



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

*“The key is to see each individual as an individual”*

**- A qualitative study on how crime-preventative authorities view  
recidivism in Sweden**

Nea Karmi

---

Lund University  
Sociology of Law Department

Master Thesis (SOLM02)  
Spring 2024



Supervisor: Rustamjon Urinboyev

Examiner: Ida Nafstad & Matthias Baier

## **Acknowledgments**

*This thesis has been a rewarding project where I have had the pleasure of learning more about how authorities work to help ex-inmates in society. This could not have been done without all the interviewees who with short notice gladly participated in this student paper. A big thank you also goes to my friends who helped me with motivation and made this experience much more enjoyable. I would also like to thank my supervisor who was quick to help when needed and for all the good comments and calmness I have received during this spring.*

# **“THE KEY IS TO SEE EACH INDIVIDUAL AS AN INDIVIDUAL”**

- **A qualitative study on how crime-preventative authorities view  
recidivism in Sweden**

Nea Karmi

21.5.2024

## **Abstract**

In a sociolegal way, this study aims to understand the broader problem of recidivism and its societal consequences. By conducting semi-structured qualitative interviews with experts in the crime-preventative field, this study understood how these authorities look at recidivism. Analysis in this study was done from the theoretical framework of street-level bureaucracy together with law in action and law in books, and PNCP. Resulting that cooperation is still processing to be even more effective, authorities work on their approaches to ex-inmates, and factors that influence reoffending are present. Some factors are above the authorities since they are stated in various laws and regulations, which might not always be coherent with the real world. Housing, employment, and medical treatment as big security factors should be more accessible, especially at the beginning of time outside prison.

**Words:** 18 596

**Keywords:** Recidivism, authorities, ex-inmates, re-offending, cooperation, attitudes.

# Table of Contents

Introduction .....	1
1. Background .....	2
1.1 Statistics .....	2
1.2 Legal and Institutional Analysis.....	3
1.2.1 <i>Public Employment Service</i> .....	3
1.2.2 <i>Criminal Care</i> .....	3
1.2.3 <i>Prison and Probation Service</i> .....	4
1.2.4 <i>The municipality – Krami</i> .....	5
2. Research Problem.....	5
2.1 Aim and Research Questions .....	6
2.1.1 <i>Definitions and concepts</i> .....	7
2.2 Delimitation.....	8
2.3 Relevance for the sociology of law .....	8
2.4 Outline .....	9
3. Literature Review .....	9
3.1 Nordic Exceptionalism .....	10
3.2 The gap between the inmate and the authority .....	11
3.3 The effect of the authorities on ex-inmates .....	13
3.4 Cooperation between authorities .....	14
4. Methodology .....	16
4.1 Key Informants.....	16
4.2 Sampling.....	18
4.3 Recording social interaction .....	19
4.4 Data Collection.....	20
4.4.1 <i>Collecting data in another language</i> .....	21
4.5 Methodological Considerations.....	21
4.6 Data Analysis .....	22
4.6.1 <i>Thematic Analysis</i> .....	23
4.6.2 <i>Analysing and coding</i> .....	23
4.7 Ethical considerations .....	24
4.8 Reflexivity, validity, and reliability .....	25
5. Theoretical Framework .....	25
5.1 Law in Books and Law in Action.....	26
5.2 Street-Level Bureaucracy .....	27
5.3 Parallel Norm Creating Process .....	29
5.4 Summary .....	29
6. Analysis .....	30
6.1 Cooperation between authorities .....	31
6.1.1 <i>Economic</i> .....	31
6.1.2 <i>Improvements needed in cooperation</i> .....	31
6.1.3 <i>Success in Cooperation</i> .....	32
6.1.4 <i>Blaming</i> .....	33

6.2 Interactions between authorities and ex-inmates.....	35
6.2.1 <i>Dialogue between authorities and ex-inmates</i> .....	36
6.2.2 <i>Ex-inmates attitudes towards authorities</i> .....	37
6.2.3 <i>Authorities' attitudes towards ex-inmates</i> .....	38
6.3 The lives of the ex-inmates .....	39
6.3.1 <i>Affecting factors</i> .....	39
6.3.2 <i>Ex-inmates needs</i> .....	41
6.3.3 <i>Ethnicity, age, and genders influence</i> .....	42
6.4 Summary - Why do ex-inmates re-offend.....	43
7. Discussion .....	45
8. Conclusion.....	46
References .....	49
Appendix A .....	52
Appendix B .....	52
Appendix C .....	52
Appendix D .....	52



## Introduction

Everybody wants a safe neighborhood, and communities work hard to make their space safer, but what about making the people living in the neighborhood safer? Public safety is not safeguarded when ex-inmates<sup>1</sup> are released to homelessness with no employment (UNODC, 2022). Many struggle when attempting to reintegrate into society after prison<sup>2</sup> release, and the conditions they face afterward lead to recidivism<sup>3</sup> (Larsen, Hean & Ödegård, 2019). According to the Swedish Criminal Care statistic 31 % of offenders re-offend<sup>4</sup> (2022). Preventing reoffending is a hot topic when the amount of youth crimes has become a big societal problem (BRÅ, 2021). The ones who want to break the criminal lifestyle usually have a big need for support from different authorities and health care, and it is studied that most of the problems found are dynamic, which means that there is an opportunity to influence (Sallander, 2020).

Re-offending is a big contributor to overall crime. Action in and after prison can tackle the persistent offenders who continuously commit crimes (UNODC, 2022). The interaction between the inmate and the welfare system is key to minimizing the risk factors associated with their re-offending (Larsen, Hean & Ödegård, 2019). Criminal Care's most important task is to prevent reoffences from happening, and there has been researched on the factors that affect the development of criminality and risks of reoffending (Rydén-Lodi, Stattin & Klienteberg, 2005). Additionally, the Swedish Criminal Politics task is to understand the norm systems functions on a macro level. This means that the political system has developed its internal norms that dominate the shaping of further laws (Baier, Svensson & Nafstad, 2018). In the last years, there have been debates in criminal politics about the increasing criminality and decreasing clearance, where they talk about gaps in the law and punitive systems shaping, and lack of resources and efficiency in the law enforcement authorities (regeringen.se, 2023).

Following, the Swedish Prison Law (SFS 2010:610) (fängelselagen) 3 chapter 1§, says that every inmate should be allowed to work, educate, and participate in crime- or abuse-related programs or other structured activities. Additionally, the inmate is obliged to participate in this

---

<sup>1</sup> Convicted criminals who are no longer serving a prison sentence (Collins Dictionary)

<sup>2</sup> In this thesis when using the word: prison I mean the institution where a convicted person stays (From the Swedish Translation: anstalt)

<sup>3</sup> A person's relapse into criminal behavior, often after the person receives sanctions or undergoes intervention for a previous crime: from national institution of justice

<sup>4</sup> Committing crimes after having been punished for a previous crime (Swedish Translation: Återfall) (Collins Dictionary)

activity that has been offered (2§). In what way are these and other paragraphs implemented in authorities' work policies and social norms, are part of this study to understand how authorities view recidivism. This is done by interviewing authorities' everyday work-life experiences. Before introducing the overarching research aims and questions of the thesis, a brief overview of the legal and institutional environment will be provided in the next section. This will serve as the background and contextual information and thereby guide the reader in understanding the main rationale behind research aims and questions.

## **1. Background**

Internationally the recidivism rates seem to be the lowest in Norway and quite high in Australia (Yukhnenko, Farouki, Fazel, 2023). In Sweden, the highest rate of recidivism was in 1999 and since then the rate has decreased and stayed rather stable through the centuries (Kriminalvården.se, 2022). This is due to different factors, but one dynamic factor could be organisations like Criminal Care's engagement in making treatment programs to improve the prevention of recidivism (UNODC, 2012). Recidivism is a process and not a separate event that just happens (Bergström, 2012).

### *1.1 Statistics*

In 2019 the lowest recidivism rates were in drunk driving (8%) and sexual offenses (9%), whereas the highest rates for reoffending to the same crime were traffic violation (29%), drug crime or smuggling (22%), and assault crime (21%). Reoffending to a different crime was the highest in robbery (33%) (kriminalvården.se, 2022).

Factors that impact the risk of reoffending are gender, the number of previous offenses, age, the offense, and prison time (Kriminalvården.se, 2022). The statistic shows that men are more likely to re-offend than women and that the risk of reoffending increases with the number of previously served sentences. Statistics also indicate that age plays a factor since the lowest rate of recidivism is for people who are over 50 years old. Finally, statistics show that people with longer sentences had less risk of reoffending (ibid).



## *1.2 Legal and Institutional Analysis*

All public authorities shall follow laws and other rules when they make decisions (Baier, Svensson & Nafstad, 2018), and since authorities are bound to these, they are not able to do whatever they feel would be suitable for the situation in question. The legal framework can however support the cooperation development. Every authority shall cooperate in their area of operation with other authorities, according to 8§ in the Swedish Administrative Law (2017:900) (Förvaltningslagen). This does not however mean that the cooperation between authorities is meant to get around the privacy legislation (Sallander, 2020). Unfortunately, when people are in contact with authorities, they sometimes experience injustice. The reasons are usually that many aims and norms are so general that they cannot be managed by one authority. To help this issue new forms of regulations are made of the cooperation between authorities (Baier, Svensson & Nafstad, 2018).

Next, I will briefly discuss the different authorities that were interviewed in this research and also their responsibilities to give the reader a clear view of what is meant by authority throughout this paper.

### *1.2.1 Public Employment Service*

The Public Employment Service is Sweden's biggest intermediary of jobs, with the main focus of contributing to a well-working labor market and equipping those who are far from the labor market, therefore preventing outskirts and increasing employment. Furthermore, The Public Employment Service is a state authority that controls the employer who gets employment support, and the registered client who is unemployed follows the Public Employment Service regulations (Arbetsförmedlingen.se, 2024).

### *1.2.2 Criminal Care*

The Swedish Criminal Care is a state authority that is accountable for custody, prisons, and probation service. Their main task is to make society safer and prevent reoffending from occurring (Kriminalvården.se, 2024). These instructions of what shall be the tasks are stated in Regulation (2007:1172) (Förordning med instruktioner för Kriminalvården), together with the Prison Law (2010:610). There are 40 custody, and 46 prison institutions in Sweden. In 2023 there were 3100 enrolled in custody and 6 300 in institution (ibid). Also, according to the Prison

Regulation (2010:2010) (fängelseförordning), Criminal Care shall cooperate with Social Services, Health Care, Public Employment Services, and Social Insurance Department, based on the client's needs.

A **prison** sentence is society's way of punishing those who have committed a severe crime, where freedom is taken away from an individual for a certain amount of time. A prison sentence in Sweden can be from 14 days to a lifetime, where Criminal Care helps the imprisoned to adjust to society. Getting a lifetime in Sweden does not mean that you will be in prison for the rest of your life, but that the sentence is not dated. Swedish criminal politics want to avoid locking people up because that is damaging to the individual (Kriminalvården.se, 2024). Obligations about the actual prison institution are stated in the laws about Criminal Care in prison (1974:203) (Lag om kriminalvård i anstalt).

The person who has been suspected of a severe crime can be put in **custody** by the court to wait for the decision. The court's decision is reconsidered every 14<sup>th</sup> day. There can also be individuals in custody that is about to be deported or have been put into custody according by a decision from the supervisory board (Kriminalvården.se, 2024). The Supervisory Board has its regulations according to the regulations (2007:1174) with instructions for the Supervisory Board (Förordning med instruktioner för övervakningsnämnderna).

### *1.2.3 Prison and Probation Service*

The Prison and Probation Service works with ex-inmates out in society and is part of the Criminal Care. The Swedish Criminal Care has 32 Probation offices and 14 700 that were in probation care in 2023. Probation Service supervises clients who are paroled, have a protection permit, youth supervision, community service, or monitoring with foot shackles. The probation work starts when a person is suspected of conducting a crime, during which individual investigations of the suspect are conducted before trial takes place. The Probation Service makes an implementation plan for everyone who is convicted of a crime, for example, includes the convicted person's economic, why the crime was committed, loans, education, housing situation, family, and addictions (Kriminalvården.se, 2024). According to prison law 4§ there is a department called a halfway house<sup>5</sup>, which means that the inmate is placed in a controlled home that is adjusted for the individual needs, before releasing them to society. All obligations

---

<sup>5</sup> My own translation – halvvägshus

for The Swedish Prison and Probation Service have been written in the regulation (1998:642) about the enforcement of probation sentences (Förordning om verkställighet av frivårdspåföljder), together with the Prison Law chapter 11.

#### *1.2.4 The municipality – Krami*

The municipality is responsible for individuals who are registered in the municipality to offer support when they are in the prison institution, according to the Social Services Act (2001:453) (Socialtjänstlag).

Krami is a collaboration between The Swedish Public Employment Service, Swedish Criminal Care, and the municipality. Krami is aimed towards individuals over 18 years and the requirements to participate are wanting change in life by saying stop to criminality and substance abuse. The goal of the Krami process is not only to find a job for the ex-inmates but also, to get one, and keep it (Kriminalvården.se, 2020). To be part of Krami in Malmö you need to be at least 18 years old, have a lifestyle that supports the new lifestyle without crimes and substance abuse, have a stable home in Malmö and if needed arrange childcare (Malmö Stad, 2023). The Krami project starts with a two-week introduction to prepare for the labor market, where the participants get an understanding of their knowledge and experience of professions, education, and the labor market. After the introduction course, an individual will be guided towards a job or education (ibid).

## **2. Research Problem**

The research problem of this study is to understand how authorities that aim to prevent reoffences in crimes look at recidivism and the factors or reasons behind it. A study made by Swedish Criminal Care (2019) shows how important these authorities are for ex-inmates. Many who participated in the study conducted by Swedish Criminal Care enjoyed the prison institution since they felt that outside life was unsafe, especially the ones having shorter prison sentences. One participant decided after numerous prison times to stop criminality due to age, maturity, and being away from his children. Having family support, and the opportunity to work and self-provide were big factors to make this possible (Forkby, Örnlinde & Kuosmanen, 2019). The youngest participant of the study (20y) had a 6-year sentence and during his time he took distance from his friends and got to participate in a program and got a degree while being in

prison. After release, he decided not to move back to his old neighborhood and contacted a voluntary organisation in another city, but this was not supported by the prison institution (ibid). A 30-year-old participant got inspired to participate in activities while being in prison where he could support others to stop committing crimes. He got information from Krami about projects that were about work and youths, where he then ended up after being released, but had to quit after a policeman told his boss that he was a gang criminal. Another participant got support during his prison time to participate in different treatment programs to handle his aggression, but also after release, he has had a good relationship with an employee from the Prison and Probation Service and Public Employment Service, which helped him with salary subsidy employment (ibid). Another young participant who was drug addicted got help from the collaboration between the Police and Probation Service to move him to another municipality. Also, he got support from the Social Service and Public Employment Service when it came to finance, housing, and finding a job in the new municipality (ibid). Above mentioned shows how important authorities and other organisations are for successful reintegration and decreasing recidivism rates, which strengthens the reasons for conducting research in this field.

Research has shown that actors of society can affect the individual, by making the right inputs, at the right time to decrease the risk for re-offenses. It can be all from social support, health care, treatments, housing, helping them to find jobs and to be able to provide for themselves (BRÅ, 2021). If the coordination between authorities does not work, the risk of letting the client wait might become a problem since the biggest risk of reoffending is right after release (ibid).

## *2.1 Aim and Research Questions*

In a sociolegal way, I aim to understand the broader problem of recidivism and its societal consequences – the law and order situation, by examining the views and experiences of the authorities involved in re-offense work. As people do not spend a lifetime in prison in Sweden, co-existing around ex-convicts is unavoidable and by making ex-convicts re-integrate better, recidivism rates could be further reduced.

My research questions examine the interface between the social and legal phenomena regarding the operation of laws made for the reintegration process and the social process of finding work, housing, and social life.

*The overarching aim of the thesis is to investigate the discrepancy between legal ideals and normative realities by exploring the daily working life and efforts of crime-preventative authorities' whose work involves the interpretation and enforcement of the legal frameworks aimed at preventing recidivism. Based on this overarching research aim, the thesis aims to explore the following research questions:*

**How do crime-preventative authorities in Sweden perceive and address recidivism, a process visible in their interpretation and applications of the relevant laws and policies?**

**What re-integration challenges do the diverse crime-prevention authorities experience in their daily work?**

**What empirical and theoretical implications can be drawn from the analysis of the daily work and experiences of various crime-prevention authorities for the scholarly literature on ex-prisoner re-integration in particular, and for socio-legal literature concerning the gap problem?**

### *2.1.1 Definitions and concepts*

**Authorities**, I refer to the ones I have interviewed (Criminal Care, Prison and Probation Service, Public Employment Service, and the City of Helsingborg).

By **ex-inmates**, I refer to the individuals that have been inside the prison institution.

By **re-offending**, I refer to an individual who has been in prison before, and after being released conducts another crime. He or she does not have to eventually end up back in prison institution but has been convicted of a crime.

By **recidivism**, I refer to the act or process of re-offending after being released. According to Bergström the word recidivism is used if you try to become better but end up committing another crime. If you immediately continue committing crimes, it is in turn called lapse (Bergström, 2012). As I am interviewing the authorities that prevent recidivism, the ones that will not try to be better would not apply for Public Employment Service and that is why I will be using the same terms as Bergström.

## *2.2 Delimitation*

Doing a sociolegal study on why ex-inmates re-offend according to the main authorities that aim to prevent reoffending, is giving a voice to one group while silencing others. First, I am using the word ex-inmates because I look at the individuals that have been in prison instead of all individuals that have been convicted or committed crimes and for example gotten a fine, put into psychological care, or never been caught. There is also a difference between the prison institution and custody<sup>6</sup>, and I am focusing on the institution. The reason for this is that I am interested in how people are impacted after being inside prison and excluded from society. Third, I am not looking at the ex-inmates stories, which could give me different outcomes, because that has been focused in academia before.

I decided to focus solely on state and municipality authorities, but there are many private actors and organisations, such as Flamman and Fryshuset, that also help with decreasing recidivism rates. I am also not looking at other institutions that are dealing with reoffending, such as the Police, Social Services, or Health Care, which also could have given me different results.

## *2.3 Relevance for the sociology of law*

Choosing a research problem can ensure the socio-legal character of a research design by problematising the interface of social and legal processes (Banakar, 2019). The sociology of Law studies is built on four cornerstones that cover the state norms and everyday norms. State norms should be about the law in books that is about the codified state law, but instead, it is law in action that means praxis that has become followed. Law in books is for example prison law that Criminal Care needs to follow, while law in action could be seen as the stigmatisation of recidivists by individuals and organisations. Everyday norms should have social changes with social norms, but it is more about living law with social praxis (Baier, Svensson & Nafstad, 2018). The gap problem that is examined in this study is between law in books and law in action. Therefore, it is important to discuss the gap between these dimensions, and when it comes to ex-inmates the codified laws should give everybody the same opportunity and not be crossed with exclusion after being in prison. The standard explanation for the gap is that top-down implementation of law and policy

---

<sup>6</sup> When using the word “custody” in this thesis, I refer to the place people are placed for example when waiting for a verdict (Swedish Translation: häktet)

is always dependent on the police, the court system, social welfare agencies, local authorities, or other institutions or agencies, that interpret and enforce the laws (Banakar, 2019). But we should not consider the gap as caused by the weakness of the law, rather an outcome of the way the legal system understands and reconstructs social relations internally (ibid). The law's practice is not always aligned with what is written in the law (Baier, Svensson & Nafstad, 2018). Socio-legal research does not always have to be about courts, judges, legal cases, or the rate of litigation. It can also be about mechanisms that keep up a form of social order using normative practices and processes (Banakar, 2019).

## *2.4 Outline*

Until now I have discussed the background of this research and my research problem. Next, I will go through the literature review of this topic. After that, I will go through my methodological choices by presenting key informants, sampling, interview approach, data collection, data analysis, and ethical considerations together with reflexivity, validity, and reliability. Then I will present the theoretical framework that has been discovered through the empirical material, followed by the analysis and results of the empirical data and conclusion.

## **3. Literature Review**

There is a lot of relevant research to be found on this topic, and because society changes continuously, the crime preventative authorities improve their work over the years, thus naturally the recidivism rates will also change. It is legitimate to re-examine old research questions when social conditions have changed (Banakar, 2019). I gathered previous literature from different databases such as Google Scholar and SAGE Journals with the search words “reoffending”, “authorities”, “experiences”, “Criminal Care”, “Sweden”, and “preventative”, but it was challenging to find data that was accurate to the research problem.

I found a lot of relevant material on addiction treatment and mental illnesses, which is logical when around 60% of the new Criminal Care clients have addiction problems and 50% have mental illnesses (Sallander, 2020). Less research was found when it came to discrimination, intersectionality, and women who reoffend. As with many of the previous research on this field,

the interview participants were the ex-convicts and the aim was to seek an understanding of the reason why they re-offend. Fewer studies were about the authorities and organisations that aim to prevent reoffending. Thus, I focused the aim on authorities. I am not only looking at one authority but as many as have been considered relevant regarding the collaboration between them and the contact these authorities have with the ex-inmate.

Previous **theories** and concepts that were seen as relevant have been among others labelling theory, the theory of cooperation, and institutional logic. Institutional logic designates a set of material practices and symbolic systems, which together constitute a collection of principles that guide how the individual and organisations should act (Friedland & Alford, 1991 referred in Forkby, Örnlinde & Kuosmanen, 2019).

Most previous research has been using interviews as a **method**, but mixed methods with interviews and surveys have also been conducted, which made the research a mix of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Johansson, 2014).

To give the reader a better ground for the analytical section, I will continue my literature review by briefly talking about Nordic Exceptionalism because of its relevance when focusing on a Nordic country in questions concerning welfare as preventative authorities. After that, I will deepen my research aim and talk about the gap between current or ex-inmates and the authorities and the effect the authorities have on current or ex-inmates. Finally, I will wrap the literature review up with the cooperation between authorities, since that was shown to be an important topic.

### *3.1 Nordic Exceptionalism*

The prison institution is a reflection of the society's social, economic, and cultural structure (Forkby, Örnlinde & Kuosmanen, 2019). The Scandinavian welfare model is well known for its generous income systems for the whole population. The aim is to offer social security including housing, employment, and healthcare (Larsen, Hean & Ödegård, 2019). Findings suggest that the interaction between the psychosocial needs of the prisoners and welfare services is complex and is not in harmony. The current reintegration strategies for certain groups need to be challenged (ibid).



In the Nordic context, the international trend of increasing control, harder punishment, and decreasing rehabilitation stakes has been questioned. An explanation could be that Nordic welfare state institutions link together when it comes to development and equality (Forkby, Örnlinde & Kuosmanen, 2019). Internationally, the prison and aftercare look different. Americans lock people up in facilities for longer and there is a broad empirical literature on the damage that imprisonment in the United States does to inmates' both physical and mental health. Apart from that, imprisonment also destroys relationships and derails the individual's life course (Lewis, 2022). Despite high rates of recidivism internationally, little is known about offenders' reintegration processes and how they deal with the problems before and after release. Poor relationships with families and adding on welfare systems contribute to failure in their rehabilitation and reintegration processes (Larsen, Hean & Ödegård, 2019).

The Nordic Prison Model is special due to its goal of specific deterrence through rehabilitation of the individual. It is a humane and compassionate perspective that allows prisoners to be treated as adults under surveillance, which in turn decreases recidivism rates (Tang, 2023). As labeling theory occurs when individuals accept their deviant label after society treats them as such, the Nordic Model aims to avoid this from happening (ibid). A study at Bastoy prison in Norway showed how an inmate was able to take an exam in prison and where they expected immediate employment after prison. Prisoners at Bastoy can begin employment outside prison doors up to 18 months before release (ibid). The goal of this procedure is to ensure that ex-inmates have housing, a source of income, and something to do after being released from prison (ibid).

Nordic Exceptionalism is present in this study since the research is conducted in Sweden and the authorities that were interviewed are included in the Nordic welfare. Furthermore, I aim to understand the rehabilitation of the individual and as the Bastoy study in Norway, I want to understand how it is ensured housing and a source of income in Sweden.

### *3.2 The gap between the inmate and the authority*

Erwin Goffman wrote about total institutions, which refer to organisations that cover and regulate most individual activities and set barriers against social interaction and communications with those outside the organisations. All these organisations also try to start a

changing process. Prison is an example of a total institution according to Goffman (Johansson, 1965). Total institutions generally function as storage spaces but are presented to the public as reasonable organisations. The staff in closed institutions have objects and products that they work with, which are people and not services. People in closed institutions have rights in the outside world which have to be considered also in closed institutions (Goffman, 2015). The demand that working with people sets, constitutes the staff's everyday chores. The staff have to continuously face the inmate's animosity and demands with the rational perspective that institutions have, which is to achieve economic goals, education, medical and psychiatric treatment, and protection for society. Total institutions rarely achieve these official goals (ibid). The total institution's most important feature is that human needs in bigger groups of people are processed through bureaucratic organisations (ibid). There is a grounded division between the big administrative group, which in my case is the inmates, and a small supervising staff, which in my case is the authorities that I interviewed. The social movement between these parts is also limited, due to the social distance and formal rules (ibid). However, the fundamental means for social control is the automatic identifying of the inmate, because if he or she has not committed a crime what would they do in prison (ibid)? It could be seen that the staff with contact with inmates has a conflicting relationship with the prison institution's official goals. The staff might feel that they have been put in a contradictive position where they have to force the inmate to obey but also practice human rights principles and implement the institution's rational goals (ibid).

The Social System by Talcott Parsons is a concept where you classify organisations depending on their aims to apply their preference of the social system to formal organisations. Total institutions shall according to Parsons belong to the group that has integrative aims because total institutions aim at integrating society by equalizing and neutralizing conflicts that occur from minorities' deviant behavior (Johansson, 1965). Another Social System by Blau and Scott classifies organisations as to who have the most benefits of the organisations, whereas total institutions would fall under commonweal organisations that should be beneficial for the public or society in general. A third Social System definition made by Amitai Etzioni bases classification on an analytical variable called compliance, which is a relation between the power that superiors use to control inferiors. Total institutions fall under the category of coercive power which means that the total institution can use physical sanctions (ibid).

The gap between the individual inmate or ex-inmate and the authority is one theme that I focused on to get a better understanding of how the authorities view recidivism. Total institutions as prisons are closed facilities and due to them being storage spaces, I included in my interview the question of how these authorities look at prison time and its effect on the inmate. The staff's task to balance both the inmates' demands and the institution's rational perspectives are center to the research for building an understanding of how authority reason with the complicated challenges in their everyday work.

### *3.3 The effect of the authorities on ex-inmates*

Organisations that aim to treat people are also processing people, which is usually in the form of investigation, assessment, classification, and sorting people between organisations (Forkby, Örnönd & Kuosmanen, 2019). The idea is to unite scientific knowledge, the individual's perspective, existing knowledge, and the organisation's framework. Professional expertise plays a key role in making an interconnection by considering different starting points and using the knowledge they possess (ibid).

The individual and his or her needs should be the starting point. It is shown that institutions with a therapeutic base, that aim to prevent behavior and thinking patterns are generally more effective than institutions or punishment that do not have therapeutic contact (Sallander, 2020). Long-term support is also important to the individual, because the process of leaving a criminal lifestyle is long, and the challenges with the individual motivation that will occur, are also a basic prerequisite. That is why working with the individual's attitude is important. The individual's environment is not only referred to as free time outside authorities but also the people's attitudes who are working with the ex-inmate (ibid). Employment is another key part of successful reintegration that is shown by many studies (ibid).

In an interview conducted by Swedish Criminal Care, a Criminal Care inspector said that finding the right prison institution is a base to affect the individual offender, especially in cases with gang members (Forkby, Örnönd & Kuosmanen, 2019). A probation officer states that the priority is to make a relationship with the clients because without trust you risk losing your client or the client would not listen to you (ibid).

As mentioned above, an individualistic therapeutic base is seen as more effective than an institution that does not have it. Thus, in the present study I want to understand how the authorities work with this base and if the therapeutic base is done in practice or only written in the regulations.

### *3.4 Cooperation between authorities*

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) primarily works to reduce crime and increase safety in society by producing data, while the Police aim to prevent new crimes from occurring by cooperating with social authorities. The regional-level responsibility falls under other actors, including municipalities and social service organisations (Johansson, 2014). Crime prevention relies on many organisations, public authorities, and other parties as a central field within Swedish welfare work (ibid). A study conducted by Kerstin Johansson (2014) explores cooperation in Swedish crime prevention by looking at the regional network Regbrå. The study consisted of a municipality-level survey and qualitative interviews with local crime prevention experts and police officers. The interview method is similar to my methodological approach, however, I excluded using police officers. In the survey, majority of the participants wanted to define crime prevention work as cooperation. Overall, a positivistic view on cooperation and importance was emphasized in this study (ibid).

Cooperation enables one to confront challenges that would otherwise have been lacking or missing out on various systems since the knowledge and resources that different organisations have been combined for mutual use (Huxham & Vangen, 2005 referred in Johansson, 2014). However, common strategies and methods for cooperating organisations are still in the debating process. Regional cooperation networks can be developed by continuously developing knowledge about crime prevention, causes, and consequences, but also by understanding the meaning of cooperation (Johansson, 2014). There is a shortage in the management of collaborative work considering the responsible authorities that need to be developed as an organisational structured cooperation that would be well coordinated for the individual (Sallander, 2020). There are many long-term and structural cooperations to prevent reoffending, such as The Criminal Care cooperation agreement with The Swedish Public Employment Service and other non-profit organisations, and local cooperation agreements such as SIG and Krami (ibid). The cooperations mentioned initially required a lot of time from the cooperation

partners but the way of working has been perceived as more efficient in the long run (Öström, 2020).

In a study made by the Swedish Criminal Care, many Criminal Care officers described an issue for clients who needed housing. According to them, the responsibility falls under Social Services. But in combination with release or open probation, housing becomes a central question to reintegration possibilities and participation in the treatment programs made by Criminal Care (Forkby, Örnlinde & Kuosmanen, 2019). The previous study suggests a more active role for the probation officer to make long-term planning to reintegrate, which would be possible if they were given access to the resources to support housing (ibid).

The cooperation between the prison institution and Probation Service is central to the prison exit process, and critique has been given when Criminal Care has been assigned to focus on society protection and reintegration, by the state. Challenges can occur between the prison institution, surveilled by the Criminal Care, and probation, surveilled by the Prison and Probation Service when an individual is sentenced to prison and has an ongoing probation penalty. Another challenge might occur when an individual is about to be released from prison institution but continues having probation (Forkby, Örnlinde & Kuosmanen, 2019).

In 2018, Criminal Care got an assignment from the government to conduct an experimental activity that would develop and strengthen the cooperation between the Prison and Probation Service and other relevant actors (Öström, 2020). Most ex-inmates who were a part of this program understood the content of their program and felt motivated to stop committing crimes. However, since only a few participated, the study could not estimate what length this way of working has for conditions to decrease recidivism. The method and material to assess the process were a documentation review of the individual's implementation plan, surveys to the experts in the participated operations, interviews with experts and ex-inmates, and observations (ibid). In the study, Social Services were skeptical about entering too early in the process because they are a grant-giving operation that should not have open cases for too long (ibid). 8 out of 16 ex-inmates got some form of employment right after they got released, and 10 got the support for housing of which only 5 got offered a social service housing. From the survey, we learned that the central mechanisms for cooperation were resources, consensus, regulations, operations availability, commitment, and knowledge of other operations. The result of this study was among other that the management should take more responsibility because the low

client participation lies on the national management. It is rarely the individual co-worker's fault if a cooperation project does not work (ibid). From the documentation review the study showed a lack of essential parts in the documents and that they were not up to date (ibid).

To summarize, cooperation is essential when different authorities have different tasks and regulations. When an ex-inmate is moved around between these authorities, they need to be able to cooperate so no one is left between the chairs or forgotten. This gave me a base for the authorities that combat reoffending in their everyday work together and separately as authorities. Cooperation makes it possible for authorities to get help in solving their challenges, something I am interested in, in my study.

## **4. Methodology**

This research has an inductive approach and to conduct this qualitative research I used interviews as method to identify a pattern from which I made a general statement. I also used previous research and relevant law paragraphs to strengthen the method's credibility. The inductive approach consists of inferring categories based on data (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014 in Kennedy, 2018). The empirical cases will therefore be considered as interpreted data rather than raw data (Charmaz, 2014 referred in Kennedy, 2018), in other words, I will offer an interpretative portrayal of my study phenomenon, rather than an exact picture.

The ontological assumption of the researcher affects the formulation of the research question and the implementation of the research process (Bryman, 2011). My ontological position suggests that the worker's knowledge, views, and understanding are meaningful properties of the social reality that my study aims to explore.

### *4.1 Key Informants*

The key informants of this study were the experts who work in authorities aiming to decrease recidivism rates in Sweden. Using key informant interviews suits my research since the purpose was to learn about the authorities' beliefs, perspectives, and meaning-making. A phenomenological approach is interested in examining lived experiences where the focus lies

on the work experiences of the participants and the meaning that they make of their experiences (Roulston & Choi, 2018). The participants were not meant to represent their organisation or tell their opinion about ex-offenders, but rather talk about their work experiences. The purpose of an expert interview is not to capture the interviewee as a whole person including as many layers as possible of the individual personality (Bogner, Littig & Menz, 2018). The personal experiences of the interviewees are subjective and can affect the outcome of how an ex-inmate will be treated, even if the regulations aim for justice.

The challenge of having interviewees as key informants is that people tend to represent themselves differently depending on the social setting or the audience to whom they are speaking. Another challenge is the epistemological questions about how knowledge about the social world is constructed (Roulston & Choi, 2018). However, I aim to understand how authorities experience the social world and make meaning of their work-life experiences. As a researcher, I must be aware of issues with self-reported data, accomplishing mutual understanding, and representation of the other (Roulston, 2019). The challenge with self-reported data is that the interviewee may not know or not want to say certain facts due to bad memory, limited overview, false consciousness, self-serving bias, defense mechanism, or complexity of the topic (ibid). This is something I noticed during the interviews when participants were thinking long and hard not to say anything wrong or corrected themselves when they noticed that they said something they should not have said. The dialogue between the researcher and interviewee is important and when it came to mutual understanding, I benefited from speaking Swedish so they could talk in their work language. How interviews unfold varies due to the subject position associated with the research topic, including any combination of identities that an interviewer and interviewee bring, such as race, age, social status, gender, sexual orientation, and able-bodiedness (ibid).

Because qualitative methodology does not believe in objective knowledge or neutral facts (Bogner, Littig & Menz, 2018), I aim to get expert knowledge in the field since that determines the social practices for preventing reoffending. Interviews aim to uncover the knowledge that the interviewees possess, and I aim to conduct interpretative knowledge, which entails subjective orientation, rules, viewpoints, and interpretations (ibid). Interpretative knowledge does not expect that the expert has better access to reality, rather he or she has a specific perspective related to recidivism, which means that the interviewee is always right because interpretative knowledge is always true, it becomes a social fact on its own (ibid). As the expert

interviewees were the key informants of my data collection, they are called grounding interviews and specifically in this study theory-generating interviews. The aim here is to communicatively open up and analytically reconstruct the subjective dimension of knowledge. Researchers formulate a theoretically rich conceptualisation of knowledge and routines that the experts develop in their everyday activities, which are constitutive for the functioning of social systems (ibid).

## *4.2 Sampling*

This study was conducted by purposive sampling. In purposive sampling, the key idea is to select information-rich instances to answer the research question (Schreier, 2018). Purposive sampling is suitable when the researcher wants to manipulate their data generation, analysis, theory, and activity interactively to a greater extent than statistical sampling (Mason, 2017). As the researcher, I must not only figure out when to make sampling decisions but also know when there is enough sampling (ibid).

Qualitative research usually limits itself to a few instances, for example, documents, events, interactions, behaviors, or people (Schreier, 2018). The sampling was done by comfortable methods by choosing to interview inside Skåne and asking only 1-2 participants per authority. The reason for this was that I live and study in Lund and I aimed to get around 5-8 interviewees to make the study feasible. Key factors when deciding on a suitable amount are the extent of variation in the phenomena under study, the research aim, the scope of the theory, or the conclusion (ibid).

I had no criteria on elements such as how the participants should be, and how long they had worked at the authority. The chosen participants were not of my choosing since they were selected within each authority. People's willingness to participate is complicated by how they understand the interview context and what the interviewees believe the researcher wants to hear or is up to (Roulston, 2019). I chose to interview people who worked at these authorities because they would know about what is happening currently, and they see these ongoing challenges every day. Besides the Swedish Public Employment Service, Criminal Care, Prison and Probation Service, and the municipality Krami organisation for assisting in the labor market that I interviewed, I reached out to the municipality housing organisation, but they were not able to participate.



### *4.3 Recording social interaction*

All interviews in this study were recorded with consent from the interviewee. This allows focus during the interview and it also helps in the analysing process to hear repeated times what has been said (Bryman, 2011).

Recording data is a form of social interaction that is viewed as an objective and accurate representation of reality. But there are also methodological issues such as interviewees talking or interacting differently if they had not been observed with a recording device, the possibility for the interviewer to influence how the interviewee speaks, and the shaping of the research process in a way as a researcher and the specific field interpret the reality that is presented in transcripts (Jenks, 2018). Using interviews as a method requires time to arrange and conduct, also transcribing and analysing them is time-consuming (Banakar, 2019).

Conceptualising transcripts as either open or closed highlights the subjective nature of transcribing social interaction (Jenks, 2018). Thus, my research questions and empirical data shaped what was included and omitted in data recordings and transcripts. This is usual for closed transcripts (ibid). Transcribing social interaction is a form of entextualisation because it requires making different representational decisions that transform a short-lived experience into a static object. This means taking into consideration issues such as readability, granularity, accuracy, and agenda. All four issues are integral to what and how social interaction is represented in transcripts (ibid). The first issue is related to the understanding of the intended audience, granularity concerns the degree to which I as a researcher am faithful to the nuanced and complex nature of social interaction, and accuracy relates to how faithful I will be in the representation of communication data. Lastly, the agenda relates to transcripts being constructed by the researcher (ibid).

While doing the interviews I observed verbal and non-verbal cues about the interview situation. Besides that, I also looked at signs of tiredness or frustration if the interview had been going on for long because the interviewees were using their free time or working hours on the interview. I noticed that some questions were more passionate to answer than others.

#### *4.4 Data Collection*

The interview questions were divided into themes that handled the authority's operation, the individual ex-inmate, social integration, housing, work, challenges, and collaboration since different factors for reoffending are shown to be problems with social, housing, and labor (Western, Braga, Davis & Sirois, 2015). I had broad questions and then more narrow questions to let the interviewee speak freely but also focus on certain parts that were unknown to me after reading previous research. I started with easy questions like "What is your current position" and "How does your everyday work life look like", to then asking questions directly linked to my research, like "Why do you think ex-inmates re-offend". In semi-structured interviews, the research topic forms the base for questioning and the sequencing of questions is participant-led. Follow-up questions are then formulated in relevant to what the interviewee has already spoken about to give more clearance or knowledge to the researcher (Roulston & Choi, 2018). The questions were quite the same for all interviewees, and I finished the interviews by asking about what they predicted the future of recidivism would look like. The reliance on interviews has been critiqued by scholars who argue for the value of using naturally occurring data, which interview settings are missing (ibid).

I conducted six interviews in total, where the participants were The Public Employment Service's social consultant and employment agency at the Probation Service in Helsingborg. Also, two probation officers in Helsingborg, a Criminal Care official working for the Criminal Care's headquarters in Norrköping, and a labor market secretary from project Krami in Malmö. All interviews took from 40 minutes to an hour and were transcribed afterward. Four of the six interviews were conducted in the participant's workplace, which gave me an insight into the meeting rooms and other spaces that are included in the working environment. One interview was conducted in a booked room at Lund University and one interview was conducted through phone due to the participant's busy schedule and due to the participant mostly working from home. All interviews were conducted in a closed location excluding all outside noise.

Semi-structured interviews were the most suitable since structured interviews are set up with specific questions in a specific order using the same format for all interviews (Roulston & Choi, 2018). This would have limited my range of questions for different authorities and would not have given the interviewee a chance to speak about the research topic more freely, which could have led to missing important data that I did not think or know to ask about. Unstructured

interviews on the other hand would have been too vague and most likely resulted in the interviewees bringing up drug addiction or mental health, which became frequent topics in my interviews. Unstructured interviews are participant-driven and the talk would resemble everyday conversation between the interviewee and interviewer (ibid).

#### *4.4.1 Collecting data in another language*

As I conducted the interviews in Swedish and analysed the empirical data in the same language, I had to translate the important parts of the transcript and important concepts into English. The language of data collection is relevant during interview sessions, transcriptions, coding, reporting, and term discussions (Resch & Enzenhofer, 2018). Interview transcripts are unique text types with informative text and expressive text as they simultaneously convey subjective views on a topic (ibid). Transcripts have a specific feature whereby oral language is transferred into the written language (ibid). From a positivistic view, there is a fear that translating transcripts might change meanings or modify what has been said (ibid). However, Resch and Enzenhofer (2018) argue that invisible translation should be made visible in the final thesis.

#### *4.5 Methodological Considerations*

My reflection on methodological choice came from previous research, where the method has mostly been qualitative, and the most common method in qualitative research is interviewing (Mason 2017). A quantitative study that has been done in New Jersey on recidivism was a follow-up study that examined 36 months of criminal activity of adult offenders released from prison, that had a maximum sentence and those who got released on parole. Recidivism was measured in the review period of rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration (Zgoba & Salerno, 2017). Qualitative studies have been critiqued for their subjectivity, where the results are built on the researcher's unsystematic perception of what is important and meaningful. Similarly, another critique has been towards the fact that the researcher is the most important tool when gathering data in qualitative research, and the problem with generalising a small number of participants as interviews have (Bryman, 2011).

As for other methods, participant observation could have been suitable due to the observation that could have been made with the authorities to have access to practices and not just their oral

justifications or representations. Participant observations have long-term closer contact with different people, and also the researcher gets to participate in the participant's social environment activities, while qualitative interviews are more surface-level (Bryman, 2011). Interviews are also a verbal interaction and therefore cues that are understated for the participant can be forgotten to explain (ibid). Therefore, I tried to pay attention to when participants said: “ju” (own translation: right) assuming that I knew what the participant was talking about. Aside from missing non-verbal interaction, interviews also lack the naturalistic emphasis, because as an interviewer you must interpret the interviewee to continue with the interview within a timeframe (ibid). On the other hand, qualitative interviews allow asking questions that are not suitable for observations. Observations also take a lot of time from the participants and might be seen as disturbing or intrusive (ibid), where I feared that my interview request would have been rejected. Participant observations in big organisations make the knowledge not that extensive (ibid). Also, interviewing experts in the exploratory phase is regarded as a more efficient way than participatory observation or systematic quantitative surveys (Bogner, Littig & Menz, 2018).

Thus, understanding the way authorities work, I chose to interview different authorities that are connected to the reintegration process. Other methods that have been used before have been both quantitative and qualitative but because I aim to study the experiences of these authorities I found qualitative interviews the most suitable.

#### *4.6 Data Analysis*

I began this inductive research approach by reading relevant literature and statistics to form the interview guide. After feeling comfortable with the interview guide I contacted authorities that combat reoffending to conduct the qualitative interviews. I simultaneously continued with my literature review as I conducted the interviews to not have too much knowledge as I went along since I did not want to impose a preconvicted theoretical framework. In this way, I allowed the themes, patterns, and challenges that emerged from the data to guide my analysing. After this open-minded exploration, I transcribed all interviews and started my thematic analysis to identify recurring patterns, topics, and challenges that emerged from the participant's responses. I found four clear themes and then I gathered three more themes from uncategorised interesting identifications, which led to seven themes altogether consisting of both commonalities and

variations in the participant's perspectives on preventing reoffenses. I made an Excel with these themes and copied sentences from the transcripts connecting to certain themes. In the end, I only used three of these themes with multiple subthemes in the analysing process since the other themes emerged into the three main themes. Throughout the whole research process, I noticed the weight positionality has on how I found themes and which sentences I connected to each theme. While reading through the transcripts multiple times, finding the themes, and being critical in using them, I also had different theories in mind that I had found from previous research that matched the concepts and topics that were discussed during the interviews.

#### *4.6.1 Thematic Analysis*

Thematic Analysis is one of the most common qualitative data approaches where you create an index of central themes and subthemes that then is set up in a matrix. The thematic analysis does not have a clear background or is described in academia out of clear techniques, such as grounded theory and critical discourse analysis (Bryman, 2011). The different themes and subthemes that have been identified by the researcher set the occurring motives for the study (ibid). Frameworks are done as an approach in thematic analysis and a way of thinking when you handle themes and data (ibid). When looking for themes one should look at thematic repetitions, local expressions, how the participants render their thoughts in metaphors, and how themes change in the transcripts. Also, similarities and differences, linguistic links that lift the causal link in the participant's consciousness, missing data that is not talked about in the interviews, and theory related data (Ryan & Bernard, 2003 referred in Bryman, 2011).

#### *4.6.2 Analysing and coding*

Coding is not the same as the actual analysis, since coding is a mechanism that guides the thinking process. However, the researcher still has to interpret the result, which means that you have to focus on the questions that touch the coded materials meaning for the participants involved and describe the connection between codes. Also, reflect on the general meaning that the results have for the original questions and the literature that guides data collection (Bryman, 2011).

An issue with coding qualitative data analysis is that the context is lost in what the participant is saying when you pick sentences here and there which could lead to missing the social situation. Another critique is that the coding will miss the narrative flow when only picking

fragments of the information given to the researcher (Bryman, 2011). It is unavoidable, but I tried to consider it during my thematising as much as possible by also looking at the questions I asked when a sentence they said became relevant to the Excel data. I acknowledged that the process of analysing was subjective to me as a researcher and that factors such as my background, values, and opinions did influence the analysis and shaped the discussion.

#### *4.7 Ethical considerations*

The fundamental ethical questions touch on voluntariness, integrity, confidentiality, and anonymity for the people directly involved in the research. Aside from that, there is a requirement for information, consent, confidentiality, and usefulness (Bryman, 2011). This I managed by sending an information letter by e-mail to the organisations that I wanted to interview so that they could directly have an image of what they would be participating in. The information letter should include the research aim, acknowledgment that participation is voluntary, the right to cut off their participation at any moment, and awareness of the moments in the research (ibid). In the information letter, I wrote about the confidentiality of their participation including how the personal data would be stored. After I got an interviewee's e-mail and we had contact on when to meet up for the interview, I sent the consent letter so they had time to read it through before we met up for the interview. The participants also signed the letter before the interview started. This is done so we can ensure protection against harm and risks, and ensure that our research will not violate the participant's dignity, privacy, and personal safety (Banakar, 2019).

It is a challenge to present interviews in a way that makes it hard to identify people or places (Bryman, 2011). In the present study, I had to distinguish between the different authorities to know which authority said what. However, I did not mention the participants' names, ages, or anything personal except where they worked. Participants can change their behavior when they are aware of being observed (ibid), and I do think that the participants were very careful not to say anything wrong because even if they did not represent their organisation, they still spoke as workers of that organisation.

#### *4.8 Reflexivity, validity, and reliability*

When choosing to conduct a qualitative interview it is most likely that you will conceptualise yourself as active and reflexive in the data generation process, rather than aspiring to be neutral in data collection. However, it is important not to underestimate the reflexive challenge posed by analysing the researcher's role within the research process by emphasising the quality of the knowledge produced (Mason, 2017). Researchers should reflect critically on his or her identity and recognise the power of epistemology, for example questioning the knowledge claims that the research makes and how these claims exercise power over the study we are conducting by privileging the voices of certain groups and silencing others (Banakar, 2019).

Reliability consists of four criteria that are critical to the perception of an utter truth about the social reality, which is the social science researchers' task to resolve. But there is more than one possible reality (Bryman, 2011). The first criterion is credibility which needs to ensure that the research is performed according to the rules that exist and that rapport results are shown to the people who are a part of the social reality to confirm that the researcher has understood the reality correctly (ibid). The second criterion transferability ensures that the reader knows that the empirical material is from people with certain common interests and therefore the focus on the context is unique and has a meaning on the aspect of the social reality that has been studied (ibid). Dependability, as the third criterion, ensures a complete establishment and available statement of all levels of the research process, research problem, choice of participants, transcripts, and decision concerning analysis and data (ibid). Lastly, confirmability as a criterion states that there is no complete objectivity in research about society but the researcher is still acting in good faith (ibid). This was done by both giving the information and consent letter well in advance to the participant and making sure that the participants knew what they put themselves into when starting the interview. In the end, I also asked the participants if they had anything to add to make sure they could emphasise if something was misunderstood or forgotten during the interviews.

### **5. Theoretical Framework**

After collecting all empirical data and conducting themes for the interviews I noticed challenges in the cooperation between authorities and some legislation that seems to be a barrier for the

preventative authorities to help ex-inmates reintegrate into society. Therefore I am going to analyse my interview transcripts through the theoretical framework of law in books and law in action together with street-level bureaucracy and parallel norm-creating processes (PNCP) to understand why recidivism occurs according to the authorities that I interviewed. Next, I will explain the three and then summarize them together with my research question.

### *5.1 Law in Books and Law in Action*

Law has been in societies for a long time and to the ancient, law was sacred. Humans did not make laws and therefore could not be changed by humans, they only discovered the law (Pound, 1910). Lawyers from the eighteenth century conceived that certain principles were inherent. They claimed that it was the lawyers' business to discover these principles, deduce a system from there, and test all actual rules (ibid). By admitting the doctrines of the historical jurist and considering the Roman law or Anglo-American common law juristic principle, as a basis from which we make logical deductions, we make the law in books increasingly become an impossible attempt to govern the living by the dead (ibid). Law has always been dominated by ideas of the past long time after the ideas have stopped being crucial in other learning departments. This difficulty in legal science has unavoidable differences in the rate of progress between law and public opinion (ibid).

Roscoe Pound, among others, was taking shape under the banner of legal realism during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century in North America. Pound challenged legal formalism for being mechanical, artificial, and not in touch with society's needs. Pound argued for a jurisprudence that would place the human factor and condition in the center, rather than logic. He used the philosophy of pragmatism and the new discipline of sociology to develop a different approach to law that stated that law in action constituted the basis of law and legal institutions, not law in books. He urged legal scholars and practitioners to work towards social justice (Pound, 1943 referred in Banakar, 2012). Pound elaborated on Oliver Wendell Holmes's idea of declaring that the life of law was not logical but experienced, which implied that we need to grasp the law by attending to how legal authorities interpret and enforce the law (Banakar, 2012). Both Holmes and Pound used the concept of law as state law or official law as the law proper which is in line with legal positivism (ibid). Pound distinguished between law in books and law in action which continues to inform socio-legal research concerning



differences between claims of the law and the regulatory impact of the law on social behavior, which forms the gap problem (ibid).

The distinction between law in books and law in action and between the rules meaning to govern the relations of individuals and those that govern them will appear (Pound, 1910). There is nothing new to the causes of divergence between law in books and law in action because law has always been and will continuously always be in the process of becoming and must be as variable as man himself. Social life is changing and developing and so must the law (ibid). Law would be neglecting one of its most important functions if it would stop to meet the demands of this non-stop evolution (ibid). According to Pound, we may be sure that law in books will often be different from law in action (ibid). A large number of laws in books are not enforced in practice since our processes of justice are too slow, too difficult, and too expensive to make them effective (ibid). Justice is not fair play between individuals, it is a fair play between social classes (ibid). However, Pound states that we should not be afraid of legislation. We should welcome new principles, we should look at the facts of human behavior, we should look to economics, sociology, and philosophy, and not assume that jurisprudence is self-sufficient.

## *5.2 Street-Level Bureaucracy*

Street-level bureaucracies, according to Micheal Lipsky, are public service workers who interact directly with citizens and implement government policies (Lipsky, 2010). Street-level bureaucracy's work is to provide service through people. Public service workers have expanded and increasingly strengthened their collective power so that in disputes over public services they have become an independent force in the resolution of controversies affecting their status and position (ibid). Collectively street-level bureaucrats absorb a high share of public resources and become the focus of society's hopes for a good balance between the provision of public services and a reasonable burden of public expenditures (ibid). Understanding implementation challenges that authorities have sheds light on why they struggle to effectively respond to recidivism despite the intentions they have. Street-level bureaucrats also have a social control function that requires comment in a discussion of the place of public service workers in the larger society. Prisons, for example, have a social control role in processing inmates' behavior toward society that is associated with their economic position. Public support and employment programs make it better for the impact of unemployment. Social control is for some people the highest reaches of the welfare state and to others the furthest extension (ibid).

Street-level bureaucracies have immediate interaction with citizens and impact their lives. A part of the working environment of street-level bureaucracy is that they must deal with client's reactions to the decisions that are made by the authorities. Treating someone as a welfare recipient affects their relationships with others and the person's self-evaluation. Clients respond angrily to perceived injustice, since in street-level bureaucracies the objects of critical decisions, which are the people, change as a result of the decision (Lipsky, 2010). Street-level bureaucrats interact with clients in settings that symbolise, reinforce, and limit their relationships. But each service works differently contributing to client compliance (ibid). Clients are also isolated from one another by authorities (ibid). The street-level bureaucrat services are presented as friendly, and that is why clients are expected to be grateful for the benefits they receive. Clients must come in for service to the authority, which creates a social gap between workers and clients as workers see themselves as more professional (ibid). This can in my study shape the interaction the participants have with their clients, and the worker's attitudes towards ex-inmates can impact their willingness to participate in reintegration efforts. These interactions are also structured so that bureaucrats can control their content, timing, and pace. Connecting to the interaction, street-level bureaucrats develop sanctions to punish disrespect to routines of order (ibid). When workers encounter the public they are in positions to play gatekeeping functions of determining eligibility, conveying information, and presenting the face of the agency to clients as favorable, indifferent, or hostile (ibid). People having a lower socioeconomic status need a greater influence on street-level bureaucrats (ibid). This characteristic might influence how street-level bureaucrats approach their cases, which in turn might impact the success or failure of integration to prevent recidivism.

Governments have replaced private organisations and expanded the scope of responsibility of public ones, by increasing public expectations for security and public safety. At a municipality level, the budgets consist of inflexible costs, and the budget is usually eliminated from the service sector where most expenditures tend to be salary. Accountability is the link between bureaucracy and democracy (Lipsky, 2010). Accountability is not abstract and refers to patterns of behavior. Street-level bureaucrats have the responsibility for making unique and fully appropriate responses to individual clients and their situations. Street-level decisions are made in private and that is why it is difficult for second-guess workers when they are not evaluating the intangible factors that contribute to the original judgment (ibid). These heavy caseloads and limited resources can affect their ability to provide the support these ex-inmates need.

### *5.3 Parallel Norm Creating Process*

Using the concept of PNCP combined with theoretical frameworks of legal regulation involving both legal and social norms is a way to overcome fundamental problems in the sociology of law (Åström, 2013). Similar to Pounds' theory about the law in action and law in books, PNCP talks about the divergence between legal requirements and actual legal implementation outcomes. In other words, the difference between how laws ought to be presented in the laws and how actors implement rules into the legal system. Legal norms are often referred to as social norms complementing legal ones, this makes it complicated to identify the gap between the legal formal system and its factual implementation (ibid). Authorities have different aims and therefore build multiple sources of laws. The possibility for social norms to influence legal decision-making is built into the laws. That is why PNCP suggests that there is no law in books when it comes to welfare law (ibid).

Structural and individual-level law regulations construct the Social Service Act. The structural level includes material norms that define goals on a group level, however, it does not solve conflicts but passes them onto municipalities. Individual level has on the other hand more goal-oriented norms and traditional norms (Åström, 2013).

### *5.4 Summary*

As PNCP divides what the law states and how it is implemented by actors in the legal system, Pound's concept of law in books and law in action emphasises the distinction between formal rules and the way rules operate in the real world. Street-level bureaucracy adds another layer of understanding the authorities when looking at the challenges of confronting recidivism.

PNCP provides a base for understanding how authorities view recidivism as they have well-defined laws and policies that aim to address recidivism. However, the effectiveness of these laws and policies varies between authorities due to different factors (Åström, 2013). Pound's law in books and law in action is similar to PNCP since there is also a gap between the formal legal framework addressing recidivism and how it is applied in practice. Despite having policies that are meant to reduce recidivism, the outcome is influenced by different factors such as systematic biases, public opinion, employers, and grants. The gap between theory and practice shows a need for development, adaptation, and collaboration. Street-level bureaucrats play a

role in my analysis since the authorities I interviewed became mediators between formal rules and their implementation in the real world. In other words, these authorities have to implement law in books when doing crime-preventative work but also need to implement law in action when being in contact with ex-inmates. The participant's interpretation can either reinforce or mitigate the gap.

To connect the theory and socio-legal concepts to the first research questions about how these authorities view recidivism, Lipsky's street-level bureaucracy gave us an insight into how these authorities operate and therefore gave an understanding of the workers at the authorities. The second research question is about the challenges various crime-preventative authorities face in their everyday working life, here I applied Pound's concepts of law in books and law in action since the challenges are formed from the gap problem. The challenges were also explained by PNCP, which explained how different parallel laws and regulations could contradict each other. The third research question about how theory and concepts are formed from the existing literature could theoretically be applied to Goffman's concept of total institutions, stating that staff in closed institutions have humans as objects and products that they work with and not services (Goffman, 2015). Also, the discussion of social control that these authorities have over the ex-inmate (ibid). These concepts attached to the street-level bureaucrats could give an understanding of how authorities battle the contradiction of the laws and the real world. As stated in the literature above, common strategies and methods for cooperation are still in process, which could be looked at from Pound's gap problem, on how we should through this theory fill the gap between law in books and law in action.

## **6. Analysis**

From the thematic analysis, I gathered repeating themes, discovered missing data, and recognised expressions, similarities, and differences. Next, I will conduct my analysis through the lens of law in books and law in action, and street-level bureaucracy together with the concept of PNCP to get a socio-legal understanding of how authorities look at recidivism. I have divided the themes into three subtitles that will give a clear explanation of how authorities reason with recidivism.

## 6.1 Cooperation between authorities

*” There are doubts as to who has the main task, as we do not work with housing questions, we need to turn to Social Services if it does not work, we try to cooperate with Probation Services and Criminal Care so that people can get a place when they get out. Many lack housing, employment, and no finances, so I would say that we need to create better collaboration and expand opportunities for clients...” – Krami participant (Own translation)*

The cooperation between not only these authorities that I have interviewed but also others like internal employers, Health Care, civil society actors, the Police, and Social Services, has been shown to be essential for preventing reoffending in my interviews. There were some concerns about the municipality and state authorities having different laws and regulations that might contradict one another. In general, the cooperation has a solid base but needs some more structure. I divided cooperation categorically into four subcategories: economic, improvements, succeeding, and blaming.

### 6.1.1 Economic

There are some economic benefits for the inmate if they tell the Public Employment Service that they have been in prison because they will automatically and directly be registered in a work- and development grant. However, resources to the authorities seemed to be a challenge for many and that was seen when a participant from the Krami project talked about the project being laid down in many municipalities due to economic conditions, and Krami, being rather small, was among those being targeted. So even if the law has regulations to prevent reoffending, resources can make the real world look completely different.

### 6.1.2 Improvements needed in cooperation

The improvements suggested in the interviews were many, including both similarities and differences. The Public Employment Service and Probation Service emphasised that cooperation has a good base but needs improvements and strengthening. Cooperation should already start in prison institutions. The participant from Krami talked about the challenge of not having a bank ID when released from prison and that Probation Service and Criminal Care need to work closer to know what is needed immediately when released from prison. Here the

participants emphasised the importance of authorities taking responsibility and not waiting until the person is already out in the real world because time is an essential factor that many do not have. Responsibility can be challenging to divide, due to authorities having different aims and therefore we have multiple sources of rules in society, as PNCP states (Åström, 2013). Another cooperation that is needed immediately, according to one participant from Probation Service, is psychiatric and health care because if you do not get help directly you will find other illegal places to get the substances from. The Krami participant also stated the huge need for both psychiatric care and housing.

One of the participants from the state-driven Public Employment Service was also concerned about how we should connect municipality and state authorities. Following an issue of people that are registered in a municipality, and Employment Service wants to move them to another municipality. The participant stated:

*“Sometimes it is difficult for me, for example, that you are registered in another municipality, we have municipalities that help and support, we tell you to move and the new municipality cannot accept because he or she is not registered and does not have a residence, so you end up between the chairs.” – own translation*

The participant from Krami stated similarly when talking about a need for improved coherence between authorities when ex-inmates have targets on their backs and need to change city. In those cases cooperation with Social Service becomes essential. As street-level bureaucracy states there are different ways how authorities implement laws at the grassroots level (Lipsky, 2010).

### *6.1.3 Success in Cooperation*

A cooperation success is shown to be Krami, since all participants talked positively about that project, however, all interviewees were working for authorities participating in the Krami cooperation project. One of the Public Employment Service participants said that the risk of reoffending is smaller for those participating in Krami. Krami has a consequence pedagogy where the idea is that there should not be a difference between these authorities working on the project. Street-level bureaucracy refers to clients being isolated from one another by authorities (Lipsky, 2010), which is not the case here where three authorities work in the same building together with clients walking around the facilities.

The location of the ex-inmate seems to play a role, as the Employment Service participant answered the question of how the participant thinks the cooperation is working between authorities:

*“Well, I think it works well depending on where the individual lives. Again, I have good collaboration with the Probation Service and Criminal Care because I work in that collaboration, then I work closely with municipalities, some municipalities more than others”*  
– own translation

Similarly one of the Probation Service participants stated that in general cooperation works well but it is different between certain municipalities, however, in the end, it depends on the client when deciding which other actors need to be involved in the reintegration process.

To sum it up, cooperations are stated to be working well, some better than others which is due to the different legal regulations and aims different authorities have, as PNCP and law in books and law in action suggests. As the Krami participant stated, the cooperation between them and Social Services works well even though their assessment is not the same, and therefore some collisions might occur.

#### *6.1.4 Blaming*

An occurring subtheme of the cooperation was the blaming and responsibility shifting to other authorities. It is easy to shift the blame to other authorities since there seem to be no legal regulations on the main responsibility of preventing reoffences. The different aims authorities have and how they implement laws into the legal system make shifting responsibility natural.

When it comes to employment and other leisure activities the participants from the Public Employment Service said that they have an indirect impact on employment but completing their implementation plan requires other authorities to do their part. However, the participant from Krami commented that the public employment service has an authority exercise role meaning that they pay activity grants and grants startwork support which in many cases are breadwinners for ex-inmates. Then when the Public Employment Service cuts the support, the result can in some people's lives be devastating which is never good when trying to live a legal lifestyle. One

of the participants from the Probation Services said that employment does not belong to them and that there are workers from Public Employment Services in prison. The other participant from the Probation Service stated the same facts but called it cooperation between the Public Employment Service and them. The participant from the Employment Service stated that they would like to have more support from the Social Insurance Department when needing sick leaves for mental illnesses. Ex-inmates become almost invisible in the authoritarian system after being released from prison, and the interviewee said that the Social Insurance Department should take care so that the ex-inmates would not lose their rights when released from prison.

The probation officer said that neither they nor Criminal Care has a saying when it comes to housing. They motivate the client to contact Social Services which can grant support, however, if the client is in prison they try to help. But not even Social Services can find housing for an ex-inmate. The other probation officer, on the other hand, called it a cooperation between them and Social Services, where their role is only to give contact information. The participant emphasised that the big housing problem lies within Social Services. The Public Employment Service on the other hand said:

*”It's sometimes when it gets like this that you still don't get housing, or still not a complementary welfare exchange and you might do everything right with us but there are many other parts that don't work and we can't tell the municipality that you have to give him an apartment because it is the silk law, so it is probably an obstacle that our laws are not complete. Because we don't have those responsibilities, our legal responsibility is that those enrolled we must help them find the shortest path to work or studies” – own translation*

The different tones of these probation officers can be explained by the street-level bureaucracy which says that the subjectivity of the bureaucrats can either reinforce or mitigate the gap between legal norms and social norms (Lipsky, 2010). This theory suggests an effect on the individual ex-inmate, depending on the approach they receive.

The delegation of responsibility towards Social Services continued when the Krami participant said they aim to exercise authority as little as possible and leave the information to the Social Services to make decisions. Criminal Care, on the other hand, said that ex-inmates need help early on when they are released, and Social Services as a municipality-owned authority works differently depending on the municipality, which has its effects on the individual. The Criminal



Care participant saw a challenge in Social Services, Health Care, and Employment Services since they are voluntary to participate. If the ex-inmate does not show up that day he or she is supposed to, then it is interpreted as he or she did not want the help or was not motivated enough, and then they start from square one next time. Here again, we see a challenge mentioned in PNCP that different legal rules and social norms conflict (Åström, 2010).

Another critique aimed at Health Care and its processes was them being so different from most public authorities. The participant from Criminal Care stated:

*"It's quite a big thing in Criminal Care right now that we have our own health and medical care in prisons and probation, but we don't have a mission to run health and medical care, the reason we have them is that otherwise, it would be practically impossible to transport everyone admitted to a care center... if we have an inmate who, for example, has been sitting for several years and is allowed to use the specialist doctor who states that this person needs this type of medication and it may be for psychosis or they may be for ADHD for example and so on but then when they have to leave us then the chain of care is broken. We send a referral, but if this person does not receive care, then the chain of care is broken because when the person is out of the institution, our responsibility for health care ceases, it is completely disturbed that it is allowed to be like this" – own translation*

Lastly, there were discussions on the challenges ex-inmates face when they are released, rather than having them sorted out before release the Krami participant said:

*"I think that the time in prison should be used in a slightly better way. No offense Criminal Care.. but I think you need to work with a little more treatment institutions so that, for example, if you suspect that someone has ADHD, you complete the investigation while you are still there. So that you get people ready to come out so that there is not so much you need to deal with on the outside" – own translation*

## 6.2 Interactions between authorities and ex-inmates

*"The most important thing is that we immediately have an honest dialogue about the current situation, the background is important of course but then we talk like*

*okay how does it affect you here and now and how does it affect you moving forward” – The participant from Public Employment Service (own translation)*

*“The key is to see each individual as an individual and not to think that everyone is the same. Everyone has different conditions, everyone has different backgrounds” – The participant from Public Employment Service (own translation)*

The interaction between authorities and individuals is a key element of the authorities' work since their work objects are people. I have divided the interactions into three subthemes consisting of the dialogue between authorities and ex-inmates, the attitudes that the participants described ex-inmates having towards them, and the attitudes that authorities had against ex-inmates.

#### *6.2.1 Dialogue between authorities and ex-inmates*

The Public Employment Service participant advocated for an honest dialogue about the current situation and said that the code for disability makes clients more honest because the municipality knows that if the Employment Service can give the code for disability then the municipality can give easier economic support to the individual. However, the other participant from the Public Employment Service stated that even if these laws and regulations help an individual, the key factors lie in the way of working with ex-inmates, being clear, and not giving false hopes. This is a typical law in books and a law-in-action phenomenon. The participant from Krami also talked about the importance of a clear and transparent discussion of what is expected from the ex-inmates when joining Krami.

Building relationships was emphasised by both Criminal Care and Krami. Criminal Care talked about initially building trust and relationships with the client, but still knowing where the line goes and remembering it is a work environment. The Krami participant talked about the project being a relationship-bound environment where they talk about work-related discussions as well as everyday discussions that have nothing to do with the participants' past or criminality. The aim is shifted towards social life and enhancing that. As the street-level bureaucracy suggests, the subjectivity of these employees can either reinforce or soften the gap between the two (Lipsky, 2010). Therefore it is important how the authorities approach the client, as the Criminal Care participants said:

*“We have tools to work in a way that motivates and that's how you have to start. Don't ask hello, do you want to have contact with us, but start by asking how you would like it if you were allowed to dream freely and the vast majority of people I've met say: I dream of my own home or I want a job, be a good father. It's not so advanced things, but you want a life that works and then you can see via the goals that it would be good if you received this support or this help” – own translation*

Every person is an individual and that is how they should be approached, according to all the interviewees.

### *6.2.2 Ex-inmates attitudes towards authorities*

The Public Employment Service commented that ex-inmates have high motivation to collaborate since to be approached by a social consultant, the ex-inmates must have said that they have been in prison, therefore there is motivation to find a job. The participant from Krami stated similarly:

*“most of the time we still manage to create a relationship... we have a good time, it's not coming to authority but we joke and then you make an application which is a bit more serious but there is humor, you're invited for coffee, come in and check out the premises... that is the idea of not being an authority even if we are so that we should pretend that we are not .... but at the same time not limitless we are not friends but we have a relationship.” – own translation*

Criminal Care as an involuntary authority said that inmates are not willing to collaborate. Probation officers said it varies from client to client when it comes to the willingness to collaborate. One of them said that the reason for variety is that some ex-inmates enjoy the support while others think that the punishment is already served in prison and this is unnecessary. The other said that the variation is due to a lack of trust in authorities in general.

Public Employment Service and the Krami participant talked about many ex-inmates being mad and frustrated at the Social Service. The Krami participant said that if a housing contract is dismissed and therefore the ex-inmate cannot be a part of Krami anymore, they often understand and do not blame Krami.

### 6.2.3 Authorities' attitudes towards ex-inmates

This was a missing part of the interviews, as the participants did not talk a lot about how they treat ex-inmates and were careful not to say anything that could be a bad representation. However, it is important to consider missing information also when conducting thematic analysis (Ryan & Bernard, 2003 referred in Bryman, 2011). Following, this is going to be more of my interpretations than the other categories have been.

One participant from the Public Employment Service said:

*"Sometimes you have different crimes, of course, and here it is important for me not to be colored by it. So that you don't go in with preconceived notions, but for me it's the importance of identifying the need here and now. To not look at the past then of course there is crime that must avoid different workplaces and then you have to look at other possibilities." – own translation*

The participant from the Public Employment Service said that ex-inmates do get the support to become registered in the Public Employment Service system. Moments later the participant talked about having a feeling that there are groups of people out there that are not registered at the Employment Service. The participant continued by saying that the demands are quite high with consequences of being dropped out if you are not proceeding. The social issues could be eased by having a code that allowed the Employment Services to give their client easier access to work, due to social illnesses. However, when there is a code for substance abuse, it is a grey area where you have to be sober and drug-free to be registered. At the same time, you have to be able to say that you have had that problem before but there is no issue anymore. The interviewee continued by talking about inner debates that have been going on and what to do if a person gets caught. Should they help or say you cannot be registered with us anymore? The gap between legal regulations and how they would in practice be better is a challenge that affects individuals in society (Lipsky, 2010), as ex-inmates for example, according to the street-level bureaucracy.

The attitudes from Krami towards the ex-inmates were a lot about making it clear to them that this is voluntary and if you cannot follow the rules then you are not ready to be here. Showing that you want to participate in the project is required rather than saying or promising that you

will. The participant commented that recidivism was also an economic question but at the same time, many participants in Krami have expensive clothes to uphold their status.

The probation officers talked about the motivation of the clients being challenging since many feel forced to be there. Also, said that the support was secured for ex-inmates but there were some pieces of the puzzle that the ex-inmates needed to handle themselves, even if probation officers could do more. The ex-inmates have the responsibility because otherwise, it would be assumed that they cannot manage on their own.

### *6.3 The lives of the ex-inmates*

*"I think you can be institutionalised, there are many who have co-occurrence and diagnoses, especially if there is also a history of self-medicating abuse, and then Svensson's life fits firmly within the walls of the institution. Because everything works, you have a roof over your head, you have your schedule, food, employment, exercise one hour per day, maybe study." – The participant from Public Employment Service (own translation)*

Through the interviews, it became clear that ex-inmates lives and the choices they make both inside prison and outside have a significant effect on their chances of reoffending. To help understand the fundamental challenges ex-inmates face when starting a lawful life, I am following through three subcategories identified by the authorities. These subcategories are factors affecting recidivism, ex-inmates needs, and human factors such as ethnicity, age, and gender.

#### *6.3.1 Affecting factors*

According to the Public Employment Service, Criminal Care, and Probation Service, one factor that affects reoffending is the institutionalisation that forms during the time inmates live in prison and the contrast of being overwhelmed when coming out into the real world. The participant from Criminal Care said:

*"A major challenge is that we know that it is very bad for people to stay in an institution with other convicts. It's a bad way to try to reduce crime in a community. Sure, while you're in there,*

*you can't commit new crimes, but when you get out, you may be more harmed than good... for others, it can be terrible and very, very good to enter a prison, actually, and there are several studies on the fact that, for example, homelessness and their mental health are quite good when they are in prison because they get food and sleep and they get routines and medical care and they are quite well..." – own translation*

The probation officers stated that the routines that inmates have in prison give a certain security. However, the effectiveness of time in prison depends on whether the inmate participates in the treatment programs and if the time is spent well. Nevertheless, the participant stated that being in prison alone does not work. The other officer commented that shortening time in prison would be great as long as all conditions were in place. This could be seen as possible future implementations from authorities on the legal system that PNCP suggests.

Family and friendship relations are also important factors when preventing reoffences according to Employment Service, Criminal Care, and Probation Service participants. The Public Employment Service said that many clients have destroyed relationships that might have been destroyed a long time before going to prison, which makes professional contacts important for ex-inmates. The probation officers emphasised the individuality of the issue and that time in prison might also affect the guilt and shame ex-inmates have toward their family and friends. But usually, if the family is by the inmate's side when he or she goes to prison, they will also be there after release. The participant stated that family is a big part of successful reintegration. The friend group that the ex-inmate has been doing crimes with before, might also be a challenge when the individual wants to live lawfully. This issue was also discussed by the other interviewees. Stigma and finding a place in society were discussed by Employment Service and Criminal Care, as the participant from Criminal Care followingly said:

*"They don't feel like they fit in very well, and especially if they are unwell or have had a long-term addiction, it has shaped their life situation for many years and it's tough not being exactly like everyone else and that's something I've heard over the years from inmates here to get a chance, I just want to be an ordinary person, I want community, want to belong to a group." – own translation*

Employment is another key factor to successfully reintegrate and all interviewees talked about the criminal record that almost every employer asks for nowadays. However, all interviewees

said that finding a job is still possible and they are impressed by how hard some work to get a steady job. The probation officers said that they do however need to get a job soon after release. It is also hard to get a job when not having a bank ID.

The fourth factor to make a more successful reintegration is, according to the Public Employment Service, the social problems without substance abuse that are becoming more normal in society. There would be a need for a code for disability that would give the Public Employment Service an easier way to help these people in workplaces. With this code, employers could not demand full focus on the job and they would for example have fewer hours than the ones without a code, which is not always possible for ex-inmates. The code for disability towards social problems has been existing before but for some reason, it has been taken away, said one of the participants from the Public Employment Service. Psychological health is not always investigated in schools either.

### 6.3.2 Ex-inmates needs

According to the Public Employment Service participants, ex-inmates need adaption, financial and mental support, flexibility, understanding, time, and the right conditions in the outside world. One stated:

*"You also work with the mentality of the person because a person who has made large sums doing illegal things will enter and get almost minimum wage, according to them." – own translation*

Homelessness and assistance for mental illnesses were also seen as needed according to Criminal Care and Krami. The participant from Krami talked about how long investigations for mental health were done on an individual all his or her life but maybe medicine would have been the solution. However, it is hard to get a doctor's appointment because the queues are so long and as the patience runs out, the individual will find other illegal ways to get substances. The participant from Criminal Care said:

*"That there is no way to catch this group because there are quite a lot of people who really have a bad time in society who are homeless, mentally ill, and have a really tough time and then you feel pretty good during the prison time and you get medicines and someone measures that you have okay blood pressure and then our healthcare provider maybe sends a referral to this person's home region and open psychiatry or whatever it may be, but if he doesn't come*

*then it's bye and then these people fall through the cracks. It is a very big problem and it is very difficult to fix and I don't really know why it is so difficult” – own translation*

### 6.3.3 Ethnicity, age, and genders influence

In general, there did not seem to be a lot of concerns about factors like ethnicity, age, and gender when it came to successful reintegration. The Public Employment Service participant had been thinking about the fact that there were a lot of Swedish white men as clients and the interviewee could not say if that was because they do more crime or find their way to Employment Service easier. Krami also has mostly men as clients and the women that are there are more wanted by employers. The Criminal Care participant's view on gender was the following:

*”On average, a female inmate compared to the average male, the women's problems are immeasurably more serious, they have much more serious mental and physical ill health. They have a lower educational background, and substance abuse to a greater extent... seems to be a group that has had very tough lives, so they probably have more of an uphill battle when they have to re-enter society. On the other hand, you can imagine that they get more chances to succeed or fail than a man gets, this is only highly speculative... Perhaps there is a greater concern for women and many also have children and then they automatically get a lot of contact with Social Services.” – own translation*

When it came to ethnicity the Public Employment Service thought that it might be that ex-inmates with a foreign background have more pressure from their relatives, which could affect a successful reintegration. The Criminal Care and Krami participants were more into the possible language barrier that would be in the treatment programs that are mostly in Swedish. Also not knowing Swedish together with the fact that you have been in prison is worse than if you have been in prison but can speak the native language. The probation officers on the other hand had contradicting answers when one of them said that there are no differences in reintegration when it comes to ethnicity, and the other said that there is a difference. Some ex-inmates do not have a residence permit and therefore it will make it more challenging to help them reintegrate. But language was no problem according to the officers since there is a translator in every bureaucracy.

Lastly, age was not seen by any interviewee as a factor per se but why age statically is shown to be a factor is because the older they are the more crimes they already have had time to do,



and are starting to get tired of living a criminal lifestyle. The participant from Krami also emphasised that more youths nowadays quit school at a young age and that has an effect on knowledge and future job opportunities.

#### *6.4 Summary - Why do ex-inmates re-offend*

As mentioned earlier, understanding why ex-inmates re-offend is a complex question and that is shown in the interviews since all authorities have different answers to the issue. One of the Public Employment Service participants talked about the temptation that is out there, especially for the ones with substance abuse and mental illnesses. They also pointed out how society is built and that you should live a certain lifestyle to succeed. The other Employment Service participant talked about the shift from prison institution life to outside life that is tough, and especially if you have not been able to get employment or housing. It requires a lot of patience and time that not all have. Time and patience were factors Krami participant also emphasised. There is no quick fix, but it does make it easier to have housing and employment. The participant from Krami also talked about how there are people, usually younger, who have not had enough consequences in their lives and that is why they keep reoffending. Responsibility for their actions and not blaming it on others were also mentioned by the Criminal Care participant. Continuingly the participant discussed the biological phenomenon that people are animals of habit and we have thoughts, attitudes, and values. Similarly to Employment Service, the interviewee mentioned the tough shift to start living lawfully. Probation officers also talked about habit patterns and that there are flaws in some ex-inmates ability to solve problems. The right conditions are not there and motivation is lacking even if support is available, as stated by one of the probation officers.

Even if cooperation was explained to have a solid base, it was also both shown and mentioned that there is still much to improve. Which in turn leaves a lot of responsibility given to the civil society. The authorities' interests, legal regulations, and policies are not coherent and that builds the parallel process of formal laws and the implementation of them in the legal system. The lack of legal responsibility might also be a problem when the authorities seem to not want to take any charge but instead blame it on or shift the responsibility towards someone else. Criminal politics and laws also play a part in not giving access to authorities to take charge.

All interviewees were working with people and therefore they all thought that the interaction between authorities and ex-inmates is important. The services frontline workers provide are for people as street-level bureaucracy suggests (Lipsky, 2010). The dialogue and attitudes towards each other could make the experience for both more pleasant or hard. However, probation officers mentioned the resource challenges that result in a lack of staff and a high quantity of clients, which makes it hard for the staff to take care of all individually. This study did not include interviews with ex-inmates which makes all attitudes and explanations one-sided from the authorities.

There are many affecting factors that could either make recidivism more likely or further to occur. A qualitative study in the U.S. was made to understand the reintegration process from the offenders' perspective and they identified six factors that influenced the reintegration process. The factors also mentioned in the present study were employment, family support, friendships, substance abuse, and personal motivation. However, the U.S. study also mentioned age (Celesete, Bahr, and Ward, 2012). Both Krami and Public Employment Services do not register people who do not have residency, which is according to their regulations. However, that leaves people without housing without those services. Ex-inmates also have a lot of needs and some authorities want to help them more, while others think the responsibility is in their hands and that they will not have assistance in the long run. Ethnicity has a mix of opinions which can be attached to the different ways authorities and individuals in authorities work as suggested in the street-level bureaucracy (Lipsky, 2010).

Lastly, to attach the interviews to the research problem, I explain how recidivism is seen through the lens of my theoretical framework. The present legislation for preventative reinforcement includes more logic than experience. An example is code 81 for disabilities in Public Employment Service which was taken away even if that would help people with social problems. Also, the responsibility of each authority in preventative work and collaboration is vaguely explained in the laws. This builds a gap in law in books and law in action, as Pound argued to place human factors and conditions before logic (Pound, 1910). While social life is changing so should the law (ibid). This might be an issue when the cooperation between the authorities is enhanced but the laws do not seem to keep up, making it demanding for the authorities to take action when legislation is not allowing it. When it comes to the interaction between authorities and ex-inmates, authorities are forced to bear with the ex-inmates demands and requirements even if they at the grassroots level are not the ones making the laws, which

the theory of street-level bureaucracy agrees on (Lipsky, 2010). The theory of street-level also discusses the authorities being seen as friendly and therefore clients should be grateful for the services provided (Lipsky, 2010), which creates a gap between the authority worker and ex-inmate as authorities are the professionals. This can affect the dialogue and influence the attitudes in both ways because if the authorities' attitudes are bad towards the inmate then it is most likely that the ex-inmates attitude will also be bad. The various needs that ex-inmates have when released from prison are also a factor in both laws and how they are implemented in legal systems. PNCP discusses the gap emerging between these two (Åström, 2013).

## **7. Discussion**

There seems to be a lot of stigmatisation in society that makes it more difficult for ex-inmates to live a lifestyle without criminality. Stigmatisation according to the Criminal Care participant is something we are influenced by media and we get a certain picture of which type of crimes are increasing or decreasing even if that might not be the case. The attitudes of the employers, described by the authorities, are stigmatised and people's attitudes need to change for ex-inmates to get housing and employment, which repetitively is seen to be the key to living a lawful life. If you do not have a home then you will not stay clean and if you do not stay clean you will not get a job which again makes you not afford to pay rent. Even if the regulations are there where people should be able to have a home, in practice it does not work.

Criminal politics were also a subject of interest among the interviewees as Employment Service, Criminal Care, and Krami talked about it. The Public Employment Service participant wondered if politics wanted the codes of disability to be pure medicine and social problems would instead be shifted to the municipalities. There is a mismatch between authorities that belong to the state and municipalities since a lot of different politics, finance, and laws clash. The participant from Criminal Care talked about a societal development where politicians speak out on everything. If this current criminal politics continues, we are going to see increased criminality in society which does not automatically mean increased recidivism, according to the Criminal Care participant. Continuously, the participant said that an even bigger problem is what the Police prioritise since they are the ones controlling who is prosecuted and sentenced.

The Krami participant thought it was a political question since people need to be integrated into a society that no one wants. There need to be job offers for them.

## **8. Conclusion**

From the theoretical framework of street-level bureaucracy together with law in action, law in books, and PNCP this sociolegal study came to an understanding of how these authorities look at recidivism. To answer the research question on how crime-preventative authorities perceive and address recidivism, we can conclude that it is different depending on which authority you ask. Crime-preventative authorities should do everything within the legal framework to stop recidivism but it seems to be that many perceive recidivism as not their main task and therefore shifts the responsibility to other authorities. Reasons that authorities saw are resources, legal framework hindering them or not having that part of recidivism as their task, as for example housing. Being a crime-preventative authority they should have the access and responsibility to prevent crimes. It is seen how these authorities interpret the laws and policies as a result of how they interact with ex-inmates and what authorities do to prevent crime from reoccurring.

Challenges are many, and to answer the second research question on what challenges these authorities experienced in their daily work, I found that cooperation is still processing to become even more effective, authorities work on their approaches to ex-inmates, and factors that influence reoffending are present. Institutionalisation becomes a challenge since the laws are stated that a person who commits crimes need to be imprisoned, which these authorities might agree on or not but cannot change it. Employments are shifted to the employer and the challenge for authorities here is that they cannot offer the job to the ex-inmate and can only assist to find and keep one but if there is no employer willing to hire then the process falls flat. A lot of employers want to see the criminal records that become a challenge to the ex-inmates. Housing is also a challenge since it is not guaranteed and if they do not have an income, it is harder to have money for residence. Another challenge is seen to be the threat that ex-inmates might face in their old hometown. Moving them to another municipality has its legal boundaries when not registered in the municipality they try to find a residency from, which makes it harder for authorities to move them around. A challenge is also the motivation and dedication to start a lawful life without crime, which authorities see has a lot to do with ex-inmates attitudes

towards authorities and people around them. Social problems as seen increasing in society are a challenge to the authorities since the Employment Service cannot grant code 81 to give an easier start for work. Moreover, Probation Service and Criminal Care do not see employment as their task. The challenges among authorities are many and solutions seem to exist, however, not the same solutions depending on which authority is in question.

The third research question about the empirical and theoretical implications that were drawn from the analysis were explained by the study being socio-legal. The gap between law in action and law in books became relevant already when reading the previous literature and enhanced throughout the process of conducting the interviews and coding, given the fact that the authorities portrayed the gap problem.

As seen in previous research, multiple qualitative interviews on recidivism and the reintegration process have been conducted. The present study contributes to the socio-legal field by understanding the authorities' view on recidivism and looking at the challenges from different authorities' perspectives that cooperate. The differences in the answers and interpretations on responsibility show that there needs to be improvement in cooperation. This study presented the challenges and interpretations so that these authorities can in the future be more cohesive.

Moreover, the study brings socio-legal input on the views of crime-preventative authorities on recidivism. This was explained through the challenges they saw, such as regulations putting a stop to their work, cooperation missing or lacking, employment that goes hand in hand with motivation from the ex-inmates, housing problems, and responsibilities. The results arising from the study conducted are unique due to the interviews with the various selected authorities.

The theoretical framework of street-level bureaucracy together with the socio-legal approaches of law in action and law in books and PNCP, makes a more narrow frame for this study. Special to this study is the combination of street-level bureaucracy explaining the position that the authorities are in, together with the gap problem and PNCP explaining the challenges that the authorities view to exist. This helped me with my findings since the theoretical framework discusses the gap problem that is clear in authorities' regulations compared to the social norms they use or how they interpret their part in the reintegration

process. Compared to other theories that would have led to different disciplines, for example, Goffman's theory on social stigma, or criminology. Conducting the present research through the lenses of psychology would have allowed the study to find results from a more medical point of view. The same applies to political science which would allow results on crimes and recidivism from a political perspective.

The authorities' experiences were new insights offered to prisoner re-integration and socio-legal literature on the gap problem since a lot of research has been conducted on ex-inmates experiences, the reintegration processes, and how authorities help with reintegration. Adding more actors to the research, such as the police, private actors, and social services would give an even broader view of how recidivism is interpreted. Improving cooperation between these authorities should also be focused on in further research. Housing was stated to be a huge problem among ex-inmates that has an enormous effect on successful reintegration, therefore it would be interesting to include them in future research. As Health Care after prison was also seen as a challenge, it is important to include this aspect in future research – especially as processes of Health Care and others seem to differ, and ex-inmates are forgotten when not attending on the day as they should. This gap, together with previously mentioned ones, calls for the importance of future research on this subject; adding not only other disciplines and concepts, but also more actors as this study was limited to six participants from 4 different authorities, which was due to both time and access.

Clarity is needed for authorities to have a clear understanding of their responsibilities so that focus can be possible. Housing, employment, and medical treatment as big security factors should be more accessible, especially at the beginning of time after prison. It looks promising that this field is continuously in the working process and that these authorities together and individually work towards a better future for ex-inmates.

## References

### Article

- Banakar, R. (2012). Who Needs the Classics? On the Relevance of Classical Legal Sociology for the Study of Current Social and Legal Problems. *University of Westminster School of Law Research Paper* 13(4).
- Banakar, R. (2019). *On Socio-Legal Design*. Lund University.
- Celeste, D; Bahr, S. & Ward, C. (2012). The process of offender reintegration: perceptions of what helps prisoners reenter society. *Criminology and criminal Justice* 13(4). P.446-469.
- Forkby, T; Örnlin, H. & Kuosmanen, J. (2019). Vägen ut ur gänget – Om mannligheter, broderskap och svikna förhoppningar. *Kriminalvården*. ISBN: 978-91-86903-97-8
- Johansson, S. (1965). Om förändring i totala institutioner. *Sociologisk Forskning* 2(3), p.154-168. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20851277>.
- Lewis, C. (2022). Risk-Based Sentencing and the Principles of Punishment. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 112(2), p.213-264. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48656972>.
- Larsen, B; Hean, S. & Ödegård, A. (2019). A conceptual model on reintegration after prison in Norway. *International Journal of Prisoner Health* 15(3), p.282-292. DOI 10.1108/IJPH-06-2018-0032.
- Pound, R. (1910). Law in books and law in action. *American Law Review* 44(1), p.12-36.
- Roulston, K. (2019). *Epistemology and Interviews*. University of Georgia. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.551>
- Rydén-Lodi, B; Stattin, H. & Klinteberg, B. (2005). Återfallsförbrytare – Vilka var det? Några bakgrundsfaktorer och inverkan på återfall i brott. *Kriminalvårdens forskningskommitté, Rapport 16*. ISSN 1650-8335.
- Sallander, E. (2020). Utvecklingsseminarium: Samverkan för att förebygga återfall i brott – förutsättningar och möjligheter. *Del 4. Bakgrundsmaterial*. Brottsförebyggande rådet.
- Ståhl, V. & Öberg, J. (2017). Utvecklingen av återfall efter fängelse: Beskrivning av Brås och Kriminalvårdens statistik och analys av en möjlig förklaring till minskningen. *Kortanalys 4/2017*. Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Tang, K. (2023). *Retribution Versus Rehabilitation: Why North America should Adopt the Nordic Prison Model*. *CGJSC / RCESSC* 6(1).

UNODC. (2012). *Introductory Handbook on the Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders*. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*.

UNODC. (2022). OCPA International Organization. *CU2022/191(B)/DTA/CPCJS*.

Western, B; Braga, A; Davis, J. & Sirois, C. (2015). Stress and Hardship after Prison. *American Journal of Sociology* 120(5), p.1512-1547.

Yukhnenko, D; Farouki, L. & Fazel, S. (2023). Criminal recidivism rates globally: A 6-year systematic review update. *Journal of Criminal Justice*.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2023.102115>.

Zgoba, K. & Salerno, L. (2017). A Three-year Recidivism Analysis of State Correctional Releases. *A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 30(4), p.331-345.

Johansson, K. (2014). Crime prevention cooperation in Sweden: a regional case study. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 15(2), p.143-158.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14043858.2014.954830>.

Öström, A. (2020). Samordnade insatser för klienter med villkorlig frigivning – utvärdering av Kriminalvårdens försöksverksamhet med insuslningsgrupper. *BRÅ rapport 2020:15*. ISBN 978-91-88599-38-4

## **Book**

Baier, M; Svensson, M. & Nafstad, I. (2018). *Om rättssociologi*. Studentlitteratur.

Bergström, G. (2012). *Kriminalitet som livsstil*. Studentlitteratur.

Bryman, A. (2011). *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. 2 uppl.

Bogner, A; Littig, B. & Menz, W. (2018). Generating Qualitative Data with Experts and Elites. In Flick, U. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526416070>.

Goffman, E. (2015). *Totala Institutioner*. 2 uppl. Studentlitteratur.



Jenks, C. (2018). Recording and Transcribing Social Interaction. In Flick, U. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526416070>.

Kennedy, B. (2018). Deduction, Induction, and Abduction. In Flick, U. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526416070>.

Lipsky, M. (2010). *Street-Level Bureaucracy – Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Mason, J. (2017). *Qualitative Researching*. 3rd edition. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Resch, K. & Enzenhofer, E. (2018). Collecting Data in Other Languages – Strategies for Cross-Language Research in Multilingual Societies. In Flick, U. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526416070>.

Roulston, K. & Choi, M. (2018). Qualitative Interviews. In Flick, U. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526416070>.

Schreier, M. (2018). Sampling and Generalization. In Flick, U. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526416070>.

Åström, K. (2013). Parallel Norm Creating Processes. In Baier, M. *Social and Legal Norms – Towards a Socio-legal Understanding of Normativity*. Ashgate.

## Webpage

Regeringskansliet. (2023). *Om regeringens prioritering: Kriminalitet*. [Om regeringens prioritering: Kriminalitet - Regeringen.se](#). Hämtat 20.2.2024

BRÅ. (2021). *Med rätt insatser, i rätt tid, minskar risken för återfall*. [Med rätt insatser, i rätt tid, minskar risken för återfall - Brottsförebyggande rådet \(bra.se\)](#). Hämtat 20.2.2024

Arbetsförmedlingen hemsida. [Vårt uppdrag - Arbetsförmedlingen \(arbetsformedlingen.se\)](#). Hämtat 1.3.2024

Kriminalvårdens hemsida. [Om Kriminalvården | Kriminalvården \(kriminalvarden.se\)](#). Hämtat 1.3.2024.

[Fängelse - Fängelse, frivård och häkte | Kriminalvården \(kriminalvarden.se\)](#)

[Häkte - Fängelse, frivård och häkte | Kriminalvården \(kriminalvarden.se\)](#)

[Frivård - Fängelse, frivård och häkte | Kriminalvården \(kriminalvarden.se\)](#)

[Återfall - Forskning och statistik | Kriminalvården \(kriminalvarden.se\) 2022](#)

[Krami - vägen till arbete | Kriminalvården \(kriminalvarden.se\) 2020](#)

Malmö Stad. (2023). [Krami – vägen ur kriminalitet och mot arbete - Malmö stad \(malmo.se\)](#).

Hämtat 28.3.2024

## **Laws and Regulations**

Fängelselagen (SFS 2010:610)

Förvaltningslagen (2017:900)

Lag (1974:203) om kriminalvård i anstalt

Fängelseförordning (2010:2010)

Förordning (2007:1174) med instruktioner för övervakningsnämnderna

Förordning (1998:642) om verkställighet av frivårdspåföljder

Socialtjänstlag (2001:453)

## ***Appendix A***

Interview guide

## ***Appendix B***

Consent letter

## ***Appendix C***

Information letter

## ***Appendix D***

The quotes in original language



## Appendix A

Below, is my interview guide for the interviews I conducted for this study. The interview guide is presented in its original language first and below is the English version for the reader. The interview guide changed during the interview process, and this is the one I used in my last interview.

TEMA	INTERVJU FRÅGOR
Bakgrund	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Vad är din nuvarande position och hur länge har du haft denna position?</li> <li>2. I din nuvarande roll, har du någon kontakt eller arbetar du med fd. intagna?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- På vilket sätt jobbar du med dem?</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
Myndighet	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hur ser din vardagliga jobbdag ut?</li> <li>2. Är det specifika lagar som ni använder er mest av?</li> <li>3. När du börjar att arbeta med en fd. intagen, vad är nyckelsakerna att uppmärksamma?</li> <li>4. Varför tror du att fd. intagna gör återfall?</li> <li>5. Vilka utmaningar har intagna när de skall återintegreras tillbaka till samhället?</li> <li>6. Vad kan göras för att förbättra deras återintegrering till samhället?</li> </ol>
Individuella fd.intagen	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tror du att tiden i fängelset påverkar återfallen?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Om JA, hur tror du att det påverkar?</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Har du lagt märke till någon skillnad på etniska eller andra faktorer som ålder, kön eller migration när det kommer till lyckad återintegrera (hitta hus, sociala, hitta job) ?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hur är det med om man inte kan svenska språket?</li> <li>- Skillnader på var man bor i landet?</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
Sociala integrationen	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. När det kommer till sociala återintegreringen, gör ni något för det?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ifall JA, vad gör ni?</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Vill intagna samarbeta med er för att öka deras chanser att återintegrera?</li> <li>3. Hur lätt eller svårt känner du att det är för fd. Intagna att sedan få tillbaka</li> </ol>

## Appendix A

	kontakten med sin familj, vänner etc.?
Boende	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Hjälper ni intagna att hitta en plats att bo på efter fängelset?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Ifall JA, hur hjälper ni?</li><li>- Ifall NEJ, vem hjälper? Samarbetar ni med dem, på vilket sätt?</li></ul></li></ol>
Jobb / Ekonomi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Hjälper ni fd. intagna med att återintegrera sig till arbetslivet?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Om JA, hur?</li></ul></li><li>2. Känner ni att det är svårt för fd. intagna att få jobb?</li></ol>
Utmaningar i myndigheten och samarbetet	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Är det några utmaningar i skolningen, bemötande av personalen eller tidsramen enligt dig?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Ifall JA, hur på sätt?</li></ul></li><li>2. Vilka andra institutioner eller myndigheter samarbetar ni med när det kommer till återintegrering?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Känner du att samarbetet fungerar bra? Är det några förbättringar du skulle önska?</li></ul></li></ol>
Sammanfattande frågor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Enligt statistik har återfall minskat sedan 1999, då kurvan var som högst, hur förutspår du framtiden?</li><li>2. Tack för denna värdefulla intervjun, är det något som du skulle vilja tillägga före vi avslutar?</li></ol>

## Appendix A

TEMA	INTERVJU FRÅGOR
Background	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Would you like to start by describing your position and what your everyday work-life looks like?</li> <li>2. Do you have any contact with ex-inmates in your current position?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In what way do you work with them?</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
Authority	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How does your everyday work look like?</li> <li>2. Are there specific laws that you work with?</li> <li>3. What are the key factors to notice when starting to work with an ex-inmate?</li> <li>4. Why do you think ex-inmates re-offend?</li> <li>5. What challenges do ex-inmates face when trying to reintegrate back into society?</li> <li>6. What could be done to improve their reintegration process?</li> </ol>
The individual ex-inmate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you think the time spent in prison affects reintegration?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If yes, how?</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Have you noticed any affecting factors such as ethnicity, gender, age, or migration when it comes to successful reintegration?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How about the language barrier?</li> <li>- Are there any differences where in Sweden they live?</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
Social integration	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Does your authority do anything when it comes to social integration?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If yes, what?</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Are ex-inmates willing to cooperate with you to increase their chances to reintegrate?</li> </ol>

## Appendix A

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>3. How hard or easy is it for ex-inmates to reconnect with their family and friends after prison?</li></ol>
Residency	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Do you help ex-inmates with housing?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- If yes, how?</li><li>- If no, who does it? Do you cooperate with them? In what way?</li></ul></li></ol>
Work	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Do you help ex-inmates get back to work life?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- If yes, how?</li></ul></li><li>2. Do you feel it is hard for ex-inmates to get a job?</li></ol>
Challenges in the authority and cooperation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Are there any challenges in your internal education, approach to the staff or timeframe?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- If yes, what?</li></ul></li><li>2. With which authorities do you cooperate when it comes to recidivism?<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Do you feel the cooperation works well? Is there anything you would like to improve?</li></ul></li></ol>
Concluding questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. According to statistic the highest rate of re-offences was in 1999, how do you predict the future?</li><li>2. Thank you for this valuable interview, do you like to add anything before we finish?</li></ol>



LUNDS  
UNIVERSITET

## Appendix B

# INFORMED CONSENT FORM

## Consent to participate in a Master Thesis at the Faculty of Social Sciences

*I agree to participate in a sociolegal student project which aims to explore the question of why some ex-convicts commit crimes again despite numerous reintegration measures. Empirical material will be conducted by interviewing experienced workers from different authorities that work with decreasing re-offending and reading relevant literature. Through this sociolegal study, I aim to get a proper analysis of what works and what could be improved in these institutions and between them.*

### Information on the processing of personal data

The following personal data will be processed:

*Personal data, such as name, e-mail address, audio record, or other information linked to the individual will be anonymized and only general information will be used in connection with the student project. Personal data will not be shared with anyone, used for other purposes, or stored after the student project has been examined and received a passing grade.*

We do not share your personal data with third parties.

Lund University, Box 117, 221 00 Lund, Sweden, with organisation number 202100-3211 is the controller. You can find Lund University's privacy policy at [www.lu.se/integritet](http://www.lu.se/integritet)



You have the right to receive information about the personal data we process about you. You also have the right to have inaccurate personal data about you corrected. If you have a complaint about our processing of your personal data, you can contact our Data Protection Officer at [dataskyddsbud@lu.se](mailto:dataskyddsbud@lu.se). You also have the right to lodge a complaint with the supervisory authority (the Data Protection Authority, IMY) if you believe that we are processing your personal data incorrectly.

I agree to participate in *a sociolegal analysis on re-offending in the eyes of the authorities aiming to re-integrate*

Location	Signature
Date	Name clarification

[the authority],

My master thesis aims to examine how it comes that ex-convicts re-offend. The thesis analyses how different authorities, work to decrease re-offending by helping ex-convicts re-integrate back into society after being in prison. The interview questions would be about their everyday work, questions that after reading literature about this topic remain unclear, and if they see a gap for improvement.

For the project, I will gather interviews from the Swedish Public Employment Service, Criminal Care, The Swedish Prison and Probation Service, and a municipality.

I would kindly like to request the opportunity to interview 1-2 experienced workers who work with ex-inmates from [authority] for my research project, "Re-offending in the eyes of the authorities aiming to re-integrate", conducted at Lund University.

Your interview will be anonymized because the information given is not meant to be personalized, but rather more general. The interview data will be securely stored, and my supervisor and I have access to it.

My thesis will eventually be uploaded to LUP Student Papers.

With respect,

Nea Karmi

## Appendix D

**Here, I provide all the quotes that have been used in the main text, in their original language.**

Quote 1: *"Det finns tveksamheter vem som har huvuduppdraget, då vi inte jobbar med boende frågan hamnar vi vända oss till socialtjänsten om det inte fungerar, vi försöker samarbeta med frivården och kriminalvården för att folk skall kunna få en plats när de kommer ut. Många saknar boende, sysselsättning och har ingen ekonomi så jag skulle säga att vi behöver skapa bättre samarbetet och utöka möjligheterna för klienterna..." – Krami arbetare för Malmö Stad*

Quote 2: *" Ibland försvårars till exempel för mig att man är folkbokförd i en annan kommun, vi har kommuner som hjälper till å stöttar, vi säger till att flytta och nya kommunen kan inte ta emot eftersom den inte är folkbokförd och inte har ett boende så man hamnar mellan stolarna. "*

Quote 3: *" Asså jag tycker att det fungerar bra beroende på vart individen bor. Återigen jag har bra samarbete med frivården och kriminalården eftersom jag jobbar i den samverkan, sen jobbar jag nära kommuner vissa kommuner mer än andra"*

Quote 4: *"Det är väl ibland när det blir sådära att man får fortfarande ingen bostad, eller fortfarande inte kompliterande försörjningsbörns och man kanske sköter sig med oss men det är många andra bitar som inte funkar och vi kan inte säga till kommunen att ni måst ge honom en lägenhet för det är sidenlagen så det är väl ett hinder att våra lagar inte är kompletta. För vi har inte riktigt de ansvaret vår lagliga ansvar är att dom inskrivna skall vi hjälpa till den kortaste vägen till arbeten eller studier."*

Quote 5: *"Ganska stor grej i kriminalvården just nu att vi har ju en egen hälso-sjukvård på anstalt och häkte men vi har egentligen ingen uppdrag att bedriva hälso- och sjukvård utan anledningen till att vi har de är att annars skulle det vara praktiskt omöjligt att transportera alla intagna till vårdcentral... om vi har en intagen som till exempel sitter flera år och får använda specialistläkaren som konstaterar att den här personen behöver den här typen av medicin och det kan vara mot psykosjukdom eller de kan vara mot adhd till exempel å sådär men sen när dom ska ut från oss då bryts vårdkedjan. Vi skickar remiss men kommer då inte den här personen till vården då bryts vårdskedjan för när personen är ute från anstalt så upphör vårt sjukvårdsansvar, de här är ju helt stört att de får va så här"*

Quote 6: *"Jag tror att tiden i fängelset bör utnyttjas på ett lite bättre sätt. No offence krimanlvården.. men jag tycker man behöver jobba med lite fler behandlingsinstatser att till exempel om man misstänker att någon har adhd att man gör klart utredningen där inne när man*

## Appendix D

ändå är där. Så att man gör folk redo att komma ut så det inte är så mycket man behöver ta tag i på utsidan.”

Quote 7: ”Det viktigaste är att vi direkt har en ärlig dialog om nuläget, bakgrunden är viktig såklart men så pratar vi liksom okej hur påverkar det dig här och nu och hur påverkar det sig att ta dig framåt”- Arbetsförmedlare

Quote 8: ”Nyckeln är att se varje individ som en individ och inte tro att alla är densamma. Alla har olika förutsättningar, alla har olika bakgrunder.” – Arbetsförmedlare

Quote 9: ”Vi har ju verktyg att jobba motiverande och det är så man måste börja och inte fråga hej vill du ha kontakt hos oss utan börja med att fråga hur hade du vilja om du fick drömma fritt och dom allra flesta jag träffat säger: jag drömmer om en egen bostad eller jag vill ha ett jobb, vara bra farsa. Det är inte så avancerade saker utan man vill ha ett liv som funkkar och då kan man via målen se att det skulle vara bra om du fått den här stöden eller den här hjälpen.”

Quote 10: ”oftast hinner vi ändå skapa relation ... vi har trevligt det är inte att komma till en myndighet utan vi skämtar å sen gör man en ansökan som är lite allvarligare men man har humor, bjuds på kaffe, kom in å kolla på lokalerna ... de är de som är tanken med att inte vara en myndighet även om vi är det så att vi ska lossas med att vi inte är det .... men samtidigt inte gränslöst vi är inte polare men vi har en relation.”

Quote 11: ”Ibland har man ju olika brott såklart, o där är det viktigt för mig att inte kunna bli färgad av det. Så att man inte går in och har förut uppfattade meningar utan för mig är det vikten att identifiera behovet här och nu. Å inte se på det förflutna sen självklart finns det brott som måste undvika olika arbetsplatser och då får man utgå från att finns det andra möjligheter.”

Quote 12: ”Tror man kan bli instituliserad, det är många som har samskyttlighet och diagnoser särskilt om det också finns en självmedicinerande missbrukshistorik och då passar de här Svensson livet fast inom anstaltens väggar. För allting fungerar, du har ett tak över huvudet, du har dina tider, mat, sysselsättning, träna 1h per dag, kanske plugga. ” – Arbetsförmedlare

Quote 13: ”En jätte stor utmaning är ju det vi vet att det är väldigt dåligt för människor att vistas på en institution med andra dömda. Det är ett dåligt sätt att försöka minska brottslighet i ett samhälle. Visst under tiden du sitter där så kan du inte begå nya brott men när du kommer ut är du kanske mer skadad än vad det gjort nytta... för andra kan det vara fruktansvärt och väldigt väldigt bra att komma in i anstalt faktiskt å det finns flera studier på det att till exempel hemlöshet och

## Appendix D

*psykiskohälsa mår ganska bra när dom sitter i anstalt för dom får mat och sover och dom får rutiner och sjukvård och dom har det ganska bra...”*

Quote 14: *“Dom upplevs inte riktigt passa in, många och särskilt om dom mår dåligt eller haft ett långvarigt missbruk så har det ju präglas doms livssituation i många år och det är tufft och inte vara precis som alla andra och det är något jag hört under alla år från intagna de här att få en chans, jag vill bara vara en vanlig människa, jag vill ha gemenskap, vill tillhöra en grupp.”*

Quote 15: *“Man jobbar även med mentaliteten hos personen för en person som har gjort stora summor med att göra olagliga saker kommer att komma in och få nästan en minimi lön, nästan enligt dem.”*

Quote 16: *“Att det inte finns nåt sätt att fånga upp den här gruppen för det är ganska många som verkligen har det rätt så illa ute i samhället som är hemlösa, psykisksjukdom och har det jätte tufft och så mår man ganska bra under anstalttiden och man får mediciner och nån mäter att man har okej blodtryck och sen bara skickar vår sjukvårdare kanske en remiss till den här personens hemregion och öppen psykiatri eller vad det nu kan vara men kommer han inte då så är det ajöss och då faller dom här människorna mellan stolarna. Det är ett jätte stort problem och det är jätte svårt att få till och jag vet inte riktigt varför det är så svårt.”*

Quote 17: *“Genomsnittligt, en kvinnlig intagen jämfört med genomsnittligt manlig så är kvinnornas problem ofantligt mycket allvarigare dom har mycket allvarigare både psykisk och fysisk ohälsa. Dom har lägre utbildningsbakgrund, missbruk i större utsträckning ... verkar vara en grupp som har haft väldigt tuffa liv så dom har mer uppförsbacke troligen när dom skall in i samhället igen. Å andra sidan kan man tänka sig att dom får fler chanser att lyckas eller misslyckas än vad en man får, de här är bara högst spekulativt ... Kanske att det finns en större, omsorg om kvinnor o många har också barn och då får dom automatiskt mycket kontakt med socialtjänst.”*