

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF

‘HOLOCAUST, POLICE AND
HUMAN RIGHTS:
STUDY OF THE INTAKE,
PARTICIPANT EXPERIENCES AND
IMPACT OF KAZERNE DOSSIN’S
HPHR TRAINING’



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Holocaust, Police and Human Rights (HPCR) training began in 2014 and is part of Kazerne Dossin's wider offering for educational target groups (secondary school pupils, journalists, etc.). The training is aimed at members of the integrated Belgian police force. HPCR training lasts one day and includes a museum visit and a workshop focused on human rights and ethically aware conduct. When situated in the broader field of peace education, the training may be viewed as a form of remembrance education. Referring to research into the Holocaust and the role that the police played in it, a link is made with contemporary events and situations in which human rights risk being compromised. In short, it is not a question so much of learning about the Holocaust and human rights as of learning from the Holocaust.

Police officers form an interesting and above all socially relevant target group for a variety of reasons. First of all, they fulfil a special task in society: in practice, it is police officers who maintain public order and by association the perceived legitimacy of the system of legal rules. They form a crucial link in how people 'experience' the maintenance of order. Police officers interact with a large public and, moreover, come into frequent contact with people living in precarious conditions, with a migrant background, etc. They form a strategically very important group in this respect. Secondly, police officers are also a group that is exposed relatively frequently to views and behaviour on the part of third parties (ethnic prejudice, criminality, authoritarianism, etc.), which Kazerne Dossin's remembrance education is designed to address. A typical feature of the police and security services, thirdly, is that officers operate in a strongly hierarchical working environment with a very clear command structure. Together, these characteristics make police officers a strategically important target group.

Participants in the HPCR training are drawn from virtually every section of the Belgian police force. Since 2014, a large proportion of people following general and advanced police training ('trainees') have taken part in the HPCR programme. The latter is also open, however, to officers who already perform operational police work (whether or not in a command position) and even for personnel who chiefly perform administrative and other auxiliary tasks within the police (CALogs). The idea behind making the training accessible to all members of the police force is to bring about 'spill-over' effects that will ultimately have an impact on the wider organizational culture of the Belgian police.

The HPCR programme has been intensively monitored from the outset and adjusted where necessary. Over and above the existing continuous quality assurance, it was decided in 2016 to carry out a more extensive and global study into the different facets of the HPCR training, including the initial situation, satisfaction with the programme and its impact in practice. This study questioned almost all the participants who took the HPCR training in 2017. This executive summary accompanies the report on the study (Spruyt, Van Droogenbroeck & Lemblé, 2018). It has been translated from Dutch by Ted Alkins. Rather than summarizing every aspect of the research, we focus on two central aspects: (1) the design and structure of the study and (2) the results of the impact study.

1. Brief presentation of the HPHR training

Kazerne Dossin opened in 2012 with the clear mission of encouraging as many target groups as possible (education, journalists, military, police, etc.) to reflect on the emergence and prevention of group violence. The museum and the HPHR training alike seek to differentiate themselves from other initiatives through a number of emphases. Firstly, a conscious link is made with current events and instances where human rights continue to be violated today. By extension, secondly, there is a strong focus on the timeless and universal mechanisms that underpin group violence. The central element is not so much historical events in themselves but the processes that can lead ordinary citizens to commit atrocities. This automatically leads to a focus on issues such as group pressure, polarization and dehumanization. Since police forces hold a monopoly on violence, particular attention is paid to their role in the Holocaust. Thirdly, there is a constant search throughout all this for individual scope for action – the possibility of saying ‘no’ to injustice, even in the most extreme situations. The HPHR programme aims (1) to create awareness in this respect, so that people continue to think in difficult circumstances and do not blindly obey any instructions that might be given and (2) to teach participants the skills to recognize and analyse ethical dilemmas so that they can make properly considered choices. In summary, HPHR training seeks to move away from traditional ‘ethics’ lessons and to teach police officers how to deal in practice with difficult situations in which ethical dilemmas present themselves.

In substantive terms, the HPHR training focuses on (1) the role of the Belgian government and police in the persecution of Jews during the Second World War; (2) the human rights theme as elaborated at the Kazerne Dossin museum; (3) the processes and mechanisms by which ordinary people can be turned into perpetrators; and (4) the connection with the officers’ own living environment and professional situation. As regards the latter, a tool is also presented during the training for dealing with ethical dilemmas.

In practical terms, an HPHR course takes the following form. The day commences with an introductory film that offers a general overview and an insight into the way the museum is structured. In the course of the film, the central question is introduced around which the museum is organized: what makes people capable of group violence? The morning session then continues with a visit to the museum accompanied by the coach. The afternoon begins with a debriefing, during which the coach answers any questions, participants can talk about their impressions and they are invited to reflect on their visit to the museum. This processing phase culminates in a discussion of several key concepts, including the spiral of violence and the ten stages of a genocide as discussed by Gregory Stanton. In each case, these are models that focus on a-historical mechanisms and which strongly emphasize (1) the manner in which group violence evolves and can run out of control and (2) the idea that it is possible to intervene at any moment. The ‘Cooper Model’ (Cooper, 2001), which is used to analyse ethical dilemmas, is applied in the latter case. Dilemmas of this kind relate to situations in which people are confronted with choices in which each option has negative consequences. The Cooper Model offers a step-by-step plan for dissecting and assessing the dilemmas so that while the final choice is not ideal (there is, after all, no ‘ideal choice’) it is properly considered. Participants learn to apply the Cooper Model, firstly to a historical scenario and then to hypothetical scenarios that are closely related to their working environment. As they analyse these scenarios, the participants discover which human rights are being violated, which timeless mechanism is operating and how they can and ought to deal with it as a police officer.

2. Design and execution of the study

2.1 Design of the study

The optimization study was based on longitudinal research with three measurement points. The first measurement occurred just before the HPHR session, the second a day after, and the third approximately a month after the training. Comparison between measurement points 1 and 2 shows the immediate impact of the HPHR training. They were carried out in relatively quick succession to minimize the likelihood of unobserved events having a disruptive effect. Identifying an impact on the part of the HPHR training shortly after participants completed it is a first step in empirically testing the effectiveness of that training. This first step is very important, but is not sufficient in itself. The HPHR training aims to build knowledge, change attitudes and adjust the behaviour of police officers. Determining a positive effect during or shortly after the test period does not guarantee that these objectives have been met, since this entails effectiveness both in the longer term and beyond the context of the test. We therefore performed a third measurement one month after completing the training. This enabled us to investigate (1) whether any further shifts had occurred between measurement points 2 and 3 (e.g. because certain impressions and experiences have to be assimilated over time before achieving their full impact) and (2) whether any significant and hence lasting difference could be established at measurement point 3 compared to the views expressed at the outset of the programme.

In addition to the choice of a longitudinal survey, a multi-actor design was opted for, in which both participants and coaches were questioned (maximum four per HPHR session). Immediately after their session, the coaches completed a short questionnaire, which gauged their general assessment of how the session had gone (general satisfaction, satisfaction with different aspects of the training, assessment of the participants, etc.).

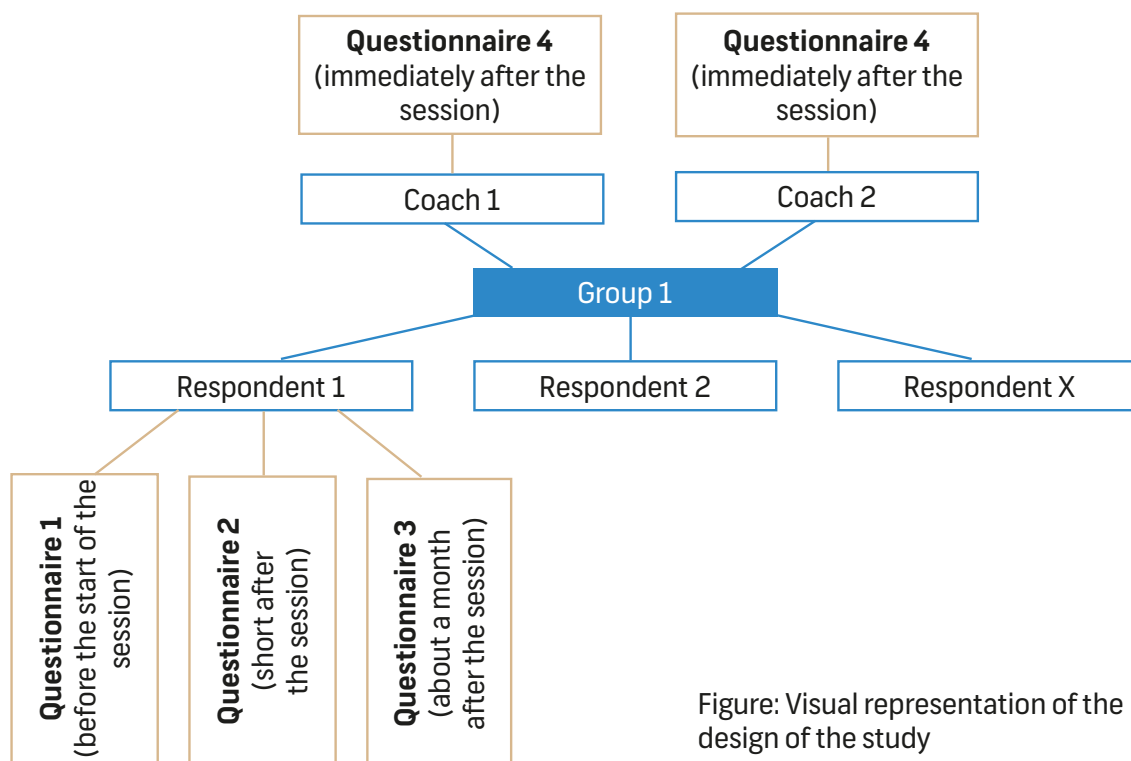


Figure: Visual representation of the design of the study

2.2 Implementation

Data collection began on 20 February 2017. Between then and the end of December 2017, all participants in a total of 83 sessions were invited to take part in the survey and to complete the first questionnaire. They received this invitation at Kazerne Dossin before the start of the training.

Participation in the entire study was, of course, voluntary and anonymous. No one was required to take part and no one other than the researchers is aware of who did or did not participate in the follow-up studies. Once the fieldwork had been completed and a technical check performed on the data file, all links with personal data were destroyed. It was clearly explained throughout to each participant what the purpose of the research was and how the data would be processed. With a few exceptions, everyone took part in the pre-test, at the end of which they were asked whether they were prepared to participate in the follow-up study. Only those participants who provided a valid e-mail address were able to take part in the second and third (digital) part of the survey.

A total of 1,255 HPHR participants were surveyed, of whom 54.7% provided a functioning e-mail address and expressed their willingness in principle to take part in the follow-up research. Half (48.6%) of these actually cooperated with the second measurement and 33.7% with the third measurement. Taking into account that respondents could not be contacted in any way other than via the provided e-mail address, we consider this response to be adequate.

The overall response rate is not the only significant factor: it is particularly important to know how selective participation was. A thorough non-response analysis was therefore performed to determine the extent to which the participants in Waves 2 and 3 of the study were representative of the overall group participating in Wave 1. This indicated that selectivity in terms of participation in the follow-up study was limited to a number of socio-demographic characteristics (age and language group) and the position people held within the police. Participation in the follow-up study was lower amongst younger participants, the French-speaking group and the trainees. Weighting coefficients were calculated for these differences to ensure that the relative distribution for these characteristics in the measurement 2 and 3 data was exactly the same as that of the group that completed the HPHR training and participated in measurement 1. We did not detect any indication of selectivity based on socio-political views or specific working conditions. The final result comprises unique data that allow an extremely thorough study to be carried out into the HPHR training and its participants.

3. Impact

The goal of education is always to bring about a change on the part of those who complete it. Consequently, the level of effectiveness is an important question to be posed regarding any education initiative: can a change be detected in people's thinking, actions and sensibilities after they have completed an HPHR course? And if so, is this change in keeping with the initial objectives? Answering this question was an important part of the study. In concrete terms, three research questions were central:

- To what extent does the HPHR training in general influence its participants? With what outcomes and how lasting is any such influence?
- Can we also link the identified changes empirically with the processes initiated by the HPHR course?
- Does the impact of HPHR training vary in intensity according to the characteristics of the intake (e.g. is the training considered worthwhile?) and the characteristics of the work situation (e.g. position within the police, the extent to which the participant is confronted with victims and perpetrators of crime in the course of their work)?

In concrete terms, the study examined both the subjective experience and the real impact of following an HPHR course. The subjective impact refers to the degree to which participants felt that the training changed them and precisely what changes this entailed. Although impressions of this kind are plainly an effect of the training and can help us understand the real impact, they do not necessarily tell us anything about the effectiveness of a course or programme.

To measure the real impact, we need indicators that demonstrate change within the same individual over time. Since respondents were surveyed for a series of outcomes up to three times, we can document fairly accurately in this study (1) what precise changes arose from following an HPHR course and (2) precisely how lasting any such changes were. In substantive terms, the real impact of the HPHR training on two types of outcome was investigated: (1) people's attitudes towards specific behaviours and (2) people's socio-political views more generally. For each of these outcomes, we investigated the extent to which changes occurred within the same individual having completed the HPHR training, how lasting these changes were, and whether these outcomes varied between sub-groups.

One of the most important participant characteristics is undoubtedly the person's position within the police and their specific working conditions (including the extent to which they come into contact with the causes and consequences of crime). When discussing the results below, we differentiate systematically where relevant according to the participant's position within the police. We identify four groups of participants that are sufficiently large, which differ considerably in their working situation and position within the police, and which preliminary analysis found to differ clearly in terms of how they approached the HPHR training, their expectations and so on. In concrete terms, we draw a primary distinction between trainees (46.1%) and non-trainees (53.9%). Trainees are people undergoing police training. This can, in principle, be at a variety of levels, but in the case of the HPHR programme, they consisted almost invariably (91.2%) of basic level (constable/officer) trainees with no active service within the police. We have broken the non-trainee group down into three sub-groups: people with an administrative support function CALog (10.8%), people with a command function within the police (8.8%) and a group that carries out operational police work without a command role (34.3%). The four sub-groups are both readily identifiable and basically work in different circumstances and therefore have different experiences.

3.1 The subjective impact of HPHR training

To study the perceived impact, we identified two types of experience. Firstly, we measured people's overall impressions and perceived cognitive impact on completion of an HPHR course. Did the participants feel they gained anything from the training? If so, what exactly? Did people think back to the training later on, and if so, to what part of it? Depending on the precise impression, we measured it either immediately after the training (measurement 2) or one month afterwards (measurement 3).

In addition to the general impressions and the perceived cognitive effect, we also studied, secondly, what emotions the participants felt during the training. It was long assumed in the literature on socio-political views and behaviour that knowledge was a necessary but not sufficient condition for generating changes in people's thinking and actions. Nowadays, certain scientists foreground the direct influence of emotions as an autonomous route to influencing attitudes and behaviour (Westen, 2007). We are interested in two things in this context: (1) Does following an HPHR course arouse particular emotions and if so, (2) which emotions exactly? The latter question is important as it is fairly well documented for emotions precisely which behavioural outcomes they have (Marcus, 2000).

3.1.1 General experience and perceived cognitive impact

Nearly 9 out of 10 (88.8%) participants indicated that they had actually benefited from the training. Less than 1 in 10 (8.8%) considered the programme to be a waste of time and a smaller proportion still (5.5%) did not see the utility of the programme.

When looking specifically at what participants got out of the training, we distinguish between two types of perceived outcome: (1) what people think they learned, (2) which cognitive processes the training triggered for them.

In terms of pure knowledge transfer, 52.7% of the participants stated that they had learned something new about ethical dilemmas during the training, while 47.8% learned to make connections of which they were not previously aware. Almost 1 in 2 (49.9%) confirmed that they had learned things about the police that they did not know. This was considerably less than the 80% of participants who stated that they learned things about the Holocaust of which they were previously unaware. More than 8 out of 10 said they had gained a better understanding of how violence escalates (83.5%) and the stages leading up to collective violence (83.9%).

Specifically with regard to the activation of thought processes, more than 3 out of 4 (76.9%) of the participants stated that the programme had made them reflect on the theme of human rights. 61.5% reported that the training made them look at certain events in a different way. The cited examples led almost 1 in 2 participants (48.0%) to think about events in the work environment. For even more people (55.5%), the HPHR training prompted reflection on events relating to their personal experiences.

Significantly, not only did participants state that they considered the training to be worthwhile and instructive, a substantial majority in each instance indicated that they found the knowledge they gained to be persuasive and that they would put it to practical use in the future (willingness to act). 68.2% of them, for instance, felt that what they learned is useful for their own working situation. 61.5% of the participants stated that the training made them aware of issues they would like to know more about in the future. With specific reference to the ethical dilemmas, just under 55% said they had been guided towards approaching certain issues differently in the future.

Looking at the sub-groups, it is clear that in terms of the general meaningfulness of the training there were no differences according to the position the participants hold within the police. All the sub-groups found the course to be very worthwhile. Nor were there any differences in the degree to which the examples used in the HPHR training encouraged people to reflect on their work situation or on events connected with their personal experiences.

For all other questions, by contrast, the differences were significant in each instance. The pattern here was consistent: CALogs and trainees were much more impressed than police officers in command and non-command positions. A real dichotomy was evident here, with no significant difference for any question between CALogs and trainees on the one hand and command and non-command officers on the other.

Prior impressions and experiences were obtained via measurement one day before the HPHR training. In order to gauge certain perceived consequences, it made sense to measure these at a somewhat later date as well. Consequently, the perceived impact of the HPHR training was also examined at the third measurement point in the study.

One of the most obvious ways in which training can have an impact on people is for it to stick in the participants' minds. We therefore asked the respondents to what extent they had thought about the training in the past month. Only 16.4% of the participants stated that they had not thought about the training at all. One in five thought about it once and 63.5% thought about it several times or frequently. There were clear differences in this respect, however, according to the person's position within the police. Command-level officers and CALogs in particular thought regularly about the training.

We then examined which element the participants thought about more or less. Respondents could select

multiple options. It was plain from this comparison that the museum tour in particular made one of the strongest impressions on participants. More than 1 in 2 participants mentioned this part of the training. What's more, approximately 1 in 3 participants indicated that they had thought about human rights after the training. One in four had reflected on the hypothetical scenarios. The Cooper Model (11.5%), the stories of other participants (14.3%) or coaches (19.9%) were retained less strongly by participants. Here too, however, we found considerable to large differences depending on the person's position within the police. An important factor here is that this is not just about general differences (e.g. that a specific group thought more or less about everything) but that the things they thought about depended on their position within the police. The museum visit, for example, made far less impression on the trainees in particular than it did on other groups. They were also less likely to retain the other participants' stories. This might be because the trainees were more likely to be participating as a group and have less experience of operational police work. What the trainees did retain fairly strongly were the coaches' stories. The command-level officers form another interesting example: what they retained most strongly compared with the other groups were first and foremost the museum visit and the stories of both the coaches and the other participants. It is noteworthy, lastly, that the human rights theme, which is the common thread running through the HPHR training programme, was recalled equally strongly by all the sub-groups.

3.1.2 Emotions experienced during the HPHR training

The previous section focused primarily on the perceived cognitive impact. However, the morning programme (film and museum visit) of the HPHR training, in particular, was intended not only to introduce the themes of Holocaust, Police, Human Rights, group violence, etc., but also to create a context in which impressions went beyond the purely cognitive. Hence the question: what did participants feel during the training? To measure this, we presented them with nine emotions and asked them to what extent they experienced them during the training: 'anger', 'disgust', 'powerlessness', 'sadness', 'pity', 'becoming silent' and 'being made to think'. 'Boredom' and 'annoyance' were included as a kind of control element.

Table 1 confirms that the HPHR training succeeded in touching participants emotionally. With the exception of 'anger', 'boredom' and 'annoyance', all the emotions score above the mid-point of the scale (i.e. 3 out of 5) on average. The most strongly experienced emotions were 'being made to think', 'becoming silent' and 'pity'. These three emotions stood out clearly from the others. A fourth emotion was 'disgust'. This was followed by a feeling of 'powerlessness', although this emotion scored just over 1 point (out of a total of 5) less than the strongest emotions experienced. 'Annoyance' and 'boredom' were only reported to a very limited extent by participants in HPHR training.

Table 1: Experienced emotions during the HPHR training according to position within the police

	Anger	Disgust	Powerlessness	Sadness	Pity	Becoming silent	Being made to think	Boredom	Annoyance
General	2.56	3.63	3.09	3.39	3.93	4.03	4.07	1.48	2.32
Trainee	2.67	3.82	3.22	3.56	4.13	4.19	4.19	1.50	2.33
Police non-command	2.21	3.24	2.78	2.93	3.60	3.64	3.83	1.51	2.30
Police command level	2.37	3.35	2.88	3.27	3.56	3.86	3.82	1.48	2.00
CALog	3.20	4.02	3.45	4.01	4.15	4.48	4.34	1.30	2.49
Eta	0.232	0.268	0.191	0.316	0.289	0.282	0.233	0.082	0.081
p	0.002	0.000	0.018	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.607	0.617
<i>a Items rated on a scale ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Often), cell entries are means</i>									

We found clear differences based on position within the police for all emotions, except ‘boredom’ and ‘annoyance’. The pattern was always the same: people with less ‘practical experience’ of operational police work, such as trainees or CALogs, reported being touched emotionally by the programme to a greater extent. There was a general difference in terms of being touched emotionally rather than a difference in the type of emotion triggered by the course. This latter point is important, as it indicates that the HPHR training works in a similar way for everyone, at least as far as emotions are concerned.

3.1.3 Perceived impact: an explanatory model

For the perceived impact, lastly, we performed a regression analysis in which we predicted the degree to which participants were emotionally affected and the perceived cognitive impact based on a series of characteristics (Table 2). We found in the case of both the perceived cognitive and emotional impact that even after controlling for a series of characteristics, people who had set themselves personal goals for following the HPHR training had a stronger sense that the training had affected them (β s 0.230 and 0.164 for emotional and cognitive impact respectively). People with more experience with victims and perpetrators of crime had less of a feeling that the training had influenced them (β s -0.116 and -0.111 respectively). It is striking, however, that this characteristic did not completely explain the difference between the command-level officers and trainees in terms of the perceived emotional impact (residual β : -0.239).

In terms of socio-demographic characteristics, we found a residual negative effect for gender (β : 0.158). Men were found to be less emotionally affected by the HPHR training. There were no gender differences for the perceived cognitive impact of the HPHR training. The perceived cognitive impact was, however, significantly lower for older participants (β : -0.167). There were no age differences for the perceived emotional impact.

Table 2: Results of regression analysis on perceived cognitive and emotional impact of the HPHR training						
Experienced emotional impact	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	β_a	p_b	β	p	β	p
Position within the police (0: Trainee)						
Command level	-0.304	***	-0.338	***	-0.239	**
Non-command level	-0.106	(*)	-0.127	(*)	-0.099	
CALog	0.109	(*)	0.022		0.007	
Gender (0: Woman)			-0.135	*	-0.158	*
Age			0.016		0.035	
Voluntary participation (0: Mandatory)			0.162	**	0.096	
Knew what could be expected from the training (0-10)					-0.049	
Has set personal goals for the HPHR training (0-10)					0.230	**
Contact with victims and perpetrators of criminality (0-100)					-0.116	(*)
Adjusted R ²	0.110		0.145		0.181	
Perceived cognitive impact						
Position within the police (0: Trainee)						
Command level	-0.187	**	-0.113		-0.036	
Non-command level	-0.085		-0.016		0.005	
CALog	0.135	*	0.177	*	0.160	*
Gender (0: Woman)			-0.007		-0.022	
Age			-0.183	*	-0.167	*
Voluntary participation (0: Mandatory)			0.084		0.037	
Knew what could be expected from the training (0-10)					-0.043	
Has set personal goals for the HPHR training (0-10)					0.164	*
Contact with victims and perpetrators of criminality (0-100)					-0.111	(*)
Adjusted R ²	0.057		0.076		0.091	
<i>a Standardized regression coefficients</i>						
<i>b Significance levels: ***: $p < 0.001$; **: $p < 0.010$; *: $p < 0.050$; (*): $p < 0.100$</i>						

3.2 Real impact

3.2.1 Impact on integrity

The impressions and impacts described above relate to matters of which participants are aware: they are ‘self-reported effects’. It is important not to narrow the effectiveness of a training course to effects of this kind (Spruyt, Elchardus, Roggemans & Van Droogenbroeck, 2014). After all, people are frequently influenced without being aware of it (by advertising, for example). This study was specifically designed to measure the real impact of the HPHR training. We looked specifically at two types of outcome: integrity and general socio-political views. While the first of these ties in very closely with the intended outcomes of the afternoon programme of the HPHR training, the general views are more aligned with the overall package offered by training of this kind.

To measure police integrity, we used a method that is frequently applied in research into police officers (Klockars, Ivkovic & Haberfeld, 2003), which asks respondents to assess hypothetical scenarios. Each scenario comprises a brief description of a situation, followed by a series of questions in which the respondent is asked

to state the seriousness, what disciplinary action they consider appropriate and their willingness to report the misconduct. It was sought when developing the scenarios to describe plausible instances of police misconduct:

- The first scenario features unauthorized physical violence by a fellow police officer during an arrest;
- In the second scenario, a police officer helps a colleague who caused a road accident while drunk without drawing up an official report;
- The third scenario relates to ethnic prejudice and negligence when a man of foreign origin attempts to report being refused admission to a nightclub.

The three scenarios were the same in so far as there could be no dispute that the behaviour in question was wrong. They differed in terms of (1) the nature of the behaviour and hence also (2) the extent to which the specific behaviour relates to the central theme of the HPHR training (i.e. intolerance, prejudice, group conflict, etc.). The scenario involving ethnic prejudice clearly relates more closely to the central theme of the Kazerne Dossin museum. By using scenarios that vary in the degree to which they relate to the Kazerne Dossin theme, we aim to incorporate the necessary granularity for us to determine how specific/general any impact of following the HPHR course is.

A series of outcomes were measured for each scenario:

- The degree to which participants viewed the police officer's behaviour as serious (1: Not at all serious – 5: Very serious).
- The severity of the disciplinary action deemed appropriate (No penalty – Verbal reprimand – Written reprimand – Suspension without pay – Demotion – Dismissal).
- The degree to which a participant would be prepared to report the fellow officer's behaviour (1: Definitely not – 5: Definitely).

These outcomes vary in the degree of individual willingness to take action. In light of the objectives of the HPHR training, it seems especially important that people not only recognize ethically inappropriate behaviour more quickly (outcome 1) and understand its seriousness (outcome 2), but above all that they develop a greater willingness to take personal action against it (outcome 3). One of the central elements in the afternoon session is to make participants more aware of their individual scope for action and so successful HPHR training will impact this outcome in particular. Taking effective action is, moreover, the thing that brings the respondent closest to an ethical dilemma, as the act of reporting might also have consequences for the person doing it. This led to a design in which each respondent was questioned about three scenarios, three different outcomes and on three different occasions (before the training, one day later and one month later). The scenarios clearly differed from one another in the extent to which participants were affronted by the presented behaviour. The pattern was identical for the three outcomes. The scenario in which physical violence was used was considered to be the most serious and the scenario in which ethnic prejudice played a role the least serious. The scenario featuring the drunken officer came midway between them. A similar pattern was found in terms of the appropriate penalty. In all scenarios, the average score indicates that participants hesitated between a verbal and a written reprimand as the appropriate punishment.

We explore in the following sections whether the attitude towards these scenarios changed after completing the HPHR session. We discuss the observed changes individually according to each type of outcome and we then formulate a number of general conclusions based on these findings.

3.2.1.1 Taking behaviour seriously

Preliminary analysis related to the degree to which people considered the presented behaviour to be serious. It detected a significant interaction between the type of scenario and time (Eta^2 : 0.041; p 0.000). This means that the change over time in how serious the respondents considered the behaviour to be was not the same for each scenario. The changes over time have therefore been calculated separately for each scenario (Table 3). The averages show clearly that there were hardly any shifts with respect to the first two scenarios, but that there was a very clear shift for the one involving ethnic prejudice. People who completed the HPHR course deemed the behaviour in this scenario – which had been viewed as the least serious of the three before the course commenced – to be more serious after completing the HPHR training. This scenario is the one linked most closely to the specific theme of the HPHR programme. The change we detected is not only significant but also quite substantial in terms of intensity (Eta^2 : 0.127; p : 0.000). What's more, it was lasting, in the sense that a significant difference remained a month after the training was completed.

Table 3: Mean score reflecting the assessed seriousness of the behaviour for three different scenarios measured on three occasions

Scenario	Physical violence		Alcohol intoxication		Ethnic prejudice	
Outcome	Mean ^a	S.E. ^b	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Pre-test (before the training)	4.323	0.065	3.812	0.095	3.534	0.074
Post-test (one day after the training)	4.353	0.069	3.767	0.091	3.797	0.080
Follow-up (1 month after the training)	4.211	0.075	3.752	0.084	3.797	0.071
<i>a</i> Mean score on a scale ranging from 1 (Not serious at all) – 5 (Very serious)						
<i>b</i> Standard Error						

3.2.1.2 Appropriate disciplinary action

The change in the severity of the disciplinary action people deemed appropriate for the misconduct also varied according to the type of misconduct involved (Table 4). We observed a significant impact in the scenario centring on physical violence (Eta^2 : 0.066, p : 0.010) as well as the one with an element of ethnic prejudice (Eta^2 : 0.116, p : 0.000). In both scenarios, participants deemed more severe disciplinary action to be appropriate having completed the training. The impact for the scenario involving ethnic prejudice was almost twice as strong as that for the scenario involving the unauthorized use of physical force. The effects also proved to be lasting for both characteristics. Looking specifically at the scenario involving physical violence, we detected a significant difference between measurement points 1 and 2 (p : 0.004) and 1 and 3 (p : 0.016). The slight apparent weakening of the effect between measurement points 2 and 3 was not significant (p : 0.253). For the scenario involving ethnic prejudice, we observed a significant increase in the severity of the action deemed appropriate between measurement points 1 and 2. The further increase between measurement points 2 and 3 in the willingness to consider a heavier penalty as appropriate was not statistically significant. We found, in other words, that the effect in both scenarios, as determined immediately after the training, was the same as the full and lasting effect.

Table 4: Mean score concerning the appropriate sanction for the misconduct for three different scenarios measured on three occasions

Scenario	Physical violence		Alcohol intoxication		Ethnic prejudice	
Outcome	Mean ^a	S.E. ^b	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Pre-test (before the training)	2.993	0.072	2.852	0.080	2.259	0.062
Post-test (one day after the training)	3.207	0.092	2.800	0.076	2.467	0.064
Follow-up (1 month after the training)	3.126	0.084	2.867	0.076	2.519	0.066
<i>a Mean score on a scale ranging from 1 (No sanction) – 6 (Dismissal)</i>						
<i>b Standard Error</i>						

3.2.1.3 Taking personal action

The final outcome measured the extent to which people were inclined to report their colleague's behaviour (Table 5). As in the other two instances, we detected a significant interaction here between the changes and the type of scenario (Eta^2 : 0.087; p : 0.019), making it necessary to examine the effects individually per scenario (Table 5). Analysis showed that the training had a clear effect but also that the intensity of the effects varied between the three scenarios. We found in all three scenarios that people were more inclined to report their colleague's misconduct after the training. The impact for the scenario involving ethnic prejudice was, however, much stronger (Eta^2 : 0.214, p : 0.000) than for the ones involving violence (Eta^2 : 0.086, p : 0.002) or intoxication on the part of a fellow officer (Eta^2 : 0.096; p : 0.001). Strikingly, we further observed a significant increase between the second and third measurement points in willingness to report misconduct for the three scenarios, which clearly differed from the two other outcomes we studied. This means that not only was the effect a lasting one, it also increased in intensity over time after completion of the training. This might seem an odd finding at first, but it should be borne in mind that the second measurement occurred immediately after the training. It is possible that the impressions had yet to percolate fully at that stage, explaining why the effect was even stronger around the time of the third measurement point.

Table 5: Mean likelihood to report the misconduct for three scenarios measured on three occasions

Scenario	Physical violence		Alcohol intoxication		Ethnic prejudice	
Outcome	Mean ^a	S.E. ^b	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Pre-test (before the training)	3.226	0.087	3.098	0.108	2.827	0.088
Post-test (one day after the training)	3.398	0.092	3.165	0.101	3.098	0.099
Follow-up (1 month after the training)	3.474	0.083	3.383	0.093	3.368	0.086
<i>a Mean score on a scale ranging from 1 (Definitely not) – 5 (Absolutely)</i>						
<i>b Standard Error</i>						

To sum up, the findings set out above lead to a number of clear conclusions. Completing the HPHR training has a significant, fairly strong and positive effect in terms of assessing scenarios that focus on integrity. The shifts varied in terms of both outcome and scenario, but only in three out of a total of nine outcomes was there no significant difference. Where differences were detected, these invariably represented an improvement, which was moreover lasting and, for a number of outcomes, fairly strong. It was also clear that the greatest improvement was found in respect of the outcome that referred most directly to the participant's individual willingness to take action and the scenario (ethnic prejudice) that the participants initially (i.e. prior to the HPHR training) deemed to be the least serious.

3.2.2 The effectiveness of HPHR training with regard to socio-political views and attitudes

Aside from how participants responded to the various scenarios, we investigated the effects on more general socio-political views and attitudes. These are outcomes that have been shown by extensive research to be very important predictors of a wide range of behaviours and other, more practically applied, attitudes. Here too, choices had to be made in view of the length of the questionnaire. We looked specifically at the impact of HPHR training on ethnic prejudice, social dominance orientation, authoritarianism and emotional connection with the police as a social identity.

- We measured the degree of ethnic prejudice based on two indicators: an indicator for generalized ethnic prejudice and a so-called ethnic distance measure. 'Generalized ethnic prejudice' refers to an overall view of society in which migration and the coexistence of different cultures is viewed as impossible and undesirable. To measure 'ethnic distance', meanwhile, we used a 'Bogardus scale', with which participants indicated for a series of 13 ethnic/cultural groups what kind of relationship they were prepared to accept (refuse entry to my country, visitor to my country, citizen of my country, colleague, neighbour in my street, my circle of friends, marriage). Ethnic distance is important because, unlike generalized prejudice, it directly gauges personal willingness to enter into concrete relationships.
- Social dominance orientation represents a belief in the fundamental inequality between social groups and a conviction that this inequality is also a good thing (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). People who score highly on this scale believe it is good that certain groups in society (irrespective of which groups these are precisely) hold greater power and influence than others and that every effort should be made to maintain this situation.
- Authoritarianism is probably one of the most frequently studied attitudes in the context of extremism, intolerance and aggression. An authoritarian attitude consists of three components: (1) A strong attachment to traditions and resistance to change (rigid conservatism); (2) The tendency to conform to authority in a docile and uncritical manner (including admiring and glorifying a leader); and (3) An aggressive attitude towards non-conformist behaviour. Historically, researchers have taken authoritarianism as the attitude they believed could help explain the success of Nazism, and more specifically the high susceptibility of the masses to a cult of personality and a repressive policy towards groups that differ from the majority.
- A final attitude-outcome is the extent to which being part of the police was an important part of the participants' social identity. People who score highly in this respect feel a connection with police officers, are happy to belong to the police, believe that doing police work plays an important role in who they are and see lots of similarities between people who work for the police. The police profession is central to HPHR training throughout. In the course of the training, participants are introduced to the role played by the police in the deportation of Jews during the Second World War, they focus on scenarios that frequently involve the police and reflect on their personal work situation. It is therefore plausible that HPHR training will cause people to feel more strongly connected to the police as a group, even if this is not the explicit intention.

A model was calculated for each attitude that was comparable with the one used for the scenarios. It was important to keep the third questionnaire short and so certain attitudes were only measured in the pre- and post-test stages. Given that preliminary and follow-up analysis consistently showed that where an effect was detected this effect was still present a month after the training, the fact that all the attitudes were not surveyed three times would not appear to be problematic.

Table 6 shows the results for the various outcomes. We detected a significant change for each one. Participants who completed HPHR training displayed less social dominance orientation after the course, were less ethnocentric, more willing to engage in contact with ethnic/cultural groups, less authoritarian and reported a higher emotional connection with the police. In the case of the three characteristics to which we applied three measurement points, the effect was moreover a lasting one and the value as measured prior to the HPHR training differed significantly from the one measured a month after the course. In each instance, the change occurred between measurement points 1 and 2. The movements between measurement points 2 and 3 were

not significant for any outcome, which means there was a significant improvement in each instance between measurement points 1 and 3 (with the exception of social dominance orientation).

The intensity of the effects did, however, differ considerably. In general, the impact on attitudes was smaller than the impacts measured for the scenarios. Only the impact on connection with the police (Eta²: 0.071) and authoritarianism (Eta²: 0.062) was fairly strong – stronger at any rate than that for social dominance orientation (Eta²: 0.024), ethnic prejudice (Eta²: 0.041) and ethnic distance (Eta²: 0.028).

Table 6: Changes in five different socio-political opinions and attitudes in respondents who followed the HPHR training

	Social Dominance Orientation (0-100)		Ethnic prejudice (0-100)		Ethnic Distance (0-100)		Police as social identity (0-100)		Authoritarianism (0-100)	
	Mean	S.E. ^a	Ave.	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Pre-test	34.076	1.453	35.915	1.477	71.789	1.815	67.647	0.851	61.071	0.911
Post-test	31.168	1.332	33.469	1.468	73.569	1.815	70.822	0.907	58.458	0.900
Follow-up	32.011	1.314	33.832	1.467	73.935	1.808				
Eta ²	0.027		0.041		0.028		0.071		0.062	
p	0.024		0.003		0.027		0.000		0.000	
<i>a Standard Error</i>										

3.2.3 Does the impact of HPHR training vary between sub-groups?

The above results offer an insight into the impact of HPHR training on an ‘average’ participant. It is also worth asking, however, to what degree do certain people benefit from the training more than others? A clearer view of differences like this can provide us with a better insight into precisely how the programme works.

The applied research strategy was two-fold. Firstly, we investigated whether the results of the HPHR training varied systematically in terms of Easily Ascertainable Indicators (EAI). As the name suggests, EAI are characteristics that are straightforward for an organization to identify and map, such as gender, age (or length of service) and position within the police. These are characteristics that say little about why a different effect might be observed, but which do, in principle, allow the training to be readily adapted to them. If we systematically detect different impacts for one or more of these characteristics, we can then determine whether it would be useful to differentiate the training based on the participants’ (easily ascertainable) intake characteristics.

A significant limitation of EAI is that (1) they offer no insight into why an impact might differ, since (2) they are invariably rather broad characteristics that can potentially cover very different experiences. As a second step, we therefore examined the degree to which any impacts varied in terms of substantive characteristics (e.g. work experience or whether the person already believed in the effectiveness of the training). It is these characteristics that allow us to gain an insight into the precise functioning of the HPHR training.

Our basis for assessing the interactions was a test for each individual outcome – 14 in total (Table 7). Any such large number of tests invariably results in several effects that are only found to be significant on a chance basis and which have little substantive interest. Clearly, what we are primarily seeking with this analysis are general patterns, that is (1) characteristics that suggest a difference in effectiveness for several outcomes and/or (2) where the differences detected for various outcomes relate to one another in a logically consistent manner (e.g. they all flow in the same direction or cluster into a limited number of patterns).

Table 7: Summary of interaction effects in the impact of the HPHR training (repeated measures Anova model)						
		Position in the police	Years of service	Gender	Convinced that the training can work	Experience with victims and perpetrators of criminality
Scenario 1	Seriousness					
	Punishment		**	*		
	Willingness to report	*	**		***	
Scenario 2	Seriousness		*		**	(*)
	Punishment		**			*
	Willingness to report		***		*	*
Scenario 3	Seriousness		(*)			
	Punishment				**	
	Willingness to report					
Attitudes	SDO				(*)	*
	Ethnic prejudice					*
	Ethnic distance		*		(*)	
	Authoritarianism	*			**	*
	Police as social identity					
Significance levels: ***: $p<0.001$; **: $p<0.010$; *: $p<0.050$; (*): $p<0.100$, empty cells: $p > 0.100$						

Table 7 shows with respect to the EAls that there were barely any significant interactions between gender or position within the police and the general shifts over time. What this means specifically is that, with a few exceptions, the effects we observed earlier occurred in the same way and with the same intensity for each of the sub-groups (men, women, trainees, CALogs, etc.). The situation is different when we look at differences in length of police service. We found clear effects for this factor in 6 of the 9 outcomes related to the scenarios. A significantly different pattern was detected for people with more police experience than for those with little experience. It was found specifically that the training had a weaker impact for participants with longer police service. In a few instances, furthermore, the difference in impact was expressed primarily in the difference between measurement points 2 and 3. It primarily related, in other words, to the duration of the effect (which proved lower amongst people without many years of police service) rather than the initial effect.

It is also significant that the interaction effects based on length of police service related exclusively to the responses to the scenarios. For the more general socio-political views, we found hardly any indication that the effectiveness differed according to gender, length of police service or position within the police.

Taken together, the EAls suggested only limited differences in the effectiveness of the HPHR training. Or, to put it another way, the HPHR training has a strongly similar effect with regard to these EAls for most of the sub-groups.

As a second step, we looked at characteristics related to the course intake, which are more closely linked to the potential psychological mechanisms at work during an HPHR session. Two characteristics stand out here. The first is the way people came to be taking the course and the more general expectations they had before starting the training. It is, after all, logical to ask whether the effectiveness of the training in practice correlates with the extent to which people believe a programme like HPHR is capable of altering their thinking and how prepared they are when they begin the training. There are, of course, several interesting characteristics in this context, but they are interrelated. We therefore investigated which of these characteristics gave the most clear results. This turned out to be the degree to which people believed that the training could have an impact (in the short or long term). This characteristic is frequently used in other research too.

A second potentially relevant characteristic relates to the real conditions in which people work. We refer in particular to people who, in the course of their work, have either been the victim of crime themselves or come into regular contact with victims and perpetrators of crime. These are indisputably powerful experiences that could (1) weaken the impact of the training and/or (2) undermine the sustainability of that impact through day-to-day practical experiences. For that reason, we also investigated whether the extent to which a person is confronted with victims and perpetrators of crime in the course of their work influenced the impact of the training.

The results led to two general conclusions: (1) there were considerably more significant interactions compared to the EAI characteristics and (2) these interactions occurred in relation to the more general attitudes.

Looking specifically at the nature of the effects, the following patterns emerged:

- No significant interaction was found for any of the characteristics with the shift detected in the sense of connection with the police. In concrete terms, this means there was a general increase in sense of connection after completing an HPHR course for all groups, regardless of length of service, the degree to which they believed in the training, the characteristics of the specific work situation, etc. There is no other outcome (not even for the hypothetical scenarios) for which this can be said.
- The following pattern was found for how convinced people were prior to the actual HPHR course that training of this kind is capable of influencing their own thinking. In terms of attitudes, where an interaction effect existed, it was found that people who were convinced before starting the course that training like HPHR can have an effect were indeed influenced to a greater extent than those who doubted or were not convinced by the potential influence of such training. For all outcomes, the shift over time was greater for the former (those who were convinced) than for the latter (those who were less convinced). In other words, a certain openness towards the programme seems relevant to the extent to which the programme is effective. This might have more to do with the duration of the training than with its transformative power. People who are not convinced of the effectiveness of a programme might need more time to 'come round', as a result of which the transformative power of the time-limited HPHR training could be diminished.
- As regards the role played in the effectiveness of the HPHR training by contact with victims and perpetrators of crime, we detected significant interactions relating to authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and ethnic prejudice. The picture was the same for each of these three attitudes: for participants who are frequently confronted with victims and perpetrators of crime in their work situation, the impact of the HPHR training was clearly weaker than it was for participants who are confronted less with perpetrators or victims of crime in their daily work situation. The pattern varied slightly, depending on the specific attitude being examined. With regard to social dominance orientation, for example, we detected an improvement between measurement points 1 and 3 in the group most often confronted with victims and perpetrators of crime. There was little evidence of this in the scenario of ethnic prejudice or authoritarianism.

We will examine this latter observation in more detail. Fairly clear indications were found, in other words, that the effectiveness of the HPHR training – especially with regard to socio-political attitudes – was lower, the more that people were confronted in their everyday working practice with victims and perpetrators of crime. The logical follow-up question is how precisely this comes about. If we link back to the subjectively perceived impact of the HPHR training, being confronted in a person's working experience with perpetrators and victims of crime, is seen to correlate systematically with the emotions experienced during the training, the degree to which the person believed that training like HPHR can be effective and satisfaction with the training itself. People who are regularly confronted with victims and perpetrators in their work were much less emotionally affected by the HPHR training (β : -0.247; p : 0.000), were less convinced that training like HPHR can have an effect on their own thinking (β : -0.200; p : 0.000) and were less satisfied with the HPHR training in general (β : -0.164; p : 0.005).

These are all very consistent patterns which suggest when viewed together that the HPHR training has the most impact on people who are still relatively unfamiliar with what might be termed front-line police work. They have less personal experience with victims and perpetrators of crime. For them, the HPHR training represents a kind of reality check, which leaves an impression and generates measurable effects in terms of

socio-political attitudes and responding with integrity to scenarios. Participants with considerable experience of victims and perpetrators of crime, on the other hand, might have become more accustomed to situations in which serious misconduct occurs and are hence less likely to be impressed by examples of misconduct and intergroup conflict. It is likely to be these experiences that somewhat reduce the influence of what is, all things considered, a short HPHR course (one day). To some degree, the participants themselves seem to indicate something similar: if we examine the extent to which people thought the course ought to have lasted longer, we find that it was indeed primarily people with more experience of victims and perpetrators of crime who favoured this idea (β : 0.123; p : 0.042).

3.3 The global impact of the HPHR training

We focused in the previous sections on a large number of individual outcomes. This analysis showed not only that HPHR training has an effect on numerous outcomes, but also that this effect varies both generally and in terms of specific sub-groups. There is a real chance that if we had measured more outcomes, we would find even greater variation. This does not alter the fact, however, that the more global impact of the programme can be interesting. Leaving the specific outcomes aside, what is the total effect¹ of the HPHR training? Does this global impact vary according to sub-group? And precisely where does this impact reside?

In order to answer these questions, we constructed a new indicator that reflects the global shift in socio-political views. We calculated a difference score for each attitude between the pre-test and the post-test (e.g. authoritarianism before the training – authoritarianism after the training). A positive difference means that a positive (in the sense of desirable) change has occurred as a result of completing the HPHR training. We then added up all these difference-scores to obtain a single indicator reflecting the average attitude shift over the course of the HPHR training. The higher the score, the bigger the improvement. A negative score meant that a negative (i.e. undesirable) shift had occurred. In short, this indicator may be considered as a global measure of the impact on attitudes of the HPHR programme. We developed a similar indicator for the way people respond to the scenarios. A regression analysis was then carried out in which we modelled the global shift according to characteristics referring to (1) intake characteristics and (2) experience characteristics (Table 8).

The first category of characteristics provides an alternative assessment of the degree to which a difference in effectiveness exists between sub-groups. The second model seeks a better grip on the ability to attribute the effect to experience of the programme itself. In other words, we investigated whether the observed shift was due to the fact that the course touched people emotionally or taught them things (reached them cognitively). The second category of characteristics – particularly the distinction between the cognitive and emotional path – ought to give us a better understanding of the degree to which observed shifts actually result from the HPHR training and precisely how such effects arise. To this end, we developed two indicators that refer to two fundamentally different processes. The first of these, which we discussed earlier, refers to the extent to which participants were emotionally touched by the training and is compiled from seven different emotions. The second measure refers more to the cognitive effect of the training. We based this on six items that refer to the cognitive impact as perceived by the respondents themselves (learning something new about the Holocaust, human rights, etc.).

¹ We are explicitly not referring here to the average effect. What we mean by 'total impact' is literally the total of all the small and large shifts in the measured outcomes per individual.

Table 8: Results regression analysis of the total differences in attitudes and scenario responses after people have followed an HPHR course

	Attitudes				Scenarios			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Characteristics	β	p	β	p	β	p	β	p
Gender (0: Woman)	0.027		0.058		-0.016		-0.011	
Years of service with the police	0.087		0.099		-0.096		-0.080	
Position within the police (0: CALog or trainee)	-0.138	(*)	-0.092		0.005		0.007	
Belief that training like HPHR can have an effect (0: Not sure, or doubt)	-0.027		-0.070		-0.226	**	-0.251	***
Confronted with victims and perpetrators of crime	-0.135	(*)	-0.095		-0.074		-0.049	
Perceived emotional impact			0.145	(*)			-0.034	
Perceived cognitive impact			0.163	*			0.192	**
Adjusted R ²	0.014		0.062		0.031		0.053	
Significance levels: ***: $p < 0.001$; **: $p < 0.010$; *: $p < 0.050$; (*): $p < 0.100$								

Table 8 shows the results of the regression analysis and leads to a number of interesting findings. We can see, firstly, that being confronted with perpetrators and victims of crime (β : -0.135) and whether or not the person is a CALog/trainee (β : -0.138) has a negative effect on the improvement in the course of the HPHR training. This confirms the findings made previously based on the individual attitudes.

Secondly, we found that the improvement for both outcomes (scenarios, attitudes) came about in a different way. Being touched emotionally was important (β : 0.145) for the attitudes, for instance, but absolutely not so for the improvement we detected in dealing with the scenarios (β : -0.034). On the other hand, we can see that being affected cognitively – i.e. the sense of genuinely having learned something new – was important for both types of outcome and proved more important, also for the attitudes, than being touched emotionally. Furthermore, if we re-evaluate the model for the scenarios using an indicator for general evolution but limited to individual readiness to act (willingness to report – an outcome which, as we previously indicated, is very close to one of the key messages that the HPHR training aims to convey), the cognitive impact became even stronger (β : 0.202; p : 0.007).

In other words, these results deliver a double message. One: the cognitive aspect plays a more important role than the emotional aspect in the way in which the HPHR training has an effect. The HPHR training teaches participants a number of things they did not previously know, it makes them think and it is primarily this process that has beneficial effects. This interpretation is further supported by the observation that when we investigated the emotional impact (see above) to determine precisely which emotions the HPHR training stimulates, we chiefly found ‘quiet’ elements, such as becoming silent or being made to think rather than being angered or saddened. It is evident from this that being touched emotionally is not unimportant, but that its primary consequence is to support the effects realized via the cognitive path. Two: the cognitive aspect is strongest for outcomes that are relatively close to what exactly is done during the training (the afternoon session). We interpret this finding as flowing logically from the fact that these really are pure ‘learning effects’. During the afternoon sessions, participants reflect on everyday situations and are shown how violence can quickly escalate out of control. The result is that for the scenario considered the least serious prior to commencement of training, (1) we detect the strongest shift and also (2) this shift relates most strongly to the perceived cognitive impact of the training. Our findings are logically consistent, which lends additional confidence to the reliability and validity of the empirical findings.

4. Conclusion

This executive summary sets out the design and execution of the optimization performed in 2017 for the HPHR training at Kazerne Dossin. We then highlight the results of this study that relate to the impact of the programme. These lead to the following general conclusions.

Firstly, completing HPHR training has an unmistakable influence on a large number of outcomes. People generally felt strongly that the training had touched and influenced them and the figures show that this has generally led to meaningful results. These are effects in each instance that flow in the desired direction. Participants approach the scenarios more ethically, they are more inclined above all to take action themselves if a colleague displays particular misconduct, and they become less authoritarian, less ethnically prejudiced, etc. It is noteworthy, furthermore, that while this is not a specific objective, people who have completed the HPHR training also feel a stronger connection with the police.

Secondly, we see that these effects are lasting. Not only did we observe a significant and substantial improvement in many instances immediately before and after completing the HPHR training, this improvement could still be detected approximately one month later. There was not a single outcome for which we detected any significant decrease between measurement points 2 and 3 in the effect observed between measurement points 1 and 2. We did, however, detect the reverse, namely that there was a significant improvement between measurement points 2 and 3 on top of that already observed between measurement points 1 and 2. This occurred regarding the degree to which people were inclined to report misconduct by a fellow officer in practice.

A third finding – and one that is very important in our view – is that a fairly clear pattern can be detected in the intensity of the effects. We found in general that the impact of the programme was stronger when assessing the scenarios than in respect of the attitudes. This makes sense, given that the scenarios are much more closely aligned with the type of exercises that the respondents carried out in the afternoon session. Within the types of scenario, moreover, we detected the strongest effects for the scenario centring on ethnic prejudice. This is particularly heartening, as the pre-test showed that immediately prior to this specific scenario participants were less inclined than they were in the other scenarios to rate the alleged behaviour as serious, to want the behaviour to be sanctioned and to report a colleague for behaving in such a way. In other words, it seems that one of the core insights underpinning HPHR training – namely that forms of misconduct that might not appear egregious at first sight can easily slip into more serious forms – is clearly conveyed during the training, not only in the shape of cognitive awareness but also that of individual willingness to act.

The latter brings us to a fourth general finding, namely that the greatest effects were observed with regard to willingness to take personal action. This observation means that one of the key messages of the HPHR training, namely that there is always scope for each individual to say ‘no’, is successfully conveyed.

Fifthly, although we identified general effects, it should also be explicitly emphasized that these effects vary according to several characteristics of the work situation. We find highly consistent patterns that, if considered together, suggest that the HPHR training has the greatest impact on those (trainees, CALogs) who are still relatively unfamiliar with what might be termed front-line police work. They have less personal experience with victims and perpetrators of crime. For them, the HPHR training represented a kind of reality check, which made an impression and in this way also generated measurable effects in terms of dealing ethically with hypothetical scenarios and socio-political attitudes. Participants with a lot of experience with victims and perpetrators of crime, on the other hand, might have become much more accustomed to situations in which serious misconduct occurs and are therefore less likely to be impressed by examples of misconduct and intergroup conflicts.

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