

The Police Academy's Response to Ethnic Profiling

Master Thesis Crisis and Security Management



Emma Matser

Student number: S2105764

Course: Master Thesis CSM 2017 – 2018

Master: Crisis and Security Management September 2017

Leiden University

Date: July 30, 2018

Supervisor: T.J.M. Dekkers

Second reader: P.G.M. Aarten

Word Count: 19.219



**Universiteit
Leiden**

Content

- Chapter 1: Introduction** 5
 - 1.1 Literature review 4
 - 1.1.1 *Ethnic profiling in The Netherlands* 4
 - 1.1.2 *The research gap: the Police Academy and ethnic profiling* 5
 - 1.2 Goals of the research 6
 - 1.3 Research question 7

- Chapter 2: Theoretical framework** 8
 - 2.1 Ethnic profiling 8
 - 2.2 Police culture 9
 - 2.3 Institutional racism 10
 - 2.4 Organisational culture 11
 - 2.4.1 *Cultural knowledge* 12
 - 2.4.2 *Structural conditions* 13

- Chapter 3: Methodology** 15
 - 3.1 Research design 15
 - 3.2 Methods 15
 - 3.2.1 *Course material and policy documents* 16
 - 3.2.2 *Interviews* 16
 - 3.2.3 *Field interviews* 18
 - 3.2.4 *Operationalization* 18
 - 3.3 Internal and External validity and possible pitfalls 21

- Chapter 4: Results and analysis** 22
 - 4.1 Structural conditions 22
 - 4.2 Cultural knowledge: dictionary knowledge 24
 - 4.2.1 *Experts* 24
 - 4.2.2 *Managers* 25
 - 4.2.3 *Teachers* 26
 - 4.2.4 *Students* 27
 - 4.2.5 *Findings* 28
 - 4.3 Cultural knowledge: directory knowledge 28
 - 4.3.1 *Experts* 28
 - 4.3.2 *Managers* 30
 - 4.3.3 *Teachers* 31
 - 4.3.4 *Students* 32
 - 4.3.5 *Findings* 33

4.4 Cultural knowledge: recipe knowledge.....	34
4.2.1 <i>Experts</i>	34
4.2.2 <i>Managers</i>	35
4.2.3 <i>Teachers</i>	36
4.2.4 <i>Students</i>	37
4.2.5 <i>Findings</i>	38
4.5 Cultural knowledge: axiomatic knowledge.....	39
4.2.1 <i>Experts</i>	39
4.2.2 <i>Managers</i>	40
4.2.3 <i>Teachers</i>	40
4.2.4 <i>Students</i>	41
4.2.5 <i>Findings</i>	41
4.6 Other findings.....	41
Chapter 5: Conclusion	44
5.1 Answering the research question.....	44
5.2 Contribution of the research to society and science.....	46
5.3 Reflection on the use of Chan’s theory of organisational culture.....	47
5.4 Limitations and recommendations for future research.....	49
5.4.1 <i>Limitations and difficulties</i>	49
5.4.2 <i>Recommendations for future research</i>	50
Bibliography	51
Appendices	54

Chapter 1: Introduction

In May 2016 the famous Dutch rapper Typhoon was stopped in his car by the police. According to him, not because of a traffic offence, but because his new car did not match the colour of his skin (NRC.nl 2016). The police officers in question admitted that they had stopped him because they had reckoned that the car might have been bought with drugs money (NU.nl 2016). A month later, a famous football goalie, Kenneth Vermeer, posted a video online in which he was stopped by the police, too, because of the kind of car he was driving in. Vermeer claims this has happened to him more often and says it is a form of ethnic profiling (AD 2016). In this case the police did not admit this. Whether or not it was ethnic profiling, these incidents instigated the public debate in The Netherlands on ethnic profiling by the police. In December 2017 the police introduced an application aiming at decreasing ethnic profiling by the police. This application enables police officers to scan the plate of a car and check whether that car has been stopped before by the police, and if so, what the result of this was (NOS.nl 2017). Apparently, policies concerning ethnic profiling are on the agenda of the Dutch police. An application like this is an instrumental tool with the purpose of diminishing the stopping of cars for the wrong reasons by police officers. However, this does not necessarily mean that the police officer's mind-set changes on the issue of racial profiles.

1.1 Literature review

1.1.1 Ethnic profiling in The Netherlands

By only looking at the incidents mentioned above and their aftermath in the media, it is clear that ethnic profiling is a problem in the Netherlands. Especially the use of social media has made the topic one of societal interest. Nevertheless, before the incidents happened there were already debates regarding the subject of ethnic profiling. In 2013 Amnesty International published two reports on ethnic profiling in The Netherlands. In the reports they ask the Dutch government to acknowledge ethnic profiling by the police because they believe that minorities in The Netherlands frequently feel discriminated by the police (Amnesty International, *Proactief Politieoptreden Vormt Risico Voor Mensenrechten: Etnisch Profileren Onderkennen en Aanpakken* 2013) (Amnesty International, *Gelijkheid Onder Druk: de Impact van Etnisch Profileren* 2013).

In 2014, Van der Leun et al. published a research regarding ethnic profiling of the The Hague Police force in the Schilderwijk (Van der Leun, et al. 2014). This research was highly criticized by for example Buro Jansen & Janssen, an independent research bureau. Van der Leun et al. concluded in the research that it could not be determined that the The Hague police officers were ethnically profiling on a structural basis. Nevertheless, the researchers came to the conclusion that serious attention should be paid by the national police towards the connecting side of police work and that there are serious problems regarding perceptions back and forth between the police and minority groups (Van der Leun, et al. 2014, 40-43). Buro Jansen & Janssen, a highly activist research group, disagreed with Van der Leun et al. and even called them spokespersons of the police (Buro Jansen & Janssen 2016). The fact that researchers disagree to this extent, shows that ethnic profiling by the police still is a subject of high relevance. Also in 2016, the report “Boeven Vangen” (catching thieves) was published. The research was commissioned by the Police & Science department of the police organisation. The outcome of the research was that in general, police officers are more likely to stop and search ethnic minorities (Landman and Kleijer-Kool, Boeven Vangen 2016). This research has been criticized as well, for example by Arjen Lubach, a Dutch journalist, who argued that the statistics of the report cannot be generalized (Zondag met Lubach 2016). Again, the debate on ethnic profiling was instigated and the different reports, research and media attention show the sensitivity and therefore the relevance of the topic. A conclusion that can already be drawn by taking into account the mentioned incidents and the published articles is that ethnic profiling is a serious problem in both society and the academic world.

1.1.2. The research gap: the Police Academy and ethnic profiling

Problems tend to have solutions, and in order to come a little bit closer to solving the problem of ethnic profiling by the police, it is necessary to have a closer look at the police organisation. To take into account the police organisation as a whole would be too comprehensive for the time set for this research. Therefore, it is interesting to evaluate the problem of ethnic profiling while looking at one particular branch of the police organisation. One of the factors that can play a role in solving the problem of ethnic profiling by the police, lies within the education of police officers. What all police officers have in common that they have enjoyed an education provided by the Police Academy. The education of police officers lays at the foundation of their work. Accordingly, the Police Academy is an interesting choice for this research.

Previous empirical research on ethnic profiling has not taken into account the education that police officers enjoy before they start their career, while it *is* an important foundation of the police organisation as a whole. Behaviour and practices within an organisation are passed on to new members and these new members also bring different views into organisations (Chan 1997, 72). This makes the Police Academy particularly interesting, as individuals who enrol to become a police officer are always given an education at the Police Academy before going to another section within the police organisation. This is the place where they first encounter the organisational culture and create a social community of their own together with their classmates. Moreover, the importance of police education regarding ethnic profiling has been stressed by for example the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). In 2013, the FRA has published a document for police trainers specifically focused on ethnic profiling (FRA 2013). This document was a follow-up of the document published in 2010 with the purpose of understanding and preventing ethnic profiling (FRA 2010). The 2013 document by the FRA is meant as a manual for police trainers and explicitly mentions the importance of a police officer's knowledge of rights related to ethnic profiling. It also states that the education of police officers is one of the most important shaping periods in their career. Apparently, the education of police officers has been found important when considering the problem of ethnic profiling. However, there does not exist empirical research in the Netherlands that investigates the extent of attention that the Police Academy gives to the concept and practice of ethnic profiling.

1.2 Goals of the research

The goal of this research is to create a contextual insight, because the context concerning ethnic profiling in the Netherlands is very important for this research. It will be explained if and how the Police Academy, and with it the education of police officers, has responded to the boost of attention to ethnic profiling by police officers in the Netherlands. The topic has been discussed on social media and by other media such as TV programmes and newspapers. Moreover, the topic of ethnic profiling is a sensitive one, which makes it interesting to examine. Both the sensitivity of the topic and the popularity in the media make ethnic profiling a relevant topic to examine for the Dutch society. Furthermore, employees involved in the training programme of the police can use the results of this research to see if and how changes in society contribute to changes within the culture of the organisation; intended or unintended changes.

1.3 Research question

To become a police officer on the streets, an education has to be enjoyed. This education is often the first encounter a police officer-to-be has with the organisational culture. When an organisational culture requires change, the education of new police officers is an important aspect to take into account (Chan 1997, 57). This research does not imply that a change of the police training system is required, but when looking into the educational system it is interesting to connect developments regarding ethnic profiling to a specific section of the police organisation. Van der Leun et al. mention in their research that among others, the education of the police should be scrutinised (Van der Leun, et al. 2014, 43). This research will look at the organisational culture of the Police Academy in order to discover if and how the organisation has been responding to the increased attention to ethnic profiling. Therefore, the research question of this research is: *To what extent has the organisational culture of the Police Academy in the Netherlands responded to the instigated debate with regard to ethnic profiling by the police and how can the response be explained?*

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This chapter will start with the concept of ethnic profiling. A frequently used definition of this concept will be elaborated upon and research regarding ethnic profiling will follow subsequently. Furthermore, an overview of research regarding police culture will be provided. This will be followed by the concept of institutional racism that will connect police culture and ethnic profiling. Finally, Chan's theory of organisational culture will be explained. This theory will be used throughout this thesis and the operationalization of the theory will be explained in chapter 3.

2.1 Ethnic profiling

The introductory chapter mentions that the debate regarding ethnic profiling is a difficult one and that scholars and others do not agree with each other on how ethnic profiling is handled by the police. Practically, there are a lot of different opinions on the subject. However, conceptually, there is little debate on the definition of ethnic profiling in the academic field. For the purpose of this research, the definition of the Open Society Justice Initiative will be used. In most literature that has been assessed for this research this term was mentioned as well. Ethnic profiling is defined as the use by the police and other law enforcers of generalisations based on race, ethnicity, religion or national origin rather than on behaviour or objective evidence (OSJI 2009, 8). Ethnic profiling is the act of profiling when there has not been a criminal act and/or a description of a specific criminal, but on the base of race etc. Thus, ethnic profiling must be distinguished from suspect profiling, because in those cases persons are stopped by the police because of a description, and this description could also include race, ethnicity etc. (Van der Woude en Rodrigues 2016, 2294). A more comprehensive definition might include a misfit of a person in the place where he or she finds him/herself in (ENAR 2009, 3). What should be emphasised is that ethnic profiling is a form of discrimination which is illegal since the European Convention of Human Rights prohibits discrimination in article 14 (ECHR 1950, 12). Throughout the research the above mentioned definition of ethnic profiling will be used. However, it must be taken into account that others may have another approach to ethnic profiling.

Most of the empirical research on ethnic profiling and racial bias by the police has been conducted in the United States (Nadal, et al. 2017, 809). It is argued that ethnic profiling is a discriminatory practice, but to totally forbid the police from using characteristics is likely

to decrease the effectiveness of the police (Persico 2002, 1480). The line between using (behavioural) characteristics and ethnic profiling seems to be thin (Fredrickson and Siljander 2002, 16). Additionally, there is a difference between intended and unintended ethnic profiling, which makes the subject even more difficult (Chan 2011, 76). Stainback (2015) agrees with Chan and argues that discriminatory decisions may be made unconsciously, because people tend to trust a person more and have a stronger bond with a person who they categorise as similar. This process is stimulated when a group has a homogeneous character (Stainback 2015, 45). Stainback calls this in-group bias, where a notion of us versus them is created. Hirsh and Kornich contribute to the debate by arguing that the perception of what a discriminatory act (such as ethnic profiling) is, depends on socio-economic status, but also on the characteristics of the work environment of a person (Hirsch and Kornrich 2008, 1400).

2.2 police culture

To understand the relationship between ethnic profiling and Chan's theory of organisational culture, it is important to provide a better understanding of the police culture in the Netherlands. Ethnic profiling by the police is a structural problem that is connected to police culture.

Actions of police officers are often understood as a result of police culture (Landman 2016). There are debates about the extent of the influence the police culture has on the actions of police officers, but in general, the police organisation has the image of having a strong isolated culture that affects a police officer's behaviour. This culture consists of police officers telling each other that contain life lessons. Humour and cynicism are often embedded in stories police officers tell each other and stereotyping is often part of these stories (Koren en Ratering 2010, 26). In this sense, the use of language to label certain groups is leading.

This persisting story telling culture has often been labelled as an orthodox and practically unalterable one (Cockcroft 2013). Power and hierarchy in the police system seem to contribute to the police culture's status quo; younger generations learn from older generations. Criticism on this view includes the argument that increased diversity within police forces has been changing the culture. To elaborate, according to Hoogenboom, the typical police officer is not a white working-class male anymore. However, the image of the police officer and the police culture has not been changing accordingly (Hoogenboom 2013, 108).

Police culture is not easily explained and there are more than a few perspectives on the concept. Ethnic profiling is one of the issues of which it is argued that is it a result of the current police culture. The concept of institutional racism explains the connection between ethnic profiling and police culture. In the following subchapter, this concept will be elaborated upon.

2.3 Institutional racism

As explained, this thesis will connect the organisation of the Police Academy to the concept and practice of ethnic profiling by the police. In order to do so, it is important to outline how discriminatory acts, such as ethnic profiling, have been theorized in the academic field of organisational studies. Institutional racism is an important concept to take into account, since its definition refers to both discriminatory acts and the culture of an organisation. Especially in the late 1990's, the concept of institutional racism was studied by scholars. This was not incidental, the term was brought up in the inquiry on the murder of Stephan Lawrence, who was murdered because of his skin colour and it was believed that the handling of the case by the police was affected by racial ideas within the police organisation (Independent 2018). In the inquiry the concept of institutional racism is defined as:

“The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.” (Holdaway en O'Neill 2006, 350)

Institutional racism does not merely apply to the police organisation, but also to other public services (Oakley 1999, 285). However, what distinguishes the work of police officers from other jobs, is that the former often find themselves in situations with a skewed cross-section of society. These situations have the well-recognised potential for the development of racial stereotypical thoughts (Oakley 1999, 286). Another issue that has been addressed is the 'canteen culture' of the police. This relates to the language used by police officers and staff and the jokes that they make and contributes to stereotyping within the police organisation (Souhami 2014, 8). As mentioned before, stereotyping is an important element when it comes to the problem of ethnic profiling.

As mentioned in the introduction, education is a very important factor in forming the behaviour of a police officer. It is mentioned that older generations influence younger generations and students of the Police Academy are the current younger generation. Moreover, the Police Academy is an organisation within the police organisation and a part of its employees are former police officers (interview respondent 1). This means that the organisational culture of the Police Academy is influenced by police culture in general. However, it cannot be concluded that it has completely the same culture as the police organisation. This makes the Police Academy an interesting organisation to examine.

What can be extracted from the above mentioned concepts is that ethnic profiling is highly related to the culture of the police. A police culture where for example stereotyping is normal may result in practices of police officers that include ethnic profiling. The organisational culture by Chan will be used in order to examine how the Police Academy has responded to the instigated debate regarding ethnic profiling. Chan uses police culture and change within this culture when explaining her theory. Therefore, her theory is used in order to answer the research question of this thesis. The next subchapter will explain Chan's theory on organisational culture.

2.4 Organisational culture

Organisational culture is a concept that has been used in different fields of study. Within the field of sociology scholars have theorized the notion, as well as in management studies and leadership studies (Kummerow, Kirby and Ying 2014, 5). This research will focus on a sociological conceptualisation of organisational culture and combine this with police studies and eventually with ethnic profiling within the organisational culture of the Police Academy.

One of the (simplified) definitions of organisational culture that is often used is the one Schein explains. In the fourth edition of his book *Organizational Culture and Leadership* he uses the following definition of organisational culture:

The culture of a group can now be defined as a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (Schein 2010, 18)

Janet Chan has elaborated on this definition by combining it with police studies and she uses different sociological theories of organisational culture that also take Schein's definition as a

basis, and connects these with police culture. Chan does not disagree with Schein on the definition of organisational culture, however, she stresses the importance of the individual as an active participator more than Schein does (Chan 1997, 74). She eventually explains the conceptualisation of police culture in a systematic way. Two features are explained that influence the organisation and vice versa: cultural knowledge and structural conditions.

2.4.1 Cultural knowledge

Chan uses concepts of Bourdieu (1992) in explaining cultural knowledge and structural conditions. For cultural knowledge she refers to the concept of habitus, which encompasses past experiences that persons use to cope with new situations (Chan 1997, 74). Police officers hear stories and tell stories and are influenced by the stories of others. Young police officers and students who learn from older police officers are presented with a certain frame of reference in their education and experiences. Police officers hear about actions of others and this provides them with a repertoire of reasonable accounts to legitimise their actions (Chan 1997, 70). In other words: actions and especially stories about actions of others influence a police officer's actions and vice versa. Based on these assumptions Chan uses Sackmann's idea that organisational culture encompasses forms of organisational knowledge (Sackmann 1991, 21). This knowledge has been divided into four dimensions. *Dictionary knowledge*: this consists of the definitions and labels of things within an organisation. Chan connects this to categorising: what concepts and situations are connected to each other and what normalities are distinguished from abnormalities; the things that fall outside of the set categories (Chan 1997, 77). *Directory knowledge*: this is the common idea of 'how things are done' by and within the organisation and also how things were done in the past. This is what persons think the organisation is or was doing. These are not assumptions, but how persons experience activities by and within an organisation. *Recipe knowledge*: This is the idea on what should or should not be done in specific situations. This means that this type of knowledge consists of opinions of persons involved in an organisation, hence the normative dimension. *Axiomatic knowledge*: the assumptions about "why things are the way they are" in an organisation. This means that some assumptions are unchangeable and absolute to someone. In an organisation different persons can have the same assumptions that might be unique for the organisation itself (Chan 1997, 68). Chan exemplifies this by mentioning the police mandate: the fundamental assumptions many police officers have on their monopoly on violence (Chan 1997, 76).

The organisational culture can be established by taking into account the four different kinds of cultural knowledge and then to connect this with ethnic profiling. Firstly, dictionary knowledge makes clear what respondents mean with ethnic profiling. Secondly, directory knowledge can establish whether the organisational culture has changed by making a distinction between the past and the present. It will be noted whether a respondent is talking in the past or present tense in order to find out any differences between the past and the present. Thirdly, recipe knowledge will establish the normative side of the research. When a respondent mentions something of which he/she believes the Police Academy should do something about, this will mean that the respondent believes that the Police Academy has not been active on this (yet). Fourthly, axiomatic knowledge will provide what the assumptions of persons are. How these four different kinds of knowledge will be operationalized will be explained in chapter 3.

2.4.2. Structural conditions

To explain structural conditions, the concept 'field', discussed by Bourdieu (1992), will be used. Field means that there is a legal framework around the authority and distribution of power of the police on the streets. This is influenced by and influences the relationship of the police and different social groups. Within the structural conditions, members actively play a role in the development of an organisational culture. Through the institutional structures, cultural knowledge is adapted as well. It is important to take into account that the workers are central in the relationship between knowledge and structure.

Chan's theory of organisational culture will be used to investigate how the Police Academy has been handling the problem of ethnic profiling. The theory distinguishes four types of cultural knowledge and structural conditions. By applying these types of knowledge and structural conditions to the organisational culture, it is possible to establish whether a change in organisational culture has taken place. This change, or lack thereof, in organisational culture, will be seen as the response within the organisation of the Police Academy.

The expected outcome of this research is that there has been a change in the organisational culture of the Police Academy concerning ethnic profiling and that the organisation has thus been responding to the instigated debate regarding the problem. This expectation is based on the fact that Chan has stated that experiences, both internal and external, can lead to a change in the culture of an organisation (Chan 1997, 74). People within an organisation do not only react to events and developments, they also establish them. This

research will look at organisational culture as a construction that has two sides. On the one hand there is the group as a whole that influences an individual, on the other hand individuals influence groups too. This closely relates to the cultural knowledge and it counts for the structural conditions of an organisation, too. The problem of ethnic profiling has been highly discussed in the media, so it would be likely that employees of the Police Academy have noticed the debate and that it has influenced the organisational structure. How Chan's organisational culture theory will be applied to the organisation of the Police Academy with respect to ethnic profiling, will be explained in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

The research design will be in the format of a holistic single case study. This logically follows from the fact that one single system, namely the educational system of the police in the Netherlands, will be the unit of analysis. It is not the aim to compare it to another system or to generalise the outcome of the research so it is not necessary to include more cases. Especially because the context of this research is important, a holistic single case study fits this research best. The Dutch police education was chosen because of the context and public opinion with regard to ethnic profiling as mentioned in the introductory chapter. Of course, it is convenient that the researcher speaks Dutch, because the interviews will be with Dutch speaking respondents. It cannot be assumed that respondents speak a different language from Dutch. Furthermore, because of the sensitivity of the subject it is important that the units of observation can express themselves the way they want to and that the researcher and the interviewed persons do not encounter language barriers.

3.2 Methods

This research is a qualitative research. The choice for this type of research results from that ethnic profiling and organisational culture are both concepts that can be understood from different perspectives. Moreover, ethnic profiling is a sensitive subject and with qualitative research it is possible to establish nuances that would be harder to explain with quantitative research.

The unit of analysis in this research is the educational system of the Dutch police and this research consists of several units of observation. These units of observation are managers of the Police Academy, police trainers, experts in the field of policing and ethnic profiling, course material and policy document of the police concerning ethnic profiling, and students of the Police Academy. Different methods will be used to gather data from these units of observation. Firstly, course material and policy documents regarding ethnic profiling will be analysed. What is the content that students have to read and what kind of policies exist in the field of ethnic profiling? Secondly, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with managers within the Police Academy, teachers, and experts. Preferably, the first interviews that will be conducted are with employees of the Police Academy, in order to create the effect of snowballing which will provide access to more sources for the research. 10 interviews will be conducted, one interview will be with two respondents, resulting in 11 respondents. The

two respondents will be asked to both answer the same questions and it will be taken into account that they might influence each other's answers. Thirdly, field interviews will be conducted. Students who are studying at the Police Academy will be asked what they think of ethnic profiling in connection to their education.

3.2.1 Course material and policy documents

Throughout the research, course material and policy documents will be collected and analysed. These documents will form the structural conditions explained in chapter 2. What do students have to know about ethnic profiling and does this relate to or correspond with what the respondents of the interviews and participants of the field interviews have to say? The course material is part of the education of police officers and it is made by education developers of the Police Academy, so it is interesting to examine what the Police Academy thinks the students should know about the topic. Furthermore, policy documents will be collected. How is the topic of ethnic profiling being handled in the organisation itself? Since this research is focussing on the organisational culture of the Police Academy policy documents are relevant, because they shape the structural conditions of an organisation. Both the policy documents and the course material will be collected by asking the participants of the interviews (see next subchapter) if they have relevant material. All persons that will be approached are connected to the Police Academy and some are teachers within the organisation. It is expected that not every person that will be approached for this research will be available for an interview. Still, they will be asked if they can provide policy documents or course material of the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling.

3.2.2 Interviews

The interviews will be held in April and May 2018. The respondents are divided into three different groups: experts, teachers and managers of teachers. Additionally, a distinction will be made between the respondents who are involved in the basic police education and the respondents who are involved in the subject specialised education. However, there is an overlap between the two departments so respondents will not be separated, accordingly. It will be clearly indicated what department is meant and how the respondent relates to the Police Academy in general. Respondents 9, 10 and 11 are considered experts, respondents 1, 3 and 6 are considered managers and respondent 2, 4 5, 7 and 8 are considered teachers. An overview of the 11 respondents will be given and it will be explained why they are labelled expert, manager or teacher. The order of the respondents is determined by the date the interview will

be conducted. The fact that the three respondents who are considered experts are the last three is coincidental. The method of snowballing is used in order to make connections and eventually 11 respondents are selected. Table 2 gives an overview of the respondents of the interviews.

Table 2: Overview of respondents

Respondent nr	Male/female	Age in years	Descent	Description
1	Male	+/- 50	Dutch	Manages the section subject specialised education at the Police Academy which has around 500 employees of which 450 teachers.
2	Female	+/- 35	Dutch	Teaches leadership courses in the section subject specialised education at the Police Academy.
3	Male	+/- 60	Dutch	Manages a team of 20 teachers within the section subject specialised education at the Police Academy. Manager of respondent 4 and 7.
4	Male	+/- 60	Dutch	Teaches courses such as honour related violence and youth problems in the section subject specialised education at the Police Academy. He also coordinates the development of education in his team.
5	Male	+/- 35	Dutch	Teaches control of danger and violence to students of the basic police education at police education centre in The Hague.
6	Male	+/- 40	Dutch	Manager at police education centre in The Hague. He is the manager of respondent 5 and he preferred to be interviewed together.
7	Female	+/- 55	Turkish	Teaches increasing personal effectiveness in the section subject specialised education at the Police Academy.
8	Male	+/- 55	Dutch	Practice-oriented supervisor of students at a police station in The Hague. Teaches to students of the basic police education.
9	Male	+/- 55	Turkish	Specialised in the field of honour related violence within the police force and is a guest lecturer at the Police Academy in the section subject specialised education. At his police station, he is task force coordinator of the programme <i>The Power of Difference</i> . He is considered an expert because he knows the Police Academy and the subject of ethnic profiling, but his main job is not teaching.
10	Male	+/- 55	Dutch	Researcher at Police Academy in fields such

				as racism and discrimination. He is considered an expert because he is a scholar in this field and he is an employee of the Police Academy, but not a teacher.
11	Male	+/- 35	Moroccan	Guest lecturer at the Police Academy in the section subject specialised education in the fields of street culture and ethnic profiling. He is considered an expert because of his expertise on ethnic profiling and because he knows the Police Academy but his main job is not teaching.

3.2.4 Field interviews

Some of the interviews will take place at the building of the Police Academy. Within the building, it is possible for students to study in the atrium. There are computers available for them and rooms where they can discuss homework with each other or study in silence. This makes the atrium of the Police Academy a perfect place for asking students some questions. The aim is to speak with at least 15 students, preferably in groups in order to create a discussion between them. They will probably respond to each other, agreeing or disagreeing on the subject. They will be told what the topic of the research is and they will be asked what training or education they have had so far in their journey of becoming a police officer. They will also be asked what experiences they might have had during practice training, in case they already had so. It is to be expected that the students will provide an opinion on both the concept of ethnic profiling but also on how the Police Academy deals with the subject. The view of the students will be taken into account when analysing the semi-structured interviews through the four different kinds of knowledge. The field interviews will not be recorded since the purpose is to create an open discussion without the pressure of answering a question right or wrong.

3.2.3 Operationalization

The interviews will be transcribed and analysed through the method of content analysis. This will be done by making indicators based on the concepts explained in the theoretical framework. Statements and answers will be labelled as dictionary knowledge, directory knowledge, recipe knowledge or axiomatic knowledge. The types of knowledge are described in chapter 2 but it is necessary to connect and explain the types in the context of the Police Academy and the debate regarding ethnic profiling. The field interviews will not be recorded

so will not be transcribed. However, notes will be made during the field interviews and the conversation will be written down right after the field interviews.

It is first necessary to outline the operationalization of the four different types of cultural knowledge:

Dictionary knowledge: consists of the definitions and labels that persons give to certain concepts. Each respondent will be asked how they define ethnic profiling and the definition that they give will be highlighted as dictionary knowledge. Throughout the interviews, the respondents will probably elaborate on this, and together with the definition that they give in the first place, this will create an overview of what they believe ethnic profiling means. Furthermore, other concepts and subjects that they connect to ethnic profiling will be highlighted as dictionary knowledge as well.

Directory knowledge: this is the common idea of “how things are done” by and within an organisation. If the respondents give examples of what the organisation is doing with regard to ethnic profiling, this will be highlighted as directory knowledge. This is not an opinion, it is what the respondents think the organisation is factually doing as to the subject of ethnic profiling. This type of knowledge will be separated into two parts, namely how things are done right now and how things were done in the past. Since the Police Academy and the police organisation as a whole are closely related, the factual beliefs of both organisations will be highlighted in the interviews. Respondents may not always mention ethnic profiling as a concept directly, but may mention concepts related to ethnic profiling. If so, these concepts will be established through dictionary knowledge and will thus be taken into account for directory knowledge. It is sensible that first dictionary knowledge is applied, because it lays the foundation for the use of directory knowledge.

Recipe knowledge: the idea of what should be done or should not be done in specific situations. Recipe knowledge is the normative feature of cultural knowledge. The opinion of respondents will be highlighted, together with the values they mention. What does the respondent think the Police Academy and the police should do or should not do with regard to ethnic profiling? A distinction will be made between what the respondent thinks the Police Academy should *do*, and the Police Academy should *be doing*. It might just be an opinion of the respondent, without knowing whether the Police Academy actually does certain things. This will be highlighted as “should *do*”. When it is clear that the respondent thinks that certain things should be embedded into the Police Academy, or should be improved, these will be highlighted at “should *be doing*”. Again, a distinction between the Police Academy and the police organisation will be made.

Axiomatic knowledge: assumptions are made about why things are the way they are in an organisation. This relates to inevitabilities within the organisation. What kind of knowledge, labels, practices and routines are set in stone according to the respondents? The statements that are unintended assumptions will be highlighted as axiomatic knowledge. For example, if a respondent mentions “every police officer has a gun” this is not axiomatic knowledge. If the respondent mentions “every police officer wants to have a gun,” this is axiomatic knowledge, since the respondent assumes something that is not factual. This means that the manner in which statements are made is of importance. Hence, language is imperative to establish whether the statement is axiomatic or not.

The indicators and codes that are used during the content analysis are to be found in Annex 2. The interviews will be semi-structured. In advance of the interviews, several questions will be prepared. However, throughout the interviews questions in response to what a respondent says can be posed by the researcher. Table 2 is an overview of possible questions. Question 2 will be asked to every respondent. Whether the other questions will be asked directly, depends on what the respondent already has said and on the kind of respondent. For example, question 7 is irrelevant for a respondent who does not engage with students in class.

Table 2: questions of the interviews

1	What is your job description? / What do you teach? / What is your connection to the Police Academy? (Introductory questions)
2	How would you describe ethnic profiling?
3	What do you think of the debate regarding ethnic profiling? And in connection with the Police Academy?
4	Do you notice anything of the debate in your job?
5	Is ethnic profiling discussed between colleagues and if so, how?
6	Have you noticed any changes in the Police Academy with regard to ethnic profiling?
7	Is there more attention paid to the subject of ethnic profiling in your lessons than before?
8	What is the Police Academy doing right regarding ethnic profiling?
9	Do you have any points for improvement for the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling?

3.3 Internal and external validity and possible pitfalls

In the previous section different types of methods are mentioned for the same units of observation. This will create a triangulation of methods and will increase the internal validity of the research. With this approach, a unit will be analysed from different angles. By interviewing persons separately in combination with field interviews more insight in the organisational culture will be created. With the field interviews, it will be interesting to see how the students respond to each other. If something more controversial is mentioned by one student, do others agree with the opinion, even when they did not share this opinion before? This is a speculative example, but the different methods will increase the internal validation of the research, because people react differently when they are alone than when others are in the room as well. The external validity of this research lies in the contribution to the theory of organisational culture. Can the theory and the concepts of the theory of organisational culture be used in order to explain responses and change?

The subject of ethnic profiling of the police is a sensitive one. This might have several implications for the research. Firstly, it is possible that some persons do not want to be interviewed when they learn the topic of the research. It is therefore necessary to approach the persons in a subtle manner and assure them that the research (and the researcher) is trustworthy. Furthermore, it is possible that the interviewed person will not say what is on their mind, but will give a 'politically correct' or diplomatic answer. This possibility must be taken into account during the interviews but also during the analysis of the collected data. Finally, there will be paid attention to stay as objective as possible while conducting the research and writing the thesis. However, research is done from a certain perspective and interest. It is important to stay aware of this in order to reduce bias.

Chapter 4: Results and analysis

In this chapter, the results of the interviews, field interviews, findings, and documents will be analysed. The respondents of the interviews are separated into three different groups: the experts, teachers and managers of teachers. In addition, in the analysis of the results, it will be taken into account that respondents work at two different departments as explained in the methodological chapter.

Unfortunately, due to technicality problems, the recordings of the interview with respondent 10 are lost. Notes were made during the interview and those were worked up right after. The answers of the respondent will be taken into account, but it will not be possible to quote respondent 10.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the field interviews with students of the police academy were conducted at the study area in the atrium of the Police Academy. Eventually, 14 students divided over three different groups were addressed. The first group of students were five male Caucasian students. They had started at the Police Academy three months earlier. The second group that was approached consisted of four women, three of Dutch descent, one had Surinam roots. They had started at the Police Academy nine months earlier. The last group of students that participated in the field interviews was a mixed group; two women and three men. One of the women was of Lebanese descent and the other one was half-German, half-Dutch. Two of the three men were of Moroccan descent, the other man was Dutch. All students that participated in the field interviews were between 18 and 28 years old.

4.1 Structural conditions

Every respondent was asked whether they had course material on ethnic profiling available. Likewise, the students who participated in the field interviews were asked whether they had course material. One teacher, who was not available for an interview, provided the document *Omgaan met Verschillen*, which means *Handling Differences*. The book is meant for the module Multicultural Skills & Diversity and it was written in 2011 and published by the Police Academy. The book is used in the section subject specialised education in for example the education for detectives or neighbourhood police officer.

Handling Differences is a book that is mainly focussed on diversity. In the introductory chapter it defines diversity as “encompassing all differences between persons” of which the most attention goes to gender, descent, sexual inclination, and age. (Keijzer and Wijk 2011, 15). It continues by mentioning that there is a lot of diversity in the organisation, in the classrooms, but also in the police forces on the streets. The authors of the book mention

that some teachers do not know enough about multicultural professional skills, which is why the Police Academy asked them to write the book. Although the book is meant for teachers, it is apparently also used in class to teach students about diversity.

Handling Differences is the only course material that has been collected. The rest of the respondents said that the subject is mentioned in class, but that they do not provide their students with any other course material. Three out of five teachers, teach at the section subject specialised education, and they did not know whether the basic police education provides their students with written course material on ethnic profiling. The other two teachers are part of the basic police education and they could not provide course material either. However, these two respondents are mainly practice-oriented teachers. It is possible that they are not aware of course material provided to students during theoretical classes. If there is course material, it is not a known fact by employees of the Police Academy, at least not by the ones who were reached out to for this research.

Every person who was approached for this research was also asked if they knew of or had policy documents that concern ethnic profiling. From the first contact with persons of the Police Academy on, the programme *De Kracht van het Verschil*, meaning *The Power of Difference* was mentioned. The majority of all persons approached also referred to this document. This document is relevant for this research, since it is mentioned often by respondents of the interviews, which means that the programme is well-known in the organisation. The programme described in this document is a nationally implemented programme throughout the police organisation and it is also meant for the Police Academy. Unfortunately, there were no other policy documents available.

The Power of Difference is a policy document which was implemented a year ago and the programme has been extended for two extra years (respondent 10). The document is a programme on how and why the police organisation should embrace difference and not fight it. The reasons for the start of the programme are mentioned in the document. One of the reasons is the increasing criticism on the behaviour of police officers that could result in ethnic profiling and discrimination. Four goals are mentioned in the document from which two are relevant for this research. Firstly, the document mentions that police officers should improve their engagement skills with different groups in society. The second aim is to improve awareness of stereotyping and oppose ethnic profiling. To reach this goal, the programme proposes to create more diversity in police forces (Westerink 2016, 15).

Taken the abovementioned into account, it is interesting to observe that both documents stress the importance of diversity, however *Handling Differences* mentions that

there is already a lot of diversity within the police force and Police Academy, while *The Power of Difference* states the opposite. That is to say that it stipulates that there is not enough diversity within the police organisation and the programme partially entails the goal to become a more diverse organisation. The former document is written in 2011 and the latter in 2016. In these five years there has been a lot critique one the police organisation regarding ethnic profiling and diversity, as made clear in the introductory chapter, mentioned in *The Power of Difference Document*. This increased critique could be an explanation for the difference in the two documents. Moreover, these differences illustrate how external parties, such as the media, can influence policy related issues of the Police Academy.

4.2 Cultural knowledge: dictionary knowledge

In this subchapter, it will be made clear how the respondents consider the term ethnic profiling. Throughout the interviews, the respondents have connected several other subjects and concepts to the notion of ethnic profiling. As made clear in the chapter 3, dictionary knowledge is the definition that a person gives to a concept and the labels that the person connects to concepts. This part of the results and analysis is rather descriptive, since it is hard to measure whether the meaning of ethnic profiling has changed to the respondents.

4.2.1 Experts

Respondents 9, 10 and 11 are considered to be experts in the field of ethnic profiling and are in involved in the subject of ethnic profiling and the Police Academy. The answer to the question as to the meaning of ethnic profiling by respondent 11 was as follows: “select someone based on his race.” Respondent 9 was more thorough and said: “inspecting someone without reason, but because of someone’s appearance ... inspecting someone without legal base, but based on skin colour.” Respondent 10 mentioned the behaviour of police officers and that they are not looking at the situation but are more likely to connect non-Caucasian persons with crime than Caucasian persons. Respondent 9 gave a definition of the opposite of ethnic profiling: “being able to block your personal feelings and prejudices while working.”

During the interviews, many different concepts and subjects were mentioned that the experts felt were connected to ethnic profiling. It is noticeable that the concept of diversity is often touched upon by all three respondents. It was noted that diversity is not only ethnicity, but much broader than that. Furthermore, factors such as gender and sexual preference were mentioned. However, those factors were not directly connected to the practice of stop and

search, while all experts connected the notion of ethnic profiling to this practice. This means that while often using the term diversity in combination with ethnic profiling, the connotation of ethnic profiling is connected to certain practices, while the concept of diversity is more touched upon in a general sense. Both diversity and variety are frequently associated with internal affairs, in other words the diversity of people within the police forces and the Police Academy.

Respondent 9 and 11 are active police officers in their police force; they are not directly connected to the Police Academy, both being guest lecturers. Both respondents frequently mentioned the concept of ‘gut feeling’. They were referring to intuition and frame of reference of police officers. The frame of reference is created by experience and experience is needed to become a good police officer, according to the respondents. This is where the problem lies because sometimes this gut feeling is unintentionally connecting ethnicity with crime. This corresponds with the opinion of respondent 10, that is to say police officers tend to connect non-Caucasian persons with crime. However, respondent 10 was more sceptical than the other experts. He was less nuanced regarding unintentional ethnic profiling. He was under the impression that many police officers do know what they are doing when they are selecting persons to stop and search.

Respondent 11 said “you should have the feeling that I am treating you honestly and fair when I am inspecting you.” Respondent 9 and 11 talked about feelings from the police officer’s perspective but also from the perspective of those persons stopped by the police. The police officer should be able to recognise the situation. Communication is very important in this sense, meaning a police officer should explain why he or she is stopping the person. Through good communication, the feeling of being discriminated of the person who is stopped can be mitigated.

4.2.2 Managers

Respondent 1, 3 and 6 are labelled as managers; they do not teach, although they all taught police officers in training in the past and all three started their career as a police officer on the streets. Just like the experts, the managers were asked what they believe ethnic profiling means. Respondent 1 answered by stating the opposite of ethnic profiling: “value-free looking at people and situations” and “without judgement.” Eventually he connected the concept to “judging on the base of ethnicity without doing research into reality, being neutral.” Respondent 3 said: “ethnic profiling is when persons are considered being inferior based on

their ethnicity, origin, culture, lifestyle” and respondent 6 replied to the question: “ethnic profiling is giving prevalence to a certain gender or a certain ethnic descent.”

The biggest difference between respondent 6 and respondent 1 and 3 is that respondent 6 more than once mentioned that ethnic profiling is intentional. He believes that it is a police officer’s conscious choice to stop a person on the ground of ethnicity.

What is also noticeable is that both respondent 1 and respondent 3 have mentioned the concepts of including and excluding in their answers and they were the only two of all respondents who mentioned this. With regard to in- and excluding, they connected this to relationships within police forces as well. Ethnic profiling was connected to diversity, which made the respondents mention diversity in teams of teachers and police forces. Moreover, the concept of diversity was often mentioned by respondent 1 and 3, while only mentioned once by respondent 6. Both respondent 1 and 3 are managers, and respondent 1 is the manager of respondent 3. Respondent 3 mentioned that they often discuss and talk about certain issues in the organisation. Thus the use of similar concepts may be a result of their work-relationship.

4.2.3 Teachers

Respondent 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8 are teachers. The five teachers who together form the group of teachers in this research responded in different ways. Respondent 2 answered the question with “ethnic profiling is handling differences and equality.” Respondent 4 said: “ethnic profiling is labelling persons,” respondent 5 said: “ethnic profiling is that you have a preference. That you are prejudiced. This is related to skin colour or preference.” Respondent 7 said: “ethnic profiling is when a police officer stops and searches someone without reason, but based on someone’s colour, appearance or ethnicity. Someone is then stopped for the wrong reasons.” Respondent 8 said: “ethnic profiling is if you want to get someone because of their race, colour of skin. And improperly using your competences.”

Throughout the interview respondent 2 did not directly address ethnic profiling, but she merely focused on what she thought was important to do to make sure one does not engage in ethnic profiling, namely being aware of being prejudiced and being conscious of the possibility of ethnic profiling. Respondent 8 mentioned consciousness, too, but in another context. He believes that ethnic profiling sometimes happens unconsciously, not only on the streets but also within police forces, often in the form of jokes.

Respondent 8 frequently mentioned that ethnic profiling has everything to do with feelings and communication. Respondent 8 is a practice-oriented supervisor of students,

which means he is also an active police officer. Respondent 9 and 11 of the group of experts both emphasised the importance of communication and feelings as well. They are the only three respondents who are currently police officers on the streets. Other respondents were less focused on the aspect of feelings, which may mean that there is a connection between respondent 8, 9 and 11 mentioning the concepts of communication and feelings, and being an active police officer. Respondent 8 focused on diversity and feelings within police forces as well. He stipulated that there is a certain ‘police humour’, a hard kind of humour, and said that jokes about someone’s appearance are not uncommon within police forces.

Furthermore, two of the teachers, respondent 5 and respondent 7, connected ethnic profiling to diversity and both mentioned male – female differences while talking about diversity. Respondent 4 did not mention male – female as an example of diversity, but he noted that diversity is more than only ethnicity.

As to dictionary knowledge, there is no visual difference noticed between the teachers who work in the section basic police education and the teachers who work in the section subject specialised education. The respondent who is a practice-oriented student supervisor gave examples of ethnic profiling from his own experiences, such as one where he stopped a car and had explained to the person in the car that he had not seen his face. The examples that the other teachers gave were merely examples that students had brought up or examples that they had heard from others.

4.2.4. Students

The students were not directly asked what ethnic profiling means according to them. However, they connected the concept to other concepts. In the conversation with the students it was clear that they were all talking about stop and search practices by the police. In the examples, none of them mentioned other situations next to stopping a car. However, the subject of diversity within the Police Academy and police forces was brought up. All students have had a couple of days on the streets. They were coupled to a police officer and went with him or her on patrol. The students said that they noticed that almost every police officer with higher ranks is Caucasian. The second group of students mentioned that they were located in different cities for their practice-oriented days. Two were located in Amsterdam and they said that the police organisation there was quite diverse. The other three were located in rural areas. The female student of Lebanese descent mentioned that in those areas she mainly met Caucasian police officers, but she pointed out that she did not have the impression that these police officers thought of her differently than of Caucasian students.

4.2.5 Findings

All respondents are aware of the fact that ethnic profiling happens, however, not everyone gave similar definitions for the concept. Especially concerning the notion of consciousness – unconsciousness there is no consensus. One respondent is very clear that ethnic profiling is an intended action by a police officer, while others mention that ‘gut feeling’ is not something a police officer always controls. Moreover, it is noticeable that the three respondents still active in practice, all mentioned that communication is very important and that they all connect ‘feelings’ and ‘gut feelings’ to ethnic profiling.

Considering that the three respondents do not know each other, it could be possible that it is a coincidence that these three respondents mentioned this separately. Conversely, it could potentially mean that in practice the focus of police officers is more on communication with citizens and feelings of police officers and citizens than it is in theoretical classes. The students did not mention communication and (gut) feelings either, but they had not experienced many days on the streets yet.

4.3 Cultural knowledge: directory knowledge

This subchapter focuses on answers that were given by the respondents of the interviews and students that were labelled as directory knowledge. This means that sentences are highlighted in which the respondents and students gave their view on what they think the Police Academy and the police organisation are doing regarding ethnic profiling and issues and concepts that the respondents have connected to ethnic profiling, as established in the previous subchapter. The focus of this chapter will be on the Police Academy but since it is part of the police organisation in The Netherlands as a whole, responses regarding ethnic profiling of the police organisation are taken into account as well. As explained in chapter 3, a distinction has been made between what the respondent thinks the Police Academy and the police organisation were doing in the past and what they are currently doing concerning ethnic profiling and related issues. By using this distinction, it is possible to establish what, according to the respondents, has changed in the organisation.

4.3.1 Experts

With regard to what the Police Academy and the police organisation were and are doing, respondent 9 and 11 are somewhat harmonious. For instance, they both believe that many

persons who are stopped by the police say that they are being ethnically profiled, which is in many cases not true according to the respondents. However, they both believe that the majority of persons who are stopped, feel victimised. As noted in the previous subchapter, both respondents focused on feelings. In this case, they mean the feeling of being the victim of ethnic profiling. They believe that there is still a gap between *feeling* ethnically profiled, and *being* ethnically profiled. Respondent 10 was less focused on the actual activity of stopping and searching a car but he fixated more on the societal context in which the police is operating. He mentioned that in many branches of society ethnic profiling is a problem. Respondent 11, who has Moroccan roots, gave an example of him being ethnically profiled by a security employee of a store. He believes that the police organisation is preceding the security branch and the job market regarding ethnic profiling. He mentioned that the police organisation should be in the core of society and this is only possible if the organisation anticipates on changes within society. He emphasised the use social media and the ease of posting opinions online as important societal changes. As a consequence, the police organisation should strive to keep up with the increasingly connected world.

Both respondents 9 and 11 believe that the Police Academy has improved with respect to approaching the issue of ethnic profiling. Respondent 9 said that “topical issues are being addressed by the Police Academy, that is a good thing” and respondent 11 said “the Police Academy is doing much better, multi-cultural subjects were inadequate in the past.” They both believe that, especially with the new intake, the Police Academy is making steps and that there is more room for discussion regarding ethnicity and diversity. However, respondent 11 noted that during his guest lectures students reacted defensively when he brought up the subject of ethnic profiling. Respondent 9 experienced during his guest lectures that students form two sides and that he has to step on his toes to lead the discussion so that it would not end in a “he said – he said” discussion.

Respondent 10 is less positive than the other two about this matter. He believes that the Police Academy is changing, but not because of intrinsic reasons. He believes political pressure is the reason for new policies regarding ethnic profiling and diversity. The respondent mentioned that he has the impression that the Police Academy is not changing for the right reasons and he believes that the changes that are made will not have a structural impact. He noted that the new policy of selecting a more diverse new group of students will not work if the Police Academy does not adapt. He exemplified this statement by mentioning that there is still no possibility to buy halal food in the cafeteria of the Police Academy, while the amount of Muslim students is increasing purposely. Respondent 11 agrees that the

organisation is not changing fast enough, he metaphorically called it an “upside-down funnel” for non-Caucasian students; hard to get in but easy to drop out.

As to the police organisation, both respondent 9 and 11 believe there are fewer improvements than at the Police Academy. Respondent 11 said that the word-use of police officers and especially of those who are working in the radio room is not neutral. A better way to describe a person would be “a darker-toned skin” and not “a Moroccan appearance.” The latter is more frequently used.

Respondent 9 is of the opinion that the communication of police officers is not at the level he would like to see. Notwithstanding his critique, respondent 9 genuinely believes that *The Power of Difference* programme is going to improve the situation, because higher ranks of the police organisation have been emphasizing the importance of the programme.

4.3.2 Managers

When looking at the ‘directory knowledge’ labels of the interviews, it is noticeable that especially respondent 6 frequently mentioned that the media are exaggerating the issue of ethnic profiling by the police. He believes that there is not a right view on the proportions and he illustrates this: “If 80 out of 100 families in a neighbourhood are non-Caucasian and something happens, then I am ethnically profiling all of a sudden. The question is whether this is true.” Respondent 3 and respondent 1 are less defensive on the topic. However, respondent 3 agrees that it is not a one-sided story and mentioned that the visibility of a person’s face while stopping a car, is in many situations poor. Respondent 1 does not believe the media are exaggerating the issue. He believes the media have been important for the debate and have brought up important issues for the police and the Police Academy. He regrets the form of the debate though, he believes that two sides are opposing each other, while he thinks it would be better if it were a dialogue instead.

With regard to the Police Academy and the education of police officers, all three managers are seeing improvements. Respondent 1 said that in 2010 he started working on a project within the Police Academy on multicultural manners, diversity and variety. He said that there was not much attention about this topic before 2010 but that since 2012 it has been an important theme in the education of new police officers. There have been events and discussion groups among other managers and employees of the Police Academy recently. This is a new development and he believes that he and his colleagues are paying more attention to the subject than before.

Respondent 3, who is a colleague of respondent 1 also mentioned that the issue is being discussed increasingly in the team of teachers that he is managing. He recalls a day his team attended, where two police officers provided them with a module on diversity. The day was part of *The Power of Difference* programme. He has the idea that employees of the Police Academy are more open towards the subject than before. Respondent 3 believes that the Police Academy is heading in the right direction, however, he said that one thing has not changed: “the education is made by white people from a white society.”

Respondent 6 works in The Hague and manages a team of practice-oriented teachers. The students who come in are second year students. Respondent 6 noticed that self-reflection has become of more importance in the education of police officers and that new students are more open to self-reflection than a couple of years ago, because they are more used to it. Respondent 6 connects this to ethnic profiling in the sense that there is more openness regarding sensitive topics.

4.3.3 Teachers

One of the teachers, respondent 7, believes that there are no visible changes in the behaviour of teachers and students at the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling and diversity in comparison with 10 years ago. She gives an example of another teacher with whom she was teaching a course. Two years ago she decided to include a module on diversity and multiculturalism in the course and after she had given this module twice, she asked her colleague to teach the module to the next group of students. He told her that he did not feel comfortable teaching this module.

When she was asked what might have improved, she mentioned that the Police Academy has hired 13 new, non-Caucasian, staff members. She believes that this could be an improvement for the future. Nonetheless, she was mainly critical: “you cannot expect of them that they are going to bring the difference, only because they are of another descent? First the organisation has to change.”

The other four teachers all mentioned differences or new developments of the police organisation and the Police Academy. Respondent 5, who is a practice-oriented teacher in The Hague said that within the organisation, two persons have specialised in ethnic profiling and they are training others. They have not only been training the students, but have also been providing insights to the employees of the Police Academy and police training centre in The Hague. He believes the issue is a difficult one but said that he and his colleagues can talk

openly about it. Respondent 5 also mentioned that the Police Academy keeps him updated about students that might need more attention. He believes that the Police Academy teaches the students social skills, also regarding handling differences.

Respondent 2 is of the opinion that the Police Academy is a more open organisation than it was before. She has noticed that the topic of ethnic profiling is being addressed more frequently in class by students than before. She believes this is because of media attention, but also because police officers are more often being accused of ethnic profiling in practice. She emphasised the experiences that the students have brought into class. Respondent 4 also believes that ethnic profiling is more discussed in class, initiated by the students. He mentioned that in his class, he does not bring up ethnic profiling deliberately but when it is mentioned he addresses the issue.

Respondent 8 mentioned that students learn the most on the streets. He thinks that making mistakes is an important factor in learning, and especially admitting making mistakes. He mentioned that their team has a zero tolerance policy with regard to lying. Making a mistake is human and he teaches his students to admit and to learn subsequently. He believes that the organisation, referring to both the police organisation and the Police Academy, has been more aware of ethnic profiling than in the past. Moreover, he refers, just like respondent 6, to the increased importance of self-reflection in the education of police officers.

4.3.4 Students

For the students it was hard to establish whether, and if so, how the Police Academy has changed over the last couple of years since they only arrived less than a year ago. Throughout the conversations they were asked whether they had any classes regarding ethnic profiling and they initially said that they did not have any classes on this theme yet. However, later in the conversations, all three groups of students came up with examples that the topic of diversity was discussed somehow. One student mentioned that during one of the classes, there was a discussion between students of Turkish descent and students of Dutch descent. He said that he kept quiet during the discussion, but that he noticed that it was not a violent discussion. On the contrary, he said that the two opposing sides understood each other better in the end than in the beginning of the discussion.

One of the groups also mentioned a lecture of a psychology course, where the lecturer explained that humans react differently to different skin colours. The interesting part of this, is that they did not connect the lecture to ethnic profiling in the first instance since they said that they had had no specific classes about ethnic profiling. The fact they brought this up, means

that the students eventually connected the two. The fact that ethnic profiling was not called by its name during the lecture, does not mean that the students did not learn anything about it.

4.3.5 Findings

Especially the experts were sceptical on the progress of the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling. One of them thought the higher ranks are only implementing diversity policies because of political pressure and the other two noticed a difference in the openness of the Academy and students. However, those two believe that not enough has changed in order to become an organisation that is a reflection of society regarding the diversity of its employees and students. Additionally, the core and culture of the organisation should change too in order to truly become a reflection of society. The managers and the teachers were more optimistic, except for one teacher. She could not see any difference between 10 years ago and now at the Police Academy and had the impression that many of her co-teachers are not comfortable teaching about difficult issues such as ethnic profiling and multiculturalism. She has a similar view on the issue as the most critical expert, respondent 10. They both believe that the mere hiring and selection of persons of different descents, does not imply that the organisation is changing. The other teachers have similar views and the managers share those. It was noticeable that they believe that the Police Academy has been changing. The theme of diversity has increasingly become a topic for discussion, both in class and between colleagues. It was also mentioned that the organisation was “less white” than before, especially regarding the younger generation. The conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that the manner in which the Police Academy is changing regarding ethnic profiling, is a slow process. Society is changing fast and the Police Academy has difficulties keeping up. However, from the sentences of the respondents an optimistic note can be extracted. Change is happening and all the respondents believe the issue of ethnic profiling has gained importance within the Police Academy and is more frequently and openly discussed. This change in frequency and nature of the discussion on ethnic profiling can be seen as a change in the culture of the organisation.

Both respondents 5 and 6 were rather positive on how the police and Police Academy are handling the subject of ethnic profiling. As mentioned before, they were interviewed together. The appointment was initially made with respondent 5 only, but respondent 6, who is respondent 5’s manager wanted to be in there as well. It could be possible that they were more positive towards the subject because of each other’s presence. Both respondents were more defensive regarding the police organisation and especially respondent 6 urged that the

media were not painting a complete picture. Although each other's presence could have influenced their answers, the majority of the respondents mentioned that the media are only providing one side of the story and that the police is doing better than the media show.

Different reasons for the change were mentioned by the respondents. One expert mentioned political pressure, whereas others mainly focused on media, social media and the connection with incidents that were highlighted by the media. The necessity for change was also mentioned; the outside world is changing, so the police cannot be left behind. This was intended for both the police organisation as for the Police Academy. The fact that the ethnic profiling has increasingly become a topic for discussion might be the result of students addressing the issue. The students who attend classes in the section subject specialised education are already experienced police officers who are specialising. The respondents of that department of the Police Academy, have noticed a difference of students' interest in the topic. Examples were mentioned of students who struggled with diversity issues or ethnic profiling and addressed this in class. The fact that the teachers notice a difference in what students contribute to class might be an incidental improvement within the Police Academy. It could be a result of two developments: on the one hand, the topic of ethnic profiling is more freely discussed and discussable, on the other hand, ethnic profiling has gained more attention in society and police officers encounter more problems with for example accusations of ethnic profiling.

4.4 Cultural knowledge: recipe knowledge

This subchapter will focus on recipe knowledge, the normative dimension of organisational culture. This means that sentences of the respondents in which they mentioned what they think the Police Academy or the police organisation should do, are highlighted. The fact that a person says that an organisation should do something, does not necessarily mean that the organisation is not doing it. That is why a distinction is made between the unclear and the clear opinions of the respondents. These factors have been taken into account while analysing the answers of both the respondents and students.

4.4.1 Experts

As mentioned in subchapter 4.2, the experts were more critical about the Police Academy than the other respondents. It is noticeable that significantly more sentences were highlighted as "recipe knowledge" in the transcriptions of the experts than in those of the other

respondents. Since the experts were more critical, they have more often provided suggestions about what the Police Academy and the police organisation should be doing.

Respondent 11 believes that more attention of the Police Academy should go to “the dialogue.” He said that students come to him because they have to “do something with multiculturalism.” He does not think this approach of the Police Academy is the right one; students should learn how to deal with other cultures, not only learn about other cultures. It would be valuable for the students to understand each other’s feelings and perspective. One of the ways to achieve this would be to create a dialogue between partners with different ethnicities. Respondent 9 had a similar opinion and called this ‘cultural sensitivity’. Students should be learning how to approach different kinds of persons. He gave an example that not every culture has the same way of treating superiors; some find it rude to look a superior in the eye while others believe the opposite. As to ethnic profiling, it has come up before that both experts emphasised the importance of communication of the police officer with citizens. They believe that students should learn how to communicate with the person they stop and search. Respondent 11 and 9 believe that police officers should learn the sensitivities of communicating with persons with different backgrounds. They think the Police Academy is inadequate in teaching the students these skills.

Respondent 10 was less focused on the practical activity of stopping and searching someone. His answers encompassed the organisation of the Police Academy itself. As mentioned in subchapter 4.2, he believes that the top of the Police Academy does not have the intrinsic motivation to change. He thinks that the only way to effectively change the current organisational culture towards a more tolerable organisation would be to ensure that the top shows that they care to change. He believes that the top is not really interested in the topic of ethnic profiling, so he does not expect to see any positive change in the near future.

4.4.2 Managers

One of the first things that respondent 1 said was “ethnic profiling is a theme that should be part of the basic police training.” Respondent 1 is a manager within the section specialised police education, not the basic police training. Although he believes that ethnic profiling is within the curriculum of the basic police training, he mainly focused on the practice-oriented part of the education in his answers. Respondent 1 stated that when a police officer approaches a situation, “the police officer should shimmer down and consult his unconsciousness before acting.” He is of the opinion that this skill is best learned in practice, hence the practice-oriented supervisors should be the ones who teach the students how to stay

neutral and act without prejudices. While mentioning what the students should learn regarding ethnic profiling, it was clear that he did not know whether the students are currently learning this. However, he believes that the Police Academy is the right stage for the discussion on the subject, since it is a safe place for students when they get back from their practice-oriented placement. He said that the Police Academy should focus more on starting the dialogue on this particularly sensitive topic.

Respondent 6 and respondent 1 have made similar suggestions regarding what the Police Academy should do as to ethnic profiling. According to respondent 6, students should learn in practice-oriented training to be aware of their behaviour, responsibilities, and attitude. Both respondents stressed the importance of police officers learning how to be aware/conscious in these specific situations and the police officer's role in the situation. According to respondent 6, the education of police officers has improved in this area, nevertheless there should be more focus on it. Respondent 6 also believes that the discussion about ethnic profiling should not be something "scary", but should be open, especially in the education of police officers. He argued that it would be valuable if more emphasis is placed on the openness of the Police Academy, between teachers and students, but also between colleagues.

Respondent 3 did not mention many suggestions on what he thought the Police Academy should do. Only two of his statements were highlighted as recipe knowledge, from which one was mentioned for the Police Academy. He believes that the Police Academy should pay more attention to the changing society and that the society changes fast, while the Police Academy changes slowly. He did not mention any specific actions that the Police Academy should take.

4.4.3 Teachers

Respondent 5, the practice-oriented teacher who's interview was conducted together with respondent 6, has not made any statement on how the Police Academy or even the police organisation in general should address the issue of ethnic profiling. He did agree with respondent 6 on some issues, but none of his statements can be highlighted as recipe knowledge. A possibility that should be considered when taking this interview into account, is that he was minding his words since his superior was present. However, he did not leave the impression that he was intimidated by the situation.

Three of the other four teachers have mentioned “openness”, “making things discussible” and “open for discussing” in their statements on what the Police Academy should do. Respondent 8 connected this to the latest intakes of students that are more diverse than previous ones. He argued that the Police Academy should be doing more to approach differences within the organisation in order to be open to other cultures. Respondent 7 and respondent 2 stressed that they would like to see more openness in the workplace to discuss the issue of ethnic profiling. Respondent 7 also focused on the new diversity policy, but she referred to the personnel of the police academy, not the students. She believes that it is not enough to hire different ethnicities; the organisation should also truly open up to different cultures, not merely hire them and expect them to blend in, while at the same time expecting them to make a diversity change in the organisation.

Respondent 4 did not mention openness but just like respondent 7, he mentioned diversity within the Police Academy. He believes that the Police Academy should be a reflection of society, which is currently not the case. He has seen improvements in the diversity of personnel, but mentioned that it will probably take years before the organisation is an actual reflection of society.

4.4.4 Students

The three different groups of students were divided on what they thought the Police Academy should do. The last group, the mix of male and female students, agreed with each other that more attention should be paid to the issue of ethnic profiling. They believe that there are some students that do not see the importance of the issue. The group with the 5 female students especially focused on the practice-oriented days they had experienced. They said that the topic of diversity came up when they joined a police officer for a day on patrol, but more in the context of diversities of neighbourhoods, not necessarily in the context of stopping and searching persons. They mentioned that they thought they would not be comfortable confronting a police officer on the topic of ethnic profiling on a day like that. The group of only male students had only started the programme three months earlier and they were not sure on what the Police Academy should improve. They said that they did not know much about the organisation yet.

There was one comment made at the end of the conversation with the mixed group that certainly stood out. The student of Moroccan descent said at the end of the conversation: “if I really thought that this was a racist organisation, I would have been long gone.” The

other students agreed with him and it is believed that the students are mainly positive towards the Police Academy handling ethnic profiling. Judging from the field interviews with the students, it can be concluded that they are more positive than the respondents of the interviews towards the Police Academy handling the issue of ethnic profiling. The main interest of the Police Academy is educating and supervising students in becoming good police officers. The relatively positive note of the students reflects an optimistic ambiance within the educational system they are enrolled in.

4.4.5 Findings

Since recipe knowledge is about opinions and what the respondents think the Police Academy should do or should be doing, this type of knowledge is the most critical of the four types. Especially the experts have made clear what they thought the Police Academy should do. It can be concluded from the interviews that in general, they believe that the organisation should be focusing more on the skill of handling differences and how to translate this into communication with different kind of persons.

What is interesting about the suggestions made by the teachers and the managers, is that the majority of the statements about what the Police Academy should do, are about other sections of the Police Academy. They were more critical on other sections than on their own. One of the practice-oriented teachers did mention that especially the practice-oriented education should improve regarding ethnic profiling, however, without implying that his own team has to improve. He mentioned that he and his colleagues discuss the issue frequently and are paying attention to it while teaching their students. If the majority of the employees believe that their own section is handling the problem of ethnic profiling better than other sections, it is difficult to establish where the core of the problem lies. This finding shows the importance of the perspective of the respondents. As mentioned before, the organisational culture of the Police Academy is changing slowly. The fact that the majority thinks the problem does not lie within their direct work environment, could be a possible explanation of the slow developments with regard to ethnic profiling in the organisation.

The only one who was critical towards her direct work environment was respondent 7. Both respondent 9 and 11, the expert - guest lecturers, were critical of their direct colleagues. They gave examples of situations where they experienced that other colleagues made decisions based on the appearance of a particular person. Respondent 7, 9, and 11 are not of Dutch descent. Concludingly, is conceivable that the descent of respondents, whether this is

Caucasian or non-Caucasian, is a factor in how the respondents look at the issue of ethnic profiling by the police.

Furthermore, the different sections are not aware of how other sections are handling the issue of ethnic profiling, but at the same time they are of the opinion that others should do better. This is illustrated by the answer respondent 2 provided to the question what she thought that the Police Academy needs to improve regarding ethnic profiling: “It would be good if there was more communication between different departments of the Police Academy with regard to ethnic profiling.” The fact that other respondents mentioned that openness is important and that the topic should be discussed more often shows that there is a need for an increase in communication on the topic of ethnic profiling.

4.5 Cultural knowledge: axiomatic knowledge

This subchapter will focus on what respondents said in such a manner that it can be considered as an assumption. The fact that axiomatic knowledge is a more language oriented type cultural knowledge. This means that the lost recording of respondent 10 is particularly unfortunate. Although notes were made during the interview, these were not thorough enough to establish the manner in which respondent 10 was expressing himself.

4.5.1 Experts

The assumptions that respondent 9 made were mainly focused on the ‘frame of reference’ of persons. He was making some statements regarding the decision-making process of humans. There is one assumption he made regarding the culture of the police: “within the police organisation, there is a dominant culture and you need patience if you want to change it.” Respondent 11 made a similar statement: “it is hard for a new police officer to contradict superiors and older police officers, the culture is hierarchic.” Both believe that the police organisation is a hard one and changing it is difficult. The statement of respondent 11 could be connected to what the students said about their practical experience. They mentioned that they would not feel comfortable confronting a police officer on ethnic profiling. Respondent 9 has connected this to change, which is apparently difficult within an organisation with a hierarchy based on experience and respect. As an illustration, respondent 11 mentioned at the end of the interview that “he had earned his stripes.”

4.5.2 Managers

All assumptions that respondent 1 made are about the work of police officers and their behaviour. In the interview, respondent 1 explained why some police officers are sometimes guilty of ethnic profiling. The four statements that are highlighted as axiomatic knowledge are all connected to this, for example: “police officers create an image and develop scenarios when they respond to reports.” In previous chapters it is mentioned that respondent 1 finds being aware of a situation an important issue when it comes to ethnic profiling. The assumptions that he has are connected to his opinion in a way that he understands the choices that police officers make. Nevertheless, police officers should be more aware of the decisions they make.

Three statements of respondent 3 were highlighted as axiomatic knowledge. None of these statements were directly related to ethnic profiling. Respondent 6, however, mentioned about ethnic profiling: “actions are labelled as ethnic profiling without consideration.” He refers to both the media and society. Overall, respondent 6 can be considered the most negative regarding how the media is illustrating the police. This statement exemplifies his opinion.

4.5.3 Teachers

In the interviews of both respondent 2 and respondent 7, only one statement was highlighted as axiomatic knowledge, these did not encompass assumptions connected to ethnic profiling. An interesting statement that respondent 4 made is: “the younger generation is less interested in colour and background and handles it better.” He mentioned that this might be positive for the Police Academy in the future, since this generation eventually will be the core of the organisation. Respondent 8 also mentioned the younger generation. He said the “younger generation has less respect for their parents and the authorities.”

The assumptions of the two respondents are completely different. Without context, it seems like the respondents have a completely different opinion regarding the younger generation. However, the context in which the statement of respondent 8 was made, was how young people are acting towards the police. The context in which the statement of respondent 4 was made, was about his children and how he thought that the generation of his children was more tolerable towards differences. This means that context is of high importance when evaluating the assumptions a person makes and that the use of content analysis for this

particular type of cultural knowledge is perhaps less suitable than for the other types of cultural knowledge.

4.5.4 Students

Regarding axiomatic knowledge, it is harder to establish what the assumptions of the students were, since the establishment of those are noticeable in the nuances of language and how certain things are said. Since the field interviews were not recorded, it is harder to highlight axiomatic knowledge out of notes only. The notes lack the nuances, since catchwords were written down and worked up later.

4.5.5. Findings

The statements that were highlighted as axiomatic knowledge are not very coherent. This is because assumptions can be made about everything, so it is hard to connect the assumptions with each other. However, an interesting outcome was the notion of hierarchy within the police organisation. The respondents did not refer to the Police Academy in this sense, but they were referring to ‘new police officers’. Apparently it is hard for newcomers to give their opinion within the organisation. This fits the notion of hierarchy within police culture as described in chapter 3.

4.6 Other findings

During the interviews, some examples and issues were addressed that did not fit directly into one of the cultural knowledge types. Some of the things that were said were either good examples of incidents, or would contribute to the research. This subchapter will include two more examples that were not highlighted as one of the four types of knowledge, but still contribute to the research.

There was an intermezzo of a couple minutes with some of the students of the police force during the interview with respondent 8, the practice-oriented supervisor. Respondent 8 was talking about the issue of involvement. He was wondering whether the students, who were sitting in the room next door, would know the name of the cleaning person of the police station. Thereafter, it was decided to ask the students, so respondent 8 walked to the room and

asked if the students knew the name of the cleaning person. One of the students answered directly, while pointing at another student, and said the name of this student. The student whose name was mentioned, was a non-Caucasian male student with a non-Caucasian name. It was obvious that this was meant as a joke. The other students laughed, but one of the students said: “you can’t say that!” The conversation continued with some, more serious answers to the initial question of respondent 8. After some minutes, respondent 8 told the students that the research he was participating in was about ethnic profiling of the police. The students went silent and the one who had made the joke looked quite embarrassed.

What is interesting about this event, is that respondent 8 had already mentioned in his interviews that jokes are made within the police force and other respondents have mentioned that discrimination is also present within the different departments of the police force, not only by police officers towards citizens. It was a coincidence that this joke was made, but it confirms the comments of the respondents. As mentioned in subchapter 4.2, the connection was already made between ethnic profiling and diversity issues within the police forces. In none of the interviews the respondents were asked about discrimination in the workplace but those who brought it up did it on their own initiative.

Two other things are noticeable. Firstly, respondent 8 noticed that one of the persons in the room said “you can’t do that” to the student who made the joke. When the interview had already continued in the original room, respondent 8 mentioned that the person who contradicted the joking student, was also a practice-oriented supervisor. Thus, this was an example of how another person who would be considered a teacher in this research was aware of the fact that the student was saying something inappropriate. The unknown supervisor was not aware of the topic of this research, so he was genuinely correcting the student, not because he felt he had to. It is not a generalizable example, but it does illustrate the ambiance at that particular police station: it is possible to discuss certain sensitive topics.

Secondly, after the interview the student who had made the joke ran into respondent 8 in the hallway. The student apologised for his joke and when the student left respondent 8 said: “good, he learned his lesson.” The incident was interesting from both a negative and positive perspective. On the one hand it shows that discriminatory jokes are not uncommon, on the other hand both supervisors were not afraid to comment on the joke.

A second finding that could not be analysed through the different types of cultural knowledge is an experience within the police training centre in The Hague. Before the interview with respondent 5 and 6 started, respondent 5 gave a guided tour through the building where police

officers are trained. Respondent 5 showed the shooting range and training circuits. There were also rooms that look exactly like living rooms, supermarkets, bars etc., where police officers train how to arrest persons in different situations. The guided tour was extremely interesting and the intention was probably, at least partially, PR. However, what attracted attention was that in every gym or practice room, there was a poster on the wall with different steps that a police officer should take when they approach a situation. Two lines were drawn through the different steps, one represented the heartbeat of a police officer and the other one the ability to be rational. Where the line of the heartbeat went up, the rationality line went down. Where the two lines crossed, a step was built in that represented a rest-moment. Respondent 5 explained that he teaches his students to take a step back, look at the situation, and then decide what the next step should be. He mentioned that ethnic profiling is a theme that fits in that step (back) and that he tries to teach his students to look at situations without “coloured glasses on”.

This example corresponds with what respondent 1 mentioned. He said that police officers should be able to take a step back when approaching a situation and then eventually approach the situation in a neutral manner. Respondent 1 was not sure whether this skill has been incorporated in the basic police education. The example of the posters shows that the practice-oriented police training does in fact pay attention to the neutrality of police officers in difficult situations.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter contains four elements. First, it will provide an answer to the research question of this thesis. Secondly, the results will be placed into the bigger picture of the problem of ethnic profiling. What can the results tell us about the current debate on the issue? Thirdly, the use of the theory of organisational culture by Chan will be examined. How has the research contributed to the theory and its academic field and how can the theory itself be evaluated when it comes to operationalization? Fourthly, limitations of this research will be addressed, followed by recommendations for future research.

5.1 Answering the research question

This subchapter has the purpose of answering the research question: *To what extent has the organisational culture of the Police Academy in the Netherlands responded to the instigated debate with regard to ethnic profiling by the police and how can the response be explained?*

In the theoretical framework, Chan's theory of organisational culture is explained and is subsequently translated to the case study. Through the four types of cultural knowledge and structural conditions, this research has tried to establish how the different respondents are looking at the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling and how this corresponds, or does not correspond with each other. Four types of knowledge were explained. Firstly, dictionary knowledge: what did the respondents connect to the concept of ethnic profiling? Secondly, directory knowledge: what did the respondents think the Police Academy is currently doing and was previously doing concerning ethnic profiling? Thirdly, recipe knowledge: what did the respondents think the Police Academy should do regarding ethnic profiling? Fourthly, axiomatic knowledge: what assumptions did respondents have regarding ethnic profiling? The structural condition consists of two documents: a policy document and course material.

When combining the four types of knowledge and the structural conditions it is possible to notice some ways in which the Police Academy has responded to ethnic profiling. Firstly, it is noticeable that the two documents, *Handling Differences* and *The Power of Difference* are mentioning exactly the opposite regarding diversity of the police organisation and the Police Academy. The one written in 2011 mentions that there is a high diversity in the organisations, while the one written in 2016 holds that there is a need for more diversity. The programme of 2016, *The Power of Difference*, is the most visual response of the police organisation to the instigated debate on ethnic profiling. The Police Academy has incorporated the programme as well. The Police Academy has organised days that different teams can attend. Recently, the Police Academy hired new non-Caucasian personnel for the

sole purpose of increasing the diversity at the workplace. Yet, this raises the question whether this is a right method for creating diversity, and especially, openness. In general it can be argued that the Police Academy is anticipating on the problem of ethnic profiling, however, not enough.

The chapter on directory knowledge has shown insights in the changes the respondents have seen over the last couple of years. Most respondents agreed on the fact that students are more keen to address the issue of ethnic profiling and that students are better trained in being self-reflective. The first factor is not necessarily intentional, since students who addressing ethnic profiling are not necessarily mentioning it because the Police Academy has taught them to do so. Possibly, the students address the issue of ethnic profiling because they are confronted with it in their jobs and in their lives. The fact that this is an unintentional change within the educational system of police officers does not mean that it is not a response. The Police Academy is part of the police organisation and the students are part of the Police Academy. The organisational culture has in this way responded in the sense that its participants are more eager to discuss the issue of ethnic profiling.

Not only the students contribute to the response. Most respondents agree that they discuss the issue of ethnic profiling more frequently than before. Although not every respondent has noticed this, the majority is of the impression that they can talk more freely about the issue. Moreover, the students did not have any problem discussing it and although they initially thought that they did not have any lessons on ethnic profiling, they were eventually mentioning some examples in which the issue was addressed.

With regard to how the response can be explained, there is a negative and a positive angle. One of the respondents mentioned that political pressure is the reason for the Police Academy to change regarding ethnic profiling. It was mentioned that only with the right intentions it is possible to change an organisation. This accusation has been addressed in the chapter about recipe knowledge. Arguably, students learn about the concepts of diversity and ethnic profiling, however, they do not learn how to deal with diversity and ethnic profiling in practice.

Additionally, it was mentioned that the education was still 'too white'. The Police Academy's policy is changing from bottom to top, since young non-Caucasian students are admitted to the educational programme. Combining this with the accusation that the top of the Police Academy does not implement changes regarding ethnic profiling with the right intentions, the question remains whether the top actually knows what the bottom wants?

In addition to political pressure, the change within the organisation can be seen in the light of societal change. Social media and the media are mentioned in a positive manner. The media have opened up the debate and consequently the issue has become of higher interest within the Police Academy. Media confront employees with ethnic profiling and the topic is more frequently discussed between colleagues at the workplace, and also in class. The awareness of the existence of ethnic profiling has presumably increased.

In conclusion, the organisational culture of the Police Academy has responded to the instigated debate on ethnic profiling, by opening up in a sense that employees and students more frequently talk about the issue, and in the sense that the Police Academy is trying to make the organisation more diverse. The respondents do not all agree whether this is the right approach. Yet they agree on the fact that the Police Academy has improved, is still improving, but has a long way to go regarding the problem of ethnic profiling. Moreover, this thesis argues that the changes in the organisational culture of the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling are the effect of media attention, societal change and political pressure.

5.2 Contribution of the research to society and science

In this part of the conclusion, the research will be placed in the bigger picture, focussing on the problem of ethnic profiling. What can we learn from the results of the research and how does it fit in the current academic debate, as well as in society?

In the introduction of this thesis, ethnic profiling has been established as a problem in both society and the academic world. It has been argued that the educational system of the police organisation could play a role in the solution of this problem. However, the purpose of this research was not to solve the problem of ethnic profiling, but to provide a broader perspective on how the Police Academy has been responding to the changes in society regarding ethnic profiling. One of the most important results of this research is that it is clear to employees of the Police Academy that ethnic profiling is happening and that the Police Academy is improving on the issue, but that those improvements are happening slowly. These results fit in the research on police culture in general, which is known for its hardness and the fact that change does not happen overnight due to the hierarchical structure in the organisation. Respondents have mentioned that you have to “earn your stripes”, which means that a new police officer has to prove her/himself in order to be taken seriously. This research has established that the Police Academy lacks the ability of responding quickly to changes in society regarding ethnic profiling. The unease of change of the organisational culture of the Police Academy fits into the academic debate concerning police culture. Hierarchy and years

of experience are important factors in the education of new police officers. This means that if the Police Academy wants to fasten the change regarding ethnic profiling, it could consider using police culture theories to set a change in motion. All respondents did believe a (further) change is needed, and tackling the current hierarchical norms and values might help in the process.

Regarding the stated problem of ethnic profiling in the current literature, this research can contribute to how the concept is perceived. The results from the dictionary knowledge reflect this. Almost all respondents and students directly related ethnic profiling to stop and search practices. However, in the definition of ethnic profiling, which is frequently used by scholars in this field (see chapter 2), stop and search practices are not part of the definition. Nevertheless, students and other respondents connected ethnic profiling to these practices. The introductory chapter shows that media attention towards the problem primarily focuses on situations concerning stop and search practices. It is not possible to, through this research, examine whether the definition of the respondents has changed over the years, but the possibility exists that their answer is shaped by the attention the topic of ethnic profiling has in the media.

In conclusion, this research can be placed in a bigger picture in the sense that it adds a new dimension, namely the educational system of the police organisation, to the debates concerning police and organisational theories. Moreover, by combining the elements ethnic profiling, the police culture, and the Police Academy, a different perspective is created that has resulted in a better understanding in the connections between the three.

5.3 Reflection on the use of Chan's theory of organisational culture

Structural conditions and four types of cultural knowledge of the organisational culture theory of Chan were applied to the Police Academy on the topic of ethnic profiling. The theory has helped to structure the different kinds of sentences and meanings of sentences that respondents of the interviews have said. Especially directory knowledge has made it possible to establish differences in organisational culture between the past and the present. In combination with dictionary knowledge it was first possible to establish what concepts were considered to be in relation with ethnic profiling according to respondents. This made it easier to recognise the directory knowledge part that was useful for noticing what changes were made and noticed within the Police Academy.

The recipe knowledge was valuable for establishing the normative element of the research. Especially through noticing what respondents thought the Police Academy should

be doing, made clear what the Police Academy is not doing and what were considered being points of improvement. Because recipe knowledge made it possible to distinguish between opinions and things that were actually done (or not) by the Police Academy. There was a flaw in using this method, since it was not always completely possible to distinguish between opinions and actual facts. However, by analysing all interviews together instead of separately, this flaw was partially overcome because of the amount of data and information that was gathered throughout the research.

The last type of cultural knowledge, axiomatic knowledge, appeared to be less valuable for this research. Axiomatic knowledge is about assumptions that are unchangeable according to the respondents. These assumptions could have any kind of content, which means that most of the sentences that were highlighted as axiomatic knowledge, were not useful in the light of ethnic profiling. The concept of ethnic profiling is a sensitive one, so it might be possible that respondents were choosing their words more carefully, since stereotyping is an element of ethnic profiling and the negative connotation that ethnic profiling has in general and also has had throughout the interviews. If the research was solely focussing on the concept of police culture, axiomatic knowledge could have been more useful, since the notion of hierarchy was one that stood out when the type of knowledge was analysed. Perhaps, content analysis is not the best method when it comes to axiomatic knowledge. Discourse analysis might be a better fit, because that method is more about the manner in which language is used and less about the meaning of specific sentences.

Because the theory has the distinguishing structure in it, applying content analysis made it possible to notice differences and similarities between the individual respondents, but also between the interviews with the respondents. The theory was possible to establish whether a change has taken place and what these changes were within the organisation. Moreover, the second part of the research question was how responses of the Police Academy regarding ethnic profiling could be explained. Through the use of directory knowledge, it was possible to establish what were main reasons for the Police Academy to change, intentionally and unintentionally.

This research contributes to Chan's theory by making the theory operational and has made it possible to use it to assess changes within organisations. Chan uses examples of what the different kinds of knowledge mean, but she has not applied it to empirical research in the sense that this research has done. It has provided a framework in which content analysis is used to actually examine an organisation such as the Police Academy. As mentioned above, axiomatic knowledge was less valuable in light of this research, however, the rest of the

theory could be applied without major problems. This application of the theory is considered to be successful and it could be used for other concepts than ethnic profiling and other organisations than the Police Academy.

5.4 Limitations and recommendations for future research

This subchapter will provide insights of the conducted research with regard to what the difficulties of the research were and it will address the limitations of the research. Thereafter, recommendations for further research will be made.

5.4.1 Difficulties and limitations

This research has provided more insight in the organisational culture of the Police Academy and how it is handling the sensitive issue of ethnic profiling. One of the biggest difficulties of this research is that the Police Academy is a large organisation with many employees, but also with different departments and locations. It was not easy to get in touch with the appropriate persons and unfortunately, not everyone was willing to help or participate. The difficulty to recruit enough participants for interviews has resulted in the fact that not all different types of possible respondents have participated in the research. It would have been a valuable addition if one of the theoretical teachers of the basic police education would have participated in this research. Fortunately, the students of the field interviews could provide information about the basic police education, however their knowledge was also limited by the fact that none of them had been attending the Police Academy for longer than nine months.

Furthermore, Chan's theory of organisational culture was applicable in order to answer the research question. However, the statements that were highlighted as axiomatic knowledge were rather incoherent. It is difficult to ask questions with the purpose of receiving an assumption as an answer. With the other types of knowledge it was possible to ask aimed questions, for example regarding dictionary knowledge: "what do you think ethnic profiling means?" This was not possible for axiomatic knowledge and this research has made clear that this type of cultural knowledge was less valuable in assessing to what extent the organisational culture of the Police Academy has responded to the issue of ethnic profiling.

Another difficulty is the fact that many examples and issues were mentioned in the interviews and a selection has been made between them. The selection has been made carefully with the purpose of answering the research question instead of writing down what

was found interesting. The respondents have given such elaborate and interesting answers that not everything could be taken into account.

5.4.2 Recommendations for future research

One of the things that was highly discussed during the interviews was the fact that the Police Academy's new intakes are, purposely, more diverse than previous ones. The Police Academy has also hired new employees with different diversities. This research is more focused on ethnic profiling by the police and the education of police officers. Some respondents did not agree with the way in which the policy of hiring a more diverse group of students was implemented. It would be interesting to explore how the new colleagues find their way in the organisation and if there is a difference in perception of a new colleague of Dutch descent and a new colleague of a different descent.

Another factor that relates to new intakes is the fact that in the end of 2017 it has become clear that in the next couple of years thousands of police officers will retire. Additionally, in the previous years, not enough new police officers were educated and the combination of these two developments might result in a deficit of police officers eventually (Volkskrant 2017). The Minister of Justice and Safety has responded to this and has promised financial assistance for the Police Academy in order to educate more police officers (NOS 2017). To facilitate the recruitment and training of new police officers, the training capacity of the Police Academy will be extended (Rijksoverheid 2017). This means that in the following years, more persons will enjoy the education at the Police Academy, that will result in a shift within the police force on the streets; the older police officers will retire and more young police officers will join the force. Therefore, it would be fascinating to conduct this research again in a couple of years. Since a large group is retiring, it could be possible the organisational culture has changed due to the increase of young police officers. Both the police organisation and the Police Academy could be subject to a future research, since both are in demand for more personnel with a greater diversity.

Regarding Chan's theory of organisational culture, it would be interesting to look at other societal problems, such as stigmas on LGBT or male – female relationships to explain how organisations are responding to certain societal debates. By using the four different types of knowledge as a tool to examine what different respondents think of certain topics, it is possible to get a closer look into the changing mechanisms of organisations.

Bibliography

- AD. *Kenneth Vermeer boos op politie: Lijk ik crimineel of zo?* 11 06 2016.
<https://www.ad.nl/nieuws/kenneth-vermeer-boos-op-politie-lijk-ik-crimineel-of-zo~aaa49920/> (geopend 03 2018, 24).
- Amnesty International . *Gelijkheid Onder Druk: de Impact van Etnisch Profileren*. Amsterdam: Amnesty International, 2013.
- Amnesty International. *Proactief Politieoptreden Vormt Risico Voor Mensenrechten: Etnisch Profileren Onderkennen en Aanpakken*. Amsterdam: Amnesty International, 2013.
- Buro Jansen & Janssen. *Professoren als spreekbuis van de politie*. 25 04 2016.
<https://www.burojansen.nl/observant/professoren-als-spreekbuis-van-de-politie/> (geopend 02 13, 2018).
- Chan, Janet. *Changing police culture policing in a multicultural society*. New York: Cambridge University Press., 1997.
- Chan, Janet. „Racial Profiling and Police Subculture.” *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 53, nr. 1 (2011): 75-78.
- Cockcroft, Tom. *Police Culture: Themes and Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- ECHR. *European Convention of Human Rights*. Convention, Strassbourg: European Court on Human Rights, 1950.
- ENAR. *Ethnic Profiling*. European Network Against Racism, 2009.
- FRA. *Fundamental Rights-Based Police Training: A Manual for Police Trainers*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2013.
- FRA. *Understanding and Preventing Discriminatory Ethnic profiling: a Guide*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2010.
- Fredrickson, Darin D., en Raymond P. Siljander. *Racial Profiling : Eliminating the Confusion Between Racial and Criminal Profiling and Clarifying What Constitutes Unfair Discrimination and Persecution*. Springfield: Charles C Thomas, 2002.
- Hirsch, Elizabeth C, en Sabino Kornrich. „The context of Discrimination: Workplace Conditions, Institutional Environments, and Sex and Race Discrimination Charges.” *American Journal of Sociology* 113, nr. 5 (2008): 1394-1432.
- Holdaway, Simon, en Megan O'Neill. „Institutional Racism after Macpherson: An Analysis of Police Views.” *Policing and Society* 16, nr. 4 (2006): 349-369.
- Hoogenboom, A.B. „De Vorming van de Nationale Politie Vanuit een Cultuurperspectief.” In *Politie, Studies over haar Werking en Organisatie*, door E.R. Muller, E.J. Van der Torne, A.B. Hoogenboom en N Kop, 105-123. Kluwer, 2013.

- Independent. *Stephen Lawrence Murder 25 Years on: What happened and was this really a murder that changed a nation?* 16 April 2018.
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/stephen-lawrence-murder-25-years-changed-a-nation-police-institutional-racism-macpherson-anniversary-a8307871.html> (geopend July 1, 2018).
- Keijzer, Laura, en Ellen van Wijk. *Omgaan met Verschillen*. Apeldoorn: Politie Academie, 2011.
- Koren, Gea, en Maria Ratering. *Zwarte Koffie, Sterke Verhalen*. V.O.F. Vuys en Co, 2010.
- Kummerow, Elisabeth, Neil Kirby, en Lee Xin Ying. *Organisaional Culture: Concept, context, and measurement*. New Jersey: World Scientific, 2014.
- Landman, Wouter. „Tussen praat en daad: Politiecultuur en politieoptreden.” *Tijdschrift voor Veiligheid* 15, nr. 2-3 (2016): 46-60.
- Landman, Wouter, en Lianne Kleijer-Kool. *Boeven Vangen*. Apeldoorn: Politie & Wetenschap, 2016.
- Nadal, Kevin L., Kirstin C. Davidoff, Neil Allicock, Christine R. Serpe, en Tanya Erazo. „Perceptions of Police, Racial Profiling, and Psychological Outcomes: A Mixed Methodological Study.” *Journal of Social Issues* 73, nr. 4 (2017): 808-830.
- NOS. *Tekort aan agenten door pensoengolf en opleidingsdip*. 29 November 2017.
<https://nos.nl/artikel/2205088-tekort-aan-agenten-door-pensioengolf-en-opleidingsdip.html> (geopend April 26, 2018).
- NOS.nl. *Proef: agenten krijgen een app om etnisch profileren te voorkomen*. 11 december 2017. <https://nos.nl/artikel/2207081-proef-agenten-krijgen-app-om-etnisch-profileren-te-voorkomen.html> (geopend december 24, 2017).
- NRC.nl. *Etnisch profileren gebeurt, ook als je Typhoon heet*. 30 05 2016.
<https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/05/30/etnisch-profileren-gebeurt-ook-als-je-typhoon-heet-a1402599> (geopend 12 22, 2017).
- NU.nl. *Agenten op vingers getikt na aanhouden rapper Typhoon om huidskleur*. 30 5 2016.
<https://www.nu.nl/binnenland/4270171/agenten-vingers-getikt-aanhouden-rapper-typhoon-huidskleur.html> (geopend 12 22, 2017).
- Oakley, Robin. „Institutional Racism and the Police Service.” *The Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles* 72, nr. 4 (1999): 285-295.
- OSJI. *Ethnic Profiling in the European Union: Pervasive, Ineffective and Discriminatory*. New York: New York: Open Society Institute, 2009.
- Persico, Nicola. „Racial Profiling, Fairness, and Effectiveness of Policing.” *American Economic Review* 92, nr. 5 (2002): 1472-1497.
- Rijksoverheid. *Politiecapaciteit wordt versterkt*. 24 November 2017.
<https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/actueel/nieuws/2017/11/24/politiecapaciteit-wordt-versterkt> (geopend April 25, 2018).

- Sackmann, Sonja A. *Cultural Knowledge in Organizations: Exploring the Collective Mind*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Club, 1991.
- Schein, Edgar. *Organizational Culture and Leadership (4th ed., The Jossey-Bass Business & Management Series)*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2010.
- Souhami, Anna. „Institutional racism and police reform: An empirical critique.” *Policing and Society* 24, nr. 1 (2014): 1-21.
- Stainback, Kevin. „Organisation, Employment Discrimination, and Inequality.” In *The Oxford handbook of workplace discrimination*, door Adrienne J. Colella en Eden B. King, 41-57. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Van der Leun, J.P., M.A.H. Van der Woude, R.D. Vijverberg, R.P.M. Vrijhoef, en A.J. Leupen. *Etnisch profileren in Den Haag? Een verkennend onderzoek naar beslissingen en opvattingen op straat*. Leiden: Leiden University, 2014.
- Van der Woude, M.A.H., en P.R. Rodrigues. „Proactieve politiecontrole en onderscheid naar ethniciteit of nationaliteit.” *Nederlands Juristenblad* 91, nr. 32 (2016): 2294-2302.
- Volkskrant. *Groot tekort aan agenten dreigt: komende jaren 14000 politiemensen met pensioen*. 29 November 2017. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/groot-tekort-aan-agenten-dreigt-komende-jaren-14-000-politiemensen-met-pensioen~bea9ff63/> (geopend April 26, 2018).
- Westerink, Marieken. *De Kracht van het Verschil: Variëteit - Gelijkwaardigheid - Verbinding*. Programme, Politie Nederland, 2016.
- Zondag met Lubach. *Etnisch Profileren - Zondag met Lubach (S05)*. 16 October 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=40t-1rgfL7s> (geopend May 3, 2018).

Appendices

Annex 1: planning interviews

Interview with	Role	Date and time	Place
Respondent 1	Manager	24-4-2018, 14:00	Apeldoorn
Respondent 2	Teacher	30-4-2018, 10:00	Lochem
Respondent 3	Manager	8-5-2018, 09:00	Apeldoorn
Respondent 4	Teacher	8-5-2018, 10:00	Apeldoorn
Students	Students	8-5-2018, between 11:00 – 15:00	Apeldoorn
Respondent 5	Teacher	18-5-2018, 10:00	The Hague
Respondent 6	Manager	22-5-2018, 10:00	The Hague
Respondent 7	Teacher	22-5-2018, 13:00	The Hague
Respondent 9	Expert	24-5-2018, 09:00	Haarlem
Respondent 10	Expert	25-5-2018, 10:30	The Hague
Respondent 11	Expert	18-5-2018, 10:00	Eindhoven

Annex 2: Overview of content analysis

Concept	Description	Indicators	code
Dictionary knowledge	definitions and labels that persons give to certain concepts	Respondent gives definition of ethnic profiling	DaK A
		Respondent mentions subjects that are connected to ethnic profiling	DaK B
		Respondent mentions other concepts that are connected to ethnic profiling	DaK C
Directory knowledge	This is the common idea on “how things are done”	respondent mentions how things <i>are</i> done by the Police Academy with regard to ethnic profiling	DoK A1
		respondent mentions how things <i>are</i> done by the police with regard to ethnic profiling	DoK A2
		respondent mentions how things <i>were</i> done by the Police Academy with regard to ethnic profiling	DoK B1
		respondent mentions how things <i>were</i> done by the police with regard to ethnic profiling	DoK B2
Recipe knowledge	the idea of what should be done or should not be done	Respondent mentions what he/she thinks the Police Academy should <i>do</i>	RK A1
		respondent mentions what he/she thinks the police should <i>do</i>	RK A2
		respondent mentions what he/she thinks the Police Academy should <i>be doing</i>	RK B1
		respondent mentions what he/she thinks the police should <i>be doing</i>	RK B2
Axiomatic knowledge	assumptions that are made about why things are the way they are	Respondent mentions fundamental assumptions	AK

Annex 3: Interview transcriptions and notes field interviews

Due to confidentiality duties towards the respondents and students, these are not added to the thesis document.