



Is “Sluta skjut” the silver bullet to reduce violent crime in Malmö?

A constructivist grounded theory approach exploring public perceptions on crime and crime prevention programmes.

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ABSTRACT

The saying “perception is everything” also implies that perception is assumed to be reality. This explorative investigation examines how the public perception is formed in regard to the phenomena of violent crime in Malmö, Sweden. In doing so, it also assesses public perception of the ability of Swedish police to tackle a rise in violent crime using the example of the recent roll-out of the gun violence intervention (GVI) programme in Malmö, “Sluta skjut” (“Stop shooting”). This study adopts a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach for methods of data and analysis, premised on theoretical sampling and constant comparative analysis. Semi-structured interviews with eight Malmö residents in March 2020 explored what factors inform public perception in relation to violent crime and crime prevention in Malmö regardless of whether their perception reflects the reality of violent crime and crime prevention efforts in Malmö. From the data, key concepts and themes were identified as an influence on formation of perception. Substantive theory was constructed from the data in order to argue from a criminological perspective, how concepts of moral panic, police legitimacy and social disorganisation theory can contribute to formation of public perception of crime. The outcome of this study is to encourage deeper discussion around the formation of public perception of violent crime and crime prevention and how perception can impact every area of law enforcement. This study suggests that more reliable, proactive public communication around aspects of crime and crime prevention activities is considered to be important to members of the general public. This would enable a more realistic public perception of efforts to combat the criminogenic situation in Malmö, such as the GVI “Sluta skjut” and other police initiatives, which could potentially inspire more community support for efforts aimed to decrease the crime rate in Malmö.

Keywords:

GVI; social disorganisation; parallel society; police legitimacy; moral panic

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BRÅ:	Brottsförbyggande Rådet (In English: Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention)
CGT:	Constructivist Grounded Theory
CIPP:	Crime Intervention and Prevention Programs
CZT:	Concentric Zone Theory
GT:	Grounded Theory
GVI:	Gun violence intervention
MUEP:	Malmö University Electronic Publishing
NNSC:	National Network for Safer Communities
SD:	Social Disorganisation
SDT:	Social Disorganisation Theory
UK:	United Kingdom
US:	United States of America

1. INTRODUCTION

There is a saying “perception is everything” which often also implies that perception is reality. This study looks at the concept of perception as “an awareness of something, whether one’s own thoughts and feelings or social surroundings” (Hatfield 2001). In this context, this explorative investigation examines the intersection of perception and reality in relation to how the general public views the phenomena of violent crime in Malmö, Sweden. In doing so, it will also assess public perception of the ability of Swedish police to tackle a rise in violent crime using the recent roll-out of the gun violence intervention (GVI) programme in Malmö, “Sluta skjut” (Malmö 2020a) which is the Swedish phrase for “stop shooting”. This study adopts a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach to understand what contributes to the formation of public perceptions regardless of whether that perception reflects the reality of crime and crime prevention efforts in Malmö.

1.1 Perceptions of Sweden and crime

Sweden has often been considered a socially organised society. It has been described by John Åberg (2019, p.23) as “among the world elite of high performing countries” in terms of social progressiveness with its strong welfare state, designed to reduce strain and inequality between citizens. The past few decades, however, have brought a multitude of social and political changes to Sweden. These changes have inspired a global perception that there is a rising undercurrent of social disorganisation in Sweden, considered to contribute to criminal activity. Whilst there are many reasons for this perception, there are often suggestions that gang-related violent crime in Sweden has a “crime–race nexus that is interwoven with a crime–city nexus” (Mulinari 2017, p.210). Regardless of the reality of any crime-nexuses in Sweden, perception is often reinforced through personal first or second-hand experience or speculation regardless as to who makes the comments. The best-known example of this is from February 2017 when Donald Trump attempted to highlight these correlations by commenting on the rise in immigration in Sweden coupled with an incident “last night in Sweden” (Chan 2017) that did not occur. It was later clarified that Trump was not commenting on a specific incident but merely communicating his perception that the changing dynamics of the population puts Sweden at a greater risk of violent criminal acts (ibid.).

To further fuel perception that Sweden’s law enforcement officials were struggling to contain violent crime, it was highlighted that Malmö, the largest and most multicultural city in southern Sweden, has been described previously in the Swedish media as “Sweden’s Chicago” (Sydsvenska Dagbladet 2011; Sveriges Television 2012; Reuters 2012). This comparison to Chicago inspired journalists such as American Tim Pool¹ to visit the three largest Swedish cities - Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö – described by the media as having “no-go zones” (The Local 2017). This was despite denials by Swedish Police that there are no “no-go zones” in Sweden. There are, however, “vulnerable” and “specifically vulnerable” neighbourhoods which provide challenges to the police in regard to social order and criminal structures (Polismyndigheten 2017). Despite concerns around

¹ Paul Joseph Watson, editor of right wing website Infowars, promised to pay for a trip to Malmö for any journalist that claimed Malmö was safe <https://www.thelocal.se/20170226/chicago-much-worse-than-malm-american-journalist>

“vulnerable” areas, and public perception these are violent crime hotspots, locations of shootings in Malmö highlight that violent crimes are not restricted to specific neighbourhoods, as evidenced in Figure 1, highlighting incidents during January to April 2019.

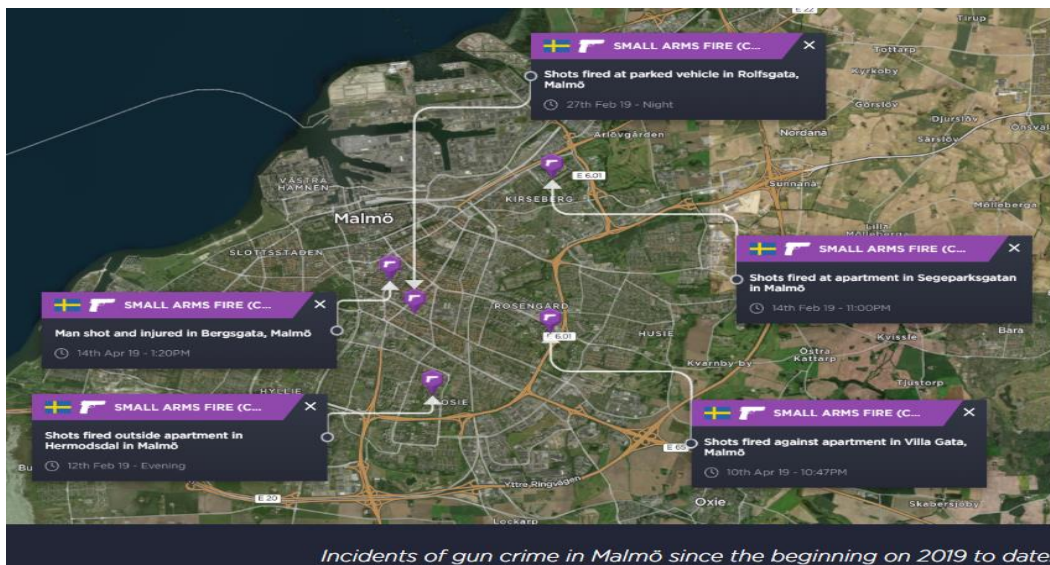


Figure 1. Incidents of gun crime in Malmö since Jan 2019 to April 2019.

Source: Harrington (2019) Intelligence Fusion website 2020

1.2 Official crime statistics

Despite Tim Pool stating that “Chicago is much worse than Malmö” (The Local 2017) after his visit to Sweden, Malmö residents have been growing aware of sounds similar to gunfire, explosions and sirens from emergency services that have been heard more regularly throughout the city in recent years (Isenson 2019). Despite the public perception of a rise in violent criminal activity in Malmö, official statistics from Brottsförebyggande rådet (BRÅ), the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention indicate 76.7 percent of Malmö residents surveyed had not been a victim of crime in the past year (Malmö 2020b) which is an increase from 2018 (75.4 percent). Additionally, as Figure 2 highlights, BRÅ statistics, highlighted by Malmö police, show that shootings in Malmö have decreased over the past three years. (BRÅ 2019; Malmö Police 2020).

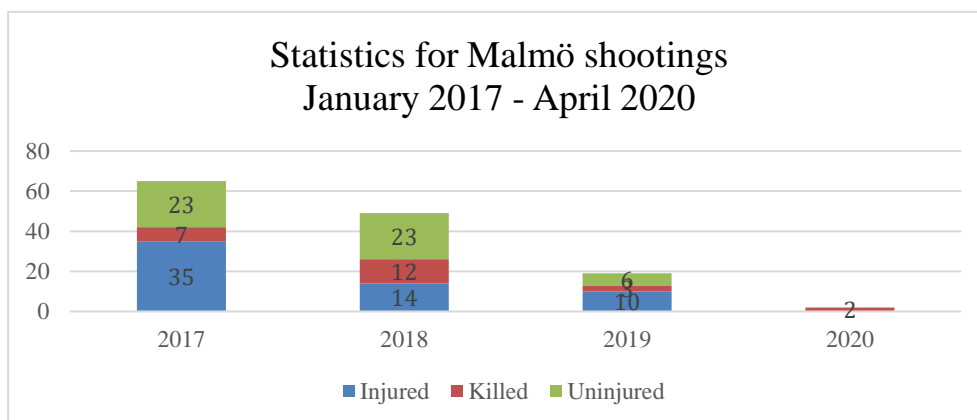


Figure 2. Number of injured and killed in connection with confirmed shootings in Malmö according to NOA's definition towards person in POMA per year 2017-01-01 - 2020-04-30. Source: Malmö police, May 2020

Despite statistics from Malmö suggesting otherwise, BRÅ statistics highlight a rise in the number of firearm crime in Sweden since 2011, as shown in Figure 3.

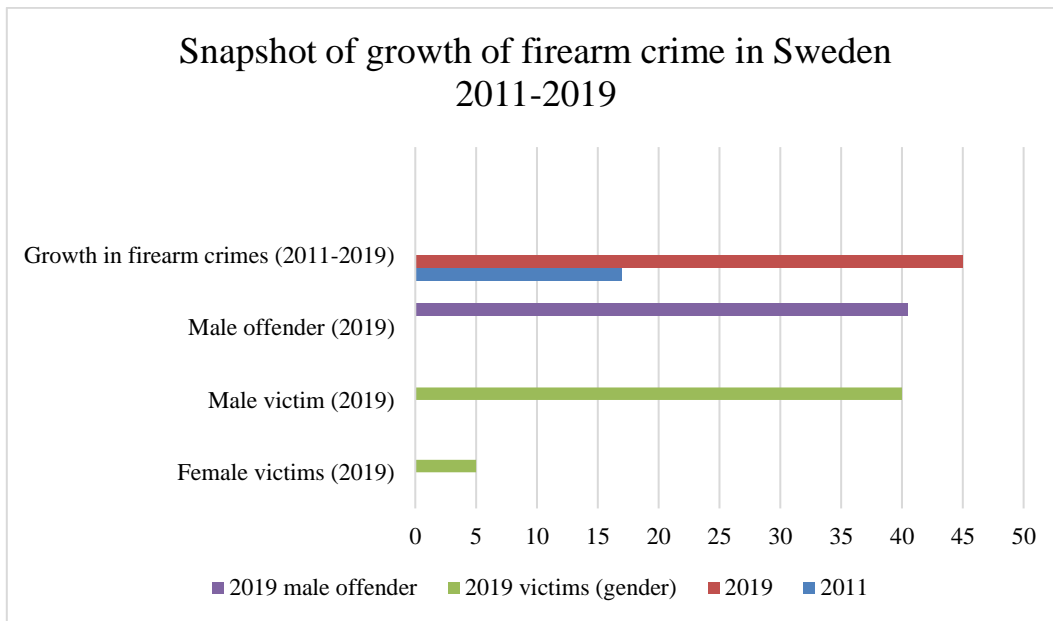


Figure 3. Growth in firearm crime in Sweden 2011-2019. Number of incidents, offenders and victims (by gender). Source: BRÅ. <https://www.bra.se/bra-in-english/home/crime-and-statistics/murder-and-manslaughter.html>

1.3 Shaping public perception of crime

Regardless of any official statistics, mass media “regularly converges on a single anxiety-creating issue and exploits it for all it’s worth” (Garland 2008, p.9). A 2019 study by the Swedish Radio (2019) ‘Media Meter’ found that public discussions surrounding crime in Sweden were at a disproportionate rate with 43 percent of radio coverage and 35 percent of television coverage dedicated solely to stories surrounding what they classed as ‘law and order’ (ibid.). Newspapers also frequently carry headlines such as “Bombs, shootings are a part of life in Swedish city Malmö” (Isenson 2019) which stresses the concept of wider social disorganisation in Malmö. These articles highlight not just gang related issues but also the police response with “Wave of shootings, bombings push Swedish police to set up gang violence task force” (Johnson et al. 2019). Whilst this level of media focus is raising national and international concerns about social disorganisation and violent criminal activity in Malmö, residents have also witnessed an obvious increase in police presence in Malmö since the start of 2020 (SVT 2020). This increase is due to the implementation of new strategic and tactical operations for crime intervention and prevention programmes (CIPP) that have been recently rolled-out by Swedish police (Frisk 2020). These new programmes are reflective of the official stance of the Swedish government that “criminal networks and gangs, in addition to organized crime, are becoming a serious problem” (Regeringen 2010). Therefore, despite Malmö police statistics indicating shootings are decreasing in Malmö, this heightened concern by the Swedish government in regard to violent and serious crime in Sweden has prompted the need for a focussed deterrence strategy - a GVI programme, “Sluta skjut” to strategically target individuals involved in gang-related activity in Malmö. Therefore, regardless of statistics indicating a decrease in shootings in Malmö, the discussions around incidents of violent crime in Malmö, coupled with the rollout of CIPP such as GVI, are working together to continuously inform

public perception of frequency and management of violent crime in Malmö. The understanding of what factors contribute to the formation of public perception is what this study is designed to understand from a criminological theoretical viewpoint.

1.4 Why public perception of crime matters

In 1964, Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang (1964) introduced the idea of measuring perceptions of crime seriousness from the perspective of the general public rather than just the experts. ‘Crime seriousness’, as described by An Adriaenssen et al. (2018), is centred around how the public view different criminal activities. This includes things such as how the crime violates moral norms; the frequency of crime within an area; and the extent of damage it causes whether it be physical, emotional or financial (ibid.). In 1980, Peter Rossi and J. Patrick Henry (1980) highlighted the “distressing lack of theoretical base” (Rossi and Henry 1980, p.497) in criminal research on this concept, however, this area has been evolving rapidly in recent years as public perception of crime is being taken more seriously by policy-makers around the world (Paoli et al. 2018). Crime seriousness is becoming an “organising framework for criminal policy” (ibid., p.128) with public perception starting to be incorporated into crime prevention programmes or sentencing guidelines (Sentencing Guidelines Council 2004). Stelios Stylianou (2003) posits that “the most important characteristic associated with perceived seriousness of an act is the act’s perceived consequences” (ibid, p.42). These consequences could be seen as not just for the offender but also for the community that has been violated by the crime. Paoli et al. (2016) argue that actual ‘crime seriousness’ (as distinct from its perception) has been conceptualized poorly which could also have an influence on broader public perception (ibid.). The public perception surrounding criminal activities and CIPP in Malmö is vital, especially as the GVI approach incorporates members of the general public in its focused deterrence strategy which includes increasing collective efficacy within the community. Whilst this will be explained in more detail in Chapter 2, suffice to say it is vital to understand the public perceptions of crime seriousness in Malmö and what their perception is in relation to the police being able to effectively implement a GVI crime prevention programme in Malmö.

1.5 Aim of study and research question

The aim of this qualitative study is to create a sociologically-based criminological theoretical framework that can explain what factors contribute to public perception of violent crime and CIPP in Malmö. The investigation will be done using a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach using semi-structured interviews with 8 Malmö residents to explore perceptions of both crime and perceived success of CIPP in the context of Malmö. An important element of the interviews is to ascertain whether these perceptions have been formed from personal experiences or secondary sources. The outcome of the investigation is not just to simply identify *what* the perceptions are but emphasise the understanding of *how* these perceptions have been formed using these research questions:

- How are public perceptions in relation to crime and crime prevention initiatives formed?
- What criminological theories can best be used to explain the public perception of violent crime and crime prevention programmes in Malmö?

2. BACKGROUND

Whilst the introduction has discussed perception of crime and CIPP in Sweden, and in Malmö in particular, this chapter delves into the reality of the implementation of the GVI programme “Sluta skjut” and the impetus that has necessitated its creation. Whilst CGT does not utilise a literature review per se, it is at this juncture that the GVI programme and associated CIPP in Malmö are explained in a little more detail in order to understand the context of the study.

2.1 The impetus for a GVI in Sweden

To help stem individual involvement in gang-related gun violence, Swedish criminologists such as Joakim Sturup have recommended Swedish authorities to adopt an evidence-based preventive intervention programme (Sturup et al. 2019). This provides a greater understanding of the micro-level causal mechanisms that have contributed to the increased rate of gun violence in Sweden (ibid.). Whilst previous attempts have been made to thwart gang violence in Sweden, profiling gang activity has been a contentious issue. Whilst the following paragraph delves into how criminologists in Sweden view gangs, it is pertinent to note that GVI targets individuals involved in gang activity, rather than focusing on the concept of a structured gang, which supports the perspective of criminologists such as Ardavan Khoshnood (2018) as outlined below.

Swedish criminologists disagree as to what constitutes the concept of gangs and gang membership in Sweden. Amir Rostami asserts Sweden has structured street gangs and they have been known to exist in Sweden since 1999 in a variety of constructs of gangs (Rostami 2012, p.435). Rostami does concede that applying a traditional ‘American’ typology of street gangs as outlined by Malcolm Klein and Cheryl Maxon (2006) to the Swedish context is hard. This typology defines the differences between traditional, neotraditional, compressed, collective or speciality gangs. Rostami (2012, p.436) views that the ‘compressed gang’ with a versatile criminal behaviour pattern was the most common in his 2012 study, however, he does concede that not all gangs in Sweden are considered ‘street gangs’ and not all utilise violence (ibid., p.441). Conversely, Malmö-based criminologist Khoshnood (2018) ascertains that the individuals involved in criminal gang activity in Malmö are less likely to be attached to any one specific gang, but are more often part of a ‘loose network’ of individuals involved in criminal gang activities without a formalised gang or territorial loyalty (ibid, p.48). This is similar to findings by Klein (1995) that the traditional gang structure is not always the predominant form.

Regardless of whether an individual is operating within a more structured gang relationship or not, the biggest issue for Sweden is how crime is reflected in criminal records. Records held by BRÅ only reflect crimes as individual actions, and do not attribute any crime to specific gang activity (Rostami et al. 2012, p.436). Therefore, even attempting to tackle criminal gang activities requires a criminological mapping exercise to ascertain gang affiliations of individuals. The processes surrounding “Sluta skjut”, needed to help identify the specific gang affiliations of individuals in different parts of Sweden, are described in section 2.3 below.

2.2 Inspiration for GVI in Malmö

The inspiration for “Sluta skjut” in Malmö has been the success of the GVI programmes spawned from the original GVI “Operation Ceasefire” (Braga et al. 2001a). Operation Ceasefire was developed in Boston in the United States (US) by David Kennedy in the 1990s due to his perspective that the:

vast majority of the homicides in cities were gang-related, driven by beefs and score-settling, and that the perpetrators were not sociopaths but rational actors who were looking for a way out of the cycle of violence and revenge they found themselves trapped in (Seabrook 2018)

Kennedy’s philosophy inspired the first GVI - an adaption of a public health problem-solving approach, modified to create the GVI model. American criminologist Anthony Braga (2015) described it as utilising action-oriented, focussed deterrence strategies, employing analysis of scientific evidence to prevent and reduce violence (ibid., p.56). GVI produces results in a non-linear progression, so intervention is often repeated before results are seen, hence the incorporation of GVI into long term, strategic ways of working for the Swedish police. The collaborative nature of the GVI approach follows Kennedy’s philosophy of humanising the interaction between law enforcement and offenders. GVI involves a collective of representatives from law enforcement groups along with members of the wider community who reach out directly to gang members for a rational, albeit one-way, discussion. The message from the collective is consistent and explicit: “violence would no longer be tolerated, and every legal angle will be explored if violence re-occurs from yourself or anyone connected with the gang you associate with” (Braga et al. 2015, p.57).

As “Operation Ceasefire” was a resounding success, reducing youth homicide by 63 percent in Boston (Braga et al. 2001b, p.58), other GVI programmes have since been successfully implemented in other cities with gang-related violence. Not just in the US, (Butts 2019), but in Scotland (PHE 2019, p.62) and in London (England). The success of the GVI programme in different locations has been due to the tailoring of the programme to suit each specific context, as when bespoke, the reduction in gun crime and other violent crimes is more successful (Butts 2019). London has had the only unsuccessful GVI programme, due to the focus on a different crime type, knife crime rather than gun crime, and the “lower rates of serious violence, fluidity of gang structures and different legal mechanisms available such as the ability to compel call-in attendance” (Davies et al. 2016). Cognizant of the experience of London and the feedback from Tom Davies et al. (2016, p.3) that the “programme design would have benefited from earlier input from the National Network for Safer Communities (NNSC)”, Swedish law enforcement officials developed “Sluta skjut” in conjunction with GVI experts around the world. This ensured the Swedish GVI initiative was tailored for local conditions to help avoid pitfalls experienced elsewhere. The launch of “Sluta skjut” in the city of Malmö in 2019 is the first stage of testing the applicability and effectiveness of this GVI approach within a Swedish context.

2.3 Malmö adoption of GVI - “Sluta skjut”

Aside from being in line with recommendations by Swedish criminologists (Sturup et al. 2019), this specific GVI model with its individual, collaborative intervention approach (as outlined below) naturally aligns with the Swedish cultural values. These maintain the respect for the individual whilst reinforcing

the message that Sweden will not tolerate violent gang-related criminal activity (Malmö 2020a).

The main difference between “Sluta skjut” and previous CIPP in the past, is that police interactions would have more likely been “typically of short duration, problematic and banal” (Rubenstein 1973) whereas “Sluta skjut” involves more comprehensive, collaborative intervention meetings. Malmö police follow a meticulous structure involving several set phases to increase the success of the GVI. This includes a multistage process that involves a criminological mapping exercise that is conducted to categorise members of “high-risk groups who are identified through the direct experience and knowledge of front-line practitioners” (Kennedy 2019, E2). Mapping in Malmö resulted in a target group of 213 individuals who were then allocated to one of four groups (A, B, C, or D) depending on what criminal activity they have been involved with. Group A are the most senior members driving gang activity, Group B have been involved in and charged with violent crimes, Group C are those who carry out non-violent crimes such as drug dealers and Group D are often the youngest gang members who operate as runners, performing menial, logistical activities for the gang. Intervention meetings target those in “Group B”. The intervention meetings are in person and referred to as a ‘call-in’ with “attendance by offenders on parole as a condition of their supervisory status” (Kennedy 2019, pE2).

The intervention is conducted as follows: A collective of police and other law enforcement personnel, including the prison system, along with stakeholders from the wider community, assemble in a structured meeting forum to address a selected audience of approximately 8-12 known criminal violent offenders. The offenders are only there to listen and receive the message that the broader society wants them to “stop shooting, as we don’t want you to die and we don’t want you or anyone else in your group to kill anyone” (Polisen 2019). This is followed with the clear message that echoes Ceasefire (see 2.2). Firm consequences for violent behaviour must be expected, not just for the individuals but if “anyone within a gang commits a violent crime, all individuals associated with the gang will experience some consequences” (Kennedy 2019, pE3). An equally clear offer is made that if they choose to leave criminal life, they will be assisted in any way possible by members of the intervention collective. The offenders are always seen in groups to protect them from being suspected of informing the police and offenders are encouraged to share the messages from the intervention with any gang members, to help reduce the incidence of violence and other gang-related crimes in Malmö. This message sharing is also referred to as a ‘custom notification’ for those who do not attend call-ins as it allows for “police to communicate with high-risk ‘impact players’, in a way that incorporates legal information to help calm outbreaks of violence between groups” (Friedrich 2015).

The success of this intervention is considered to be due to the deep collaborative aspect. This affords every individual involved with respect, clear communication and the offer of genuine assistance to help any individual cease their involvement in criminal gang activity if they choose to do so. After the intervention meeting, the offenders have sanctions applied and social services monitoring. If required, they get an invitation to another intervention meeting after a period of time and the process starts again (Malmö 2020a).

The rationale for describing the GVI initiative in detail and how Malmö police plan and execute a CIPP is to provide the reality of how seriously Swedish police approach crime in Malmö. As this study asks interviewees to reflect on their perceptions of CIPP, it is important to have this level of detail to provide context and comparison when reflecting on any differences as to how the public perceives CIPP activity in Malmö.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Philosophy of approach

This investigation utilises CGT as formulated by Kathy Charmaz (1990). The CGT design is ideal for identifying the theoretical underpinnings of a concept or phenomenon, which suits the relativist epistemological and constructivist ontological paradigm of this qualitative, exploratory study. The use of semi-structured interviews embraces the ideological stance that “the world is constructed, interpreted and experienced by people in their interactions with each other and with wider social systems” (Tuli 2010, p.100). The strategies used to create and analyse findings from the interviews will help generate the theoretical lens from the data. This theoretical framework will enable a deeper understanding of the concepts that help form these public perceptions.

3.2 Research design for CGT

The research design outlined in figure 4 below depicts the techniques and procedures of CGT that this study followed. Given the brevity of this paper, each step will only be expanded on briefly in this chapter. It is important to note that the CGT process is evolutionary which means it is iterative and non-linear.

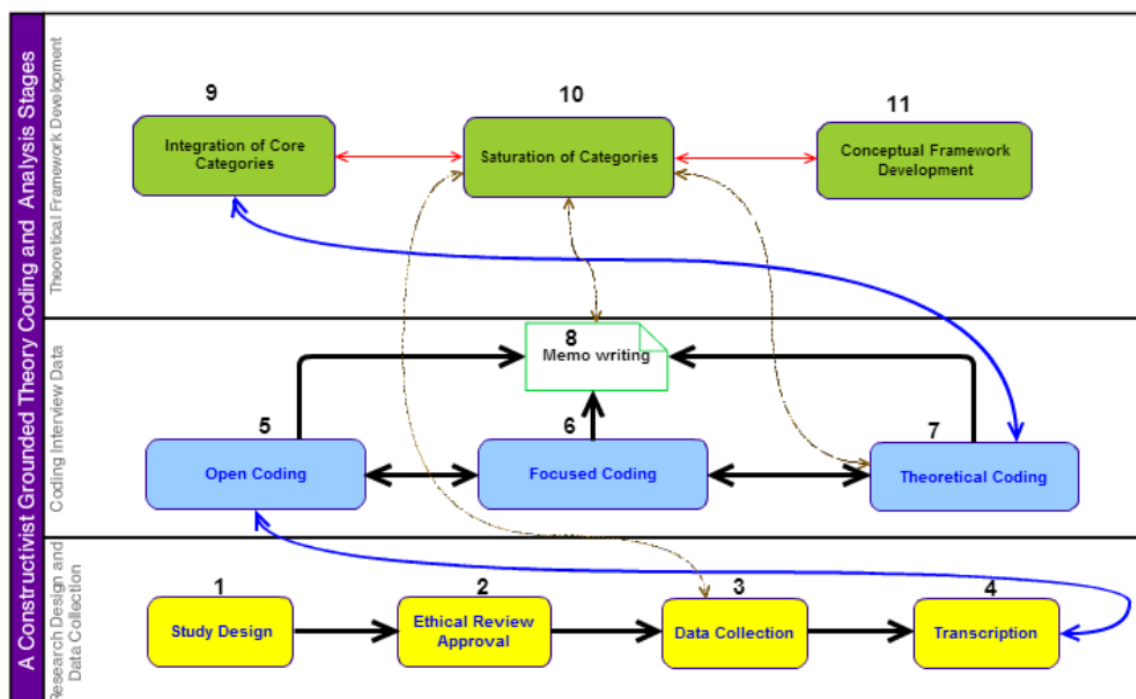


Figure 4. CGT Research Design. Source: Alemu et al. 2015, p.528

3.3 Ethical considerations

This study adheres to the Malmö University’s Ethics Council guidelines with approval given for this project on 20th February 2020 (HS2020 löp nr 25). Prior to commencement of study, interviewees were given a detailed letter with clear information outlining the nature of the study – why, what was required, a guaranteed anonymity as no names are used in this paper and clarity that they are able to skip any sensitive topic without explanation. The letter detailed how the data will be used and where it would be published. Data security was guaranteed

through the use of an unnamed, dedicated USB stick used to hold information solely for this research. The USB stick would only be used in a device that is not connected to the internet and all information on USB will be deleted of all data once the final grade is given and the thesis is published online on MUEP (Malmö University Electronic Publishing) website. The letter outlined that withdrawal from the study is possible at any time without reason and a signature on the letter is required for consent before participation begins.

As all interviewees were fluent in English, all letters of consent and interviews were in English. Direct transcriptions of interviews were done and confirmed by interviewees to ensure there was no misunderstanding in communication.

3.4 Interview selection and participant profile

CGT interviews go “beneath the surface of ordinary conversation, examining earlier events, views, and feelings afresh” (ibid., p.26) therefore, it is common to only have a small number of interviewees. Purposive sampling, a non-probability selection method, was used to ensure selection of interviewees was based on strict criteria rather than random sampling (Guest 2006). The interviewees must have lived in Malmö for more than of two years and have a social network there. Recruitment was online through social media groups in apartment complexes around the city. From this, eight interviewees, four women and four men, were purposefully selected in order to have a diverse group. Interviewees were aged between 25 to 70 years, average age 40. A mix of ethnicities were represented with native and non-native Swedes. Education levels and employment history was also diverse.

3.5 Data Collection, transcription and initial coding

Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted in Malmö, Sweden in February to March 2020. As CGT encourages simultaneous data collection and analysis, semi-structured interviews are a common technique used (Charmaz 2006). A funnel approach of interviewing was used which also helps reduce bias - building trust, rapport and questioning the interviewer and interviewee (Hutchings 2005). Along with interviews, memos were used to take notes throughout which encouraged reflexivity of the researcher during the process.

The CGT goal of semi-structured interviews is to generate substantive theory (see 3.6) which enhances understanding by “identifying similarities and differences of contextualized instances focussed on a similar theme” (Mills et al. 2010). Therefore, the semi-structured interviews used five questions as springboards to open exploration as to how perception is formed. Interviewees were asked to reflect on the questions from their perspective.

- How would you describe the public perception of violent crime in Malmö?
- What informs your perceptions of crime and crime prevention in Malmö? (first or second-hand information?)
- What is the level of public awareness in regard to the GVI “Sluta skjut” initiative or any other police operations that are currently underway in Malmö?
- How do you as a member of the general public view the success of crime prevention measures in Malmö?

The interviews were conducted with each individual within a timeframe of 30 to 60 minutes, recorded on an Olympus voice recorder after verbal and written consent of each interviewee prior to commencing the interview.

In line with the CGT approach, the interview process was designed to make meaning from the data collected in order to “gain understanding of, rather than verifying facts” (Glaser & Strauss 1967, p.48). This non-reliance on the immediate information to provide verifiable facts allows for discovering of emerging concepts, categories, meanings, and theory (ibid.). This also means that there is no requirement for profiles of individual interviewees to be described as it could lead to profiling the individual rather than interpreting the findings as a public perception. Therefore, stand-alone quotes will be used for discussions of findings in Chapter 4.

CGT requires constant comparison between data collected as each interview is done in order to reach a higher abstract level in the analysis process to develop concepts. Transcription was done using NVivo 12, a qualitative analysis software. Open coding was conducted, which uses words, phrases and patterns analysed from the data to create themes, concepts and sub-concepts (Braun & Clarke 2006). The theoretical coding was then conducted, as described in 3.6 below.

3.6 Theoretical coding

CGT allows for more than one theory to emerge so a substantive theory, otherwise known as a ‘working theory,’ can be created as a basis for discussion. This approach suits this study as a substantive theory often emerges from an inquiry that is often limited to a single empirical investigation (Glaser & Strauss 1967). The construction of a substantive theory is designed to be disruptive and add variance to foundational theories and conceptual models (Rosenbaum 2019). It creates a framework for discussion to facilitate “an understanding of the social context and process through which people assign meaning to phenomena” (Pozzebbon 2003, p.13). Another benefit of integrating theories in a complementary way is that they “enhance the internal validity, generalisability and theoretical level of theory building” (Eisenhardt 1989. p.545). In a larger paper the substantive theory could be advanced to formal theory however, as this paper is short and exploratory it will merely propose a substantive theory that could be considered for future discussion.

4. FINDINGS

The aim of this study is to understand public perception of crime and crime prevention in Malmö.

4.1 Identification and categorisation of concepts and themes

From the open coding, it was determined that twelve main concepts as shown in Figure 5 below were considered to be most prevalent and grounded from the data collected. These concepts were considered to inform higher level themes Communication, Success (factors) and Parallel society.

MAIN THEME	COMMUNICATION	SUCCESS FACTORS	PARALLEL SOCIETY	
CONCEPT	SENSATIONALISM	AWARENESS	“OTHERING”	SUB-CONCEPTS
	TRANSPARENCY	CONFIDENCE	RACIALISATION	MENTALITY
	RELIABILITY	HISTORY	STIGMATISATION	ADHERENCE TO LAWS
		SAFETY		

Figure 5. Themes and contributing concepts that emerged from the data.
Source: Created by Snowden (2020)

4.2 Theme 1: Communication (of crime and CIPP in Malmö)

The interview question *“How would you describe the public perception of violent crime in Malmö?”* and subsequent discussions raised concepts surrounding media influence, communication to the public about the reality of crime and crime prevention in Malmö. Three main concepts emerge to support this theme; reliability and transparency of communications to the public and the concept of sensationalism in the media.

4.2.1 Reliability, transparency and sensationalism

There was a common consensus from all interviewees regardless of gender that felt they either hear *“too much or not enough”*, and all were especially critical of reliability of information. The *“too much”* was in relation to general gossip on the streets, where speculation is often made as to the profile of individuals who are thought to be committing violent crimes in Malmö and what the police are doing about it. It was generally agreed that more credibility was given to first-hand information. There was general agreement by interviewees that *“first-hand”* included to be a personal account or about someone known personally to the narrator. This was still seen to be *“reliable”* news even if it was not strictly a first-hand account.

When it comes to obtaining news about crime and CIPP in Malmö, the older interviewees were more-likely to be informed through traditional media channels:

“I read about them, watch television news and hear things on the radio”

Those interviewees who gained their news from traditional media channels (television and radio) cited these to be more reliable than social media channels as they considered them to have more credibility. Even so, when discussing the concept of reliability, the older interviewees also felt that the news they watched was not often reliable or was biased in some way and wanted it to come from more authoritative sources directly

“I want the police to be more active with communication with the public. Maybe through billboards and radio, social media ads”

The younger interviewees said they relied on social media such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube for their news rather than watching TV at home in the evening like the older interviewees. In regard to social media, about half of the interviewees said they checked the reliability of the source as a habit whereas the other half did not. Most of the older interviewees who saw news about Malmö on social media tended to believe the articles as fact if they came from a source they knew or was shared by someone they trusted. Whilst they mostly said they would not have noticed if they were from a dubious or right-wing source, they feel what they read on social media appears to be supported by what they are seeing on TV in the nightly news. It was common for those who cited social media to have engaged with online discussions around the subject of crime and crime prevention in Malmö. The discussions they often engaged with were with people not in or near Malmö (or Sweden). The comments made by Donald Trump and the subsequent focus on Sweden was brought up in every interview as an example of how the world perceives Sweden and that a statement made by people not in the country can create

“I always feel like I have to defend Malmö from people saying how bad it is here when they don't know the reality. I don't really know the reality myself, but I know it isn't as bad as the media makes out...”

With social media able to disseminate unfounded stories about crime in Sweden and Malmö, Malmö residents stated that they often felt defensive and needed to become involved with discussions about crime in Malmö on social media channels, when they themselves were unsure of the reality of the situation.

The concept of transparency stemmed from the discussions surrounding reliability. A recurring point was the feeling that there was a lack of transparency about what was happening in Malmö, especially when operations were underway, helicopters hovering over the city or some other obvious operation occurring. All interviewees acknowledged that there was only a certain amount of information that could be shared by police, however they felt that:

“the police should inform the citizens of Malmö on a more local level”

Whilst most interviewees said they knew about the police projects in Malmö, they did not feel that the police kept them adequately informed:

“I can hear these shootings from my house, I see the police out, but then I have no idea what is happening... We see things happen but hear nothing more about it, no follow ups, no suspects, no arrests... they need to let us know so we have confidence they are doing something”

This was a recurring theme as media is a large contributor in the public perception of how Malmö is perceived. None of the interviewees had witnessed violent crime in Malmö personally, but relied on secondary sources whether it was the media or friends.

4.3 Theme 2: Success (factors) of CIPP initiatives

The data for this concept was collected from the question in relation to public awareness in regard to the GVI “Sluta skjut” initiative or any other CIPP in Malmö.

4.3.1 Awareness, history, confidence and safety

When asked if they knew of any CIPP initiatives that were happening in Malmö, the awareness level was relatively low. Three interviewees had heard of “Sluta Skjuta” to varying degrees:

Awareness responses
<i>“I know about it because I wanted to find out about what is happening after that kid was killed in Möllan.... what the police are doing.... it is noticeable that there is extra police in Malmö now, and not just for a football match”</i>
<i>““Sluta skjut” is one I can name but no details. There have been a lot of them over the years whose name I can’t remember”</i>
<i>“Yes and no... I am not too sure but it is called stop shooting so I think they set up raids looking for guns and bombs then bring gang members in for meetings with police. Is it like a ‘three strikes’ or maybe just ‘one strike and you are out’ sort of program?”</i>

Despite different levels of knowledge of CIPP initiatives in Malmö, opinions surrounding perceived success of these initiatives were quite strong. After describing “Sluta skjut” in more detail, I asked the question “Do you think this sort of GVI approach will work to reduce violent crime in Malmö”.

Views on crime prevention
<i>“it appears that little is being done to prevent crime, it is more reactionary”</i>
<i>“From what I have heard, I think this is a good idea but not sure how effective it will be. There are fewer shootings but half of the criminals in the called to the project have been arrested for or are under investigation for new crimes”</i>
<i>“a more hardline approach would probably be more effective”</i>
<i>“No, they use wrong tactics...and also warn about raids”</i>
<i>“I think the public understands about these projects...that is not the problem. The problem is that the projects don’t work”</i>

The negative attitudes toward the success of the initiative tended to be from scepticism of macro-level factors that are perceived to inhibit the Police actions

Confidence in the police
<i>“Honestly, this will probably not work. People will still do what they</i>

want to do as there are no hard penalties here in Sweden”

“It is yet another attempt by police to stop criminals that won’t work. They try stuff like this every few years so I don’t see how it is different. Swedish police like to bark but they have no teeth to do anything really so criminals do as they please here”

Whereas other respondents were more reflective in relation to meso and micro level factors that would prevent the success of the CIPP initiatives such as “Sluta Skjut”

Whilst no interviewees were victims of violent crime or any crimes in the previous twelve months, a few had been victim of theft and this coloured their view of the effectiveness of Malmö police. Whilst these short conversations deviated from the topic, I felt that it was relevant to mention

“My car got broken in to and they stole some stuff. But nothing else. I didn’t bother to contact the police as they don’t do anything”

This survey highlighted that all the residents interviewed feel safe in Malmö despite being involved in discussions of crime in the city.

“I feel safer in Malmo than I have ever felt in Gothenburg, Paris, Sydney, Stockholm”

No interviewees had been the victim of violent crime in Malmö

“I usually feel quite safe because I have not been harrassed by men in the streets in Malmö as I was in my home city”

The most revealing findings of these interviews was that they feel safe living in Malmö despite actively saying they did not feel strongly that the police could tackle violent crime in Malmö.

4.4 Theme 3: Parallel society

This theme was created from elements of the transcripts that alluded to cultural differences and were coded into.

When asked about the perception of violent crime in Malmö, there was a very strong consensus from all interviewees that there appeared to be a perception of a parallel society in Malmö.

This manifested in many ways during the interviews from the comments suggesting that the violent crime in Malmö was part of a sub-culture in Malmö that those in more affluent, heterogeneous communities have not been affected by, until recently

“I’ve always thought it was more the problem of the people like the ones who live in Rosengård until that woman was shot with her baby right near my house. That was scary as now we are all worried that it is going to happen to us, not just to them”

This concept violent crime happening elsewhere in Malmö was a reoccurring theme:

“I would be scared to go to a ‘no-go zone’ here. You couldn’t go there as a woman without a headscarf...we would get attacked”

“Its [Rosengård] just a hunting ground for gangs and extremists”

4.4.1 “Othering”, racialisation, stereotyping, mentality, adherence to laws

Whilst the majority of the interviewees were hesitant to put a finer point on who they believed were committing offenses in Malmö, they cited examples of hearing noises such as gun shots or explosions or hearing that there is a higher rate of disturbances such as noises, hostility, reckless driving or other anti-social behaviour and attributing these to:

“They don’t care what they do. They are a law unto themselves as though they don’t have to abide by our rules or anything”

Interviewees indicated that differences between people in neighbourhoods in Malmö affect the social distance between people in different areas of Malmö. Interviewees who lived in areas with a more homogenous native population stating they rarely visited the more stigmatized neighbourhoods unless they had a specific reason to go there. Some of the interviewees were more blatant as they conveyed the concerns that certain immigrant groups were the root cause of the problems in Malmö. When discussing violent crime that has happened in areas that are more homogeneous, there was often a rationale as to why it happened:

“I am not worried about violent crimes as that only happens to the criminals. I am not a criminal; I don’t hang out with them. I never go to places like Rosengård where they live, so I am OK”

Whilst othering can be seen throughout Malmö society in many ways, in this context, othering was mainly seen to be of offenders and how other members of society or their community groups could help reduce their propensity to associate with gangs or commit violent crimes.

Racialisation goes hand in hand with “othering” however there was a deeper undertone to many comments as to how they ethnic or cultural difference as to be a driver of crime and as a cause of concern.

Views on Racialisation
<i>“I have seen flyers around in Swedish, Arabic and some other languages but nothing in English which means you know who police are after...”</i>
<i>“Swedes like to think they are not racist but they are. The more different you are, the less you are accepted. It’s not blatant but it is there. This is why people get into gangs... looking for acceptance and probably something to do...”</i>
<i>“If you are not from here then you just don’t fit in. No wonder people join gangs as they want to feel they belong somewhere”</i>
<i>“I trust the Police ability to fight crime yes, but I am worried about</i>

racial profiling and unnecessary controls by the police”

“I feel like people from non-Swedish cultures are more likely to intervene. Plus, there are more people out in general”

Given the limited length of this paper, this section has merely given a glimpse into the findings. This is to make room for more emphasis on the discussion as to what the data revealed in Chapter 5. Analysis of how these concepts and themes are interrelated is important. Figure 6 (below) discusses these connections in a clockwise manner to enable a coherent explanation of linkages that are seen by this study as contributing to formation of public perception of crime and crime prevention in Malmö. Whilst the illustration reflects this study’s analysis of the interviewee’s perception, it is acknowledged that given the constructivist methodological framework, these linkages may be viewed in multiple ways.

have a more positive perception of crime and CIPP. This is due to the correlating perception that crime is being managed. When communications are viewed as reliable and transparent, it creates confidence and a feeling of safety for the community. Reliable information provides a higher level of awareness as the confidence that the information is from a reputable source means that it will create more meaningful interest in what is happening within the community in relation to crime or CIPP. Conversely, sensationalism can often create a more negative perception of crime and CIPP. Sensationalism creates awareness but it is more likely to decrease public perception of the police ability to manage crime, unless it is backed up with reliable information.

Perception of success factors of CIPP can be influenced by communication, but a big part of perception is based on the confidence that the public feels towards the police's ability to execute a CIPP successfully. Positive public perception of crime includes the awareness of what police are doing. If people can see criminality but perceive that the police are doing something about it, they have overall a more positive perception of the criminogenic situation in their city. Awareness does not need to be in the form of a more obvious police presence in a physical way, as individuals cite a more negative perception of police when they are visible in activities that create anxiety when the public is not sure as to why they are out in force. For many individuals, their personal history with the police can strongly influence their perceptions. If an individual has had a negative personal experience, their perception of CIPP in Malmö is poor. The data showed that if an individual had been the victim of a crime yet did not feel the report was actioned professionally, having no resolution or poor communication as to what was happening in their case, they were more likely to have poor perceptions of the success of larger scale programs such as "Sluta skjut".

Whilst all interviewees had a positive opinion of the Swedish police as approachable to the public, especially when they are out on patrol in pairs, there was a level of scepticism as to how successful programs such as "Sluta skjut" will be due to the perception that Swedish police are softer on crime than neighbouring countries. Most interviewees used Denmark as being an example, perceiving Danish police to be tougher on crime. This led to another perception that criminals are more likely to come to Sweden to commit crimes as it was less likely they would face serious consequences here. To add to the perception that the GVI will not be successful in the context of Malmö was the history of past programmes in Malmö aimed at gang related criminal activity that interviewees related back to in order to provide arguments as to why they have a poor perception of how effective the police will be with the "Sluta skjut" initiative in the long term.

The concept of safety was an interesting element to note as whilst most individuals cited that their perception of the police's ability was low and that crime was rising, they also had a feeling of personal safety in Malmö, which is quite contradictory. An element of this contradiction could be explained by the data revealing what appears to be the perception of a parallel society in Malmö. There was a strong contribution to the discussion that is in line with the concept of 'othering', viewing those who are involved in criminal activities as being somewhat outside of mainstream society, not just from a law-abiding perspective but also from a societal divide that could be explained by socio-economic status, residing in areas that are deemed to be less desirable, such as Rosengård. This concept of 'othering' bled into elements of racialisation whereby the difference in

ethnicity, culture or religion was raised and connected to this is the concept of stereotypes surrounding who may be assumed to be responsible for criminal activities in Malmö. The connection between these three concepts are shown in figure 6 above, as they are often interrelated in many subtle ways. A big element of ‘othering’ that was discussed in the interviews was the concept of ‘others’ having a different mentality to mainstream society and therefore are less likely to adhere to societal norms and laws. The perception of most interviewees was that due to these characteristics of ‘others’ involved with crime, the police will have less success with CIPP in Malmö as the offenders are more likely to simply move location or crime type rather than cease criminal activities simply because of the attempts by police to raise the collective efficacy, something that the ‘others’ may not desire due to the difference in mentality when it comes to abiding by Swedish law and respecting the authority of the police.

In the spirit of the CGT approach, which allows for more than one theory to emerge from the data collection, there were three criminological theories that were seen to all contribute towards the formation of perception of violent crime and the success of CIPP in Malmö. These will be using a substantive theory framework described in 5.1 and consists of the theories of moral panic, police legitimacy and social disorganisation theory (SDT).

5.2 ‘Criminogenic perception’ – a substantive theoretical lens

This exploratory study sought to understand how public perception is formed in relation to crime and programs such as GVI. As Chapter 2 highlighted, the GVI program in Malmö is expertly designed to deliver an optimal level of success which by all accounts should be perceived positively by the public. However, the data collection found that positive public perception of crime and crime prevention is not formed solely through appreciation of how a CIPP is constructed. In line with the CGT process, elements of different criminological theories could be integrated to best explain how public perception is formed. Therefore, this study has constructed a substantive theory of ‘criminogenic perception’ to help better explain this phenomenon. This substantive theory incorporates elements of three formal sociological theories used in criminology - moral panic, police legitimacy and SDT. This paper is not long enough to do this complex topic justice; however, a snapshot of each formal theory will be provided before a brief example of how the formation of public perception of crime can be discussed through the lens of the substantive theory.

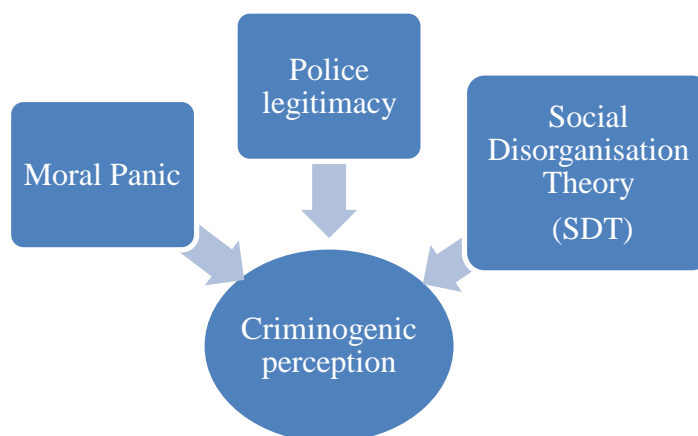


Figure 7. The substantive theory of ‘criminogenic perception’ shows how elements from moral panic, police legitimacy and SDT can work together to form public perception of crime and CIPP. Created by Snowden (2020)

5.3 Social disorganisation theory

SDT was inspired by research from the early Chicago school into neighbourhood disruption. Starting with Robert Park and Ernest Burgess (1925) and their concentric zone theory (CZT) and followed by Edwin Sutherland (1934), empirical research started to show correlations between criminal behaviour and social disorganisation in specific areas of a city. Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1942) further developed this thinking to assess what specific environmental factors and social mechanisms could be correlated to crime by assessing the interaction between different social groups in relation to the physical neighbourhood environment, with the social context considered to impact the level of crime in a given area (Bursik & Grasmick 1993). These social mechanisms are outlined in Figure 8 below and refer to the macro, meso and micro level social, structural and cultural characteristics of a neighbourhood that are thought to influence criminogenic behaviours.

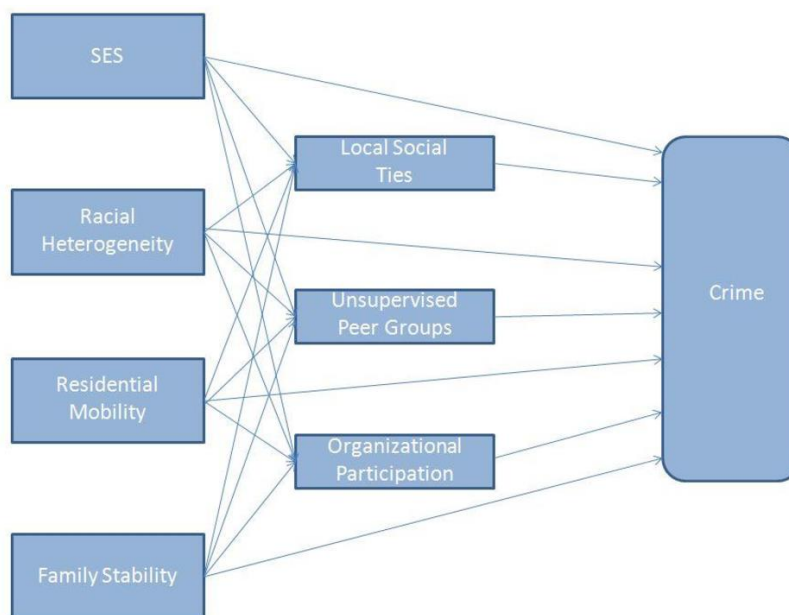


Figure 8. Social Disorganisation Theory and factors thought to be conducive to crime. Waller, J. (2012). *Defining Neighborhood: Social Disorganization Theory, Official Data, and Community Perceptions*.

SDT is constantly evolving, in different ways by scholars such as Robert Sampson (1997) who proposed the concept of collective efficacy to help reduce SD and Ruth Kornhauser (1978) who developed a typology of criminological theories to illustrate possible root causes of social disorganization. These include ‘control’, ‘strain’, and ‘cultural deviance’ that provide SDT with a richer perspective.

5.4 Moral panic

Stanley Cohen (1972) introduced the social theory of Moral Panic. This phrase has been used to describe a widespread fear (often irrational), when “a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (Garland 2008 p.10). Erich Goode and Nachman

Ben-Yehuda (1994) identified five key features of the phenomenon as concern; hostility; consensus; disproportionality; volatility; to add to Cohen’s original (1972) “moral dimension of the social reaction, particularly the introspective soul-searching that accompanies these episodes”(Garland 2008, p.11) and the idea that the deviant conduct is symptomatic (ibid) of larger issues.

The media is often instrumental in creating or magnifying a moral panic. Marginalized groups in society are often the source of the moral panic often with stereotypes being highlighted and reinforced and often new laws or policies are created to their detriment as a result of the panic. “Moral panic targets are not randomly selected: they are cultural scapegoats whose deviant conduct appals onlookers so powerfully precisely because it relates to personal fears and unconscious wishes” (Garland 2008, p.15). Moral panic is related to the labelling theory of deviance and is a theory often used in criminology as shown in Figure 9.

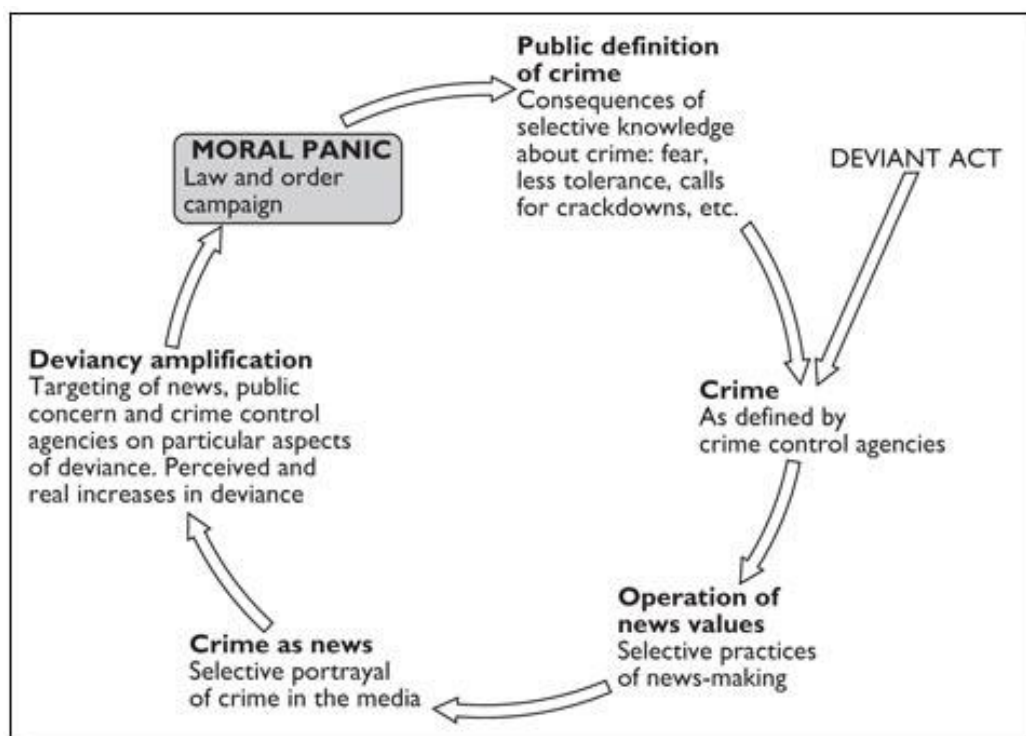
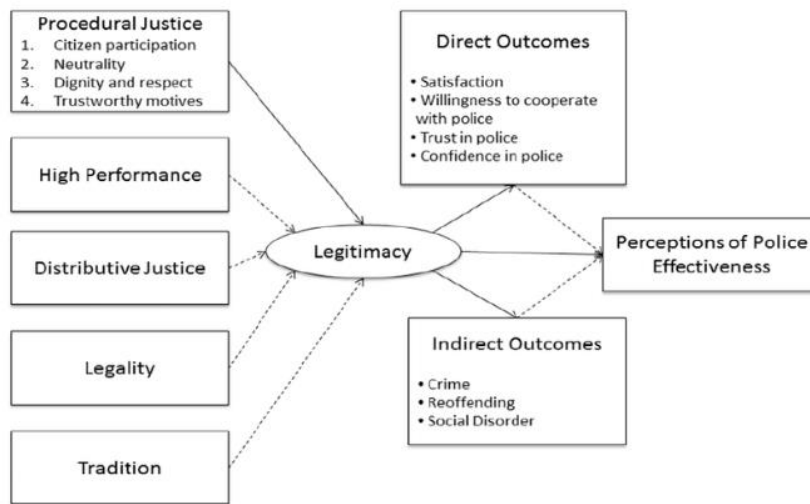


Figure 9. Circuit of a criminogenic moral panic Source: Jones and Holmes (2011, p.156) Key concepts in Media and Communications. Reproduced from Taylor et al 1995.

5.5 Police legitimacy

Police legitimacy is the extent to which the public perceive police to be legitimate in their capacity to fairly uphold the laws. Police legitimacy can be viewed from the citizens’ willingness to cooperate with the police and abide by the law. This can be influenced by their perception of fairness in policing (Noppe et al. 2017 p.474). Police legitimacy can be impacted by many factors as shown in Figure 10, including structural constraints of the police force and whether they are able to operate fairly in these circumstances. Police legitimacy is linked to the degree of public support for CIPP, hence its obvious emergence from the data collected for this study.



Flowchart of Police Legitimacy and Outcomes

Figure 10. Flowchart of police legitimacy and outcomes. Source: Lawrence, D. (2014). Predicting procedural justice behavior: Examining personality and parental discipline in new officers.

5.6 Social disorganisation theory as a function of moral panic

This study found that crime in Malmö is seen by residents to be a result of what can be considered social disorganisation (SD) creating what interviewees viewed as a parallel society within Malmö. According to David Secchi and Gayanga Herath (2019) perception of parallel societies lies with the embedded concepts of ‘othering’, racialisation and stigmatisation, which can all be attributed to elements of SDT. ‘Othering’ refers to “any action by which an individual or group becomes mentally classified in somebody’s mind as ‘not one of us’” (Garcia-Perez et al. 2016, p.68). It was clear from this study that othering is the root of all concepts in which people are labelled. Othering in the context of SD can be extended beyond people to refer to places, namely ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhoods with higher resident mobility such as that of Malmö’s most notorious area, Rosengård, which is considered to “look considerably different to the distribution of the population in the community” (Hipp 2007). Due to this, both individual characteristics of residents and ecological conditions are targeted as a source for moral panic which reinforces the criminological propensity of the area over time, regardless of transiency (Kubrin & Weitzer 2003). These conditions have been found to further contribute to social disorganisation with stereotyped individuals thought to be attracted to gang activity, potentially due to having weak ties in Malmö. This in turn creates greater moral panic as the media reinforces public perception that Rosengård is SD (Gozal 2019) and crime is endemic.

This moral panic surrounding SD is an aspect of the social distance model theorised by Peter Blau (1977). John Hipp posits that the social distance and social disorganization models are “tightly intertwined” (Hipp 2007). Crime is seen to be the consequence of social distance resulting in neighbours intermingling in a way that is conducive to the formation of anti-social acts such as aligning with gangs and becoming involved with violent criminal activities. This is damaging and can impact social organisation, especially as ‘othering’ leads to ‘self-othering’

that creates an even more toxic situation in which moral panic can work with SDT to help build public perception that CIPP will not be successful due to these factors.

5.7 Social disorganisation theory as a function of police legitimacy

Public perception of SD also conversely affects confidence in the macro-level elements that bring about police legitimacy to enforce social organisation. The study shows this perception of doubt towards police legitimacy includes laws, policies and ground operations of the police force. Police legitimacy is questioned when areas are seen problematic for Malmö's police chief Mattis Sigfridsson who says "we have always been able to move freely everywhere in the city" (Gozal 2019) yet adds that "there have, however, been areas where there has been more than one single patrol deployed, because of damage being done to our vehicles" (ibid.) which does little to dispel the illusion of a parallel society discussed by this study. The study showed that those who felt Malmö has a parallel society also had a poor attitude towards police legitimacy and police ability to successfully execute CIPP such as GVI. This was due to perception of a sub-culture in Malmö where individuals operate criminally in Malmö, formally and informally and police cannot control it. This level of SD also questions police legitimacy from a structural point of view, with interviewees querying the constraints placed on the police organization and the legitimacy they have in the eyes of offenders to actually stop violent crime.

5.8 Moral panic as a function of police legitimacy

This study echoes findings by George Gerbner (1976) that the media, perpetuating moral panic is cultivating "a societal culture of fear, which, in turn, influences attitudes toward crime and criminal justice responses to it". (Gerbner and Gross 1976, p.178). Although the anomaly in Malmö, is that the study found the interviewees feel safe in Malmö, yet not confident that the police are equipped to deal with the crime rate. That seems like an oxymoron, as the public must acknowledge a level of confidence of police legitimacy in order to not have a fear of crime despite reflecting the mood set by the moral panic around Malmö. It is hard to separate the element of SD when talking about moral panic, so it is also problematic to come up with a solution to boost perception of police legitimacy without addressing all the elements within the substantive theory created for this study. Considering that Cohen (1972) posits that at least five sets of social actors are involved in a moral panic: Folk devils, law enforces, the media, politicians and the public (Garland 2008) then we all need to identify how the reality can be separated from the moral panic. Given that moral panic has a cumulative effect that can create social divisions that persist long after the moral panic is over (ibid), then it stands to reason that the erosion of police legitimacy will only deteriorate further if issues creating moral panics are not dealt with.

6. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was exploratory so limited by design given the length of the paper and the grounded theory approach that opened up a lot more avenues of investigation than was expected. Future research would benefit from moving the substantive theory into a more integrated formal one as it would more richly inform every stage of law enforcement from policy creation, implementation of crime prevention programmes to sentencing. Assessing crime seriousness and public perception of crime and CIPP could also potentially mitigate greater societal issues that could result in increase in hate crimes, vigilante behaviours or any other criminological phenomenon.

7. CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the formation of public perception of crime and CIPP is a more complex issue than many give it credit for. Findings of this study suggest that communication efforts could be increased to provide the general public with more information regarding progress made by police in relation to CIPP. Given that the media often focuses on the negative, having more community-based police communications either in person or via the media – most notably social media, would help Malmö residents have more confidence in the police and to also reduce the speculation as to the level of social disorganization in Malmö. The study revealed that Malmö residents currently have mixed views of crime in the city and feel that there is a lack of social cohesion.

There appears to be an appetite for the GVI approach of collective efficacy as there is a sense of willingness from the community to create a greater level of social organisation and help reduce the feeling of a parallel society. Therefore, the drive for greater collective efficacy in Malmö, which is an objective of the GVI programme appears to be the right way forward in increasing public perception of crime and CIPP in Malmö.

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APPENDIX

Table of figures and diagrams

Figure 1. Incidents of gun crime in Malmö since Jan 2019 to April 2019.
Source: Harrington (2019) Intelligence Fusion website 2020

Figure 2. Number of injured and killed in connection with confirmed shootings in Malmö according to NOA's definition towards person in POMA per year 2017-01-01 - 2020-04-30. Source: Malmö police, May 2020

Figure 3. Growth in firearm crime in Sweden 2011-2019. Number of incidents, offenders and victims (by gender). Source: BRÅ. <https://www.bra.se/bra-in-english/home/crime-and-statistics/murder-and-manslaughter.html>

Figure 4. CGT Research Design. Source: Alemu et al. 2015

Figure 5. Themes and contributing concepts that emerged from the data.

Figure 6. Conceptual framework: Illustration of how themes, concepts and sub concepts that form perception can be interrelated. Subsequent criminological theories that emerged from the data are also indicated in this diagram.

Figure 7. The substantive theory of 'criminogenic perception' shows how elements from moral panic, police legitimacy and SDT can work together to form public perception of crime and CIPP. Created by S. Snowden (2020)

Figure 8. Social Disorganisation Theory and factors thought to be conducive to crime. Waller, J. (2012). Defining Neighborhood: Social Disorganization Theory, Official Data, and Community Perceptions.

Figure 9. Circuit of a criminogenic moral panic Source: Jones and Holmes. Key concepts in Media and Communications (2011). Reproduced from Taylor et al 1995.

Figure 10. Flowchart of police legitimacy and outcomes. Source: Lawrence, D. (2014). Predicting procedural justice behavior: Examining personality and parental discipline in new officers

Ethics council approval letter – HS2020 löp nr 25

Council's

2020-02-20

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Project: **Community perceptions of the effectiveness of “Sluta Skjuta” in Malmö**

Student: Suzanne Snowden

Supervisor: Ardavan Khoshnood, My Lilja

Rapporteur: Camilla Nordgren

Advisory opinion from the Ethics Council

The project aims to provide a snapshot of how a specific group of Malmö resident perceive crime and crime prevention initiatives in Malmö. The method is a survey to and interviews with staff and students of MAU. Recruitment will be made via facebook groups and mail to known professors.

The project does not seem to include sensitive personal data.

The Council recommend that the informed consent is fulfilled by filling in the survey. By informing about this procedure no informed consent needs to be sign for the survey and the anonymity could be preserved. However, for the interview part an informed consent needs to be collected. The information letter needs to be changed to suit this procedure.

The Ethics Council recommend the student to implement above recommendations in cooperation with the supervisor.

On behalf of the Ethics Council, Faculty of Health and Society, Malmö

University Camilla Nordgren

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