

CHAPTER 6. **DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY WITHIN THE MOSSOS** **D'ESQUADRA**

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Introduction

Differences in the practical definition of diversity can have substantial consequences for the validity and scope of results from diversity studies (Van Ewijk, 2011a). Also, the way in which diversity issues are framed is critical to policies and/or organizational approaches to the topic (Smith, 1995), determining, for example, how public budgets are designated to schools, or which development practices receive company funding. It might affect a person's social status, financial situation, juridical rights, and so forth. In sum, the definition of diversity and diversity policy is an interesting research topic by and of itself (Van Ewijk, 2011a). However, academic research on the definition of diversity is scarce and shows some important gaps.

First, many studies employ only quantitative methods that rely on the face validity of key terms such as 'ethnic' or 'black' or 'age' (Carrell & Mann, 1995; Point & Singh, 2003). Second, most studies on diversity and diversity policy have been undertaken in the United States, Canada, or Australia; countries with a very specific experience of diversity because of their cultural, social, and historical context (Mor Barak, 2005), while when contexts are different, it is important to refrain from universalizing ideas and knowledge and focus on the context at hand instead to gain more insight into the matter (Carens, 2000; Modood, Triandafyllidou & Zapata, 2006). Third, studies on the definition of diversity and diversity policy in the European context are almost exclusively based on analyses of private organisations (Point & Singh, 2003; Liff, 1997, 1999; Wrench, 2007), while public organisations are especially interesting, because of their broad scope: their potential 'customers' are all citizens. In sum, this calls for more qualitative studies of public organisations in the European context, that do not define diversity beforehand, but effectively study the definition of diversity itself.

Studying the police might be particularly revealing when it comes to the internal dynamics of diversity, because of an intriguing contradiction: despite of the potentially large positive impact of diversity within the organisation on police functioning in society and although in theory every officer can become police chief with the right internal training,

empirical data on police forces in Europe show that the level of diversity (at least in terms of gender, migrant background, and sexual orientation) is low among new recruits, and diminishes as police officers' rank rises (Van Ewijk, 2011b). The *Mossos d'Esquadra*, the police force of the autonomous region of Catalonia in Spain, are especially interesting to study: they form one of the youngest police forces in the South of Europe, they are one of the few generic police forces that is regionally directed, and they have an area of jurisdiction in which immigration has grown exponentially in the last two decades (to a point where 13.7% of the residents has been born outside of Spain – website INE).

However, the field of studies on diversity within the police also shows an important gap: there are no comprehensive policy analyses. None consider policies in all organisational areas related to diversity - recruitment, promotion and retention – while these are interrelated (Van Ewijk, 2011b). Therefore, this chapter consists of a comprehensive description of the case, including statistics on the inflow, outflow and through-flow of police officers with a diverse profile, which is analyzed with a new analytical framework that identifies fundamental choices in the definition of diversity (the 'what'), in arguments for diversity within organisations (the 'why'), and in diversity policy approaches (the 'how'). This analytical framework has been recently formulated by Van Ewijk (2011a), but has not been applied in empirical research so far.

As such, the goal of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to offer a deeper understanding of the role that diversity plays in the particular context of this police force. Second, at the same time, it hopes to demonstrate the potential of the analytical framework by applying it in empirical research for the first time.

The chapter contains four sections. The first section introduces the case and outlines the methods that were used for the data collection and analysis. The second section analyzes what definition of diversity is used, while the third section focuses on why diversity within the organisation is deemed important, and the fourth section on how diversity within the organisation is facilitated. As such, this paper identifies fundamental choices with respect to diversity policy in three dimensions: ontological, deontological, and instrumental. The chapter closes with some concluding remarks.

Research set-up

A case study was chosen because this technique allows for conceptual refinements (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2003) and provides the possibility of the heuristic identification of new variables and hypotheses in the course of field work (George & Bennet, 2005). This section introduces the case, and the main strategies that were used in the data collection and data analysis.

Case introduction

Currently, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are the police of the Catalan autonomous community in Spain. Since 1719, the term '*Mossos d'Esquadra*' has appeared in Catalan history to indicate groups with various man-

dates, until they were founded as a modern democratic police force in 1983. In the beginning their tasks were limited and it was not until 1994 that their expansion over the whole of Catalonia as an integral police force started. This expansion was completed by November 2008. By that time, the number of police officers had grown rapidly, from 5.000 officers in 1999 to 14.143 officers in 2008 (Departament d'Interior, Relacions Institucionals i Participació, 2009).

The *Mossos d'Esquadra* are directed by the Secretary of Security, part of the Department of Interior Affairs. This public organ arranges the selection and recruitment of new police officers, together with public administrators of the Catalan police academy: the Institut de Seguretat Pública de Catalunya (ISPC), and involving police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. The same public organ also formulates, supervises and controls financial planning and staff management. The *Mossos d'Esquadra* only have operative management responsibilities. As such, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are exclusively composed of executive personnel, not administrative staff.

Both basic education and specialization and promotion courses are coordinated, and in many cases also provided, by the ISPC, which is also responsible for the education of local police forces, firemen and public administrators operative in detention. There is only one initial training course for new recruits, starting once a year, which consists of nine months of continuous education, after which an internship of twelve months follows.

Methodology

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

Data collection

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

When applying Prior's (2003) distinction between the content, the production, and the consumption of documents to these particular case-studies, several observations can be made. First, with respect to the content, this chapter focuses mainly on text, exceptionally including some figures and photos. Second, as documents are essentially situated or social products, constructed in accordance with the rules of the col-

lective they originate from, documents from four different backgrounds were included to multiply perspectives and diminish this bias: the police organization itself, the police academy, NGO's and associations of/for police officers, and the Department of Interior Affairs. Third, the audience the author had in mind when producing the document may affect its content. Therefore, both public documents, for a broad audience mostly outside the organisation (such as newspaper papers, books, annual reports, websites), and internal documents, for a limited audience mostly inside the organisation (such as strategic policy papers, and HRM statistics) were included, to reach conclusions that are more representative of the organisation as a whole.

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

In accordance with the comprehensive view (Van Ewijk, 2011b), both documents and interviews were used to collect information on the inflow, outflow and through-flow of police officers with a diverse profile, and on policies related to diversity in the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion. Afterwards, a detailed case study write-up was made, to help cope with the deluge of collected data, and to provide a sound basis for the content analysis.

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

Content analysis

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

Table 1. Operationalizing the categories of the analytical framework

Unit of analysis (dimension)	Fundamental choice to be identified	Operationalisation at the level of the documents and interview reports
1. Definition of diversity (ontological dimension: the 'what')	<p>A. Selection of modes of differentiation</p> <p>B. Interpretation of modes of differentiation</p> <p>C. Categorization of modes of differentiation: hard or soft, old or new, collective or individual</p>	<p>Existence and frequency of references to specific 'forms of diversity', such as gender, religion, thinking types, migrant background, age, and so forth</p> <p>Practical meaning of key terms related to these forms of diversity in specific context, such as 'immigrants', 'old', 'extrovert', and so forth</p> <p>Hard – soft: practically unchangeable and permanent versus changeable and less permanent</p> <p>Old – new: historical references to this form of diversity in the context versus no historical references</p> <p>Collective – individual: form of diversity is linked to specific groups of which all members have some characteristics related to this form of diversity in common, or form of diversity is not necessarily linked to a group but seen as important for some individuals</p>
2. Motivation for diversity within the organisation (deontological dimension: the 'why')	<p>A. Type of arguments: moral or practical</p> <p>B. Desired base of difference: individual or collective</p>	<p>Key concepts related to moral arguments: justice, social (in)equality, (in)equity, rights, (anti)discrimination, human agency, representativeness, symbolic (dis)advantages, responsibility.</p> <p>Key concepts related to practical arguments: effectiveness, efficiency, results, practical (dis)advantages related to goal achievement, such as productivity, creativity / innovation, absenteeism, staff turnover, and so forth</p> <p>Individual – collective: end goal is to support individuals (ensuring equal opportunities) versus end goal is to support groups (ensuring collective characteristics are valued)</p>
3. Approach in policies related to diversity within the organisation (instrumental dimension: the 'how')	<p>A. Perceived relevance of collective differences for policy-making is low (individual-based) or high (collective-based)</p> <p>B. Scope: approach intensity is low or high</p>	<p>Individual-based: all policies that promote equal opportunities of individuals</p> <p>Collective-based: all policies that are adapted to social group differences</p> <p>Low: only some processes or policy areas are adapted to the approach</p> <p>High: the approach is visible in the entire organisation</p>

Source: Own elaboration.

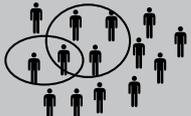
Conclusions were drawn at the level of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in an iterative and holistic way. Earlier interpretations were revised in the light of later readings and the results were interpreted for the whole body of literature and interview reports (Krippendorf, 2004), instead of evaluating each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

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

Also, as the content of the sources cannot be deduced independently of the interpretation of the reader (Krippendorf, 2004), triangulation took place during the data collection, by sharing preliminary conclusions with fellow researchers, and after analyzing the empirical material and displaying the results in this paper, by asking an expert (the research coordinator of the ISPC) whether the interpretation of the texts was recognisable.

What is the definition of diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra*?

Diversity is about meaningful differences: principles by which people, from context to context, situation to situation, mark themselves and each other as different (Vertovec, 2007) in a way that influences their identity and way of life (Young, 1990). Three fundamental choices underlie the definition of diversity: a selection of modes of differentiation, the practical interpretation thereof, and a possible categorization into hard or soft, old or new, and individual or collective (for a more elaborate description of these choices, see Van Ewijk, 2011a). Table 2 offers a visual summary of the definitions of diversity in the contexts of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. This section elaborates the analyses that led to this conclusion.

Table 2. The definition of diversity within the <i>Mossos d'Esquadra</i>		
Selection	Interpretation	Categorization
		
Gender	Physical differences: male and female.	Hard, old/new, collective
Migrant background	(one of the parents) born outside of the EU	Soft, new, collective

Source: Van Ewijk (2011a) and own elaboration.

Selection of modes of differentiation

The modes of differentiation that are most dominant within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are gender and migrant background, despite of the fact that other modes of differentiation (such as age, religion, colour, physical validity, sexual orientation, educational background) also come to the fore in several interviews¹. This observation is illustrated with examples from the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion.

1. It was not the objective of this study to identify the motives for this focus. Even so, a few respondents commented that some modes of differentiation were either too sensitive to focus on in the police context, such as sexual orientation, or not relevant because of a lack of critical mass within the police force, such as religion.
2. Interview with the Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes (General Subdirection HRM of the Department of Interior Affairs): 3 October 2009, Barcelona.
3. www.gaylespol.org.

No target groups have been officially defined to be recruited for the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although photos of female police officers are usually included in the general folders that the Catalan government produces and distributes² and in 2008 and 2009 the Gender Equity Program of the Department of Interior Affairs launched campaigns in 2008 and 2009 specifically aimed at women. Efforts to connect with gay community, such as participating in the Gay Parade for the first time on the 28th of June in 2009, are exclusively initiated by the gay police officer association *Gaylespol*.³ Finally, there has been a separate publicity campaign to recruit candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme, designed to help these candidates prepare for the official selection procedure in 2007 and 2008. Some visual illustrations of these conclusions are:

Figure 1. Publicity for the *Mossos d'Esquadra*: general call for candidates (basic education, 1997 and 2009), call for female candidates (basic education, 2008) and call for candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme (2007)



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

Basic and advanced education on diversity at the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC) focuses mostly on diversity in migrant background in Catalan society⁴, although there are some short courses on gender diversity⁵ and diversity in sexual orientation⁶ within and outside of the organisation. Furthermore, UNESCOCAT offers sessions on request at police stations on diversity in migrant background, also mostly outside of the organisation⁷. There is some juridical attention⁸ for the requests of AIL-MED⁹, an association that strives to improve the position of police officers that have become handicapped in the line of duty. Gaylespol is an association for gay, lesbian and transsexual police officers in Catalonia, also including members of other (local and national) police forces in Catalonia. Its activities have no formal place within the organisation of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, in contrast with the Comisió de les Dones Polícies (Female Police Officers Commission) that was founded in 1999 on the request of the police commissioner of Girona¹⁰ and has been reinstated as commission in 2010¹¹. Finally, some female police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* had had contact with the European Network for Policewomen, the ENP¹².

Finally, in the area of promotion, statistics concerning the recruits and members of the police force could only be found on the inflow, outflow, and through-flow of female police officers and (although scarcely) officers with a migrant background (see section 4.1 for an overview of these statistics).

4. ISPC (2008) Programa d'activitats formatives (curriculum basic education), Mollet del Vallès: ISPC, Department d'Interior. Additional course information (basic + advanced levels): internal documents of the ISPC.
5. Voluntary seminar on gender within the police force (6h, place for 30): internal document of the ISPC.
6. Voluntary seminar on sexual diversity and human rights (6h, place for 15): internal document of the ISPC.
7. Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona. Presentation at the conference of UNESCOCAT on police and diversity on the 17th of December 2009 by the research and international cooperation coordinator of the ISPC.
8. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya Núm. 5282 – 19.12.2008 - DECRET 246/2008, de 16 de desembre, de regulació de la situació administrativa especial de segona activitat en el cos de *Mossos d'Esquadra*.
9. Website AIL-MED: <http://ailmed.wordpress.com>.
10. Gubianes, R.M. (2000) La Comisió de la Dona Policia – el treball desenvolupat i les propostes, Mossos, 10, 26-28..
11. Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, and Head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell.
12. Website ENP: www.enp.nl.

Interpretation and categorization of modes of differentiation

Gender

'Gender' refers to the biological distinction between male and female. Gender is considered as a relatively hard mode of differentiation: a human difference that is inborn and/or exerts an important impact on early socialisation and has an ongoing impact throughout life (Griggs, 1995). For example, the message of the Program for Gender Equity of the Department of Interior Affairs in Catalonia is that 'women are equal, but not the same'.¹³ Gender is seen as a hard mode of differentiation as a consequence of an influential mix of physical difference (women as child bearers) in combination with socio-cultural convictions on the difference in gender roles, especially for families with young children (women as caretakers), resulting in gendered preferences and ambitions and gendered evaluations of capacities¹⁴.

It is difficult to characterize gender as either an old or a new mode of differentiation. On the one hand, respondents tend to consider it as old, for gender has almost always constituted an important difference in human societies. On the other hand, attention for gender in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* only resulted in institutional action in 1999 when the Female Police Officer Commission was founded, regaining attention in 2007 with the coming of the Program for Gender Equity, not until 2009 leading to a request by a few female *Mossos d'Esquadra* for an independent internal team, which was approved in 2010¹⁵.

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

Migrant background

'Migrant background' is defined in practice as 'born abroad', usually referring to 'born outside of the European Union'¹⁶. The most dominant term in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is 'immigrants', used by both journalists and representatives of the Catalan Police Academy¹⁷. The ISPC registers only which students are born abroad, or have parents that are born abroad¹⁸. Curiously, no reference to diversity in migrant background within the police force is made in documents, for example HRM statistics, of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*.

Migrant background, on the other hand, is seen as a soft mode of differentiation: a human difference that helps to distinguish the self from the other but is seen as less permanent and hence adaptable (Litvin, 1997). In this sense, migrant background is only seen as a relevant difference temporarily, until some administrative differences (when migrants achieve of Spanish nationality) and practical differences (when migrants learn Catalan) associated with this mode of differentiation nowadays disappear. For example, the representative of UNESCOCAT¹⁹ stated that the entrance of minorities with a migrant background in the *Mossos d'Esquadra* was just a matter of time; within one generation candidates

13. Interview with work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona. Gender Equity Programme (unpublished) Estudi per al Pla de polítiques de dones del Govern de la Generalitat de Catalunya 2008-2011: Department of Interior Affairs.
14. Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona.
15. Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, and Head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell.
16. Various interviews: 2009, Catalonia.
17. <http://www.publico.es/199379/los-mossos-no-despiertan-interes-entre-los-inmigrantes>: www.adn.es/ciudadanos/20071003/NWS-2653-Mossos-reclutan-inmigrantes.html Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès
18. Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona.
19. ISPC internal documents on inflow, outflow and through-flow of recruits.
19. Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona.

from these groups would have the Spanish nationality and proper preparation to compete in the public selection process. While the director of the ISPC²⁰ stated that it was a matter of time and critical mass; entrance has to be stimulated until a critical mass of minorities is present within the police force, afterwards the promotion of migrant minorities will follow automatically.

Migrant background in the Catalan context is considered as new in the sense that the presence of minorities with a migrant background from outside of Europe is relatively new in Catalonia²¹, but it is considered as old in the sense that Catalonia is presented as a nation of immigration throughout its history (Zapata, 2007), and new immigrants are expected to integrate with the existing society, just as, for example, the national immigration flows from the south of Spain have done.

Finally, migrant background is also perceived as a collective mode of differentiation in both contexts. Being born abroad or having parents that are born abroad is linked to the observation that candidates of this collective often lack specific requisites (for example, excellent domination of the Catalan language²², or the Spanish nationality) or experience in specific capacities. Also, it is linked to a specific value that members of this collective can offer the police organisation: inside knowledge of the habits, religions, languages and other forms of diversity that come with their migrant background, as we will see in the next section.

Why is diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* deemed important?

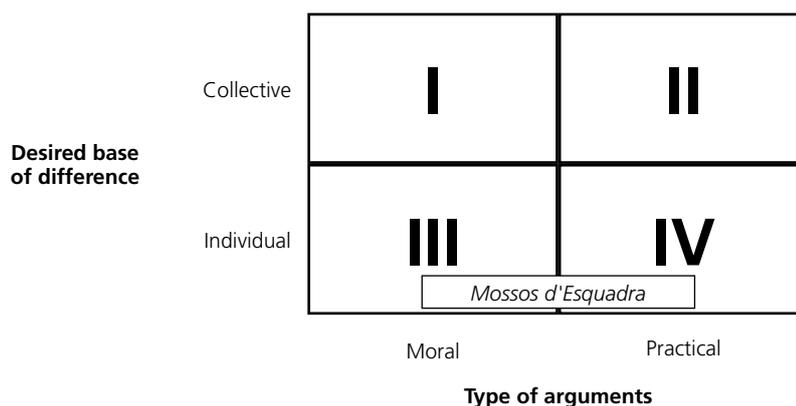
Independent of whether diversity is seen as an individual or collective concept in nature (which is part of the ontological dimension), the first fundamental choice when arguing for diversity within the organisation is whether the end goal is to support individuals (i.e. ensuring equal opportunities) or to support collectives (i.e. ensuring collective differences are valued). This is part of the deontological dimension. The second fundamental choice in this dimension is between moral or practical arguments. Together, these categories identify fundamental differences in the motivation for diversity within the organisation. Figure 4 offers a visual summary of these motivations in the contexts of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. This section elaborates the analyses that led to this conclusion.

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

21. Ajenjo (2008).

22. Curriculum Programa de Diversificaci3n Social (300h), internal document of the ISPC: September 2008.

Figure 2. Motivation for diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra*



Source: Van Ewijk (2011a) + own elaboration

Desired base of difference

In general, the end goal in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is more often related to supporting individuals and ensuring equal opportunities despite of collective differences, than to supporting collectives and recognizing the value of collectives. In terms of the analytical framework, the desired base of difference is individual. For example, the end goal of the Social Diversification Programme is not to promote the interests of the collective with a migrant background, but to level the playing field: to ensure that individuals from that collective have the same chances in the selection process by educating them in areas they dominate less because of their migrant background, such as the Catalan language²³. Also, the Gender Equity Programme confirms that the Department of Interior Affairs wants to utilize its human capital to the maximum, and can only do that when all persons work under equal conditions and their differences, such as gender, do not create inequalities²⁴. Finally, Gaylespol strives for a working environment without discrimination, in which persons can be open about their sexual orientation and are treated with respect despite of this²⁵.

Type of arguments

Both moral and practical arguments are employed in favour of diversity in the police organization. On the one hand, diversity within the police force is linked to representing the society it serves, combating stereotypes among police officers and ensuring they value colleagues with a diverse profile, and ensuring respectful behaviour towards the population²⁶. Gaylespol adds that a more visible representation of gay police officers helps the gay population feel that the police force is also there for them and helps to combat (indirect) discrimination among police officers. For example, representatives of the association feel that it is unjust that any reference to gender is formally disapproved of, while there is no such rule on jokes related to sexual orientation²⁷. On the other hand, the same sources refer to the added practical value of increasing the quality of the police service by responding more adequately in diverse situations to prevent and solve problems. Diversity within the police force is said to facilitate this because it creates a more

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

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

24. Gender Equity Programme (2010) Pla d'igualtat 2010-2014, Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Interior. Interview with the work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona.

25. Speech of Jan Sneijder, the president de l'Associació Europea de Polícies Homosexuals, at the first conference of Gaylespol in Sitges on the 28th of April, 2006 – found on www.gaylespol.org – last accessed in January 2011. Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.

26. Presentation at the conference of UNESCAT on police and diversity on the 17th of December 2009 by the research and international cooperation coordinator of the ISPC.

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

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

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

diverse repertoire of reactions, it implies more knowledge of and sensitivity towards the cultures at hand (whether related to gender, class, migrant background, sexual orientation, and so forth), and it increases the willingness of the population to cooperate by increasing their trust and sense of proximity towards the police. For example, Gaylespol argues that having gay police officers has practical advantages: they are more inclined than their colleagues to patrol places where the gay community meets, and they can explain colleagues how to provide a better service to this community, for example in the case of domestic violence between couples of the same sex²⁸.

Even so, it is curious that moral arguments are more dominant with respect to gender diversity. Terms that are often repeated are (in)equality, (social) justice, and non-discrimination²⁹. This, while diversity in migrant background is almost exclusively pleaded for with practical arguments: to be more effective against gangs with foreign origins³⁰, to teach colleagues how new communities think and act³¹, because they dominate foreign languages, and to solve conflicts, prevent riots and solve crimes³².

How is diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* facilitated with policies?

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

The policy context: procedures and numbers

Procedural characteristics

Publicity on openings is always in the dominant language, which is Catalan (fluency in this language is also a requisite for selection). The police force employs common communication channels such as television, radio, posters, job fairs, and newspapers, while channels such as Internet (Facebook, websites of target groups) or SMS are sporadically mentioned.

The force requires applicants to have the Spanish nationality, have a high school diploma, be without a criminal record, be physically and mentally healthy, and have a driver's license (at least within one or two years after starting basic education). In addition, applicants have to have a minimum length of 1.70m (men) or 1.60 (women), paid the admission fee, and handed in a sworn declaration to wear arms. Finally, the age limit to become member of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is between 18 and 35 years old³³.

The selection process lasts several weeks and tests are conducted once a year. The content of the tests focuses on language, history of Catalonia, personality, physical condition, and intelligence. An interview and a practical exercise form part of the selection process³⁴.

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

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

Interview with the work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona Gender Equity Programme (2010) Pla d'igualtat 2010-2014, Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Interior.

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

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

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

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

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

New recruits for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* have to complete nine months of lectures at the ISPC (in general, 10 percent drop out or fails) and afterwards an internship of approximately one year within the police force (very few drop out or fail)³⁵. During the course at the ISPC, the progress of students is supervised by the professors and a department of psychologists. The tutors, police officers that guide and observe a group of new recruits during their education, finally decide where new recruits will be appointed: 95 percent will be patrol officers, 5% will go to special units³⁶. Once they are sworn police officers, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* take into account officer's preferences for certain zones and make exceptions in shifts for patrol officers who are over a certain age, or who have with medical problems, or who have recently become mothers.

The yearly evaluation of police officers is conducted by their direct supervisors. They follow a standard evaluation manual on competences³⁷. The selection of candidates for promotion within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is based partly on formal requisites such as antiquity (minimum of two years in the lower rank), a university title and the highest level in Catalan, partly on the results of questionnaires on law and strategy, and partly on practical exercises and an interview to determine skills and motivation³⁸.

Finally, openings at higher management levels for external candidates for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are only published in the DOCG (the official-judicial newspaper of the Generalitat of Catalonia). The police force allows for absence during basic education and leadership courses in the case of exceptional circumstances (pregnancy / child birth, marriage, care for family members, and so forth) until a certain limit: students are usually not allowed to miss more than 20 percent of their training program and make up for their absence with assignments. There are standard arrangements for travel and study costs. Geographical distance between home and education or home and the new function might be problematic for some officers, as the area of Catalonia is quite vast and leadership training is only offered at the ISPC near Barcelona³⁹.

35. Internal documents ISPC.

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

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

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

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

39. Albertín, Cubells & Dorado (2007).

40. Internal document of the Gender Equity Programme of the Catalan Department of Interior Affairs.

41. Internal data of the ISPC.

Internal diversity statistics: inflow, outflow and through-flow

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

Inflow – Between 1995 and 2008, the number and percentage of female recruits for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* has risen (from 16.1 to 26.8 percent). There was an exceptional rise and peak in 2003 (from 17.5 in 2002 to 31.7 percent in 2003), after the height requisite for women was lowered from 1.65m to 1.60m. Afterwards, this stabilized to 25-27 percent⁴⁰. Since 1995, the percentage of women that passes the first selection phase (the tests) is relatively higher than that of men. However, at least in the academic year 2007-2008 (when 25.7 percent was female), female recruits were more likely to quit the basic education (18 out 66: 27.3 percent), or to be found unfit at the end of the course (23 out of 76: 30.3 percent)⁴¹.

Since 2007, the ISPC records data on the inflow of recruits with a migrant background. These indicate that in the academic year 2008-

2009, 39 new recruits for the basic education of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* had at least one parent born abroad (3.7%). 27 of those had at least one parent born outside of the European Union, and 12 were born themselves outside of the European Union⁴².

Outflow – As all *Mossos d'Esquadra* have the status of public official, almost none decide to leave the force (about 0.8%). Of those that do leave, the majority requests unpaid leave, while very few are forced to enter special regulations because of physical impediments. This outflow is internally registered according to gender and rank, also indicating the reason for leaving, summarized in the following categories: unpaid leave (other public work, private interests, to care for a child, or because of incompatibility with other functions), physical impediments (temporary physical recovery, invalidity over 18 months, permanent absolute invalidity or permanent total invalidity) or other (resignation, or special services). For the year 2008, there were no significant differences between female and male police officers, and no data on migrant background⁴³.

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

Rank	Female	Male	Total generic	% Female	% Male	% of total females per rank	% of total males per rank
Mosso	2,429	8,206	10,635	22.84	77.16	86.17	72.66
Caporal/a	275	1,973	2,248	12.23	87.77	9.76	17.47
Sergent/a	80	653	733	10.91	89.09	2.84	5.78
Sotinspector/a	22	309	331	6.65	93.35	0.78	2.74
Inspector/a	9	110	119	7.56	92.44	0.32	0.97
Intendent/a	4	34	38	10.53	89.47	0.14	0.30
Comissari/a		9	9	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.08
Total	2,819	11,294	14,113	19.97	80.03	100.00	100.00

Source: Catalan Department of Interior Affairs (internal document)

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

For example, the average age of the Mossos in 2008 is 33 years, and that of the caporales 37 years. After that, every step in the organizational hierarchy coincides almost exactly with a two or three year difference (i.e. the average age of sergeants is 39 years, of sotsinspectors 41 years, of inspectors 43 years, of intendentes 45 years, and of comisarios 48 years). In theory, caporales would have entered the force as Mossos four years ago. Four years ago, in 2004, the percentage of female Mossos was 15.4. Repeating this exercise results in the following table:

⁴². Internal data of the ISPC.

⁴³. Internal data of the HRM department of the Catalan Department of Interior Affairs

Table 4. Percentage of female representation within all ranks of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in 2008 versus the percentage of female representation in the estimated year of entrance of the officers

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

Source: Own elaboration

Unfortunately, the exercise does not allow estimating an expected percentage for female commissioners, as the available data do not go back that far: they start in 1994, while 1993 would be the year of comparison. Even so, it is clear that in general the percentage of female police officers in higher ranks is lower than expected. The percentage of female officers with the rank of intendent is the only exception to this rule. This coincides with another observation: the average age of female police officers tends to be somewhat lower (differences between two months and four years) than the average age of their male counterparts in the same rank. Both observations might be related to the average level of education of police officers, which is higher among female police officers than among male police officers⁴⁴.

Policy approaches

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

As outlined in more detail below, the dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is an individual-based approach with low intensity. Figure 5 visualizes this conclusion:

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

For example, in general, publicity for openings is more informative than proactive, not aimed at creation the motivation to join or to rise in rank, but aimed at providing all individuals that are already interested with the necessary information. There is no formal policy to identify and stimulate talent (within certain social groups, for example)⁴⁵. This idea of equal treatment of individuals also underlies all policies to ensure that the selection processes for basic education and promotions

44. Internal data of the Cabinet of Selection Processes.

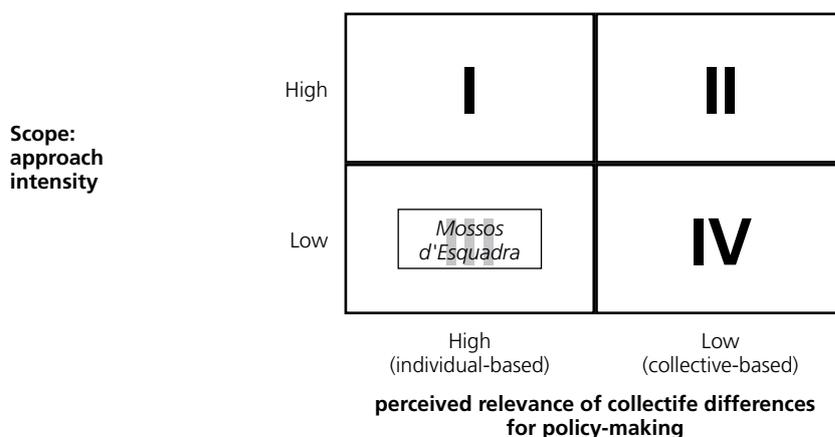
45. Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona.

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

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

and the supervision at the ISPC are as unbiased as possible. Police officers involved in the selection process (for example to conduct the interviews) and tutors at the ISPC always receive a preparatory course (of respectively 40 hours and 180 hours) in which they are trained to evaluate the competences of candidates or recruits⁴⁶, and, in the case of the tutors⁴⁷, to practice their capacities of observation, to manage a team, to teach, to analyze and direct group processes, and so forth. Furthermore, this internal supervision is always combined with external supervision (in the form of external psychologists, who have a critical role in the selection and evaluation processes)⁴⁸. Finally, diversity is kept outside of the police force in various ways. For example, the physical environment of the police stations is neutral, adapting only the most basic aspects to gender diversity, such as the uniform, lockers and toilets. Diversity is facilitated externally, for example by offering reduced working hours and by relocating female police officers near their homes so that they can breastfeed their babies⁴⁹. Also, Gaylespol is not routinely included in organisational deliberations nor given a place on the website of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although its members can apply for time off during work hours to conduct activities for the association⁵⁰. While the AIL-MED, founded in 2007 to guarantee administrative work for *Mossos d'Esquadra* diagnosed with a total handicap, opposes the Department of Interior Affairs entirely from the outside⁵¹. Furthermore, the idea that diversity is something external is reinforced by the courses for basic education and promotion: the majority of the hours dedicated to diversity, provided by mostly external actors⁵² (for example UNESCOCAT) focus on diversity in society. For example, specialization courses for *Mossos d'Esquadra* are 30 hour courses on the characteristics of different cultures (Arab, Latin-American, East-European, Chinese, Hindustan), and obligatory basic education includes: a seminar on interculturality (8 hours), a lecture on human rights and pluriculturality (4 hours), a lecture on the demographics of migration in Catalunya (4 hours) and a practical exercise / simulation involving diversity (2 hours). There are but few exceptions: every year in the basic education there is an optional one-day seminar on gender diversity within the police, and Gaylespol dedicates part of its optional one-day seminar to diversity in sexual orientation within the police force⁵³.

Figure 3. Diversity policy approaches



Source: Van Ewijk (2011a) + own elaboration

- 46. Interview with the Head of the Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.
- 47. Curriculum 'police instructor at the ISPC' (170h, place for 17 in 2009): internal document ISPC.
- 48. Interview with the Head of the Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.
- 49. Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*): 14 May 2009, Barcelona.
- 50. Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.
- 51. Website AIL-MED: <http://ailmed.wordpress.com>.
- 52. Overview of agreements with NGOs to provide courses: internal document ISPC.
- 53. Internal documents of the ISPC

There are some exceptions to this individual-based approach, although not frequent enough to identify a collective-based approach. The general idea is that specific policies on diversity are sometimes necessary to facilitate diversity within the organisation, but as little as possible and only to provide equal opportunities, because the imbalance will correct itself naturally⁵⁴. What is curious, though, is that almost all exceptions are related to gender diversity.

For example, visible attention for the recruitment of women is dedicated by the *Mossos d'Esquadra* since 2008, when the Program for Gender Equity launched the first publicity campaign directed at women only⁵⁵. Also, the results of physical tests in the selection process for the basic education and for promotions are statistically categorised by gender (and age: 18-24 years, 25-29 years, and 30-34 years). Pregnant women can be exempted from these tests, but their admission will be temporal until the physical exercises are completed.⁵⁶ Some respondents⁵⁷ confirmed that female police officers are always coupled with male police officers for patrol shifts, although this is not a formal policy. Furthermore, although promotion opportunities are not announced in any special way for specific groups, an exception was made with an informative letter sent by the Gender Equity Program in 2008 to all female police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* that might apply for the openings for the rank of sotsinspector and intendent⁵⁸. This initiative has not been repeated at the time of writing this paper (January 2011). Finally, the 'Comisió de les Dones Policies' (Female Police Officers Commission) was founded in 1999 on the request of the police commissioner of Girona to study the situation of women within the force and the reasons why women rise in rank less often and hardly access specific specializations. Even so, activities of the Comisió (such as writing reports of studies in 2000 and 2003, and organizing conferences on the results with the ISPC) depended mostly on personal efforts, and members could occasionally (not structurally) apply for time off and funding. In 2007, the Commission was abolished and the remaining members joined forces with the Gender Equity Program of the Department of Interior Affairs. However, in the end they wrote a proposal to start an internal, independent team again, the "Equip per a l'Equitat de Gènere", which was approved by the direction of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in 2010 and included one fulltime co-worker for the coordination of the team and flexible arrangements for twelve volunteers⁵⁹.

The only exception not related to gender diversity is the Social Diversification Programme, which was launched in 2007 to help persons with a migrant background prepare for the selection. It consisted of 2,5 months of evening lectures on all topics in the police manual, including Catalan language and history, offering a scholarship of 285 Euros a month for participants, who should be between 17 and 26 years old. It was run in 2007 (53 applicants for 110 openings, of which 19 were selected) and in 2008 (52 applicants for 110 openings, of which 23 were selected), but not in 2009, because of apparent lack of interest⁶⁰. In 2010, the program was included in the curriculum of the ISPC, but no call for applicants has been made at the time of writing this chapter (December 2010).

Finally, the intensity of the individual-based approach on diversity is low. First, the idea of ensuring that everyone is treated the same is not supported by policies in the entire organisation. For example, when recruits enter the final selection phase, which is the internship, the role of psychol-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

60. Internal data of the ISPC.

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

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

ogists is minimized, annulling the possibility of external control. This also goes for the yearly evaluations of police officers and complaints, which are formulated and transmitted solely by the direct supervisor. There is no institutional check on their judgement, in the form of an ethical committee or confidential counsellors. Second, diversity is not linked to the mission of the police force, and its core tasks, and therefore not incorporated in the organisational structure. There is no direct reference to diversity within the force in the vision of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, which is: to be the reference in security and the protection of people in Catalunya, offering quality service, through proximity and professionalism⁶¹. Diversity is not mentioned in any way in the General Security Plan of the Department of Interior Affairs⁶². It is not linked to the three ways that are presented to improve the quality of the service: proximity, professionalism, and efficiency. As such, there is no external or internal diversity expert or department, nor persons responsible for the development of policies that increase the level of diversity among police officers, with the exception of the Program for Gender Equity of the Department of Interior Affairs (established by public decree in 2008). There is no internal communication plan or a specific budget for diversity policies. As outlined above, efforts to promote diversity within the police force depend on voluntary individual motivations that receive some support in the sense of exemptions to be present elsewhere. Symbolic events related to diversity for all police officers are scarce: one series of seminars on ethics and police and a symposium on gender diversity in the security sector in 2009. Third, there is no attention for diversity among those who select, teach and evaluate new recruits and candidates for promotion, except that the ISPC actively calls for professors from outside of the police organisation to create more openness. For example, in 2009, 44 percent of the professors at the ISPC was not part of the police force and 21 percent of the professors were female. Also, two out of sixty tutors were female, and the department of psychologists consisted of almost exclusively female professionals⁶³.

Concluding remarks

The first goal of this chapter was to offer a deeper understanding of the role that diversity plays in the particular context of this police force. As outlined in section two, diversity is mostly defined as gender diversity and diversity in migrant background. Gender refers to the physical differences between male and female, and is seen as a hard and collective category of diversity, although it is difficult to determine whether it is perceived as old or new. Migrant background refers to a birthplace outside of Spain or having a parent with a birthplace outside of Spain, and is seen as a soft, new, and collective category of diversity. As outlined in section three, the end goal in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is more often related to supporting individuals and ensuring equal opportunities despite of collective differences, than to supporting collectives and recognizing the value of collectives. Both moral and practical arguments are employed in favour of diversity in the police organization, although it is curious that moral arguments are more dominant with respect to gender diversity, and diversity in migrant background is almost exclusively pleaded for with practical arguments. Finally, section four shows that the dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is individual-based (almost all policies and processes strive to treat everyone the same), but that it has a low intensity (the scope of this approach is limited in the sense that it does not touch all parts of the organisation).

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

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

63. Internal documents of the ISPC.

This leads to several new questions. For example, what determines whether approach intensity is low or high? Is this perhaps related to institutional pressure (in the form of targets linked to budgets, or attention from labour unions) which was also low? Or to the interpretation of diversity statistics by the main actors, which also did not raise a sense of urgency? For example, gender diversity was not seen as a challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in the area of recruitment, because the percentage of female recruits (around 25%) was usually compared with lower numbers for other police forces in Spain or in the Mediterranean area⁶⁴. Also, diversity in migrant background was only considered as a temporary challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* as immigration is recent and many new residents are still in the process of nationalization and learning Catalan⁶⁵. Or maybe the consistency and the scope of the arguments has an influence, as respondents were not uniform in their reasoning and diversity was not explicitly linked to any strategic themes for the police force? This calls for more studies of diversity in the police context. These could contribute not only to academic theory building, but also to policy suggestions that could improve society. After all, the potential 'customers' of police organisations are all citizens.

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

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire

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

Part 1. General questions on diversity within the police organisation

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

Part 2. Policies related to diversity within the police organisation

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

Appendix 2. List of respondents

UNESCOCAT

Coordinator of the diversity courses for the police
5 November 2008, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Area Coordinator, Department of Education, Selection and Evaluation
Responsible for the Social Diversification Programme
15 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Basic Education
Head of the department
28 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

Department of Interior Affairs

Gender Equity Programme
Work group representative
21 April 2009, Barcelona

Gay and Lesbian Police Association (Gaylespol)

President and vice-president
12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra

Coordinator of the instructors at the ISPC (police officers who guide the practical exercises of the basic education)
13 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra

Technical Office
Head of the area of Barcelona & member of the promotion section
14 May 2009, Barcelona (double interview of 90 minutes)

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up
Head of the department
19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Basic Education
Programme responsible
5 June 2009, by telephone

Mossos d'Esquadra

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

Department of Interior Affairs

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

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

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

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

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

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