Organisational Behaviour and Culture
Insights from and for Public Safety Management

prof.dr. Gabriele Jacobs

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Address delivered at the occasion of accepting the appointment as endowed professor
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Inaugural Lecture on March 9, 2018, prof.dr. Gabriele Jacobs

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Abstract

Large-scale migration, forced displacement, organised crime, terrorism and natural disasters, but also the proliferation of child pornography, hacking, identity theft and other types of cybercrime provide very concrete challenges to public safety and can trigger profound feelings of insecurity in the population. Threats to public safety are typically multi-level problems, with roots and impact at the individual, community, organisational, national and multi-lateral level. Properly addressing such grand societal challenges is crucial for immediate damage control, but also to sustain trust in the effectiveness of private and public governance. For sustainable solutions to public safety challenges, approaches are needed that involve not only established national and international crime and crisis response organisations, but also central and local government organisations, local members of affected communities and private institutions.
Cultural norms about safety and security differ across communities and stakeholders. No single approach to public safety can prove successful for everyone all the time. This highlights the relevance of multi-contextual approaches to safety and security and the role of cultural norms. Collaborations within and across security organisations and diverse stakeholders such as in private-public partnerships can be hampered by frictions about priorities or ways of working. The consideration of social and cultural aspects is fundamental to overcoming such obstacles. Understanding diversity, embracing complexity and building new alliances are key for the development of inclusive security solutions with multiple stakeholder groups and within diverse cultural contexts.

Organisatiegedrag en cultuur
Inzichten van en voor Management van de Openbare Veiligheid

Samenvatting

Grootschalige migratie, gedwongen verplaatsingen, georganiseerde misdaad, terrorisme, natuurrampen, maar ook de verspreiding van kinderporno, hacken, identiteitsdiefstal en andere vormen van computercriminaliteit zijn zeer concrete uitdagingen voor de openbare veiligheid en kunnen diepe gevoelens van onveiligheid in de maatschappij losmaken. Bedreigingen voor de openbare veiligheid zijn doorgaans multi-level problemen, met oorzaken en impact op individueel, groeps-, organisatie-, nationaal en zelfs multilateraal niveau. Het adequaat aanpakken van dergelijke grootschalige maatschappelijke uitdagingen is cruciaal voor directe schadebeheersing, maar ook om het vertrouwen in de effectiviteit van bestuur in de private en publieke sector te borgen. Om duurzame oplossingen voor deze uitdagingen van de openbare veiligheid te vinden zijn benaderingen nodig waarbij niet alleen gevestigde nationale en internationale criminaliteits- en crisisresponsorganisaties betrokken zijn, maar ook centrale en lokale overheidsorganisaties, lokale leden van betrokken gemeenschappen en particuliere instellingen.

Vanwege verschillende normen en waarden op het gebied van veiligheid en bescherming binnen gemeenschappen en belanghebbenden bestaat er geen eenduidige, enkelvoudige aanpak van openbare veiligheid die voor iedereen altijd even succesvol zal zijn. Dit onderstreept de relevantie van multi-contextuele benaderingen van veiligheid en bescherming en de rol daarbij van culturele normen. Samenwerkingsverbanden binnen en tussen beveiligingsorganisaties en diverse belanghebbenden, zoals in publiek-private partnerschappen, kunnen worden belemmerd door verschillen in prioriteitstellingen en/of werkwijzen en methoden. Aandacht voor sociale en culturele aspecten is van fundamenteel belang om dergelijke obstakels te overwinnen. Het begrijpen van diversiteit, het omarmen van complexiteit en het bouwen van nieuwe allianties is essentieel voor de ontwikkeling van inclusieve beveiligingsoplossingen met verschillende belanghebbenden en binnen de diverse culturele contexten.

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1   Introduction

Dear Rector Magnificus of the Erasmus University,
Dear board members of the Vereniging Trustfonds,
Dear Dean of the Rotterdam School of Management,
Dear family, friends, colleagues and students,
Dear distinguished guests,

Twice per week on the way to my sports class I pass by the Mevlana Mosque and bike through the Roel Langerakpark. I enjoy the multicultural scenery; in the summer extended families barbecuing in the park and during Ramadan Iftar celebrations in front of the mosque. My Saturday class coincides with an outdoor sports group of Moroccan men and every week I hear them joking and laughing at their gathering point at the entrance of the park. For me these are moments of happiness. I so much enjoy living in a city where multiculturalism is just normal. My family and I live in Delfshaven, one of the most diverse neighbourhoods of Rotterdam. When we go to the supermarket it feels like a trip around the world. About 70% of the population is not Dutch, about 60% of the non-Dutch inhabitants have a non-Western background, thus coming from Africa, Latin-America or Asia[1].

One Saturday in early April 2016, for the first time, I am afraid when biking along the Schie. I suspiciously notice all the foreign names on the garages and car washing shops, the women with their scarfs and the young men driving fast in their expensive looking cars. I catch myself looking for police activity and snipers on roofs. When I pass by the gathering point of the Moroccan runners, I find myself thinking: Why are they doing these heavy sport exercises? What are they talking about? Why are they laughing?

A couple of incidents had happened in the weeks before. At the end of March 2016, Anis B., a potential member of the terrorist network responsible for the attacks in Paris in November 2015, was arrested in Rotterdam a few days after the terrorist attacks in Brussels. He happened to live in our neighbourhood[2]. The police found 45 kilos of Kalashnikov ammunition, among other evidence. Snipers on the roofs, police research, blocked streets and intensive media coverage[3].

A couple of days later, at 2 o'clock in the morning, our daughter's six-year old German classmate left the house in her pyjamas on the arm of her mother. Her mother had

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1   http://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2016/rotterdam/delfshaven/nieuwe-westen/?toon=alles

2   http://www.nltimes.nl/2016/03/29/
terrorist-network-reportedly-links-rotterdam-to-brussels-paris-attacks/

3   Van der Giessen, M., Jacobs, G., Brein, E., & Bayerl, P.S. (2016). Deliverable 3.3. Unity (http://www.unity-project.eu/): 1st Stakeholder Analysis – Comparative view on stakeholder needs and perspectives. Centre of Excellence in Public Safety Management/Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

been woken up by a special intervention team, called DSI[4], dienst speciale interventies, and three armed and masked officers had stormed into her bedroom. There were camera teams in front of their house, snipers on the roofs, first response units in the street, and neighbouring houses were evacuated. Later the mother found out police officers had been observing her house from the house of a neighbour. The police apologised and sent the family a bunch of flowers, but never explained how the family had been caught up in the centre of a national security operation[5].

This Saturday after sports, I went to the market on the Visserijplein[6] as usual. As I enter the crowded market place with more than 170 stands with fruits, cheese, fish and ingredients for Moroccan, Turkish, Hindustani and Chinese food, I feel suspicious again, and wonder how easy it would be to stage an attack here. After all, the attackers from Paris and Brussels were also home-grown. When I buy olives, an elderly man in traditional Moroccan clothing grabs some fresh herbs, touches my arm and starts saying parsley and coriander in Dutch and Arabic, and insists smilingly that I repeat them. Then he asks me where I come from and tries to repeat "Petersilie" and "Koriander" in German. At a Dutch fish stand a veiled woman waiting next to me asks me how many people I will be cooking for tonight. Then she asks her daughter to translate a recipe for her favourite fish dish. I suddenly notice that there were more smiles, small talk and friendly touches than usual. It seems that at the Visserijplein the answer to the terrorist attacks was not fear and suspicion, but smiles and friendliness. Micro-kindness (Laughter, 2014) against terrorism[7]. When I left the market, I had the ingredients for the fish recipe in my bag and had to laugh about my thoughts from earlier in the day.

One of my favourite passages from Berger and Luckman's (1966, p.172f) "Social construction of reality" is when they illustrate the reality-generating potency of casual conversation:

"Most conversation does not in so many words define the nature of the world. Rather, it takes place against the background of a world that is silently taken for granted. Thus, an exchange such as, 'Well, it's time for me to get to the station', and 'Fine, darling, have a good day at the office', implies an entire world within which these apparently simple propositions make sense. (…) Thus, one may imagine (…) an exchange like this: 'Well, it's time for me to get to the station', 'Fine, darling, don't forget to take along your gun.'"

4   The DSI is a special assistance unit, comprising civil servants from the armed forces and the police (Regulation DSI, "Regeling Dienst Speciale interventies", 2015). Their tasks include combating all forms of serious violence and terrorism across the entire spectrum and performing other special police task as ordered by the Ministers of Safety and Justice and Defence.

5   Drijdijk, M. (2016), Managing organizational identity in times of counter-terrorism measures. A case of the Dutch police force. Master Thesis (coach G. Jacobs, co-reader A. Maas).

6   https://www.rotterdam.nl/locaties/markt-visserijplein-rotterdam-west/

7   http://www.happiness-lens.ed.ac.uk/
      counter-terrorism-through-a-wellbeing-lens-do-you-really-mean-it/

Casually looking for snipers on roofs implies a taken-for-granted reality I clearly do not want to take for granted. Casually exchanging Arabic words for herbs and cooking recipes at the market implies a reality I absolutely want to take for granted. Social exchange and communication are powerful tools when creating reality. Humans define and understand reality based on their subjective interpretations of social situations. As one of the most famous sociological theorems states: if a person perceives a situation as real, it is real in its consequences (Thomas & Thomas, 1928). This means, we can change and shape social reality by changing our perceptions of it.

This aspect of human perception drives my passion for my field. Understanding social perceptions and shaping social reality is a powerful tool, but it is also an obligation to contribute to making this world a better place.

In the following, I will briefly describe the field of **organisational behaviour and culture** and the **grand challenge of public safety**. Then I will give examples of management research in the area of public safety and some general observations that reflect my vision on the chair of organisational behaviour and culture.

My goal of this lecture is not to provide a conclusive overview of the field, but to share my fascination for the topic and the relevance of research in this field for the solution of societal problems. I envision the chair for Organisational Behaviour and Culture as a multi-disciplinary boundary-spanning position with an explicit focus on practical and particularly societal impact. My overriding desire is to contribute to tackling the grand challenge that public safety and security poses.

2   Organisational behaviour and culture

Organisational behaviour is a field of study that investigates the impact that individuals, groups and structures have on behaviour within organisations (Robbins & Judge, 2015). Social life is to a large extent determined by organisations. Companies, banks, schools, hospitals, sport clubs and universities are all organisations. We behave in and around these organisations in many ways, as internal stakeholders, e.g. as employees or as managers, or as external stakeholders, e.g. as customers or cooperation partners. Therefore, the insights of the field of organisational behaviour potentially address interventions that are available to everyone everywhere. Understanding and influencing organisational behaviour is an important aspect of understanding and influencing society.

Within the field of organisational behaviour, "culture" always seemed to me the most fascinating lens to understand social and societal functioning. The study of **culture** addresses the differences in fundamental values, attitudes and behaviours between people in different groups, organisations and societies. Cultures differ in the way their members perceive fundamental values such as power, conformity and security (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), or how they perceive basic assumptions on the nature of reality such as time and space (Hall, 1959).

These differences in fundamental beliefs translate into more specific norms and attitudes, such as conventions, taboos, laws and symbolic productions, including rituals, clothing, food and architecture. A culture is a relatively organised system of shared meaning (Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013). With this, culture helps us to understand what is, what can be, how we feel, and it can help us to decide what to do (Goodenough, 1981; Magala, 2005). Cultures can be developed in basically every social system, such as communities, professions, organisations or countries. Culturally shared meanings are largely taken for granted within a social system; they feel self-evident and natural. Thus, cultures contribute to defining what we perceive as real and what we take for granted.

Research in organisational behaviour and culture is largely informed by the disciplines of social psychology and sociology. As a student, I fell immediately in love with these fields of study. The concepts and theories provided answers to many of the questions that unsettled me, and that are actually still a source of heartbreak (Whiteman, 2010). Being German, it was part of my school education to be systematically confronted with the deep disturbance about the human condition during World War II. Watching videos about victims of German concentration camps, analysing fascist propaganda, and listening to testimonials about the horror of war (De Rond & Lok, 2016) and totalitarianism triggered a strong need to learn more about what shapes human behaviour. Before starting university, I volunteered in a Kibbutz for mentally handicapped people in Israel. Visiting Yad Vashem, travelling in this troubled country just before the first Intifada in 1986 and witnessing the painful divide between the Israeli and Palestinian population and its large impact on daily life further deepened my

confusion about social behaviour. Learning about the classic studies of this field, factors that influence obedience (Milgram, 1963), conformity (Asch, 1951), racial stereotypes (Katz & Braly, 1933) and the creation of arbitrary norms (Sherif, 1936) gave me hope that it is indeed possible to understand human behaviour and then influence it for the better. It also gave me a deep fascination for social psychology and sociology, as it showed that conditions of major societal crises, dysfunction and tension can be theoretically understood and that science is a powerful instrument to develop counter-measures.

3   The grand challenge of public safety

Many challenges in public safety and security constitute highly significant societal problems, or so-called grand societal challenges. Core characteristic of highly significant societal problems are that they are complex with unknown solutions and intertwined technical and social aspects and that they require sustained effort from a multitude of diverse stakeholders (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016; George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi, & Tihanyi, 2016; McKiernan et al., 2016).

Regardless of the economic climate, the general public consistently ranks public safety[8] as a primary concern, and the legitimacy of a (local / regional / national / international) government is, to an important extent, based on its ability to provide safety. This applies to ancient leaders and medieval kings, but also to their modern equivalents, including – and certainly not to the least extent – the EU itself.

Public safety has far-reaching implications for the economic and social environment, and questions of safety and security affect our daily lives.

Public safety does not only concern physical safety (e.g. protection against physical threats such as fire or natural disasters), but also concerns social safety, thus the degree of cohesion or polarisation within a city or community.[9] Threats against public safety and security can originate from malicious intent (e.g. crime or terrorism) or without malicious intent (e.g. caused by accidents or natural disasters). Also, public safety and security does not only address objective aspects (the likelihood of becoming a victim of a crime or traffic accident), but also subjective aspects (how safe do people actually feel?).

Public safety and security products and services represent a growing market, which is of high interest to major technology companies such as IBM, CISCO, Hitachi, Samsung, Alcatel and SAS. The safety and security market covers technologies and services across a large diversity of sectors, varying from smart cities and public event security to mass transportation and critical infrastructure protection to immigration enforcement and intelligence services. Technologies entail everything from video surveillance

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8   I mainly use the terms public safety and pubic security interchangeably, even though they are sometimes associated with different meanings (see P

iètre-Cambacédès & Bouissou, 2013). Public security often refers to external threats such as natural, technological or human-made threats, as well as the implementation of measures against possible biological, chemical and explosive actions (https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/science-area/safety-and-security). Human-made threats refer to organized crime (mafia type of alternative society for distribution of benefits) and terrorism (alternative society for ideological motives), or that target the national sovereignty (external interferences, critical infrastructures, border control and immigration). Public safety often refers to "ordinary" human actions that could harm the "ordinary" public such as traffic or supply-chain safety, but also social cohesion and the legitimacy and stability of democratic institutions. These phenomena are intertwined, and a clear distinction is usually not needed from a management scholar perspective.

9   https://www.ifv.nl/kennisplein/Documents/20150916-ifv-factsheet-sociale-en-fysieke-veiligheid.pdf

and communication systems over electronic fencing and weapons to bio-agents for infectious disease mitigation. In the last couple of years, the European public safety market has climbed over the peak that was achieved after 9/11, and is expected to grow by a rate of 39% from $84.8 billion in 2015 to $145.7 billion in 2020.[10]

Public safety is also an important area in the public sector. Organisations such as ministries, municipalities and law enforcement agencies are large institutions, which classify as relevant research objects for management scholars. For example, the Dutch police with 65,000 employees and the German police with 280,000 employees are the biggest employers in their countries. As a comparison, Siemens has about 110,000 employees and Volkswagen, including all 12 brands like Audi and Porsche, employs 270,000 workers in Germany (Jacobs & Wimber, 2016). This implies that from a scholarly perspective, police leaders, but also leaders in municipalities and ministries should be treated as top managers with high societal and economic impact.

Large-scale migration, organized crime, terrorism and natural disasters, but also the proliferation of child pornography, hacking, identity theft, and other types of cybercrime are very concrete challenges and can trigger profound feelings of insecurity in the population. Properly addressing such challenges is crucial for immediate damage control, but also to sustain trust in the effectiveness of private and public governance. Companies are increasingly expected to accept responsibility for social, environmental and economic problems and to co-create innovative solutions with other private and public players (Porter & Kramer, 2011). Examples of such partnerships can be observed in the crisis management at the harbour and Schiphol Airport and the Dutch safety regions[11], but also in the banking and insurance sectors.

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10 http://homelandsecurityresearch.com/2016/05/
    European-Homeland-Security-Public-Safety-Technologies-Markets-2016-2022

11 A geographical area within which governing bodies and operational services co-operate in terms of fire prevention, calamity response, crisis control and medical assistance to maintain and increase the safety of its inhabitants.

4 Management research in the area of public safety

The winning pitch of Antonio Guterres in his campaign for the world's top diplomatic post, UN Secretary General, reads like a call to action for management scholars to address public safety:

"We badly need at this moment two things: Leadership and values. The values that our societies — that are all becoming multi-ethic, multi-religious and multi-cultural — need in order to foster inclusion, cohesion, to make people feel they belong, to value diversity and to confront and defeat political populism, xenophobia, racism and violent extremism."
(UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, 6 October 2016)

Leadership, values, managing change and diversity, creating commitment and identity are core concepts from the tool kit of management scholars. As I described in my opening examples, the public safety challenges of the effects of violent extremism on our societies and on everyday life, the dangers of xenophobia and populism represent the main foci of my research. I am convinced management research can make a meaningful contribution and actively respond to these grand challenges.

In my research, I focus on three topics:

- **Organisational identity**, with a focus on finding a balance between the disparate (cultural) needs and demands of internal and external public safety stakeholders.
- **Organisational communication,** with a focus on understanding (cultural) diversity for inclusive value creation with various stakeholder groups and the role of public safety related organisations in responding to societal needs and harms.
- **Organisational change,** with a focus on change of organisations in the public safety arena and understanding the influence of culture on the sources of and reactions to change.

4.1 Organisational identity
Police organisations belong to the most important governmental players in the field of public safety. From the perspective of a management scholar, police organisations are highly interesting institutions. They classify as hybrid identities, as they combine multiple, contradictory identities (Jacobs, Christe-Zeyse, Keegan, & Pólos, 2008; Jacobs, Van Witteloostuijn, & Christe-Zeyse, 2013). The motto of the Dutch police "waakzaam en dienstbaar" and the motto of many American police forces "to protect and to serve", reflect this. The photo (Hans van Rhoon, http://composite.rsm.nl/) on this booklet, which was taken in the context of a large EU project I coordinated between 2010 and 2014 (FP7, COMPOSITE), vividly depicts these contradictory identities.

Figure 1: British police mobile unit at Manchester United football stadium

The protection gear of the officers and the horses signal the crime fighter and law enforcement aspect of the police (Jacobs, Bayerl, Brein, Flory, van de Bunt, & Haas, 2015). The police are the armed section of the executive branch, and have the right to infringe upon citizens' rights in drastic manners. The police are allowed to take away one of the most fundamental human rights, namely freedom, can use violence against citizens and can even kill under specific circumstances (Cornelissen, Mantere, & Vaara, 2014). The friendly smile of the officers, the playful interaction of the lady with the horse and the relaxed citizens enjoying French fries, signals the other, the community building and serving side of police identity.

The prerequisite of policing in democratic societies is the perceived societal legitimacy of the police. To prevent and detect crime, the police rely on citizens and other private (e.g. shop owners) and public (e.g. municipalities) stakeholders. The readiness of citizens and other stakeholders to cooperate with the police is largely determined by trust and legitimacy perceptions towards the police (Van der Giessen, Brein, & Jacobs, 2016). This implies, that police organisations need to incorporate and balance the expectations of diverse stakeholders (see Figure 2) in their organisational identities.

Obviously, this constitutes a challenge. On the one hand, police organisations need to develop a clear internal organisational and professional culture that guides a shared understanding of what it means to be "an officer" and to define the "blue blood" of the police (Conlon, 2012). On the other hand, police organisations need to match highly diverse and often conflicting societal expectations. In a study including six European police forces (Bayerl, Horton, Jacobs et al., 2014), we showed that there are indeed different shades of "blue blood". Next to a core of a common, shared understanding of policing, we identified different interpretations of the main role of policing varying from "state crime-fighters" to "community-oriented civil-right protectors".
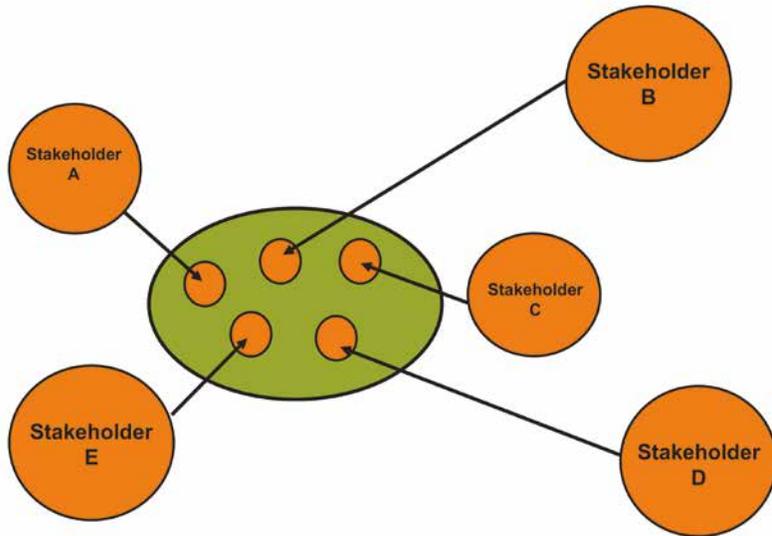
Figure 2: Expectations of stakeholders influence an organisation's identity

Coming back to my example from the beginning, the family and neighbours of my daughter's friend were confronted with two conflicting professional identities of the police. An anti-terror operation is mainly concerned with law enforcement and state protection. Such an operation can undermine the goals of community policing, where trustful relationships with the public are key. It is difficult for a community police officer to charm citizens with a bunch of flowers to reconcile the trust-undermining impression a special intervention team had made on the family and the disruptive effect it had on the community. How such an effect can play out in the long term, emerged during the arrest of the terrorist suspect, Anis B. After his arrest in Rotterdam, neighbours told local Dutch media that they had noticed some suspicious events in the weeks before the arrest and had considered contacting the police. They had decided against it because they felt that the police tended to overreact in these times, and after all, he was a neighbour. According to the neighbours, this feeling was based on their experience of a special intervention operation that had happened a couple of years before. The neighbourhood had witnessed the arrest of five Somalian neighbours by a special intervention unit outside on the street. It had afterwards turned out that all five were innocent and not related to any crime.[12]

Because the social and cultural context of specific stakeholders can strongly shape the sense of fairness of police treatment and satisfaction with police outcomes, it is crucial to target policing strategies (van der Giessen, Brein, & Jacobs, 2016). The cultural norms about safety, fairness, control and law enforcement differ across communities and

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12   http://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/waarom-de-buurvrouw-de-politie-niet-belde~a4277918/?hash=
      5b5cccceb4756091a33582e10da7ec9ca3e651153

stakeholders, but also within police organisations. This emphasises the high relevance of multi-contextual approaches to safety and security and the role of cultural norms. Collaborations within and across security organisations and diverse stakeholders such as in private-public partnerships are often marked by frictions about priorities or ways of working, and the consideration of social and cultural aspects can help us to understand and overcome such obstacles. The police are only one example of the complex dynamics that materialise in these settings.

4.2   Organisational communication

No single approach to delivering public safety can prove successful for everyone, all the time. While targeted approaches to cater to the specific needs of stakeholders are important in complex and culturally diverse environments, modern media communications make these targeted attempts fully transparent to all stakeholders (Figure 3). Managing hybrid organisational identities (Jacobs et al., 2008) is challenging in times of fragmented media environments and social media, where stakeholder groups can easily monitor organisational communication across various other stakeholder groups.

Private and public sector organisations are confronted with enhanced demands of (social media) empowered customers and citizens, demanding transparency and efficiency and requiring speedy public reactions. For instance, police officers, ambulance (Müller & van der Giessen, 2015) and fire brigade workers need to be aware that all their public actions may be videotaped and publicly commented on by bystanders, and may trigger reactions by politicians and the media.
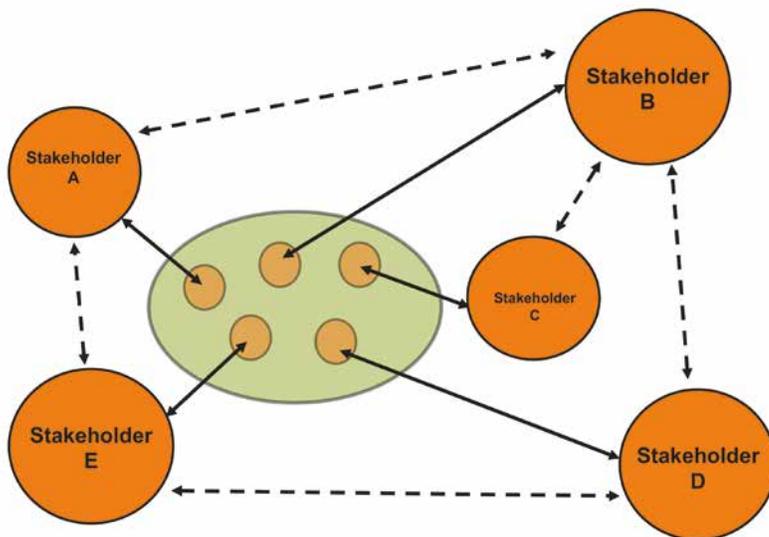

Figure 3: (Social) media interconnects external stakeholders

Social media provides new ways of communicating and linking formerly unconnected stakeholder groups within, across and outside organisations. For instance, customer complaints in one part of the world travel via Twitter, Facebook or YouTube to the other side of the world within seconds. Electronic Word of Mouth (eWOM) on protest websites and blogs has become a powerful tool for customer and citizen voice, constituting new reputational risks to organisations, but are also major opportunities for democratic control and citizen engagement (Bayerl & Stoynov, 2016). Moral outrage in eWoM (Grappi, Romani & Bagozzi, 2013) is a potentially costly customer and citizen reaction to service failures (van de Walle, 2016), and can have long-term effects on reputation and legitimacy perceptions. It also means that failures such as successful hacking attacks on banks or companies, incompetent handling of natural disasters or incidents of police violence in one part of the world can undermine trust and legitimacy perceptions in the local environment at another part of the world, thousands of kilometers away.

The unprecedented (hyper-)transparency of organisations leads to reshuffling power bases among internal and external stakeholders. Besides reputational risks, negative feedback of external stakeholders can constitute a source of professional disidentification. Criticism from customers, citizens, politicians or the media can trigger strong emotional and defensive reactions within organisations. Negotiating between protecting one's own professional identity and learning from external criticism is a demanding "balancing act" that the police but also other organisations are facing (Horton et al., 2015). In current research, we are examining the specific role social media plays when it comes to learning from complaints[13]. Negative feedback and complaints constitute an important source of organisational learning. Social media can provide a channel for voices that might otherwise stay unheard. Filing a complaint usually means that a specific process needs to be followed, for example, a letter needs to be written or a form has to be filled in, a situation has to be well described, and emotional content has to be translated into appropriate arguments. For public organisations, this might mean that important voices and learning opportunities are lost, as citizens are either not willing or are unable to make such efforts to report perceived organisational service failures.

Social media also constitutes an opportunity for the management of public safety in many respects. The spontaneous connection of unconnected stakeholders can be a lifesaving tool in crisis and disaster situations (Jin, Liu, & Austin, 2014). Connecting communities via digital platforms can create feelings of inclusion and safety, and help to prevent and detect crime (Bayerl, Karlović, Akhgar, & Markarian, 2017). In this way, social media provides rich communication channels for security providers.

The co-creation of safety and security requires transparent and cooperative communication between security organisations, thus from organisations whose core business is to maintain secrecy, keep control and provide order (Denef, Bayerl, & Kaptein, 2013). Systematically incorporating these new ways of communicating with the environment requires changes in organisational and professional identities.

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13   Jacobs, Hak, Vanderveen, Flory, Thuis, Valkeman, & Franken: Een klacht is een gratis advies; http://www.politieenwetenschap.nl/Content/Uploads/Onderzoeksprogramma_2014/OZP0117.pdf

4.3   Organisational change

The co-creation of public safety is dependent on mutual trust among all stakeholders involved. Achieving successful private-public partnerships and international collaborations requires readjusting organisational and professional identities and redefining power perceptions and distributions (Figure 4).
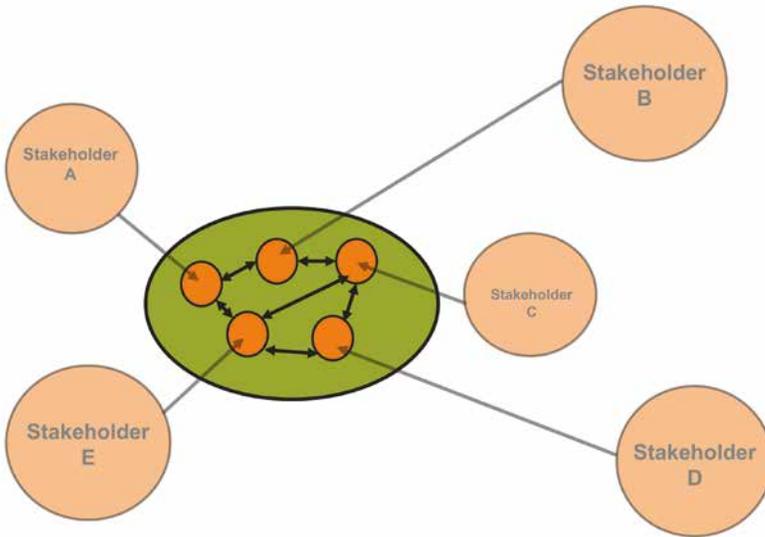
Figure 4: Changing expectations in the environment push for change

Even though such readjustments are time and cost intensive for all actors (Jacobs, Keegan, Christe-Zeyse, Seeberg, & Runde, 2006), it is an inevitable exercise in order to face public safety challenges. Not all stakeholders want to be involved in safety related activities, as many may not trust the police or other partners in the security arena sufficiently to collaborate. Similarly, police forces often do not trust (all segments of) communities, private companies or police forces in (all) other countries sufficiently for collaboration and empowerment (Jacobs & Kuntze, 2016).

In our research on the evaluation of the Dutch police reform (Jacobs et al., 2015a, b, c) we described the tensions that occur when an organisation prepares for new demands. To increase flexibility to respond to local and international hassles, to enhance efficient and effective operations and to cooperate on diverse levels with a large portfolio of stakeholders, the Dutch police went through the biggest organisational change that ever happened in the Dutch public sector.

Like every organisation, the police have complexity enhancing elements, such as innovation processes and ensuring a high diversity of ideas, knowledge and information. However, they also have complexity reducing elements, such as clear structures and procedures, which ensure predictability and cohesion (Havermans, Den Hartog,

Keegan, & Uhl-Bien, 2015; Uhl-Bien & Marion, 2009). Aiming at fulfilling the complex demands of the environment, the Dutch police simultaneously intensified such paradoxical elements of organizing in their change effort (Putnam, Fairhurst & Banghart, 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011).

Elements of localising vs. centralising, professionalism vs. bureaucracy, proactivity vs. uniformity have always been part of the Dutch police. Yet, in the case of the national police reform, we found that these paradoxes became a major challenge as the equilibrium between these opposing organisational elements was disturbed. The first phase of the reorganisation was nearly exclusively focused on complexity reducing elements, namely on enhancing centralisation and uniformity. This emphasis on only one side of organizing led to confusion and disappointment among internal and external stakeholders, as important other elements of the organisation seemed to be neglected. Large-scale structural change is always a risky endeavour. Yet, in change processes on such a large scale in an organisation with major societal responsibilities and under the scrutiny of the public eye, all the hurdles and the pains that come with organisational change are magnified.

The results of our study with the Dutch police showed a series of theoretical challenges around the role of paradoxical and conflicting demands of stakeholders, and will certainly keep me academically busy during the next couple of years. Is it possible that parts of an organisation live on coherent islands that are paradoxical to each other? What role do inter-connected external stakeholders play here? How can organisations in interplay with other organisations cater for contradicting needs and demands? Can change be implemented without disturbing the equilibrium of conflicting elements?

Luckily, organisational change can also sometimes be triggered by small steps. For example, we found in another study that the atmosphere during the yearly performance appraisal within a police organisation affected ethical and unethical behaviour on the work floor (Jacobs, Belschak, & den Hartog, 2014). If the officers felt they had been treated unfairly, they tended to cut more corners afterwards – showing up late, taking overly-long breaks, refusing to help colleagues – and continued to hold a grudge for the entire year. More surprisingly, we discovered that the behaviour of superiors during a performance appraisal tended to matter more than the message itself. Many officers who received a negative appraisal said that what bothered them most was not the appraisal but how the news was delivered. The police officers told us, 'just be honest and open about it. Don't try to treat me like a child.' But even positive appraisals delivered badly, for example, not taking the time for a talk over a cup of coffee, but instead informing an officer about a promotion via mail could also have a negative effect. Officers who had received positive reviews that were conveyed disrespectfully, in their perception, were also less inclined towards ethical behaviour afterwards (Jacobs, 2013).

A reassuring insight from research on individual impact on social and organisational change was recently confirmed by organisational neuroscience. Humans are more than the selfish profit maximisers; people actually care about people. People seem to be hardwired to be altruistic – to be concerned with the plight and needs of others. Our human neural systems are strongly involved in our affective and cognitive empathy

reactions (Cropanzano, Massaro, & Becker, 2016). During our study on organisational change in police organisations, we found that for employees it is indeed "not all about me" (Jacobs & Keegan, 2016). The gains and losses of colleagues and the overall results of an organisational change in terms of better policing for the public are important drivers for employees to personally support and enable change. More people expressed concern over what would happen to their colleagues and to the organisation because of the organisational change than what would happen to them. Respondents said they would consider the change project a failure if their colleagues suffered (van Dierendonck & Jacobs, 2012). Officers also told us that they would consider the change a failure if the general public reacted negatively to the change, or if the quality of the police service decreased, even if they personally profited from the change.

5   Some general observations

Public safety challenges are multi-level phenomena (Table 1). Understanding conflicts at the individual, group and organisational level implies considering the political and social setting of these processes (Horton, Bayerl, & Jacobs, 2014). Processes at different levels influence each other. Events happening in the Middle East, like the war in Syria, drive forced displacement, influence EU politics, involve police organisations and private security companies in several countries and impact daily life in local communities. War and terrorist acts happening far away from us, in Syria, in the United States, or in other European countries, can quickly end up at our doorstep, meaning that a six-year-old girl in Rotterdam is woken up in the middle of the night by a special intervention team, and that I no longer feel safe at my favourite local market. In 2015 and 2016 many European countries needed to accommodate refugees. This implied for examples that gym halls were needed for the accommodation of refugees with the consequence that children's weekly judo or gymnastic lessons in German villages could no longer take place and that school classes had to be moved. The reaction of citizens to such local consequences, their readiness to welcome, host and protect refugees, impacts again regional, national and international politics.

Level	Example
Individual	Employee, customer, citizen
Group	Profession, local communities
Organisation	Law enforcement agency, company, ministry
Country or region	Netherlands, Europe, Middle East
Multilateral	European Union, United Nations

Table 1: Levels of grand societal challenges

Analysing and mitigating societal challenges requires examining the context in which behaviour is taking place (George et al., 2016). Processes at the individual and societal level need to be considered, including multi-level processes as trickle-down or bottom up effects (Figure 5).
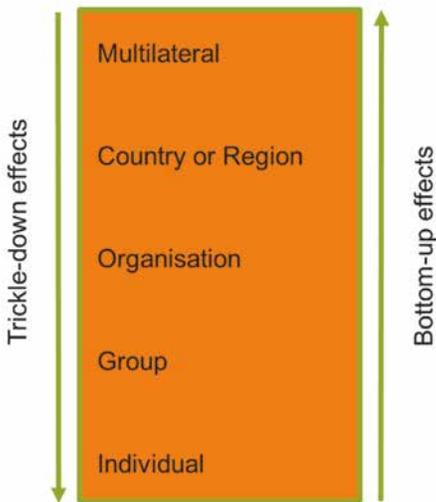
Figure 5: Trickle-down and bottom-up effects of grand societal challenges

The major societal challenges of organized crime and terrorism are multi-level phenomena pur sang. Increasingly, terrorist groups and organized crime profit from each other's specialised skills and resources and move away from rigid sectors of activities towards constantly shifting transactions as opportunities rise[14]. The detection and fight against such "dirty entanglements" (Shelley, 2014) needs to consider the role of the legitimate economy and the social and legal environment in which organized crime and terrorism operate. Illicit trade would not exist if consumers did not buy illegally traded cigarettes, alcohol, wildlife and cultural heritage products or exploit victims of forced human trafficking in the form of prostitution and slavery. Profits of illicit trade account for US$870 billion a year and 1.5% of global GDP. Half of these profits are laundered through the global financial system, thus the legitimate economy[15]. These enormous capital flows outside the legitimate economy result in the loss of private and public revenues and undermines public safety and security. The fight against organized crime and terrorism requires changes to the social system to disentangle criminal activities from their social and economic environment. It does not always take heroes to trigger system change (Rao & Dutta, 2012). Minor interventions by individual actors can have far-reaching effects due to bottom-up effects. Changing the values of the legitimate economy and building unexpected and new coalitions within the general public (i.e. customers, teachers, entrepreneurs) can provide a powerful intervention against organized crime (Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015).

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14   Europol (2017) Serious and organised crime threat assessment. Crime in the age of technology. https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/european-union-serious-and-organised-crime-threat-assessment-2017

15   OECD (2016), Illicit Trade: Converging Criminal Networks, OECD Publishing, Paris. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264251847-en

5.1   Embracing complexity

Research on public safety reveals multi-level effects very clearly, which helps to identify and theorise such processes. While studying the Dutch police reform (Jacobs et al., 2014, 2015a, b, c) and the effect of a change in the Dutch legal system (Jacobs et al., 2015d) had on the handling of police arrests, the multi-level dynamic of change in public sector organisations became obvious to us. Next to the content complexity of affected processes and structures, and the multiple chains of partners within the legal system, constant pressure from various stakeholders outside of these organisations affects change results. The effects of political and economic developments in the environment and the pressure from media and politics are not abstract features, but happened very concretely within our direct research context. For safety and security organisations, the core challenge of this pressure is that the perspectives and expectations are not aligned, but are often contradictory and paradoxical, as is evident in polarised public debates about safety and security.

Currently we are examining the grand challenge of the refugee situation on Lesbos and are studying the interplay between stakeholders on the local, national and international level (Van der Giessen and Langenbusch, with Bayerl, Cornelissen, & Jacobs). Here again I find that the complexity of these situations can be overwhelming in terms of the theoretical and analytical tools that are needed to unpack them, but also in terms of the emotional impact. Realising the pervasive effect of the political and institutional context on heart-breaking human destinies regularly leads to feelings of despair, helplessness and powerlessness (De Rond & Lok, 2016). Yet, I am also deeply convinced that these highly relevant research situations can generate important insights, which we can hopefully turn into useful tools for mitigating human suffering.

5.2   Building new alliances

To tackle such problems, research groups need to be able to grasp their complexity. Diversity of skills, methods and perspectives is one of the most important assets. Discourses in media and management fora stress the increased volatility and complexity of economic and social processes. Leaders of private and public sector organisations and political life have been confronted with dramatic failures of forecasting and decision-making. Crucial political developments such as the rise of right-wing populism, Brexit and the election of president Trump in the United States, but also major humanitarian crises such as the refugee crisis in Europe, the Ebola epidemic in West Africa and the Zika virus in Brazil were considered "unthinkable" and therefore underestimated (Gowing & Langdon, 2016). A fundamental assumption in complexity theories is that in uncertain environments, organisations should not aim to simplify complexity, but rather to increase their organisational complexity to match the environmental complexity. In other words: it takes complexity to defeat complexity (Boisot & McKelvey, 2010). Thus, diverse actors are needed to forecast and address complex societal challenges. In hindsight, the so-called "unthinkables" were predictable and their impact could have been dampened if certain actors or perspectives outside the mainstream had been taken more seriously (Maitlis & Sonenschein, 2010). New research alliances that embrace diversity and complexity are needed to get a grip on the "unthinkables" of the future.

Fifteen years ago, I started my first multidisciplinary research project in cooperation with practitioners (Jacobs, Keegan, Christe-Zeyse, & Runde, 2006) and was fascinated by the opportunities that come from such collaborations. Working in diverse research groups means systematically working out of one's comfort zone. Goals, methods, perspectives and theoretical approaches are challenged, which sharpens reflections on the implicit assumptions of one's own approaches. Interdisciplinary perspectives help to conceptualise multi-level problems, perspectives from practitioners help to identify research needs (Banks et al., 2016) and to spot societal challenges on the horizon. Working in diverse teams also helps to get guidance from cultural insiders for international and cross-sector collaborations. Such cultural insiders are needed to understand international, but also cross-sectoral professional contexts. Next to this, diversity in research teams has the refreshing and creativity boosting effect that the logics of one's own professional background become less relevant. Police officers or managers in private institutions are not impressed by the number of scientific publications. Researchers cannot place the stars on the shoulders of police officers nor can they compete with the sales revenues of managers. I have often experienced that this ignorance towards the status symbols of each other's professions can be the ingredients for very fruitful processes of co-creation and co-production. In our centre of excellence of public safety management, CESAM, we work in a multidisciplinary team of colleagues trained in business administration, psychology, sociology, information technology, criminology, linguistics, anthropology and educational sciences and cooperate intensively with colleagues with backgrounds in law, communication and political sciences. In our projects, we aim to involve practitioners in all phases of research, including law enforcement, municipalities, ministries, NGOs and private companies from various sectors.

Building new alliances between scientists and practitioners, across disciplines and sectors, helps to identify relevant topics and to develop innovative perspectives. Stepping out of homogenous research and methods perspectives and overcoming the management science-practice gap constitutes an important driver for progress in effective management and leadership practices. Management research needs to pair discipline-driven competences and quality control with socially and politically accountable multidisciplinary and heterogeneous approaches (Banks et al., 2016; Mingers & Willmott, 2013). Societal challenges clearly deserve an integrated perspective on knowledge creation in modern management research. This cannot be achieved within the academic ivory tower, but needs new alliances in research teams that reflect the complexity of the world they study.

5.3   Spreading the word

Research has a crucial role for social innovation and needs smarter ways to be disseminated and to be made accessible to entrepreneurs and organisations. Making scientific insights accessible to a broad audience is fundamental for fruitful co-creation processes within new alliances.

Next to research, education belongs to the core competencies of universities. Rotterdam School of Management is a proud member (and one of the first signatories in 2007) of the United Nations PRME (Principle for Responsible Management Education) initiative, which has the goal to "inspire and champion responsible management education, research, and thought leadership globally"[16]. Educating responsible managers and leaders of the future is a major opportunity, but also a duty we have as a business school. We are privileged to have students from all over the world in our bachelor and master programs. We aim to integrate the relevance of societal challenges in our educational programmes, to develop thought leadership and to provide our students with the concepts and skills to tackle such challenges in the future. In my role as academic director of the International Business Administration Bachelor programme, I am highly committed to contributing to these processes; equipping our school and students with the structures and skills needed to embrace complexity and cultural diversity.

One of the most exciting adventures I am currently embarking on is the development of an executive master in International Security Management within an Erasmus Plus co-financed Knowledge Alliance (ISM-KA; https://www.ism-ka.eu/). We are developing this master programme together with practitioners and academics from various sectors and fields in the security arena. Our goal is to educate future leaders in the field of public safety management, and to equip them to embrace complexity, to build new alliances and to co-create smart and sustainable solutions. In this way, we hope to contribute to addressing the grand challenge of public safety.

16   PRME initiative, (2018) http://www.unprme.org/about-prme/the-six-principles.php

6   Concluding thoughts

At the beginning of this talk I said that casually looking for snipers on roofs implies a reality I clearly do not want to take for granted. Actually, it is the daily reality of millions of people living in war zones and armed conflict regions.

According to UNHCR, with 65.5m displaced people worldwide in 2016 (more than the population of the UK), forced displacement reached its highest level since records began[17]. Forced displacement is expected to increase, given that besides violent conflicts, droughts and floods are major reasons for forced displacement. Due to climate change such natural hazards will increase, leading to an even higher likelihood of violent conflicts by further destabilising fragile systems. Thus, the current stability of the refugee and migrant situation within Europe is fragile, also indicated by the rising numbers of refugees from Africa in 2017. Last year an estimated 171,332 refugees and migrants risked their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea and over 3,081 people are believed to have died or gone missing while crossing the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe[18].

The European public sense of acute crisis has faded and the focus of public debate has shifted from sympathy and support for refugees towards concerns over security and fear of Islamist radicalisation[19]. Negative feelings about immigration from outside the EU fuel radical right-wing votes, pessimism about the future of the EU and concerns about the negative economic impact of globalisation[20]. Within Europe, support for radical right-wing parties is at its highest for 30 years[21].

Populist ideology tends to paint in black, focuses on threats and risks and thrives on reducing complexity. In the populist construction of reality, problems have single causes and can be solved with simple measures (Engesser, Fawzi, & Larsson, 2017). Universities are chief counter-voices and can play a significant role in overcoming populist rhetoric. With my chair in **Organisational Behaviour and Culture** I will do my best to embrace complexity, build new alliances and spread the word to facilitate the development of smart and sustainable solutions for societal challenges. I am proud to be part of an academic community that takes up the battle and contributes to building safe and free societies with one of the most powerful tools humanity has: Science.

17 http://www.unhcr.org/afr/news/stories/2017/6/5941561f4/forced-displacement-worldwide-its-highest-decades.html

18 UNHCR 2018, http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean#_ga=2.263226638.32482739.1515149990-260574739.1515149990

19 World Economic Forum 2017, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/the-six-issues-that-will-shape-the-eu-in-2017/

20 Eurobarometer, 2017, http://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2179_88_1_467_ENG

21 Bloomberg, 2017, How the populist right is redrawing the map of Europe, https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2017-europe-populist-right/

7   Words of thanks

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Finding my professional career path has been a journey where I needed and generously received guidance and support.

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Work constitutes an important source of happiness (Suojanen, 2017) for me.

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Large-scale migration, forced displacement, organised crime, terrorism and natural disasters, but also the proliferation of child pornography, hacking, identity theft and other types of cybercrime provide very concrete challenges to public safety and can trigger profound feelings of insecurity in the population. Threats to public safety are typically multi-level problems, with roots and impact at the individual, community, organisational, national and multi-lateral level. Properly addressing such grand societal challenges is crucial for immediate damage control, but also to sustain trust in the effectiveness of private and public governance. For sustainable solutions to public safety challenges, approaches are needed that involve not only established national and international crime and crisis response organisations, but also central and local government organisations, local members of affected communities and private institutions.

Cultural norms about safety and security differ across communities and stakeholders. No single approach to public safety can prove successful for everyone all the time. This highlights the relevance of multi-contextual approaches to safety and security and the role of cultural norms. Collaborations within and across security organisations and diverse stakeholders such as in private-public partnerships can be hampered by frictions about priorities or ways of working. The consideration of social and cultural aspects is fundamental to overcoming such obstacles. Understanding diversity, embracing complexity and building new alliances are key for the development of inclusive security solutions with multiple stakeholder groups and within diverse cultural contexts.

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