

Diversity in uniform

An exploration of diversity and a comprehensive analysis of the regional police forces in Catalonia and Utrecht.

Anne R. van Ewijk

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THESIS DIRECTOR:

Prof.dr. Ricard Zapata Barrero

(Department of Political and Social Sciences)

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Summary

This dissertation consists of three papers on diversity and diversity policy within organizations in general and within police forces in Europe in particular. The first paper provides an analytical framework that identifies fundamental choices in the definition of diversity (ontological dimension), in the motivation for diversity within organisations (deontological dimension), and in diversity policy as an organizational strategy (instrumental dimension). The second paper provides an overview of empirical data on diversity within police forces in Europe, identifies important research gaps in the field, and proposes a comprehensive view to structure future comparative research. The third paper compares two regional police forces (the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*) and shows similarities in definitions and motivations for diversity, but differences in approach. It also demonstrates the academic potential of the empirical application of the analytical framework, and confirms that diversity and diversity policy are multilayered concepts in theory and in practice.

Resumen

La siguiente tesis de doctorado está compuesta por tres artículos sobre diversidad y políticas de diversidad en organizaciones en general, y en fuerzas policiales en particular. El primer artículo ofrece un marco analítico que identifica elecciones fundamentales en la definición de diversidad (dimensión ontológica), en la motivación para diversidad dentro de las organizaciones (dimensión deontológica), y en las políticas de diversidad como estrategia organizacional (dimensión instrumental). El segundo artículo proporciona datos empíricos sobre la diversidad dentro de las fuerzas policiales en Europa, identifica agujeros importantes en este campo de estudio, y propone una perspectiva comprensiva para estructurar futuros estudios comparativos. El tercer y último artículo compara dos fuerzas policiales regionales (los *Mossos d'Esquadra* y la *Politie Utrecht*), mostrando similitudes entre ambos en sus definiciones y motivaciones versus diferencias en sus métodos. De la misma forma, queda demostrado el potencial académico del marco analítico en el mundo empírico, confirmando que diversidad y políticas de diversidad son conceptos con múltiples niveles en la teoría y en la práctica.

Preface

Diversity policies are at the top of the European agenda. The Stockholm Programme underlines that the European Union motto of “United in Diversity” is not only about the richness resulting from cultural diversity between its member states but also about the cultural diversity and tolerance found within its societies. It also calls to invest major political efforts in underlining diversity as a source of richness rather than as a ‘problem to be managed’. As such, diversity has become a new key-word for many policy-makers and social scientists.

However, diversity is a broad, sometimes even vague notion. It is a constructed concept, which takes its meaning according to context. Ambiguity about the definition of diversity and controversy on how to interpret the intentions and methods of policies tend to obscure our understanding of diversity and policies on diversity within public and private organizations, with potentially far-reaching academic and practical consequences.

Anne van Ewijk combines research ambition and pragmatism in her dissertation. She has taken the concept of diversity and diversity policies seriously, and she has applied a first theoretical contact into an organisation that is not so easy to research: the police. Following applied political theory she has taken the concept of diversity both in its abstract and theoretical dimensions and in its empirical and practical dimensions. By providing an analytical framework on diversity, she aspires to draw an Ariadne’s thread to orientate ourselves into this conceptual labyrinth. She also creates a bridge to diversity in the police context, by comparing two regional police forces: the Mossos d’Esquadra (Catalan autonomous community, Spain) and the Politie Utrecht (province of Utrecht, the Netherlands).

In general, Van Ewijk demonstrates that diversity and diversity policy are multilayered concepts in theory and in practice. At the same time, she generates various new insights proposing an ambitious comprehensive approach to study the internal dynamics of diversity in the particular context of the police, drawing clear conclusions out of a multitude of raw empirical data.

In short, this manuscript is the result of a journey Anne van Ewijk started three years ago that proves that she is able to combine the four main dimensions of a good researcher: ambition, pragmatism, intuition and hard work. It was a pleasure for me to guide such an independent and promising young academic, and I invite everyone to read this welcome contribution to the field of applied comparative political theory. It is well structured, thoroughly documented and an inspiration for all researchers and (public or private) policy-makers that are interested in diversity.

prof.dr. Ricard Zapata-Barrero

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1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION: CONTEXTUALIZATION, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Science is the attempt to make the chaotic diversity of our sense-experience correspond to a logically uniform system of thought
(Albert Einstein)

Society is unity in diversity (George H. Mead)

Europe itself is an embodiment of diversity (Ulrich Beck)

This dissertation consists of three independent papers on diversity and diversity policy within organizations in general and within police forces in Europe in particular. Why dedicate attention to these topics, and why now? These questions are answered by the introduction as it outlines how the work as a whole can be placed in the context of earlier academic studies and recent trends (1.1). Afterwards, it describes the relation between the papers as it briefly presents the theoretical gaps this manuscript aims to fill and the main questions the papers answer (1.2), shares the research methods and experiences from the data gathering process (1.3), visualizes the relation between the papers and summarizes their content (1.4), and highlights the main contributions of the dissertation and possibilities for further research (1.5). As the papers are designed to be read independently, there will be some repetition of their content, but only with the intention of providing the reader with a good overview.

1.1. Theoretical and policy context

The first principle to clarify in a diverse context is diversity itself. This is one of the basic premises of the dissertation. Diversity is a broad concept that appears in many academic disciplines, from cultural anthropology to micro-economics. For example, ‘biodiversity’ in biogenetics refers to the variation in the flora and fauna of an ecosystem, while ‘antenna diversity’ in communication

sciences refers to a method for improving the reliability of a message signal by using multiple communications channels. Here, the focus lies with social diversity: differences among those persons that together compose societies, i.e. diversity as a characteristic of society (Faist, 2009). Even narrowed down in this way, diversity remains a concept that includes many things. It can be related to religion, sexual orientation, gender, skin color, language, values and norms, age, habits and custom... a real 'potentially boundless list' (Yuval-Davis, 2006). However, the definition of diversity, and its impact on the validity and scope of research outcomes and on the life of persons, is surprisingly often taken for obvious by social scientists and policy-makers and as a consequence remains ambiguous or implicit. Instead, no choice for any of these specific forms is made beforehand here, and the reflection on the way in which diversity can be defined forms the starting point of the analyses that are presented later onwards. This coincides with the idea that diversity is not a pre-social category but always loaded with attributed meanings. As such, it does not have a universal expression, but is defined and visualized differently depending on the context (Zapata-Barrero, 2009). It has not yet acquired a consistent conceptual meaning (Carrell & Mann, 1995), and it is doubtful it ever will (Smith, 1995). It is thus constructed by societal agents by drawing demarcation lines between classifications with social meanings and sometimes defining certain classifications as the dominant ones (Vertovec, 2007; Faist, 2009).

The concept of diversity is not new in social science, but it has recently become significantly more salient, with frequent appearances in contributions from management, social and political theory. The references above are merely a fraction of the publications on diversity that have appeared over the last two decades. In political theory, for example, authors focus on themes such as the meaning of respect for identity, the fit between liberal political principles / institutions and cultural diversity, and the meaning and effects of multiculturalism as an ideology (Festenstein, 2005). Diversity is also placed in a historical perspective. For example by Joppke (2004), who mentions that the liberal, difference-blind state with its universal citizenship, which is now found fault with, had exactly emerged as a peace-maker to a hyper-diverse society torn by religious wars in seventeenth century Europe. Reflecting on more recent history, Faist (2009) observes

that current developments represent a reverse of the trend towards cultural homogenization that took place from the First World War until the early 1950s. In the present, many forms of diversity have become more salient in European countries (Prügl & Thiel, 2009) and tend to overlap in Western European cities (Kraus, 2008), following similar trends in traditional immigration countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the European academic context, references are now made to a transformative ‘diversification of diversity’ (Martiniello, 2004), to ‘super-diversity’ as the interplay of multiple significant variables that affect where, how and with whom people live (Vertovec, 2007), and to a ‘dynamics of diversity’ that describes the interplay between different sources of diversity such as minority nations and immigration (Gagnon et al, 2003; Zapata-Barrero, 2010a). Some even say that diversity has replaced multiculturalism in theory and in policy (Joppke, 2004), while others consider it as a new paradigm of incorporation alongside assimilation and multiculturalism (Faist, 2009).

As if it were part of a widespread change not only in theoretical but also in policy paradigms, diversity is like a wave that penetrates all areas of society. As parts of those societies, organizations cannot be but affected by this wave. Diversity is identified as one of the most important challenges facing organizations in virtually all advanced countries, and at the same time the source of the most significant opportunities. For example, in the long run diversity is likely to have important cultural, economic, fiscal, and developmental benefits. In the short run, however, diversity might reduce social solidarity and social capital (Putnam, 2007). As such, awareness has grown of the importance for organizations to adapt to their diverse surroundings, and they have turned to specific policies to facilitate the inclusion of employees with diverse characteristics. In Europe, this organisational tendency is reinforced by the adoption of diversity as a central political priority by the European Union (Shaw, 2005). These policies to promote diversity within organizations also attract academic attention. In this dissertation, diversity is considered as a characteristic of societies, while diversity policy is considered as the way in which organizations facilitate and/or incorporate diversity within them. This distinction

is not always made in theory or in practice¹, and the term ‘diversity’ often refers to a characteristic of society and a mode of incorporation at the same time (Wrench, 2007; Faist, 2009). Some authors, then, focus on public policies at the national or regional level, often linked to notions of anti-discrimination or integration, distinguishing specific policy discourses or policy regimes (Castles, 2002; Zapata-Barrero, 2009), while others focus on policies at the organisational level, distinguishing between approaches (Liff, 1997; Wrench, 2007). However, there is considerable controversy about how to interpret the assumptions, intentions and methods of diversity policies. For example, Faist (2009) claims that diversity policy lacks a rights-based foundation and therefore leaves social inequality unchallenged. In contrast, Liff (1997) distinguishes various approaches within diversity policy with various degrees of commitment to social inequality. Moreover, ontological assumptions, deontological intentions, and instrumental methods are often mixed in literature on diversity, while these are three separate dimensions. It is confusing and incorrect to mingle definitions of diversity with the goals and normative justifications of diversity policies and with the approach of diversity policies. Both the notion of plural approaches in diversity policy and the analytical separation between ontological, deontological, and instrumental aspects of diversity and diversity policy are basic elements of this dissertation and will be elaborated further below. Finally, this dissertation does not follow the link between diversity policy and private companies and between intercultural policy and public companies that is made by Faist (2009). Instead of introducing the public-private dichotomy, it distinguishes between diversity policy as the strategy towards diversity within the organization and intercultural policy as the strategy towards diversity in the context of the organization. Diversity policy may be part of intercultural policy, but that is not necessarily so, and not necessarily the only thing intercultural policy may include. In short, whether private or public, all organizations can employ both strategies.

¹ Curiously, the concept of multiculturalism has been said to suffer from the same ambiguity. As Barry (2001) indicates, a notorious confusion surrounding multiculturalism is its simultaneous reference to a ‘state of affairs’ and a ‘political programme’, and the fact that its users do not always distinguish in which sense they wish to use it.

Diversity policy in public organizations is a topic that receives more and more attention from applied political researchers, because of the scope of their impact: their potential ‘customers’ are all citizens. Publications focus on various sectors. Among them, the security sector, including institutions such as the army, the police, and prisons. For a variety of reasons, this dissertation focuses on the police as a particularly interesting organization to study with respect to internal diversity. First, because of their highly symbolic function (representing interests of the state and of citizens and very well known) and broad scope (interacting with large groups of citizens in much more spheres of life than other public organizations generally do), the impact of more diversity within the police might be particularly large, both on the internal and external context. Second, because the police organisation has a specific internal logic that is not common to most public institutions and that, in theory, could facilitate diversity. No matter at what level a new recruit starts, there is always a possibility to move upwards with the right education and training. This is different than in hospitals, for example, where nurses are not expected to continue studying and become doctors. However, empirical studies have indicated that the police are typically not diverse in their composition (Johnston, 2006; Dudek, 2007). This contradiction triggers academic curiosity, as empirical studies in this context might lead to particularly revealing new insights on the internal dynamics of diversity in organizations. This is in line with the contextual approach to political theory (Carens, 2004).

In sum, the general goal of this dissertation is to conceptually clarify how diversity and diversity policy can fundamentally differ, and generate new insights on the internal dynamics of diversity in the particular police context. Diversity in uniform, then, has a double meaning. On the one hand, it refers to a framework to study diversity and diversity policy (two concepts with highly diverse meanings) in a uniform way. As Einstein’s quote illustrates, this is in line with the very essence of science. On the other hand, the title refers to the police context, where diversity tries to find its place in an environment that has long been, and will probably always remain in some sense or another, uniform.

1.2. Main objectives and questions of the papers

The objective of the first paper (“*Diversity and diversity policy: diving into fundamental differences*”) is to provide researchers with an analytical framework that identifies fundamental choices in the definition of diversity (the what), in the motivation for diversity within organisations (the why), and in diversity policy as an organizational strategy (the how). As such, it clarifies the conceptual distinction between the ontological, deontological, and instrumental dimension of diversity (policy). The main question the first paper answers is: In what fundamental ways can definitions of diversity and diversity policy within organisations differ?

The objective of the second paper (“*Diversity policies within police forces in Europe: a plea for a comprehensive view*”) is to contribute to the field of studies on police diversity policies by providing an overview of empirical data on diversity within police forces in Europe, whereas most studies focus on one country or even one police force at a time. On the other hand, this paper aims to contribute to the existing literature on police diversity policies by identifying important research gaps and by proposing a way of structuring future research. As such, the paper answers two main questions: First, what is known about diversity in police forces in Europe? Second, what types of policies can be formulated to facilitate diversity within the police force?

The first paper outlines the theoretical and practical importance of defining diversity. The second paper identifies the police as a particularly interesting context to study. Consequently, both papers identify some important gaps in the fields of study related to these topics. On the one hand, virtually all studies with respect to the definition of diversity employ exclusively quantitative methods (Carrell & Mann, 1995; Point & Singh, 2003), relying on the face validity of key terms such as ‘ethnic’ or ‘black’ or ‘age’. Also, most studies on diversity and diversity policy were undertaken in the United States, Canada, or Australia; countries with a very specific experience of diversity because of their cultural, social, and historical context (Mor Barak, 2005). Finally, studies on the definition of diversity and diversity policy in the European context are all based on analyses of private organizations (Point & Singh,

2003; Liff, 1997, 1999; Wrench, 2007). On the other hand, the field of studies on policies related to diversity within the police contains no comprehensive policy analyses, that is, analyses that consider policies in all areas related to diversity (i.e. recruitment, retention, and promotion), while information on all areas is needed, for example, to determine the dominant policy approach or predict their effectiveness. Furthermore, comparative studies are practically absent, while (international) comparative descriptions are an essential first step towards the long-term goal of understanding their characteristics better, and afterwards towards developing insights that can explain variation (Bayley, 1999). A reflection on how to fill these gaps finally led to the choice for a qualitative case-study of two regional police forces in Europe, which resulted in the third paper.

Finally, the objective of the third paper (*“Analyzing the internal dynamics of diversity of the Mossos d’Esquadra and the Politie Utrecht”*) is twofold. First, it aims to offer a deeper understanding of the internal dynamics of diversity of the two police forces by comparing their particular contexts, and second, it aims to demonstrate the academic potential of the analytical framework. To increase the learning potential of a comparison between two cases, they were chosen on the basis of specific internal and contextual similarities that are likely to provide a strong imperative to adapt the organisation to diversity, and certain internal and contextual differences that are likely to coincide with variation in fundamental choices concerning the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the diversity policy approach. As such, the third paper answers the main question: What are the internal dynamics of diversity in the Mossos d’Esquadra and the Politie Utrecht?

1.3. Research methods and process

A desk-research of academic studies on diversity and policies related to diversity resulted in the first paper. This implied combining sources from political, social, policy and management theory, and it was sometimes hard to find the conceptual connections. A presentation at the Fifth annual Catalan Sociology

conference (Barcelona, April 2009), a visit to and presentation at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (Göttingen, October 2009), and a presentation at the annual European Research and Science Conference of the CEPOL (Amsterdam, November 2009) helped organize preliminary thoughts.

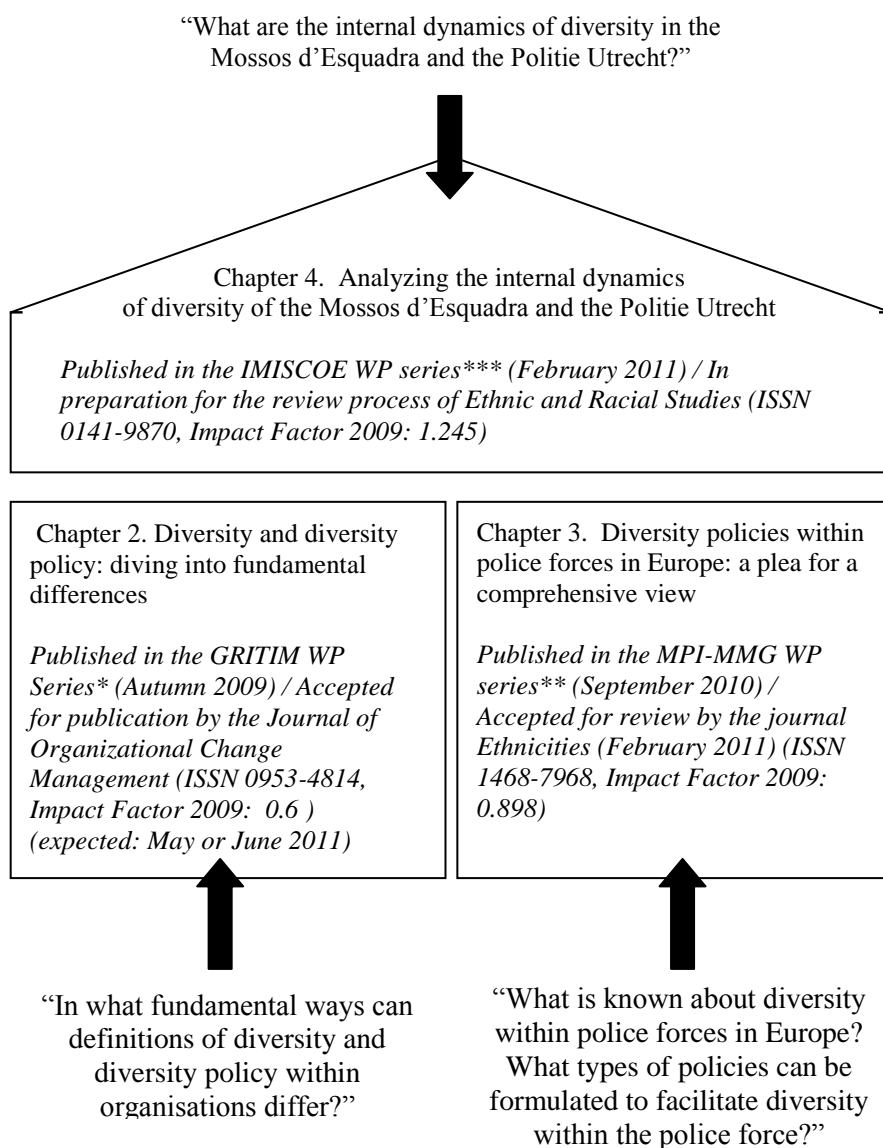
The second paper was written after an empirical exploration of diversity within police forces in Europe, and a second desk-research. The latter identified what had been published so far on policies related to diversity within police organizations, which led to a reflection on how to structure future studies in a comprehensive way. To improve the quality of the paper, it was submitted to a peer-review by two professors in the field of police studies, and two professionals from the police context. Also, some conclusions were presented to fellow academic speakers and an expert public at the VU University seminar on diversity within police forces (December 2010).

A comparative case-study of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* (police force of the Catalan autonomous community, Spain) and the *Politie Utrecht* (police force in the province of Utrecht, the Netherlands) provided the base for the third, and most elaborate, paper. Information on the cases was collected in a comprehensive way, as outlined in the second paper, with a questionnaire on policies in the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion. The empirical data were gathered through 32 semi-structured interviews and (public and internal) documents from four backgrounds: the police organizations itself, the police academies, NGOs and associations of/for police officers, and the Ministry or Department of Interior Affairs. The data gathering period lasted from October 2008 to January 2010 in the case of the Mossos d'Esquadra, and from May 2009 to May 2010 in the case of the Politie Utrecht. In Catalonia, a patron for the research was found in the figure of the director of the Catalan police academy, which facilitated the data gathering on the Mossos d'Esquadra. An open and collaborative attitude within the Politie Utrecht itself and their immediate surroundings also facilitated the data gathering in the Netherlands, despite of the physical distance. In general, the fact that the goal of the research was to analyze the content of policies, not evaluate their effectiveness, might also have increased respondents' willingness to

cooperate. The sources were submitted to a content analysis based on the analytical framework from the first paper, and conclusions were drawn on the collected information as a whole (not on the level of the individual sources). Preliminary versions of these conclusions were presented at the “Fresh perspectives” conference for PhD students of the VU University (Amsterdam, September 2010). The paper also inspired the organisation of the annual GRITIM-CIDOB seminar on diversity (policy) in Europe (Barcelona, September 2010) which was linked to the ACCEPT research project (funded by the European Commission, 7th Framework Programme) and the organisation of a one-day seminar on diversity within police forces with academic guest-speakers and a public of experts (Amsterdam, December 2010), during a stay at the VU University of Amsterdam that provided the calm to revise the conclusions one more time (September-December 2010).

1.4. Building blocks of the dissertation and summary of the findings

All papers have been published earlier in various Working Paper Series, and are currently in different stages of the publication process of various academic journals. The relation between the papers can be visualized as such:



* http://www.upf.edu/gritim/_pdf/GRITIM_UPF_WP_Series_2_van_Ewijk.pdf
 ** <http://www.mmg.mpg.de/publications/working-papers/2010/wp-10-12/>
 *** <http://www.imiscoe.org/images/documents/imiscoeworkingpaper28.pdf>

Figure 1.1. Building blocks of the dissertation

Source: own elaboration

The *first paper* argues that the definition of diversity in academic research impacts the scope and validity of the results and conclusions. It offers an analytical framework to identify fundamental differences in the definition of diversity (which implies selecting, interpreting, and categorizing modes of differentiation), in the motivation for diversity within organizations (which implies striving either for an individual or collective base of difference, and employing either moral or practical arguments), and the policy approach with respect to diversity within organizations (which implies a high or low policy intensity, and a low or high relevance of collective differences for policy-making).

The *second paper* argues that the police are of particular interest to study with respect to diversity within organizations. It also shows how diversity is low among recruits that enter police organizations in Europe, and diminishes as police officers' rank increases. Finally, it proposes a comprehensive view (with policies in three policy areas: recruitment, retention, and promotion) to describe the internal dynamics of diversity of a police organization, which allows for structured comparisons.

The *third paper* shows how the regional police forces the Mossos d'Esquadra and the Politie Utrecht are strikingly similar in their definition of diversity, both focusing on gender and migrant background. Also, the final goal in both organisations is to provide individuals with equal opportunities, employing both moral and practical arguments (although practical arguments seem more dominant in the context of the Politie Utrecht). The most striking difference, however, is found in the policy approach to facilitate diversity within the organisation. Individual-based policies (that ensure equal and unbiased treatment of individuals) are more dominant in the context of the Mossos d'Esquadra, although these policies are not widespread throughout the organisation. In the case of the Politie Utrecht, on the other hand, a mix of individual-based and group-based policies (that adapt processes to collective differences) can be identified and these policies touch the entire organization. Finally, it demonstrates how the application of the analytical model can form the base of further research, by providing examples of causal hypotheses and policy recommendations deduced from the empirical results.

1.5. Main contributions and possibilities for further research

This dissertation generates two main contributions to the field of applied political theory. First, it constructs two tools that can be used separately or combined in future research on diversity (policy) within organisations: the analytical framework and the proposal for a comprehensive view. The analytical framework identifies fundamental differences in the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the policy approach towards diversity within the organisation. The comprehensive view outlines the relation between the policy areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion with respect to diversity within the organisation and summarizes the types of policies that can be formulated in each area. As such, both tools facilitate in depth-analysis of key variables and structured comparisons between different contexts, enhancing possibilities for theory-building and policy-learning in this field.

Second, the application of these tools in the case of two regional police forces in Europe demonstrates the potential of these tools, confirming that diversity and diversity policy are multilayered concepts in theory and in practice. But at the same time, this application generates various new insights on the internal dynamics of diversity in this particular context, by drawing clear conclusions out of a multitude of raw empirical data. Finally, in the process, this research project also provides an overview of what has been published so far on diversity within police forces in Europe.

Possibilities for further research could be to use the analytical framework and comprehensive view to compare definitions of diversity and diversity policy in a structured way and determine variation, in the police context or in other sectors. These could be (internationally) compared to test explanatory or evaluative hypotheses, answering questions such as “What factors determine which modes of differentiation are dominant in definitions of diversity?”, “What factors determine the chosen policy approach?”, or “What policy approach is more effective in which contexts?”. They could also inspire more theoretical reflections, such as “What basis of difference should we strive for?” and “What arguments in favour of diversity are ethically the most powerful?”.

2. DIVERSITY AND DIVERSITY POLICY: DIVING INTO FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

This theoretical exploration of the concept of diversity and diversity policy draws on sources from three distinct disciplines (social, political, and management theory) that have not been combined in this way before. The goal is to propose a new analytical framework that facilitates scholars in the identification of the fundamental choices in the definition of diversity (the what), in the motivation for diversity within organisations (the why), and in diversity policy as an organizational strategy (the how). It also hopes to stimulate diversity professionals to reflect upon the underlying assumptions of their policies and, if needed, provide inspiration as to how to align them towards a more coherent approach. As such, it facilitates theory-building and policy learning on the topic.

Key words: diversity, diversity policy, analytical framework, typology

Word count: 5.967

Introduction

After decades of intense immigration, many forms of diversity have become more salient in European countries (Prügl & Thiel, 2009), following similar trends in traditional immigration countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the meantime, both in the professional and in the academic world awareness has grown of the importance for organizations to adapt to their diverse surroundings. Private and public organisations have turned to specific policies to facilitate the inclusion of employees with diverse characteristics. In Europe, this organisational tendency is reinforced by the adoption of diversity as a central political priority by the European Union (Shaw, 2005).

Diversity and diversity policy are also debated in academic literature. However, there seems to be considerable theoretical ambiguity and controversy with respect to these concepts. Ambiguity, as definitions of diversity are not articulated or, if they

are, rarely reflected upon. Controversy, as there is considerable disagreement about how to interpret the assumptions, intentions and methods of diversity policies.

Section 2.1 elaborates why it is not surprising that there is so much ambiguity with respect to the definition of diversity, as the concept is a social construction. But it also argues that, to avoid misunderstandings, scholars and applied researchers in the field of diversity studies should at least make their definition of diversity explicit for the reader and reflect beforehand about the implications of that definition for the scope and level of their conclusions, observations or results. Furthermore, the section introduces the definition of diversity as a highly interesting research topic in and of itself, although in some ways neglected. The for empirical studies very basic question “In what fundamental ways can definitions of diversity and diversity policy within organisations differ?” has not been answered so far.

Section 2.2, which is the main section, answers that question by outlining an analytical framework that identifies fundamental choices in definitions of diversity (the ‘what’), in arguments for diversity within organisations (the ‘why’), and in diversity policy approaches (the ‘how’). The framework is distilled from a selection of key sources on diversity and diversity policy from social, political and management theory in North-America and Europe that have not been combined in this way before.

Finally, the conclusions comment on possibilities to apply this framework and the possible contributions thereof for theory and practice.

2.1. Defining diversity

As all concepts that refer to forms of human organisation, diversity is a social construction: it is dynamic and plural in nature, and its definition is influenced by the context (Triandis, 1995). It is not surprising, then, that diversity does not have a universal expression, but is defined and visualized differently depending on the context (Zapata-Barrero, 2009). It has not yet acquired a consistent

conceptual meaning (Carrell & Mann, 1995), and it is doubtful it ever will (Smith, 1995).

A universal definition is also not a necessary condition for theoretical or empirical studies in the field of diversity. However, this section first argues that it is important for scholars, researchers and practitioners to explicitly reflect on the specific definition of diversity they employ as it has implications in theory and in practice. Second, it introduces the definition of diversity as an interesting research topic in and of itself, although it indicates some serious gaps in this field of study.

a) An uncommon, but important, habit

To avoid misunderstandings, scholars and researchers in the field of diversity studies should formulate their definition of diversity, make it explicit for the reader and reflect beforehand about the implications of that definition for the scope and level of their conclusions, observations or results. After all, the way in which diversity is defined affects all aspects of the study (Levine, 1991; Thomas, 1990). This is a common sense notion, but unfortunately it does not seem to be a common practice.

For example, misunderstandings about the appropriate scope of conclusions, observations or results are more likely to occur when the conceptual difference between diversity and diversity policy is blurred. The first refers to the condition of heterogeneity within a certain whole, such as a society or an organization. This can be a current or a desired condition. The second refers to the approach towards that condition that can generate specific goals or objectives for certain groups or individuals (Carrell & Mann, 1995), such as ‘diversity as a mode of incorporation’ (Faust, 2009) or ‘diversity policy as an organizational strategy’. When diversity becomes a shorthand for diversity policy, as sometimes happens in practice (Wrench, 2007), scholars might easily fall into the epistemological trap of ‘talking on different levels’, and ‘comparing pears with apples’.

Also, defining diversity in a certain way has considerable practical consequences that might not be intended. For example, studies that focus on specific forms of diversity (gender, religion, etc.) might give readers the impression that these forms of diversity are more important than others, while it is not necessarily so that the most studied phenomenon are exclusively the ones most deserving of attention. To avoid this kind of misinterpretations, this choice and its justification should be made explicit. And it has other, maybe more considerable, social and practical effects; it may determine, for example, how public budgets are designated to schools, or which development practices receive company funding. It might affect a person's social status, financial situation, juridical rights, and so forth.

Finally, reflecting on how diversity is defined in the empirical context of study can be of added value for empirical researchers. First, this comparison can be used as a check upon the descriptive validity of their own definition of diversity for that context. Second, researchers can indicate in which measure their research results in different contexts are comparable.

b) An uncommon, but important, research topic

The arguments above confirm that the way in which diversity issues are framed is critical to policies and/or organisational approaches to the topic (Smith, 1995). This makes how diversity is defined in specific empirical contexts also a highly interesting research topic in and of itself. However, this field of study contains some serious gaps.

First of all, most of the few empirical studies that have been conducted employed only quantitative methods. For example, Carrell and Mann developed a two-page survey questionnaire for organizational human resource managers, in which respondents were asked to indicate what diversity (policy) meant to decision makers in their own organizations by checking boxes (1995). Also, Point and Singh compared diversity statements of 241 corporate websites of top companies in eight European countries by identifying whether there was a definition or not. If they determined there was one, they differentiated between diversity as an approach

and diversity as related to specific characteristics. Finally, they counted the use of the words referring to characteristics (2003). While also enjoying many advantages, the disadvantage of quantitative studies is that they often rely on face validity of key terms. This, while possible differences in the interpretation of those key terms may have substantial effects on the research results. For example, when the term 'black' is understood differently in different contexts, it refers to different groups of people and the comparability of the results can be seriously questioned. Also, terms like 'awareness training' and 'sensitivity training' may easily be interpreted in distinct ways, while other terms, such as 'workshops on issues' and 'skills enhancement' (Carrell and Mann, 1995) might be considered as equal. Again, this seriously hampers the reliability and validity of the results. Also, what happens with the results of quantitative studies when diversity is sometimes seen as a collective, and sometimes as an individual, concept? In the US, for example, some practitioners are found to use narrow definitions which reflect American equal employment opportunity law; they define diversity collectively in terms of race, gender, ethnicity, age, national origin, religion, and disability. Others simply define diversity individually as all the ways in which we differ (Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1997). This calls for more qualitative studies.

Second, most studies on the definition of diversity appear to have been undertaken in the United States (Point & Singh, 2003), where there is a very specific cultural, social and historical context. For example, the size of the US minority ethnic population is more than 25 per cent whereas in EU countries it often lies around five or six per cent (Wrench, 2007). The US also has long had a relatively strong anti-discrimination legislation, contract compliance and affirmative action which have set the historical context for diversity policy. Additionally, there is much greater readiness to resort to the courts in cases of 'race' and sex bias, and far greater financial penalties exist for transgressions. In Europe there are no laws and practices of this strength. Furthermore, the European context is one of nation-states and Europe's dominant focus is on the 'problems' of migrant workers and strategies to 'integrate' immigrants into the existing labour market and employment structures of individual countries. In contrast, the region of North-America and Oceania have a 'historical role in absorbing immigrants' and 'a value system rooted in equal employment opportunity, antidiscrimination and

fairness paradigms' (Mor Barak, 2005). When, as in this case, contexts are different, it is important to refrain from universalizing ideas and knowledge and focus on the context at hand instead to gain more insight into the matter (Modood, Triandafyllidou & Zapata, 2006). This calls for more empirical studies in the European context.

Third, although there is a considerable amount of 'diversity policy good practices' from both the public and the private sector in the European Union, the few studies that have been done specifically on the definition of diversity (policy) are all based on analyses of private organisations. Point and Singh (2003) focus on corporate websites. Liff (1999) and Wrench (2007) draw their information from surveys, overviews and listings of 'good practices' from the private sector. Also, these organizations might not be very representative for organisations in general, as participation in these surveys was voluntarily. These companies were probably more focused on diversity than the average organisation. This calls for more empirical studies of public organisations, especially those that do not participate in rankings of good practices.

Fourth, the goal of most studies has been to formulate explanatory hypotheses about what factors influence whether definitions of diversity and diversity policy will converge or differ. For example, factors are: globalisation, emancipation (Wrench, 2007), legal-judicial frameworks at the local, national or supranational level (Phillips, 2008), historical presence (Zapata-Barrero, 2010a), distribution of citizenship rights (Vertovec, 2007), social salience in combination with social discourse on specific themes, such as the 'bread winner ideology' (Billing & Sundin, 2005), spatial distribution (Kymlicka, 1995; Vertovec, 2007), norms on the registration of personal information (Wrench, 2007), attitude and power of trade unions (Wrench, 2007), national integration models (Castles, 2002), liberal policy discourse (Penninx & Slijper, 1999), or paradigm shifts in political theory such as the one from class-based socialism to cultural recognition (Taylor, 1992). However, none of these studies reflect on the definition of diversity; none of them identify what variance in this main variable is important, or relevant, to explain. This calls for the development of an analytical framework that indicates what fundamental choices are made with respect to diversity.

2.2. Analytical framework on fundamental choices in diversity and diversity policy

Fundamental choices are those choices that influence what comes next. For scholars and researchers, they influence how diversity is studied: what variation is important, what factors are taken into account to explain that variation, and what criteria are important to evaluate that variation. For practitioners and policy-advisors, they influence the real-life effects of diversity policies: for example, who is treated how, and who gets what.

So far, no framework has been formulated that encompasses all fundamental choices with respect to diversity and policies to facilitate diversity within organisations. Liff (1997) and Wrench (2007) are among the few authors that have constructed typologies to distinguish between diversity policy approaches. However, Wrench focuses exclusively on characteristics of diversity policy methods, and Liff includes both motivational elements (commitment to social equality) and instrumental elements (perceived relevance of social group differentiation for policy-making) in her typology, mixing intentions with methods. The latter is a common habit in literature on diversity policy that makes the classical distinction between the equal opportunities approach and the managing diversity approach (Liff, 1997; Squires, 2005; Wise & Tschirhart, 2000; Wrench, 2007). For example, the equal opportunities approach is generally said to aim for social equality (motivation) by equal treatment in general and treatment adapted to differences to compensate for unequal outcomes of general policies (methods), while the managing diversity approach typically aims for organisational benefits (motivation) by treatment adapted to differences (methods).

For the sake of clarity, then, this section distinguishes between three areas in which fundamental choices can be made to construct the analytical framework: definitions of diversity (the 'what'), motivations for diversity within organisations (the 'why'), and diversity policy approaches (the 'how'). It draws on a mixture of political, social, and management theory to outline these choices and provide scholars, researchers, practitioners and professionals

with an analytical framework to identify variation in these choices and/or reflect upon them. Examples from earlier publications on the theme will be isolated from their original background and framework, and displayed where appropriate to illustrate this new analytical framework.

The first part of the analytical framework (a) concerns the definition of diversity as the condition of heterogeneity within a certain whole. Unlike many authors who focus on diversity related to immigrants (Vertovec, 2007; Zapata-Barrero, 2010a), this framework includes all possible forms of diversity within society and within organisations. The second part (b) concerns the normative motivation for diversity within organisations. Finally, the third part (c) concerns diversity policy: the approach towards that condition, with a specific focus on diversity policy as an organizational strategy.

a) Fundamental choices in the ‘what’

Diversity refers to differences between people. To make these distinctions, one needs a criterion, a characteristic to indicate difference. Logically, an infinite number of characteristics can make individuals or groups different. However, what distinguishes diversity from the mere presence of diverse aggregates (artificial categories of people), is the fact that the characteristic that makes someone different is not just any attribute, such as ‘speaking rapidly’ or ‘wearing a red shirt’, but a meaningful characteristic: one that influences the identity and the way of life of that person (Young, 1990), such as ‘being blind’ or ‘being a low-educated employee of the work floor’. These differences are ‘modes of differentiation’: principles by which people, from context to context, situation to situation, mark themselves and each other as different (Vertovec, 2009).

As said before, diversity is a social construction. This implies that modes of differentiation are historical bookmarks: they only constitute difference at a certain moment in a certain place, and these differences are influenced by certain conditions under which they persist or perish. For example, ‘gender’ may once have been

very influential in determining workplace relationships, but this difference no longer provokes the same level of emotional or behavioural response as earlier, at least in western European countries (Dyke & Dyke, 2002).

Three fundamental choices in the definition of diversity are identified. The first is selecting certain modes of differentiation. The second is interpreting those modes of differentiation, i.e. connecting modes of differentiation with certain (groups of) individuals and not others. The third is categorizing those modes of differentiation by referring to the most basic differences in their nature.

As said before, most of the times these choices are made implicitly by the involved actors; often they are not even recognised as a choice and the consequences of that choice are not reflected upon. In line with the main goal of the paper, this subsection does not justify or promote specific choices, but primarily aims to make these fundamental choices explicit.

Selection

The range of modes of differentiation currently related to diversity is very broad, as a selection of choices in modern day political, social and management theory and a brief overview of the motivations for and against a focus on culture / ethnicity as mode of differentiation will illustrate.

Many political theorists focus on culture and/or ethnicity; although they also subscribe the importance of other modes of differentiation (see Kymlicka, 1995, on ‘multinational diversity’ and ‘poly-ethnic diversity’, or Parekh, 2000, on ‘communal diversity’). According to Jones (1998), this is because culture (or ethnicity) is not – like differences in religious faith or in aesthetic taste – just one more form of diversity that we can set alongside others: cultures pretend to be all-embracing so that cultural diversity encompasses every kind of diversity that people can exhibit in their lives. Also, according to Phillips (2008), in the context of contemporary Europe

culture has special importance, because the differences associated with culture are more specifically bound up with past and present patterns of migration, and thereby with majority/minority relations of power.

Other theorists discard culture as a useful concept, because it carries connotations of shared beliefs, norms, habits, and so forth, which may not be relevant in particular cases. For example, a group may be formed by a process of racialization, where this process makes no reference to ideas of shared practices and values. Furthermore, culture might not be specific enough to describe the dynamics of diversity and markers such as race and religion might be more adequate (Thompson, 2008). Some also question the importance of ethnicity. For example, Vertovec (2007) suggests that it only plays a limited role in political reality. A series of additional variables might sometimes be more important for understanding political reality, such as immigrant statuses, divergent labour market experiences, gender and age profiles, special distribution, and mixed local area responses.

Therefore, political theory and social theory offer many alternative modes of differentiation, such as gender, skin colour or race, class, income, educational background, (dis)ability, age, religion, sexual orientation, marital status, parental status, and more (Anthias, 2002; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Griggs, 1995; Litvin, 1997; Pharr, 2000; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2006; Young, 1990). Management theory underlines many of the alternatives offered by political and social theorists and adds other alternatives, such as life style, political opinion, union affiliation, thinking types, professional experience, personality types, functional background (Point & Singh, 2003; Wise & Tschirhart, 2000). In specific institutions or organisations, then, choices are always made, focusing on certain modes of differentiation and not on others. For example, current European Union thinking focuses on sex (gender), racial and ethnic origin, disability, age, religion, and sexual orientation (Phillips, 2008).

Interpretation

The second choice is to identify how the chosen mode of differentiation should be interpreted. Which (groups of) individuals are actually included in this definition? Often this varies in different contexts. 'Age' for example, usually refers to the number of years since a person was born. But what is considered as 'old' in a country with a lower life expectancy might be 'middle-aged' in a developed country. Even different age groups have different ways of thinking about age, for example, most teenagers define everyone over 40 as old, while most people in their sixties tend to reserve that category for people over eighty (Foddy, 1993). Another example is 'skin colour' as a mode of differentiation. What is considered as 'coloured' in a country with a majority population that is white might be considered 'practically white' in a country with a majority population that has a very dark skin colour. Also, this mode of differentiation may be employed in several ways to indicate differences: in one context skin colour might refer to a distinction between 'white' and 'non-white', while in another the distinction is made between 'white', 'black', 'red' and 'yellow'.

Categorization

Finally, many authors formulate categories to indicate fundamental differences in the nature of certain modes of differentiation. Most authors choose a binary distinction. The majority distinguishes between 'primary' (also called hard, or biological fixed) as opposed to 'secondary' (also called soft, experiential, or fluid) modes of difference. Another distinction is the one between 'old' and 'new' modes of differentiation.

Griggs (1995), for example, classifies diversity into primary and secondary modes of differentiation. Primary refers to those human differences that are inborn and/or exert an important impact on early socialisation and have an ongoing impact throughout life. According to Griggs, these cannot be changed; they shape our basic self-image and have great influence on how we view the world. Secondary refers to those human differences that can be changed,

and these might include educational background, income, marital status, parental status, religious beliefs, and so on. Others have added 'physical appearance' to the first group and 'language' and 'lifestyle' to the second; some call the first group 'biological' dimensions and the second group 'experiential' (Wrench, 2007). This coincides with the observation of Litvin (1997), who found that diversity was frequently presented as composed of 'six fixed primary dimensions of difference' which are held to be inborn or immutable, and 'eight fluid secondary dimensions of difference' which help to distinguish the self from the other but are seen as less permanent and hence adaptable. Barry refers to this distinction as the difference between not having the opportunity and choosing not to use the opportunity, in other words 'hard' and 'soft' modes of differentiation (Barry, 2000). Finally, Dyke and Dyke add that one should pay attention to the depth of entrenchment of any of the dimensions of potential difference, because some things about us are more abiding than others; for example, it is easier to change a custom than to change your gender (Dyke & Dyke, 2002).

This paper argues that these distinctions are choices, not truths. They are theoretically clarifying exercises in specific contexts, but not the only correct or necessarily the best ways in which to categorize modes of differentiation. After all, in certain contexts 'secondary' modes of differentiation might indicate greater differences between individuals or groups in practice than 'primary' modes of differentiation. For example, in the case of immigrants, modes of differentiation such as 'immigrant status' or 'spatial distribution' which are likely to be labelled as 'secondary', might be more influential for the treatment they receive in political reality than 'primary' modes of differentiation such as skin colour. Moreover, the distinction between what is 'primary' and what is 'secondary' is not an easy one to make. For example, sexual orientation can be conceptualized in different ways: as a category, emphasizing that being gay or not is something a person is born with, or as a transgressive phenomenon, emphasizing that we are all more or less hetero and homo, downplaying the rigid distinction between heterosexuality and homosexuality (Stein, 2002). Also, one can seriously doubt whether class or socio-economic difference is a 'primary' mode of differentiation, something you are born into and will always influence you, or a 'secondary' mode of differentiation, something more easily changeable, as argues Zapata-Barrero

(2009). Finally, some modes of differentiation that were once considered as 'soft' are now argued to be quite 'hard'. For example, developments in the sociology of knowledge, psychoanalysis and cultural psychology, have made us appreciate more than before that culture deeply matters to people, leading to a greater acceptance of cultural differences and a redefinition of the relation between politics and culture (Parekh, 2000).

Another binary distinction that is sometimes made is the one between 'old' and 'new' modes of differentiation (Zapata-Barrero, 2009). Again, this often varies between contexts. For example, religion can be considered as a new mode of differentiation, when immigrants with other religions arrive in a country that has been homogenous in religious beliefs since its foundation, such as Spain. While in the Netherlands, 'religion' it is more likely to be seen as a mode of differentiation that returns after some time of absence since the 'pillarization'.

Finally, diversity can either be considered as an individual concept, or as a collective concept. According to the first perspective, modes of differentiation are so broadly distributed among societies that each individual's experiences of 'being different' is unique and what differences are meaningful (the modes of differentiation) vary according to the different contexts through which this person moves (see also the contributions on intersectionality of Verloo, 2006, and Yuval-Davis, 2006). In this perspective, it is ontologically wrong to distinguish groups, because the members of that group will never share the exact commonalities that define the group. According to the second perspective, this is possible, as members of a group do share a specific characteristic that somehow causes the experience of 'being different' and affects all members in a similar way. This choice is related to an elaborate debate in political and social science whether moral standing should be attributed to individuals only (whose collective interests are merely the sum of their individual interests) or also to groups qua groups (whose collective interests are more than the sum of the individual interests, and independent of its members). Locating moral standing makes a difference in two very practical ways: it determines who we should listen to (all individuals in the 'group' or the authentic, authoritative voice of a group) and it determines whether it is important for

individuals to define themselves as a group or not (Jones, 1998). The same goes for categorizing diversity as individual or collective.

In sum, three choices underlie any definition of diversity and indicate fundamental differences in that definition, and these can be visualized as such:

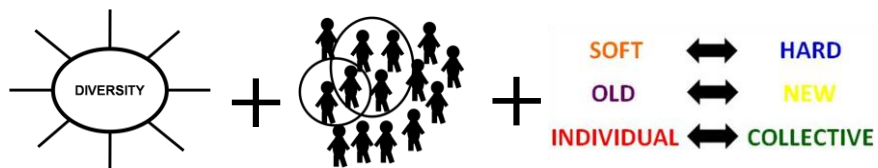


Figure 2.1. Defining diversity: the selection, interpretation, and categorization of modes of differentiation

Source: own elaboration

b) Fundamental choices in the ‘why’

In contrast with the choice between diversity as an individual concept or a collective concept (which referred to the ‘what’ and in that sense is an ontological choice), the first fundamental choice when arguing for diversity within the organisation is whether the goal is to support individuals (i.e. ensuring equal opportunities) or to support collectives (i.e. ensuring collective differences are valued). In other words, diversity might be seen as something collective in nature (for example, women are physically different from men in meaningful ways), but diversity policies might aim to neutralize those differences (ensuring that their gender does not hinder women from having equal opportunities as individuals) or to recognize and value those differences (for example, valuing the qualities that women are said to have more because of their gender). This is a normative, or deontological, choice.

The second fundamental choice when arguing for diversity within the organisation is on what type of goals to base the arguments: moral or practical. The classical example of the equal opportunities approach versus the managing diversity approach illustrates this distinction. While the equal opportunities approach strives for social

equality and justice, the idea behind managing diversity is that encouraging a diverse environment where differences are valued enables people to work to their full potential, resulting in a richer, more creative and more productive work environment. In other words, its rationale is primarily one of improving organisational competitiveness and efficiency, driven by business purpose and market advantage (Wrench, 2007; Wise & Tschirhart, 2000).

By combining these choices, we find both moral and practical arguments for a focus on individuals and a focus on collectives in political, social, and management theory. This combination can be visualized as such:

Desired base of difference	Collective	I	II
	Individual	III	IV
		Moral	Practical
		Type of arguments	

Figure 2.2. Motivations for diversity within organisations

Source: own elaboration

An example of a moral argument for a focus on individuals is: focusing on groups is not humane, because it denies the agency of individuals (Squires, 2008) and strengthens stereotypes (Fredman, 2005). Or, a focus on groups is detrimental to individual freedom (Barry, 2000). An example of a practical argument would be: policies should not be based on groups, because group-boundaries do not exist, most individuals have identities that are constituted by several forms of diversity. Or, focusing on groups blocks the creation of mutual understanding by only emphasizing collective differences (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2006). Management literature

adds that many assumptions about the advantages of a collective focus have not been tested properly in empirical research, or have only been tested in very different contexts without any attempt to double-check the results with those of other studies (Wise & Tschirhart, 2000). It also adds that diversification of the workforce may create institutional tensions rather than increase productivity (Squires, 2005). Finally, a moral argument can be that the collective focus is that it may be employed selectively if representatives of particular groups are perceived to offer greater business advantages than others, which would increase inequality (Fredman, 2005).

There are also moral and practical arguments for a focus on collectives. An example of a moral argument is: groups have a moral value that goes beyond the sum of individuals (Modood, 2008). Or, recognising groups is essential for individual freedom (Taylor, 1992). Or, ignoring groups means ignoring discrimination; an individual approach is more acceptable to white males, but may not actually deliver change, as the social structures which initiated long-standing inequities (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000) and their consequences are left intact (Mor Barak, 2005). An example of a practical argument is: groups exist and therefore should be taken into account. Groups are an inevitable aspect of modern social processes (Young, 1990), because that is how many rights have been and are attributed (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2006; Zapata-Barrero, 2009). Or, focusing on groups is the only way for marginalized individuals to gain visibility and power that otherwise would never be recognized because of their marginalization within the dominant society (Pharr, 2000). Management literature adds to those practical arguments: optimal use of skills and talent, avoiding internal problems (for example, conflicts and misunderstandings, high absenteeism, great staff turnover, and damage to staff development), making products or services more attractive to diverse customers and clients, increasing innovation and problem-solving, accessing international markets with more success, avoiding the costs of racial discrimination (damage to the organisation's image, and/or financial penalties) and improving the image of the company in the eyes of potential investors who choose to invest in companies demonstrating their practices of corporate social responsibility (Wrench, 2007).

c) Fundamental choices in the ‘how’

After the ontological choice between diversity as an individual concept and diversity as a collective concept (the ‘what’) and the deontological choice between striving to promote individuals or collectives (the ‘why’), there is also the instrumental choice whether to formulate policies that ensure that all individuals are treated the same or policies that adapt processes to collective differences (the ‘how’). This is the fundamental choice between the individual-based approach and the collective-based approach.

This means that sometimes a collective-based approach is chosen to promote the equal opportunities of individuals. In those instances, measures that promote equality, besides from eliminating discrimination, are also based on the view that in many instances it is important to recognize social group differences whenever they may lead to some applicants or job holders being disadvantaged. For example, in the UK, company policies relating to career breaks, child care, flexible working, and single sex training (positive action) are not a legal requirement, but have been encouraged. These are best seen as measures which allow organizations to reduce the likelihood that such differences will be seen as relevant to their decision making (Liff, 1997). Also, some policies are about overcoming past disadvantages as a consequence of socially-based differences, such as training in skills for women in areas they have traditionally been underrepresented, or specific recruitment efforts directed towards qualified members of underrepresented groups and support for their career development once they are in post.

Also, sometimes an individual-based approach is chosen to promote collectives. For example, by diversifying evaluation criteria so that individuals can compensate for possible gaps in their capacities or knowledge with the specific contributions they can make from their collective identity.

Finally, an example for the collective-based approach to promote collectives is every policy that recognises collective differences and see them as the basis for different treatment, such as the design of parallel career tracks for “career women” and “family women” (Liff, 1999). And an example of the individual-based approach to

promote individuals is the initiative to allow all jobs to be worked on a part-time or job share basis.

The second fundamental choice is the scope of the policy approach: is it incorporated in the entire organisation (high intensity) or does it have a limited role (low intensity). This choice is extracted from the descriptions Liff (1997) gives of the four approaches she distinguishes. While the approaches of ‘dissolving differences’ and ‘valuing differences’ share the idea that all organisational processes should be adapted to their principles, the approaches of ‘accommodating differences’ and ‘utilising differences’ do not find it necessary to change the organisation fundamentally. So, ‘policy intensity’ refers to the scope of diversity policies. Logically, this is also related to the relative ease by which the company would acknowledge change proposals from individual employees or certain employee collectives. And also to the nature of change: is the aim permanent or temporal change?

In sum, the fundamental choices in the ‘how’ can be visualized as such:

Scope: approach intensity	Collective	I	II
	Individual	III	IV
		Moral	Practical

**Perceived relevance of
collective differences for
policy-making**

Figure 2.3. Diversity policy approaches

Source: own elaboration, inspired by Liff (1997)

2.3. The way forward

In sum, this paper outlined why it is important to reflect on the definition of diversity in research and policy, and argued that this is not a common habit of researchers and practitioners. Also, it showed how research on the definition of diversity and diversity policy is scarce and incomplete and the question “In what fundamental ways can definitions of diversity and diversity policy within organisations differ?” had not been answered so far.

Therefore, an analytical framework is offered that identifies the fundamental choices in definitions of diversity (the ‘what’), in arguments for diversity within organisations (the ‘why’), and in diversity policy approaches (the ‘how’). Three fundamental (ontological) choices are related to the definition of diversity: Which modes of differentiation are selected, how are they interpreted in practice, and how are they categorized? Two fundamental (deontological) choices are related to the arguments for diversity within organisations: Is the goal to promote individuals or to promote collectives, and are the motivations moral or practical? And finally, two fundamental (instrumental) choices are related to the policy approach with respect to diversity within organisations: Are processes designed so that everyone is treated the same or are they adapted to collective differences, and do these policies affect the entire organisations or is their scope limited?

This framework can contribute to the theory-building process on diversity and diversity policy and to the improvement of diversity policies in practice. On the one hand, it will allow researchers to compare the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity, and the diversity policy approach in a clear and structured way and determine the variation between contexts. This solid descriptive base consequently allows for explanatory research (for example, the study of factors that influence similarities and differences between definitions of diversity, or the consequences of diverging definitions of diversity between organisations or between different levels within the same organisation), or evaluative research (for example, by identifying what diversity policy approaches are more successful in what contexts and which organisations can learn in that sense from which other organisations). On the other hand, it gives

practitioners, professional, or policy-advisors an instrument to reflect upon the fundamental choices that are made in current-day policies, on what consequences these choices have in practice, and possibly on how to improve policies by adapting them or making them more internally coherent.

However, the first step to achieve these contributions consists of applying the analytical framework in specific empirical contexts, to test whether it is sufficiently discriminative (proving that all categories in the typologies are mutually exclusive) and inclusive (showing that all policies related to diversity can be analyzed clearly according to this framework), and to enhance researchers' understanding of diversity policy dynamics by exploring how the three parts of the analytical framework (definition of diversity, motivations for diversity, and diversity policy approach) are related to each other.

3. DIVERSITY WITHIN POLICE FORCES IN EUROPE: A PLEA FOR A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

This paper argues that the police are a particularly interesting public institution to study with respect to the incorporation of diversity within organisations. It is the first in presenting empirical data on diversity in a wide selection of police forces in Europe, which leads to the conclusion that the general level of diversity (defined in terms of gender, migrant background, and sexual orientation) is low and diminishes as police officers' rank increases, although changes can be observed during the last decade. In a search for answers, the paper offers a brief overview of academic literature in the field of police diversity policies, and identifies two important research gaps: most studies do not touch upon all three relevant policy areas (i.e. recruitment, retention, and promotion), and comparative studies are rare. Given these findings, a comprehensive view is proposed that can help structure future comparative studies.

Key words: police, diversity, diversity policy, organisation, HRM

Word count: 6104

Introduction

European countries have become more diverse and this diversity is more and more salient (Vertovec, 2007; Prügl & Thiel, 2009; Zapata-Barrero, 2009). Many professionals and academics are now aware of the importance for organisations to adapt to their diverse surroundings. Private and public organisations have turned to policies to facilitate the inclusion of employees of diverse backgrounds. In Europe, this organisational tendency is reinforced by the adoption of diversity as a central political priority by the European Union (Shaw, 2005).

It is interesting to study the way in which public organisations adapt to societal diversity, because of the scope of their impact: their potential ‘customers’ are all citizens. It is not surprising that much has been published on diversity in, for example, organisations in the health sector (Cohen, Gabriel & Terrell, 2002; Smedley, Butler & Bristow, 2004), organisations in the educational sector (Smith, 1995; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Tyler et al, 2004), and political organisations (Pitkin, 1967; Mansbridge, 2000; Preuhs, 2006). Another public sector is the security sector, which includes institutions such as the army, the police, and prisons. Among them, the police are especially interesting organisations to study with respect to internal diversity for a variety of reasons.

First, more than any other public service or organisation, the police are an institution with a highly symbolic meaning. They represent at the same time the capacity of a state to regulate behaviours and enforce order within its territory as well as the civil interests of public welfare, security, morality, and safety. Second, they are one of the best-known public institutions. Even minimally competent members of society are aware of the police’s existence, are able to invoke the services it provides, and know how to conduct themselves in its presence. As Bittner (2005: 150) says: “To imagine people who are not at all touched by the police one must conjure images of virtually complete isolation or of enormous wealth and power.” Third, the police have constant, intense and direct contact with large groups of citizens are constant, intense and direct (Theodoris & Mavrommati, 2004). Contact is not limited to certain domains, as is the case of teachers in a school or doctors in a hospital; it can occur in many spheres of life, including those that were, before the 18th century and the rise of the modern police, exclusively private. All of these characteristics lead to think that diversity within the police organisation can have a particularly large positive impact on society. Second, the police organisation seems to have a specific internal logic that is not common to most public institutions and that, in theory, could facilitate diversity. On the one hand, hierarchy plays an important role in the organisation, which is known for its uniformity, its focus on physical performance and its conservative task of maintaining order (Cashmore, 2002; Phillips, 2005; Johnston, 2006). On the other hand, no matter at what hierarchical level a new recruit starts, there is always a possibility to move upwards in the organisation by applying for promotion

courses. In theory, everyone can become chief of the police force. This is different than, for example, the hierarchical structure in hospitals, where nurses are trained to be nurses and are expected to assist doctors until they retire; they are not expected to become doctors by completing additional training during their career. Another good starting point for diversity, or so it seems... because studies in, for example, the United States (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002), New Zealand (Jaeger & Vitalis, 2005), the United Kingdom (Johnston, 2006; McLaughlin, 2007), Germany (Dudek, 2007) all show how the level of diversity within police organisations in reality is low. This contradiction of potentially large positive effect and potentially facilitative characteristics versus low levels of diversity, triggers academic curiosity: empirical studies in this context might lead to particularly revealing new insights on the internal dynamics of diversity in organizations.

This paper aims to contribute to this field of study by providing an overview of empirical data on diversity within police forces in Europe², whereas previous studies tend to focus on one country or one police force at a time. On the other hand, this paper aims to contribute to the existing literature on police diversity policies by identifying important research gaps and by proposing a way of structuring future research. As such, the paper answers two main questions: First, what is known about diversity in police forces in Europe? Second, what types of policies can be formulated to facilitate diversity within the police force?

Section 3.1 illustrates with empirical data on a wide variety of police forces in Europe how the general level of diversity (defined in terms of gender, migrant background, and sexual orientation) is low and diminishes as police officers' rank increases, although a positive change could be observed over the last decade.

² Unfortunately, not all desired information was available for all countries: much information had to be distilled from scattered sources, and the information on diversity in terms of migrant background, and especially in terms of sexual orientation, was much scarcer than the information on gender diversity. Completing these data is beyond the scope of this paper, although this observation is a plea for more attention for, and data-gathering on, these forms of diversity.

Section 3.2 summarizes briefly how academic literature explains these trends. As authors point to internal factors as both the main barriers for diversity and the most important anchor points for increasing it, the importance of studying police diversity policies is emphasized.

Section 3.3 identifies two important gaps in the literature on police diversity policies. First, no empirical study takes into account all three relevant policy areas (i.e. recruitment, retention, and promotion) at the same time, even though the effectiveness of policies in one area is likely to be influenced by its interaction with policies in one or both of the other policy areas. Secondly, comparative studies are practically absent from the literature, while (international) comparative descriptions are an essential first step towards the long-term goal of understanding the characteristics of police forces better, and developing insights that can explain variation between police forces (Bayley, 1999).

Given these findings, section 3.4 proposes taking a comprehensive view. It links different policy measures mentioned in the literature to all three policy areas (i.e. recruitment, retention, and promotion) to create a more coherent whole.

The conclusions summarize the findings and emphasize that applying this structure could help researchers to formulate more robust hypotheses regarding police diversity policies in future comparative studies as well as provide practitioners with a means to evaluate their policy measures and create more coherence between them.

3.1. Diversity within police forces in Europe

The level of diversity is low in general and diminishes as police officers' rank increases, although some positive changes over the last decades are evident. These observations are visualized in the following figure, and illustrated afterwards with empirical data on gender diversity, diversity in migrant background, and diversity in sexual orientation:

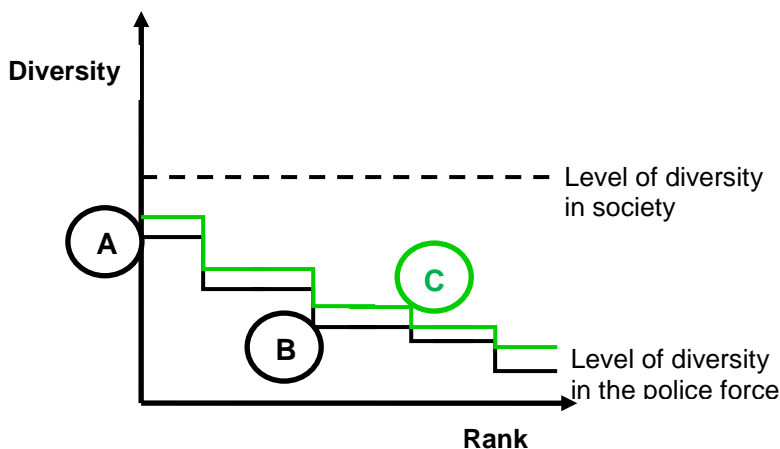


Figure 3.1. Diversity within police forces (observation A, B, and C)

Source: own elaboration

a) General levels of diversity are low (observation A)

The percentage of women, homosexuals, and persons with a migrant background is lower among police officers than in society. For example, the percentage of female police officers (non-civilian staff) among the basic officers of a variety of police forces in Europe never reaches 50 percent³:

³ It should be noted that this figure in particular (and the paper in general) focuses on the executive part of the personnel, i.e. the personnel in the line. Including data on the administrative or civilian part of the police personnel would probably have shown that women are often overrepresented, especially in the lower echelons of the organization. For example, 70 percent of the civilian staff in the Swedish Police Service (Swedish Police Service, 2009) and between 60 and 75 percent of the lower echelons (until ‘income level 8’) of the civilian staff in the Dutch police forces (LECD, 2008) is female.

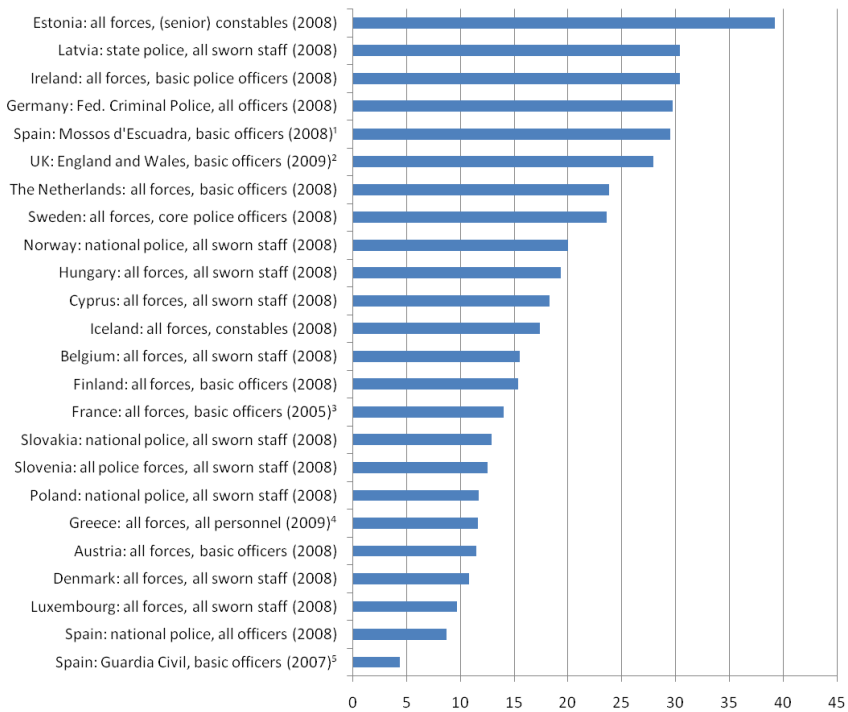


Figure 3.2. Percentage of female police officers in European police forces (percentage of basic police officers where possible, otherwise percentage of total police officers)

Sources: European Network of Policewomen (2008) Facts & Figures 2008 + other data sources: 1 (Programa d'Equitat, 2009), 2 (Home Office, 2009), 3 (Pruvost, 2009), 4 (Ministry of Citizen Protection, website), and 5 (Guardia Civil, 2007)

There is considerably less data on police officers with a migration background. In France, this information is officially unavailable, as French policy rejects registration on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion. However, the impression of politicians and academics is that the immigrant population is heavily underrepresented (Zauberman & Levy, 2003). The category only recently appeared in Catalonia (Spain), where in 2009 3.1 percent of the new recruits in training for the Mossos d'Esquadra had at least one parent born abroad, of which 2.3 percent had at least one parent born outside of the European Union (ISPC, 2009). Despite a rule introduced by the German government that allows non-nationals to become police

officers when they are urgently needed, in 1999, ethnic minorities made up around 1 percent of the entire German police force (Franzke, 1999). The United Kingdom and the Netherlands do offer recent statistics on ethnic minority representation within police forces. For example, in 2009, police forces in England and Wales counted 4.8 percent minority police officers at the constable rank (Home Office, 2009). And in the Netherlands, 6 percent of the police officers had a migration background (LECD, 2009).

Finally, figures on sexual orientation are even scarcer. This is not surprising as it is neither a visible characteristic nor is its registration generally found morally or legally acceptable. Even so, the rise of gay police officer associations indicates both attention to this form of diversity within police forces and a struggle for tolerance and recognition. Only recently, in 2002, the Stockholm police department became the first in Europe to permit its officers to march along with the Gay Pride Parade in uniform, which caused a considerable stir. In the following years, police in Britain, Norway and the Netherlands were also given permission to march in uniform at respective Gay Pride festivals. Currently, gay police associations exist in various European countries. They have also united themselves at the European level in the Gay Police European Network (see website).

Country	Name	Founded
United Kingdom	Gay Police Organisation (originally LAGPA)	1990
Sweden	Föreningen för GayPoliser y Sverige	2000
Germany*	VelsPol Deutschland	2005
Austria	Gay Cops Austria	2005
Italy**	Polis Aperta	2005
Spain	Gaylespol	2007
The Netherlands*	Landelijk Homonetwerk Politie "Roze in Blauw"	2008

* Some gay police associations for regional police forces were founded much earlier, such as Niederrhein-Westfalen in 1996 in Germany, and Amsterdam-Amstelland in 1999 in the Netherlands.

** In Italy, Polis Aperta is still a clandestine organisation, not recognised by any public institution.

Table 3.1. Gay police associations (country and year of foundation)

Sources: websites of respective gay police associations

b) Diversity diminishes as rank increases (observation B)

Again, if diversity is understood in terms of gender, migration background and sexual orientation, this means that the percentage of female police officers, homosexual police officers or police officers with a migration background is lower in the higher echelons of the police organisation than in the lower ones. This observation is based on empirical data on gender and migration background, although information on the migration background of higher-ranking police officers is scarce. There is no statistical data on the sexual orientation of police officers by rank. It should be noted that this paper focuses on hierarchical levels and diversity, leaving aside the relation between specialisations and diversity. The following table summarizes the data on various police forces (first in chronological, then in alphabetical order):

Country	Year	Diversity and rank	Sources
Greece	2003	Women in police organisation: 11.6% Female police officers, higher ranks (superintendent to lieutenant general): 3%	Theodoridis & Mavrommati (2004)
Spain	2007	<i>Guardia Civil</i> Female patrol officers: 4% Female officials: 0.2% Female superior officials (highest rank): 2.7%	Guardia Civil (2007)
	2008	<i>Mossos d'Esquadra</i> Female police officers (total): 29.5% Female inspectors: 7.6% Female intendentes: 10.3% Female commissioners: 0%	Programa d'Equitat (2009)
	2008	<i>Policia Nacional</i> Female patrol officers: 8.7% Female sub-inspectors: 11.4% Female (chief) inspectors: 1.6% Female (chief) superintendents: 1.9%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)
Austria	2008	Female officers, basic: 11.5% Female officers, middle management: 3.1% Female officers, senior management: 2.1%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)

Belgium	2008	Female officers, basic: 15.5% Female officers, middle management: 7.5% Female officers, senior management: 6.8%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)
Denmark	2010	Female police directors: 14% (2 out of 12) Police directors, migrant background: 0%	Website Danish Police Force
Estonia	2008	Female officers, basic: 39.2% Female officers, management: 28.9% Female officers, senior management: 4.5%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)
Finland	2008	Female officers, basic: 15.4% Female senior police officers: 6.8 Female commanding police officers: 5.1% Female officers, high command: 2.8%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)
Iceland	2008	Female constables: 17.4% Female sergeants: 0% Female (chief) inspectors: 7.8% Female (chief) superintendents: 2%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)
Netherlands	2008	<i>All 26 Dutch police forces</i> Female police officers (total): 22.1% Female police officers (strategic leadership positions to direction): 18.9% Officers, migration background (total): 5.6% Officers, migration background (strategic leadership positions to direction): 4.1%	LECD (2009)
Sweden	2008	Female officers, core: 23.6% Female officers, management: 13.9%	European Network of Policewomen (2008)
United Kingdom	2009	<i>England and Wales</i> Female police officers (total): 27.9% Female chief inspectors and above: 13.0% Chief inspectors and above, ethnic minority: 2.8% Police officers, ethnic minority (base): 6.3%	Home Office (2009)

Table 3.2. Percentages of female police officers in different ranks (11 European countries)

Sources: various (own elaboration)

There are only two exceptions to this rule. Both are related to gender diversity. The first exception is Ireland: in 2008, 30.4 percent of the basic police officers were female, versus 9.8 percent of the sergeants and inspectors, 4.6 percent of the (chief) superintendents and 16.7 percent of the (deputy, assistant) commissioners (European Network of Policewomen, 2008). This considerable rise in gender diversity requires a case study that has not been conducted so far and that goes beyond the scope of this paper. The second exception is France: in 2005, women were more present among the higher-ranking than among the lower-ranking police officers. Eighteen percent of the commissioners were female, versus 14 percent of female patrol officers. According to Pruvost, this is a consequence of two factors. First, since the 1970s a government feminist policy focused only on the higher ranks, for which higher education instead of physical strength was required. Second, there exists a conviction among police officers that women are fit to be police leaders because of their skills, but unfit to be patrol officers because of the risks (Pruvost, 2009). As a result, female police officers are more likely to access high ranks from the outside than by moving up internally from the lower ranks.

c) Increases in the levels of diversity (observation C)

Both the percentage of basic police officers with a diverse profile and the percentage of police officers at the highest levels of the organization with a diverse profile have increased, at least compared to a decade ago. Again, numbers are mostly available for gender diversity.

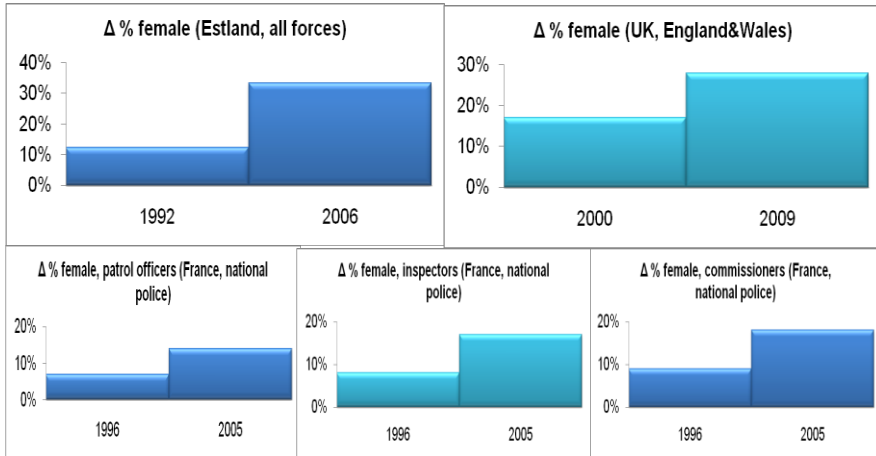


Figure 3.3. Changes in percentages of female police officers in three European countries

Sources: *Estonia* – Resetnikova (2006), *United Kingdom* – Westmarland (2001) and Home Office (2009), *France* – Pruvost (2009)

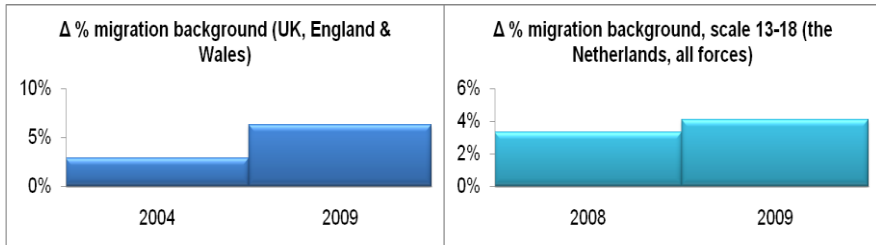


Figure 3.4. Changes in percentages of police officers with a migrant background in two European countries

Sources: *United Kingdom* – Waters et al (2007) and Home Office (2009), *Netherlands* – LECD (2008) and LECD (2009)

Also promising for gender diversity was the relatively high percentage of female police students in 2008 in Austria, 27.1% versus 11.5% of female basic police officers, and in Finland, 22.7% versus 15.4% of female basic police officers (European Network of Policewomen, 2008).

However, recently, some of these increases have come to a halt, and in some cases the percentages even decreased. Examples can be found for police officers with a migrant background, as well as percentages for female recruits, female police officers in general and high ranking female police officers:

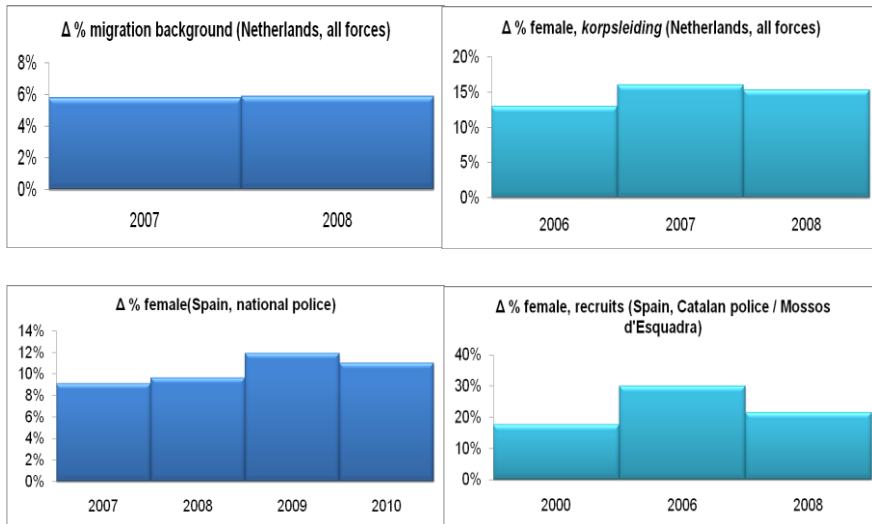


Figure 3.5. Stagnating change in two European countries

Sources: *Netherlands* – LECD (2008) and LECD (2009), Nederlandse Politie (2008), *Spain* – 20minutos (2010), ISPC (student statistics 2006-2007) and (ISPC (2009)

3.2. Academic explanations

In general, then, the empirical data from section 3.1 supports two conclusions. First, the general level of diversity in the police force is low, and diminishes when police officers' rank rises. Second, police forces are not static, and a positive trend (although slowing down in some cases) can be observed with regard to the level of diversity among police officers over the last years. What are the academic explanations for these observations?

a) Factors with a negative impact on diversity (ad observation A & B)

According to earlier publications, several external factors have a negative impact on the level of diversity among police officers on entering the police force. The main factor is that entering the police might not be seen as attractive to women or minority groups for various reasons, such as the lack of skills, the perception of being unwelcome because they see few police officers that share their diverse characteristics, the expectation of a hostile reaction of friends and family, or a preference for other professions with more status and less demanding working conditions (Waters et al, 2007). In the case of minorities with a migration background, this might be caused mainly by greater numbers of negative contacts with the police, and amplified by highly visible examples of this negative relationship between the police and diverse groups, such as the Stephen Lawrence affair⁴ in the United Kingdom or the riots in the *banlieus* of Paris in 2005.

However, most academic studies also indicate that the root causes of these incidents, as of all interactions between the police organisation and its environment, are internal. The common denominator most often invoked is ‘police culture’ (Cashmore, 2002; Goldsmith, 1990; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). This culture is repeatedly labelled as conservative and traditional (Brown, 1997), dysfunctional (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Metz & Kulik, 2008), ‘macho’ (Rowe & Garland, 2007), racist (Waters et al, 2007), homophobic and sexist (Miller et al, 2003). These, and other internal factors, such as intergroup racial conflict (Walker & O’Conner, 1999), lack of leadership (McLaughlin, 2007; Metz & Kulik, 2008) or different discourses (Dick & Cassell, 2002), are also said to be the reasons why non-white, homosexual or female police officers are hesitant to enter, do not advance as quickly as others to higher echelons of the organisation, or even leave the police force sooner than planned.

⁴ In 1999, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Macpherson, 1999) raised questions about racism in the public organisations of the United Kingdom. Under scrutiny were the actions of the police following the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence, and the subsequent mishandling of the case by the public authorities, which meant that his murderers were never convicted.

b) Factors with a positive impact on diversity (ad observation C)

First of all, external institutional factors, such as national laws and policies that favour the increase of diversity within organisations in general, are said to have very positive effects on the level of diversity within police forces (Van der Lippe et al, 2004). These might be especially influential when police forces have less autonomy to determine their own internal policies. For example, the European Union also plays a role. As early as in 1993, a report of the Council of Europe (1993: 18) clearly stated that “[t]he composition of police forces should normally be representative of the community it serves. This diversification of recruitment will establish a more trusting climate between the police and different population groups.”

However, internal factors are again indicated as a basic condition for real change and effective growth towards more diversity within police forces, contradicting the negative perception of police culture mentioned earlier. For example, Paoline argues that it is incorrect to talk about a unitary police culture in the first place, because organisational style, rank and individual officer style create variation in the cultural homogeneity of officers (Paoline III et al, 2000; Paoline III, 2003). Also, several other authors argue that police culture, as all cultures, should not be seen as a static, but as a changeable phenomenon, with potentially positive effects (Chan, 1997; Metz & Kulik, 2008).

In sum, academic publications indicate internal factors as the main barriers for diversity within the police organisation and at the same time as the most important anchor points for improvement. This draws attention to policies that aim to introduce (more) diversity within police organisations. However, the field of study on police diversity policies contains several gaps, as the following section will outline.

3.3. Research gaps in the field of internal police diversity policies

This section points to two gaps in the literature on diversity within the police force. First, there are few comprehensive policy analyses or evaluations. Here, comprehensive means to provide an overview of policies in all areas related to diversity. Second, comparative studies regarding the police are scarce, especially when it comes to policies aimed at diversity within the organisation.

a) Few comprehensive analyses

Many studies are dedicated to specific diversity policies that can be related to three main policy areas: recruitment, promotion, and retention. These publications often have a critical evaluative character and often include recommendations, if not for improving practice, than for necessary further research. Curiously, researchers appear to focus on no more than one or two policy areas at a time. The combination between recruitment (and selection) and promotion policy measures is a common one (Casey, 2000; Jain & Agocs, 2008; Johnston, 2006; Zhao et al, 2006), while others focus on the retention of police officers with a diverse profile, for example, by outlining measures that aim to improve the working environment of police officers (Armitage, 2006; Miller et al, 2003) or to manage relations with associations of Black and/or Asian police officers (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2004; Phillips, 2005), or to implement special training programmes (Cashmore, 2002; Rowe & Garland, 2007; Sharp & Asherton, 2007). In other words, there are no academic publications that provide us with an overview of diversity policy measures in all three policy areas, despite the fact that all of them have been argued to be important and inter-related:

Recruitment of police officers with a diverse profile is important, because, according to Mansbridge (2000: 101), "...especially in a context where the communication between representative and constituent would otherwise be undermined by distrust, descriptive traits allow a representative to represent constituents' substantive interests better." This would mean that police officers are in some

sense typical of others in society and therefore, in a way, represent them.

But also efforts to improve the retention and promotion of police officers with a diverse profile are important (Johnston, 2006). As Pharr (2000: 455) indicates: “Diversity politics seem to focus on the necessity for having everyone present and treated well in any given setting or organization. However, a danger of diversity politics lies in the possibility that it may become a tool of oppression by creating the illusion of participation when in fact there is no shared power.” Also, Dyke and Dyke (2002: 80-81) argue that “...(an) abstract affirmation of diversity can be part of the strategy for the maintenance of uniformity. ...if the appearance of diversity is enough to satisfy the demand for it, then the appearance is created at the expense of the reality.” These arguments are reinforced by the results of empirical studies, showing that minority ethnic members of staff were more likely to leave the police force and less likely to ascend (Phillips, 2005) and indicating that there will be no real changes towards more diversity in the organisational culture as long as minority police officers are not incorporated in sufficient numbers in all of the ranks of the organisation (Bowling & Phillips, 2005: 230), because new members will simply adopt the same stereotypes their fellow officers have (Cashmore, 2002; Holdaway, 1998; Sharp & Asherton, 2007).

In sum, recruitment, retention, and promotion are all important policy areas for diversity policy measures. Also, it is very probable that policies in one area influence those in another area and vice versa. Therefore, a non-comprehensive approach risks not exposing all relevant variables. This is especially an obstacle when critical analyses and recommendations for improvement are the goal, as was the case in the majority of the publications discussed in this subsection.

b) Few comparative studies

Another observation is that (international) comparative studies continue to be rare, both for studies on the police in general and even more so for studies on diversity policies within the police.

Early pioneers are Berkley (1968) and Bayley (1985), of which the latter commented at the time: “By and large, the police have not been subjected to comparative analysis. Until very recently neither historians nor social scientists appeared to recognize that police existed, let alone that they played an important role in social life. ... Police are noticed only during dramatic events of political oppression... Since the mid-1960’s this situation has changed. ... Comparative international work is still rare, however...” (Bayley, 1985: 4). But this lack of comparative studies continues to the present day, as was recently confirmed by Jaschke et al (2007) and by Ponsaers, Tange and Van Ostrive (2009), who argue for a move beyond the scientific and disciplinary ethnocentrism of research on policing and the police as a public institution in both a national and international context. Some positive exceptions are Van der Lippe et al, who wrote a paper about gender diversity in four police forces in different European countries, and Casey (2009), who published a book on comparative policing and dedicated one part to the theme of police and diversity.

Why are international studies considered important? The first reason is that a worldwide description of criminal justice practices and institutions is an essential first step towards the long-term goal of understanding their characteristics better. It would resolve the paucity of up-to-date information about policing worldwide, enabling the development of generalisations about the range of variation in police practice. Because of this lack of information, there have been few attempts to generalise so far, not even about fairly straightforward matters such as degrees of centralisation/decentralisation, ratios of police to population, proportions of personnel assigned to different ranks or functions, qualifications for recruitment, and training programmes (Bayley, 1999).

The second reason is one that applies to all comparative research by social scientists: only by extending the range of examples can more powerful insights be developed to explain variation. In their marginalisation of international comparisons, researchers of criminal justice institutions have been unable to see patterns of systematic variation. As a result, we know little about the factors that shape the character of policing and explanations tend to be simplistic, such as “historical reasons” or “people get the

government they deserve” (Bayley, 1999: 8). Jaschke et al (2007: 91) add:

“We don’t need more ‘comparative seminars’ where representatives from different countries tell their stories about how policing is done in their countries. Without comparable data, such exercises are of limited value. A far more ambitious approach is to develop systematic comparative studies based on shared methodological instruments, used to collect and produce truly comparative data. Only then can national differences be used as variables to test hypotheses and build theory.”

The third reason is that understanding the factors associated with differences in policing is not simply an academic exercise, but essential for practitioners who aim to successfully reform these public institutions. Only by examining the correlations of police practice abroad can one determine the conditions that are likely to facilitate or inhibit particular reforms at home (Bayley, 1999).

Why, then, are (international) comparative studies still so rare? One barrier is that key definitions often vary between countries and are not always easily identified and controlled (Mawby, 1999), making comparisons problematic. Looking at academic contributions, this seems to especially be the case concerning diversity policies within police forces. Diversity is often (implicitly) defined differently by focusing exclusively on a certain group or groups. These groups are distinguished by gender (Dick & Cassell, 2002; Dudek, 2007; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Zhao et al, 2006), sexual orientation (Blackbourne, 2006; Miller, Forest & Jurik, 2003), ethnicity, race or skin colour (Cashmore, 2002; Jaeger & Vitalis, 2005; Jain & Agocs, 2008; Johnston, 2006; Holdaway, 1998; Holdaway & O’Neill, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Walker & O’Conner, 1999), and religion (Armitage, 2007). Making this variance explicit and reflecting on the scientific and practical consequences of the chosen definition would significantly lower this barrier. A more radical solution would be to make the definition of diversity a central research topic (Van Ewijk, 2011).

Another important factor is the often limited availability of valid, reliable and detailed data (Mawby, 1999). This implies that researchers have to generate the data themselves, which is a time-

and cost-intensive process. However, this should not prevent social scientists from focusing on the police as a research topic. After all, if that would happen in all fields of study where data is scarce, social science would not have advanced the way it has.

Finally, the basis on which to compare and categorise is often complex (Mawby, 1999). This also goes for diversity policies within the police organisation. The next section offers a tool to overcome this problem and structure future comparisons, by outlining a comprehensive view that includes all policy areas related to diversity policies within the police organisation.

3.4. Facilitating future studies

This section provides a comprehensive framework by which to structure data on diversity policies within the police force, based on the policy areas of recruitment, promotion and retention. This facilitates both evaluations of the interactions between those areas and comparative studies.

a) A comprehensive view

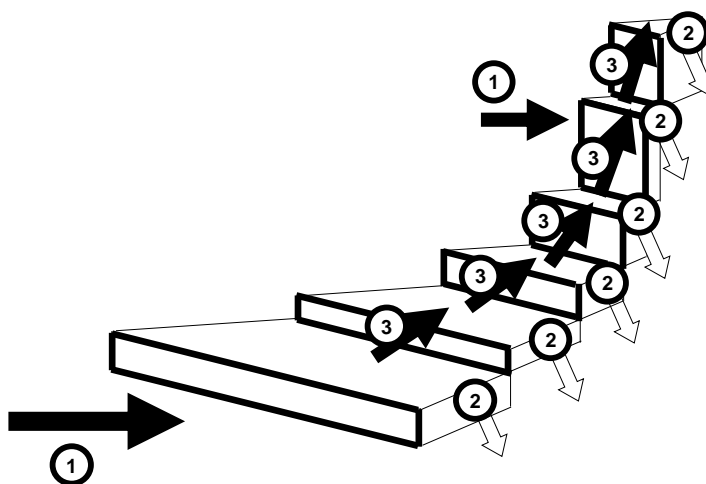


Figure 3.6. Visualisation of the police officer career path

Source: own elaboration

1) *Recruitment* refers to the inflow of new police officers. These might enter through the basic recruitment and selection process or via special side-entrance procedures for positions at higher levels in the organisation. Important policy measures would concern publicity campaigns, the content and format of tests, and so forth. Would one draw the analogy with a board game, this is where the game starts and participants receive a license to play.

2) *Retention*, refers to all policy measures specifically aimed at diminishing the unnatural outflow of police officers, in the sense that police officers leave the force before they retire. This includes attention for specific necessities of police officers, providing role models, coaches, etc. In the board game analogy, this means participants are stimulated to stay in the game as long as they can.

3) *Promotion*, finally, concerns the career path of police officers. The focus lies on the flow of police officers on to higher echelons, or hierarchical levels, of the organisation. This is related to education, in the sense that in order to rise in rank, police officers must pass certain courses. It is also related to job evaluation, talent programmes, content and goals of promotion courses, and so forth. Following the board game analogy, this is the path participants choose to follow to the finish and the way they can achieve more points to upgrade that finish.

Recruitment, retention and promotion together indicate the career path of police officers. Only by taking all of these areas into account can conclusions be drawn regarding diversity policies within the police organisation as a whole. Understanding how diversity is managed requires a comprehensive view, because these areas are all interdependent. Those that enter and stay can play the game and gain more points. Those that gain points, or believe they can, and are comfortable in the game enter and stay. By analysing what policies are formulated to attract police officers with a diverse profile and ensure they keep playing the game, researchers gain more insight into the dynamics of diversity within police forces and can compare them with other police forces in a structured manner. Also, practitioners might predict the effectiveness of diversity policies by analysing the coherence between policy measures in different areas. It can also warn them about the importance of

deliberation and conscious coordination in cases where multiple actors “control” different (parts of the) areas.

b) Policy types and measures per policy area

Finally, this subsection displays types of policies related to diversity within the police organisation, categorised per policy area. By offering a structured overview, a checklist if you may, for researchers and practitioners to identify all possible policy measures a specific police force might deploy, the second main question is answered. The policy types are illustrated with specific policy measures, based upon a broad selection of academic publications on diversity policies within police forces.

Policy area	Policy types	Policy measures
Recruitment	A. Publicity	Target groups (Casey, 2000; Metz & Kulik, 2008), media, channels (EPPHR, 2001; Wilson & Grammich, 2009; Wrench, 2007), language, relation of content to diversity (EPPHR, 2001; Wrench, 2007), job descriptions (Johnston, 2006)
	B. Preparation	Preparatory programmes, target groups (Bland <i>et al</i> , 1999; EPPHR, 2001; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Wrench, 2007)
	C. Selection process	Selection criteria (Casey, 2002; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Wrench, 2007), special criteria (Johnston, 2005), value of special skills (Johnston, 2006), tests (EPPHR, 2001), positive discrimination (Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007), profile evaluators and professors (Martínez, 2007), education and training of evaluators (Wrench, 2007)
	D. Profile new recruits (all levels)	Monitoring / registration profiles students (EPPHR, 2001), average profile (Jain & Agocs, 2008; Thériault, 2008), recruitment targets (Johnston, 2006; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Phillips, 2005), status recruitment targets (Van der Lippe <i>et al</i> , 2004)
Retention	A. Structure of the organisation	Diversity in vision and strategy (Metz & Kulik, 2008), diversity in organisational structure: diversity department or diversity manager (Casey, 2002; Dick & Cassell, 2002), diversity budget (Van der Lippe <i>et al</i> , 2004; Wilson & Grammich, 2009), complaint procedures / anti-discrimination institutions (Radford <i>et al</i> , 2006; Van der Lippe <i>et al</i> , 2004; Wrench, 2007)

	<p>B. Internal communication</p> <p>C. Working environment</p> <p>D. Minority police officer associations</p> <p>E. Content of courses</p> <p>F. Profile unnatural outflow</p>	<p>Internal awareness campaigns (Dick & Cassell, 2002; Radford <i>et al</i>, 2006), symbolic events (Metz & Kulik, 2008), behavioural/language guides (Martínez, 2007)</p> <p>Neutral working environment (Coleman & Cheurprakobkit, 2009; EPPHR, 2001), special physical arrangements (Jain & Agoocs, 2008), shift hours (Colvin, 2009; Martínez, 2007), shift composition (Colvin, 2009; Martínez, 2007), mentor/tutor/coach programme, flexibility in working experiences (Wilson & Grammich, 2009)</p> <p>Type of associations, organisational support, role (Holdaway, 1998; Phillips, 2005; Radford <i>et al</i>, 2006)</p> <p>Themes in curriculum, all levels (Coleman & Cheurprakobkit, 2009; EPPHR, 2001; Holdaway, 1998; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Metz & Kulik, 2008), role (Ungerleider & McGregor, 2008), objectives, role of civilians in design and implementation (EPPHR, 2001)</p> <p>Monitoring / registration profiles unnatural outflow (Casey, 2000), average profile outflow (Bland <i>et al</i>, 1999), exit interviews (Martínez, 2007), motivational checks among those who stay (Wilson & Grammich, 2009)</p>
Promotion	<p>A. Publicity</p> <p>B. Job performance evaluation</p> <p>C. Selection process</p> <p>D. Practical access to courses / positions</p> <p>E. Profile per level</p>	<p>Media, channels (Bland <i>et al</i>, 1999; Metz & Kulik, 2008), specific channels for specific groups (Martínez, 2007), talent programmes (Bland <i>et al</i>, 1999)</p> <p>Evaluation criteria, profile evaluators (Johnston, 2006; Phillips, 2005; Thériault, 2008)</p> <p>Selection criteria (Casey, 2002; Metz & Kulik, 2008; Wrench, 2007), special criteria (Johnston, 2006), value of special skills (Johnston, 2006), tests (EPPHR, 2001), positive discrimination (Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007), profile evaluators and professors (Martínez, 2007), education and training of evaluators (Wrench, 2007)</p> <p>Compatibility of working hours and other obligations (Van der Lippe <i>et al</i>, 2004; Martínez, 2007), compatibility of new responsibilities and other obligations (Van der Lippe <i>et al</i>, 2004)</p> <p>Monitoring / registration profiles per level (EPPHR, 2001), average profile (Dick & Cassell, 2002; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007), targets for specific groups and the status of targets (Van der Lippe <i>et al</i>, 2004)</p>

Table. 3.3. Policy areas, types, and measures

Source: own elaboration

3.5 Concluding remarks

As stated in the introduction, awareness has grown of the importance for organisations to adapt to their diverse surroundings, and private and public organisations have turned to specific policies to facilitate the inclusion of employees of diverse backgrounds. The police are no exception to this rule. However, this paper argues that some exceptional conclusions can be drawn regarding diversity within the police force.

First, policies related to diversity within the police are of specific interest to study as diversity within their organisation might have an exceptionally large social impact, because they are a highly symbolic institution with responsibilities to the state and the citizens, who interact with a broad part of the population in many different spheres. On the other hand, an explorative study of empirical data on diversity within police forces in Europe shows that diversity is low in police forces in general and diminishes as rank increases. Also, academic literature has identified organisational factors as both the causes of the negative relation between diversity and the police and at the same time as the most important anchor points for improving that relation, drawing attention to policies on diversity within the police force.

Second, this field of study contains two serious gaps: there are no comprehensive studies and few comparative studies. Using the comprehensive view by taking into account policies from all policy areas (recruitment, promotion and retention) will improve the understanding of researchers about the internal dynamics of the police force in relation to diversity: they will be able to explain the effectiveness or evaluate the coherence of policies better by taking all relevant variables into account. Using the comprehensive view will also facilitate practitioners in determining which successful policies can be copied from other contexts to their organisational practice, and which require a more profound change in other areas of the organisation first.

Finally, this paper hopes that others will use the comprehensive view to study and compare policies on diversity within police forces. After all, *“reflecting upon institutional actions in specific*

contexts could deepen our understanding of the mechanics behind conceptual issues in a way that abstract discussion does not” (Weick, 1979: 164).

4. ANALYZING THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY OF TWO POLICE FORCES IN EUROPE: THE *MOSSOS D'ESQUADRA* AND THE *POLITIE UTRECHT*

This paper offers a comparative case-study of the internal dynamics of diversity of the Mossos d'Esquadra (police force of the Catalan autonomous community, Spain) and the Politie Utrecht (police force in the province of Utrecht, the Netherlands). The cases are described in a comprehensive way (including policies in all relevant policy areas: recruitment, retention, and promotion) and analyzed with an analytical framework to identify what the definition of diversity is, why diversity within the organisation is perceived as important, and how diversity within the organisation is facilitated with policies. The goal of this paper is twofold: first, to offer a deeper understanding of the internal dynamics of diversity of the two police forces by comparing their particular contexts, and second, to demonstrate the academic potential of this new analytical framework.

Key words: police, diversity, Catalonia, Netherlands

Word count: 16.122

Introduction

Many private and public organisations have turned to specific policies to facilitate diversity within their organisations. The main goal is often the inclusion of (more) employees with a diverse profile. In Europe, this tendency is reinforced by the adoption of diversity as a central political priority by the European Union (Shaw, 2005).

The definition of diversity can have substantial consequences for the validity and scope of research results. Also, the way in which diversity issues are framed is critical to policies and/or organizational approaches to the topic (Smith, 1995), determining,

for example, how public budgets are designated to schools, or which development practices receive company funding. It might affect a person's social status, financial situation, juridical rights, and so forth. In sum, the definition of diversity and diversity policy is an interesting research topic by and of itself (Van Ewijk, 2011). In contrast, academic research on the definition of diversity is scarce and shows some important gaps.

First, studies employ only quantitative methods (Carrell & Mann, 1995; Point & Singh, 2003), relying on the face validity of key terms such as 'ethnic' or 'black' or 'age', while differences in the practical interpretation of those key terms by respondents are not at all improbable and may considerably affect the reliability and validity of the research results (Van Ewijk, 2011). This calls for more qualitative studies. Second, most studies on diversity and diversity policy were undertaken in the United States, Canada, or Australia; countries with a very specific experience of diversity because of their cultural, social, and historical context (Mor Barak, 2005). When contexts are different, it is important to refrain from universalizing ideas and knowledge and focus on the context at hand instead to gain more insight into the matter (Carens, 2000; Modood, Triandafyllidou & Zapata, 2006). This calls for more studies in the European context. Third, studies on the definition of diversity and diversity policy in the European context are all based on analyses of private organisations (Point & Singh, 2003; Liff, 1997, 1999; Wrench, 2007), while public organisations are worth to be studied, because of their scope: their potential 'customers' are all citizens. This calls for more empirical studies of public organisations.

In this regard, the police are of special interest. Despite of the potentially large positive impact on society of diversity within the police organisation and although in theory every officer can become police chief, empirical data on police forces in Europe show that the level of diversity (in terms of gender, migrant background, and sexual orientation) low among new recruits, and diminishes as police officers' rank rises (Van Ewijk, 2010). This contradiction makes that studying the police might be particularly revealing when it comes to the internal dynamics of diversity. However, the field of studies on policies related to diversity within the police also shows important gaps.

First, there are no comprehensive policy analyses. That is, none consider policies in all organisational areas related to diversity, that is, recruitment, promotion and retention (Van Ewijk, 2010). In contrast, the comprehensive view, which does include all three areas, will improve researchers' understanding of the internal dynamics of the police force in relation to diversity as it takes all relevant variables into account. After all, recruitment, retention and promotion are interdependent. For example, diversity is also not representative and less likely to produce positive effects, if it remains on the lower ranks only, and this apparent lack of opportunity structure is likely to make it more difficult to attract and retain ambitious officers with a diverse profile on the long run. Also, the comprehensive view will assist practitioners in identifying barriers for diversity within their organisation, and the policy areas or types they have to focus on to ensure a consistent policy approach. Second, comparative studies on the police are scarce in general and practically absent with regard to diversity within the police organisation. This, while (international) comparative descriptions are an essential first step towards the long-term goal of understanding their characteristics better, and towards developing insights that can explain variation. This understanding is also relevant for practitioners with reform ambitions; only by examining the correlations of police practice abroad can one determine the conditions that are likely to facilitate or inhibit particular reforms at home (Bayley, 1999).

Therefore, this paper offers a comparative case-study of the dynamics of diversity within two police forces in Europe: the *Mossos d'Esquadra* (police force of the autonomous region of Catalonia, Spain) and the *Politie Utrecht* (police force in the province of Utrecht, the Netherlands). These police forces are described in a comprehensive way (that is, including all relevant policy areas: recruitment, retention, and promotion) and analyzed with an analytical framework that identifies fundamental choices in the definition of diversity (the 'what'), in arguments for diversity within organisations (the 'why'), and in diversity policy approaches (the 'how'). This analytical framework has been recently formulated by Van Ewijk (2011), but has not been applied in empirical research so far.

The goal of this paper is twofold. First, it aims to offer a deeper understanding of the role that diversity plays in the particular context of these two police forces, by applying the analytical framework to identify fundamental choices with respect to diversity and diversity policy. Second, it aims to show the potential of the analytical framework by outlining several possibilities for theory building and policy learning generated by its application in empirical research.

The paper contains five sections. The first section introduces the criteria for the case-selection and the cases themselves. It also outlines the methods that were used for the data collection and analysis. The second section analyzes what definition of diversity is used in both contexts, while the third section focuses on why diversity within the organisation is deemed important, and the fourth section on how diversity within the organisation is facilitated. As such, this paper identifies fundamental choices with respect to diversity policy in three dimensions: ontological, deontological, and instrumental. The empirical material for these analyses is displayed in a comprehensive way: including all relevant policy areas (recruitment, retention, and promotion) and including statistics on the inflow, outflow and through-flow of police officers with a diverse profile. The fifth, and last, section comments on the possibilities for further research and policy learning generated by the application of the analytical framework in the particular contexts of the two police forces.

4.1. Methodology

Case studies allow for conceptual refinements with a higher level of validity over a smaller number of cases (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2003), while statistical studies run the risk of ‘conceptual stretching’ by lumping together dissimilar cases to get a larger sample. Another advantage of case-studies is the heuristic identification of new variables and hypotheses in the course of field work (George & Bennet, 2005). Comparing between cases shows how the same analytical framework (on the ‘what’, the ‘why’, and the ‘how’ of diversity within organisations) can be equally well applied in contexts that are in some aspects quite different, and

enhances possibilities to generate new theoretical and practical insights. This section describes the criteria for the case selection, and the main strategies in data collection and data analysis.

a) Case selection

The premise of the contextual approach is that the characteristics of the context are significantly intertwined with what happens within an organisation. This coincides with Yanow's approach of examining the relationship between the meanings made within the organisation and those made within the context the organisation is part of (Yanow, 1996). The epistemological base of this type of studies is the constructionist perspective: meanings are negotiated as a product of history and of social structure (Sapsford & Jupp, 1996). In line with this approach, the cases were chosen on the basis of certain internal and contextual similarities that are likely to provide a strong imperative to adapt the organisation to diversity, and certain internal and contextual differences that are likely to coincide with variation in fundamental choices concerning the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the diversity policy approach. These similarities and differences will increase the probability that a comparison between these cases leads to a deeper understanding of the role that diversity can play within police organisations, while demonstrating at the same time how the analytical framework can be applied in different contexts.

The first *similarity* that is likely to provide a strong imperative to adapt the organisation to diversity is that the demographical diversity within the area of jurisdiction of the police force is high. This is more likely in areas with high immigration numbers and large cities, as earlier studies confirmed that immigration is one of the main carriers of diversity, and this diversity tends to multiply and consolidate itself mostly in urban areas (Castles, 2002; Penninx *et al*, 2004; Ireland, 2004). The area of jurisdiction of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* includes the city of Barcelona (second in size in Spain) and 13.7% of the residents is born outside of Spain (website INE, Spanish National Institute of Statistics). The area of jurisdiction of the *Politie Utrecht* includes the city of Utrecht (fourth in size in the

Netherlands) and 20% of the residents have a non-western background (Atzema *et al*, 2008). These numbers on immigration do not have the same definition, but they suffice for the general conclusion that there is much diversity in the area of jurisdiction of both police forces.

Second, the police force is not only an instrument of the state to impose order if necessary, but also presents itself as a public service for its citizens. This combination of responsibilities maximizes the number of potential arguments for a more diverse police organisation (Van Ewijk, 2010). Both the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht* manifest this twofold orientation. According to the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, their mission is to protect the freedom and safety of the citizenry, in accordance with the law, and that this is why their tasks range from the protection of persons and goods to maintaining the public order (website *Mossos d'Esquadra*). According to the *Politie Utrecht*, their mission is 'vigilant and servient', and so they maintain public order, track down crime, and offer help, to ensure the safety of citizens and create/maintain the trust of citizens in the police (website *Politie Utrecht*).

Third, both police forces mostly execute generic policing tasks. Generic police forces have the most daily contact with the broadest selection of the population. This might increase the imperative to adapt, when the population becomes more diverse. Therefore, police forces that only have specialized functions, such as traffic, narcotics, or internet-crime, are excluded.

The first *difference*, that is likely to coincide with variation in the findings, is the history of immigration. Immigration in Catalonia has been sudden and explosive since the 1990's, while the Netherlands, including the urban province of Utrecht, experienced a steady flow of immigration since the 1950s.

Second, earlier studies have identified diverging governmental policies on diversity. Dutch public policies have long been denominated as multicultural (Penninx, 2005) although some detect a shift towards more individual integration (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2009) or even assimilation under the name of 'new realism' (Prins & Saharso, 2008). While Spanish and Catalan public policies are said to display a practical philosophy, a way of

managing diversity which is not based on established and preconceived ideas, but rather on questions and answers generated by the practice of governance of diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2010b).

Third, the governance structure for both police forces is different, and the decision-making power on organisational policies lies with different actors. The *Mossos d'Esquadra* are directed by the Secretary of Security, part of the Department of Interior Affairs. This public organ arranges the selection and recruitment of new police officers, together with public administrators of the Catalan police academy: the Institut de Seguretat Pública de Catalunya (ISPC), and involving police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. The same public organ also formulates, supervises and controls financial planning and staff management. The *Mossos d'Esquadra* only have operative management responsibilities. As such, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are exclusively composed of executive personnel, not administrative staff. The *Politie Utrecht*, on the other hand, is overseen by the Minister of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. Every four years, this Minister and the Minister of Justice draw up a policy plan on policing with national priorities, national objectives, and the expected contribution from each police force. A force that achieves its objectives will receive more funding. All forces have to render account for how they spend their grants. Also the regulation of communication systems, uniforms and police pay is managed at central government level. The *Politie Utrecht* decides on its own staff requirements and applications (although the national Police Academy conducts the selection tests). The *Politie Utrecht* also has its own career development policies, except for the most senior officers, who are appointed by the Crown (represented by the Minister of Interior and Kingdom Relations and the Minister of Justice). 65 percent of their staff are sworn police officers, while 35 percent are administrative employees.

Fourth, there are differences in educational structure. In the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, both basic education and specialization and promotion courses are coordinated, and in many cases also provided, by the ISPC, also responsible for the education of local police forces, firemen and public administrators operative in detention. There is only one initial training course for new recruits, starting once a year, which consists of nine months of continuous education, after which an internship of twelve months follows. In

the case of the *Politie Utrecht*, the national Police Academy offers six initial training courses (depending on the prior education of candidates), starting four times per year (except at the university level), all of which combine working and learning. The duration of the courses varies: voluntary police officer, assistant police officer, police officer (education level 3), all-round police officer (education level 4), bachelor in police studies (university level), and master in police studies (university level). The Police Academy also offers post-initial training related to specializations or promotions.

Fifth, differences in age and size of the police forces might influence policy priorities and the resources available to dedicate to the theme of diversity. Since 1719 the *Mossos d'Esquadra* appeared in Catalan history with various mandates. In 1983, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* were founded as a modern democratic police force. In the beginning their tasks were limited and it was not until 1994 that their expansion over the whole of Catalonia as an integral police force started. This expansion was completed by November 2008. By that time, the number of police officers had grown, from 5.000 officers in 1999 to 14.143 officers in 2008 (Departament d'Interior, Relacions Institucionals i Participació, 2009). From 1945 to 1993, the Dutch police service consisted of numerous municipal police forces and the national police. Since 1993, the Dutch police service is divided into 25 regional forces and the National Police Services Agency (KLPD) which has various specialist and support departments. The *Politie Utrecht* is a medium sized police force with 3852 employees in 2009 (website *Politie Utrecht*, 'jaarverslag 2009', last access: October 2010).

The *Mossos d'Esquadra* are the police of the Catalan autonomous community in Spain. The *Politie Utrecht* are the police in the province of Utrecht in the Netherlands. As final part of their introduction, before continuing with the data collection and analysis, figure 1 presents their areas of jurisdiction:

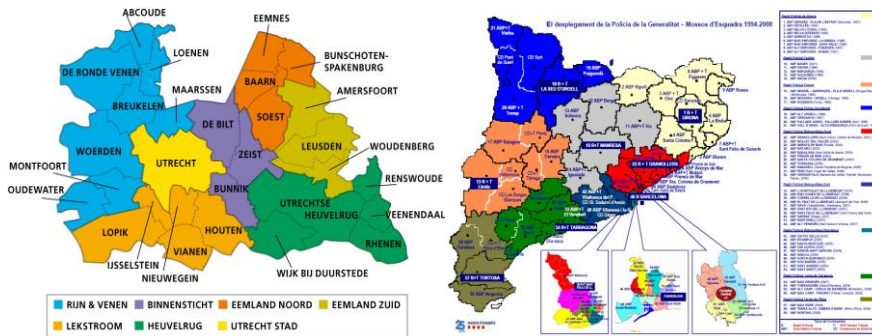


Figure 4.1. Districts of the Politie Utrecht and the Mossos d'Esquadra

Sources: Website *Politie Utrecht*, website *Mossos d'Esquadra*

b) Data collection and content analysis

It is important to distinguish well between the units of data collection and the units of analysis (Neuendorf, 2002). In this paper, the units of data collection are persons and documents, while the units of analysis are the three parts of the analytical framework on the definition of diversity (the 'what'), the motivation for diversity within organisations (the 'why'), and policy approaches related to diversity (the 'how'). To provide as much transparency as possible in the methodology of this comparative case-study, this section outlines the methods used to collect and analyze the data.

This paper draws its data from documents and persons. Two data collection methods were employed. First, a desk-research identified relevant documents and persons to interview; through the websites of the police forces and related organisations, and through internet search engines. Second, semi-structured interviews created information in the form of interview reports, and provided access to other relevant documents, mostly those for internal use and not available for the general public.

When applying Prior's (2003) distinction between the content, the production, and the consumption of documents to these particular case-studies, several observations can be made. First, with respect

to the content, this paper focuses mainly on text, exceptionally including some figures and photos. Second, as documents are essentially situated or social products, constructed in accordance with the rules of the collective they originate from, documents from four different backgrounds were included to multiply perspectives and diminish this bias: the police organization itself, the police academy, NGO's and associations of/for police officers, and the Ministry or Department of Interior Affairs. Third, the audience the author had in mind when producing the document may affect its content. Therefore, both public documents, for a broad audience mostly outside the organisation (such as newspaper papers, books, annual reports, websites), and internal documents, for a limited audience mostly inside the organisation (such as strategic policy papers, and HRM statistics) were included, to reach conclusions that are more representative of the organisation as a whole.

16 persons were interviewed regarding the *Mossos d'Esquadra* (October 2008 to January 2010), and 16 persons were interviewed regarding the *Politie Utrecht* (May 2009 to May 2010). The interviews were based on a semi-structured questionnaire, lasting between 60 and 90 minutes. In general, these interviews were executed individually and face to face, with some exceptions (there were two double-interviews, and two interviews took place by phone and two by email). Also the respondents were selected from four different backgrounds: the police organization itself, the police academy, NGO's and associations of/for police officers, and the Ministry or Department of Interior Affairs. These respondents were initially found through the websites of these organisations, and afterwards through references that resulted from the first interviews. Respondents were selected for interview when they occupied a position that allowed them to play an influential role in the process of policy-making and/or the implementation of the policies related to diversity in the areas of recruitment, retention and promotion.

In accordance with the comprehensive view (Van Ewijk, 2010), both documents and interviews were used to collect information on the inflow, outflow and through flow of police officers with a diverse profile, and on policies related to diversity in the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion. Afterwards, a detailed case study write-up was made for each police force, to help cope with the deluge of collected data, and to provide a sound basis for the

cross-case analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989) of the content. Despite of the fact that both police forces collaborated with the research, it was not possible to collect exactly the same information (especially on police officer statistics) for both cases, due to differences in registration habits and information infrastructure.

The complete questionnaire for each police force (which was personalized for each respondent according to their position and functional expertise) and an overview of the interviews (dates and positions of the respondents) can be found in the appendix. When references are made to specific documents, they are included in the list of reports and other sources of empirical data below the academic references.

A qualitative content analysis was used to make valid inferences, from both the documents and the interview reports, with respect to the units of analysis, i.e. the three parts of the analytical framework that Van Ewijk (2011) formulated to study diversity within organisations: first, the definition of diversity, second, the motivation for diversity within organisations, and third, approaches in policies related to diversity. As categories are established from theory prior to the interpretation of the underlying context, this research could be defined as a ‘directed approach of content analysis’ (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), utilizing ‘a priori coding’ (Weber, 1990). See Van Ewijk (2011) for an elaborate description of this analytical framework.

Unit of analysis (dimension)	Fundamental choice to be identified	Operationalisation at the level of the documents / interview reports
1. Definition of diversity (ontological dimension: the ‘what’)	<p>A. Selection of modes of differentiation</p> <p>B. Interpretation of modes of differentiation</p> <p>C. Categorization of modes of differentiation: hard or soft, old or new, collective or individual</p>	<p>Existence and frequency of references to specific ‘forms of diversity’, such as gender, religion, thinking types, migrant background, age, and so forth</p> <p>Practical meaning of key terms related to these forms of diversity in specific context, such as ‘immigrants’, ‘old’, ‘extrovert’, and so forth</p> <p>Hard – soft: practically unchangeable and permanent versus changeable and less permanent Old – new: historical references to this form of diversity in the context versus no</p>

		historical references Collective – individual: form of diversity is linked to specific groups of which all members have some characteristics related to this form of diversity in common, or form of diversity is not necessarily linked to a group but seen as important for some individuals
2. Motivation for diversity within the organisation (deontological dimension: the 'why')	A. Type of arguments: moral or practical B. Desired base of difference: individual or collective	Key concepts related to moral arguments: justice, social (in)equality, (in)equity, rights, (anti)discrimination, human agency, representativeness, symbolic (dis)advantages, responsibility. Key concepts related to practical arguments: effectiveness, efficiency, results, practical (dis)advantages related to goal achievement, such as productivity, creativity / innovation, absenteeism, staff turnover, and so forth Individual – collective: end goal is to support individuals (ensuring equal opportunities) versus end goal is to support groups (ensuring collective characteristics are valued)
3. Approach in policies related to diversity within the organisation (instrumental dimension: the 'how')	A. Perceived relevance of collective differences for policy-making is low (individual-based) or high (collective-based) B. Scope: approach intensity is low or high	Individual-based: all policies that promote equal opportunities of individuals Collective-based: all policies that are adapted to social group differences Low: only some processes or policy areas are adapted to the approach High: the approach is visible in the entire organisation

Table 4.1. Operationalizing the categories of the analytical framework

Source: own elaboration

Conclusions were drawn at the level of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht* in an iterative and holistic way. Earlier interpretations were revised in the light of later readings and the results were interpreted for the whole body of literature and interview reports (Krippendorf, 2004), instead of evaluating each source of information individually.

To make valid inferences, it is important that the classification procedure is reliable in the sense that it is consistent (Weber, 1990). By making the so-called qualitative areas in the research process recognizable, possibilities of objectifying individual case-studies are opened up (Bos & Tarnai, 1999). Mathes (1988), for example, attempted to achieve an objectification of his category formation by examining the text through discursive dialogue with experts, which contributes to a certain degree to the objectification of qualitative studies (Bos & Tarnai, 1999). This lesson was also applied here: four experts were asked to give their opinion about the complete questionnaire and the analytical framework, which led to some modifications. These persons were: the director of the Catalan police Academy (the ISPC), the Head of the Technical Office of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* for the area of Barcelona, the lector on diversity of the Dutch Police Academy and the administrator of the HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht* responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization.

Also, as the content of the sources cannot be deduced independently of the interpretation of the reader (Krippendorf, 2004), triangulation took place during the data collection, by sharing preliminary conclusions with fellow researchers, and after analyzing the empirical material and displaying the results in this paper, by asking two experts whether they recognised the interpretation of the texts: the administrator of the HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht* responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization, and the research coordinator of the ISPC. To make this process transparent for the reader, footnotes to the sources are provided for each statement and/or conclusion in the following sections.

4.2. Applying the framework: what is the definition of diversity?

Diversity is about meaningful differences: principles by which people, from context to context, situation to situation, mark themselves and each other as different (Vertovec, 2009) in a way that influences their identity and way of life (Young, 1990). Three fundamental choices underlie the definition of diversity: a selection

of modes of differentiation, the practical interpretation thereof, and a possible categorization into hard or soft, old or new, and individual or collective (for a more elaborate description of these choices, see Van Ewijk, 2011). Table 4.2 offers a visual summary of the definitions of diversity in the contexts of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*. As can be observed, these definitions are strikingly similar. This section elaborates the analyses that led to this conclusion.

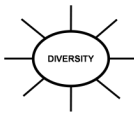


Fundamental choice in the definition of diversity	 Selection	 Interpretation	 Categorization
Both police forces (similarities)	Gender	Physical differences between man and woman	Hard, old/new, collective
<u>Mossos d'Esquadra</u> <u>Politie Utrecht</u> (differences)	Migrant background	(one of the parents <u>or grandparents</u>) born outside of the EU	<u>Soft, new</u> <u>Hard, old/new</u> Collective

Table 4.2. Similarities and differences in definitions of diversity (*Mossos d'Esquadra* and *Politie Utrecht*)

Source: Van Ewijk (2011) + own elaboration

a) Selection of modes of differentiation

Concerning diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*, the modes of differentiation that are most dominant in both contexts are gender and migrant background, despite of the fact that other modes of differentiation (such as age, religion, colour, physical validity, sexual orientation, educational background) also come to the fore in more elaborate discussions or studies (Politie Academie, 2009). Attention for other modes of differentiation is there, but much more limited⁵. It was not the objective of this study

⁵ Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

to identify the motives for this focus. Even so, a few respondents commented that some modes of differentiation were either too sensitive to focus on in the police context, such as religion and sexual orientation (in the case of the *Politie Utrecht* both⁶, in the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* sexual orientation⁷), or not relevant as there was no critical mass within the police force, such as religion in the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*⁸, or simply very recent on the agenda, such as age⁹. Either way, the observation that diversity was mostly related to gender and migrant background, is illustrated with examples from the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion.

In the area of recruitment, for instance, there is specific attention for gender diversity in the recruitment communication of the *Politie Utrecht* since the 1980's, and 40% of the openings is reserved for suitable female candidates until the last possible moment, after which other suitable candidates are admitted to the selection process¹⁰. Also, there has been specific attention for diversity in migrant background in the recruitment communication of the *Politie Utrecht* since the 1990's, 30% of the openings is reserved for suitable candidates with a migrant background until the last possible moment¹¹, and several programmes from the *Politie Utrecht*¹² and a

⁶ Interview with the director of the National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD) from 2004 to 2009 (Dutch Police Academy): 18 June 2009, Apeldoorn

⁷ Double interview with the president and vice-president of the Gay and Lesbian Police Association (Gaylespol): 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

⁸ Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

⁹ Interview with the content expert on diversity in physical abilities, age, and gender of the National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD) of the Dutch Police Academy: 20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

¹⁰ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

¹¹ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

¹² IOOV (2009) Diversiteit bij de politie, available online: <http://www.minbzk.nl/117669/diversiteit-bij-de> (Bijlage IV Diversiteit bij de politie, p. 155-173 on the *Politie Utrecht*)

Politie Utrecht (19 Jun 2009) "Werven, schakelen en survivaltraining"

programme of the Police Academy¹³ have been designed to connect with possible candidates with a migrant background. Finally, the national recruitment website displays photos of female police officers and police officers with a migrant background more often than expected on the base of their representation within the police. The only other mode of differentiation that comes to the fore in recruitment communication sometimes, is sexual orientation: the *Politie Utrecht* participates in Gay Parades and the national recruitment campaign of 2009 included a famous publicly gay Dutch magician, Hans Klok. Some visual illustrations of these conclusions are:

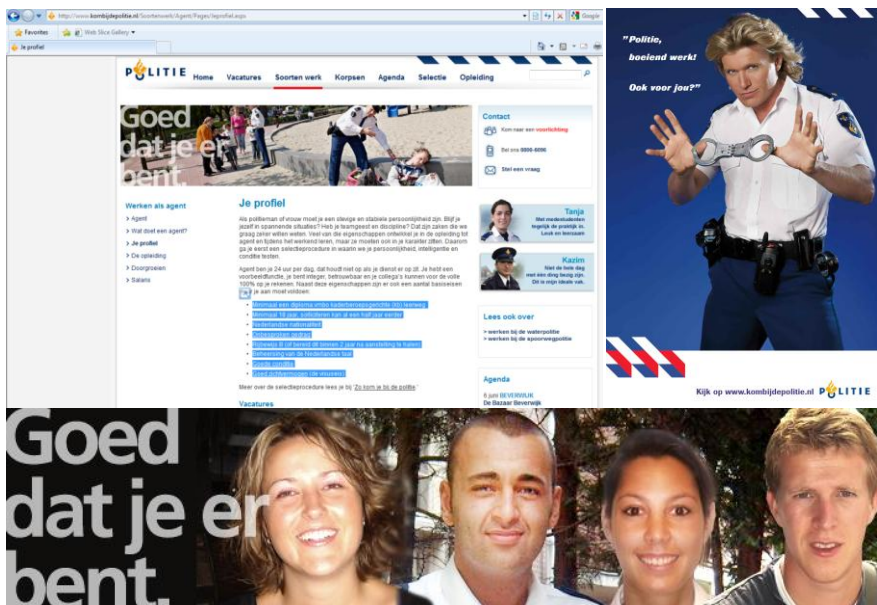


Figure 4.2. Examples from the Dutch national recruitment website

Source: website www.kombijdepolitie.nl

No target groups have been officially defined to be recruited for the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although photos of female police officers are usually included in the general folders that the Catalan government

¹³ *Politie Utrecht*, Regionale afdeling P&O, Bureau Instroom (15 Nov 2008) “Visie & missie werving en selectie allochtonen”

produces and distributes¹⁴ and in 2008 and 2009 the Gender Equity Program of the Department of Interior Affairs launched campaigns in 2008 and 2009 specifically aimed at women. Efforts to connect with gay community, such as participating in the Gay Parade for the first time on the 28th of June in 2009, are exclusively initiated by the gay police officer association Gaylespol.¹⁵ Finally, there has been a separate publicity campaign to recruit candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme, designed to help these candidates prepare for the official selection procedure in 2007 and 2008. Some visual illustrations of these conclusions are:



Figure 4.3. Publicity for the Mossos d'Esquadra (general call for candidates - 1997 and 2009 -, call for female candidates - 2008 -, and call for candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme - 2007)

Source: Unitat de Promoció & Gender Equity Programme (Programa per a l'equitat de gènere) of the Department of Interior Affairs of the Generalitat of Catalonia

¹⁴ Interview with the Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes (General Subdirection HRM of the Department of Interior Affairs): 3 October 2009, Barcelona

¹⁵ www.gaylespol.org

In the area of retention, the Ministry of Interior Affairs formulated targets for 2011 on gender and migrant background with financial consequences for the *Politie Utrecht*, both for the police force in general and for specific higher ranks. In 2008, the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the police commanders founded the work group ‘PolitieTop Divers’ to stimulate and monitor these objectives¹⁶. Also, basic and advanced education on diversity at the Dutch Police Academy focuses almost exclusively on migrant background outside and within the organisation¹⁷, just as the ‘knowledge lectorate’ founded in 2008 focused on multicultural professionalism.¹⁸ The Regional Expertise Centre of Diversity (RECD) of the *Politie Utrecht* (with 3.4 FTE and a budget of 100.000 Euros in 2009) has a strong focus on diversity in migrant background, immediately followed by gender, and there is some attention for age and sexual orientation¹⁹. Finally, the *Politie Utrecht* hosts various police officers associations, such as the Kleurrijk Politie Netwerk Utrecht (KPNU) that supports police officers with a migrant background²⁰ and the HomoInformatiePunt (HIP) that supports gay and lesbian police officers and seeks contact with the gay and lesbian population of the province of Utrecht²¹. Furthermore, female police officers of the *Politie Utrecht* participate in national female networks, such as the women network 13+ (for all female police officers with income scale 13 or higher – senior management)²². Other associations mentioned in documents and by respondents are the national police unions who also pay

¹⁶ Website Politietop Divers: www.politietopdivers.nl

¹⁷ Interview with the coordinator of the teaching programme, all basic levels (Department of Basic Education, Dutch Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

Interview with the content expert on diversity in research and education (LECD, Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Utrecht

Internal documents of the Police School for Leadership (SPL) of the Dutch Police Academy: <http://spl.politieacademie.nl/>

¹⁸ Annual report LECD 2008

¹⁹ RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011

Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

²⁰ Vision document KPNU (24 November 2007)

²¹ <http://www.politie.nl/Utrecht/> (the HIP changed its name to ‘Homonetwerk Zichtbaar Jezelf’ in the autumn of 2010)

²² Interview LECD member responsible for gender diversity (20 August 2009)

attention to diversity within the police force; for example, the largest police union (the NPB) provides specific advice for certain categories of police officers: young, female, gay, color, and senior²³.

Also for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* goes that basic and advanced education on diversity at the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC) focuses mostly on diversity in migrant background in Catalan society²⁴, although there are some short courses on gender diversity²⁵ and diversity in sexual orientation²⁶ within and outside of the organisation. Furthermore, UNESCOCAT offers sessions on request at police stations on diversity in migrant background, also mostly outside of the organisation²⁷. There is some juridical attention²⁸ for the requests of AIL-MED²⁹, an association that strives to improve the position of police officers that have become handicapped in the line of duty. Gaylespol is an association for gay, lesbian and transsexual police officers in Catalonia, also including members of other (local and national) police forces in Catalonia. Its activities have no formal place within the organisation of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, in contrast with the Comisió de les Dones Policies (Female Police Officers Commission) that was founded in 1999 on the request of the police commissioner of Girona³⁰ and has

²³ Website ACP (www.acp.nl), website ANPV (www.anpv.nl), website NPB (www.politiebond.nl)

²⁴ ISPC (2008) Programa d'activitats formatives (curriculum basic education), Mollet del Vallès: ISPC, Departament d'Interior. Additional course information (basic + advanced levels): internal documents of the ISPC

²⁵ Voluntary seminar on gender within the police force (6h, place for 30): internal document of the ISPC.

²⁶ Voluntary seminar on sexual diversity and human rights (6h, place for 15): internal document of the ISPC.

²⁷ Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona
Presentation at the conference of UNESCOCAT on police and diversity on the 17th of December 2009 by Lola Vallès, research and international cooperation coordinator of the ISPC

²⁸ Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya Núm. 5282 – 19.12.2008 - DECRET 246/2008, de 16 de desembre, de regulació de la situació administrativa especial de segona activitat en el cos de *Mossos d'Esquadra*.

²⁹ Website AIL-MED: <http://ailmed.wordpress.com>

³⁰ Gubianes, R.M. (2000) La Comissió de la Dona Policia – el treball desenvolupat i les propostes, *Mossos*, 10, 26-28

been reinstated as commission in 2010³¹. Finally, some female police officers of both the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht* had or had had contact with the European Network for Policewomen, the ENP³².

Finally, in the area of promotion, statistics concerning the recruits and members of both police forces could only be found on the inflow, outflow, and through-flow of female police officers and officers with a migrant background. For an overview of these statistics, see section 4.4.

b) Interpretation of modes of differentiation

‘Gender’ has the same practical meaning in both contexts: it refers to the biological distinction between male and female. ‘Migrant background’ is also interpreted in a similar way, with some slight discrepancies.

In general, ‘migrant background’ has the same practical meaning in the sense that ‘born abroad’ in both contexts usually refers to ‘born outside of the European Union’³³.

The *Politie Utrecht* use the term ‘allochtoon’, which is often employed in the Netherlands to refer to diversity in migrant background. According to the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS)³⁴ ‘allochtoon’ refers to a person of which at least one parent is born abroad. Afterwards, a distinction is made between persons who are born abroad themselves (part of the so-called ‘first generation’), those who are born in the Netherlands (‘second generation’), and sometimes even those whose grandparents are born abroad (‘third generation’).

³¹ Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, and Head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell

³² Website ENP: www.enp.nl

³³ Various interviews: 2009, Catalonia

³⁴ Website CBS: www.cbs.nl

The most dominant term in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is 'immigrants', used by both journalists and representatives of the Catalan Police Academy³⁵. The ISPC registers only which students are born abroad, or have parents that are born abroad³⁶. Curiously, no reference to diversity in migrant background within the police force is made in documents, for example HRM statistics, of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*.

c) Categorization of modes of differentiation

Hard versus soft

Both in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*, gender is considered as a relatively hard mode of differentiation: a human difference that is inborn and/or exerts an important impact on early socialisation and has an ongoing impact throughout life (Griggs, 1995). For example, the message of the Program for Gender Equity of the Department of Interior Affairs in Catalonia is that 'women are equal, but not the same'.³⁷ In both contexts, gender is seen as a hard mode of differentiation as a consequence of an influential mix of physical difference (women as child bearers) in combination with socio-cultural convictions on the difference in gender roles, especially for families with young

³⁵ <http://www.publico.es/199379/los-mossos-no-despiertan-interes-entre-los-inmigrantes>
<http://www.adn.es/ciudadanos/20071003/NWS-2653-Mossos-reclutan-inmigrantes.html>

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

³⁶ ISPC internal documents on inflow, outflow and through-flow of recruits

³⁷ Interview with work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona
Gender Equity Programme (unpublished) Estudi per al Pla de polítiques de dones del Govern de la Generalitat de Catalunya 2008-2011: Department of Interior Affairs.

children (women as caretakers), resulting in gendered preferences and ambitions and gendered evaluations of capacities³⁸.

In the context of the *Politie Utrecht*, migrant background is also considered as a hard mode of differentiation. That is, it is not seen as something temporary anymore, as often the second and even the third generation of immigrants is included in the concept of 'allochtoon' in policy documents³⁹.

In the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* migrant background is seen as a soft mode of differentiation: a human difference that helps to distinguish the self from the other but is seen as less permanent and hence adaptable (Litvin, 1997). In this sense, migrant background is only seen as a relevant difference temporarily, until some administrative differences (when migrants achieve of Spanish nationality) and practical differences (when migrants learn Catalan) associated with this mode of differentiation nowadays disappear. For example, the representative of UNESCOCAT⁴⁰ stated that the entrance of minorities with a migrant background in the *Mossos d'Esquadra* was just a matter of time; within one generation candidates from these groups would have the Spanish nationality and proper preparation to compete in the public selection process. While the director of the ISPC⁴¹ stated that it was a matter of time and critical mass; entrance has to be stimulated until a critical mass of minorities is present within the police force, afterwards the promotion of migrant minorities will follow automatically.

³⁸ Kop, N. & Van der Wal, R. (2008) Op naar de top! Over carrièremogelijkheden van hoog opgeleide politievrouwen, Onderzoeksgroep Landelijk Expertise Centrum Diversiteit: Politieacademie
Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

³⁹ *Politie Utrecht* (2011) Werven, schakelen, en survivaltraining, internal HRM document *Politie Utrecht*.

RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011

⁴⁰ Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona

⁴¹ Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

Old versus new

It is difficult to characterize gender as either an old or a new mode of differentiation. On the one hand, respondents tend to consider it as old, for gender has almost always constituted an important difference in human societies. On the other hand, only since the Police Emancipation Plan was published in 1990 policies were formulated to enhance the position of female police officers within Dutch police forces, resulting in the foundation of the Association for Police and Emancipation (SPE) in 1991 and the official foundation under Dutch law of the European Network for Policewomen (ENP) in 1994. As with most Dutch police forces, gender only became an issue within the *Politie Utrecht* itself after national, external developments on the topic⁴². Also, attention for gender in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* only resulted in institutional action in 1999 when the Female Police Officer Commission was founded, regaining attention in 2007 with the coming of the Program for Gender Equity, not until 2009 leading to a request by a few female *Mossos d'Esquadra* for an independent internal team, which was approved in 2010⁴³.

It is also less clear whether migrant background is perceived as old or new by the *Politie Utrecht*. On the one hand, migrant background has been a prominent form of diversity since the 1960's and was already a point of attention for the *Politie Utrecht* in the 1980's. On the other hand, this attention only resulted in institutional action in 1998 with the foundation of the EXPA, focusing on the interaction between the *Politie Utrecht* and persons with a migrant background⁴⁴, whose focus changed to include the incorporation of persons with a migrant background when it was transformed in to the Regional Centre of Diversity Expertise (RECD) in 2005⁴⁵.

⁴² Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

⁴³ Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, and Head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell

⁴⁴ <http://www.iofc.nl> - Website Initiatives for Change Nederland - Speech of J.Th.L. Papeveld (director Expertisecentrum Politie & Allochtonen, EXPA)

⁴⁵ RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011

Migrant background in the Catalan context is considered as new in the sense that the presence of minorities with a migrant background from outside of Europe is relatively new in Catalonia⁴⁶, but it is considered as old in the sense that Catalonia is presented as a nation of immigration throughout its history (Zapata,2007), and new immigrants are expected to integrate with the existing society, just as, for example, the national immigration flows from the south of Spain have done.

Individual versus collective

In both contexts, gender is perceived as a mode of differentiation that is essentially collective. It is linked to a collective whose members are generally considered to have some specific characteristics (that imply meaningful difference) in common because of their gender (Van Ewijk, 2011). In this study, sources refer to the physical capacity to bear children, preferences or ambitions with respect to work, and ‘feminine’ capabilities.

Migrant background is also perceived as a collective mode of differentiation in both contexts. Being born abroad or having (grand)parents that are born abroad is linked to the observation that candidates of this collective often lack specific requisites (for example, excellent domination of the Dutch or Catalan language⁴⁷, or the Spanish nationality) or experience in specific capacities (for example, assertiveness⁴⁸). Also, it is linked to a specific value that members of this collective can offer the police organisation: inside knowledge of the habits, religions, languages and other forms of diversity that come with their migrant background.

Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

⁴⁶ Ajenjo (2008)

⁴⁷ Curriculum Programa de Diversificación Social (300h), internal document of the ISPC: September 2008.

⁴⁸ *Politie Utrecht* (2011) Werven, schakelen, en survivaltraining, internal HRM document *Politie Utrecht*.

4.3. Applying the framework: why is diversity within the organisation deemed important?

Independent of whether diversity is seen as an individual or collective concept in nature (which is part of the ontological dimension), the first fundamental choice when arguing for diversity within the organisation is whether the end goal is to support individuals (i.e. ensuring equal opportunities) or to support collectives (i.e. ensuring collective differences are valued). This is part of the deontological dimension. The second fundamental choice in this dimension is between moral or practical arguments. Together, these categories identify fundamental differences in the motivation for diversity within the organisation. Figure 4.4 offers a visual summary of these motivations in the contexts of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*. As their definitions of diversity, also their motivations are strikingly similar. This section elaborates the analyses that led to this conclusion.

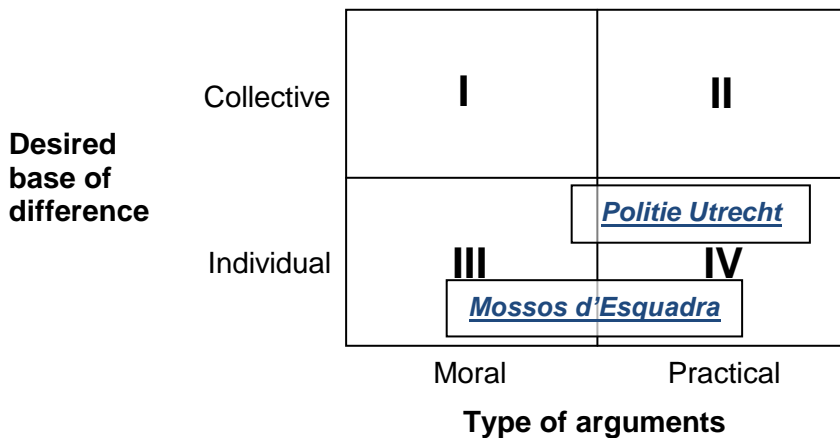


Figure 4.4. Motivation for diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*

Source: Van Ewijk (2011) + own elaboration

a) *Mossos d'Esquadra*

In general the end goal in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is more often related to supporting individuals and ensuring equal

opportunities despite of collective differences, than to supporting collectives and recognizing the value of collectives. In terms of the analytical framework, the desired base of difference is individual. For example, the end goal of the Social Diversification Programme is not to promote the interests of the collective with a migrant background, but to level the playing field: to ensure that individuals from that collective have the same chances in the selection process by educating them in areas they dominate less because of their migrant background, such as the Catalan language⁴⁹. Also, the Gender Equity Programme confirms that the Department of Interior Affairs wants to utilize its human capital to the maximum, and can only do that when all persons work under equal conditions and their differences, such as gender, do not create inequalities⁵⁰. Finally, Gaylespol strives for a working environment without discrimination, in which persons can be open about their sexual orientation and are treated with respect despite of this⁵¹.

Both moral and practical arguments are employed in favour of diversity in the police organization. On the one hand, diversity within the police force is linked to representing the society it serves, combating stereotypes among police officers and ensuring they value colleagues with a diverse profile, and ensuring respectful behaviour towards the population⁵². Gaylespol adds that a more

⁴⁹ Miró, D. (2007) Europa recomienda reclutar inmigrantes para la policía, newspaper paper on the 5th of October 2007 in El Publico: www.elpublico.es – last accessed in January 2011

Interview with the responsible for the Social Diversification Programme and Area Coordinator of the Department of Education, Selection and Evaluation (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 15 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

⁵⁰ Gender Equity Programme (2010) Pla d'igualtat 2010-2014, Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Interior

Interview with the work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona

⁵¹ Speech of Jan Sneijder, the president de l'Associació Europea de Polícies Homosexuals, at the first conference of Gaylespol in Sitges on the 28th of April, 2006 – found on www.gaylespol.org – last accessed in January 2011

Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

⁵² Presentation at the conference of UNESCOCAT on police and diversity on the 17th of December 2009 by the research and international cooperation coordinator of the ISPC

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

visible representation of gay police officers helps the gay population feel that the police force is also there for them and helps to combat (indirect) discrimination among police officers. For example, representatives of the association feel that it is unjust that any reference to gender is formally disapproved of, while there is no such rule on jokes related to sexual orientation⁵³. On the other hand, the same sources refer to the added practical value of increasing the quality of the police service by responding more adequately in diverse situations to prevent and solve problems. Diversity within the police force is said to facilitate this because it creates a more diverse repertoire of reactions, it implies more knowledge of and sensitiveness towards the cultures at hand (whether related to gender, class, migrant background, sexual orientation, and so forth), and it increases the willingness of the population to cooperate by increasing their trust and sense of proximity towards the police. For example, Gaylespol argues that having gay police officers has practical advantages: they are more inclined than their colleagues to patrol places where the gay community meets, and they can explain colleagues how to provide a better service to this community, for example in the case of domestic violence between couples of the same sex⁵⁴.

Even so, it is curious that moral arguments are more dominant with respect to gender diversity. Terms that are often repeated are (in)equality, (social) justice, and non-discrimination⁵⁵. This, while diversity in migrant background is almost exclusively pleaded for with practical arguments: to be more effective against gangs with foreign origins⁵⁶, to teach colleagues how new communities think

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

⁵³ Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

⁵⁴ UXXS (2008) Interview with Victor Argelaguet, president of Gaylespol, pp. 22-25, December 2008

⁵⁵ Gubianes, R.M. (2000) La Comissió de la Dona Policia – el treball desenvolupat i les propostes, Mossos, 10, 26-28

Interview with the work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona

Gender Equity Programme (2010) Pla d'igualtat 2010-2014, Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Interior

⁵⁶ Albarrán Bugié, J. (2007) Los Mossos reclutan inmigrantes, newspaper paper on the 4th of October 2007 in the ADN: www.adn.es

and act⁵⁷, because they dominate foreign languages, and to solve conflicts, prevent riots and solve crimes⁵⁸.

b) *Politie Utrecht*

According to the sources, diversity used to be almost exclusively pleaded for with moral arguments, but these changed to practical arguments around 2005 and since then diversity is presented as a business issue⁵⁹. As one respondent said⁶⁰: “Before, people treated diversity as a social issue, something fun and politically correct for poor target groups. Now, it is a strategic theme related to multicultural skills.” When analyzing the sources with the analytical framework a more nuanced image appears.

First of all, also in the context of the *Politie Utrecht* the end goal is more often related to supporting individuals and ensuring equal opportunities despite of collective differences, than to supporting collectives and recognizing the value of collectives. In terms of the analytical framework, the desired base of difference is individual. For example, the *Politie Utrecht* claims that their mission is to be a police force for everyone, which implies proactive efforts to combat discrimination and exclusion mechanisms outside as well as inside the organization. As such, the goal of diversity management is to contribute to equality and combat inequality, so that all members of the *Politie Utrecht* can develop their talents and qualities⁶¹. In this

⁵⁷ García, J. (2007) A la búsqueda del 'mosso' inmigrante, newspaper paper on the 11th of November 2007 in El País: www.elpais.es

⁵⁸ Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

⁵⁹ Speech by the police chief of the Politie Friesland and responsible for diversity, integrity, and anti-discrimination, for the event to hand over the Diversity Award 2008: 13 March 2008 (www.lecd.nl)

Flentrop, L. (2010) Vakmanschap met een plus. Denkbeelden op de Politieacademie over multicultureel vakmanschap en diversiteit, Apeldoorn: Politieacademie, LECD.

Interview with the head of the Department of strategic knowledge development (Dutch Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

⁶⁰ Interview with the director (2004-2009) of the National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD) of the Dutch Police Academy: 18 June 2009, Apeldoorn

⁶¹ RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011

context, equal opportunities for all are emphasized⁶², and a safe working environment that allows everyone to develop themselves and apply for promotions⁶³.

Second, arguments for diversity within the police force are moral and practical, although practical arguments are more dominant. On the one hand, it is said that the police force should be representative of society to symbolize that the police is there for everyone and to show that the organization is open and accessible for everyone and offers an equal working environment for all⁶⁴. On the other hand, diversity within the organization is said to enable the police to do her work better because the cooperation of the population will increase, and because the quality of the police service will increase, which produces better results⁶⁵: a more diverse police force is more

⁶² Website *Politie Utrecht*: www.politie.nl/Utrecht

⁶³ Brochure on how to create a gay network within a police force, from the website of the Dutch national Police Gay Network (Landelijke Homonetwerk Politie, LHP): <http://www.politie.nl/LHP>

Interview with the content expert on integrity and manners, National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD) of the Dutch Police Academy: 17 August 2009

Interview with the founder and representative of the Network for Gay Police Officers (HIP) of the *Politie Utrecht*: 29 August 2009

⁶⁴ Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

Snijder, J.A. (2008) LHP policy plan 2009-2011, from the website of the Dutch national Police Gay Network (Landelijke Homonetwerk Politie, LHP): <http://www.politie.nl/LHP>

Interview with the board member and representative of the Colourful Police Network Utrecht (KNPU) of the *Politie Utrecht*: 11 August 2009, Utrecht

KPNU (2007) *Wie een visie heeft, moet achter die visie staan...* Vision document of the KPNU, version 1.3, 24st of November

⁶⁵ Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

National HRM Programme (2008) *Richting geven aan de ontwikkeling van mensen en organisatie, van maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen naar praktisch HRM-beleid – werkgeversvisie* (concept)

Website of the *Politie Utrecht*: www.politie.nl/Utrecht

Ministry of Interior Affairs (2006) *Meerjarekader Diversiteit Politie 2006-2010*, Den Haag: Ministerie van BZK.

Brochure on how to create a gay network within a police force, from the website of the Dutch national Police Gay Network (Landelijke Homonetwerk Politie, LHP): <http://www.politie.nl/LHP>

Kop, N. & Van der Wal, R. (2008) *Op naar de top! Over carrièremogelijkheden van hoog opgeleide politievrouwen*, Onderzoeksgroep Landelijk Expertise Centrum Diversiteit: Politieacademie

innovative and will be able to use more variation in techniques and procedures in different situations, diversity within the police force will make it an attractive employer for talent even when there is high competition on the labour market, and police officers with a diverse profile bring specific capacities with them which increases professionalism. For example, female police officers bring more feminine leadership qualities with them, which is said to stimulate creativity in their teams. They are also said to have a potential added value in cases of domestic violence or a de-escalating effect in cases of potential riots. Police officers with a migrant background might go undetected when performing observations in diverse neighbourhoods. They can also teach their colleagues about their communities, just like gay police officers.

4.4. Applying the framework: how is diversity within the organisation facilitated with policies?

To introduce the context in which policies related to diversity within the *Politie Utrecht* and the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are formulated, section 4.1 outlines the main characteristics of their selection and evaluation procedures, and offers an overview of diversity statistics with respect to the inflow, the outflow and through-flow of police officers. Afterwards, section 4.2 analyzes what approach underlies policies related to diversity and what the scope of this approach is.

a) The policy context: procedures and numbers

Procedural characteristics

Publicity on openings is always in the dominant language, in these cases Catalan and Dutch (fluency in this language is also a requisite

LECD (2005) LECD Beleidsplan diversiteit Nederlandse Politie 2005-2007, Apeldoorn: Politieacademie
Website *Politie Utrecht*: www.politie.nl/Utrecht
Politie Utrecht (2008b) Samen Werken aan Veiligheid, Strategisch P&O-beleid
Politie Utrecht 2008-2011

for selection). In general, both police forces employ common communication channels such as television, radio, posters, job fairs, and newspapers. In contrast with the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, the *Politie Utrecht* also use more modern channels such as Internet (Facebook, websites of target groups) or SMS, and they make more use of proactive visits to schools, mosques, and neighbourhood centres⁶⁶.

Both forces require applicants to have the Spanish or Dutch nationality, have a high school diploma, be without a criminal record, be physically and mentally healthy, and have a driver's license (at least within one or two years after starting basic education). In addition, to become *Mossos d'Esquadra*, applicants have to have a minimum length of 1.70m (men) or 1.60 (women), paid the admission fee, and handed in a sworn declaration to wear arms. Finally, the age limit to become *Mossos d'Esquadra* is between 18 and 35 years old, while candidates for the *Politie Utrecht* can be between 18 and 45 years old⁶⁷.

The selection process lasts several weeks in the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and tests are conducted once a year. In the case of the *Politie Utrecht* candidates know after two days of tests if they may continue with the application, and these tests are conducted four times per year. The content of the tests (language, personality, physical condition, intelligence) is quite similar, although only the tests for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* include a considerable component of knowledge (history). In both cases an interview and practical exercise form part of the selection process, although only the candidates for the *Politie Utrecht* have to comply with a house visit⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

Interview with the head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes (General Subdirection HRM, Department of Interior Affairs): 3 October 2009, Barcelona

⁶⁷ Website national police recruitment (the Netherlands): www.kombijdepolitie.nl
Call for candidates, category Mossos: DOGC 5259 – 17.11.2008 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya)

⁶⁸ Website national police recruitment (the Netherlands): www.kombijdepolitie.nl
Call for candidates, category Mossos: DOGC 5259 – 17.11.2008 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya)

New recruits for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* have to complete nine months of lectures at the ISPC (in general, 10 percent drops out or fails) and afterwards an internship of approximately one year within the police force (very few drop out or fail)⁶⁹. During the course at the ISPC, the progress of students is supervised by the professors and a department of psychologists. The tutors, police officers that guide and observe a group of new recruits during their education, finally decide where new recruits will be appointed: 95 percent will be patrol officers, 5% will go to special units⁷⁰. New recruits for the *Politie Utrecht* are selected for and start the basic education at different levels, depending on prior education. These courses (lasting between 2 and 4 years) combine periods of study with periods of work. In contrast with the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, there is constant interaction between the tutor at work and the professors at the Police Academy⁷¹. Once they are sworn police officers, both police forces take into account officer's preferences for certain zones, and make exceptions in shifts for patrol officers over a certain age, or with medical problems, or who have recently become mothers.

In both contexts, the yearly evaluation of police officers is conducted by their direct supervisors. They follow a standard evaluation manual on competences (*Mossos d'Esquadra*)⁷² and competences, values and norms (*Politie Utrecht*). In the latter case, this judgment is added upon by a peer check and by asking the police officer him/herself about practical experiences from the past

⁶⁹ Internal documents ISPC

Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona

⁷⁰ Interview with the Coordinator of the instructors at the ISPC (police officers who guide the practical exercises of the basic education), *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 13 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

⁷¹ Website national police recruitment (the Netherlands): www.kombijdepolitie.nl
Interview with the coordinator of the teaching programme, all basic levels (Department of Basic Education, Dutch Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

⁷² Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona

year⁷³. Since 2008, the *Politie Utrecht* uses these evaluations afterwards as input for the personal development plans all police officers have. Also, there is a talent program for all positively evaluated employees with ambition above income scale 8, called ‘growers’. The objective is to prepare them for managing positions, generally in the executive part of the organization. Tools to stimulate their development are: mobility (gaining experience in different areas), an indicator from the Police Academy on possibly adequate post initial courses, and coaching (for example in the form of a pilot ‘buddy project’ in 2009 where more senior managers coached young talents)⁷⁴. Finally, the selection of candidates for promotion within the *Mossos d’Esquadra* is based partly on formal requisites such as antiquity (minimum of two years in the lower rank), a university title and the highest level in Catalan, partly on the results of questionnaires on law and strategy, and partly on practical exercises and an interview to determine skills and motivation⁷⁵. The selection of candidates for promotion within the *Politie Utrecht* is dominantly based on an evaluation of talent, ambition, autonomous drive and competences (although ‘university level thinking’ is a requisite)⁷⁶.

Finally, openings at higher management levels for external candidates for the *Politie Utrecht* are published in mainstream media, while openings at higher management levels for external candidates for the *Mossos d’Esquadra* are only published in the DOCG (the official-judicial newspaper of the Generalitat of Catalonia). Both police forces allow for absence in basic education and during leadership courses in the case of exceptional circumstances (pregnancy / child birth, marriage, care for family members, and so forth) until a certain limit: students are usually not allowed to miss more than 20 percent of their training program and

⁷³ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

⁷⁴ IOOV (2009) Diversiteit bij de politie, available online: <http://www.minbzk.nl/117669/diversiteit-bij-de> (Bijlage IV Diversiteit bij de politie, p. 155-173 on the *Politie Utrecht*)

⁷⁵ Call for candidates for the rank of inspector and the rank of intendent: DOGC 5377 – 12.5.2009 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya)

⁷⁶ *Politie Utrecht* (2006) “Competentieprofielen voor talent managementfuncties” – internal HRM document

make up for their absence with assignments. Both police forces offer standard arrangements for travel and study costs. Geographical distance between home and education or new function might be larger in the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, as the area of Catalunya is twenty-two times larger than the province of Utrecht (and leadership training is only offered at the ISPC near Barcelona)⁷⁷.

Internal diversity statistics: inflow, outflow and through-flow

In line with the definition of diversity that is identified in section 2, only statistics on the gender and migrant background of police officers were found in both contexts.

Inflow – Between 1995 and 2008, the number and percentage of female recruits for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* has risen (from 16.1 to 26.8 percent). There was an exceptional rise and peak in 2003 (from 17.5 in 2002 to 31.7 percent in 2003), after the height requisite for women was lowered from 1.65m to 1.60m. Afterwards, this stabilized to 25-27 percent⁷⁸. Since 1995, the percentage of women that passes the first selection phase (the tests) is relatively higher than that of men. However, at least in the academic year 2007-2008 (when 25.7 percent was female), female recruits were more likely to quit the basic education (18 out of 66: 27.3 percent), or to be found unfit at the end of the course (23 out of 76: 30.3 percent)⁷⁹.

Since 2007, the ISPC records data on the inflow of recruits with a migrant background. These indicate that in the academic year 2008-2009, 39 new recruits for the basic education of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* had at least one parent born abroad (3.7%). 27 of those had at least one parent born outside of the European Union, and 12 were born themselves outside of the European Union⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Albertín, Cubells & Dorado (2007)

Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

⁷⁸ Internal document of the Gender Equity Programme of the Catalan Department of Interior Affairs

⁷⁹ Internal data of the ISPC

⁸⁰ Internal data of the ISPC

As recruits in basic education for Dutch police forces combine work and education, they figure in the personnel numbers of the *Politie Utrecht*, as ‘aspirant’. In 2009, 36.1% of them (190 out of 527) were female, while the average percentage of female police officers in the force was 21.7%. Also, 12% of the aspirants (63 out of 527) had a migrant background, while the average percentage of police officers with a migrant background was 7.9%⁸¹.

Outflow – As all *Mossos d’Esquadra* have the status of public official, almost none decide to leave the force (about 0.8%). Of those that do leave, the majority requests unpaid leave, while very few are forced to enter special regulations because of physical impediments. This outflow is internally registered according to gender and rank, also indicating the reason for leaving, summarized in the following categories: unpaid leave (other public work, private interests, to care for a child, or because of incompatibility with other functions), physical impediments (temporary physical recovery, invalidity over 18 months, permanent absolute invalidity or permanent total invalidity) or other (resignation, or special services). For the year 2008, there were no significant differences between female and male police officers, and no data on migrant background⁸².

In 2009, 40.3 percent (108 out of 268) of the total outflow for the *Politie Utrecht* were female police officers. Also, the in- and outflow of persons with a migrant background (including administrative personnel) over the last few years is as follows:

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009
Inflow	27	24	18	26	28
Unnatural outflow	13	19	13	26	28

Table 4.3. In- and outflow of persons with a migrant background, Politie Utrecht (2004-2007 and 2009)

Source: *Politie Utrecht* (2008) + internal data HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*

⁸¹ Internal data of the HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*

⁸² Internal data of the HRM department of the Catalan Department of Interior Affairs

The three most common motivations are a move to another police force (regional or national), a move to the private sector, and the category ‘other’. No significant patterns could be identified as to what categories were more or less common among female officers or officers with a migrant background⁸³.

Through-flow – On the 24th of April 2008, the number and percentage of female police officers with the *Mossos d’Esquadra* per rank was as follows:

Rank	FEMALE	MALE	Total generic	%FEMALE	%MALE	% of total females per rank	% of total males per rank
Mosso/a	2.429	8.206	10.635	22,84%	77,16%	86,17%	72,66%
Caporal/a	275	1.973	2.248	12,23%	87,77%	9,76%	17,47%
Sergent/a	80	653	733	10,91%	89,09%	2,84%	5,78%
Sotsinspect	22	309	331	6,65%	93,35%	0,78%	2,74%
Inspector/a	9	110	119	7,56%	92,44%	0,32%	0,97%
Intendent/è	4	34	38	10,53%	89,47%	0,14%	0,30%
Comissari/a		9	9	0,00%	100,00%	0,00%	0,08%
Total	2.819	11.294	14.113	19,97%	80,03%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 4.4. Female representation within the *Mossos d’Esquadra* (by rank: total numbers, percentages of the total by gender, percentages of the gender total - April, 2008)

Source: Catalan Department of Interior Affairs (internal document)

As can be observed, gender diversity decreases as rank rises. However, this does not necessarily imply that being female has a negative impact on promotion: the historical development of female participation in the *Mossos d’Esquadra* has to be taken into account. This requires analyzing how long it takes on average to reach a certain rank, studying what percentage of *Mossos* were female that amount of years ago, and comparing that percentage with the current percentage.

For example, the average age of the *Mossos* in 2008 is 33 years, and that of the ‘caporales’ 37 years. After that, every step in the organizational hierarchy coincides almost exactly with a two or three year difference (i.e. the average age of ‘sergents’ is 39 years, of ‘sotsinspectors’ 41 years, of ‘inspectors’ 43 years, of

⁸³ Internal data of the HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*

‘intendentes’ 45 years, and of ‘comisarios’ 48 years). In theory, ‘caporales’ would have entered the force as Mossos four years ago. Four years ago, in 2004, the percentage of female Mossos was 15.4. Repeating this exercise results in the following table:

Rank	% female in 2008	% female Mossos (estimated year of entrance)
Caporal/a	12.23	15.4 (2004)
Sergent/a	10.91	13.3 (2002)
Sotsinspector/a	6.65	11.9 (2000)
Inspector/a	7.56	11.1 (1998)
Intendent/a	10.53	9.4 (1996)
Comissari/a	0	no data

Table 4.5. Percentage of real and expected female representation per rank within the Mossos d’Esquadra (2008)

Source: own elaboration

Unfortunately, the exercise does not allow estimating an expected percentage for female commissioners, as the available data do not go back that far: they start in 1994, while 1993 would be the year of comparison. Even so, it is clear that in general the percentage of female police officers in higher ranks is lower than expected. The percentage of female officers with the rank of ‘intendent’ is the only exception to this rule. This coincides with another observation: the average age of female police officers tends to be somewhat lower (differences between two months and four years) than the average age of their male counterparts in the same rank. Both observations might be related to the average level of education of police officers, which is higher among female police officers than among male police officers⁸⁴.

In November 2009, gender diversity among police officers with the *Politie Utrecht* for different ranks was as follows:

⁸⁴ Internal data of the Cabinet of Selection Processes

Rank	Male	Female	Total	% male	% female
Surveillant	94	52	146	64,4	35,6
Agent	129	43	172	75	25
Hoofdagent	439	180	619	70,9	29,1
Brigadier	757	137	894	84,7	15,3
Inspecteur	165	27	192	85,9	14,1
Hoofdinspecteur	33	5	38	86,8	13,2
Commisaris	14	8	24	58,3	41,7
Hoofdcommisaris	1	0	1	100	0

Table 4.6. Number and percentage of male and female police officers per rank within the Politie Utrecht (excluding administrative personnel – 2009)

Source: internal data HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*

Also in November 2009, diversity in migrant background among police officers of different ranks was as follows⁸⁵:

Rank	Officers with mb	Officers without mb	Denied / unknown	Total	% officers with mb	% officers without mb	% denied / unknown
Surveillant	26	116	4	146	17,8	79,5	2,7
Agent	36	130	6	172	21,2	76,5	3,5
Hoofdagent	53	531	35	619	8,6	85,8	5,6
Brigadier	39	758	97	894	4,4	84,8	10,8
Inspecteur	8	163	21	192	4,2	84,9	10,9
Hoofdinspecteur	2	34	2	38	5,3	89,4	5,3
Commisaris	0	24	0	24	0	100	0
Hoofdcommisaris	0	1	0	1	0	100	0

Table 4.7. Number and percentage of police officers with / without migrant background (mb) per rank (+ denied registration, 2009)

Source: internal data HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*

⁸⁵ Unfortunately, data on diversity in gender and migrant background per rank in earlier years is not available, impeding a similar exercise as outlined for the *Mossos d'Esquadra*: analyzing whether current percentages are as expected, lower, or higher, in comparison with percentages in the lower ranks in the past.

What can be clearly observed is, first, a strong drop in percentage of female police officers for the ranks of ‘brigadier’, ‘inspecteur’ and ‘hoofdinspecteur’, which is mirrored in the data on police officers with a migrant background. The latter has to be concluded with caution, as the percentage of police officers who denied the registration of their background (or whose background is unknown for any other reason) is higher for the ranks of ‘inspecteur’ and ‘hoofdinspecteur’. Second, the percentage of female police officers in the rank of ‘commisaris’ is remarkably high. This rank is subject to external inflow and appointments by the central government. However, this is not the case for diversity in migrant background.

b) Policy approaches

After the ontological choice between diversity as an individual concept and diversity as a collective concept (the ‘what’) and the deontological choice between striving to promote individuals or collectives (the ‘why’), there is also the instrumental choice whether to formulate policies that ensure that everyone is treated the same or policies that adapt processes to collective differences (the ‘how’). In other words, sometimes also a collective approach can be chosen to promote the equal opportunities of individuals, or an individual approach can be chosen to promote collectives (Van Ewijk, 2011). The second fundamental choice is the scope of the policy approach: is it incorporated in the entire organisation (high intensity) or does it have a limited role (low intensity).

As outlined in more detail below, the dominant approach within the *Mossos d’Esquadra* is an individual-based approach with low intensity. On the other, the dominant approach within the *Politie Utrecht* is a mix between the individual-based and collective-based approach with high intensity. Figure 4.5 visualizes these observations:

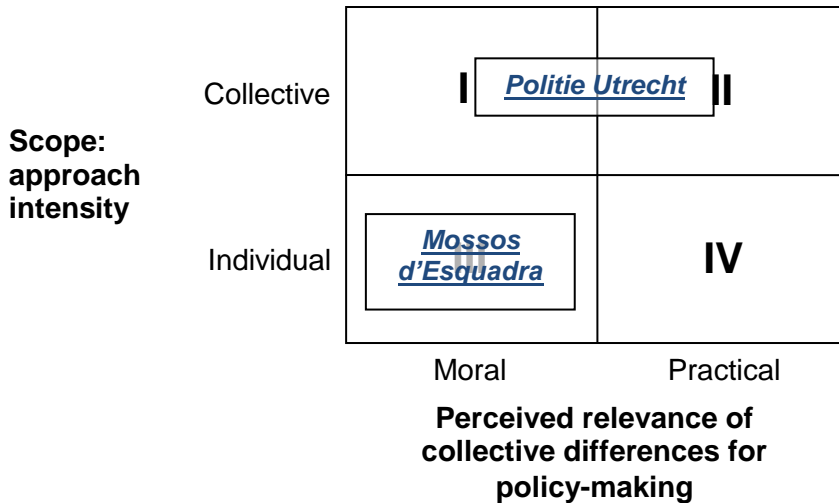


Figure 4.5. Diversity policy approaches within the Mossos d'Esquadra and the Politie Utrecht

Source: Van Ewijk (2011) + own elaboration

Mossos d'Esquadra: individual-based approach with low intensity

The dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is individual-based (almost all policies and processes strive to treat everyone the same) with low intensity (the scope of this approach is limited in the sense that it does not touch all parts of the organisation).

For example, in general, publicity for openings is more informative than proactive, not aimed at creation the motivation to join or to rise in rank, but aimed at providing all individuals that are already interested with the necessary information. There is no formal policy to identify and stimulate talent (within certain social groups, for example)⁸⁶. This idea of equal treatment of individuals also

⁸⁶ Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona

underlies all policies to ensure that the selection processes for basic education and promotions and the supervision at the ISPC are as unbiased as possible. Police officers involved in the selection process (for example to conduct the interviews) and tutors at the ISPC always receive a preparatory course (of respectively 40 hours and 180 hours) in which they are trained to evaluate the competences of candidates or recruits⁸⁷, and, in the case of the tutors⁸⁸, to practice their capacities of observation, to manage a team, to teach, to analyze and direct group processes, and so forth. Furthermore, this internal supervision is always combined with external supervision (in the form of external psychologists, who have a critical role in the selection and evaluation processes)⁸⁹. Finally, diversity is kept outside of the police force in various ways. For example, the physical environment of the police stations is neutral, adapting only the most basic aspects to gender diversity, such as the uniform, lockers and toilets. Diversity is facilitated externally, for example by offering reduced working hours and by relocating female police officers near their homes so that they can breastfeed their babies⁹⁰. Also, Gaylespol is not routinely included in organisational deliberations nor given a place on the website of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although its members can apply for time off during work hours to conduct activities for the association⁹¹. While the AIL-MED, founded in 2007 to guarantee administrative work for *Mossos d'Esquadra* diagnosed with a total handicap, opposes the Department of Interior Affairs entirely from the

Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona

Interview with the Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes (General Subdirection HRM, Department of Interior Affairs): 3 October 2009, Barcelona

⁸⁷ Interview with the Head of the Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

⁸⁸ Curriculum 'police instructor at the ISPC' (170h, place for 17 in 2009): internal document ISPC

⁸⁹ Interview with the Head of the Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

⁹⁰ Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona

⁹¹ Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

outside⁹². Furthermore, the idea that diversity is something external is reinforced by the courses for basic education and promotion: the majority of the hours dedicated to diversity, provided by mostly external actors⁹³ (for example UNESCOCAT) focus on diversity in society. For example, specialization courses for *Mossos d'Esquadra* are 30 hour courses on the characteristics of different cultures (Arab, Latin-American, East-European, Chinese, Hindustan), and obligatory basic education includes: a seminar on interculturality (8 hours), a lecture on human rights and pluriculturalism (4 hours), a lecture on the demographics of migration in Catalonia (4 hours) and a practical exercise / simulation involving diversity (2 hours). There are but few exceptions: every year in the basic education there is an optional one-day seminar on gender diversity within the police, and Gaylespol dedicates part of its optional one-day seminar to diversity in sexual orientation within the police force⁹⁴.

There are some exceptions to this individual-based approach, although not frequent enough to identify a collective-based approach. The general idea is that specific policies on diversity are sometimes necessary to facilitate diversity within the organisation, but as little as possible and only to provide equal opportunities, because the imbalance will correct itself naturally⁹⁵. What is curious, though, is that almost all exceptions are related to gender diversity.

For example, visible attention for the recruitment of women is dedicated by the *Mossos d'Esquadra* since 2008, when the Program for Gender Equity launched the first publicity campaign directed at women only⁹⁶. Also, the results of physical tests in the selection process for the basic education and for promotions are statistically categorised by gender and age (18-24 years, 25-29 years, and 30-34

⁹² Website AIL-MED: <http://ailmed.wordpress.com>

⁹³ Overview of agreements with NGO's to provide courses: internal document ISPC

⁹⁴ Internal documents of the ISPC

⁹⁵ Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

⁹⁶ Material of the Unitat de Promoció & Gender Equity Programme (Programa per a l'equitat de gènere) of the Department of Interior Affairs

years). Pregnant women can be exempted from these tests, but their admission will be temporal until the physical exercises are completed.⁹⁷ Some respondents⁹⁸ confirmed that female police officers are always coupled with male police officers for patrol shifts, although this is not a formal policy. Furthermore, although promotion opportunities are not announced in any special way for specific groups, an exception was made with an informative letter sent by the Gender Equity Program in 2008 to all female police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* that might apply for the openings for the rank of 'sotsinspector' and 'intendent'⁹⁹. This initiative has not been repeated at the time of writing this paper (January 2011). Finally, the 'Comisió de les Dones Polícies' (Female Police Officers Commission) was founded in 1999 on the request of the police commissioner of Gerona to study the situation of women within the force and the reasons why women rise in rank less often and hardly access specific specializations. Even so, activities of the Comisió (such as writing reports of studies in 2000 and 2003, and organizing conferences on the results with the ISPC) depended mostly on personal efforts, and members could occasionally (not structurally) apply for time off and funding. In 2007, the Commission was abolished and the remaining members joined forces with the Gender Equity Program of the Department of Interior Affairs. However, in the end they wrote a proposal to start an internal, independent team again, the "Equip per a l'Equitat de Gènere", which was approved by the direction of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in 2010 and included one fulltime co-worker for the coordination of the team and flexible arrangements for twelve volunteers¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ Call for candidates, category Mossos: DOGC 5259 – 17.11.2008 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya)

⁹⁸ Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona)

Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona

⁹⁹ Interview with work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona

¹⁰⁰ Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission and head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell

The only exception not related to gender diversity is the Social Diversification Programme, which was launched in 2007 to help persons with a migrant background prepare for the selection. It consisted of 2,5 months of evening lectures on all topics in the police manual, including Catalan language and history, offering a scholarship of 285 Euros a month for participants, who should be between 17 and 26 years old. It was run in 2007 (53 applicants for 110 openings, of which 19 were selected) and in 2008 (52 applicants for 110 openings, of which 23 were selected), but not in 2009, because of apparent lack of interest¹⁰¹. In 2010, the program was included in the curriculum of the ISPC, but no call for applicants has been made at the time of writing this paper (January 2011).

Finally, the intensity of the individual-based approach on diversity is low. First, the idea of ensuring that everyone is treated the same is not supported by policies in the entire organisation. For example, when recruits enter the final selection phase, which is the internship, the role of psychologists is minimized, annulling the possibility of external control. This also goes for the yearly evaluations of police officers and complaints, which are formulated and transmitted solely by the direct supervisor. There is no institutional check on their judgement, in the form of an ethical committee or confidential counsellors. Second, diversity is not linked to the mission of the police force, and its core tasks, and therefore not incorporated in the organisational structure. There is no direct reference to diversity within the force in the vision of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, which is: to be the reference in security and the protection of people in Catalonia, offering quality service, through proximity and professionalism¹⁰². Diversity is not mentioned in any way in the General Security Plan of the Department of Interior Affairs¹⁰³. It is not linked to the three ways that are presented to improve the quality of the service: proximity, professionalism, and efficiency.

¹⁰¹ Internal data of the ISPC

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

¹⁰² Website *Mossos d'Esquadra*: www.gencat.cat/mossos

¹⁰³ Secretary of Security (2008) Pla general de seguretat de Catalunya, 2008-2011: internal document of the Department of Interior Affairs.

As such, there is no external or internal diversity expert or department, nor persons responsible for the development of policies that increase the level of diversity among police officers, with the exception of the Program for Gender Equity of the Department of Interior Affairs (established by public decree in 2008). There is no internal communication plan or a specific budget for diversity policies. As outlined above, efforts to promote diversity within the police force depend on voluntary individual motivations that receive some support in the sense of exemptions to be present elsewhere. Symbolic events related to diversity for all police officers are scarce: one series of seminars on ethics and police and a symposium on gender diversity in the security sector in 2009. Third, there is no attention for diversity among those who select, teach and evaluate new recruits and candidates for promotion, except that the ISPC actively calls for professors from outside of the police organisation to create more openness. In 2009, 44 percent of the professors at the ISPC was not part of the police force and 21 percent of the professors were female. Two out of sixty tutors were female. The department of psychologists consists of almost all female professionals¹⁰⁴.

Politie Utrecht: mixed-approach with high intensity

The dominant approach within the *Politie Utrecht* is a mix between individual-based and collective based approach (policies treat everyone the same, but a considerable number of them is adapted to collective differences) with high intensity (the scope of this approach is broad in the sense that attention for diversity is embedded in many organisational policies).

This combination of individual-based and collective-based policies might be a consequence of certain collective-based policies in the past that generated resistance within the police organisation. Various sources refer to a traditional distinction in groups, such as man/women or heterosexual/homosexual, and the problems of stigmatizing, isolation, and resistance this distinction caused when it

¹⁰⁴ Internal documents of the ISPC

formed the base for policies¹⁰⁵. Specifically, the example of the project ‘woman and progress’ of the *Politie Utrecht* is mentioned. In 1991 an integral programme started to provide female talent with the maximum opportunities in the selection process for promotions. The goal was that the percentage of female middle-managers would grow from 1 percent to 25 percent in 1995. Male colleagues felt discriminated and their criticism was a reason for many female police officers to leave the project¹⁰⁶.

Nowadays, a combination of the two approaches can be identified. For example, the policy plan on diversity for 2007-2011 of the *Politie Utrecht*, stresses that policies have to stimulate, but not favor, underrepresented groups: competences and qualities form the base of appointments, although it is important to ensure unbiased evaluations of candidates (individual-based approach) and recognize the added value that colleagues with a migrant background, homosexual colleagues and female colleagues bring with them (collective-based approach). Managers have to focus on culture *and* the composition of their teams¹⁰⁷.

An example of the individual-based approach is the fact that there are many ways to express a complaint or discuss personal issues that do not involve the direct supervisor. A complaint can also be filed with the district management team, which calls the national bureau for internal safety and integrity for serious cases. If the complaint concerns the direct supervisor, police officers can apply for mediation or a complaint commission. There is also a national service for ‘whistleblowers’, public officials who want to report

¹⁰⁵ Kop, N. & Van der Wal, R. (2008) *Op naar de top! Over carrièremogelijkheden van hoog opgeleide politievrouwen*, Onderzoeksgroep Landelijk Expertise Centrum Diversiteit: Politieacademie
LECD (2005) *LECD Beleidsplan diversiteit Nederlandse Politie 2005-2007*, Apeldoorn: Politieacademie.

¹⁰⁶ Kop, N. & Van der Wal, R. (2008) *Op naar de top! Over carrièremogelijkheden van hoog opgeleide politievrouwen*, Onderzoeksgroep Landelijk Expertise Centrum Diversiteit: Politieacademie
Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

¹⁰⁷ RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011*

(large scale) corruption. Finally, the *Politie Utrecht* has around 15 confidential counsellors¹⁰⁸.

However, a number of policies and processes are adapted to collective differences. For example, after twenty years of limited applications from persons with a migrant background, the HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht* has recently implemented several special processes for the recruitment of persons with a migrant background, focusing on proactive and personal contact, such as personal interviews instead of informative meetings at the police station, and decentralized recruiters (police officers with a migrant background that contact potential candidates with a migrant background in their surroundings)¹⁰⁹.

There are also special preparatory programs, almost exclusively aimed at youth with a migrant background. The *Politie Utrecht* introduced the ‘job experience program’ for youngsters interested in the opportunity to contribute to the safety of their neighbourhoods and the ‘schakeltraject’ of 40 hours for adolescents combining empowerment with the development of competences, coaching and individual guidance¹¹⁰. The force also made use of the ‘voorschakeltraject’ of the Police Academy, that trained all candidates desired by the *Politie Utrecht* but with too little points on language in the formal tests on language, cognitive, social and communicative competences¹¹¹. This program was cut from the budget by the Police Academy in 2010¹¹².

¹⁰⁸ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

Interview with the content expert on integrity and manners (LECD, Dutch Police Academy): 17 August 2009

¹⁰⁹ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

Politie Utrecht (2008a) “Visie & missie werving en selectie allochtonen”, report by the Regionale afdeling P&O / Bureau Instroom, 15th of November

¹¹⁰ *Politie Utrecht* (2011) Werven, schakelen, en survivaltraining, internal HRM document *Politie Utrecht*

¹¹¹ Internal document *Politie Utrecht* (8 Mar 2007) “Notitie Voorschakeltraject”

¹¹² Email from the administrator for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 5 April 2010

While the Police Academy has adapted the wording and relative weight of the written tests, the *Politie Utrecht* has introduced the rule that the final selection interview with persons from a migrant background is conducted by two police officers, of which at least one has a migrant background.¹¹³ However, in 2008, the team of evaluators was not diverse enough to comply with this rule, so two employees with a migrant background have been appointed to focus specifically on the recruitment and selection of this target group¹¹⁴.

For all openings at the basic level, the *Politie Utrecht* reserves places for adequate female candidates (40%) and adequate candidates with a migrant background (30%) until the last possible moment, after which other candidates are considered. In principle, the *Politie Utrecht* has chosen to focus on new recruits that could start the initial education on level 4 (all-round police officers), reserving level 3 (police officer) for a small group of internal candidates. However, in practice, several candidates with a migration background did not make level 4, but were apt to start at level 3. Therefore, inflow opportunities for level 3 for persons with a migrant background have been increased¹¹⁵.

While uniforms are only adapted to gender diversity, diversity is present in the physical characteristics of police stations of the *Politie Utrecht*; police stations offer rooms to calf of milk, silent rooms that might also serve as room for prayer, and adapted workplaces for physically handicapped personnel¹¹⁶.

Generally, promotion opportunities are not announced in any special way for specific groups. Internal candidates are informed through the intranet. However, district leaders are urged by the HRM department and the police board to stimulate applications of officers with a diverse profile for the talent programme, should

¹¹³ Annual report *Politie Utrecht* (2009)

¹¹⁴ *Politie Utrecht*, Regionale afdeling P&O, Bureau Instroom (15 Nov 2008) "Visie & missie werving en selectie allochtonen"

¹¹⁵ *Politie Utrecht*, Regionale afdeling P&O, Bureau Instroom (15 Nov 2008) "Visie & missie werving en selectie allochtonen"

¹¹⁶ Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

these be scarce¹¹⁷. The national ‘Candidate Programme’ is more explicit in its collective-based focus: 50 percent of the places is reserved for male candidates, 50 percent is reserved for female candidates, and 50 percent for candidates with a migrant background. The Candidate Programme is an education programme of two years for future police leaders¹¹⁸.

With respect to the second dimension of the policy approach, attention for diversity is embedded in almost all policy areas related to diversity within the organisation (high intensity).

Diversity plays an important role in the new vision of the Dutch police: to be a police for everyone¹¹⁹. According to the *Politie Utrecht*, diversity within the force is a key element to respond adequately to societal diversity¹²⁰. The HRM department is responsible for the measurement and registration of diversity goals and for providing the rest of the organization timely with useful information. The RECD (with 3.4 FTE and a budget of 100.000 Euros in 2009)¹²¹ supports police officers in their interactions with the diverse environment and supports the innovation of HRM policies. Also, all districts and specialized departments are to provide an auto-analysis on diversity as input for the annual report of the *Politie Utrecht*. Finally, there is an internal communication plan with the objective of fostering a positive attitude towards and promoting the knowledge about diversity among police officers¹²².

¹¹⁷ RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011.

Double interview with the administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization (HRM department of the *Politie Utrecht*): 19 June 2009, Utrecht

¹¹⁸ Kramers, O. (2009) Informatieset Kandidatenprogramma Politie: vts Politie Nederland

¹¹⁹ Website *Politie Utrecht*: www.politie.nl/Utrecht

¹²⁰ RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011

Politie Utrecht (2008b) Samen werken aan veiligheid – strategisch P&O beleid *Politie Utrecht* 2008-2011

¹²¹ Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

¹²² RECD (2007) *Politie Utrecht* - Beleidsplan diversiteit 2007-2011

Politie Utrecht (2008b) Samen werken aan veiligheid – strategisch P&O beleid *Politie Utrecht* 2008-2011

The National Centre for Diversity Expertise for the police (the LECD), assists the *Politie Utrecht* on diversity (related) topics: it organizes conferences and meetings, publishes quarterly newsletters (for example on the ‘Expertgroup’ – police officers who are multicultural experts– or international initiatives such as EDPOL – European Diversity in Policing) and annual reports on diversity (for example, the yearly diversity analysis)¹²³. All Dutch police forces also compete for the annual diversity awards (since 2005, and probably until 2011), which since 2008 also entailed financial retributions (1.5 Million Euro in total). Finally, the Police Academy publishes a newsletter on multicultural competences in police education every two months since January 2009.

Most associations founded by and on behalf of police officers with a diverse profile are in some way incorporated within the organisational structure of the *Politie Utrecht*. For example, the KPNU (founded in 2007, with 23 members in 2009, to promote the presence and appreciation of diversity in migrant background within the *Politie Utrecht*) is usually invited to (deliver input for) management meetings on policies regarding diversity in migrant background¹²⁴. Also the HIP (founded in 2003, with 16 members in 2009, to promote the awareness and appreciation of diversity in sexual orientation) has its own email address and place on the website of the *Politie Utrecht*¹²⁵. Gender diversity is not incorporated within the organisational structure of the *Politie Utrecht*; that is, there are no female police officer associations within the *Politie Utrecht*. This may be due to the fact that there are many alternatives for female police officers of the *Politie Utrecht*, such as informal national networks for higher ranking policewomen (also stimulated by the national initiative founded in 2008 to stimulate mostly gender diversity in high management positions:

¹²³ Website LECD: www.lecd.nl

Interview with the director (2004-2009) of the National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD) of the Dutch Police Academy: 18 June 2009, Apeldoorn

¹²⁴ Interview with the commanding officer responsible for the RECD (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

Interview with the board member and representative of the KPNU (*Politie Utrecht*): 11 August 2009, Utrecht

¹²⁵ Interview with the founder and representative of the Network for Gay Police Officers (HIP) of the *Politie Utrecht*: 29 August 2009

Website of the *Politie Utrecht*: www.politie.nl/Utrecht

‘Politietop Divers’), and the European Network for Policewomen¹²⁶.

The Dutch Police Academy has recently moved to a more direct link with daily practice and issues of societal integration. The obligatory basic education for all-round police officers of the *Politie Utrecht* included in the past some separate study assignments (16 hours each) on diversity, integrity and manners, all in the first half of the course¹²⁷. But, in August 2010, a new series of study assignments was introduced which is referred to as “multicultural professional skills”. These focus on all sorts of diversity (gender, lifestyle, age, culture, religion, and so forth) and are combined with exercises to be executed during the internships or at the Police Academy¹²⁸. Also, within the Dutch Police Academy there is equal attention for diversity within the police organisation and the relation with leadership and people management¹²⁹. Finally, diversity is given a place within the organisational structure of the Dutch Police Academy in the form of a lector on multicultural competences, appointed for the first time in 2008 with the objective of providing research on this topic¹³⁰, and in the form of an obligation for all teachers to periodically refresh their knowledge of multicultural competences by following a program which includes practical visits (since 2009)¹³¹. However, there is no policy on diversity in the recruitment of professors at the Police Academy¹³², while persons with a migrant background or women are underrepresented among Police Academy staff in the Netherlands, especially in higher income scales (respectively 1.4% and 20.6%).

A few years back, diversity was linked to cultural change within the police force. The argument is that a healthy culture or working

¹²⁶ Website of Politietop divers: www.politietopdivers.nl

Website of the ENP: www.enp.nl

¹²⁷ Interview with the coordinator of the teaching programme (Department of Basic Education, Dutch Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

¹²⁸ Interview with the content expert on diversity in research and education (LECD, Dutch Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Utrecht

¹²⁹ “Current learning activities multicultural professional skills (OLL, TLL)” – internal documents of the Police School for Leadership

¹³⁰ De Vries (2009)

¹³¹ Interview with the content expert on diversity in research and education (LECD, Dutch Police Academy): 20 August 2009, Utrecht

¹³² Email by HRM responsible Dutch Police Academy: 20 January 2010

environment stimulates people (also women and minorities) to join the police and makes them work better¹³³. So, as outlined above, policies regarding diversity strive to affect the entire organisation of the *Politie Utrecht*. Diversity is integrated in some way or another in all HRM processes, such as publicity, selection, evaluation, communication, and so forth, which are reinforced by external stimuli at the national level, such as targets and financial consequences. This said, it must be emphasized that the achievement of that aspiration is not necessarily a logical consequence. In the practice of the *Politie Utrecht*, an extensive national study has indicated that police officers with a diverse profile are still more likely to experience unease. Also, some police managers still find it difficult to see the importance of diversity, or (re)act to manage diversity, and are hesitant to indicate women and persons with a migrant background as ‘growers’, because these are often unconsciously evaluated more critically¹³⁴. Explaining this limited effectiveness goes beyond the scope of this paper, although section 4.5 presents some first ideas.

4.5. The potential of the analytical framework

On the one hand, applying the analytical framework on empirical cases can form the base for explanatory research: the results might give rise to hypotheses on elements of the analytical framework as dependent or as independent variables that can be tested with qualitative or quantitative methods on a greater number of cases. On the other hand, it can form the base of evaluative research: a within case analysis or cross case analysis can reveal possibilities for policy improvements. As such, the analytical framework has the potential to contribute to theory building and to policy learning. To illustrate this, this section gives some examples of these possibilities.

¹³³ Interview with the content expert on integrity and manners (LECD, Dutch Police Academy): 17 August 2009

Politie Utrecht (2008b) Samen werken aan veiligheid – strategisch P&O beleid *Politie Utrecht* 2008-2011.

¹³⁴ IOOV (2009) Diversiteit bij de politie, available online: <http://www.minbzk.nl/117669/diversiteit-bij-de> (See Appendix IV on the *Politie Utrecht*. Bijlage IV, pp. 155-173)

a) Exploring explanations

New hypothesis on approach intensity

After applying the analytical framework on empirical cases, an interesting question for further research could be: What determines whether approach intensity is low or high? Some deductions can be made from the comparison between the *Politie Utrecht* and the *Mossos d'Esquadra* that can be translated into a new hypothesis on this matter.

First, institutional pressure was high in the case of the *Politie Utrecht*, but low in the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. The Dutch Ministry of Interior Affairs and Kingdom Relations dictated strong guidelines and reinforced them by targets with financial consequences, a periodic audit, a strong mandate for the expert centre on diversity (LECD) and initiatives such as 'Politietop Divers'. Also police unions express specific attention for diversity within police forces. In contrast, the Catalan Department Interior Affairs did not formulate guidelines or targets on diversity within police forces, although there is attention for the position of women in the labour market in general. In this sense, it is no surprise that only the Program for Gender Equity focuses on (gender) diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. However, this program is not reinforced by targets with (financial) consequences. The largest police union in Catalonia, the SAP-UGT, concentrates on denouncing each month all deficiencies regarding equipment in or around police stations, and the theme of diversity is completely absent.

Second, diversity statistics were interpreted differently by the main actors in both contexts. For example, gender diversity was not seen as a challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in the area of recruitment, because the percentage of female recruits (around 25%, versus 35% for the *Politie Utrecht*) was usually compared with lower numbers for other police forces in Spain or in the Mediterranean area¹³⁵. And

¹³⁵ Interview with work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona

while it was seen as a challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in the area of promotion, this was considered by the most high-ranking respondents as a consequence of perceived gender roles in society, not of organisational culture¹³⁶. Also, diversity in migrant background was only considered as a temporary challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* as immigration is recent and many new residents are still in the process of nationalization and learning Catalan¹³⁷. In contrast, both gender diversity and diversity in migrant background were considered as permanent challenges for the *Politie Utrecht*, especially in the areas of retention and promotion, and linked to organisational culture, as these forms of diversity have been issues for decades now and positive developments in the inflow still contrast disappointing data on outflow and through-flow (see also De Haas *et al.*, 2006).

Both of these differences could influence differences in the spread and uniform use of arguments in favour of diversity within the police organisation. Although the majority of the respondents indicated that the combination of both moral and practical arguments was a precondition for action, empirical evidence also showed differences in the pervasiveness and uniform use of those arguments, which might determine the intensity of those actions. Almost all respondents in the context of the *Politie Utrecht* use the same arguments and repeat them in almost all of their policy documents, linking diversity to the core responsibilities of the police force. In contrast, arguments in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* were less widespread, and respondents were less uniform in their reasoning. Also, diversity was not related to the

Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

¹³⁶ Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

¹³⁷ Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

core responsibilities of the police force, for example, by linking incidents of power abuse or the escalation of riots and the level of diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. Finally, the argument of labour shortage was no argument whatsoever because of the effects of the economical crisis in Spain and Catalonia.

In sum, combining these factors could result in the following hypothesis:

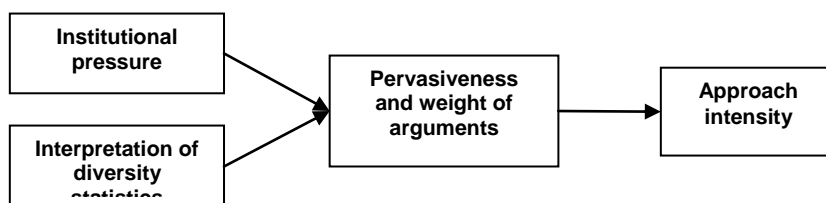


Figure 4.6. Hypothesis on the cause of variation in approach intensity

Source: own elaboration

If this hypothesis is confirmed, the research would corroborate that police culture, as all cultures, should not be seen as a static and negative, but as a changeable and neutral phenomenon (Chan, 1997; Metz & Kulik, 2008). These results would also coincide with the conclusions of Veenswijk (2006) on the influence of narratives in change processes, and confirm the importance of interpretation of facts over the facts themselves (Giddens, 1979).

New hypothesis on the definition of diversity and motivation for diversity

The two cases were strikingly similar in their definition of diversity and their motivation for diversity within the organisation. This conclusion leads to the hypothesis that organisation-specific characteristics have a unifying effect on the perception police forces have of diversity, irrespective of other, external influences. For example, the types of crime that police organisations prioritize

might make some forms of diversity more visible for the police and also more important for their success. This line of reasoning would also imply differences in the definition of diversity between the security sector and other sectors, such as the health sector.

On the other hand, the differences in the findings of this comparative case-study might be linked to conclusions of earlier publications on what Castles (2002) referred to as national integration models and Penninx *et al* (2004) as policy discourse on diversity. In case of the Netherlands, Ghorashi shows how the experience of *pillarization* and the specific implementation of the welfare-state have led to Dutch policies regarding (ethnic) minorities that have a strong categorical base. This habit of thinking in groups already underlay policies in the 1980's, although recent political developments have brought it more to fore (Ghorashi, 2006). In the case of Catalonia, Zapata-Barrero outlines how the region of Catalonia has been working on national identity building through the diversity of its residents, since the Franco-era ended, and how recent experiences with immigration tend to be taken along in this approach. He also shows how Spanish public policies display a practical philosophy, a way of managing diversity which is not based on established and preconceived ideas, but rather on questions and answers generated by the practice of governance of diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2010b).

As such, the hypothesis could be formulated that national or regional discourse on diversity has a diversifying influence on the definition of diversity (policy) in police organisations, while organisation-specific characteristics have a unifying influence:

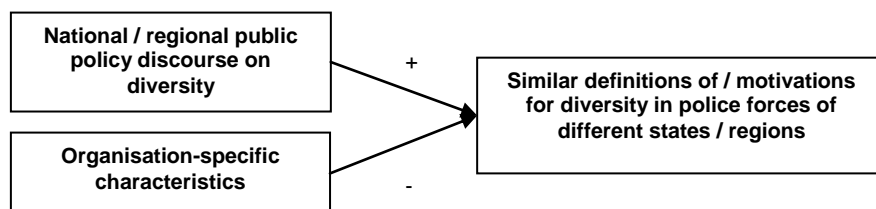


Figure 4.7. Hypothesis on the cause of variation in the definition of diversity

Source: own elaboration

Further research would be necessary to determine the relative impact of both factors on the final outcome.

New hypothesis on the definition of diversity policy

Finally, comparing multiple cases by applying the analytical framework could also help explain why there is more resistance against diversity (policy) in some organisations than in others. For example, differences in the definition of diversity (policy) between those in command and those on the work-floor could create resistance against these policies, which is an obstruction for their effective implementation:

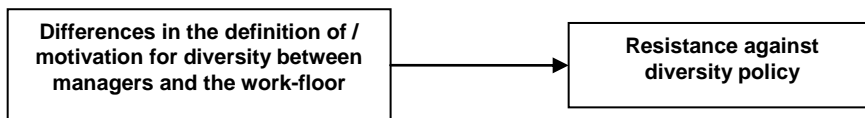


Figure 4.8. Hypothesis on the consequences of variation in the definition of / motivation for diversity within an organisation

Source: own elaboration

Should this hypothesis be confirmed, the research conclusions would coincide with some of the pitfalls Liff (1999) describes for the implementation of diversity policies. Also, they would confirm the argument of Paoline III (2003) that it is incorrect to talk about a unitary police culture, because organizational style, rank and individual officer style create variation in the cultural homogeneity of officers.

b) Exploring evaluations

Policy learning from a within case analysis

In the case of the *Politie Utrecht*, approach intensity is high. Even so, the effects of those policies are still limited. For example, the

outflow of police officers with a diverse profile is still relatively high, and managing police officers still indicated that diversity policies were seen an obligation, a political issue, that chiefs of police do not spend much attention on diversity, and that the theme is not supported broadly in the organization (IOOV, 2009).

A first thought could be that it is simply too early to see policy effects, as many initiatives are quite recent. Following this line of reasoning, a research could be set-up that monitors the effects of the policies during the upcoming years.

Another thought could be that there are the approach intensity is not equally high in all relevant policy areas (recruitment, retention, and promotion) and more policies or processes could be adapted to reinforce the dominant approach. Following this line of reasoning, the results of the analysis might be used to search for best practices from one policy area that can be copied to another policy area within the same police force. The results could be, for example, recommendations to include diverse skills or the capacity to manage diversity as one of the criteria in the yearly evaluations, to found and facilitate a regional female police officer network, to make exit interviews obligatory and ensure a rigorous follow-up of their outcomes, to formulate targets for diversity in the middle ranks, and to reserve openings at higher ranks until the last moment for candidates with a diverse profile¹³⁸.

Policy learning from a cross-case analysis

In the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, the dominant policy approach is the individual-based approach. Therefore, practices and policies might be copied from other contexts, but only if these practices coincide with, or at least do not go against, this approach. As such, the analytical framework helps to identify to what extent practices and policies are transferable to other contexts.

¹³⁸ IOOV (2009) Diversiteit bij de politie, available online: <http://www.minbzk.nl/117669/diversiteit-bij-de> (See Appendix IV on the *Politie Utrecht*: Bijlage IV, pp. 155-173)

For example, some practices and some individual-based policies of the *Politie Utrecht* that might be copied to reinforce (diversity) policies in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, are:

- Use more modern and more proactive recruitment and communication methods to increase the proximity of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* to the population and to increase the attractiveness of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* as an employer among all members of the Catalan society. For example, more regular visits to mosques, community centres, and high schools, and more activities on the internet and through mobile phones.
- Offer basic education at different levels, to increase the attractiveness of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* as an employer for candidates with a university title.
- Ensure contact between the police academy (teachers/tutors) and the police force (supervisors) during the training period, and alternate between internship and lectures (so lessons can be applied in practice and reflected upon afterwards), to increase the sustainable learning effect of students.
- Amplify possibilities for police officers to file complaints (such as an ethical committee), discuss doubts, or offer ideas for improvement (such as confidential counsellors) and ensure that the top of the organisation encourages the use of these possibilities, to create a more open and innovative working environment.

4.6. Conclusions

The first goal of this paper has been to provide a deeper understanding of the internal dynamics of diversity in the cases of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* and the *Politie Utrecht*.

The first observation is that in some ways these police forces are strikingly similar. For example, both police forces focus on the same modes of differentiation (gender and migrant background) and both attribute similar practical meanings to these modes of

differentiation. The only slight difference in their definition of diversity is that migrant background is considered as a soft mode of differentiation in the context of the Mossos d'Esquadra (a human difference that helps to distinguish the self from the other but is seen as less permanent and hence adaptable) and a hard mode of differentiation in the context of the Politie Utrecht (a human difference that is inborn and/or exerts an important impact on early socialisation and has an ongoing impact throughout life). While in both cases gender and migrant background are mainly identified as collective modes of differentiation in nature (which is an ontological observation), both the Politie Utrecht and the Mossos d'Esquadra strive for an organisation in which individuals have equal opportunities despite of collective differences (which implies a deontological choice for diversity as an individual concept). Both moral and practical arguments are employed to plea for diversity within the police organisation, although practical arguments seem far more dominant in the case of the Politie Utrecht.

The most striking difference, however, is found in the policy approach to facilitate diversity within the organisation. In line with the end-goal of individual equal opportunities, individual-based policies (that ensure equal and unbiased treatment of individuals) are more dominant in the context of the Mossos d'Esquadra, although these policies are not widespread throughout the organisation. For example, the perspective of internal evaluators is always contrasted with that of external evaluators in selection processes for recruitment and promotion, but the yearly evaluations are the sole responsibility of the direct supervisors. Also, diversity is not treated as a strategic theme. That is, it is not linked to the vision and core responsibilities of the police force, there are no recruitment or promotion targets, and it is not incorporated in the organisational structure. In the case of the Politie Utrecht, on the other hand, a mix of individual-based and collective-based policies (that adapt processes to social group differences) can be identified. For example, the process to select candidates for the talent programme of the Politie Utrecht is set-up to be as unbiased as possible, but if there are few female candidates or candidates with a migrant background, the HRM department does urge police managers to look again. Also, these policies touch the entire organisation, and attention for diversity is widespread. It is a strategic theme in the vision of the organisation, it is reinforced with

targets that have financial consequences, and it is incorporated in the organisational structure in various ways.

The second goal of this paper has been to demonstrate the potential of the analytical framework. Applying the framework in these two practical cases has confirmed that diversity policy is a multilayered concept in theory and practice: the distinction between the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the diversity policy approach is not merely a theoretical distinction, but one that can also be observed empirically. Also, using a comprehensive view (that is, including all policy areas related to diversity within the organisation: recruitment, retention, and promotion) to fill the categories of the analytical framework proved to be an effective way to collect information on all possibly relevant variables. Finally, the application of the analytical framework did not only lead to a deeper understanding of the role diversity plays in the internal dynamics of these police forces by drawing clear conclusions out of a multitude of raw empirical data, but also generated possibilities for academic theory building and policy learning.

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Generalitat de Catalunya: www.gencat.cat [Accessed February 2010].

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ISPC (Catalan Police Academy):
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APPENDIX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE

Asides from a general introduction (which included getting to know one another and explaining the goal of the research) and closure (in which the respondents could add whatever they found relevant, and they were informed about the use of the information), the body of the questionnaire was personalized for each respondent according to his or her position and functional expertise. Questions could be selected from part 1, part 2, or both.

Part 1. General questions on diversity within the police organisation

1. Is the ... a diverse police force?
 - a. ¿Why so / why not?
2. Is it important that the police force is diverse?
 - a. ¿Why so / why not?
 - b. If so, ¿which forms of diversity are important, and why?
3. How is diversity within the ... be facilitated and/or increased?
4. How should diversity within the ... be facilitated and/or increased?

Part 2. Policies related to diversity within the police organisation

Policy area	Policy type	Questions
Recruitment	A. Publicity	What channels are used to find candidates? What language is used in publicity? What groups are targeted? Are job descriptions adapted to target groups?
	B. Preparation	What programmes prepare for the selection process? What groups are targeted with these programmes?

	<p>C. Selection process</p> <p>D. Profile new recruits (all levels)</p>	<p>What are the selection criteria? Are selection criteria adapted to target groups? What role does diversity play in the selection criteria? How is the selection procedure? What is the content of the tests? What is the profile of evaluators?</p> <p>What information on new recruits is registered? What is the average profile of new recruits? Are there recruitment targets? What is the status of those recruitment targets? (juridical obligation, financial consequences, etc.)</p>
Retention	<p>A. Structure of the organisation</p> <p>B. Internal communication</p> <p>C. Working environment</p> <p>D. Minority police officer associations</p> <p>E. Content of courses</p> <p>F. Profile unnatural outflow</p>	<p>What is the role of diversity in the vision and strategy of the police force? How is diversity embedded in the organisational structure? What budget is there for diversity? What complaint procedures / anti-discrimination institutions are there?</p> <p>Are there internal awareness campaigns or symbolic events to promote diversity? Are there guides on behaviour or language with respect to diversity?</p> <p>What role does diversity play in the physical working environment? How are shifts determined? (hours, composition of teams, neighbourhoods) Is there any form of mentoring programmes or coaching available? How much flexibility is there to move around in the organisation or adapt working hours?</p> <p>What associations of/for police officers with a diverse profile are there? What are their goals? In what way are they supported by the police organisation?</p> <p>What role does diversity play in the curriculum? (basic education and promotion courses)</p> <p>What information on police officers that leave the organisation before retirement is registered? What is the average profile of these police officers? What are their motivations for leaving? Does the police force organize exit interviews? Does the police force monitor the motivation to stay/leave among current police officers?</p>
Promotion	A. Publicity	<p>What channels are used to find candidates? What groups are targeted? Are job descriptions adapted to target groups? Is there a talent programme? If so, what role does diversity play?</p>

	B. Job performance evaluation	<p>What are the evaluation criteria? What role does diversity play in the evaluation criteria? What is the evaluation procedure? What is the profile of evaluators?</p>
	C. Selection process	<p>What are the selection criteria? Are selection criteria adapted to target groups? What role does diversity play in the selection criteria? How is the selection procedure? What is the content of the tests? What is the profile of evaluators?</p>
	D. Practical access to courses / positions	<p>How compatible are study hours or working hours with private obligations? How compatible are new responsibilities with private obligations?</p>
	E. Profile per level	<p>What information on candidates is registered? What is the average profile of candidates? Are there specific targets? What is the status of those targets? (juridical obligation, financial consequences, etc.)</p>

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF RESPONDENTS

For the case of the Politie Utrecht

European Network for Policewomen (ENP) / European Diversity in Policing (EDPOL)

Coordinator of the ENP, coordinator and Dutch representative of the support group EDPOL

17 June 2009, Amersfoort

Dutch Police Academy

National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD)

Director (2004-2009)

18 June 2009, Apeldoorn

Politie Utrecht

HRM Department

Administrator and police officer responsible for facilitating and monitoring diversity within the organization, administrative personnel and sworn staff

19 June 2009, Utrecht (double interview of 180 minutes)

Politie Utrecht

Regional Expertise Centre on Diversity (RECD)

Commanding officer, responsible for the RECD, sworn staff

11 August 2009, Utrecht

Politie Utrecht

Colourful Police Network Utrecht (KPNU)

Board member and representative, sworn staff

11 August 2009, Utrecht

Politie Utrecht

Network for Gay Police Officers (HIP)

Network member, sworn staff

11 August 2009, Utrecht

Dutch Police Academy

National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD)

Content expert on integrity and manners

17 August 2009, by phone

Dutch Police Academy
National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD)
Content expert on diversity in physical abilities, age, and gender
20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

Dutch Police Academy
National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD)
Content expert on diversity in sexual orientation
20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

Dutch Police Academy
National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD)
Content expert on cultural/ethnic diversity, coordinator of the
Expert Group
20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

Dutch Police Academy
Department of strategic knowledge development
Head of the department
20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

Dutch Police Academy
Department of Basic Education
Coordinator of the teaching programme, all basic levels
20 August 2009, Apeldoorn

Dutch Police Academy
National Expertise Centre for Diversity (LECD)
Content expert on diversity in research and education
20 August 2009, Utrecht

Politie Utrecht
Network for Gay Police Officers (HIP)
Founder and representative, sworn staff
29 August 2009, by email

Dutch Police Academy
School for Police Leadership (SPL)
Director and coordinator of the educational programme
September 2009 & January 2010, by email

For the case of the Mossos d'Esquadra

UNESCOCAT

Coordinator of the diversity courses for the police

5 November 2008, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Area Coordinator, Department of Education, Selection and Evaluation

Responsible for the Social Diversification Programme

15 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Basic Education

Head of the department

28 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

Department of Interior Affairs

Gender Equity Programme

Work group representative

21 April 2009, Barcelona

Gay and Lesbian Police Association (Gaylespol)

President and vice-president

12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra

Coordinator of the instructors at the ISPC (police officers who guide the practical exercises of the basic education)

13 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra

Technical Office

Head of the area of Barcelona & member of the promotion section

14 May 2009, Barcelona (double interview of 90 minutes)

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up

Head of the department

19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)
Department of Basic Education
Programme responsible
5 June 2009, by telephone

Mossos d'Esquadra
Female Police Officers Commission
Representative of the commission, author of the proposal for a new
commission, Head of the Section for Missing Persons
9 July 2009, Sabadell

Department of Interior Affairs
General Subdirection HRM
Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes
3 October 2009, Barcelona

Mossos d'Esquadra
Area of Professional Organisation
Head of the area (includes publicity, selection and evaluation,
training)
10 October 2009, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)
Department of Advanced Education
Head of the department (specialist and promotion courses)
28 October 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra
General Subdirection of Planning
Chief of the general subdirection
8 January 2010, Barcelona

Department of Interior Affairs
Secretary of Security
13 January 2010, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)
Director
19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès