem, som till exempel språkhinder och andra kommunikationssvårigheter samt skillnader i mandat och nationella lagar. Deltagarna har även uppmärksammat en rädsla för att det samarbete som har utvecklats under de operativa veckorna inte kommer att leva vidare när Projekt Turnstone har avslutats. Trots dessa hinder har intervjuade deltagare uppmärksammat att de strävar mot samma mål och har en stark motivation och att ett nära personligt arbete är det bästa sättet att skydda EU och Schengenområdet mot kriminalitet i Östersjöområdet.

Nyckelord: Projekt Turnstone, gränsbevakning, Europa, EU:s gränser, Östersjöområdet, framgångsrik samverkan, samverkansproblem.

Introduction

This sociological report is a contribution to the European collaborative Project Turnstone, which is partly funded by the European Commission. Project Turnstone is a northern European project aiming to increase close control in the Baltic Sea area to decrease cross-border crime¹. The background of the project is the EU and Schengen agreement, implying a greater need for international police and border guard cooperation. The abolition of borders is argued to serve as a possible security risk, and the absence of borders makes the detection of criminals at border controls more challenging (Faure Atger, 2008, p. 7). Borders previously governed and monitored by passport controls must now rely on cooperation between the border officers, who need to adapt to new methods of working. Within the framework of national legislation, the border officers often rely on neighbouring countries to perform their job duties and fight trans-boundary criminality. This cooperation entails the emergence of new police, coast, and border guard networks beyond the national police stations. Project Turnstone responds to these needs. Although cooperation between border authorities in the EU and Schengen area is not a new phenomenon, the goal of the project is to achieve a new level of cooperation. In the Turnstone model of working, cooperation is strengthened by a close bilateral work relationship between individual organizations and border, police, and coast guard officers.

The nations participating in Project Turnstone are Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In addition, a research group from the Department of Sociology at Lund University, Sweden, is participating in the project with the purpose of writing the present paper². The researchers

1 <https://polisen.se/PageFiles/487243/Information.pdf>

2 In addition, the researchers will use the information gathered for additional purposes, for example a PhD dissertation written by one of the researchers (Sophia Yakhlef). For these studies, the same

will also produce a report focusing on ferry and airport passengers' perspectives of safety and border crossing. The aim of this study is to define and analyse cooperation practices among police and border agencies in the northern part of the Baltic Sea region. Based on qualitatively gathered material, the study maps and analyses how the staff of the different organizations describe, explain, and in other ways talk about collaboration obstacles and successes encountered when cooperating with neighbouring organizations. In addition, we analyse the discursive and interactive patterns that are part of the construction of such phenomena.

The research questions are:

1. How do members of the staff describe successful cooperation between the actors involved in Project Turnstone?
2. How do the participants describe collaboration obstacles regarding cooperation with the participating police and border organizations?

The analytical results of this study are presented in two chapters: (1) Successful collaboration in intelligence and operative work, and (2) Collaboration obstacles in intelligence and operative work. In Chapter 1, we argue that the core benefit of Project Turnstone is that it facilitates interactions between participating intelligence and border officers. The findings suggest that officers experience a sense of common purpose with partners in the Baltic Sea area. Colocation is important for the development of such interpersonal networks, as well as joint operative actions.

Joint activities are vital for the officers to establish a trust-based relationship, which facilitates sharing information on a quick and operative basis. Border, police, and coast guard officers interviewed for this study identified language and communication difficulties and differences in national legislation as collaboration obstacles. Officers fear that the opportunities for joint action weeks and close cooperation will diminish after the termination

confidentiality agreements, ethical considerations, and anonymity assurances apply. The research questions for these studies or presentations will be related to the topics highlighted in this report or the additional Turnstone research report Project Turnstone: Freedom of Movement and Passenger Experiences with Safety and Border Control in the Baltic Sea Area (Yakhlef, Basic & Åkerström, 2015).

of Project Turnstone. The challenge described by the officers is to maintain the contacts established during the project in order to successfully continue to obstruct trans-boundary criminality.

The present study is structured as follows. The first section discusses Project Turnstone and its objectives in detail. The second section discusses previous research on cooperation and relevant literature used in the analyses. The third section describes the ethnographic methods adopted by the researchers, such as ethnographic observations, writing fieldnotes, go-alongs, document analysis, and interviews. In the analytical sections, we focus on important findings and compare them to previous research, before summarizing the lessons learned and commenting on the future of Project Turnstone to make suggestions for future research.

Project Turnstone

Project Turnstone is an initiative by the Stockholm Police, Border Division, in response to the growing need for increased security for the public and decreased criminality in the Baltic Sea region. Project Turnstone is a transnational European project receiving grants from the European commission³. Co-beneficiaries of the grant (in addition to the Stockholm County Police, Border Division) are the Helsinki Police (F), The Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District (F), Police and Border Guard Board (EE), Riga Board of the State Border Guard of the Republic of Latvia (LV), State Border Guard Service at the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania, Coast Guard District (LT), The Swedish Coast Guard District (SE), and Lund University, Department of Sociology (SE). The duration of the project is 24 months, starting in January 2014 and terminating in December 2015.

The purpose of the project is to enhance law enforcement cooperation between border agencies (police, border police, border guard, and coast guard organizations) in the participating countries since enlargement of the Schengen area in 2007/2008. The enlargement resulted in changes concerning international cooperation and created a greater need for new models of cooperation between border agencies. The initiators also referred to the growing mobility of organized mobile criminal groups and illegal immigration as prime reasons for further developing law enforcement cooperation. The objectives of Project Turnstone as stated in the grant application are⁴: 1) to increase mutual trust between the border agencies and their officials on all levels, 2) to increase and streamline day to day cross-border cooperation between the border agencies, 3) to increase interactions

3 <https://eng.si.se/police-co-operate-across-borders-against-international-crime/>

4 Annex 5- Individual Conclusion HOME/2012/ISEC/AG/4000004316, document provided by the project group.

between law enforcement agencies and the academic community⁵, 4) to create effective and adaptable work methods while safeguarding the right to freedom of movement, and 5) to improve the social and cultural knowledge between and within border agencies. To achieve these aims, a number of collaborative activities, such as workshops, operative action weeks, and meetings with a select number of strategic commanders, intelligence experts, and operative personnel, have been introduced.

Operative Action Weeks and Hands-On Practice

The project initiators stated early on that the purpose of Project Turnstone was to be “hands-on”, encouraging proactive work, cooperation, and the exchange of information. Several of the border organizations involved have developed regional cooperation with neighboring countries around the Baltic Sea region over the last several years. Although several participants had previous experience with cooperation projects in which official meetings and agreements were established, they had little experience with practical work in which officers from different organizations worked side by side in everyday work tasks. It has been necessary to implement formal project-related meetings during Project Turnstone to establish the project objectives for all partners. Meetings with a select number of representatives from all participating organizations have also been conducted to evaluate actions and, if necessary, re-evaluate activities. However, the project group has been careful to keep official formal meetings to a minimum, allowing more funds and time to be used for operative purposes. This approach has been regarded as beneficial for fulfilling the project’s objectives of creating closer cooperation between participating border agencies.

One of the core activities of Project Turnstone is the operative action weeks (later re-named *power weeks* by participating officers). The operative action weeks have been held at the major transport hubs in each participating country (Helsinki, Riga, Tallinn, Klaipeda, and Stockholm). On each

⁵ This issue focuses on the interaction between the researchers and the law enforcement agencies.

occasion, a group⁶ of intelligence, border, coast guard, and police officers work together in the same office for up to 7 days at a time⁷. In addition to the selected members of the seven participating border agencies, a representative from Europol⁸ was present at each operative action week to aid in finding relevant information.

The purpose of the operative action weeks is to facilitate the exchange of intelligence information and to develop new or improved methods for profiling the flow of ferry passengers in the Baltic Sea area. The benefit of officers working together is the possibility of assisting each other in finding relevant information, as officers belonging to different organizations have access to different search engines. Because all participants have large contact networks of their own, they can help colleagues find the right contact person or send information to the proper receiver. The official information channels are SIENA and the Turnstone email (Turnstone Target List Circle). SIENA⁹ (*Secure Information Exchange Network Application*) is an information exchange tool connecting Europol, EU Member States, and third parties cooperating with Europol. SIENA is emphasized as a secure channel where restricted information can be transferred safely between involved parties. Information or intelligence gathered in connection to Project Turnstone is distributed to all Turnstone contact points (Helsinki, Klaipeda, Riga, Stockholm, and Tallinn), Europol, and other external operative action partners (Norway, Denmark, and Poland¹⁰). The Turnstone Target List Circle¹¹ was created to provide participants with information concerning detected targets and the travel routes of suspected targets. A target is the term used for suspects or persons previously convicted (for property crimes) who are categorized as cross-border moving criminals.

6 Approximately 8-20 members in total were present for each operative action week. Between one and five representatives from each organization were present during each operative action week. In addition, other members of staff participated outside the power week office.

7 <https://polisen.se/PageFiles/487243/Information.pdf>

8 Europol is the European Union's law enforcement agency, assisting the European Union Member States in their fight against serious international crime and terrorism.
<https://www.europol.europa.eu/content/page/about-us>.

9 <https://www.europol.europa.eu/content/page/siena-1849>

10 In 2014 and 2015, a number of collaborating partners (Norway, Denmark, and Poland) joined a select number of project activities as observers.

11 Turnstone Target List Circle, document provided by the Turnstone project group.

The crime areas focused on during the operative action weeks include house or warehouse burglary, theft from stores, vehicle theft, boat or boat motor theft, pickpocketing or credit card skimming (by organized groups), taxation and smuggling crimes, smuggling of human beings, and trafficking. Each of the joint operative action weeks during 2014 had a specific area of focus, such as the smuggling of stolen goods, smuggling of human beings, and the smuggling of cigarettes. However, the core benefits of the weeks are that officers can focus directly on whichever case or area appears and respond quickly to intelligence information or questions they receive from other colleagues.

Project Objectives

The short-term objectives of Project Turnstone are to increase cooperation and make interactions between officers more flexible and coordinated. The mid-term objectives are more effective analysis of common security threats in the region, the prevention of crime, and officers gaining knowledge about each other's organizations. The long-term objectives focus on an increased public experience of security without compromising freedom of movement, and border agencies being better equipped to jointly fight new criminal phenomena¹²

Included in these objectives are the creation and maintenance of efficient channels for participating organizations to continue their close bilateral cooperation. As participating organizations have different jurisdictions (some are police organizations, some are border guard organizations or coast guard authorities), they do not have access to the same European communication systems¹³. The Project Turnstone joint contact list and personal networks act as fast channels through which cooperating organizations can keep each other up to date regarding criminal activity in the area. Initially, there was also an attempt to establish weekly phone

¹² Turnstone, document provided by the Stockholm County Police.

¹³ This is further discussed in Chapter 2.

meetings to ensure that contact was maintained between involved officers and that useful information was distributed to all involved parties¹⁴.

The project outcomes will be circulated through two study reports¹⁵ by the Lund University researchers at several European conferences¹⁶, field study reports, joint intelligence reports, operative planning reports, and action reports, among others. The project initiators aim to present Turnstone as a successful work model that can be adapted by other border agencies or cooperation projects in the EU and Schengen area.

14 This is further discussed in Chapter 2.

15 The present report and Yakhlef, Basic & Åkerström, 2015.

16 The study will be presented at the international scientific conference Researching Security: Approaches, Concepts, and Policies; The European Sociological Association Conference; The European Society of Criminology 2015 Conference; and The IRTG Baltic Borderlands Conference in 2015.

Previous Research on Cooperation and Collaboration

In this chapter we discuss previous research on collaboration, focusing on contributing factors to successful cooperation or obstacles to collaboration relevant to the present study (Lindberg, 2009, pp. 54-55; Basic, 2012, 2015). The “human side” of organizations and the importance of group interactions to the efficiency of organizations has been the focus of organizational researchers since the early twentieth century (Dessler, 1980, pp. 35-37, 294). Collaboration has well-documented positive effects, mainly because practitioners need each other’s resources and efforts and cannot always fulfil the purpose of the organization alone (Hjortsjö, 2006, p. 3). Employees of organizations may cooperate on different levels, such as to increase work productivity but also enjoy private benefits or support strikes (Spagnolo, 1999, p. 4). The present study focuses only on the productive aspects of cooperation following the framework of Project Turnstone. Previous research has acknowledged that successful cooperation is achieved when the participants share a common vision, a common language, mutual trust and respect, and have the possibility of colocation (Lindberg, 2009; Dahlberg & Lenz Taguchi, 2013). Lindberg (2009, pp. 54-55) ascertain that successful cooperation can be achieved when political and administrative management and finances are coordinated, when economic stimuli or forced legislation exist, when chiefdom has been decided in an appropriate manner, and when the organizations are located in the same place. Success improves when cooperation includes all levels of the cooperating organizations. In addition, mutual trust and respect between cooperating partners, as well as equality between actors, are important factors for successful cooperation. Additional training of personnel and mutually beneficial development projects are also valuable for the development of a close cooperation (Lindberg, 2009).

Speaking the Same Language

Researchers on collaboration have suggested that successful cooperation and collaboration occur between actors who are on equal terms with each other (Lindberg, 2009, pp. 54-55), but how do actors create a common vision, a shared goal, or a shared collaborative identity? It is not only important for the actors to understand each other and speak “the same language”, but also to share expressions, categories, and understandings. Interaction in an organizational context is improved through categorizations in the language used within an organization (Lipsky, 1980, pp. 50-60). Goffman (1959, 1990) suggests that interactions between individuals are characterized by unconscious and conscious management of impressions. Individuals act in ways appropriate for the situation and try to manage the perception others may have of them. Therefore, individual actors do not only speak to transmit information to each other, but also formulate their speech depending on how it is received by the audience (Sacks, 1992, pp. 205-222). Thus, it is important for individuals who cooperate to be able to communicate with partners and understand their language, but also to create or share a common understanding of fixed categories and *how* the communication process should proceed (Basic, 2012, 2015).

Sharing a Common Vision and Colocation

Clear organizational goals and clear roles within the organization can avoid confusion about the organization’s vision and long-term objective (Hibbert, Huxham & Smith Ring, 2008, pp. 400-402; Lindberg, 2009, pp. 55-59, 64). Sharing a common vision or goal can aid in the collaborative success of organizations. However, it is vital for collaborating actors to create this common vision together, as the goal cannot be adopted or centrally administered by only one of the collaboration partners (Dahlberg & Lenz Taguchi, 2013). In order to be successful, the common goal or vision must be constructed or reconstructed by the collaborating partners (Hardy, Lawrence & Grant, 2005; Lotia & Hardy, 2008, p. 379).

Communication and understanding each other's work practices increase through social interaction and enable cooperation in the workplace. Bolin (2011) and Hjortsjö (2006) showed that participants who collaborate daily in the same physical work space are influenced by the social control of the situation and have an increased tendency to cooperate. Colocation assists partners in reaching each other more quickly, becoming more efficient, and more easily sharing responsibilities in the work place regardless of position. Social interactions between employees aid in cooperation because participants can more easily generate a common vision (Basic, 2015). Interactions between cooperating partners can also increase work discipline and generate trust (Spagnolo, 1999, pp. 1-2). Through interaction, participants create work partner and friendship relationships, allowing a form of open-ended support that is not restricted to the specific work tasks at hand. If such relationships occur and the participants experience cooperation on equal terms, difficulties during the collaboration can be avoided (Hjortsjö, 2006; Lindberg, 2009).

Method

When Project Turnstone was implemented, the Department of Sociology at Lund University was asked to collaborate and conduct sociological research alongside operative actions and other collaboration activities. The authors of the present text have based this qualitative study on qualitatively gathered material, including transcribed interviews, fieldnotes from observations, and documents provided by the project coordinators (Silverman, 1993, 2006; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, 2004; Emmison, 1997, 2004; Heath, 1997, 2004). The expectation is that the combination of different data will provide a variety of analytic entries that will answer the proposed research questions.

Fieldwork and Go-Alongs

Early ethnographers sought to find pieces of social systems, thereby discovering how they fit together in the societies they studied. Detailed accounts of social life are still one of the foundations of sociological research, and ethnography can be described as careful long-term observation of a group of people to disclose patterns in local social life (Gubrium & Holstein, 1999, p. 561)

Some field observations in this study were obtained through so called go-alongs. According to Kusenbach (2003), this method produces in-depth knowledge because the researchers follow the daily lives of the people they are studying. Memories, experiences, and viewpoints, which are not always discussed in interviews, can be easier to grasp when the researcher observes day-to-day activities, meetings, and situations affecting the person who is studied (Kusenbach, 2003). By combining fieldwork with interviews, the

researcher can acquire a nuanced picture of the investigated person or phenomenon (Basic, 2012, 2015).

The participating border authorities provided the researchers with access to their organizations for short-term visits, observations, and interviews. Because of confidentiality issues, the researchers were not given full access to all project-related meetings, activities, or actions. Therefore, this report is an account of actions and conversations that were witnessed or heard by the researchers and, as such, is a product of the information made available to the researchers by people facilitating or controlling access to the place being studied. The goal of this report is not to evaluate or assess the productivity or working efforts of the police, border, or coast guard officers interviewed, or to disclose the specific working methods of the police or border organizations, which may compromise on-going police or border-related investigations. Instead, we try to understand successes and difficulties as retold by interviewees or conveyed during field observations.

Because the fieldwork observations were obtained in five countries and seven different police or border authorities, the method can be defined as “multi-cited” fieldwork¹⁷ or as “doing fieldwork in more than one place” (Hage, 2005). The method of the research is organized around the timeframe and duration of Project Turnstone. The data for the present study was gathered during 718 hours of field observations in the participating border authorities. The researchers gathered data during work sessions, everyday border guard or police work, project-related meetings, day-to-day office work, official organizational meetings, official project-related meetings, joint actions such as operative action weeks, and during interviews.

17 Field observations were obtained from January 2014 to October 2015.

Fieldnotes

Writing fieldnotes is an important part of performing fieldwork characterized by making choices about what is described and eventually analysed. The researchers rely on fieldnotes about specific events and situations that they observed during fieldwork. These notes were written during interviews and formal meetings within the framework of this project, but also during informal meetings, before and after interviews, while travelling, and during visits to the different border agencies. The information gathered for this report was anonymized and the names of people, places, and other means of identification have been removed or altered. The researchers have described various scenes, settings, objects, actions, and people that can aid in portraying a social world or its people. Doing fieldwork and describing dialogue is more complicated when the local language differs from the researchers' own (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). Conversations and interviews with informants were conducted in English or Swedish for practical reasons and the fact that the border officers participating in the project represent a minimum of five different languages. The work language spoken by the officers during joint meetings or actions was mainly English, but also Russian, Swedish, Finnish, Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian.

Interviews

An interview is an instrument used to provide the researcher with narratives, descriptions, and texts connected to the researcher's interest (Kvale, 2006, p. 484). Interviews were important for this study and aided the researchers in obtaining the perception and experiences of project participants. Being in the field with the people being studied gave the researchers a chance to look closely at what the participants say and do and how they create local meaning (Emery, Fretz & Shaw, 1995, p. 134). Variability and inconsistency in conversations or interviews is not seen as a prospective foundation of error. Throughout an interview, the same person can express contrasting or contradictory opinions. Regularity cannot usually be pinned

at the level of the individual speaker, but the researchers can still make sense of participants' views (Talja, 1999, pp. 461-464). The purpose of the interviews conducted for this study was to give people space to voice opinions in their own words, discuss themes that they find important, and analyse their own experiences. The interviews can be described as "semi-structured". In semi-structured interviews the researcher has a prepared list of questions or interesting topics that he/she wants to discuss with the interviewee. The aim of semi-structured interviews is for the conversation to resemble a conversation rather than a typical interview per se. A dictation microphone was used during most of the interviews. An interview guide was designed in which different topics that the interviewer wanted to address during the interview were noted. The guide's contents were usually reviewed prior to each interview, and the interviewer attempted to address all of the topics of interest during the conversation. For the present study, 73 interviews were conducted with 66 members of the different border authorities, including border officers, coast guard officers, police officers, and border police officers. Additional administrative staff connected to Project Turnstone was also interviewed. The interviews were conducted in Swedish or English¹⁸. On some occasions, an interpreter was used when the interviewee did not speak English. The interviewed officers are of different ranks and have different work tasks on different levels, performing hands-on border guarding, administrative, operative, or intelligence-based work. Follow-up interviews were conducted with five members of the original interview group. In general, interviews were conducted individually, but a few were completed in a group setting. The interviewees and participants in the fieldwork process were informed about the purpose of the study, anonymity, and that participation is voluntary. Names of people and places involved in the research, as well as other information that could identify the interviewees, have been changed for the present study and other presentations related to this study. The researchers emphasized that the interest of the study was general experiences and social phenomenon and that there is no intention to document personal data.

18 Some citations included in this report have been translated from Swedish into English by the authors.

Document Analysis

In addition to ethnographic observations and interviews, the researchers also studied documents related to and produced by Project Turnstone (Project Turnstone 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 2014; Project Turnstone 1, 2, 2015), media reports¹⁹, and photographs to analyse how the participating actors generate constructions of successful cooperation and obstacles to collaboration. This has also been useful for analysing how different categories are created, actualized, and manifested in the current discourse.

19 <https://polisen.se/PageFiles/487243/Information.pdf>. [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

https://polisen.se/Stockholms_lan/Aktuellt/Nyheter/Stockholm/NY---april-juni/Fyra-arresterade-for-forsok-till-grov-stold-i-Norge/ [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

<http://norrteljetidning.se/nyheter/nyheter/1.2844091-organisera-de-ligor-pa-ostersjobatarna>. [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

<http://www.svd.se/grovt-kriminella-pa-ostersjofarjor>. [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

<http://www.atl.nu/entreprenad/resultatet-av-polissamarbete-ver-gr-nserna>. [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

<http://www.sydsvenskan.se/sverige/svensk-polis-skuggade-juveltjuvar/>. [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

<https://eng.si.se/police-co-operate-across-borders-against-international-crime/>. [Accessed: 11th June 2015].

1. Successful Collaboration in Intelligence and Operative Work

The focus of this chapter is on how the participants described and analysed successful cooperation, and how the interviewees regarded cooperation between participating organizations. In order to answer these questions, we looked for similarities or contradictions in the informants' descriptions. The concepts of successful cooperation versus unsuccessful cooperation, trust, and mutual interests are especially relevant to the specific descriptions of operative work cooperation that we analysed. Participating officers listed official agreements, mutual interest, and motivation from the organizations involved as generating successful cooperation. Organizations do not exist independent of their members, who construct the organization through their speech, writing, and actions (Czarniawska, 1997). Inter-organizational identities are reconstructed and constructed in practices, such as joint efforts, conflict, and everyday routines. Talking, socializing, and working with colleagues from other organizations aid in the creation of a shared collaborative identity. Officers describe network building as a process involving several steps. First, official agreements must be made regarding cooperation between the organizations. Second, the officers must meet and get to know one another, learn about the others' abilities and limitations, and ascertain ways of communicating. During the joint operative action weeks, there is an emphasis on working and talking "on equal terms". Participants interviewed during the second year of Project Turnstone were happy with the progress and experienced a stronger connection and more efficient cooperation with participating partners. Most interviewees saw official meetings as less beneficial for establishing strong social collaborative bonds, even though most agreed that it is often necessary and valuable to establish official collaboration details at an organizational level. Official agreements are necessary to initiate cooperation, but the time aspect of

processing intelligence information demands personal contacts and interpersonal collaborative networks. The interviewees seemed to be aware of the purpose of the weeks and expressed motivation to participate. All participants were eager to perform well and had common goals: to find and apprehend targets and establish new contacts to improve their contact networks.

Personal Contacts, Joint Actions, and Colocation

When talking to participants in Project Turnstone, all agreed that personal relationships are important for successful collaboration. The researchers were told by various interviewees that one of the most beneficial aspects of Project Turnstone is that it facilitates interactions and joint operative actions for the border, police, and coast guard officers. Getting to know the people you work with in real situations facilitates future day-to-day connections and enables successful cooperation. Such opinions may not seem surprising, but are nevertheless important. However, the question is: how do the participants define successful cooperation? When asking border officers what constitutes successful cooperation, most agreed that cooperation is successful when there is no or little delay in the information exchange between cooperating organizations and when the suspects are discovered. Fast communication exchange is possible when officers know the right point of contact - who has the ability to “act” in the collaborating organization. One aspect also points to the importance of transferring information quickly via email or phone. One officer explained: “The official channels (such as the Europol channel SIENA) are useful for receiving and sending information to a certain extent. However, official channels are usually not fast enough when a suspect is arriving on a ferry. When the information has reached the other organization, it is often too late and the suspect has disappeared.” As one border guard stated: “The main expectation [of the project] is of course that the information, *exchange* of information, would be more direct, and that you don’t have any *timelines*. Often we need the information *now*, we have arrested this person, we can’t hold him for days, only for hours, and we need this information now.”

Official channels such as those provided by Europol or Interpol are used, but personal contacts are claimed to be more reliable when information must be received quickly. Officers describe the organized criminal groups as being highly mobile without concern for national borders. The Schengen enlargement facilitates the movement of criminal groups because passport controls and systematic internal controls are abolished. Yet, police officers and border guards need to perform their job duties of protecting the EU and Schengen countries from criminal activity or irregular migration. Suspected criminals can find various routes around the Baltic Sea area, passing through several countries during the journey. An important part of criminal intelligence work is to map and analyse the *modus operandi* (Bennell & Canter, 2002), the behaviour pattern of criminal groups. These patterns provide intelligence information regarding the movement and actions of individuals.

The police, border, and coast guard organizations participating in Project Turnstone are not unaccustomed to international cooperation including personnel exchange or joint investigations, but they were unaccustomed to the design of the operative action weeks. However, what is unique about the Turnstone model of working is the implementation of the operative action weeks in which officers have the chance to exchange, share, and cooperate with immediate action in the same office using their own information resources. During the joint operative action weeks, select members from the participating organizations gathered at the different organizations and worked together for a couple of days to a week. Those weeks made it possible for officers to sit in the same room and work side by side with colleagues they usually cooperate with via phone, email, or official channels such as the Europol information system. According to the officers, these weeks were important for increasing social relationships, thereby strengthening the collaboration.

Some of the organizations participating in Project Turnstone have long histories of cooperation because of geographic or social proximity and have an understanding of each other's organizational identities. Previous cooperation was established mainly when partners have common ferry lines, such as between Tallinn and Helsinki, Stockholm and Helsinki, Riga and Tallinn or Klaipeda in Lithuania and Karlshamn in Sweden. The ferry routes demand cooperation from border organizations because a large

number of passengers travel between these transport hubs on a daily basis. Several participants also had experience from a previous project, the Triangle project. The Triangle project²⁰ included Stockholm, Tallinn, Helsinki, Åbo, and Mariehamn and later inspired the design of Project Turnstone. Some organizations participating in the project have less history of joint operative cooperation and a greater need for social interactions to negotiate organizational identities. Few ferry lines existed between Klaipeda and the other participating countries; therefore, several project initiators and officers were eager to increase cooperation with this contact point. However, as organized criminal groups are no longer restricted to these transport hubs, officers stated that the close cooperation network must be extended further to partners who do not have common ferry lines.

Despite geographical, cultural, or historical proximity, several officers asserted that it is difficult to initiate cooperation without a network-building process in which interpersonal relationships can be established. Intelligence officers from the police, border, and coast guard organizations asserted that personal contacts are vital for successful cooperation and law enforcement, and that personal contacts are created through social meetings and working with colleagues from other countries or organizations. Meeting partners face to face and establishing a personal working relationship also increases knowledge of the working methods and procedures of collaboration partners. Such knowledge is important to avoid misunderstandings and confusion as to how various legal and work procedures are handled²¹. During the operative action weeks, each participating officer has his or her experience, contacts, and information systems available to facilitate quick and easy cooperation with other officers. Participants also increase their knowledge of who has access to different systems, what level of authority different officers or organizations have, and

20 The aim of the Triangle project was to increase collaboration between border control authorities and included the exchange of officials, joint operations, and exchange of methodology and information. The Triangle project was terminated in 2009 and resulted in a number of arrests and charges for human smuggling, abuse of original personal documents, and fraudulent use of documents. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/emnstudies/irregularmigration/se_20120_120_irregular_migration_final_en.pdf.

21 Legal differences are discussed in Chapter 2.

which working methods are applied by different organizations. Officers share experiences and can learn how to better use different systems to find important information.

In personal meetings, partners create work relationships and friendships but also establish work identities suitable to that situation. Several officers mentioned that the first step of successful cooperation is to identify the “right” persons to contact - who can act in certain situations, those who have the power to find information, and who can do or order surveillance. Contact persons are also considered “right” if they are dedicated to doing their jobs well and show interest in doing their best in sending, receiving, or handling information.

The operative action weeks can be regarded as forums where intelligence officers and analysts can meet and establish their own cooperation network by establishing certain work-related expressions (e.g., labelling what was officially named operative action weeks as *power weeks*), standard forms for writing information about suspects, and learning from each others’ experiences. This process can be seen as a way for collaboration partners to refer to themselves as a collective rather than separate entities representing their individual organizations. Researchers (Hardy, Lawrence & Grant, 2005; Lotia & Hardy 2008, p. 379; Basic, 2015) previously established that the design of inter-organizational collaborative identities appears to be the basis for successful collaboration. During the operative actions weeks implemented by Project Turnstone, officers expressed a strong motivation to perform their job duties. Working together with other officers and achieving successful results increased their sense of purpose and the importance of the job. Several participating intelligence officers and criminal analysts also expressed a wish to continue working side by side with colleagues from other organizations in the future and, as mentioned earlier, expressed fear that the Turnstone operative working model will terminate at the end of the project.

Agreements, Meetings, and Results

In conversations with interviewees, it was clear that successful cooperation was considered in connection with collaborating with partners to achieve operative results. The paramount aim of Project Turnstone is to fight cross-border crime in the Baltic Sea area, achieve operative results, and gain a better understanding of the patterns and working methods of criminal groups. According to interviewees, these aims are achieved only if involved police and border organizations cooperate. As one border guard described: “When personal networks are created, people are willing to send information that is useful for law enforcement.”

According to participating officers, one of the benefits of Project Turnstone is the operative hands-on approach. Previous cooperation projects taught officers that official and formal meetings and agreements are necessary for cooperation but do not automatically generate efficient, bilateral, interpersonal cooperation. Official agreements must be made before interpersonal cooperation can be achieved, and meetings are important for informing participants of what should be done and how the cooperation should proceed. The project initiators were keen to point out that participating officers should be given the opportunity to cooperate on their own terms during the operative action weeks. Based on the pre-conditions of each officer, the best practice of working was to be established by the officers themselves. Participating intelligence officers saw the operative action weeks (i.e., *power weeks*) as more valuable for cooperation than official meetings or agreements, as working hands-on provided operative working results. One coast guard member stated that “during previous cooperation there has not been enough focus on operative results, there has been too many meetings, too much talk.” Other officers agreed that previous joint investigations were successful when officers had a specific case to work on. Documentation and high-level agreements are important to achieve operative results but, according to several border officers, there is also a risk that information is “forgotten” or “not processed”.

Thus, the second core objective of the operative action weeks is to process “forgotten” intelligence information. Each participating country has law enforcement models to combine and ensure the processes of management,

control, intelligence, and enforcement, but there is a risk that intelligence information that does not fit the models is left unprocessed. The purpose of the operative action weeks is to “catch” this intelligence information with the hope of discovering patterns and new *modus operandi* for suspected criminals. “Every person working with this has a piece of information,” one interviewee stated. “The officers in Klaipeda might know a lot about *this*, and someone in Riga might know a lot about *that*, there might be facts *here*, but it can’t be processed because it doesn’t *fit*. If we combine all of these pieces of information we might start to see proper *patterns* that can tell us something important.” Another officer similarly indicated that:

“The questions and investigations cannot be solved in one country. If you have information from Estonia you only have a small piece of the puzzle, but by cooperation you will get this larger picture and then you can decide in what country you will prosecute these people and collect the evidence from different countries, especially when we are talking about mobile and international criminal groups and the organizing of illegal immigration, have to have this cooperation, otherwise it’s impossible to do it.”

The process discussed by interviewees takes time and is facilitated when intelligence officers can colocate and work together on a day-to-day basis. However, documentation is important for these operative findings to be useful for more precise and detailed analysis. Each operative action week accumulates lists of targets, providing a number of suspected criminals and their travelling routes. Border officers in particular highlighted the benefit of Project Turnstone in shedding light on the value of internal checks in fighting cross-border crime. These interviewees also hoped that these lists would help officers be proactive and to better understand the patterns and future methods of suspected targets.

The aspiration for the future is the establishment of a proper system of information exchange leading directly to operative actions and that works with all participating countries. According to participating officers, the personal contacts established during the operative action weeks are invaluable and seem to be superior to any information system. According to a border intelligence officer, “What is important is not what can be measured in results, the number of arrests, or the amount of goods

confiscated, the contacts you get give you more than any results than you can measure.”

Sharing Motivation, Vision, and Trust

As previously argued, in order to create a shared collaborative identity participants must meet and share conversations to construct and reconstruct the social phenomenon of collaboration. Sharing conversations entails speaking the same language (literally and figuratively), as well as understanding each other's working methods, aims, goals, and motivations. Lotia and Hardy (2008, pp. 366-389) suggest that a common vision is important for producing and reproducing joint collaborative identities. The officers experienced the project participants endeavouring for the same goals and understood the work practices of operative work. This, according to several officers, is necessary if cooperation is to run smoothly. In interviews, a majority of border, police, and coast guard officers expressed feelings of solidarity, emphasizing that they “speak the same language”, even though they come from different countries. Officers ascertain that “cross-border criminality is not a Latvian problem, a Finnish problem, or a Swedish problem, but a *European* problem”, and this is the approach needed to achieve successful bilateral cooperation. “We have to understand that this is no longer only *our* work, for our organization, it's not only a question of national security, it's definitely a joint effort,” one border police officer claimed. Others have highlighted the help from neighbouring countries and organizations to perform their work duties at home: “If I don't get information from other partners, I am practically blind, we are depending on other countries.”

Previous experiences with joint collaboration, behaviour, and competence shape the participants' views of collaboration partners. Project Turnstone and the operative action weeks have facilitated interactions between border, police, and coast guard officers starting to build bilateral cooperation networks. An individual's motivation and interest in cooperating, as noted earlier, is crucial when creating a trust-based relationship. A vast majority of the interviewees regarded trust as an important element for cooperating

between organizations. The importance of trust is acknowledged and widely talked about in organizational studies, but researchers are vague about what trust actually means in an organizational context (Porter, Lawler & Hackman, 1975, p. 497; McAllister, 1995). Trust is seen as a basic collaboration mechanism in everyday social life (Bachmann & Zaheer, 2008), the creation of organizational networks, and identity formation. Similarities between individuals, such as ethnic background, age, gender, and social status, can influence trust development in groups (Brewer, 1979; Turner, 1987). In the present study, most participants expressed feelings of sharing similar cultural, historical, and ethnic backgrounds as they were part of the Baltic Sea area, the EU, and the Schengen enlargement. Although differences in terms of organizational structure and cultural background were mentioned, they were considered to have little negative impact on cooperation practices. According to an interviewee, "It's the Schengen border, and we have quite similar adaptation and attitudes towards respecting the legal background and legal framework, and within that sense there is not much misunderstanding concerning cultural or differences in background." The participating border officers often used terms such as friends, neighbours, colleagues, brothers or sisters when describing collaboration partners. Such descriptions imply that the officers have positive associations with their partners and regard cooperation as productive.

The officers highlighted trust as being vital in most cooperation situations, and close networks of exchange cannot be established without trust. "When it comes to international cooperation," one officer said, "in my opinion I prefer giving information face to face, I want to know the person I am calling." A majority of interviewees agreed that trust is vital when it comes to sharing or sending sensitive intelligence information. Another officer stated that:

"It is important to meet face to face, if you only e-mail you don't know who the person is, and you don't know if you want to send information. But if you have met it is easier. Trust is important. When it comes to exchange of information, you want to know who you are calling. After some jokes, a drink, or a conversation it is easier to know the person."

Although officers describe the Europol and Schengen channels as efficient, a “personal encounter” is needed at some point. Most participants see the operative action weeks as opportunities to meet colleagues and establish trust with people with whom they had not previously cooperated. However, working together is not the only important element in creating social organizational bonds. After-work socializing, such as eating dinner together, during these events also has a strong impact on the participants’ work relationships. Facilitating dinners and joint activities when hosts and visiting officers can meet should not be regarded as less beneficial for establishing strong cooperation networks. According to interviewees, this is a good way to get to know your partner, establishing trust and cooperative relationships. Doing activities together that everyone can perform, such as sharing meals, joking together, and socializing in a relaxed setting, can decrease boundaries between participating professions and organizations (Hjortsjö, 2006, pp. 189-196).

Comparing one of the first operative action weeks (June 2014) to a more recent operative action week (May 2015) made it clear that the participating officers have established close interpersonal working relations. Participating officers were more confident regarding working methods and had better knowledge of who had access to different types of information. Trust had been established between the officers and, despite minor technical problems, there was no question as to how the work should be performed. During the first operative action weeks, several participating officers claimed that they did not know what to expect because they had not previously participated in a similar work situation.

Gaining trust was explained as a process that began with a cooperation agreement and exchange of officers or a joint investigation. Interviewed police and border officers associated trustworthy colleagues with transparency and honesty. Officers also mentioned competence and responsibility, which is highlighted in previous research (Barber, 1983; Shapiro, 1990).

Doing your best within your limitations and having the motivation to do it well was also explained as the best way of being seen as a trustworthy colleague: “When you have trust on the other side people are willing to work, it’s like a moving stone afterwards.” Therefore, we can list a few assumptions of how trust improves cooperation practices in the

participating border organizations. First, trust relationships developed in collaborations are important for sustaining and defining individual and organizational effectiveness (Shapiro, 1987, 1990; Zucker, 1986; McAllister, 1995). Second, mutual confidence or trust influences control at the institutional and personal levels of organizations and enable sustained effective action in times of uncertainty or organizational change requiring mutual adjustments (Shapiro, 1987, 1990; Zucker, 1986; Granovetter, 1985; Pennings & Woiceshyn, 1987; McAllister, 1995; Thompson, 1967). Third, partners experiencing mutual trust are more willing to take risks because there is a belief that others will not take advantage of you. Therefore, an individual creates an expectation that they will find what is expected rather than what is feared (Deutsch, 1973).

In contrast, Cook, Russell, and Levi (2005, pp. 1-2) argues that “trust is important in many interpersonal contexts, but it cannot carry the weight of making complex societies function productively and effectively.” In their view, regulation is more important than trust, and trust works primarily at the interpersonal level to produce micro level social order, lowering the costs for monitoring that might be required if individuals did not trust each other. To a certain extent, interviewed officers regard trust as being vital for successful cooperation. However, the interviewees did maintain that trust has to be earned, and having trust in one colleague does not automatically mean having trust in his or her organization. Also, trust can be damaged quickly, as explained by one officer: “Just one mistake is enough, one small lie, or the wrong information and the trust is broken. If you don’t know the answer to a question, it’s better to be honest about it.” When trust is destroyed it takes time to re-establish it. The officers participating in Project Turnstone maintain that they have trust in one another and that it has increased even more after the Turnstone cooperation activities. However, Cook, Russell, and Levi (2005, p.3) points out that even though trust relationships enable one type of cooperation, it might inhibit others. Trust relationships within a group might create boundaries that prevent cooperation with those outside the group, and the risk is that helpful parties will be excluded from the group. Nevertheless, as interviewees in this study pointed out, the importance of mutual trust between individuals working in professions engaged in policing borders, which implies partly secretive intelligence work involving large organizations from different countries, is

why social interaction, joint working efforts, and common actions as those implemented by Project Turnstone are important.

In this chapter we discussed positive aspects of collaboration as expressed by participating police, border, and coast guard officers. According to the interviewees, Project Turnstone has facilitated a number of important aspects of successful cooperation and the development of a shared collaborative identity between participating individuals. The issues discussed are the importance of social interaction (colocation) between officers and joint actions to facilitate the emergence of shared motivation, common goals, and trust among the officers. In the next chapter, we analyse issues regarding aspects of the project that can be improved and collaboration obstacles identified during the implementation of Project Turnstone from the perspective of interviewed officers.

2. Collaboration Obstacles in Intelligence and Operative Work

The fundamental issue of EU and Schengen law enforcement is that it is carried out by different organizations with different areas of focus, legislation, mandates, and working methods. Thus, cooperation between different organizations is prone to misunderstandings or complications. The key to solving this issue is claimed to be knowledge and close interaction with collaboration partners. Creating inter-organizational collaboration identities is a dynamic process, and conflicts or problems are not rare (Basic, 2012). The pursuit of collaboration and changes within stations can cause conflicts regarding professional matters (Kolb & Putnam, 1992, pp. 16-17). Collaboration and conflict go hand in hand, and it is not uncommon that struggles arise in intermediate organizational relationships with actors wanting to control or resist the activities of others (Huxham & Beech, 2008, pp. 555-579; Schruijer, 2008, p. 432). The source of disagreements is often conflict regarding organizational goals, interests, and identities (Schruijer, 2008).

In this chapter we analyse how the participating officers described collaboration difficulties and the obstacles they encountered during the operative action weeks arranged by Project Turnstone, as well as during day-to-day cooperation between the border organizations. We adopt a similar approach as in the previous chapter analysing opinions and statements from interviewees and observations made during fieldwork and go-alongs. Officers listed significant obstacles, such as language barriers, differences in legislation, unclear structures, and rare opportunities for colocation, as affecting their work practices. According to participants, the most fundamental issues are how the Turnstone cooperation model should be

used in the future, how collected intelligence information should be properly analysed, and how cooperation networks should be maintained.

Language Difficulties

In the previous chapter we focused on the importance of participating members meeting and sharing conversations, experiences, and mutual interests to facilitate successful cooperation. Although a majority of the officers interviewed experience a joint “understanding” of each other’s goals, working methods, and operative aims, language barriers between the officers are still a vital issue. The common language spoken during the operative action weeks and other joint activities as part of Project Turnstone is English, but officers often fell into the pattern of speaking more with people with whom they share their native language. This observation is not surprising considering Turner (1987) and Brewer’s (1979) claim that groups of individuals with similar fundamental characteristics, such as ethnic background or a common language, have an advantage in creating trusting working relationships. However, cultural background and ethnic identity were not seen as obstacles as long as officers are able to communicate and speak the same language. The interviewees viewed language barriers as occasional obstacles because it might take longer to explain something to a colleague with whom you cannot easily communicate. “The main barrier is language,” explained a border officer during one of the first operative action weeks when asked about the main obstacles he had observed. “You can’t express yourself clearly because sometimes you know what you mean but there are some misunderstandings, sometimes there is a lack of feedback or no response. Maybe it has to do with language limitations.” Officers often encountered language difficulties in their day-to-day work when they needed to contact partners in other European countries, generally if the officers have limited knowledge of English or cannot understand each other’s first languages. Some officers stated that misunderstandings can occur, even between people from the same country who speak the same language, because specific expressions used in daily work can differ in the different stations. For example, border officers from different Baltic Sea nations might understand each other better

and have more in common than they do with other national police organizations. Interviewees highlighted that officers doing the same work tasks (e.g., border guarding or criminal analysis) can often understand each other and each other's work practices, as they are fairly similar. Belonging to the EU and Schengen enlargement also provides the officers with a common (English language) terminology that can be used when communicating with national partners.

Language difficulties can obstruct daily contact and be obstacles for officers who want to keep in contact with collaboration partners. Keeping communication channels up to date is a full-time job but well worth the effort according to interviewees. However, for such efforts to be useful there must be an interest from all collaboration partners to participate. However, the operative action weeks during which the officers were able to work side by side have simplified communication because officers know who to contact and who they can talk to in case they are in need of quick information. They have also been able to work out ways of communicating, such as which terminology should be used and how information should be written. Minor issues, such as how to write the date of birth and surname or last name, had to be worked out during the first operative action weeks. Language barriers are still obstacles in many situations, decreasing the sense of cooperative group identity and making work progress slower and less efficiently. During one of the operative action weeks, the researchers observed a situation in the Turnstone office when the different officers spoke with their colleagues in Swedish, Lithuanian, Finnish, Estonian, and Russian at the same time. The officers in the room could not understand each other (apart from the person which whom they were speaking) or understand the information about certain cases that were discussed.

An issue mentioned during several interviews that may be the outcome of language difficulties is the lack of feedback. One example is found in the final report about the Turnstone Operational Week in Klaipėda 2015²². The report states that the number of actions carried out against found hits is unknown because that information was not provided by all participating organizations. Lack of feedback regarding information that is sent or cases being worked on is a source of frustration for collaborating partners.

22 Document submitted to participating officers and organizations by the project coordinators.

Feedback can also be an important source of information regarding successful or less successful working methods and procedures and can help officers improve their work skills and increase the sense of cooperation between the involved parties. One interviewee noted the risk of partners losing interest in communicating and sending information if they never receive any feedback about how the information had been used or processed. One operative action week participant stated: “Feedback is just as important as getting information, analysing the information, and sending it to relevant partners. If you don’t know what happens to the information, there is no point in sending it, is there?” The lack of feedback may depend on language problems but also national legislation, confidentiality rules, or staff shortage. This is another example of knowledge regarding collaboration partners and their working methods being vital to successful communication regarding cooperation.

Different Organizations, Different Legislation

Hjortsjö (2006, pp. 189-196) states that the borders between those involved in collaborative efforts must be erased in order to achieve successful cooperation. External borders between the countries involved in Project Turnstone were already “erased” with the Schengen implementation and EU enlargement. The organizations involved share the common goal of fighting criminal activity in the Baltic Sea area. Interviewees expressed the importance of being “as flexible as the criminals” operating in the Baltic Sea area, meaning that international organized crime groups are not restricted by national borders. Therefore, law enforcement agencies must do the same and cooperate despite organizational backgrounds or initial organizational focus. Current problems in the Euroregion regarding the legal, political, and economic spheres have been well analysed by various researchers. In particular, the absence of a common legal form in EU countries and differences in the internal coordination of Euroregion activities are obstacles to cooperation (Dastanka & Chyprys, 2014). Considering the different organizational backgrounds and legislation of the seven police, coast guard, and border organizations involved in Project Turnstone, issues regarding common interests and mutual goals are not straightforward.

An issue briefly mentioned as an obstacle to cooperation is the risk of different organizations placing more emphasis on solving certain types of criminal activity. The crimes focused on by Project Turnstone are all border related, ranging from trafficking and pickpocketing by organized crime groups to boat thefts and home burglaries. As participating organizations are police, border, and coast guard authorities, it is unavoidable that each organization has its own area of interest. A few officers highlighted that organizations in “countries of transition” (i.e., countries in the Schengen area not bordered by a non-EU country) are not considering cases of human smuggling as severely as organizations working to protect external borders. Similarly, coast guard officers might focus on cases concerning environmental protection, search and rescue, and border surveillance, whereas police officers might emphasize theft or burglaries.

Schruijer’s (2008, p. 432) research on collaboration suggests that the source of conflict between organizations is usually a contradiction between organizational interests, goals, and identities. As officers claim to share the same goals and collaborative identity, the issue of having different interests could be a source of conflict. A few participants mentioned that this issue might affect priorities in certain situations, but this was not clearly observed by the researchers during fieldwork.

Additional obstacles highlighted in interviews are issues of confidentiality, differences in legalization, and restrictions regarding access to information or providing information to collaboration partners. Participating officers mentioned legislation differences in regards to obtaining suspects or confiscating stolen goods, and differences between police and border organizations regarding undercover surveillance or following suspected targets. Although belonging to the EU and Schengen area, participating organizations follow different national legislation and work practices. In certain cases, physical, legal, and bureaucratic distance between collaborating partners makes collaboration difficult. Police, border, and coast guard officers are well connected through information exchange networks, but standardized rules and regulations occasionally slow the information exchange process. For example, the involved countries have different laws regarding the time limit and procedures for keeping suspects in custody and handling evidence. Another example is the issue of providing information, as some organizations have firmer regulations when it comes

to sending or sharing information. This process, which can be slow and rigid, is the cause of frustration and missed opportunities to arrest suspects and solve crimes. The complexity of national internal issues, such as the rights of organizations to access or provide certain information, was mentioned early on during Project Turnstone.

The main difference between police and border organizations highlighted in interviews is the police's ability to perform undercover surveillance, which is not possible for border guard organizations (such as the Latvian and Lithuanian border guard services). Similarly, the SIENA system is mostly accessed by police organizations, though this is not seen as a problem during operative action weeks because officers with access can assist colleagues in this matter. The Swedish border guard and Estonian border guard are part of a police organization but have separately organized border divisions. A great source of frustration is irregular working hours, as intelligence work is not a 9 to 5 undertaking. Difficulties with getting in contact with, for example, the Swedish border police after regular office hours might delay information about the travel of suspected targets.

The matters mentioned are not great obstacles according to project participants, but are sources of frustration if they obstruct work processes, aggravate the communication flow, and create confusion regarding the right point of contact. Joint actions, such as the operative action weeks, and personal contacts make these difficulties easier to overcome. According to a border police officer: "My knowledge improves day by day but I always find surprises that something is impossible since counterpart organizations are structured in different ways, but I think when we talk about Helsinki, Stockholm, Riga, and Klaipeda I think the picture is quite clear, but it's different if you ask if I know about Poland." Not surprisingly, intelligence officers and participating staff members with current or previous experience with cross-border cooperation had knowledge about the working methods of their closest partners. Nevertheless, several officers explained that the information they had was limited concerning certain areas, such as the national legislation of their collaboration partners. Even officers with years of experience with cross-border cooperation expressed confusion regarding some judicial work practices or the surveillance restrictions of collaboration partners, stating that knowledge diminishes frustration. Interviews also revealed that many staff members working with every-day border guarding

or police work still have limited knowledge of international partners' work practices. Although this may not have a direct negative impact on their work efforts, several interviewees claimed that knowledge of the working methods of other organizations would be an advantage.

Colocation and Future Cooperation

Continued cooperation demands the same level of commitment as shown during the joint operative action weeks. As organizational researchers (Hibbert, Huxham & Smith Ring, 2008, pp. 400-402; Lindberg, 2009, pp. 55-59, 64) have acknowledged, clear organizational goals and roles facilitate cooperation and clarify the main organizational objectives. Although officers have not mentioned this in interviews, some confusion regarding roles, structure, and responsibilities were observed during the first operative action weeks. As the project developed, participating officers found their place and understood the structures and objectives, but there may still be confusion regarding specific work tasks, as discussed regarding the example of sending feedback. For future cooperation, clarifying responsibilities among participants may improve the networking process among members of the organization. Although one objective of the project was to avoid unnecessary bureaucracy and too many formal meetings, adding structure to work tasks, responsibilities, and work roles for the participant can aid in clarifying working methods and the purpose of the cooperation activities, avoiding confusion (Dacin, Reid & Ring Smith, 2008).

The hands-on approach adopted by Project Turnstone has been well received by project participants and partners. However, some officers requested more pre-information in order to better organize the personnel or staff needed for certain actions and had hoped to be asked in advance to participate. In the beginning of the project, several participants were confused about the objectives and operative actions. Before the first operative action week, one interviewee stated that he would like to have "more pre-information", arguing that "if it's an operation where we need resources, we need time. It is also a legal background; we have to do our work schedules in a certain time period. I believe that everything can be

planned in advance, for example concerning next [operative action] week.” As the project advanced, more people were familiar with the structure of the project and how actions were to be carried out.

The advantage of the operative action weeks and joint activities implemented during Project Turnstone is that participants have been able to meet in person, sharing intelligence information and knowledge regarding working methods. Although complete coherence regarding methods and regulation cannot be obtained between the collaborating partners in the Baltic Sea area, systematic joint activities, work actions, and education are beneficial for increasing successful cooperation. Officers have mentioned that the Schengen agreement demands that border organizations adapt to working as closely with international partners as they have been with national partners.

Organizational scholars (Emery & Trist, 1965, p. 7) have acknowledged environmental changes facing modern organizations in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In their view, the main challenge of organizational studies is that the environmental contexts of the organizations are more complex now due to technological changes and development. Similarly, the border officers and organizations participating in Project Turnstone must cooperate and adapt to belonging to the Schengen implementation. Interviewees were well aware of the need to adapt to new methods of working and emphasized the need for close bilateral cooperation. The contacts, mutual trust, and understanding established during the operative action weeks will continue, according to the officers, as long as the same people continue to cooperate. “The problem is,” according to one officer, “that sometimes there are different people attending joint actions all the time, and there is no time to create a working relationship with this person since you might not ever meet this person face-to-face again.” To be able to keep personal contact, cooperation and interaction must be maintained. “Sometimes a quick phone call, saying hello and asking how things are going is enough,” a coast guard officer declared.

One of the fears expressed regarding Project Turnstone is that cooperative activity and operative actions will end, and that gathered intelligence information will be left unprocessed after the project’s termination. According to one officer it is important to:

“Focus on what happens when you get hits from traffic, the actual measures you are doing to deal with it, not only information exchange but what are you doing with the suspect, are you going to check him, are you going to take him under surveillance? Is there enough criminal activity background that you can arrest him and start an investigation and there had been, there had not been this kind of planning. So it’s unclear what we are going to do? And that could be very important for us.”

A significant question is also how the operative action weeks should proceed when officers no longer have the possibility of colocation. Colocation was one of the advantages of Project Turnstone associated with creating personal bilateral cooperation networks. Officers maintained that the contacts that had been created were strong, but in order to invite new people into the networks the same process of integration and trust building needs to occur. Thus, the Turnstone model is not a quick and static implementation, but a continued, organic process that must be sustained in order for close cooperation to exist. In the beginning of the project weekly phone meetings or non-formal phone conferences between the collaboration partners were suggested. The phone meetings only occurred a few times because there was not enough time and language barriers stood in the way. An intelligence officer said that it is more efficient and useful to contact each other when there is a specific case or when information is needed, instead of at random.

To maintain cooperation networks, it is vital for collaboration partners to stay in contact. There have also been suggestions that teams should be able to cooperate in joint activities virtually, as physical colocation will not always be possible. Interviewees also view processing and analysing the large amount of intelligence information that has been gathered as a priority. Naturally, these suggestions depend on the available financial and staff resources and are long-term objectives. In order for cooperation to be as efficient as possible, participants also suggested inviting more collaboration partners. No customs organizations were involved in the present project, and this might further enhance the outcomes of investigations. According to one interviewee: “Every time we are together in those intelligence meetings we present the intelligence picture well, but it’s just one piece of the big picture because there is always something missing, such as customs.” New partners have already been invited into the project, with Poland, Norway, and Denmark participating as extended partners starting in late

2014. The project team is highly aware of the need for further cooperation and is planning a follow-up cooperation project. If grants are received for the project, the team is hoping that it will be a way to remove the obstacles encountered in Project Turnstone and create more opportunities for joint actions and colocation.

Conclusion

Ethnography is nothing until inscribed as text (Fine, 1993, p. 288), and the task of the researcher is to turn ethnographic fieldnotes and observations into writings that speak to a wider audience (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011, p. 172). The purpose of this report is not to provide clear-cut guidelines for successful cooperation, but to provide a sociological perspective regarding the collaboration activities implemented by Project Turnstone. Our focus was to describe how participating police, border, and coast guard officers have contributed to Project Turnstone and to analyse examples of successful cooperation and collaboration difficulties. Based on ethnographically gathered material, including field observations, go-alongs, interviews, and document analysis, we described how the participating police, border, and coast guard officers understand successful cooperation, as well as the collaboration difficulties they identified.

Inter-organizational cooperation identities are reconstructed and constructed through joint effort, conflict, and everyday routines. Previous research on cooperation asserts that social interactions create a greater sense of trust and motivation, resulting in organizational efficiency. Trust among collaborating partners increases participants' risk taking because they know what to expect from their partners and how cooperating organizations work (Deutsch, 1973). Most participants view the operative actions weeks as opportunities to meet colleagues and establish trust. Although not officially speaking the same national language, officers experienced a common sense of purpose, objective, and aim, which they expressed as "speaking the same language".

Cross-border criminality is regarded as a European problem and a joint effort, but a shared collaborative identity can only be achieved if partners meet, converse, conduct joint efforts, and work side by side with hands-on work tasks. Although official meetings and organizational agreements of

cooperation are vital to collaboration, such practices are not the key to successful cooperation and successful law enforcement. Partners need to understand each other (literally and figuratively), as well as each other's working methods, aims, goals, and motivations. Officers exchanging intelligence information expressed that they had sufficient knowledge of close cooperation partners. However, several members of staff in the different organizations felt that they had limited knowledge about the work practices of collaborating police, border, and coast guard organizations. Such knowledge is important to avoid misunderstandings and confusion regarding how certain legal procedures are handled.

Different organizational backgrounds, legislation, confidentiality issues, and restrictions when providing other organizations with information are described as obstacles to collaboration. However, the participants did not view cultural, historical, or ethnic identity as obstacles to cross-border cooperation in the Baltic Sea area. Because of their shared motivation and similar goals, many officers highlighted few obstacles that directly affect collaboration. Nevertheless, many had encountered some difficulties regarding language barriers, differences in legislation, and rare opportunities for colocation. Language difficulties can prevent daily information exchange by obstructing officers who want to keep in contact with collaborating partners or delaying vital intelligence information. Organizations need to adapt to environmental changes (Emery & Trist, 1965), and Project Turnstone can be regarded as response to the need for closer cooperation among police, border, and coast guard officers in the EU and Schengen area. According to the participants in this study, the main challenges that the police, border, and coast guard officers identified can be eased and overcome through closer day-to-day work, education, and interpersonal exchange.

Suggestions for Future Research

Drawing on the findings of the present study, we suggest four topics of importance suitable for future sociological research.

Differences in Work Methods Regarding Criminal Analysis and Operative Work

During the implementation of Project Turnstone (2014-2015), the participating police and border officers reached a closer level of cooperation and improved their knowledge of border authorities in nearby countries. Interviews with participating police officers, coast guards, and border guards revealed a strong or adequate understanding of the working methods and work practices of neighbouring organizations. However, the police and border officers not directly involved in this project may still need to improve their knowledge of operative work and methods of surveillance of cooperation partners. Few participants not directly involved in operative work expressed having adequate knowledge of other border authorities' work practices. More general information distributed among staff in the border authorities is needed if initiatives such as Project Turnstone are to have a strong impact on the everyday work of police and border officers. We suggest that further research and education may enhance this knowledge and increase the efficiency of joint operative actions.

Technological Equipment Facilitating Criminal Analysis and Operative Work

The technical equipment used during operative action weeks is clearly crucial to a rewarding collaboration. Malfunctioning technical equipment has a negative impact on the morale and work efficiency of border officers. Further research on the different information systems, the access to these systems, and how they are used by collaborating partners can facilitate general knowledge about the different border organizations.

The Significance and Influence of Surrounding EU Countries and Their Border Authorities

Conversations with participants during the operative action weeks revealed a strong interest in extending the cooperation network. It is important to include other countries' police and border organizations in order to fully understand and process the *modus operandi* of travelling criminal groups. Naturally, such partnerships demand official agreements of cooperation, financial resources, and a willingness to cooperate by all organizations involved. During this study, we saw a strong commitment to extending collaboration networks and to invite more organizations for closer cooperation. Interviewees also wanted to invite customs (from all participating countries) and other police organizations to make the cooperation as successful as possible. Although all European countries have proper channels for communicating and exchanging information, there is still an urgent need for personal contacts to make the process of exchanging intelligence efficient. The cooperation and relationships between European countries is an important topic for the future, as these relationships affect the work methods of European border organizations.

Relationships with Bordering “Third Countries”

Political tension following the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2015 has existed in the background of Project Turnstone. All project participants, except Sweden, border Russia and are unavoidably affected by such political issues. For some border guards and border organizations, cooperation with Russia is inescapable and sometimes necessary. Although the interviewed officers and project participants did not see this issue affecting their cooperation with other Baltic Sea neighbours, the current political relationship with Russia is not irrelevant for border authorities. For future research, we suggest studying the issue of how relationships with neighbouring countries that do not belong to the EU, so-called “third countries”, affect the safekeeping of EU external borders and if and how such political tensions, such as the invasion of Ukraine, affect EU border organization. Following the large influx of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers into Europe in September 2015, the future of European border guarding and Schengen implementation regarding safeguarding European borders is also a relevant topic for further study. The working methods for border guards may be unavoidably affected by these developments, depending on how European countries choose to implement and understand the Schengen agreement²³.

23 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34239674>

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This sociological report is a contribution to the European collaborative Project Turnstone, which is partly funded by the European Commission. Project Turnstone is a northern European project aiming to increase cooperation between border authorities in the Baltic Sea area to decrease cross-border crime. The background of the project is the EU agreement and Schengen enlargement in 2007/2008. The enlargement resulted in changes concerning international cooperation and created a greater need for new models of working and for cooperation.

This study analyses this collaborative project via qualitative interviews and field observations, especially the intelligence and joint operative activities conducted during the implementation of Project Turnstone. Through this material, the ways in which the staff of the different organizations organize, describe, and explain collaboration obstacles and successes encountered during cooperation with neighbouring organizations are described and analysed.

Project Turnstone is an initiative by the Stockholm Police, Border Division, as a response to the growing need for increased security for the public and decreased criminality in the Baltic Sea region. Co-beneficiaries of the grant are Helsinki Police (F), The Gulf of Finland Coast Guard District (F), Police and Border Guard Board (EE), Riga Board of the State Border Guard of the Republic of Latvia (LV), State Border Guard Service at the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania, Coast Guard District (LT), The Swedish Coast Guard District (SE), and Lund University, Department of Sociology (SE).



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