

Objectification of the Subject through the Exercise of Power:  
An Ethnographical Inquiry of Power in an American Policing Organization

By

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## ABSTRACT

A void exists in public administration, criminology, and criminal justice research as it relates to the study of power in American policing agencies. This has significant ramifications for academia and practitioners in terms of how they view, address, study, and interpret behaviors/actions in American policing agencies and organizations in general. In brief, mainstream research on power in organizations does not take into account relationships of power that do not act directly, and immediately, on others. By placing its emphasis on an agency centric perspective of power, the mainstream approach to the study of power fails to recognize indirect power relationships that influence discourse, pedagogy, mechanisms of communication, knowledge, and individual behavior/actions. In support of a more holistic inquiry, this study incorporates a Foucauldian perspective of power along with an ethnographical methodology and methods to build a greater understanding of power in policing organizations. This ethnography of an American policing organization illuminates the relationship between the exercise of power and the objectification of the subject through the interplay of relationships of communication, goal oriented activities, and relationships of power. Specifically, the findings demonstrate that sworn officers and civilian employees are objectified distinctly and dissimilarly. In summary, this study argues that the exercise of power in this American policing organization objectifies the civilian employee as a second class citizen.

IN MEMORIAM OF DR. LARRY CELAYA

We decided to go on this journey together. My mentor, cheerleader, shaman, and friend,  
you are missed.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

A void exists in public administration, criminology, and criminal justice research as it relates to the study of power in American policing agencies. This void has significant ramifications for academia and practitioners in terms of how they view, address, study, and interpret behaviors/actions in American policing agencies and organizations in general. In brief, traditional research on power in organizations does not take into account broader relationships of power that do not act directly, and immediately on others. As these power relationships influence discourse, pedagogy, mechanisms of communication, knowledge, and individual behavior/actions, traditional research fails to provide a holistic understanding of power that extends beyond the agency of the individual. In support of a holistic inquiry, this study incorporates an alternative perspective of power along with an associated methodology and methods toward a greater understanding of power in policing organizations.

The purpose of this study is to advance the understanding of power in policing organizations by moving beyond traditional approaches. Research of power in police organizations has limited itself to an agency centric perspective of power. Further, it has studied power in the form of police exemptions from the law (i.e. stop and search, dispersal powers, police surveillance, police protection, and conditional bail) and normative behaviors such as police discretion, corruption, police community relations, and accountability of the police. Limitations to this approach are significant. First, the traditional research approach views the agency of the officer in the street as the central determinant of the officer's choices and subsequent actions. As such, studies on power in

policing have narrowed themselves to the analysis of an officer's ability to make someone do what they would not otherwise choose to do. Relationships of power that influence officer behavior are either absent or muted in the analysis. Second, traditional research of power in policing has sought greater knowledge through the analysis of interactions between police personnel and the community it serves. As such, substantive inquiry of power in relation to organizational decision making, hiring and selection, indoctrination techniques, language, and symbolism in policing organizations is limited.

This study differs significantly from the traditional approach as its focus is on power in action inside a policing organization rather than the interaction between the police and the community. This alternative approach expands beyond traditional approaches as it places emphasis on a greater understanding of structural influences of power relations on the behavior of its members. Inquiry is expanded beyond an officer's individual agency to structural influences that mold and frame the officer's world view and resulting behaviors. Further, this study does not limit itself to street level officers, but rather it is inclusive of both sworn and civilian employees filling roles such as detectives, communications dispatchers, records clerks, and command staff.

Contributions from this study are significant. First, this study contributes to a greater understanding of organizations and power (i.e. organizational theory and organizational behavior). Specifically, the study of organizational power, from an alternative perspective, results in a more holistic understanding of power, the organization, and those working within and interacting with the organization. It has been argued that power permeates all facets of organizational theory. This study brings to light the exercise of power within an organization inclusive of relationships of

communication, power relations, and goal oriented activities. Through this alternative perspective of power greater understanding of organizational theory and organizational behavior (e.g. organizational structure, decision making, culture, and leadership) is obtained. Specifically, this inquiry advances the understanding of power as it relates to organizational decision making, hiring and selection processes, pedagogy, unions, discipline, communication, uniforms, and space.

Second, this study contributes to the greater understanding of police organizations. As stated earlier, much of the past research conducted in police organizations has focused on legal exemptions as power and on symptoms of power (i.e. discretion, corruption, police community relations, accountability of the police, and staff demographics) from an agency centric perspective. This study provides an increased understanding of police organizations through an alternative conceptualization of power. Specifically, this inquiry of power advances the understanding of the relationship between structural forms of power and the objectification of the organization's members. It is found that structural forms of power objectify civilian employees differently than sworn employees. I argue that this differentiation guided the organization's decision making during the Nation's current economic crisis. These significant findings are explored.

Third, this study is methodologically significant for the field of public administration by studying power in police organizations through a Foucauldian conceptualization of power incorporating an ethnographic methodology. Foucault's (1994) alternative perspective of power places emphasis on the exercise of power through relationships of communication, goal oriented activities, and relationships of power rather

than on the agency of the individual. Foucault (1977) states an ethnographic approach is best for its study. As such, an ethnographic framework for the study of power in organizations is provided for both consociates and successors to follow, critique, and/or further develop. As the findings will support, utilizing an ethnographic methodology and methods directly supported the ability to witness and interpret the relationship between the exercise of power and the objectification of the subject in its native form.

In the chapters that follow, I begin by providing a critical review of mainstream approaches to the study of power in organizations and offer an alternative perspective through a Foucauldian lens. This review and critique of the literature concludes with the specific research questions that frame this study. Chapter 3 discusses why an ethnographic methodology was selected for this inquiry and then presents the study's specific methods. Chapter 4 provides a general, yet purposeful, overview of the research site inclusive of its demographics, organizational structure, and context. Chapter 5 is the first of three chapters that discuss the findings of this inquiry. It begins by describing the events leading to the elimination of a significant number of Police Department positions. I argue that these eliminations were a foregone conclusion based on the exercise of power in the organization. Chapter 6 and 7 delve into goal oriented activities such as hiring and selection, indoctrination techniques, and discipline. The manner in which these activities objectify Department employees is discussed along with their ramifications. Chapter 8 explores the organization's culture in terms of language, signs, and symbols. Specific topics include forms of communication, uniforms, and the symbolism of space. While chapters 5 through 8 focus on a greater understanding of the exercise of power and the objectification of the employee, chapter 9 provides a greater understanding of the life

world of a policing organization through the words of Department employees. This chapter provides greater meaning as ramifications of the exercise of power are discussed. Chapter 10 highlights the key findings of this study, acknowledges the realities of an ethnographic approach to the study of power, and suggests avenues for further research.

## Chapter 2

### THE STUDY OF POWER

#### Mainstream Approach to Studying Power in Organizations

Organization theory encompasses multiple facets, topics, and subfields inclusive of organization structure, decision making, culture, leadership, and overlaying frameworks, such as open-system theory (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2006; Katz & Kahn, 1966; King, 2008; Simon, 1965). One of these facets is power. Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips (2007) argue that power is not only a facet but the core of organizations and organization theory. Organizations and power are seen as conjoined in that power permeates all other facets. As such, the study of power within the organization is of significant importance toward gaining greater understanding of the organization, organization decision making, and the behaviors of those in and interacting with the organization.

Utilizing Hobbes' (162) *Leviathan* as a foundation, Clegg (1989) argues mainstream literature on power emphasizes an agency centric perspective. For Clegg (1989), Hobbes' *Leviathan* is a metaphor for the supreme power of the sovereign, the social contract, and the ability to authorize behavior. Specifically, Clegg (1989) argues it was Hobbes who partnered the concepts of agency and power in terms of causality. In other words, causality is seen in the actions of actor A causing actor B to do something they would not otherwise do. In this form, power is negative for as its wielder enforces specific behaviors of the recipient, the recipient is negated of their individual agency (p. 29). Thus, for both Hobbes and mainstream theorists, power is something people hold and are able to wield.



In addition to sharing an agency perspective of power, mainstream organization theory on power is also reflective of the Hobbesian central problematic. For Hobbes, the concept of power focuses upon the central question: What is power? Clegg (1989) states, “Hobbes’ importance is in being one of the first scholars of power to propose an understanding of this key concept in terms which are procedurally legislative; unlike many forebears in political philosophy, Hobbes tells us not what power ought to be but how we may know what it is” (p. 25). The understanding of power, in this instance, can be seen from a pure positivist perspective of the ability to measure, explain, predict and control. To reiterate, Hobbes’ intent is not to discuss how power ought to be; rather the focus is to know what power is (Clegg, 1989).

Robert Dahl’s concept of power can be seen at the core of this Hobbesian perspective. Within his seminal work *The Concept of Power*, Dahl (1957) defines power, discusses the properties of a power relation, and offers an empirical method for power comparability. Dahl (1957) states, “My intuitive idea of power, then, is something like this: A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something B would not otherwise do” (pp. 202-203). Dahl (1957) provides greater clarity on his view of power through the following empirical guidelines. Dahl (1957) states that for a power relation to exist there must be a time lag between the exertion of power and the response of the respondent; there must be some form of connection between both actors; and there must be a successful attempt for actor A to get actor B to do what they would not otherwise do (Dahl, 1957, p. 204). Measurement on the strength of power is to be found in the calculation of probabilities (Dahl, 1957). All things being equal, if actor A is able to get

actor B to do what actor A wants at a higher probability of success than actor Z being able to get actor B to do what actor Z wants, actor A is seen to have more power.

Dahl's concept of power models this dominant agency centric theme. It is the agency of individuals that defines and acts out power. *Agency* is seen as the free will of an individual, or the capacity of an individual to act in the world. Power is seen as something that an individual has and is able to act upon someone(s) else. From this perspective of power, some have power and some do not.

While alternative definitions have been provided, mainstream literature continues to promote this Hobbesian perspective. David Mechanic (1962) states, "Power will be defined as any force that results in behavior that would not have occurred if the force had not been present" (p. 351). Richard Emerson (1962) defines power as "the power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A" (p. 32). Further, Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn (1966) believe power "refers to potential acts, rather than to transactions actually occurring. It is the capacity to exert influence" (pp. 219-220). In his book *Leadership in Organizations*, Gary Yukl (2006) states, "The term power is usually used to describe the absolute capacity of an individual agent to influence the behavior or attitudes of one or more designated target person at a given point in time" (p. 148). Afsaneh Nahavandi defines power by stating, "In its most basic form, power is the ability of one person to influence others or exercise control over them" (p. 102). Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1998) states, "Power in organizations is analogous in simple terms to physical power, it is the ability to mobilize resources (human and material) to get things done" (p. 44). John French and Bertram Raven (2003) define social power as, "The strength of power of O/P [where P is a person,

and O is another person, a role, a norm, a group or part of a group] in some system A is defined as the maximum potential ability of O to influence P in A” (p. 400). More succinctly, Salancik and Pfeffer (1977) state, “Power is simply the ability to get things done the way one wants them to be done” (p. 4).

A closer inquiry of the above definitions sheds light on a slight, yet influential, iteration of power beyond Dahl’s original concept. A theme within the theme, as it were, is the concept of power as potential. This is an idea of viewing power as latent potential, in which power is seen as the energy behind actions such as influence, coercion, persuasion, and control. For example, Bierstedt (1950) states:

It is not accident that the noun ‘power’ has been hypostatized from the adjective ‘potential.’ It may seem redundant to say so, but power is always potential; that is, when it is used it becomes something else, either force or authority. (p. 736)

Further, Jeffrey Pfeffer (1992a) states:

[Power is] the potential ability to influence behavior, to change the course of events, to overcome resistance, and to get people to do things that they would not otherwise do. Politics and influence are the processes, the actions, the behaviors through which this potential power is utilized and realized. (p. 30)

Mechanic (1962) states power is seen as a force. Emerson (1962) argues power is seen through its resistance. Katz and Kahn (1966) refer to potential acts and capacity. Gary Yukl (2006), like Katz and Kahn, suggest power is seen as a capacity, but also suggest power can be seen beyond a one to one relationship. Afsaneh Nahavandi (2006) extends power from influence to control. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1998) views power as analogous to physical force and capacity. John French and Bertram Raven (2003) frame

power as potential, but also provided the first hint that power may extend beyond the individual and may be found in a structured role or norm. It is through actions and behaviors such as politics, influence, coercion, etc. that potential power is utilized and realized. In summary, mainstream theorists measure power through resistance, potential acts, capacity, multiple relationships, and physical actions.

In this agency centric Hobbesian framework, mainstream organization research has established typologies, or bases/sources of power (Bass, 1960; Bierstedt, 1950; Etzioni, 1975; French & Raven, 2003; Koslowsky & Stashevsky, 2005; Pfeffer, 1992a; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2002; Yukl & Falbe, 1991). This research identifies major types of power, defines them systematically, and compares them according to the changes which they produce and the other effects which accompany the use of power (Bierstedt, 1950; French & Raven, 2003; Pfeffer, 1992a). Examples include reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power (French & Raven, 2003).

Further, mainstream organization researchers have provided guides for individuals toward managing with power within the organization (Pfeffer, 1992a, 1992b). Pfeffer's (1992a, 1992b) research advises that to manage with power, individuals are to understand the varying interests within the organization, to successfully recognize and understand the varying interests within the organization, and to understand the points of view from which these varying interests emerge. Mainstream researchers have established how power is acquired, gained, and/or lost (Hickson, Hinings, Lee, Schneck, & Pennings, 1971; Homans, 1958; Kanter, 1998; Mechanic, 1962; Pfeffer, 1992a; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977; Simpson & Borch, 2005; Simpson & Macy, 2004; Wilson, 1995; Wong, 1968; Yukl, 2006). In addition, mainstream power research provides

specific tactics for individuals or groups to use to either gain power or reduce power from another entity (Mechanic, 1962; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977; Yukl, 2006; Yukl & Falbe, 1991). Pfeffer (1992a) states, “Shifts in power are virtually guaranteed, and the likelihood is great that after acquiring power we will eventually lose it” (p. 302). As such, an individual’s power, within this context, is unstable and said to be influenced by changes in the environment (Pfeffer, 1992a). Changing circumstances are seen to cause those in power to lose power. Pfeffer (1992a) states that some who obtain power are naïve about the circumstances that got them there. Therefore, due to their naiveté, they are unable to adapt when dynamics within the sources of power change. Pfeffer (1992a) summarizes the individual’s role within this perspective when he states, “What we want to learn, then, is both how to avoid losing power prematurely and how to leave our positions gracefully. Understanding our role in the system by which organizations operate and are governed will help us to achieve both of these goals” (p. 316).

### Studying Power in Police Organizations

Most contemporary research studying power within police organizations applies the above framework of power as its foundation. In other words, contemporary mainstream research on power within police organizations applies an agency centric Hobbesian perspective of power in the form of “power to.” This is further articulated in much of the literature as “police powers” (Bloss, 2009; Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Ericson, 2007; Reid, 2009). “Police powers” can be further delineated as either a pure legal concept, or a normative concept. The following extensive review of contemporary

studies of power in police organizations reinforces the reliance of these researchers on the Hobbesian agency centric perspective of power.

First, as a legal concept, Ericson (2007) states, “‘Police powers’ are simply exemptions from criminal or civil liability for what otherwise would be unlawful acts” (p. 369). Topics of inquiry within this perspective include police powers to stop and search, dispersal powers, police surveillance, police protection, and conditional bail (Bloss, 2009; Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Crawford, 2008; Hucklesby, 2001; Masson, 2002; Reid, 2009). Bowling and Phillips (2007) state, “According to the Police and Criminal Evidence (PACE) Code of Practice for the exercises of statutory powers of stop/search, the primary purpose of the power is ‘to enable officers to allay or confirm suspicions about individuals without exercising their power of arrest’” (p. 937). Bowling and Phillips (2007) find that the use of these powers by police in England and Wales is disproportionately targeted at black people, and is therefore conclusive of unlawful discrimination (p. 958). A similar inquiry of policing in England and Wales was conducted by Reid. Reid’s (2009) research of the practice of police stop and search legislation enacted prior to 9/11 and 7/7 raises the question of how to interpret official statistics that point to racial disparity in the use of police powers, while police provide justifiable reasoning for differential use between ethnic groups. In conclusion, Reid (2009) supports the work of Bowling and Phillips (2007) by stating:

The statistical evidence on the use of police powers, taken together with the research evidence on police prejudice and stereotyping, and on discretion in the use of police powers, is consistent with the contention

that the racial disproportionality in the use of police powers to ‘stop and search’ results from unlawful racial discrimination. (p. 960)

Additional research of police in England and Wales has been conducted by Crawford (2008). Rather than focus his attention on police stop and search powers, Crawford’s (2008) research focuses on gaining a greater understanding of police dispersal powers. As defined by Crawford (2008):

Part 4 of the Anti-Social Behavior Act 2003 (sections 20-36) gives the police in England and Wales new powers to disperse groups of two or more people from designated areas where there is believed to be significant and persistent anti-social behavior and a problem with groups causing intimidation. (p. 756)

Specifically, these new dispersal powers bring into contention ‘public perception’ as a factor when determining anti-social behavior (Crawford, 2008). Crawford (2008) argues that such language can lead to the criminalization of young people solely for congregating in numbers in public places in which others may become anxious.

Additional research topics within this subfield include the police power of surveillance, police protection, and conditional bail (Bloss, 2009; Hucklesby, 2001; Masson, 2002). Bloss’s (2009) review of legal doctrines, federal statutes, and operational practices calls into question the balance between the police’s increasing powers of surveillance and the right to privacy. Masson’s (2002) research on police protection evaluates police power from the perspective of “the power of the police to remove or detain children for their protection (Children Act 1989)” (p. 157). As a final example, Hucklesby (2001) evaluates a “new power” given to the police by the enacting of Section 27 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994 in England. This new power

provides the police with the ability to provide conditions upon bail with the intent to lower the number of defendants detained in custody overnight (Hucklesby, 2001). Hucklesby (2001) finds that this “new power” does limit detainees, but also appears to widen the net of those brought into the justice system. In sum, all of the above research studies approach the study of power as a legal concept enacted by the police.

Second, as a normative concept, “police powers” are viewed as police behaviors enacted to control an individual, group of individuals, or select segments of the population. This research on power is enmeshed with historical issues found within policing. These issues include police discretion, corruption, police community relations, and accountability of the police (Bartollas & Hahn, 1999; Grant & Terry, 2005; Walker & Katz, 2005). The study of power in this normative concept continues to embrace Hobbes’ agency centric view of power. For example, in their study of individual values, psychological well-being, and organizational commitment among Israeli police officers, Cohen and Shamai (2010) define power as “Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources” (p. 31). Cohen and Shamai (2010) argue power, as defined above, has a positive relationship with Israeli police officer commitment to the organization. In other words, those police officers who value power are seen to have a greater commitment to the organization than those that do not.

Another example is Lopez and Thomas’ (2004) study of geographic patterns of police malpractice. Lopez and Thomas (2004) view police malpractice as police abuse of power. It is seen in the form of physical abuse, excessive force, verbal and psychological abuse, and corruption by the police. Lopez and Thomas (2004) report there are significant geographic variations of police misconduct/malpractice by region in the



United States. Here, Lopez and Thomas (2004) view police malpractice as a form of power, specifically an abuse of power.

Mendias and Kehoe's (2006) study of policing ideals and their relationship to the exercise of police discretionary powers further reinforces the mainstream trend to view power from a Hobbesian perspective. In this study Mendias and Kehoe (2006) provided police officers with five criminal vignettes and asked officers to make decisions based from the information in the vignettes and then explain the reasoning behind their decisions. Through this research Mendias and Kehoe (2006) interpret the discretion used by officers during their decision making as power.

In their study of police interactions with young offenders, Parker and Sarre (2008) approach the study of power in a very similar fashion. Parker and Sarre (2008) explore the relationship between behavior, demographic variables, and situational influences among police interactions with youth. Parker and Sarre (2008) argue that police use of their discretionary powers when engaged with youth has life changing impacts on a youth's future. Parker and Sarre (2008) report that police discretionary powers are applied inconsistently to youth and deem this treatment as unfair. As do Mendias and Kehoe (2006), Parker and Sarre (2008) approach the analysis of power from an agency centric perspective tied directly to the behavior of the police officers involved.

While the above researchers view discretion as power in and of itself, Holmberg (2000) comprehends discretion as two different kinds of power. Holmberg (2000) states:

Police discretion can be defined as the power of choice: the police choose what kinds of activity to supervise, and what citizens to control, stop and search, and have a range of choices regarding how to react if their suspicion is substantiated.

In short, police discretion can be defined as the *power of suspicion* and the *power of prosecution*. (p. 181)

Holmberg's (2000) study of police work in practice argues that these two forms of power lead to two forms of discrimination. Holmberg (2000) explains that during his study he witnessed officers single out "people for control on the basis of appearance and 'signs' of criminality" (Holmberg, 2000). At other times, Holmberg (2000) witnessed officers sometimes treat "minor, but otherwise similar, offenses differently, depending not so much on the offense as on the person who committed it" (p. 186). Holmberg (2000) concludes his research by raising the awareness that the act of policing requires police officers to view the public with great discernment. Holmberg (2000) equates discernment with discrimination. As such, Holmberg (2000) argues that the public must recognize "that the police cannot avoid use of the power of suspicion/definition in a way that is discriminatory" (p. 193). In turn, Holmberg (2002) argues the police can, however, be expected to treat all citizens equally so that it is the "facts of the case, and not the type of citizen, that provide the guidelines for police procedural discretion" (p. 193). While Holmberg (2000) provides further differentiation of discretionary powers, he maintains the mainstream approach to the study of power through the analysis of actor A (the police) being able to make actor B (the citizen) do what actor A (the police) wants. Two more examples of this approach to the study of power in policing agencies follow.

Peterson (2008) completed over 220 hours of observations of a police organization to gain a greater understanding of power relations between police officers and young men. Viewing power as the police officer's ability to "demand and command" respect, Peterson (2008) observed two different police assignments in the

Greater Stockholm metropolitan area. Peterson (2008) found that as both police assignments worked under different missions, their approach to demanding and commanding respect from the young men they encountered differed as well. One police assignment, with the purpose to provide a general law enforcement presence in the community, avoided unnecessary confrontation with youth. However, a second police assignment, designated as the 'street peace group', sought out engagements of 'face' with young men "to force a submission to authority" (p. 116). Peterson's (2008) Hobbesian view of power is best articulated when she states, "The police are committed to obtaining deference from all civilians they contact, and to enforce this demand with an immediate willingness to invoke physical sanctions - this is the power of the police" (pp. 115-116).

Haworth's (2006) study of power and resistance through the analysis of discourse provides a unique method of inquiry while maintaining the mainstream approach to the study of power. Haworth's (2006) study incorporates discourse analysis of police criminal interviews to gain a greater understand of how power is used by participants of an interview process. Haworth (2006) states, "Power and control can always be challenged by the use of discursive strategies regardless of the subject matter, the status of the participants, or any other factor" (p. 755). Haworth (2006) contends that the strategic play, between relinquishing power and control and exerting power and control, by an individual during an interview determines who truly has the overall power within this context. Power is defined in this context as the power of one individual to control another (Haworth, 2006).

## The Absence of Structural Influences

Current studies of power and policing organizations provide a unique analysis of power. Some studies interpret power as legally defined police powers. Others view power as a normative concept. Regardless of these two forms of differentiation, all of these studies have founded their perspective of power through a mainstream Hobbesian lens. I suggest this foundation is limited in nature, and hinders a holistic understanding of power in police organizations. By focusing the analysis of power in police organizations on the individual agency of a police officer, other factors are left out of the conversation and absent in its analysis and interpretation. Specifically, structural influences on human behavior such as pedagogy, policy and procedures, symbology, and discipline are not inclusive of the mainstream perspective of the study of power.

Max Weber (1954) defines power as the “possibility of imposing one’s will upon the behavior of other persons.” Clegg et al. (2007) suggest this definition extends especially to “where this will is resisted by those over whom it is exercised, regardless of the basis on which the probability of obedience rested” (p. 102). This definition fits well within a Hobbesian perspective of agency and power. However, in support of an alternative perspective of power, Weber (1947, 1964) also provides an ideal type for bureaucracy which includes the following characteristics: fixed and official jurisdictional areas; principals of office hierarchy, records management; training; and subjection to strict and systematic discipline and control. From this Weberian perspective, the organization has an established hierarchical framework in which power is seen as the imposition of one’s will on others. As such, emphasis of the study of power begins to extend beyond individual agency to organizational structure.

Frederick Taylor (1923) provides another example of power within an organizational setting. Taylor is well known for his attempt to prove how scientific approaches to the organization can result in greater efficiencies and productivity. His research at Bethlehem Steel Works is one example. Taylor sought to utilize scientific means to identify the perfect shovel design and the perfect amount of coal to be shoveled at one time in order to reach greater efficiencies. As a compilation of his research, Taylor (1923) formalized a concept known as *scientific management*. Scientific management comprised of four specific management principles: 1) to record, tabulate, and create laws, rules, and mathematical formulas of all traditional knowledge; 2) the scientific selection and then progressive development of the workmen; 3) the bringing of science and the scientifically selected and trained workmen together; and finally, 4) the equal division of the actual work of the establishment between the workmen and the management (Taylor, 1923, pp. 43-44). While efficiencies were met through this research, his results came under heavy scrutiny for his focus on reducing/eliminating thought and creativity from those conducting the work. As a byproduct of scientific management, the principles of scientific management themselves are a structural, rather than agency, relationship of power. Structure becomes the determinate for expected behavior and control rather than the agency of an individual. Clegg et al. (2007) state, “Power – getting others to do what one wanted them to do, even against their will – was inscribed as the normalcy of the new system of scientific management” (p. 46).

Both Weber and Taylor’s conception of the organization, and associated bureaucracy, provide a foundation of inquiry that the structure of organizations, in and of itself, can get actor B to do what the organization wants. In other words, the organization

is a structural relationship of power that influences, maneuvers, and drives behavior and actions of the individuals within. Robert Denhardt (1981) and Ralph Hummel (2008) provide further explanation.

Denhardt's (1981) seminal work *In the Shadow of Organization* describes the organization as an agent of socialization that presents individuals with generalized values of bureaucracy and then indoctrinates them in terms of a particular organization (p. 4). Denhardt argues that organizations may have been initially created to reflect our beliefs and values, but we are currently at risk of a reversal in which our beliefs and values are being constructed by the organization. Individualism and agency are seen at risk along with the creative processes associated. From this perspective of the organization, individuals treat other individuals as objects. Denhardt (1981) states, "We not only lose touch with others (and they with us); we lose touch with ourselves. And without a firm base in our self-understanding, our actions will be limited" (p. 68). Denhardt (1981) describes the establishment of an *organization ethic* and an elimination of an individual's ethic, whereas the *organization ethic* becomes the dominant form of thought and action. The *organization ethic* is stated as a conflict between the individual and the organizational society; autonomy versus the collective; meaningful human connection and the efficiency of work; and regulation and control versus creativity and expressiveness (Denhardt, 1981, p. 2). Denhardt (1981) states, "To the extent that we continue to be guided by the ethic of the organization to employ organizational designs which require a focusing rather than a release of human energies, we will be bound to a set of behaviors which severely limit our potential" (p. 127). Thus, the structure of

organization and its associated ethic is viewed by Denhardt as its own relationship of power.

Ralph Hummel's *The Bureaucratic Experience: The Post-Modern Challenge* further emphasizes organizational structure as a relationship of power in the form of organizational bureaucracy. Created as a practical guide to bureaucracy, Hummel's (2008) work is direct and unwavering. The structure of bureaucracy is seen to replace society. Bureaucracy is seen to replace culture. Bureaucracy is seen to replace the psyche. Bureaucracy is seen to not only silence language, but also to have created its own in which the individual is born into. Bureaucracy is seen to replace thinking. It is seen to replace politics. Expanding these concepts further, Hummel (2008) states, "Bureaucracy prepares beings without a sense of self-legislation, social identities without a sense of self, psychologies without soul, language without meaning, thought without purpose, and politics without imagination" (p. 231). In other words, organizational policies, practice, hierarchy, and methods of communication become structural confines of power in and among themselves. Rules direct decision making, rote practices dictate behavior, and hierarchy controls information sharing. In sum, organizations/bureaucracies are no longer seen as provincial, taken for granted functions of society, they are seen, by some, as overshadowing structures that dehumanize the individual, and eliminate human agency.

As a modern day example, many police organizations require officers to maintain a certain level of marksmanship when using their service weapon. This expectation is established by organizational policies and procedures. From a Hobbesian perspective of power, the greater the ability to shoot with accuracy and at a high level of discernment

(i.e. shoot-don't-shoot scenarios) the greater the power of the individual. In other words, from a mainstream perspective, the power an officer has to make someone do what they want is enhanced by their latent ability to discharge their weapon with accuracy. Surpassing the organization's standards provides an officer with the bragging rights, confidence, and stigma of being a "good" cop. However, this perspective of power limits the understanding as to why the police organization requires a high level of marksmanship when the odds of their officers' unholstering their service weapons in the line of duty are minimal, and the exorbitant cost to require officers to train and test their marksmanship is high. Silent is an understanding that legal liability, community trust, cultural biases and other structural relationships of power influence the organization's standard and expectation for officer accuracy and discernment when utilizing their firearm. The Hobbesian perspective of power fails to question the structural reasons surrounding officers' capabilities to shoot their weapons in an accurate, efficient, and discerned method.

Second, from a Hobbesian perspective of power, physical fitness within a police organization is tied to status, character, and sociality of an officer. The power of an officer is measured by the ability to win a fight, to chase down a suspect, and to display great physical feats. However, studying power from this agency centric perspective fails to question why, and/or if, physical fitness is a necessary competency for policing. It also fails to provide a greater understanding as to why a police union would vehemently resist a Department policy that establishes physical standards. How is it that physical fitness standards, which are a norm in policing organizations, are absent within a particular organization? What are the actions behind the action of having, or not having, policies



and procedures guiding physical fitness standards? Why is it acceptable for some officers to be grossly overweight in a career where physical fitness and good health are the foundation of recruiting paraphernalia? An agency centric approach to the study of power falters in its ability to study this phenomenon.

Third, Federal grants and the rules for applying for, administering, and reporting these grants elevate certain discourses above others. Millions of Federal dollars are available to police organizations if they are able to articulate their support of specific programs such as community policing, problem solving, and predictive policing within their financial request. Once awarded, organizations must report how their spending of these dollars has supported these specific initiatives. In short, the offering of Federal dollars influences the strategic directions of police organizations which in turn influence the behavior and actions of police officers on the street. This same argument applies to State grant dollars. Further, at the Federal, State, and Municipal level, laws/ordinances dictate police organization policy, training, and officer behavior. In Arizona, recent events of SB1070 provide a current example of a State initiative that resulted in mandated training, updated law enforcement practices, and directed specific officer behavior. These forms of influences are lost in the analysis of power when research is limited in scope to the direct behavior of one officer in a specific situation. In these instances the Hobbesian perspective would focus on the analysis of officer A to get suspect B to do what they want, rather than analyze the structural influences (i.e. *organizational ethic*, policy, law, procedures, etc.) that motivate officer A to take action in the first place. Are grant expectations (e.g. number of arrests, number of stops and searches, number of community contacts, etc.) set in a manner that direct officer behavior?

In summary, Denhardt (1981) and Hummel (2008) argue that the behaviors, attitudes, and conscience of the individual are molded and framed by the organization in which they are a member. The *organization ethic* inculcates the individual replacing language, politics, individualism, and creativity. Mainstream research on power in police organizations does not take into account these larger social and structural influences of knowledge, discourse, pedagogy, and mechanisms of communication. It fails to acknowledge that the act of governance displayed by police officers does not solely originate from the desires and wishes of the individual police officer. Rather, governance displayed by police officers is a function of their own agency and the influences of the organization's life world. As such, an alternative view of power that engages both the agency of the individual and the larger structural influences of power is needed for a greater understanding of power in police organizations.

#### An Alternative View of Power and its Study Within Police Organizations

In contrast to the mainstream Hobbesian agency perspective of power, Clegg (1989) states an alternative foundation for the analysis of power is a Machiavellian perspective. Referring to Machiavelli's (2003) *The Prince*, Clegg (1989) states a Machiavellian perspective concerns itself with strategy, rather than on the intricacies of defining power, and determining how to measure it. Clegg (1989) states:

While Hobbes would propose to legislate for a social contract, Machiavelli would interpret a strategy; where Hobbes founds a discursive framework for analysis of power as motion, causality, and agency and action, Machiavelli instead describes an ethnographic research method for uncovering the rules of the game. (p. 31)

Clegg (1989) argues that the Machiavellian perspective recognizes the shortfall in an agency centric focus on power and expands its lens to include social and structural conceptions of power. Specifically, a Machiavellian perspective of power is inclusive of how rules, norms, and structures within an organization may impact the behavior of individuals without actor A's involvement.

Significant contributors to the study of power from this Machiavellian perspective include Foucault (1977), Lukes (2005), Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips (2007). Lukes and Clegg recognize the shortfall in the mainstream literature. In turn, each created a framework of power in an attempt to provide a fuller and comprehensive understanding of power. While Lukes' framework is *radical* compared to mainstream concepts, and Clegg's framework, as a derivative of Foucault's concepts, incorporates the influence of structure and the environment, neither framework is as holistic as Foucault's account of power. However, a brief overview of both Lukes' *radical view of power* and Clegg's *circuits of power* is useful to illuminate the central arguments to the shortcomings of mainstream organization theory on power. Their frameworks provide a bridge, rather than a destination, to a greater Foucauldian understanding of power.

Greatly influenced by the works of Karl Marx, Steven Lukes (2005) attempts to reconcile the agency/structure dichotomy through his *radical view* of power. For Lukes (2005), Marxism opens up for investigation the "capacity to secure compliance to domination through the shaping of beliefs and desires, by imposing internal constraints under historically changing circumstances" (p. 144). This is the foundation for his third dimension of power which is inclusive of structural determinism, decision making, and false consciousness (Lukes, 2005). Lukes (2005) states, "My view was, and is, that we

need to think about power broadly rather than narrowly – in three dimensions rather than one or two - and that we need to attend to those aspects of power that are least accessible to observation: that, indeed, power is at its most effective when least observable” (p. 1). His radical view is a progression of power in three dimensions as shown in Table 1. A brief description of each dimension follows.

Table 1: Lukes' Three Dimensional View of Power

One-Dimensional View	Two-Dimensional View	Three-Dimensional View
Behavior	(Qualified) critique of behavioral focus	Critique of behavioral focus
Decision-making	Decision-making and nondecision-making	Decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions)
(key) issues	Issues and potential issues	Issues and potential issues
Observable (overt) conflict	Observable (overt or covert) conflict	Observable (overt or covert), and <b>latent</b> conflict
(subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation	(subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances	Subjective and real interests

First, Luke's suggests Dahl's concept of power, and others like it, is a one-dimensional view of power. It is here that power is wielded by individuals to impact the overt behavior of others. Lukes (2005) stated, "One-dimensional view of power involves a focus on behavior in the making of decisions on issues over which there is an observable conflict of (subjective) interests, seen as express policy preferences, revealed by political participation" (p. 19). Power is observable, as when a supervisor provides a directive to a subordinate in which the subordinate follows the directive against their desire to do so.

Lukes' (2005) two-dimensional view of power extends beyond the one-dimensional view. Two-dimensional power includes decision making and non-decision making. Within the two dimensional view, power is still viewed as observable, however it is extended to include both overt and covert forms. Where Dahl's concept of power can be seen as one-dimensional, Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz's (1962) concept of power, or *two faces of power*, is at the core of a two-dimensional view. Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) typology of power includes coercion, influence, authority, force, and manipulation. It is here that actor A influencing actor B to *not* do something that actor B would otherwise do is considered power. Further, Lukes (2005) states:

The two-dimensional view of power involves a qualified critique of the behavioral focus of the first view (I say qualified because it is still assumed that nondecision-making is a form of decision-making) and it allows for consideration of the ways in which decisions are prevented from being taken on potential issues over which there is an observable

conflict of (subjective) interests, seen as embodied in express policy preferences and sub-political grievances. (pp. 24-25)

Lukes (2005) suggests that neither the one-dimensional view nor the two-dimensional view of power adequately relates the true nature and extent of power. Both of these dimensions assume power is observable within conflict; whether overt or covert. Of question is how neither of these two dimensions addresses power outside of conflict. Lukes (2005) states, “To put the matter sharply, A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants” (p. 27). The three-dimensional view addresses this form of power. From Lukes’ (2005) radical view, power is observable (e.g. coercion and force) and latent (e.g. manipulation), it addresses both subjective and real interests, and it recognizes the existence of a false consciousness. Lukes (2005) defines the third dimension of power as “the capacity to secure compliance to domination through the shaping of beliefs and desires, by imposing internal constraints under historically changing circumstances” (p. 144). Power now encompasses the latent influencing and manipulation of a subject’s belief in their best interests. Social construction of reality, as described by Berger and Luckmann (1966), now comes into play through the establishment of real interests and a false consciousness influenced through primary and secondary socialization mechanisms. Lukes (2005) suggests this latent manipulation of interests and beliefs is the third dimension of power.

Stewart Clegg (1989) is supportive of Lukes’ belief that power is seen within both observable and latent conflicts of interest. However, Clegg (1989) argues that Luke’s framework of power (the radical view) falls short by not acknowledging power within

organizational structure in addition to agency. In other words, Lukes' third dimension of power remains focused on the *agency* of an individual to establish latent manipulation of interests and beliefs and is not inclusive of structural influences. Clegg (1989) suggests that discussions of power must be inclusive of both agency (i.e. individuals within the organization) and structure (i.e. the organization itself). Clegg (1989) provides a formal model of power, constructed in terms of *circuits of power*, to address both agency and structure.

For Clegg (1989) there are three levels of circuits. The first level, known as the agency level, is focused on episodic power relations where power is seen as causal. It is in the first level of circuitry that agencies interact with social relations and standing conditions (i.e. control over means and resources) to produce outcomes. Resistance is met within each interaction and either overcome or submitted to. Outcomes at the agency level are transmitted into the second level, known as the social integration level, where the focus is on rules of practice. It is here that power is seen as dispositional and outcomes are evaluated as to their relation to preexisting norms. Outcomes are given meaning and value using the preexisting norms as well as exogenous environmental contingencies. Having processed through the social integration level, an outcome enters the third level, known as the system integration level, where the focus is domination. It is here that change can occur within an organization through the adjustment of current systemic structures, or disempowerment occurs in which the system adjusts itself to provide higher resistance if a similar action is attempted at the agency level. Clegg's *circuits of power* recognizes power at the agency, social, and structural level. Power is

facilitative at the system level, dispositional at the social level, and causal at the agency level (Clegg, 1989).

In sum, Lukes' radical view expands power to include both observable and latent conflict along with subjective and real interests, yet still binds his framework with the agency of individuals. Clegg's circuits of power advances the conceptualizing of power further by incorporating agency, as well as social and system integration. While Clegg's circuits of power provide a specific framework in which to understand power through both agency and structural dimensions, it falls short in explaining how the intricacies of power relations play amongst themselves. How do selection and hiring practices influence organizational behavior? How do relationships of communication suppress, repress, or exacerbate knowledge creation? How are individuals objectified, and what forms of resistance are in play to promote individualism? These questions and associated answers are not conducive to Clegg's framework or Lukes'. For this reason, we engage the works of Michel Foucault.

Foucault's point of differentiation from mainstream theories of power is a shift from viewing power as latent (or potential) within an agency centric perspective. For Foucault, power is a force, it is seen in action, and it is not given through the wishes of a sovereign, a dictator, or a tyrant. Power is everywhere at all times. Power is no longer seen from an agency perspective in which an individual has power to influence others while others do not. Foucault (1972b) states:

The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is the effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle. (p. 98)



In an attempt to summarize Foucault's concept of power, Raymond Gordon (2006) states, "Thus power is not necessarily some *thing* that some *body* either has or does not have; it is historically constituted in people's knowledge and therefore both surrounds and pervades them" (p. 89). These thoughts are summarized in Foucault's (1978) propositions of power:

- Power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations.
- Relations of power are not in a position of exteriority with respect to other types of relationships, but are immanent in the latter; they have a directly productive role, wherever they come into play.
- Power comes from below; that is, there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations, and serving as a general matrix – no such duality extending from the top down and reacting on more and more limited groups to the very depths of the social body.
- Power relations are both intentional and nonsubjective.
- Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power. (pp. 94-95)

Mainstream literature suggests power is acquired, gained, and/or lost through social exchange, strategic contingencies, or a blend of both. This agency perspective suggests that one can gain power by enacting any or all of the above tactics. Foucault's

concept of power suggests power is not acquired, gained, and/or lost. Rather power is exercised (Foucault, 1994). Foucault (1972) states, “We have in the first place the assertion that power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists in action” (Foucault, 1972b, p. 89). Thus, it is not the definition of power that is important; rather it is the greater understanding of the exercise of power that provides greater knowledge. First, the exercise of power should be understood as the exercise *through* and not the exercise *by* (e.g. Power is exercised *through* the individual. Power is exercised *through* structural relationships). The individual is therefore a conduit of power and not a wielder of power. Second, the exercise of power is specifically defined as the interplay between relationships of communication, relationships of power, and goal oriented activities in which the individual is a conduit (see Figure 1) (Foucault, 1994).

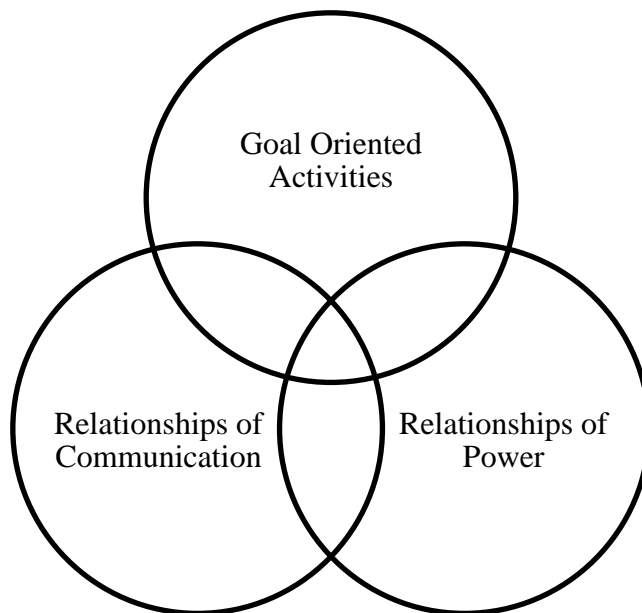


Figure 1: The Exercise of Power: The interplay between goal oriented activities, relationships of communication, and relationships of power.

Relationships of communication “transmit information by means of language, a system of signs, or any other symbolic medium” (Foucault, 1994). This includes forms of discourse, discourse content, as well as dyads and triads of communication (i.e. who is talking to who?). By studying relationships of communication questions can be answered such as: what forms of communication are used within a police organization to transmit discourse and create/reinforce knowledge? What discourse is communicated within these forms of communication? How is that discourse interpreted and acted upon by those working in a police organization?

At its simplest form, relationships of power can be described as actions upon actions (Foucault, 1994). Foucault (1994) stated, “In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions” (p. 340). He articulated further:

It is a set of actions on possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; it releases or contrives, makes more probable or less; in the extreme, it constrains or forbids absolutely, but it is always a way of acting upon one or more acting subjects by virtue of their acting or begin capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions. (Foucault, 1994, p. 341)

In this context, the study of relationships of power should illuminate existing structural forms that influence the actions of those in a police organization to act in a certain, predetermined, manner.

Third, goal oriented activities are such things as training techniques, processes of domination, and the means in which obedience is obtained (Foucault, 1994, p. 338). This is seen in the pedagogy of the police academy, specific instruction provided in police department post-academies, new employee orientation, organizational training (i.e. ethics, inclusion, leadership), and foci of discipline and reward.

Foucault (1994) states, “In a given society, there is no general type of equilibrium between goal-directed activities, systems of communication, and power relations; rather, there are diverse forms, diverse places, diverse circumstances or occasions in which these interrelationships establish themselves according to a specific model” (p. 338).

### The Individual as Subject and Object

As a function of the exercise of power, the individual as subject must be further explored. The mainstream approach to studying power characterizes the individual as an actor of power, meaning that the individual wields power or is the recipient of another wielding power on them. The alternative view of power suggests that the individual is a conduit of power. As a conduit of power, an individual’s behavior and actions are influenced by the social and structural setting in which they live. Thus, to gain a greater understanding of the exercise of power in an organization, one must seek greater knowledge of the relationship between the organization and the individual.

Foucault’s (1994) distinction from mainstream’s agency centric focus to a structural focus of power is reinforced through his renaming of the human entity. Specifically, the human entity is no longer referred to as an individual; rather they are redefined as the subject. This subtle, yet important, transition reaffirms that actions and

behaviors must be interpreted from both an agency and structural perspective. Foucault (1994) emphasizes that the subject can be defined in two distinct ways. Specifically, the subject can be seen as being tied to its own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge and as being subject to someone else by control and dependence. In other words, the subject is an entity with agency, but that agency is framed by the control of and dependence on another. Organizational naming of the subject as a sworn employee, a civilian employee, a union member, or a non-union member has significant implications on how the subject behaves and is enacted upon in the organization's life world. Through organizational indoctrination training and measurement, being psychologically classified as a person of structure, a people person, an analytic thinker, or a play first and work second free spirit replaces individualism with organizational typology. In Foucauldian terms, these processes are known as the objectification of the subject (Foucault, 1984, 1994).

Foucault (1984, 1994) identifies three modes for the objectification of the subject: dividing practices; scientific classification; and subjectification. In his book, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, Foucault (1965) provides the example of the historical treatment of lepers and their placement into leper colonies as a dividing practice. He states that these practices can be seen during the sixteenth century in France in the consigning of the homeless, the downtrodden and single women without jobs into the asylum. Dividing practices are found in those actions that divide a society within a society. As these are historical examples, what is of importance in this study is the identification and understanding of organizational dividing practices found today. For example, many organizations segregate their workforce by way of access.

Technology, in the form of electronic key pads, is used to provide certain subjects access to certain work areas while excluding others. Knowledge of dividing practices, such as this one, provides greater clarity on how power is exercised in the organization.

Scientific classification, as a second mode of objectification, can be seen through the clinical definitions of insanity defined by psychoanalysts and its application in a society. Scientific classification is a manner in which scientific facts and breakthroughs objectify the subject. These scientific classifications exclude, subjugate, or dominate. A modern example of scientific classification in the organization is the use of personality type and temperament tools based on the works of Jung (1971), Myers (1998), and Kiersey (1995). These tools are used to classify the subject as an introvert or extrovert. Subjects are classified as judgmental or perceiving. Labels such as rationalist or nurturer are applied. Understanding what scientific classifications exist in an organization, how they are applied, and how they are interpreted by the subject affords a greater understanding of the exercise of power.

Finally, *subjectification* is a method by which the person is active in self-formation (Foucault, 1984). Foucault (1994) describes this as “the way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject” (p. 327). Foucault (1984) indicates that self-formation has a long and complicated genealogy; it takes place through a variety of “operations on [people’s] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct” (p. 11). Whereas dividing practices and scientific classification most closely align with being subject to someone or something, subjectification more closely aligns with self-identity, conscience, and self-knowledge. To study the exercise of power, it is important to understand how the subject views themselves. Differing levels of value

and meaning can be placed on self-formation typologies such as gender identification, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, the subjects placement in the organization (i.e. both physically and hierarchically), and/or view of being sworn or civilian. In sum, knowing how individuals subjectify themselves provides greater understanding to the exercise of power.

In support of a more holistic analysis of the study of power, it is important to understand how the individual as subject is objectified through dividing practices, scientific classification, and subjectification. While agency does exist, in the form of free will, that agency is tempered through the objectification of the subject. In other words, as power is exercised throughout an organization, how do these structural mechanisms objectify its members? Are there similarities to be uncovered like the historical treatment of lepers, or the consignment of the homeless, the downtrodden, and single women without jobs into the asylum? To restate, as the mainstream approach to the study of power emphasizes the actions of actor A to get actor B to do what actor B would not otherwise do, it fails to recognize the manner in which the individual, as a subject in the organization, is objectified through the exercise of power. As such, to gain a greater understanding of power, its study must be inclusive of structural influences (i.e. relationships of communication, relationships of power, and goal oriented activities) and their relationship to the objectification of the subject.

### Research Questions

Mainstream research of power has limited itself to an agency centric perspective of power. In the policing literature, power has been studied in the form of police

exemptions from the law (i.e. stop and search, dispersal powers, police surveillance, police protection, and conditional bail) and normative behaviors such as police discretion, corruption, police community relations, and accountability of the police. This approach to the study of power has deemphasized structural forms, such as relationships of communication, relationships of power, and goal oriented activities, and their interrelatedness to the objectification of the subject (Foucault, 1994). This study intends to address this hole in the literature by advancing the knowledge of power and organizations by moving beyond traditional approaches. The focus of inquiry is expanded to seek greater knowledge of structural influences of power rather than limit itself to agency centric measures. Further, this study seeks to understand the exercise of power within the organization through endogenous interactions rather exogenous. In other words, this study's focus is directed at the inquiry of power in an organization amongst its members through a Foucauldian lens.

Foucault (1977) argues that power is best analyzed at the extremes. As such, policing organizations provide a rich environment for this type of inquiry. Policing organizations envelop high risk and high liability situations on a daily basis. Its members have the capacity to take away human freedoms, eliminate human life, and legally access secrets hidden away from the public. Further, its members regularly traverse a complex life world inclusive of general orders, operations orders, highly specialized workgroups, and a paramilitary hierarchy. Therefore, this inquiry of power in organizations focuses on policing organizations.

Toward this end, the following research questions have been crafted to focus this inquiry on the behaviors in the police organization amongst its members. In other words,



these research questions differ significantly from traditional approaches as they seek to provide greater knowledge of power in action amongst members of a policing organization rather than the interaction between the police and the community. These questions place emphasis on gaining a greater understanding of structural influences such as relationships of communication, goal oriented activities, relationships of power. Also of significance, these questions seek a greater understanding of how individuals are objectified through the exercise of power in a policing organization. The research questions guiding this inquiry of power are as follows:

*1. How is power exercised within a contemporary American police organization?*

- What forms of communication are used in a police organization to transmit discourse and create/reinforce knowledge (i.e. City Manager's Weekly, Chief's Message, Information Update, etc.)?
- What means of language, system of signs, or other symbolic medium are used to transmit information (Budget documents, uniforms, logos, etc.)?
- What dialogic structures (formation and reformation of dyads and triads of communication) exist (i.e. who is talking to whom)?
- What discourse is communicated within these forms of communication and, how is that discourse interpreted and acted upon by those working in a police organization?
- What actions of power are acted upon others which in turn impact their actions (i.e. action upon an action)?
- What structural forms exist that influence the actions of those working in the police organization to act in a certain, predetermined, manner (i.e. normative

expectations, policies and procedures, organization structure, SB1070, new prescription marijuana laws, social media, communication expectations, etc.)?

- What forms of subjugation and exclusion exist in this organization?

2. *As a function of how power is exercised within a contemporary American police organization, what knowledge supports or rationalizes decision making within this organization during the Country's current economic recession/depression?*

These research questions are designed to extract a greater understanding of the exercise of power in a contemporary setting. Specifically, the first question pursues a clearer sense of relations of power, methods of communication, and specific goal oriented activities in the life world of a policing organization. The second question integrates the knowledge gained from the first as it relates specifically to the objectification of the subject. In sum, the resulting knowledge gained by answering these research questions is expected to provide significant contributions to the fields of public administration, organizational theory, organizational behavior, power, and policing.

## Chapter 3

### METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

#### Methodology

To answer the above research questions a methodology is needed that incorporates the full engagement of the research site and its members. This methodology must support the observation of communication in its multiple forms and deliveries. The researcher must witness behavior in the organization as it happens in multiple settings and at varying levels. Understanding cannot be limited to observation alone. Knowledge must be gained by participating in the field of study, while interacting and gaining greater clarity with its members. The gathering and analysis of archives is paramount, but this inquiry must couple the context in which archives are written/created, received, and interpreted in the organization. As such, an ethnographic approach was chosen as the most appropriate methodology for this inquiry.

Pawluch, Shaffir, and Miall (2005) state the ethnographic quest is “achieving intersubjectivity or a conceptual oneness with the other” while making contact with the other, interacting with the other, managing oneself in the ethnographic context, and recording information about the life worlds of the other (p. 15). Describing ethnography as *thick description*, Geertz (1973) states that within this thick description the ethnographer attempts to read a culture as a manuscript – “foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conceptualized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behavior” (p. 10). Clifford (1986) states:

Ethnography is actively situated between powerful systems of meaning. It poses its questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusions. It describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes. (pp. 2-3)

Ethnography is inclusive of the practice in which researchers place themselves in the midst of their chosen field of study and are thus able to examine various phenomena as perceived by participants, and the documenting/recording of these observations (Berg, 2007, p. 172). It ties together fieldwork and culture (Van Maanen, 1988). Miettinen, Samra-Fredericks, and Yanow (2009) state:

This is what sets participant-observer ethnography apart from interview- or document- based research: the ethnographer's first-hand encounter with the actors in their own settings, in the midst of doing whatever it is that they do every day, with whatever is required to do it. (p. 1315)

At a "critical minimum," O'Reilly (2005) states that ethnography is:

Iterative-inductive research (that evolves in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agents within the context of their daily lives (and cultures); watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory as well as the researcher's own role, and that views humans as part object/part subject. (p. 3)

“Ethnography is therefore highly particular and hauntingly personal, yet it serves as the basis for grand comparison and understanding within and across society” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. ix).

Ethnography is best suited to analyze the complexity of organizations as issues are rarely clear and concrete, the scope of involved persons is ill defined, and there is need to explore factors associated with problems or concerns (USGAO, 2003).

Incorporating its theoretical foundations, appropriate application, and methodology, ethnography’s strength is in its ability to delve into topics such as organizational processes and informal relations, organizational identity and change, organizational “environments,” and organizational morality and conflict (Yanow, 2009). Unlike quantitative research methods, ethnography, as an iterative process, is able to fully engage and describe unexpected or unanticipated outcomes (USGAO, 2003).

Further, power, as seen as a function of the exercise of power (inclusive of relationships of communication, relationships of power, goal oriented activities, and the objectification of the subject), is best approached through participant observation, engagement with the field of study, the analysis of its artifacts, open dialogue, and discourse analysis. Following Foucault’s (1977) general principles for analyzing power, an ethnographic approach supports the analysis of power at its extremities; it provides an avenue to fully consider the constitution of the subject; and to witness how power passes through individuals and not as it is applied to them. The ethnographic approach provides a fluid means to analyze power from below and not as domination from above. In addition, this methodology supports analyzing power as the accumulation and circulation of knowledge rather than the production of ideology.

In sum, the complete range of ethnographic methods (including participant observation, reflexivity, reaching the native's point of view, forms of voice, levels of authority, and publication medium) provide the researcher with the tools, knowledge, and ability to generate a greater understanding of power in a police organization. It is ethnography that is best able to observe the discourse within an organization, to recognize actions upon actions, to hear, see, and taste the behaviors of those within an organization as a life world in which power is constantly in play.

### Methods

This study followed a four phase iterative ethnographic process. These phases are preparation / initial framework; field data collection, recoding, and reflection; final coding; and final analysis (USGAO, 2003). This process is described as iterative due to the nature in which the constant gathering and reviewing of data throughout an ethnography may cause an ethnographer to step back and forth between phases rather than proceed in a stringent linear fashion (Fetterman, 2010). The preparation and initial framework for this study, in the form of a theoretical and practical literature review, crafted research questions, and chosen methodology, were discussed in the prior sections. What follows is a detailed account of the methods used during this study toward the greater understanding of the exercise of power in a police organization.

### *Entering the Field*

I embedded myself into the research site two and a half years prior to beginning my field work. This was done by applying for a civilian position in the organization;

successfully completing the application, interview, and background process; and being offered the position. At the time, I was finishing my coursework, looking ahead to comprehensive exams, and my dissertation proposal laid in wait on the distant horizon. While it is true that I had not fully explored my dissertation topic, research questions, and methodology, and that my desire to enhance my professional career and increase my earning capacity highly influenced my decision to seek this position, I knew at the time that my study would consist of an inquiry of power, and that a police organization provides a substantive background in which to study power at its extremes. Therefore, I cannot say that I sought out this position with the sole intent of embedding myself for this research study. What I can say is that my academic interests blended seamlessly with the opportunities associated with this new position.

Ethnography requires researchers to spend time in the company of those who are being studied (O'Reilly, 2005). It is within this time that the ethnographer attempts to limit the effect they may have on the research subjects; gain an understanding of the culture as it relates to the research question; and allow for the development of further questioning and theory development (O'Reilly, 2005). In an attempt to observe behaviors in their most natural state, ethnographers go to great lengths to reduce impacts they themselves may have on the research site. Van Maanen (1973) and Rubinstein's (1973) seminal works on police organizations exemplify this practice. Conducting separate ethnographies of police organizations, both researchers entered the field overtly as researchers. In an attempt to be treated as members of the organization, each researcher subjected themselves to completing their respective Department's police academies as new recruits. This tactic met mixed results as neither researcher was given open range to

provide services to the community as sworn police officers citing legal complications as the reason.

The manner in which the ethnographer enters the field of study has significant ramifications for the study ahead. Entry into the field can be done either covertly or overtly (Berg, 2007; O'Reilly, 2005). Berg (2007) states that there are appropriate research questions in which a covert entry into the field is acceptable and preferred over overt entry. Covert entry into the field is believed to provide an ethnographer with greater accessibility to their object of study, and limit changes in behavior that may be caused by the researcher's known presence; this is known as the *Hawthorne effect*. At the conclusion of a study on work productivity within Western Electric Company in Chicago, Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) identified a change in people's behavior and actions when they believed their behavior was being watched. This change in behavior is known as the *Hawthorne effect*. Vinzant and Crothers (1998) state:

By being at a scene, in a car, in the area, or simply "around," the observer may encourage observed persons to change their behavior. There is simply stated, no easy way to finesse the problem of observers influencing the behavior of those observed. (p. 26)

However, covert entry quickly faces ethical dilemmas regarding the interaction with and/or observation of the research subjects. Overt entry, on the other hand, overcomes many potential ethical dilemmas the researcher may face when conducting their ethnography. Specifically, the researcher does not have to create a story, or façade, and present themselves as something else when conducting overt entry. It should be noted; overt entry does not overcome all ethical dilemmas. For instance, some ethnographers



will enter the field overtly, but purposefully conceal or limit the full disclosure of a research topic. This can be done to limit the *Hawthorne effect*, or bias of the research participants.

For this study, I chose to enter the field overtly. This decision was influenced by two significant variables. First, this study was not under a mandated time constraint. As such, covert entry's advantage of a shortened time in the field as the researcher can quickly engage their topic without having to overcome their impact as a researcher on those being studied was not necessary (Berg, 2007). Overt entry typically results in longer time in the field as the researcher must make strides to gain acceptance and trust by those under study and allow themselves to become part of the background (Berg, 2007). By embedding myself two and a half years prior to this study, I believed I had built significant trust with its members as one of their own. Further, I committed six months to field work which fits within the typical range for ethnographies (Fetterman, 2010). Second, as stated above, overt entry reduces many ethical dilemmas. Covert entry entails significant risk to the ethnographer. Those risks include negative reactions to future publications, feelings of betrayal by those in the organization, and, in this case, jeopardizing my employment status with the organization. By entering the field overtly, I believed that I would not be required to avoid explaining my reason for being in the field, nor find myself in situations where I felt compelled to provide falsehoods in order to maintain the credibility of the study.

Having chosen to enter the field overtly, I recognized that due to my position within the organization that some individuals may behave or respond differently based upon that knowledge. This is consistent with Ellis (2007) when she states that significant

challenges can arise when one conducts an ethnography in the place where one works. Ellis states that the ethnographer must be cognizant of their own status, or hierarchy, within an organization and how that may impact a participant during, and potentially after, the study. As the study progressed I was continually cognizant and reflective of this concern.

Following the Institutional Review Board guidelines, I met with the Police Department's executive staff, inclusive of the Chief of Police and three Assistant Chiefs of Police to seek their permission. During this meeting I presented my research topic and design. I fielded multiple questions regarding timelines, methods of data collection, ownership of data, separation of work and research, confidentiality, and publications. Agreements made included assigning one executive staff member to act as a liaison between the Department and myself. As ethnographers strongly suggest that publications include some form of review and/or validation from the field of study, this agreement was consistent with ethnographic methods (Maxwell, 2005; Silverman, 2005). Further, to significantly avoid and/or limit any potential problems, it was agreed that I would not include members in my chain of command as potential interview participants. This decision was made to reinforce a non-coercive recruitment process, and avoid conflicts of interest arising from my dual roles. Finally, it was agreed that all data derived from this study were the sole property of the researcher and associated University. Having adequately responded to their questions, the Chief of Police provided a letter of permission.

The following week I conducted meetings with the Department's Bureau Managers and my direct reports to inform them of the study's topic, inform them that the

study had been approved by executive staff, present the scope of the study, describe methods of confidentiality, and provide responses to their questions. Specific to my direct reports, I informed them that neither they nor their employees would be subjects for this study. Receiving no further feedback, or resistance to the study, I completed the Social Behavioral Application for Human Subjects and submitted it for Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. I received approval to conduct this research study from the IRB in the spring of 2011. I entered the field as an ethnographer in April, 2011 and exited the field six months later in October, 2011.

### *Data Collection*

This study incorporated multiple data collection methods. First, participant observation was conducted to view, engage, and interpret the organization from the perspective of its members. During the six month period in the field, over 900 hours of participant observation was conducted resulting in over 400 pages of field notes. My position, and formalized role, in the organization provided me access to observe multiple work groups at all levels of the organization. Observations included line level employees, supervisors, managers, and executives. Both sworn and civilian employees were observed. Interactions spanned work functions and hierarchical structures. In addition, while the Department's security access limits non-Police Department personnel from entry into its facilities, my position provided me access to areas within the Department that are segregated from its own personnel.

Second, during this ethnography there were times when more focused observations were needed to flesh out specific concepts. I define these more focused

observations as ride-alongs. Ride-alongs in the policing culture are typically defined as situations in which a non-police department individual accompanies a patrol officer during their shift. The individual physically rides along with the officer in their patrol car. I am expanding the scope of this term to include sitting with members of other workgroups such as Communications or Records. The difference in this data collection method rather than participant observation is that I took an active role in these sessions to draw out information from those I was sitting with to ask why they were conducting themselves in a certain way in certain situations. These were not interviews, or semi-structured interviews, rather they were planned and directed observations in which I took the liberty to ask questions about function, roles, process and purpose. Over seventy hours were spent on ride-alongs inclusive of the Communications Bureau and Patrol Bureau.

Third, semi-structured interviews were conducted to further clarify concepts for which participant observation and ride-alongs did not suffice. The structure of these interviews was heavily influenced by the works of Maynard-Moody, Musheno, Oberweis, and Tobin (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003, 2006; Oberweis & Musheno, 2001; Tobin, 2000). Meaning, initial questions were provided as general launching points for the interviewee to spark thought and dialogue. The general nature of these questions spawned storytelling, including rich dialogue, candid introspection, humor, and verbalized reflexivity. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2006) state, "In retelling stories, storytellers do not monitor and censor their own speech to the extent common in face-to-face interviews. Storytelling can become so engaging that the teller may say more than he or she consciously knows" (p. 321). While I did not utilize Maynard-Moody and

Musheno's (2006) specific storytelling method, their data collection approach and interpretive method heavily influenced the manner in which I conducted and interpreted narratives collected through semi-structured interviews. As such, the narratives derived from these semi-structured interviews provided a great source of data/discourse to be later analyzed. In all, thirty-one semi-structured interviews were conducted. The demographics of participants were representative of the organization by including sworn and civilian employees; a multitude of workgroups (e.g. Patrol, Communications, Criminal Investigations, Records, Special Investigations, Forensic Services, Property, Detention, Motors, and Administrative Assistants); line level and managerial employees; male and female; a multitude of races and ethnicities (e.g. White, African American, Hispanic, and American Indian); and tenure ranging from 4 to 27 years of service. These interviews averaged one hour in length and resulted in over 442 pages of transcripts. General topics included: stories of becoming a member of the organization, self-reported job descriptions, context of working in a police organization, impacts of the City's budget reduction process, and the ideal employee. More specific topics included a greater understanding of hiring and training practices, uniforms, unions, budget processes, internal affairs, technology, space planning, the detention facility, and the Office of the Chief.

A snowball sampling technique was used to select ride-along participants and semi-structured interviewees. Unlike quantitative research methods in which sampling takes the form of simple random sampling, stratified sampling, cluster sampling, quota sampling, and convenience sampling, ethnographic research rarely concerns itself in its sampling techniques with representativeness (O'Reilly, 2005). As ethnography is

typically an inductive/iterative process rather than deductive, sampling is conducted in a manner to support the ethnographer's ability to integrate with and interpret a culture (O'Reilly, 2005). For this study, ride-alongs and semi-structured interviews were scheduled as a means to clarify concepts and answer questions that could not be adequately interpreted in the form of participant observation. These interactions typically snowballed into other connections and clarity points.

Potential semi-structured interview participants were contacted in person, or by phone. Using a recruitment script (see Appendix A) as a guide, I inquired of their interest in volunteering to participate in the study. Potential participants were informed of the study, its separation from the Department as a formalized and approved University research project, that participation was fully voluntary, the methods in which the interview would be recorded, and assurances of confidentiality. Of those contacted, only two individuals refused to participate in the study. The location for each interview was determined by the interviewee. At times the interviews took place in my office, conference rooms, the employee's office, and offsite coffee shops. On the day of the interview the potential participant was provided an information letter (see Appendix B) and reminded that their participation was completely voluntary. This letter clearly articulated the purpose of the study, the role of the participant, knowledge on how data would be gathered and stored, an understanding of confidentiality, and withdrawal privileges. At this stage, none of the participants removed themselves from the study. However, one participant chose not to have the interview digitally recorded but allowed notes to be taken. All other interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

Similar to the semi-structured interviews, ride-along participants were contacted in person, or by phone. However, at the time of this study the Chief of Police and my supervisor established an expectation that all of the Bureau Managers, of which I was one, get out of their office and engage the organization. Therefore, I scheduled ride-alongs to fulfill the dual purpose of meeting the organization's expectation, and gather knowledge to support this research study. When scheduling and participating in the ride-alongs, I did not overtly inform participants that I was conducting a research study, nor did I withhold this knowledge when asked. Upon seeking approval for this study, I was given full access to the organization to observe its functions. However, to establish an ethical boundary from which to ground myself, none of the knowledge gathered during these ride-alongs is supported by quotes from the ride-along participants. As I did not seek their approval to record them in any fashion, either electronically or manually, the knowledge gained from these ride-alongs came in the form of greater understanding of general practices and themes, role clarification, and substantive support or denial of previous interpretations.

As a participant observer, anonymity, or keeping subjects unknown and nameless, was all but nonexistent. To promote confidentiality, and to protect those included in the study, I coded individuals by generalizing their identity in a manner to hinder anyone's ability to track quotes and observations back to specific individuals. Information letters provided to interview participants were not recorded in any manner by the researcher. Further, all data gathered was stored and secured offsite.

Finally, archives were gathered inclusive of organizational newsletters, payroll, newspapers, email communication, published reports, and memorandum. Specific

archives included policies and procedures, council budget reduction proposals, information updates, job announcements, memorandum of understandings, meeting minutes, employee announcements, and tax revenue reports. These archives were gathered to understand the forms and content of discourse communicated as knowledge throughout the organization.

### *Coding and Analysis: Reflexivity and the Native's Point of View*

Due to the vast amount of data collected during this study, an efficient mechanism to carefully review and analyze the data was needed. As such, all field notes, interview transcripts, and archives were created and/or converted into an electronic format.

ATLAS.ti version 6.2.27, a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), was used to organize the multiple data sources and types. For efficiencies in analysis, all data was coded. Initial codes were crafted using the above research questions. As coding progressed, new typologies and themes were identified that enhanced the understanding of the exercise of power in the organization. These new typologies and themes were added as new codes. As codes were found to be redundant, too vague, or too specific they were combined with others or limited in use.

Unlike quantitative research, the coding process for this study was not used to quantify the amount of times certain themes were observed or discussed. Specifically, frequency distributions were not created to determine the strength of any particular concept based on the number of occurrences during the study. Nor were codes used to craft statistical correlations or to prepare cross tabulations. Rather, coding was utilized to assist the researcher by signifying clear examples in response to the research questions.



As hundreds of pages of documents were crafted and gathered during this study, the coding process provided ease in which to search through and analyze field notes, interviews, and archives.

Analysis was bounded by two central themes of ethnography: *reflexivity* and the *native's point of view*. *Reflexivity* provides clarity in addressing the status of the ethnographer's subjectivity. Ethnographers employ reflexivity to strive beyond description toward understanding (Berg, 2007). Berg (2007) states, "Reflexivity further implies a shift in the way we understand data and their collection. To accomplish this, the researcher must make use of an internal dialogue that repeatedly examines what the researcher knows and how the researcher came to know this" (p. 179). In short, "To be reflexive is to have an ongoing conversation with yourself" (Berg, 2007, p. 179).

Reflexivity requires the ethnographer to acknowledge that they bring their own bias, social constructs, ontological and epistemological prescriptions, and histories to the field. Through reflexivity, the ethnographer is best apt to differentiate how ethnographic participants present themselves as compared to a tainted interpretation provided through a non-reflexive lens. In sum, O'Reilly (2005) states "Reflexivity involves: thinking about what we read (and an awareness that ethnography is constructed); thinking about what we write and how; acknowledging we are part of the world we study" (p. 210). Through reflexivity, the ethnographer is able to provide both insights on the workings of a society under study, and insights on how that knowledge came to be (Berg, 2007).

I was ever mindful during field work, when conducting analysis, and in the writing process of the reflexive nature of ethnography. I continually questioned myself regarding my decisions on where to place myself in the organization for observations, the

types of questions asked in the field and during interviews, the energy behind interpretations, and the manner in which I chose to write. From a phenomenological perspective, I attempted to employ Husserl's sense of *bracketing*. Meaning, I consciously strove to allow the object to present itself as it wanted to be presented without the application of my own biases and stereotypes on the object. I state "attempted," as it is highly contested as to whether a researcher can fully separate themselves from that which they study. Not only was I self-reflexive, I engaged in conversations with the Department's assigned research liaison to include an additional perspective of thought and introspection to support or mitigate interpretations. In all, I coached myself to be reflexive while in the field, writing field notes, transcribing interviews, conducting analysis, and writing.

John Van Maanen (1979) addresses the ethnographer's efforts in obtaining the "native's point of view." Van Maanen (1979) states, "In essence, ethnographers believe that separating the facts from the fictions, the extraordinary from the common, and the general from the specific is best accomplished by lengthy, continuous, firsthand involvement in the organizational setting under study" (p. 539). Ethnographers must be able to differentiate between the informant's first order conception of the field and the observer's second order conception of the field. This relates to the informant describing and being observed in a society, while the observer overlays their preconceived theory in an attempt to interpret the said behavior. Van Maanen (1979) argues that both first order and second order conceptions are valid and meaningful, however the researcher should ensure they keep both concepts separate from each other within the analysis/interpretation of the culture. Van Maanen (1979) acknowledges that informants

can purposefully or inadvertently mislead the ethnographer. While some researchers question the value of such accounts, Van Maanen (1979) suggests otherwise. Van Maanen (1979) states, “To the contrary, false and misleading information is exceedingly valuable to the fieldworker when it is recognized as false” (p. 544). These miscues or lies can occur due to the informant knowingly providing false information, the informant being misled themselves and reporting inaccurate or misleading information, or due to the informant being unaware of aspects that underlie certain activities (Van Maanen, 1979). The importance is that misleading activities in themselves can provide great value when interpreting a culture and provide greater sensitivity to providing the “native’s point of view.”

The legitimacy of this study will be heavily weighed by its theoretical foundation, appropriate application of research methods, criticality of analysis, and the manner in which its findings add to the greater understanding of the exercise of power in police organizations. Toward this end, great care was taken during the analysis of the vast data gathered, through a reflexive lens, to present the organization as it wanted to be presented from a “native’s point of view.”

### *Ethics*

A major concern when conducting research, particularly ethnographic research, is ethics and ethical behavior (Ellis, 2007; Richardson, 2000; Tracy, 2010). O’Reilly (2005) summarizes the ethical dilemma when she states:

My own position is that we should do our best to protect the rights of all involved in the research process while accepting that this can be an extremely difficult balancing act which individuals will resolve in different ways. (p. 60)

Ethical considerations should not be a reason not to conduct research but should keep us reflexive and critical; and no decision to continue or not to continue should be taken lightly or with little information (either by a committee or by an individual). (p. 60)

As outlined by Tracy (2010), procedural, situational, relational, and exiting practices were utilized to support ethical behavior. By following the Institutional Review Board standards, this study appropriately incorporated procedural ethics through its methods of informed consent, confidentiality, rights to privacy, and adhering to guidelines that protect human subjects from harm. By entering the field overtly, I was not placed into situations where I had to fabricate my reason for inquiry. Interview subjects were clearly informed of my role as researcher and their rights to refuse or excuse themselves from an interview at any point in time. Second, situations arose where individuals brought me into confidence as a peer, and not as a researcher, and shared deep insights without filtering. While these moments provided great opportunity for quotations of deep and raw introspection, the cost of recording these moments and the potential harm associated were too high. Third, as relations built with those observed, I incorporated a continual practice of reflexivity in support of mutual respect, dignity and connectedness between myself and those I studied (Tracy, 2010). Finally, understanding that impacts to those studied can range beyond the data collection phase, I enacted ethical exiting behavior

during and after this study. Specifically, exiting ethics recognizes that some observations and data collected may be interesting in nature, but have no value to the overall study. Therefore, reporting “voyeuristic scandalous tales” for the sake of titillation were avoided (Tracy, 2010, p. 847).

## Chapter 4

### THE RESEARCH SITE

#### Overview of American Policing Organizations

An analysis of American policing organizations suggests there is a general consistency on how these organizations are structured in accordance with their function (Bartollas & Hahn, 1999; Grant & Terry, 2005; Walker & Katz, 2005). Modeled after the military command structure, today's policing organizations are typically seen as quasi-military structures in which the chain of command is a dominant mode of communication and decision making (Grant & Terry, 2005; Walker & Katz, 2005). American policing organizations typically consist of patrol operations, investigations, and support services. However, smaller agencies, typically those found in rural areas, do not have the staff size to support this level of diversification. As such, these roles and responsibilities may be combined into one workgroup or one individual.

The Patrol Operations are known as the "backbone" of policing, and its function is to respond to citizen calls for service. Bartollas and Hahn (1999) report, "As the largest and most visible unit, it responds to calls for service 24hours-a-day, and requires the most personnel, money, resources, and equipment" (p. 111). While each agency's specified policing philosophy may guide its non-committed time for specific functions such as random patrol, community policing activities, intelligence gathering, and other efforts, patrol's first priority is to respond to citizen generated calls for service. These calls for service will range from checking on the welfare of a loved one, to mediating a neighbor dispute about a barking dog, to taking a report on a commercial burglary occurring the night before, and to responding Code 3 to an armed robbery in progress.

Investigations is responsible for clearing cases for crimes occurred and developing cases on criminal syndicates for later prosecution (Grant & Terry, 2005). The functions of Investigations are typically subdivided into criminal investigations and special investigations. Within criminal investigations, detectives are typically assigned within two general categories of crime (i.e. crimes against persons or property crimes) and then specific crime types within those categories (i.e. homicide, sex crimes, robbery, burglary, theft, arson, etc.). Special Investigations typically consists of undercover officers, surveillance squads, and dignitary protection. Special Investigations typically utilizes its resources to identify sources of problems to establish large cases with greater impact (e.g. leaders of drug cartels) rather than placing emphasis on individual street-level offenders (e.g. drug pushers).

Support Services, also described as administrative units, “manage such diverse functions as the hiring and training of police personnel, maintaining police records, research and planning, and overseeing internal affairs” (Grant & Terry, 2005, p. 123). Additional specific work groups typically include budget, property, crime analysis, and communications. Grant and Terry (2005) state, “Typically, administrative units are staffed by a mixture of sworn police officers and civilian employees” (p. 123). Support Services is typically the area in which most of the department’s civilian population are assigned.

The above overview on American policing organizations is a description of the typical structure for urban American policing organizations today. The chosen research site’s organizational structure and function closely resembles this structure. What follows is a closer examination of the chosen research site.

## The Research Site's Organizational Structure

The selected policing organization is a mid-sized municipal police department located in the American southwest. The municipality serves a population in excess of 150,000, and it has a mayor/council and city manager form of government. A large university lies in the City limits promoting a large influx of students not counted in the City's federal census counts. As such, there is continuous conflict over federal appropriations, population estimates, and service delivery expectations. The City's government consists of multiple departments (e.g. Police, Fire, Technology, Finance, Community Development, Public Works, Community Services, and Human Resources (HR)), smaller offices (e.g. Diversity, Organizational Learning & Development, Community Relations, and Internal Audit), all of which report directly to the city manager. Three departments (i.e. the City Court, City Attorney's Office, and the City Clerk's Office) report directly to mayor and council.

As typical in most municipal governments, the Police Department is one of the largest City departments with respect to both budget and personnel. At the beginning of this study, the Department's budget exceeded 70 million dollars, and had an authorized allocation of approximately 500 employees (338 sworn positions; 152 civilian positions). Most personnel are assigned to/deployed from one of three stations with ancillary functions assigned to smaller facilities. These three stations consist of a headquarters, and two substations geographically situated to support a North and South Patrol deployment function. Each station is relatively new and in good repair. The oldest



station, the South station, was built in the mid-90s, the North station was built in the early 2000s, and Headquarters was newly renovated just prior to this study.

Organizationally, the Department is divided into four general work areas. These areas are the Office of the Chief, and three divisions titled Operations, Organizational Services, and Support Services (see Figure 2).

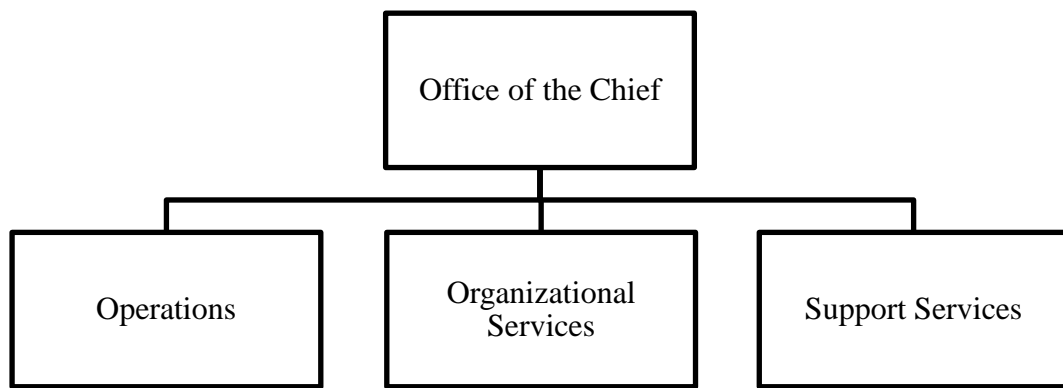


Figure 2: Police Department Organization Chart: The organization consists of the Office of the Chief and three divisions (Operations, Organizational Services, and Support Services).

The Office of the Chief consists of the Chief of Police, a legal advisor, community affairs liaisons, and administrative support staff. Three assistant chiefs, one of which is a civilian employee, manage each of the three divisions. The Operations Division encompasses all sworn employees that work in uniform and criminal investigations. This is inclusive of patrol, traffic enforcement, bike squads, criminal

investigations, and special investigations personnel (i.e. undercover officers and surveillance teams). Organizational Services consists of hiring and training, public information, Internal Affairs, detention, and a volunteer program. Support Services includes most civilian employee workgroups and is led by a civilian assistant chief of police. Workgroups include communications, records, property, identification personnel, budget and finance, planning and research, crime analysis, alarm ordinance management, and information technology

Consistent with most paramilitary organizations, sworn personnel fit into a rank structure. Beginning from the lowest level, the rank structure consists of officer, sergeant, lieutenant, commander, assistant chief, and chief (see Figure 3). With few exceptions, these ranks are used synonymously as titles for sworn employees. Meaning, as a sworn employee moves from one assignment to another, their rank remains as their title with their assignment used as a designator for the function they currently provide. For example, if a commander changes assignment from patrol to investigations, their rank/title remains the same. However, they are designated as an “Investigations” Commander rather than as a “Patrol” Commander. This naming structure, to designate rank and assignment, remains consistent except when officers, the lowest level rank, are assigned to investigations. When assigned to investigations they are called “detectives” rather than officers. Hierarchically, however, these two naming conventions, officer and detective, are equivalent.

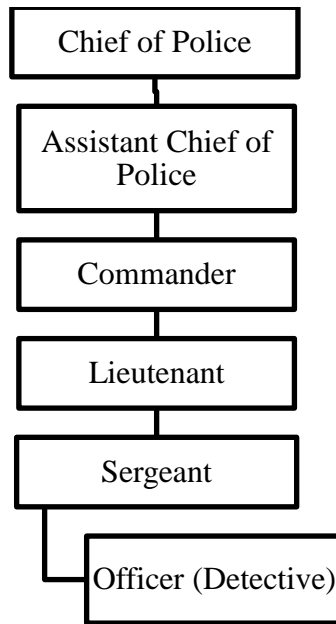


Figure 3: Sworn Rank Hierarchy: As a paramilitary organization, the Police Department utilizes a rank structure beginning at the officer level and progressing to chief of police.

Civilian personnel, police employees who have not completed a police academy and been “sworn in,” are categorized hierarchically in a more general sense. This hierarchical structure is notably flatter, having only four levels, than the sworn rank structure. Civilian personnel are designated as line level, supervisor, bureau manager, or director (see Figure 4). Whereas sworn officer rank is synonymous with title, the civilian hierarchical structure designates an employee’s level of supervisory responsibility. Line level employees have no supervisor responsibility. In most instances, supervisors supervise line level employees, bureau managers supervise supervisors, and the director supervises bureau managers. Specialized titles are given to civilian positions to designate function. For example, line level employees assigned to the records unit are records specialists. Line level employees working as clerical support staff are titled

administrative assistants. Further, line level employees assigned to the planning and research unit are titled police analysts. While the civilian hierarchy does not directly reflect a paramilitary rank structure, the Department’s general orders specifies that the civilian director position is equivalent in rank to an assistant chief, a bureau manager is equivalent to a commander, and a supervisor is equivalent in rank to a sergeant.

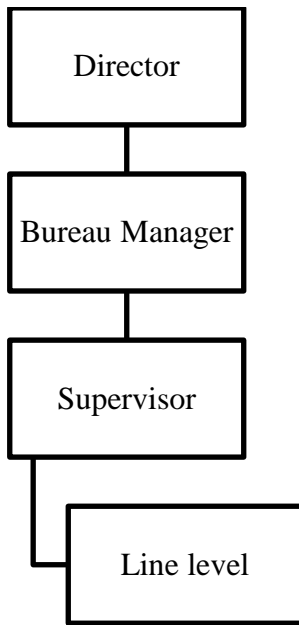


Figure 4: Police Department Civilian Employee Hierarchy: Civilian employee positions are designated as line level, supervisor, bureau manager, or director.

### Context

Significant change has been a constant theme for the Department over the past few years. Self-identified as a “community policing organization” since the late 1980s, command staff has recently embraced a new policing philosophy known as “intelligence-led policing.” Ratcliffe (2008) defines intelligence-led policing as:

A business model and managerial philosophy, where data analysis and crime intelligence are pivotal to an objective, decision-making framework that facilitates crime and problem reduction, disruption and prevention through both strategic management and effective enforcement strategies that target prolific and serious offenders. (p. 6)

With the integration of this philosophy has come significant pressure from executive staff on how the organization is expected to seek and interpret information to support decision making.

Substantial structural changes have occurred over the past three years due to changes in leadership, organizational structure, and reductions in force due to the Nation's economic downturn. In particular, the Department reduced its line item budget in excess of \$10 million dollars between fiscal year 2008/2009 and fiscal year 2010/2011, inclusive of the loss of over 70 full time positions. Loss in personnel also included loss in organizational knowledge and leadership as senior employees at all levels of the organization took advantage of the City's early retirement program. In addition, further reductions are currently being discussed as the economy has not stabilized as projected.

In response to these personnel and budget reductions, the Department completed a strategic reorganization process in fiscal year 2009/2010. This reorganization addressed span of control, loss of personnel resources, loss of specialized work groups, and created new chains of command to promote effectiveness and efficiencies. Changes were guided by a process that measured how well the suggestion promoted the Department's intelligence-led policing philosophy and strategic directions.

In sum, the Department has moved through major change over the past few years in the form of philosophy, loss of resources and personnel, and reorganization. In light of all these changes, the community continues to voice its approval of the Department. A recent third party community survey reported a greater than 90% approval from citizens on the services provided by the Department. This approval rate has remained consistent over the past several years and is correlated to a recent voter approved .2% tax increase. This temporary tax increase is targeted to support public safety needs. As such, over 40 Police Department positions were saved that would have been added to the 70 Department positions eliminated.

It is in this context, the life world of this American policing organization, that I conducted my fieldwork. Focus is now placed on the analysis of observations while embedded in the organization. It begins by analyzing organizational decision making through economic crisis.

## Chapter 5

### RELATIONSHIPS OF POWER - DECISION MAKING THROUGH ECONOMIC CRISIS

#### Foregone Conclusion

In July 2010, fifty-five positions were eliminated from a mid-sized police department located in the American southwest. Eliminated as part of a citywide budget reduction program, the loss of these positions equated to a 10% reduction in the Department's workforce. Thirty-eight (69%) of those positions were civilian. The prior year, fourteen Police Department positions were eliminated under a similar citywide budget reduction program. Twelve (86%) of those positions were civilian. These position eliminations were ratified by City Council as a budget balancing tactic as the greater municipality traversed through one of the most significant economic downturns in decades. This drastic economic downturn necessitated decision making at its extreme with the goal of reducing the City's operating budget by \$30.6 million, or 8%.

City Council's ratification, and the Police Department's decision making and actions leading up to this event, exemplify power in action. Like most municipal organizations during the Nation's economic crisis, severe reductions in revenues required City leaders to identify mechanisms to reduce expenditures. Mechanisms for budget balancing include implementing programs to increase revenues through taxes, fees, and fines; reorganizing and consolidating city departments for greater efficiencies; and reducing daily operating expenditures such as overtime, equipment, office supplies, and training. However, as a service oriented organization, the greatest expenditure for the Municipality (over 80%) is personnel costs (e.g. salaries, wages, and benefits). As such,

with a budget reduction goal of this magnitude, the most substantial of these mechanisms to recalibrate expenditures with revenues is the elimination of positions.

The process of eliminating positions provides great transparency of power in action. All things being equal, it would be assumed that position reductions would reflect a proportional distribution of the organization. This mid-sized policing organization is comprised of approximately 500 employees (338 sworn positions; 152 civilian positions). However, for a workgroup that comprises approximately one-third of the Police Department's workforce, the ratio of civilian position eliminations compared to sworn position eliminations appears highly inequitable. This disparity (i.e. the ratio of police department civilian positions eliminated) illuminates a theme that will be discussed throughout this study. Specifically, much like Foucault's (1965) examples of the treatment of lepers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, or the homeless, downtrodden, and single women without jobs, police department civilian employees are a contemporary example of subjugated, excluded, and dominated individuals as objectified subjects. The understanding of how civilians are objectified in this organization, through the exercise of power, supports a predetermined conclusion that, in a time of extreme measures in which decision are being made as to who remains as members of the organization, civilian personnel will be the first eliminated.

### Civilianization

Some may point to previous research on civilianization in law enforcement and claim this foregone conclusion can be found in these works without the aid of Foucault or this study. To be clear, civilianization in law enforcement, and the study of



civilianization are not new ideas (Chess, 1960; Schwartz, Vaughn, Waller, & Wholey, 1975). Forst (2000) defines civilianization as a “law enforcement agency’s hiring of nonsworn personnel to replace or augment its corps of sworn officers” (p. 23). In 1960, Chess (1960) discusses the need for civilians in the law enforcement workforce, the job duties best completed by civilians, and the cost benefits associated with hiring civilians rather than sworn officers for certain jobs. He also raises the awareness of concerns by some members of the force that civilians may deprive sworn officers of desirable details and assignments. In the end, Chess (1960) states, “Despite all of our arguments for or against the use of civilians in a police agency, we cannot escape the fact that almost every police agency within the United States employs a certain number of civilians” (p. 592). Schwartz, et al. (1975) expand upon Chess’s assumptions through a research study based largely on interviews with 13 cities. Schwartz, et al.’s findings include a listing of jobs most appropriate for civilianization (e.g. communications, detention, fingerprinting, community relations, etc.), and benefits associated with hiring civilians. These findings include: relieving officers from routine tasks, costs reductions (i.e. civilian positions are typically cheaper due to salary ranges and ongoing training requirements), freeing uniformed officers for more active law enforcement duties, and service to the community is improved. Costs associated with civilians in the workforce include: lack of job knowledge; officer anxiety about the reliability of civilians; higher civilian attrition rates; costs of job supervision; abuse of sick leave; tardiness or other costs attributed to undesirable practices; and officers concerns that the use of civilians threatens job security (Schwartz, et al., 1975, p. 17). Forst (2000) revisits these themes decades later and confirms the continued trend to include civilians in the police organization workforce,

cost benefits associated with civilianization, and the strengths and weaknesses associated with civilians. Forst's (2000) findings state that civilians have lower salaries than sworn employees, cost less to train, and receive fewer benefits while working more days each year.

Subsequent research has assessed the value of civilianization in the workforce and compared behaviors between sworn officers and civilians related to stress, burnout, organizational commitment, discipline and integrity (Dick & Metcalfe, 2001; Forst, 2000; Heininger & Urbanek, 1983; McCarty & Skogan, 2012; Shane, 2012; Shernock, 1988; Wright, 2010). One common theme in the civilianization literature describes a class conflict between sworn officers and civilians in policing organizations (Burke, 1995; Dick & Metcalfe, 2001; Harring, 1981; Highmore & Britain, 1993; McCarty & Skogan, 2012; Sewell & Crew, 1984). To begin, Sid Harring (1981) discusses civilianization of the police workforce as an indicator of the "Taylorization" of police work. Here, Taylorization is defined as "the process of breaking down police work into a number of simpler elements under the control of police administrators" (p. 26). Civilianization, as a component of Taylorization, is described as altering the class base in police organizations. "Now Blacks, Hispanics, and women, long barred from careers on police forces, often work beside officers who are male, white, and paid two or three times their salary" (Harring, 1981, p. 27). Civilians are described as threats to officers' jobs both in quantity and function. As positions are specialized through Taylorization, the multi-faceted component of what it is to be a patrol officer shrinks as civilian specialists remove job duties such as crime analysis, accident investigations, dispatching. "This not only sets up isolated and alienating low pay "careers" for civilians; it has the same effect

on the police officer. He is left simply as “patrolman” (Harring, 1981, p. 28). Further research explores the relationships between sworn and civilian employees in the police organization. This research explores the phenomenon of the civilian employee as a “second class citizen.” Sewell and Crew (1984) state:

It is not unusual for communications personnel to perceive themselves as "second-class citizens" within their department. Field needs receive administrative attention and priority in both personnel and budget, and even line officers are quick to criticize and slow to recognize the actions of these vital support personnel. The frustrations of this stressor are generated not only from field personnel but also from administrators and supervisors who are perceived to lack knowledge about the role and functions of a professional communications center. (p. 9)

Burke’s (1995) study of dispatcher stress also reports that dispatchers feel they are being treated as second class citizens in the organization. Burke (1995) states:

One of the stressors that most affected job satisfaction among dispatchers was their perception of low status. Dispatchers commonly reported hearing disparaging remarks, such as "What do you expect? They are only dispatchers," from departmental personnel or callers. Their civilian status within a sworn organization and their physical isolation from other personnel reinforced this perception of being second class citizens. This degradation came not only from line officers but also from supervisors and other civilian employees who participated in "dispatcher bashing." (p. 4)

Highmore and Britain (1993), as referenced by Dick and Metcalfe (2001), expand the generalization of “second class citizens in the police” beyond that of dispatchers to encompass all civilian employees in the organization. This research, that of civilianization, class conflict, and second class citizens, all point to differences between sworn officers and civilian employees. However, this research does not address how these perceptions are validated, or refuted, through relationships of power in the organization. In other words, the above survey and interview findings may provide perceptions of class conflict and/or second class citizenship among police organization employees; however, these findings do not explore relationships of power (i.e. relationships of communication, goal oriented activities, and relationships of power) that may influence those perceptions.

This study addresses that void. It begins with a detailed inquiry of the City’s budget reduction process. As power in action encapsulated this decision making process, through a more focused lens it can be seen that it was through the interplay of power relationships and, in the end, forms of subjugation and exclusion that the civilian subject was objectified as the appropriate choice for elimination. This inquiry includes both a detailed account of the budget reduction process and the impact of the budget reduction process on the subject, through the voices of sworn and civilian police department employees. These stories reveal significant findings regarding the subject’s awareness of the exercise of power in the organization.

## Budget Balancing Process

### *Target Allocations and the Relationships of Power*

In response to the City's significant shortfall in revenue, the City Manager established eight budget balancing teams each with its own mission to explore concepts and ideas on how to best address the City's financial crisis. One of these teams was the Target Allocation Team. Its mission was to establish target budget reduction allocations for each City department. This group utilized self-determined formulas to assess the "appropriate" budget reductions for each department. While this team included a member of the Police Department, comments made during interviews and informal conversations support the belief that this team, as a whole, was very "anti-police." Historically, during a similar economic downturn in the early 1990s, all of the City Departments contributed to budget balancing reductions except Public Safety (i.e. Police and Fire). Therefore, other City departments, and associated members of the Target Allocation Team, felt it was Public Safety's turn to take the brunt of the necessary budget cuts. This team's target allocation recommendations to the City Manager reflected this premise.

Prior to making public the target allocation recommendations to the City Council and City Departments, the City Manager scheduled a meeting with the Chief of Police. The conversation was limited to the City Manager, the Chief of Police, and me. The City Manager informed the Chief that the Target Allocation Team had put together a target for all of the Departments including the Police Department. In looking at the Team's recommendation, it appeared they used a formula that resulted in a significant cut to the Police Department. The City Manager stated he looked at what other cities were doing

and noted that a nearby jurisdiction instituted a two for one reduction process that for every two non-Public Safety positions reduced from the organization; one Public Safety position would be removed. The City Manager stated that he had looked at the Target Allocation Team's and the nearby jurisdictions formulas and averaged the two to come up with his target for the Department. He then sought the Chief's input before moving forward.

Having someone provide you a document that requires you to reduce your budget by 25% (i.e. over \$14.5 million) by the end of the year can have a very chilling effect. Rather than emotively reacting, the Chief simply stated that he just needed the City Manager to give him the target number. There was no argument about the value or how it was contrived. Instead, the Chief pointed out that the Police Department will get its allocation and then the politics will determine what will happen in reality. Rather than a Target Allocation Team determining the Department's budget reduction target, actions upon actions, using the Chief's term "politics," would determine the true budget reduction allocation.

That afternoon the Chief met with his assistant chiefs to discuss next steps. During this discussion, this group decided to have the Bureau Managers create a budget reduction proposal. The bureau managers would be tasked with the goal oriented activity of compiling a document, based on their decisions, with specific budget reduction concepts. These concepts would then be reviewed by the executives and not originated by them. In sum, the executive team, by delegating the Police Department's budget reduction proposal to the bureau managers, distanced itself from the specificity of Police Department budget cuts. The exercise of power through structural forms obscures

accountability for decision making and cultivates an open environment for actions upon actions like “politics.”

### *Budget Reduction Guidelines*

Goal oriented activities force decision making and the objectification of the subject as can be seen in the bureau manager budget reduction proposal process. To support the bureau manager decision making process, the assistant chiefs of police established budget reduction parameters. These parameters can be seen as an organizational structural form to classify and divide individuals. Communicated via email to the bureau managers, these parameters were crafted to ascertain the Department’s necessary functions/services and maintain the Department’s efforts in meeting its five strategic planning goals: fighting crime, providing quality services, providing a supportive environment for employees, promoting organizational development and innovation, and enhancing information technology. These parameters for prioritization were as follows:

- Core mission of suppressing crime
- Ability to maintain order
- Ability to be adaptive, flexible, and proactive in crime fighting efforts including the ability to quickly respond to changing circumstances and challenges
- Use of analytical and technical capabilities to rapidly gather, analyze, and disseminate actionable crime, intelligence, and administrative information to ensure timely, accurate information is available for decision making purposes

- Ability to ensure that the quality of services does not change (although level of services will likely change)
- Focus on being innovative and finding better and more efficient ways of accomplishing the core mission
- Ability to ensure appropriate management and oversight of high liability functions

One assistant chief stated that these parameters were established and given to the bureau managers in part as a guide to mitigate two possible budget reduction strategies. The first strategy that had been used in a prior budget reduction process in the 90s was for the Department to only offer significant and/or highly political positions and resources for elimination (i.e. the Mounted Unit) believing that no one would, including the City Manager and the City Council, support cutting them. This assistant chief stated that the severity of the current economic crisis as compared to the prior budget reduction process would not support such a strategy. It would be clearly seen as a ploy and heavily frowned upon by the City Manager. The second possible strategy is to focus on cutting civilian support positions assuming that “guns and badges” or “boots on the ground” are always a higher priority than support positions.

*Assistant Chief:* We didn’t want to just cut all the crime analysts like [adjacent law enforcement agency]. We need people with special skills and we can’t rely on sworn officers to fill positions that we cut because a civilian employee was in them.

*Assistant Chief:* It is recognized that citizens and other entities will cut civilian positions in a heartbeat, without thinking about the full ramifications. They won’t use that same process when the recommendation includes cutting sworn positions.



The City level politics equate to “cops on the street” as the priority. They don’t think about the need for support staff, civilian report takers, records clerks, dispatchers, etc.

Further, this assistant chief conducted an analysis and found that this second strategy would not work. As civilian employees are paid less than sworn employees, attempting to only cut civilian positions to reach the target allocation would fall short of the \$14.5 million goal. As such, sworn positions would have to be a part of the discussion.

Leading up to the bureau managers’ budget reduction meeting, there were concerns that not everyone would heed the assistant chiefs’ parameters and concerns about the composition of the budget reduction group. As such one civilian bureau manager requested that each bureau manager utilize the parameters to determine how they would cut 25% of their own budget prior to the group meeting as a whole. This goal oriented activity was intended to force all bureau managers (sworn and civilian) to look at their own budgets before offering to cut their peer’s budget. In addition, considerable thought was placed into the dialogic structure of the upcoming meeting. Four of the current sworn bureau managers would be leaving the organization in the upcoming months due to retirement or an offsite assignment. These four sworn bureau managers recused themselves from the process believing that it was inappropriate for them to participate in a budget reduction process in which they would not have to work within the resulting aftermath. This left the remaining bureau manager group consisting of four sworn and three civilian bureau managers to craft their worst case scenarios.

Bureau managers were left to their own devices when crafting their individual budget reduction proposals. However, the assistant chiefs’ expected that each of the

bureau managers converse with their staff while working through the reduction process. Having crafted their individual proposals, the group met over a four week span to create a compiled proposal for executive team review. During these meetings, each of the bureau managers took turns describing their individual proposal and the impact each reduction would have on their work group and the Department. As conversations progressed employees were objectified through dividing practices based on categories like sworn or civilian status, work group designation, and cost. Specifically, how much does it cost the city to retain a position? Or, in other words, how much closer to the Department's goal will the elimination of a select position realize? This specific dividing practice clearly showed the cost disparity between a records clerk and a sworn officer position. As it would take the elimination of multiple records clerks to equate to one sworn officer position. Budget reduction proposals were entered into an excel spreadsheet and projected onto a screen for all participants to see. Once all concepts were added to the spreadsheet, inclusive of their economic impact, the bureau managers prioritized the list. Prioritization was founded on the budget reduction parameters and political awareness. In the end, the bureau manager budget reduction proposal included both sworn and civilian positions. Of note, proposals to eliminate sworn positions were typically rated as higher priorities for the Department than proposals recommending the elimination of civilian positions.

The proposal was given to the executive team for review. Having reviewed the proposal, the executive team scheduled a meeting with the bureau managers to provide feedback. During this meeting the bureau managers explained the process they followed to identify and prioritize budget reduction proposals and answered questions about how

those proposals were prioritized. As an example, the bureau manager's proposal included the elimination of the traffic unit. The bureau managers argued that this unit's function was least connected to the budget reduction parameters and Department's strategic goals, as compared to other sworn work groups, and would provide significant budget savings. The Chief asked that the group revisit this proposal stating that the entire elimination of this work group is not a good idea. I was later informed by one of the bureau managers that the Chief, and one of the assistant chiefs, were past motor officers and held significant pride with this unit. Second, the Chief asked about the proposed elimination of three community liaison positions. This included a sergeant position and two sworn positions. While the bureau managers felt these positions were lower in priority than many other positions, the Chief asked the group to revisit these eliminations as well. He stated that these positions provide him great support when working with community members and City Council. He did not support eliminating all three positions. As a result of the executive team's feedback, fewer reductions were made in the community liaison workgroup (elimination of the sergeant position) and traffic unit reductions were separated into multiple concepts and reprioritized. These changes moved civilian budget reduction proposals as lower priorities for the Department.

### *Dialogic Structures and Discourse*

Relationships of communication play a significant role in the exercise of power. The timing of shared discourse and associated dialogic structures greatly influence how decisions are made. With the bureau managers' budget reduction proposal in hand; the Chief scheduled separate meetings with Department employees representing three of the

employee union groups: the civilian line level association, supervisor association, and the officer's association. His intent was to provide these employees with the proposal, discuss how the budget reduction decisions had been determined, and receive feedback. In reality the proposal was given to each employee group on short notice, and meetings with the Chief and his assistant chiefs were scheduled shortly after. Each employee group was informed that any feedback must be provided to the chief within the next day as he was providing the final budget reduction proposal to the City Manager in two days' time.

Repercussions from this relationship of communication, specifically the timing of discourse and the dialogic structure in which it was given were significant.

*Civilian Union President:* We still have scars from that, because um... our group did not feel it was done fairly. Especially on the civilian side. You know there is um... animosity; this is probably not just [City], but a lot of places, where there is tension between City employees and Police employees. But also tension between sworn and civilian. And so we get into that; them and us mentality. And when you look at the budget and putting people into cate.. not people, but the positions. People took it personally, because you could actually look at the budget and say, "That's my job. I'm in the red zone. I'm in the yellow zone. I'm in the green zone." And, I remember first meeting with the Chief, and he met with our union and with [the officer's association]. I think he met with all of the, yeah, those are the only two that are important to him.

I said the last thing we want to see is for you to try and save the entire department on the backs of the civilians. "That won't happen... That won't

happen...” But that’s what happened. That’s how our group felt because other... Outside of the dispatchers that were in the green zone, all of our jobs were in the yellow, it gets to council, and they end up in the red zone. There’s moving around. You know... We did a presentation. We are the only group that came to the table and actually did a presentation in front of council. I remember meeting with one of the council members, who shall remain nameless, and he said, “The only thing wrong with the police department is that there are too many civilians.” Oh!!!! I am civilian! [laughter].

And so, that let me know that [the officer’s association] had done an excellent job [laughter]. I need to go do my job. We went on an educational tour right then and there. We started meeting with, you know, the mayor and council and everyone else. I don’t think people realize all of the jobs in police that are civilian. You know. The jail. I don’t have to tell you. You know. But people don’t realize all of the jobs that are really civilian on the police side.

So we went around educating people. Even in the City! Who had no idea all that we do on the civilian side?

*Interviewer:* How did you do that?

*Civilian Union President:* Just talking to people. And I think they were blown away... Did you know that all of the detention officers are really civilian? The people that go to crime scenes and identify the deceased... those are civilians. Everything from the dispatcher, all of us that process the prisoners, all of the jobs behind the scenes... I’m like, yeah the officer shows up and handcuffs them, but we tell them where to go! [laughter]

You know, all the analysts, the police... All of them are civilian. I said we even cart away the bad people. [laughter] So... oh yeah.. yeah... so that's how... yeah...

*Interviewer:* Did it help?

*Civilian Union President:* I think it did help. Yeah... so...

While the civilian line level employee group reacted by developing an educational campaign, the sworn supervisor employee group took a different tact by providing the Chief with an alternative budget reduction strategy for review. In summary, the response included significant cuts in all civilian areas including the elimination of the civilian bureau managers, and all jail staff (i.e. civilian positions). Where sworn positions were identified for elimination, they were recommended at the highest level of the organization in the form of assistant chief and commander positions.

*Police Officer Association Member:* Yeah, the union presented a... at least one significant option. I know that there was back and forth of basically the administration here was given a money target and created a list of working backwards. These are the people that would least impact service. I don't want to say people. The positions that would least impact service. And, the union probably felt that there were too many sworn on the bottom part of that list, or the first group to go.

Now it is also, people need to remember, that just because the union stands up and tries to save every sworn job doesn't mean that they don't see value in others. It is the responsibility of the other unions to stand up and fight for their constituents. At the end of the day the union is doing their job when they do

everything they can to save their member's jobs. And they don't get any joy or satisfaction of it costing someone else a job. But it is not their... They're not the union for this group. They are the union for this group. We pay them to fight for this group.

So, we see this list and I wasn't a board member or anything when this was happening. We see this list as a group, and we say, "No, we actually see a better way of doing this. Let's take this group of people here on the bottom and move them to the top. And, I think we can get rid of all of this." Because, that is their job. Is to fight that fight and to articulate why that is more important.

Now, I think there was some gamesmanship going on between the administration and City Hall. Saying City Hall is not gonna cut 25 sworn cops. If we put 25 sworn cops and put them on the bottom of our list. Well then, if they want to cut anybody they're gonna have to cut a bunch of cops and then start getting into these other workgroups. So they are not gonna cut anybody. I think that was probably a tactic to say, "Well they're not gonna pull the trigger on this, so we can save all of this." When in reality, all the City Manager would do is take that group and move them around. I think that was a plan.

I don't know if the union saw it like that, or if that was the plan, but that was kind of how I saw it. Maybe there was a little gamesmanship going on. But, either way, the union saw it, and the members saw it, and they panicked. Whoa! We are on the chopping block. We're needed. We shouldn't be here. Let's propose another option. So that other option was proposed.

At the end of day, the union president, I'm sure, was constantly communicating with council members, the city manager. And the Chief as well, was fighting for that group. The Chief does represent the entirety of the employees. So the Chief is fighting the fight for how do I save my organization? Not how do I save all of my sworn, or how do I save all of [civilian workgroup], or how do I save all of the jail? Or, whatever the case may be... How do I save the organization as a whole?

Yeah there was certainly the board and the president over their constantly saying, "Hey, I don't care how much money you cut, I'll give you a scenario where you don't have to cut any cops." Scratch that! You don't have to cut any sergeants or officers. Because, in that scenario as well, lieutenants don't need to be here, this commander can go, this assistant chief can go. Because again, no personal um, attack or even positional attack, it was, "I'll give you a scenario where sergeants and officers keep their jobs." Because, they represent sergeants and officers.

*Interviewer:* So, was it a greater good proposal?

*Police Officer Association Member:* It was a greater good for the union.

As all three employee groups received the same message, their interpretation and reactions differed. The civilian employee group interpreted the document as an anti-civilian proposal, whereas the officer association interpreted the document as an anti-sworn proposal. Both groups were provided the same document.

The Chief called a special meeting the next day with command staff to review the officer association proposal. Prior to the meeting a bureau manager was asked to create a



document that compared the officer association proposal with that of the bureau manager budget reduction proposal. This compilation document was given to the meeting attendees. The officer association president had been invited to attend the meeting but declined. As a result of this meeting, and the influence of the officer association proposal, a few additional civilian positions (supervisor and line level) and a sworn management position (assistant chief of police) were added to the proposal and financially comparative sworn officer and sergeant positions were removed. At this stage of the process, the Police Department's budget reduction proposal consisted of \$14.5 million in budget reductions in the form of 107 sworn and 46 civilian position eliminations.

#### *Actions Upon Actions*

As the Chief alluded when he commented to the City Manager in the processes' beginning stages, the reality of the budget cuts would not reflect the Target Allocation Teams' original recommendations. The City Manager had taken all of the City Department proposals and prioritized them based on the severity of the impact to the community. As the City Manger interspersed Police Department proposals with the rest of the City's he did not change the order of the proposals. Special council sessions were created for Council members to review and adjust the City Manager's budget reduction proposal. This review process included the categorization of positions by color. The document was sorted by red, yellow, and green. Objects categorized as red were designated for elimination. The Police Department had 18 sworn officer positions and 38 civilian positions in this category. Objects categorized as yellow would be eliminated if

citizens did not support a .2% sales tax. The Department had 37 sworn officer and 5 civilian positions in this category. Objects categorized as green were the last things to be cut. This last category included 46 sworn officer and 5 civilian positions. During the special council meetings the mayor made a point for each of the council members that if they chose to save a certain item in the red, they had to have an alternative in mind to replace that savings with a cut from somewhere else. This process quickly deterred council members from promoting certain items without substance on how to overcome that elimination from the proposed cuts. Finally, in an effort to save as many positions as possible, the City Manager instituted a 5% furlough program. In addition, voters approved a temporary .2% tax increase to offset service reductions. As such, only those objects categorized as red were eliminated.

Due to the 5% furlough program and the .2% tax increase, the Police Department's \$14.5 million budget cut proposal was reduced by \$5.7 million. While the original proposal included 107 sworn and 46 civilian position eliminations, the final Council ratified budget reduction consisted of 38 civilian positions and 17 sworn positions. Of great significance is how overt actions of agency to protect civilian positions were negated by the final outcome. Specifically, budget reduction parameters were given to the Department's bureau managers from the assistant chiefs as a means to protect civilian jobs. Bureau managers, both sworn and civilian, crafted individual budget reduction proposals focused on their own spans of control. Four sworn bureau managers did not participate in the bureau manager budget reduction process resulting in a workgroup comprised of four sworn and three civilian bureau managers. Finally, the Civilian Union President conducted an educational campaign in support of civilian Police

Department jobs. While each of these actions were intended to reduce civilian position eliminations, the final outcome of the budget reduction process reflected the prior year's outcome in which a disparate number of positions eliminated were civilian.

### *The Employee Bumping Process*

An old, out of date, city policy was used as a final form of subjugation and exclusion during this economic crisis. Having identified which objects were to be eliminated from the City through a color coded dividing practice, a structural form of power in the structure of policy was used to justify which individuals remained in their current positions, which would be bumped into a different position, or laid off. Those individuals in high ranking positions, officially defined as “classified,” positions, or “at will” positions that had been targeted for elimination, would lose their job. However, based on the Organizational Consolidation Team's efforts these employees would have the first opportunity to apply for any high management position that was created from this process. In other words, as two or more Departments were consolidated their Department Head position was eliminated. The newly created Department now had a vacant Department Head position to fill.

Employees in unclassified positions, those represented by employee union groups, that were eliminated would have the ability to bump someone out of their job if they had held that position before and they had higher seniority than the person in that position. Meaning, for those employees currently in positions scheduled for elimination, they had the choice to remove another employee from their job if they had held that position before and they had higher seniority. Merit, skill, work ethic, diversity, and performance

had no bearing on the decisions made. Employees became subjugated to the will of other employees. Exclusion existed in the form of having no rights in this decision making process. And, in its final form, having once been an accepted piece of the organization, individuals were excluded from membership.

### Organizational Impact

Over a two year span, during the City's economic downturn, 50 civilian and 19 sworn Police Department positions were eliminated. The organizational impact of these lost positions varied significantly between sworn and civilian workgroups. As will be heard in the following accounts of employees who lived through this significant organizational change, sworn workgroups report not feeling any organizational impacts, or feeling impacts in the form of the loss of support staff (i.e. administrative assistants, etc.). On the other hand, civilian workgroups felt significant impacts through the loss of personnel, added job duties, changing of work hours, and the elimination of complete programs (i.e. community service officer program). These variances are heard through the employee voices that follow.

*Traffic Administrative Assistant:* Um, my workload. I, well, it - it impacted my workload because there used to be two admins in Traffic, and then they moved one to the front lobby to cover the front lobby in 3511, so I got their workload. So that's made it difficult being in another building because it's - and they work a night shift, most of them - and so it's difficult communicating back and forth, um, on different projects.

Their officers end up doing a lot of administrative work because I'm not there to do it, and it's just - it's easier for them to just take on a project to do something instead of sending it to me, um, or not, or me being over here, um, to work on it, and not with them as a group to work on it kind of a thing. So that's more difficult I think for them because, because that takes the officers off the street when they could be on the street because they're doing admin stuff. But, it's kind of like, it is what it is kind of a thing. I don't think that they need a full-time admin, just a part - a consistent part-time admin.

*Communications Administrative Assistant:* So I inherited cell phones, which is a huge part of my workload now that I didn't do before.

*Interviewer:* Okay. So there was five ... about five admin positions that were eliminated?

*Communications Administrative Assistant:* I think so.

*Communications Dispatcher:* It impacted us with...there were a few people that worked with this department and they had been with communications in the past. Their jobs were, I believe, eliminated and so they came...and they bumped back into dispatch. Um, that caused at some point some people were upset because a lot of the people, two of the people in particular that bumped back in had quite a bit more seniority than some of the people that were currently in dispatch.

And they were...the way that things were done at that time if you...whoever had been with this particular, um, group, they were the longest,

they were the ones that bid first. And so we had some people that maybe were six month employees were bidding over 25 year employees. And so we had a little bit of an uproar about that because the people that had...they felt like they had paid their dues, we deserve to bid first. And I'm thinking, "No, these people have been here for 25 years. They have paid their dues." I said, "It's fair. That's the fair thing." So it kind of caused a bit of a ruckus. Well, just when the...when everybody...when the people that bumped back in, they have to...they can't just come right back and do everything even with...you know with the new equipment and then jump being away from it for a while. We, out on the floor, are...we train the new ones...the new hires. So that adds a little bit to us.

*Records Clerk:* Well, um, we have three shifts. We have some more people too. Um, so now the same work is still there condensed down in two shifts. Um, and then we have a lot less people to do that work. Um, and sometimes we get it done, but most of the time it seems like we're back logged about two to three weeks and so you got people calling saying, "Where's my report?" and we still haven't gotten to it and they start getting upset, "Well, how come you haven't done it?" "You said five to seven days." And it's just too much pressure, I think.

*Interviewer:* Okay. Why did you reduce your shifts?

*Records Clerk:* Um, that's what the, um, our managers decided on. They thought it would be better to give, turn us over to communications at midnight so they do the records stuff after midnight, and then close records down for the midnights. The idea was, you know, to condense down our hours so we would be, you know,

we wouldn't have a midnight shift. Um, they know they have to pay more differential money, but they thought it would be better [laughs]

*Interviewer:* Why do you have less staff?

*Records Clerk:* I don't know. I just, I remember um people were saying that, "Oh, we're going to get rid of people," and they did. They got rid of um the whole midnight shift, so then that's four positions that were there. And then they had a um... when they were doing a hire freeze and freezing stuff they got rid of two clerks that barely were new and they had positions in the city elsewhere, but that's two people that we still needed. And for us, two people is a lot because we're already minimized so adding on to that.

*Records Clerk:* Yeah, the whole department lost people. We lost the CSO titles and we lost a couple other titles where they had to kind of move people around and put them in different jobs. And I know, at one point, we thought, on the records side, that we were going to lose up to three or four people. And thankfully, I mean, the one person that left outside actually went to a different job so they never lost their job, but the Record Clerk I position we did lose, I think, one or two people over there and they weren't able to get a job any place else. So, and I know there were a lot of other titles that, um ... and, and what they did try and do, which I thought was great, was there was a lot of vacant positions so they eliminated the vacant positions which saves money in the budget, but didn't actually eliminate bodies, which was good. So our one person on the records side that did have to leave, um, she's now working over in the other building, so they

were able to find her another position. So that was good because I was afraid I was going to lose mine (laughing) because I wasn't here very long when that all happened.

We lost one whole shift of hours because we didn't have enough people um to cover the midnight shift, so all of that work went to communications. So during the midnight, um, the midnight to six o'clock, um, the people in communications now does that job. Because in order for us to run a State system, we have to work 24-hours, so, or we would lose certain accreditations or whatever from [State Agency]. So for us to do things we had to be up and running, you know, 24-hour, seven days a week. So communications now does that particular job at night.

And if they don't have somebody available, then the records clerks can go over there on overtime or whatever and cover for them. But in order not to pay overtime all the time, they have somebody from communications would be assigned to that position. And then we take over when we come in and we have the two shifts during the day.

*Patrol Officer:* So there's been uh, other effects from our Community Service Officers. You know we had, I think 11 Community Service Officers if I'm not mistaken, who took 30-40% of the police reports, all those people were laid off. All of our Park Rangers were laid off, so from . . .

Interviewer: Those were all civilian?



*Patrol Officer:* Those were all civilian positions. So from, from a worst standpoint um, we lost a lot of employees that did a good portion of the work.

*Patrol Officer:* On patrol, I think since it's a 24/7 environment, there definitely wasn't any reduction in service. There was a reduction in personnel, which would then I guess create the reduction and the ability to complete service effectively.

*Interviewer:* And you're talking the CSOs and the Park Ranger personnel.

*Patrol Officer:* Right, CSOs, Park Rangers, so basically less people doing the same or higher amount of work. Which equals less efficiency, so in that aspect, I think it did affect us.

*Interviewer:* Did your workgroup lose any positions? Or did you, did your workgroup get impacted by cuts?

*Patrol Officer:* Uh, we didn't lose positions, but I don't think we filled them.

*Patrol Officer:* They ... Well, they didn't actually fire anyone but it seems like they were more hesitant to re-staff positions when they did go, either retire or get fired. So we definitely ... My situation during the budget cuts was maybe compounded just because of the location I was working which is ... And the time that I was working were probably two of the busiest places and times to be working in the city of [City].

*Patrol Officer:* No. The City of [City] did not lay off any police officers, any sworn persons.

*Interviewer:* Okay. And so your day-to-day job remained pretty consistent during that, just you personally, as well as the other individuals personally got impacted financially with the furloughs?

*Patrol Officer:* Correct.

*Special Investigations Detective:* It is not ... it has not impacted our workgroup at all. I was fortunate in the budget crisis that the city was going through to be able to, you know, be part of that workgroup and work with them and I've been with them since. But our group has not been affected personnel-wise by any of the changes that have been made on the department. You know, they haven't been ... if there have been any changes made, I think the staff is exactly the same except for a sergeant that has left, but that was by choice.

*Criminal Investigations Detective:* But, um, from a day-to-day operation, I -- I can't say that, um, affected us in a negative impact on a day-to-day operations, but I'm also not a -- a fiscal guru to where I would keep track of that too much, either.

*Motor Officer:* This current budget reduction some--from what I've heard, some of the officers found outside work that paid more than the police department was doing at the time. Some went to other agencies because they were starting to pay

more at the time that we had stopped our payments, excuse me, stopped our increases. Others were just fed up with the changes and have left. And then of course we have the people who have retired and so they have just--they've left too. And we have really kept up with that retirement, the people who retired. So percentage wise, if you look at it percentage wise we have really kept on with it.

*Interviewer:* Talk about layoffs just briefly, was there--how did that fit in all of this?

*Motor Officer:* When I guess the market really didn't--crashed here, what, two years ago, two and a half years ago. Well that was a major stressful point in the city as a whole. Not just the police department but in the city as a whole because a lot of people were losing their jobs so that the city could meet their budget requirements or meet their--to stay afloat if I can use that term. So it's basically trying to stay in the black. So a lot of people were put on notice that they were going to lose their position. We lost a lot of our traffic support positions. And those people were very, very stressed at that time. They didn't know if they were going to have a job or when their job was going to be terminated, or should they go and look for other work at this time without the assurance that they were going to have a job, or the information that they weren't going to have a job. And so when I talked to a lot of them, it took a toll on them emotionally and so I'm sure it took a toll on officers emotionally because they didn't know--those people who had just gotten hired didn't know if they were going to have a job as well.

*Interviewer:* Traffic support people were they officers or were they civilians or?

*Motor Officer:* They were civilian--what we called traffic officer--I can't think of the term now, but they were civilian support people. But they wore uniforms. They were just not certified as a police officer or anything else like that. So they did our parking, our neighborhood parking complaints, our downtown city parking complaints, those types of things. They also--some of them had the ability to do accidents which also helped us out as well. And so once all those things were taken away, it kind of--we had to step up even more to do the positions that they were doing. So we were getting called up for those.

*Interviewer:* So the work had shifted.

*Motor Officer:* Right.

*Interviewer:* Okay, onto the officers that were--did I get that right or?

*Motor Officer:* Yes and no. Some of the officers were tasked with that and some were not. So it wasn't equally distributed and so some officers did have to take on some of that role, but we also had a couple of the civilians that still stayed behind and they had to take on the extra duty or the extra role throughout the whole city.

*Special Investigations Sergeant:* Um, my work group did not get cut but I only have a couple of people.

*Criminal Investigations Detective:* Well ... I, you know, not only have we had change, but we were in the process of changing the organization and, and kind of making it a bigger organization before the economy went about four years ago. So

we were starting on that path of hiring more people, uh, getting, you know, more people trained, and then the economy kind of changed. So that made us ... We're kind of about the same place we were. When I got, started on here, I think we had about 345 sworn officers. We're probably at 360, but I've been here eleven years. So it really hasn't changed a lot. So ... The way that I think the economy has caused the more restructuring than anything because it's more, you know, we're always cutting back, and you've heard before, "Knowing more with less," you know, obviously the number of officers and employees here at the department hasn't changed a whole lot, yet we're still handling more and more calls, different kinds of calls, and [City] is known for responding to a lot of different calls, a lot of calls that other departments don't respond to. So we have a lot of officers going out on stuff, a lot more investigations.

The variance in the above accounts is significant. Civilian stories of organizational impacts reflect drastic organizational change with the reduction in workforce, reassignment of work, and the elimination of entire shifts and work workgroups (i.e. Community Service Officers). On the other hand, sworn officer stories relate concern over their civilian coworkers, and increased workloads due to the loss of support staff. Most sworn officer responses report no direct day to day organizational impacts.

### Return to the Forgone Conclusion

This chapter began by arguing that the disparate elimination of civilian positions from the Police Department was a forgone conclusion. As context for this argument, the story of the City's budget reduction process was discussed inclusive of examples of the

exercise of power. It concluded with employee descriptions of organizational impacts in their respective workgroups. The following chapters provide supporting knowledge as to how this disparate elimination of civilian positions was a foregone conclusion. The exercise of power through hiring, selection, training, pedagogy, and discipline objectify the civilian subject in a manner that excludes and subjugates. Further, language, signs, and symbols within the organization further promote this separation of sworn and civilian employees, which eases the decision-maker's ability to eliminate the civilian object. What follows is a detailed inquiry inclusive of these topics.

## Chapter 6

### GOAL ORIENTED ACTIVITIES - ORGANIZATIONAL HIRING AND SELECTION

Interviews with Department employees revealed a few consistent themes as to how and why members chose to become members of the Police Department. A civilian communications dispatcher stated very simply, "I was out of work." Loss of jobs provided motivation for both sworn and civilian employees as discussed in the following accounts:

*Communications Dispatcher:* I had worked in retail, I had worked in plumbing and wholesale, plumbing wholesaling, and steel wholesaling, and the market was down. I was laid off and I was out of work for about, uh, probably a total of eight months but applied everywhere and I saw an ad for a records clerk for the police department and I thought, "Well, that sounds like something I could do." It took me a while but I finally got on.

*Property Technician:* I was working for a giant electronics company here in the valley. My job got outsourced so I was forced to look for another job. I was unemployed for about six months. I was getting feedback from different places, e-mails, you know, job openings and job opportunities, that kind of stuff. I came across the [City] web site saying they had a temporary job for a property technician. It was mainly in the transition from the old building to this new building. So I applied for it. I got a phone call and had a couple of interviews and ended up getting hired

*Special Investigations Sergeant:* In the late '80s, the trades died. Everybody was going to Las Vegas for work. And I spent like two years out town working and coming home on the weekends, and that kind of stuff. And there's, so it was getting to where you couldn't find work. So, one of my friends had been a plasterer and he got hired by [City] Police Department. And so he kept telling me, "You need to come over here and test, and get into police work because construction is dead anyway." So, I was like, well I was sick of going out of town to work and I'm sick of construction, so it sounds like a good plan. That's how I got in.

Some employees chose to apply for Department positions based on their prior relationships with members of the organization. In most of these cases, the employee was recruited by the Department member. In one particular instance, a records clerk stated that her father, who was working for the Department, asked her to apply, and so she did. Some interviewed employees had worked in law enforcement elsewhere, in either a sworn or civilian capacity, and chose to move to the area to be closer to family. Many of these employees applied to multiple police departments and this Department was the first to offer them a position.

Interviews with sworn personnel revealed a relationship between past military service and becoming a police officer. Specifically, a few reported that they chose to become a police officer because they feel it would be a smooth transition after leaving the military. The following account provides additional context.

*Special Investigations Detective:* I started off, once I graduated in high school, I went into the Marine Corps and I did administration in the Marine Corps. After



five years and eight months of being in active duty in the marines, I felt the transition to police work was similar to the marine type atmosphere of being, you know, the uniformity of it, you know, specifically that everybody wearing the uniform, everybody, you know, kind of the structure of how things ran in the military similar to the structure of the police department. I figured that that would be an easy transition for me, and it was ... I also saw something that I want to do also. So that's how I got started in the police work.

Further, several sworn interviewees reported that they had wanted to be an officer their entire life.

*Patrol Officer:* Actually I wanted to become a police officer my entire life. My dad is actually a retired sergeant in the [State] area. I went to [State] State University, and I studied Criminal Justice, and uh, and Spanish, and uh, I always wanted to do it.

*Criminal Investigations Detective:* My father was a firefighter that retired from the Tucson Fire Department after 32 years in '97. Growing up, there were only two jobs, as a kid, that I can remember ever wanting to do: one was a firefighter and one was police officer.

*Patrol Officer:* Um, well, the reason why is, you know, growing up, I-I think I wanted to be a cop for several reasons. Uh, one of the reasons is my grandma gave me a police scanner, and I started listening to the Phoenix P.D., that kind of got my interest. So, I do ... I started doing ride-alongs. Uh, I did them with

Highway Patrol and that's originally where I wanted to go because, uh, those guys were in their own car and they didn't see their boss a whole lot, so they kind of got to go and be autonomous, if you will, for, you know, weeks at a time.

Of interest, none of the civilian interviewees inclusive of records, communications, identification, property, and detention personnel stated that they dreamed of being in their job growing up, or "all their life." Instead, one civilian employee dreamt of being an officer, but did not meet the physical requirements, so they chose to become a civilian employee instead.

*Forensic Technician:* Well, I started back ... well, I've always been interested in law enforcement, and back in mid to late '70s I tried becoming an officer in Michigan. Unfortunately, I had one thing that stopped me from doing it. I was a half inch too short. At that time, there were height restrictions, weight restrictions, age restrictions, and so that didn't work.

As the above descriptions provide knowledge as to reasons employees chose to become a member of a policing organization, the following sections focus on the implications of this choice. Specifically, we focus on how power is exercised through hiring and selection of the organization's members. While this analysis will illuminate how the exercise of power objectifies all Department employees through these practices, its findings provide significant discernment in the manner that civilian employees are objectified differently than sworn employees.

## Organizational Hiring and Selection

As a participant observer in a managerial role I was involved in multiple hiring processes during this study. On one occasion, a hiring supervisor in my chain of command became concerned over the City's and Department's policies for selection. Upon receiving a completed background packet from the Department's background investigator on the top candidate for the vacant position, she was unclear as to whether she should provide a job offer to the candidate. Due to this concern, the supervisor approached me for greater insight.

The supervisor informed me that the top candidate's application documented prior substance abuse/drug use. With this admission, the supervisor sought my input as to whether we should hire the candidate or not. She stated that during a prior conversation with the Department's background investigator she was informed that civilian positions in the Department do not have specific disqualifiers for drug use and that there is no policy for this. Due to my past hiring experience, I questioned the accuracy of these statements and asked the supervisor to forward me the candidate's background packet for review.

I reviewed the background packet which included the candidate's open acknowledgement that he had used illegal substances with varying degrees of frequency and type over the past several years. I downloaded a current Department hiring packet from the City's Human Resources website, which happened to be for a sworn officer position (see Appendix C). In the packet there is a section where the candidate is asked to report any drug activity and prior criminal behavior. Most of these items are listed as automatic disqualifiers. Having read the document, I informed the hiring supervisor that

this candidate should not have made it through background. The supervisor responded by stating that the hiring packet is different for civilian employees. I then downloaded a current hiring packet for a Police Department civilian position. I read through the disqualifier section of this packet and found that the supervisor was correct when stating the processes for sworn and civilian positions are different (see Appendix D).

While there are a multitude of questions on the sworn application marked as automatic disqualifiers, there are only three questions on the civilian application that are designated as automatic disqualifiers. All other questions on drug use and criminal activity are listed as discretionary disqualifiers for civilian applicants. In sum, less discretion is given when hiring sworn personnel as it relates to prior drug use and criminal activity. Greater discretion is given when hiring civilian personnel. While job duties differ significantly between sworn and civilian employees, both groups have access to highly sensitive information and are representatives of the Department to the public. As such, this level of disparity brings to question why? To what end are civilian positions left open for greater discretion during the hiring process. What impacts may be found in the organization as a result of this difference?

Practical impacts of this disparity were soon felt as I sought additional input from executive staff members, members of my peer group, and hiring personnel. Input was mixed as to whether these individuals would hire the candidate, but input was consistent that the current process supports a decision of either hiring the candidate or not. Further, this scenario was not new as I was informed that the Department had hired past civilian candidates who had used the particular substance in question. Those decisions were dependent on the number of incidents, the reason behind the use, what year the use

occurred, and how old the candidate was when they used the substance. In this particular case, some felt that the drug use was too recent and the candidate was of an age to have known better. Variables such as the full spectrum of drug use, the timing of the particular substance in question, and the estimated age of the candidate when they used the substance were brought into play.

By focusing specifically on this one hiring process, it could be argued that my agency would determine if this candidate was hired or not. I had issue with the candidate's drug use and therefore policy ambiguity provided me with the ability to not hire the candidate. However, the structural difference in automatic disqualifiers between sworn and civilian positions has greater significance as a relation of power than as a specific tool for a supervisor to wield when hiring personnel. In other words, from a more comprehensive perspective hiring individuals as members of the organization is a goal oriented activity pervaded by structural forms of power. Differences in automatic and discretionary disqualifiers are one example.

The following section delves deeper into the exercise of power through hiring and selection as individuals are divided by process, scientifically classified, and objectified in the purest sense. While most municipal government organizations have hiring processes inclusive of application screening, interviews, and skill testing, police department hiring processes are unique. They are unique in the quantity of assessments that the applicant must pass in order to become a member of the organization. These assessments are in the form of cognitive skill/ability testing, physical agility testing and integrity testing (e.g. criminal history checks, polygraphs, in-depth background checks, and psychological exams). Specific to the exercise of power, dividing practices typologies individuals

based on life experiences, prior drug and criminal behavior, the ability to write, physical abilities, findings from background checks, and the perception of honesty. Individuals, as subjects, are scientifically classified by physical and mental health experts as to the level in which they are physically and mentally able to perform. As power is exercised through the hiring process in the form of dividing practices and scientific classification, organizational knowledge is created. Further, the analysis of hiring and selection processes provides an avenue for a greater understanding of forms of civilian employee subjugation and exclusion in this organization.

### Hiring and Dividing Practices

The selection and hiring of new police personnel is a goal oriented activity in which the exercise of power is prevalent. As a goal oriented activity, the selection and hiring process determines who can and who cannot become a member. With the stated goal of hiring and selecting only the “best candidates,” individuals are tested on multiple levels and measured against predetermined standards. Selection and hiring expands beyond the individual to include society as reference checks are made of friends, family members, and past employers. In sum, through the analysis of an American policing organization’s selection and hiring process a greater understanding of the exercise of power and objectification of the subject becomes available. In this section, I will first discuss the hiring process for sworn officers. This will be followed by an exploration of the civilian hiring process.

Perceived as a result of the current downturn in the economy and market, recent sworn position recruitments have exceeded 800 applications. It is very difficult to test

that number of candidates. Therefore, the Police Department's Hiring Unit utilizes multiple dividing practices, or in their words "a screening process," to reduce that number.

*Lieutenant:* You have a large number of people that you know... we know we are not going to hire them by just looking at their application. We have a process to screen all of those applications. We look to invite 300 to 350 people to a testing process.

Dividing practices include applicant experience, the ability to pass automatic and discretionary disqualifiers, a written assessment, the background packet, panel interviews, personal presentation, the polygraph, and reference checks.

A combination of experiential criteria is one determinant for applicants to move forward in the selection and hiring process. These criteria include military experience, college education, managerial/supervisor experience, the ability to speak a foreign language, and whether someone is a resident within the City. Prior academy certification through the State's public safety organization can also be seen as a positive. By having the certification in hand, the Department does not have to pay for the academy themselves. The more an applicant shows they have experience in the above criteria the higher they are rated as potential employees for the Department.

Automatic and discretionary disqualifiers are another determinant. A basic questionnaire is used as a filtering system to eliminate potential candidates based on automatic and discretionary disqualifiers. This system is intended to increase efficiencies in the hiring process by informing candidates that if they have participated in some forms of activity in their past they will not be hired. Automatic disqualifiers include some

forms of drug use, certain domestic violence situations, and other illegal activity. This filter is not perfect as interpretation of some behaviors is subjective. For instance, marijuana use can be an automatic disqualifier or an accepted behavior depending on if it is seen as experimentation or a recreational experience.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* In general, recreational use of marijuana, um it gives definitions for what is believed to be experimentation. What is... you know you have some people come in that say they have used it 30 times for experimentation. You know... [State Public Safety Organization] says you are no longer experimenting... you have a hobby [Laughs]. And there are certain things where they will look at what's... Once you turn 21 you know if you have more than 5 times used marijuana it is an automatic disqualifier.

Discretionary disqualifiers are those things that the Department wants to review, but might, or might not, result in the automatic exclusion from the selection and hiring process. Examples include excessive traffic violations and some forms of drug use.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* For example, there are some hard drugs that you can use for [State Public Safety Organization], if you haven't used them in a certain amount of time within a certain timeframe. They may be ok with that. Whereas the agency might say that is not something they are willing to except. And therefore won't have it.

Sworn position applicants passing the initial screening process are invited to complete a written assessment. A contracted private company administers and scores the written assessment. This company has its own statistical analysis to determine who passes and moves on to the physical agility assessment. The physical agility assessment



includes pushups, sit ups, and a mile and half run. At one time, minimums for passing the physical agility assessment were graduated based on gender and age. This has been changed so that the minimums are the same regardless of gender and/or age. While the minimums are the same for all applicants, passing the minimums does not necessarily equate to moving on to the next phase of the process.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* We make it very clear when people come to test, if you run the mile and a half in 14 minutes, you know or 13:59 you will just barely make it. However, that is not going to cut it in the academy. If we know that that is the best you can do, you will struggle in the academy, and likely you will fail the academy. So we tell them up front that this is the minimums. If that is all you can do, we will probably not hire you because we know. That is how it works out.

At times, the Hiring Unit will conditionally retain an applicant that has done well in two of the three physical drills, but barely passed the third. These applicants are informed that the Department will not hire them until they come back and show improvement in that area. Scores from each of the assessments are tallied on a spreadsheet and reviewed. Knowledge in the form of an internal hiring study helps the hiring unit filter applications. This study shows applicants who score 80% or higher on the written test have a lower attrition rate than those that have scored lower.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* So we know that going in that somebody who barely passes the written we need to be very careful with them.

The background packet is another dividing practice that requires applicants to inform the Department about past behaviors. Rather than simply asking how many times

an applicant has used a certain drug, the background packet requires information on the circumstances surrounding the drug's use and when it was ingested. At this level of the process the Hiring Unit expends greater resources and time on each remaining applicant. Greater depth of knowledge is required. Questions about why an individual wants to become an officer are asked. Responses range from the individual wanting to do something purposeful for the greater good to wanting to escape a bad environment.

*Hiring Sergeant:* You start backtracking the motivation, and the why. A lot of times that is when you find the issues.

Based on conversations with members of the hiring unit, and interactions with Department personnel, downward cycles in the economy usually increase applicants from the private sector. Further, the current economic crisis has changed perceptions of the Hiring Unit as it relates to applicant credit scores.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Which is getting interesting now. Because we used to look at... we do ask them if they have failure to meet financial obligations and stuff like that. If you had a bankruptcy in the past you were pretty much out. It is not as clean as it used to be. It is really case by case. You look at somebody. You look for now. You are going through a bankruptcy, or your house has been foreclosed on, which is not uncommon. We have a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot of people here who have dealt with the same thing. The question that we look at is whether you have put yourself in the same position to have the same thing happen again.

Applicants who have gone through bankruptcy or have bad credit scores were eliminated from the process in the past. As a greater number of applicants have poor credit scores due to foreclosures, or short sales, the Hiring Unit has applied greater discretion to what

was once an automatic disqualifier. In sum, findings from the above assessments are used to eliminate unqualified applicants and create a prioritized list for those remaining. This list determines which applicants will be invited to a panel interview.

During the most recent sworn officer hiring process, 10% of the 800 applicants reached the panel interview stage. The sworn panel interview consists of two Department employees. The Hiring Unit recently changed their panel interview process due to a 5% attrition rate. Questions were raised as to why the process should include panel interviews if most applicants reaching this stage pass. Therefore, panel questions that had not been changed for years were updated. Some questions were reworded while others were added that are believed unable to be prepared for in advance.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Like you come in as a new officer/applicant, I give you the questions and you get 10 minutes to look at those, take some notes, that sort of thing. You come in and we start the process. Well there are going to be 2 to 3 questions that are follow up questions that you will not be able to prepare for. And some of those questions your response is not as important as to how can you think on your feet. Did I just hit you between the eyes and you cannot function?

One particular question, that is used to see how an applicant thinks on their feet, is whether they have ever considered that they may be forced to take somebody's life. Hiring Unit members state that there are an alarming number of people applying for police officer positions that are caught off guard by this question and have never thought that by accepting this position they may have to kill somebody. Having been given this question during the panel interview, some applicants respond that they could not take a life. The hiring sergeant questions the motivation of these applicants as he feels it is

inherently important that officers accept and understand that they may have to take the life of another in the line of duty.

Much of this change was prompted by the Hiring Unit's awareness that their panel interview questions were posted online. They acknowledge that by having the same questions for 16 years it does not make it difficult for applicants to prepare ahead for specific questions. Newer questions focus on the applicant's ability to pull from life experiences, to problem solve, and to articulate how they approach a problem. Specific examples are required on how they have dealt with conflict. The Hiring Unit not only addresses the results given by the applicant but the examples as well. The view is that different examples are given from someone who has lived at home all of their life compared to someone who has been out in the world.

*Hiring Sergeant:* You know, went to college, just graduated from college, still living at home, never having to pay a bill on their own. When I ask what is the most difficult situation you have had to make? You will get scenarios that show that they have lived at home all of their life, never had to pay a bill, stuff like that. Whereas if you ask somebody who is in a different type of situation where the difficult decision they had to make was a financial hardship type thing. My parents were in bad health, and we had to pay to get them into care, so I came close to losing my house... you know, you get somebody who you can tell has some significant life experience that they bring a lot more to the table. When I send them out to the street to interact with the public, who are dealing with very real problems that are worthy enough for them to call 911 for, that person is

going to be in a much better emotional standing and emotional state to deal with those issues, and not be learning their own life problems, as much as they come.

Different questions are posed to those with prior law enforcement experience. Questions are more directed as to why this type of applicant wants to work for the City. What is your interest in moving to this organization? The belief is that many “laterals,” applicants that are current law enforcement officers in a different jurisdiction, are trying to run from something. The Hiring Unit asks questions to reveal true intentions to determine what type of applicant is sitting in front of them. In one case an applicant openly stated they could not stand the agency they are currently working for, and they provided a list of grievances. The Hiring Unit appreciates this type of honesty, but worries that the issue may be the applicant and not the organization where they are currently working.

Applicants are asked if this is the only organization where they have applied. Applicants that have only applied to this organization are given greater consideration. Those applying to multiple agencies are viewed as shoppers, and thought of as using this organization as a “road stop.”

The two member interview panel individually scores each applicant as highly recommended, recommended, or not recommended. A score of recommended or highly recommended by either of the panel members results in the applicant passing the panel interview process. At this point the written and physical agility assessments, background packet, and panel interview results are collectively reviewed. The Hiring Unit utilizes this information to determine the best candidate(s) for the next academy. As the

Department does not have its own academy, it is dependent upon available seats at one of two academies in surrounding agencies. Timing is a significant issue as selected candidates must complete a full background check, inclusive of reference checks, criminal history check, a medical exam, and a psychological exam.

Sworn position applicants are under constant surveillance as the hiring unit is continually assessing applicants throughout the entire hiring process. How individuals present themselves is an additional level of discernment. Did the applicant show up in flip flops and jeans? All interactions with the applicant, whether directly with the Hiring Unit or support functions like HR, are weighed and measured. HR openly communicates with the Hiring Unit when an applicant is rude such as swearing over the phone in frustration, etc.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Because you have just told me something about you. You told me how you act under pressure. You told me how you act when you don't agree with something.

Some hiring personnel attend the physical agility assessment in plain clothes. They walk around and watch how applicants interact with each other and the assessors. Applicants who appear to be coaching others during the assessment are seen to reflect a command perspective, teamwork, and good decision making.

Some hiring personnel attend the physical agility assessment in plain clothes. They walk around and watch how applicants interact with each other and the assessors. Applicants who appear to be coaching others during the assessment are seen to reflect a command perspective, teamwork, and good decision making.

*Lieutenant:* I go out and watch people. You know. Some people I'll talk to. But a lot of the times I just stand around and see how people interact. I am looking for good people.

The gauntlet of dividing practices continues in the form of the polygraph. Polygraphs are conducted in the late stages of the hiring process. The polygraph is believed to catch a multitude of discrepancies and provide greater knowledge about the applicant. The most significant thing identified through the polygraph is catching applicants who have lied during the process. Interestingly, most items that applicants lie about are not items that individually would have disqualified them from the process. However, since the applicant is caught in a lie, they are immediately eliminated from the process. While a vast amount of resources and time have been placed into each remaining applicant to this point, the polygraph is not used earlier in the process due to the amount of time it takes to complete each one. Regardless of how "good" the applicant looks, polygraphs take approximately three hours to complete in addition to preparation and debriefing time.

At this stage, the Hiring Unit begins the background process on the remaining candidates. References are contacted and home visits are conducted for sworn position applicants. The Hiring Unit purposefully attempts to make the visits to the applicant's home a surprise. Wives, girlfriends, landlords, and other departments are contacted for more in-depth knowledge of the applicant. As mentioned above, this even includes credit histories. In addition to credit checks, the background process includes searching social networking sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, and MySpace, to gather greater knowledge on remaining applicants. Applicants are given a form to sign providing the Department

with their consent to search their social media pages in addition to the passwords required to access those sites. Applicants who refuse to complete the consent form do not move forward in the hiring process. With the knowledge that there will be a review of these sites, hiring personnel still find postings, such as anti-Semitic and racial material, that eliminate applicants from the process.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Social networking is huge. But a lot of it is the background investigator and the polygraph examiner being able to pick up on subtle things. We had a candidate that we were really close to hiring. They were sitting down with him. At the last minute, the polygraph examiner looked at his application and he had been talking about his girlfriend. It occurs to him... "You are still married?" The applicant says, "Oh yeah... when you call my wife don't tell her about my girlfriend, and when you call my girlfriend don't tell her about my wife." And we started getting into that... ok...

*Hiring Sergeant:* Never mind.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Yeah... we are done. Yeah. You know... We have enough of that here. You know but... but you are looking... but that was just a subtle thing that somebody had said something. He was reviewing it one more time, and something clicked, and he caught it.

*Hiring Sergeant:* That is why it is so important of spending time with those folks. That is why you can say the process is taking 4 to 5 months. That is a lot of time. It is slow emersion with that person. It is not click click click all right done. Ok, next guy. It is not like that. You have to get a feel.



*Hiring Lieutenant:* It is no different than a detective interviewing a suspect. You develop a relationship with them. They will think you are their best friend. Whatever you as the applicant or the suspect need to hear, and need to feel like for you to talk, that is what the background / detective is supposed to do. You know... have a good time... laugh... Squeeze you the way you need to be squeezed.

*Hiring Sergeant:* And Detective [name] is so good at that.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Whatever it takes for you to get comfortable, whatever that takes is what they are supposed to be doing to pull everything out of this person. That is the filter. You know. Once you get past that person you are most likely to get hired. So you go through that. And then once we get to the point where there is no, as best as we can tell, there is no baggage. We look at military record and automatic disqualifiers. If you have anything other than an honorable discharge... We had one person recently who had a relationship with a senator. The senator made some calls and had it changed. Um... you know... we chose to pass anyway. Things like that we have to look at.

#### Scientific Classification: Intelligence, Physicality, and Mental Health

All remaining sworn officer applicants are objectified based upon intelligence levels, physical health, and mental aptitude. A contracted psychologist administers an IQ test known as the Wonderlic. Grounded in information and literature about this assessment, the Hiring Unit makes decisions based on accepted norms for somebody in law enforcement as it relates to IQ. With a possible top score of 55, the Hiring Unit looks

for applicants that score around 21. An internal assessment on retention rates validates the unit's feeling that someone who scores too high on the test will get bored with the position and begin finding conflict in their job, while someone scoring too low is a risk for bad decision making. Variability is possible depending on prior education accomplishments. For those scoring really low, the Hiring Unit requests the administering psychologist provide a report detailing the potential problems with the applicant.

Having passed all assessments to date, including the background, and having a belief that the applicant is a good candidate, the Hiring Unit offers the applicant a conditional hire. The conditional hire is a legal requirement that must be given before the Department can put an applicant through a psychological evaluation and a medical physical. While the Wonderlic test assesses an individual's IQ, the psychological evaluation is designed to assess the mental health of each remaining applicant. In most cases the psychological evaluation is viewed by the Hiring Unit as a waste of time. The following statements provide greater detail.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* Personally, I think they are a waste of time in most cases.

One thing that they do, if you have, which we have had here... We had the schizophrenic go through whatever that has been able to pull the wool over our eyes. They will catch that eventually. And it has happened here within the last five years. We have had the doctor call us and say "hey guys..." and go through the whole thing. The person is flat out crazy.

*Hiring Sergeant:* Let me give you a personal example. When I came on this department, I was coming from California. And, when I was applying my... I was

involved in a shooting, my partner was killed, it was very traumatic. It was six months after that. I was still literally going through the murder trial. I went through the psychological evaluation. He knew that. Didn't talk about it, didn't talk about me having problems or issues with it. It wasn't even important. Isn't that something that you would want to know?

*Hiring Lieutenant:* The psychologist we have now I like a lot better. So we did have a candidate in the last testing process, or one before that. Where he had been in several, really out of state, several really ugly shootings. Partner killed. He went on killing a kid in the same. I mean it was a mess... I felt horrible for him. I don't know him, but his soon to be wife worked in the media, so as the former PIO I knew her. She would call and say hey he is coming through. But the psychologist kind of looked at him now and said he is a great guy... but he needs some help. That is unfortunate. Hopefully he will get the help he needs from his current agency.

*Hiring Sergeant:* We are not paid to be nice. We are paid to select the best candidate.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* So they go through the psychological evaluation. He has a scoring mechanism in place. Sometimes it makes sense, sometimes it doesn't. (Laughs) Then he makes recommendations. You know for the person. Often times it is silly stuff. Basically he catches problems. He will look at the Wonderlic score and evaluate that. They will get like a 400 question test. Some of the things they will look at is whether the interview the doctor does with the applicant is consistent with the test results. Do they conflict?

However, this evaluation has been seen as helpful for identifying extreme psychological issues in applicants such as schizophrenia. The psychologist provides the Department a recommendation based on their review of the applicant's Wonderlic score and psychological exam. The hiring unit looks for consistencies and inconsistencies between the psychological results and what they have learned of the applicant through the panel interview and background processes.

Finally, remaining applicants are sent to a state certified doctor to complete a physical exam. These doctors follow set criteria to determine if an applicant is a health risk. Is the applicant at risk for a heart attack? Are there any unresolved medical issues? What type of disease(s) does the applicant have and how would that impact their ability to fulfill their duties? External power relations exist as interest in the applicant's health is not limited to the Department. If the applicant is hired, they are automatically included in the State's public safety retirement program. As such, there is financial incentive for the State's public safety organization to not hire applicants with health risks as they will be a drain on the program.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* If you are going to hire somebody who is not going to be here, there is going to be problems or something like that. It is going to be a drain on the system. But, you also have to deal with... They are going to be in physical encounters, especially out here in the middle of the summer when it is 118 out. You have to make sure you have someone who is not going to drop dead. It is not like a huge, crazy physical or anything like that. They do vision and hearing. It is not anything that is you know... it is not... very crazy by any stretch of the imagination.

Upon successful completion of these last stages, the applicant receives a hire date. This date is usually two weeks prior to the academy.

In summary, hiring and selection of sworn officers is a goal oriented activity that objectifies the individual through diving practices and scientific classification in order to select and hire the “ideal” quality candidates. Through the assessment process, as supported by the accounts of the Hiring Unit, the “ideal” candidates have minimal to no criminal history, meet physical standards, can write, are truthful, have life experience, are not too intelligent, are not a medical risk, and are not “crazy.” To reach this level of inclusion, and exclusion, applicants are subjected to over ten distinct assessments beginning with the application and ending with a medical examination. This level of discernment of applicants (i.e. objectification) is not found in the civilian hiring and selection process.

### The Civilian Comparison

The Police Department civilian selection and hiring process contains similarities with the sworn officer selection process. Civilian applicants must complete an application, a background packet, a skill based assessment, an interview, and a polygraph. However, the following will discuss the manner in which these assessments are completed and reviewed differently for civilian positions as compared to sworn officer positions. Further, some assessments (i.e. the Wonderlic Test) are not included in some, or all, civilian selection and hiring processes. It is argued that these differences objectify sworn employees differently than civilian employees, and that this difference in objectification contributes to the second class citizenship of the civilian employee.

Again, the civilian hiring and selection process contains similar assessments as the sworn hiring and selection process. However, significant differentiation exists in the content and application of a few of these assessments. First, all Police Department applicants must review and meet a set of automatic and discretionary disqualifiers. The number of automatic disqualifiers differs between sworn officer and civilian positions. Specifically, there are 15 automatic disqualifiers for sworn officers, while there are 4 automatic disqualifiers for civilians. Significant automatic disqualifier differences include drug use, traffic violations, military status, and acts of domestic violence. In other words, a sworn officer applicant is automatically disqualified from the process if they have been convicted of any crime under a domestic violence statute. On the other hand, hiring personnel have greater discretion when reviewing civilian applicants when they have a similar violation.

Second, the compilation of interview panels differs for sworn and civilian recruitments. Civilian position panel interviews vary in size and complexity rather than limited to two sworn officers. They typically consist of two Department personnel and one representative from outside the workgroup. This representative could be a Department employee from a different division, a City employee, or an outside agency employee. The intent is to have a diverse panel that provides multiple perspectives when reviewing applicants. Questions are crafted prior to the interviews and reviewed by Human Resources. Panel interviews are hosted by a Human Resources representative. Panel members are required to score each applicant individually without joint discussion with other panel members. Discussions between panel interviews cannot include information sharing on the applicants. Human Resources intent is to provide a fair and

equitable interview process. These restrictions are believed to support that cause. At the conclusion of the panel interviews Human Resources tallies the scores for each applicant including any prior written or supplemental assessment scores. One top candidate may be chosen at this time to move forward in the process, or multiple candidates may be asked to return for second interviews. Second interviews are less formal in nature, and support dialogue rather than one sided inquiry. The candidate with the highest collective score is moved into the background phase.

Third, both sworn and civilian applicants must pass a polygraph examination. As a participant observer, I have had the experience of completing this assessment. Its intent is to weed applicants out of the process who have significant criminal histories; in addition it is untended to uncover applicant falsehoods. During the first stage of the process, the polygrapher reviews the background packet with the applicant prior to being connected to the polygraph machine. Once the review is completed, the polygrapher instructs the applicant about the polygraph process (i.e. How questions will be asked; The number of times questions will be asked; and The types of expected responses). Once instructed, the applicant is seated in a chair with multiple wires, sensors, and attachments. The polygrapher connects the sensors to the applicant and begins to ask questions from the background packet. At any point, if the polygrapher views a questionable response, they will stop the test, ask additional questions, and then begin the test again. This process is repeated at least one more time before the polygraph is completed. At its conclusion, the applicant leaves the exam site and waits to hear from the Department on their hiring status.

While the act of taking a polygraph is consistent for both sworn and civilian applicants, the questions asked by the polygrapher are different as discussed below.

*Hiring Lieutenant:* But for sworn you need to get more in-depth. A lot of it, we are looking for more red flags. Now if you have somebody... I was one... hired as a service aide [civilian position] and then a year later I was hired as an officer, I did two polygraphs. One for a service aide, and one to become an officer.

Because they just asked a few more questions.

Meaning, sworn polygraphs include additional questions that are not asked of civilian applicants. If an individual is hired as a civilian employee and later attempts to become a sworn officer, they have to complete a second polygraph.

In addition to differences within mutually applied assessments, sworn and civilian hiring processes differ as some assessments given to sworn applicants are not included in the civilian hiring process. Other than detention officers, civilian applicants do not complete a physical agility assessment or medical examination. Further, other than communications dispatchers and detention officers, civilian applicants do not complete a psychological exam. In other words, standardized physical fitness, intelligence scores, and medical health are not used as forms of exclusion for civilian applicants.

These differences between the sworn and the civilian hiring process have significant ramifications for those who become members of the organization. As supported by observations and discussions with Department employees, both sworn and civilian personnel know that the manner in which they were hired by the Department was different than their counterparts. It is known that the path for sworn officers includes more assessments and greater discernment. As a result, the objectification of civilian



employees, as being different than sworn officers, begins at hiring and selection. As a result, is the “ideal” civilian employee different than the “ideal” sworn employee? Based on hiring assessment differences, is the “ideal” civilian employee one who has “some” criminal history, unfit, a medical risk, and with the capacity to be mentally unstable?

### The Ideal Employee

I argue that the hiring and selection process is a goal oriented activity in which the individual (i.e. applicants for both sworn and civilian positions) is objectified. Further, differences exist between sworn and civilian hiring processes that result in different forms of objectification between sworn and civilian applicants. The above discussion, inclusive of accounts from Hiring and Training Unit members, provides a rich description of dividing practices and scientific classification in play for both sworn and civilian hiring processes. Toward a greater understanding of the impacts of this goal oriented activity and the objectification of applicants, I asked a representative group of line level employees for their view of the “ideal” employee. First, the “ideal” sworn officer is described by sworn members of the Department. Second, the “ideal” civilian employee is described by civilian members of the Department. It will be seen that these descriptions support a different idealization between sworn and civilian employees.

The ideal officer, from a sworn employee perspective, correlates very closely with the characteristics the Hiring Unit values and designs their assessments to measure. The following officers discuss the value of integrity, communication, problem solving, physical fitness, writing skills, and mental health.

*Patrol Officer:* the ideal officer they are trying to hire is someone with integrity, um, who is honest. I guess that's a synonym for that. Um, someone who can work well with others, who's good at speaking to other. Um, basically a problem solver. You need to learn to break it all down.

*Patrol Officer:* I think you're just someone who has a good work ethic. Um, who hasn't committed any crimes in the past. I think that's a big one. Um, who can pass the physical fitness part, who can pass the written, who can pass the psychological is very similar.

Discussion about physical fitness provided greater context of its value. Specifically, respondents were clear in stating they did not feel the Department was attempting to hire an ideal body type nor did they believe the "ideal" officer had a particular body type. Rather, respondents stated that it was important that an officer be able to defend themselves and that physical fitness was a part of that equation.

*Patrol Officer:* Obviously you're going to want people that are more physically fit, maybe taller and bigger, because they're going to be the types that can jump into two people fighting and actually separate and put on the handcuffs if you have to. But at the same time, legally you can't necessarily say oh, we're not going to be hiring any females that are under 5 foot. I mean you just can't do that. Umm, but that's something that, you know, they need to consider is when they are doing a traffic stop or confronting someone that's upset, is that person going to look at them and think oh I can take them easily. Or are they going to look at someone like me. I'm 6 foot 4, 200 pounds and try to keep up a good work-out

regimen. They're probably not going to think oh I can get away from this guy or I can fight this guy or something like that. So it's something that people applying for the job need to know but I don't know if that's something that as an organization you can say yes, we're not going to take you, we're not going to take you as long as you can pass the physical fitness.

Because I mean, in my recruitment class we had two people; one was a girl, one was a guy and both of them were maybe 5 foot 2, both of them weighed maybe 120 pounds and both of them made it through the academy. On the street, only one of them is still working. The other one realized this is not for me because people look at them and there's no command presence. There's no intimidation, for lack of a better word.

Problem solving is also valued, which correlates with the Hiring Unit's attempt to measure applicants' abilities to think on their feet during the oral interviews.

*Patrol Officer:* Can you come into a problem where you don't know what's going on, figure it out and solve the problem based on the resources that you have. And maybe finding ways to be crafty to solve problems, maybe unconventional ways, where a lot of other people wouldn't think of. Basically, thinking outside of the box.

Further, the ability to communicate is highly valued. Respondents feel that officers are placed in a multitude of situations, internal to the organization and external, in which good communication skills are an asset.

*Special Investigations Detective:* They're going to have a good quality and be able to communicate and talk to people. I think communication skills, you know, not

only for the citizens for the jurisdiction that you're working but the personnel that you are actually working with on your department. I think that ... I mean, because you're going to communicate with them more than you're going to communicate with the people in the public. So you have to be able ... your interpersonal communication skills, huge. That is going to be one of the qualities that you see in every person that you think is ideal, you know what I mean, and they're sitting in their area where they're working. They're going to have interpersonal communication skills absolutely. I think that's going to be one of the main things of an ideal officer

Unexpectedly and of great interest is the degree that “life experience” is valued as a characteristic of the “ideal” sworn officer. The following accounts define life experience through the words of sworn officers and the value that they place on this characteristic. Further, a dichotomy clearly developed between the high value placed by officers on life experience and the non-value of college education.

*Patrol Officer:* You can't be someone who's, who's been living under the protection of someone else such as a parent or someone else. It needs to be someone that can be self-sufficient, um someone that's lived alone, someone that's paid their own bills, someone that knows how, how to help themselves, so you could help others.

*Motor Officer:* It's that you experience the real world on your own without having somebody bail you out, like your parents or having to look over your shoulder like your parents. So you've basically done it on your own. You paid your bills.

You sought a job and applied for a job and you got a job. You bought a car. You've taken care of that car, the responsibilities of that car. Or you have a family and you've taken care of the responsibilities of that family. So you have that in your repertoire or in your package of things that you bring to the police department. But if you're just an 18 year old, say out of the age down to 18, of if you're just an 18 year old, well you haven't done anything. Basically you've just been in school. All you know is what you've experienced in school and nothing else outside of it. Now I think that's what the life experience is.

Life experience was the most consistent and valued characteristic of the "ideal officer." In contrast, college education was viewed as the most overrated characteristic of an "ideal" officer. The following account summarizes the consistent theme that being a police officer does not require a "rocket scientist," and that a college education is not necessary to be successful.

*Criminal Investigations Detective:* Um, I want somebody that wants to be here, that's knows what the dangers of the jobs are, and has common sense. Um, I don't care -- I would rather get ... and again, there's always differences, but if I had two candidates standing there, and I had one that graduated high school, became a construction worker for three years -- or was in the military for three or four years and then got out and decided to become a cop -- or has always wanted to become a cop, over the kid that was high school -- high school went pretty easy, they didn't do anything competitive in high school. They went to college -- college, and whatever they study, and then they go from college to, "Well now I want to be a police officer." Um, I would take -- again, without doing the

backgrounds, I would look -- I would much rather look at the person that had a background in work, um, a background in structure, and a background in common sense. Um ... and we've got many people within this police department that did the college route, and are successful and great officers -- and I wouldn't ding them for that route, but, you know, this job is not rocket science. This job is a job of common sense, and it's a job of reading people from the time you get out of the Academy until you retire from your -- your job here.

The findings above closely correlate with the characteristics valued in the hiring and selection process. From the sworn employee perspective, the "ideal" officer can problem solve, communicate, defend themselves through physical means, and has integrity. Of greater significance, the "ideal" officer has life experience prior to becoming a member of the Department, and this valued higher than formal education.

Identifying the "ideal" civilian employee is difficult. Several civilian employees stated that ideal characteristics differ between job types. An administrative assistant stated that unlike police officer applicants, many civilian position applicants are just looking for a job.

*Administrative Assistant:* It's just a job, so people that just need a job come and apply and they have no idea what they're getting into.

Characteristics of the "ideal" employee described by civilian members included: flexibility, communication skills, detail orientation, multitasking, customer service, and a good work ethic. Others attributes included being college educated, not college educated, tolerant, and empathetic. Further, the "ideal" employee is not a criminal, does not have an extensive drug history, and does not get into trouble. Of interest, two individuals

stated that sanity is important. Both of these individuals worked in Communications where applicants are provided a psychological assessment prior to hire. Of these characteristics, the most consistent were multitasking and being flexible. As a researcher, it is concerning that the same approach to this topic with civilian employees would result in such ambiguity as compared to sworn employees. However, due to the structure of the organization this ambiguity begins to make sense.

Most sworn employees begin their career as a patrol officer. On few occasions the Department will hire someone from outside the organization for a managerial position (e.g. Lieutenant), but for the most part, all sworn officers begin in the same role. As such, the consistency in their description of the “ideal” officer makes sense because they have a common origin with the organization (i.e. working in patrol). Further, they have experienced similar job duties and responsibilities. On the other hand, civilian employees are hired into a variety of positions throughout the Department (i.e. administrative assistants, property technicians, records clerks, etc.). Therefore, an expectation for a common theme of an “ideal” civilian employee may be unrealistic. This finding is significant. Unlike sworn employees who have a common origin as patrol officers, civilian employees do not have a similar form of solidarity.

## Chapter 7

### GOAL ORIENTED ACTIVITIES – INDOCTRINATION AND DISCIPLINE

#### Indoctrination

Goal oriented activities that objectify the subject, both sworn and civilian, continue past the organization's hiring and selection processes as individuals are immersed into the life world in the form of pedagogy and subject matter, rules of seniority, and union membership. Pedagogy and subject matter provide learning opportunities for the subject, as object, on expected behaviors, knowledge, skill, and abilities. While agency is shown to be a strong determinant of subject matter, power relations, as actions upon actions, significantly influence what discourse becomes knowledge in the organization. Further, subjects quickly learn, through both formal and informal means, the relationship of power accompanying their length of tenure in the organization. As a method of scientific classification, seniority is a distinct structural form of power that objectifies the subject solely based upon an individual's hired date. Unionization, as a dividing practice, further objectifies sworn and civilian employees as different objects. Specifically, all Department employees are divided by position into specific employee groups, or unions, that represent their wellbeing while employed by the organization. Thus, as power is exercised through pedagogical power relationships, rules of seniority, and the dividing practice of employee workgroups, the subject is immersed and molded as an object. Greater clarity and understanding of these relationships follow.



### *Pedagogy and Subject Matter*

Pedagogy and subject matter choices are mechanisms to develop sworn and civilian employee knowledge, skills, and abilities. It is an opportunity for organizational members to hone skills, expand their intellectual horizons, and learn new talents. A common example is the Police Academy where new officer recruits are mentally and physically stressed to a point in which they are more amenable to accepting commands and following orders without question. Structurally, the organization, through policies and procedures, determines pedagogical methods and subject matter and prioritizes learning topics. The most significant pedagogical method that dictates employee compliance is “mandatory training.” As mandatory training is provided and attended, the subject’s will is constrained by organizational decisions on which knowledge, skills, and abilities are advanced. Through the myriad of training opportunities, specific topics are raised to the forefront of the employee and greatly influence their lens as they view and interact with the life world of the organization.

Of particular interest for this study is the manner in which training topics are selected and ingrained in the organization. This section begins with a focused discussion on the Department’s Training Unit as their structural role is to manage all Departmental training. Interview accounts from this group paint a picture that their individual actions drive the organizations pedagogy and training topics. Specific examples of their agency are discussed. However, deeper analysis and interpretation illuminates influential actions of power, as actions upon an action, beyond the scope of the Training Unit. These influences mandate new knowledge in the organization through structural form. Two specific examples: the implementation of a new citywide performance management

program and a citywide diversity initiative will be discussed, as these two power relations, beyond the purview of the Training Unit, significantly altered the behavior and actions of all members in the Department.

The Department's Training Unit, consisting of three sworn employees, is the cornerstone for selection, prioritization, and management of employee training. Due to limited resources, effective prioritization of training is paramount as the Training Unit must work through significant logistical challenges. As mentioned, the Department must continually provide services such as answering 911 incoming calls, providing prisoner oversight, and having patrol officers on the street to respond to calls for service. Many of these services have established minimum staffing expectations, and do not allow entire workgroups to attend training at one time. The current economic crisis does not allow for the Department to pay employees overtime to attend training on their non-work days. Training opportunities must be provided in a manner that does not require overtime which results in day time, night time, and weekend offerings. This is extremely challenging to manage for a Training Unit that was reduced in numbers as part of the City's recent budget reduction process. The end result is that the unit cannot provide all of the training that it believes is needed and must therefore prioritize.

The unit utilizes a two factor decision making tool to assist with the selection and scheduling of most training. The first factor is risk. What type of risk is involved by Department personnel not being trained on a certain topic? For example, a massive flood would have devastating impacts on a community. But, there is little to no risk that this natural disaster could occur in this particular community. As such, providing training to Department personnel on how to respond to a massive flood is not a priority due to its

low risk of occurrence. The second factor is liability. What level of liability for the Department and the City is associated with not training the target audience on a given topic? If an officer is involved in a vehicle collision, what is the associated liability to the Department and the City if the officer involved has not been trained on how to properly respond to emergency calls for service? In this situation there is high liability if the officer is not trained on proper driving techniques. Training topics associated with high risk and high liability are given greater priority than training topics associated with low risk and low liability. While this two factor analysis assists in rating potential training opportunities, other factors determine final training topics.

Power relations are continually in play and manifest themselves in unplanned mandatory training requirements. As an example, performance evaluations have been a part of the Police Department's life world for several decades. A Department expectation has been established for supervisors and employees to meet on an annual basis to review the employee's successes and challenges of the prior year. At the conclusion of this meeting, some form of value is connected to this evaluation to inform the employee if they are meeting, or falling short of, the Department's expectations. In reality, this annual process is grudgingly supported by the Department's employees. During this study, Department supervisors received multiple emails from the Chief's executive assistant informing us of the expectation to complete the annual evaluations. While these emails began as generic reminders, they soon became a record of accountability as the executive assistant began including a list of all outstanding evaluations in the broadly distributed emails. Discussion with multiple employees in the Department reflected a common theme regarding this evaluation process. First, it is felt that this process holds

very little value as there are not financial incentives for achieving a high score. Second, it is felt that most supervisors provide high ratings for their staff as they typically do not want to engage in an overt conflict with their employees regarding evaluations scores. In totality, the PD's evaluation process is reluctantly followed and rarely valued by the supervisor or employee. In this context, a citywide initiative to reinvent a performance management process for all employees emerged that significantly altered the life world of the Police Department.

Having been selected by my supervisor to participate on the City's Performance Management Committee, I was able to observe and participate in the creation of this new program. Spearheaded by the Human Resources Department, this committee was charged by the City Manager to create a citywide performance management program. With only a few Departments having an evaluation process in practice (the Police Department being one of the few), the intent was to provide a mechanism for consistent guidance for recruitment (i.e. updated job descriptions with expected competencies), periodic review throughout the year between supervisors and employees, a log to document significant achievements and areas for improvement, a method for performance improvement plans, discipline, and annual planning agreements.

Members of the City's Training and Development Office reviewed and selected competencies from the National Department of Labor website to establish industry standard expectations for employees. At its core, select foundational competencies that every employee (new or tenured) should have were identified. These included inclusion, interpersonal skills, communication, City values, willingness to learn, and integrity. Definitions for these competencies were taken from the website and altered slightly for

the City's needs. Building on the foundational level, additional competencies were selected for each job level in the organization (line level/officer, supervisor/sergeant, manager/lieutenant and commander, deputy director/assistant chief, and director/chief) such as meeting skills, networking, staffing, etc.

An automated log process was developed to record significant accomplishments and challenges for each employee. In practice, the automated log allowed both the supervisor and the employee to make entries. To promote communication between the employee and the supervisor, the system was created so that notifications are sent to either the supervisor or the employee when a new entry is made. If a supervisor chooses to add something to the employee's log, once it is entered and saved, a notification is sent to the employee informing them of the log entry. The employee can then review the log entry and then add their comments. They cannot change the entry; only add a comment about it. This log is accessible to the employee, the supervisor, and the supervisor's supervisor.

This performance management program would not include an annual evaluation. The City Manager stated he doesn't make all of the decisions but that he would hope that the Police Department and others would see that there is no benefit to having an annual review or evaluation. In his words, the idea is to establish a program that is forward looking and promotes planning between the supervisor and the employee to set expectations and goals for achievement over the next year. "Obviously there will be some review over what happened in the past, but this is forward thinking." He continued by stating performance reviews and evaluations are a "big waste that do more damage than good."

This performance management program, as a relationship of power, is a significant organizational change for the Department. It pragmatically creates an electronic log that is transparent in nature as both the employee, the supervisor, and the supervisor's supervisor have open access to review and add comments. It creates an annual planning process in which the employee and the supervisor review the City's goals, the employee's workgroup's goals, the employee's job description to discuss how the employee's position supports the Department's and City's goals. As part of the planning process, the supervisor and employee are expected to jointly select competencies for the employee to focus on developing over the next year and specific goals to achieve. In totality, a program has been crafted that requires supervisors to openly communicate with their employees, establish annual goals, and review progress on those goals throughout the year.

A second relationship of power can be seen in the implementation of a new citywide diversity initiative. Through its own means, the City's Diversity Office determined that past citywide diversity training had taken its course and that a new form of training was needed to revitalize the expectation that employees value the diversity found in one another. As a result, a new training program was crafted in partnership with the Diversity Office, the Training and Development Office, and Human Resources that promotes employee awareness that valuing diversity on its own no longer meets the City's expectation of employee behavior. Objectives of this training include a common understanding of expected behaviors to promote inclusion of diversity in the workplace. Examples include an expectation that employees leave their comfort zones and overcome their natural propensity to only congregate with those most like them. When negative

acts are witnessed, employees are expected to advocate for those treated poorly and not look away. Specific attention is focused on the value of alternative sexual orientations. A “business case” is offered that attempts to educate participants that marketing to the lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, and transsexual communities makes financial sense for the City due to these groups’ spending abilities. During this study, inclusion training became a mandatory course for all City supervisors. Offerings were provided on a consistent basis for supervisors to attend. Each course consisted of two half-day sessions.

Both of these examples, performance management and inclusion training, provide insight to power as actions upon actions. While the Training Unit proudly reports on its ability to make change and create the Department’s training agenda, actions upon actions impact their agency. Both performance management and inclusion training required the training unit to alter their training agenda in order to fit these initiatives into employee work schedules. In the case of performance management, additional “Department specific” training was crafted by the Training Unit to ensure Department employees understood not only the City’s expectation, but also the Department’s expectation when completing employee logs. While treated historically with low value, the City’s new performance management program resurfaced the importance of supervision, open communication, and planning. Further, “inclusion” was defined and engrained as new knowledge in the Department. Through these relationships of power, the Department’s and the Training Unit’s expectations of its employees were altered by actions upon actions. New discourse, driven by outside relationships of power (i.e. Human Resources and the Diversity Office), created new knowledge in the organization specific to the value of employee performance management and inclusion.

## *Seniority*

As a relationship of power, seniority is a method for scientific classification in which actions upon actions objectify the subject based solely on the date an individual enters the organization. This indoctrination process encompasses both sworn officers and civilian employees. It neutralizes merit, productivity, character, valued added, and subjectivity. Seniority is a blunt objectifier that is considered “everything” for the employee. Seniority determines vacation day approval, work shifts, parking rights, vehicle rights, and overall status in the organization.

During my ride-alongs in the Department’s Communications section I had the opportunity to learn about seniority in their daily life. First, vacation leave time is at a premium as internal rules allow only two dispatchers to take vacation leave per day. Employee seniority is the determinant of who gets a planned day off and who does not. Communications supervisors oversee an annual vacation bid process. The most senior employee is the first person to select which two weeks they would like to take off during the upcoming year. The next senior employee makes their selection, then the next, and so on. While vacation requests are submitted throughout the year, supervisors are regulated by the rule that only allows two people to be on vacation per day. During one interaction I learned that the prior year’s bid process resulted in only two days in which no one requested vacation time. An outcome of meeting minimum staffing level requirements and following the seniority bid process is that attempting to be flexible and to get days off throughout the year is nearly impossible. Employees are allowed to swap shifts with each other. However, by recently switching from 4/10 schedules to 5/8 schedules



opportunities to swap shifts are much less available. This structural change further hampers an employee's ability to get a day off of work that has not been scheduled for months in advance.

One dispatcher interviewed correlates these structural mandates (i.e. minimum staffing levels, seniority shift bid process, and 5/8 schedules) with increased sick leave. While vacation leave must receive prior approval from a supervisor, sick leave does not. As such, any employee can call in sick without approval. The dispatcher insinuates that this is the only avenue some employees have to take when they want to take a day off other than what has been approved.

Seniority also determines shift selection. Communications is staffed 24-hours a day, 7-days per week. The current schedule shows shifts that include partial or complete weekend days. Some shifts have a constant start and end time while others have staggered start and end times throughout the week. The higher the seniority, the greater the chance of selecting a shift that meets the employee's lifestyle needs. The lower the seniority equates to the greater the chance that the employee must adjust their lifestyle to meet the organization's needs.

While vacation bid and shift bid are conducted by seniority ranking, some confusion exists on the definition of seniority. Is it time in the current position or time with the City? While this may seem to be a trivial point, when one's seniority determines if you are able to attend a family wedding or child's graduation, it is a significant distinction. This issue came to light most recently during the City's budget reduction process. As City and Department positions were eliminated, the City Mayor publicly promised that not one City employee would be laid off. Instead, using attrition, some

employees were reassigned (i.e. “bumped”) to a new position in the organization. This process impacted three Communications positions. Of the total number of Police Department positions cut during the City’s budget reduction process, three of them were held by employees with prior Communications experience. Adding both their prior Communications experience and the experience they had in their current positions, the employees had higher City seniority than most others in the unit. Following City policy, these three employees “bumped” back into their prior job and retained their seniority for having worked longer in the City than other Communications employees. In other words, not having been in Communications for years, these three employees were still able to shift bid and vacation bid earlier in the process than many others currently in Communications. In all three instances, current employees were asked to train these returning employees on the jobs of dispatching and call taking. While being trained by current staff, these employees were able to select their shift and vacation days prior to those training them and other members of the unit.

The value and importance of seniority can be seen by viewing each workstation. At each workstation a seniority list is taped to one of the monitors prominently displaying hierarchy. When asked about this, the dispatcher stated that it is important to know everyone’s ID number and that this list provides that. I asked how this list was sorted. She stated it was sorted by seniority. I asked if ID numbers and seniority correlated. She stated no. Therefore, the list is sorted by seniority and not by ID number.

On a separate occasion, a sergeant moved off our original topic during an interview and began discussing seniority and decision making. Specifically, this sergeant

stated that many decisions are made solely on the longevity of the persons making the decisions, in other words, seniority.

*Interviewer:* Seniority is important?

*Sergeant:* It is huge. It has a lot to do with um... decisions that are made about um... probably not official but like what positions you can get, what experience you have, what time off you can get, who gets priority over things, and then with bid, you know with your shift bid. It is all by seniority. So that is when it comes into play the most is your schedule.

*Interviewer:* So time in seat means a lot?

*Sergeant:* It's huge. Because you will hear people testing for sergeant when they know there's going to be another test following because you'll have some seniority. If you are a bottom seniority sergeant you are going to be working weekend midnights for a very long time. Which is really not true, but it could be possible.

Similar to seniority in Communications, defining seniority is important with sworn officers as well. It is a sworn officer's seniority in position that determines shift bid and vacation selection hierarchy.

*Interviewer:* So seniority in position. So you may have a ton of years on as an officer, you lose that as you...

*Sergeant:* Yeah, as soon as you promote to sergeant you are at the bottom in your seniority.

While City seniority and seniority in position have distinct meaning, a sworn officer's seniority with the Department has its own meaning as well. A sworn officer's seniority

with the Department is physically reflected with the number of longevity stripes sewn on the left sleeve of their uniform. Each stripe sewn on an officers left sleeve represents four years of service with the Department. Many officers key in on this information prior to any interaction. The following excerpt further illuminates the structural impact, or actions upon actions, that one's seniority has on organizational behavior.

*Sergeant:* You know, Sergeant X? I think of her because she's the one who I always see wearing long sleeves with all her stripes. Well, who are the younger officers gonna go to for that experience? I'm gonna ask her. She knows. You know.

*Interviewer:* So they are not just looking at the age of the person. They are looking at the stripes to determine who's been here a while?

*Sergeant:* Yes. Then it also goes to taking the nicer car.

*Interviewer:* Really?

*Sergeant:* Oh! It used to be. I don't know how often this happens now. If you didn't let the more senior person pick their cars first. Or, you know what cars they drive. You don't dare take their car, or not let them pick first. They've earned that seniority. You let them do that. You have to earn your st... your position here.

*Interviewer:* Based on time.

*Sergeant:* Yeah.

*Interviewer:* Even if you are a kick ass officer?

*Sergeant:* Yeah. If you are a kick as officer, and you are new, you are probably seen as being cocky. If you are just going and picking that new car, and not letting the more senior people... Where you sit in briefing.

*Interviewer:* Really?

*Sergeant:* Yeah!

*Interviewer:* Yeah? There is coveted space?

*Sergeant:* Or, that is where they want. So, for years... don't take that spot.

*Interviewer:* So that is why Commander [Name] took offense when I parked in his spot. There is no designated space, but to him there was.

*Sergeant:* That was his spot! He's been here how long?

*Interviewer:* So, I really did tread on him.

*Sergeant:* Huge!

*Interviewer:* [Laughs] He was so mad!

*Sergeant:* That was the funniest thing. Because, you are gonna find... it is very military. I mean, police departments are really military structure. Even though sometimes we try to get out of that it is still the mindset. It's still that mindset.

An interview with another sergeant provided additional examples of the value of seniority.

*Interviewer:* Seniority is important?

*Sergeant:* Yes. Oh yeah. It determines everything. What shift you get. A lot of times it determines whether or not you get an assignment. You and I

could test for a position, if we are even on all fields and you have one year on and I have 15, I am gonna get it.

*Interviewer:* It doesn't have to do with work product?

*Sergeant:* No. No. You could write a better report than I could. You could have two years on. A lot of times that is what happens. You get a senior person, will write it up, it will be a piece of shit, but they will right it up. Whereas the brand new guy, it is not even a crime, and he is writing war and peace. You never know what you are gonna get. I'm not saying that is wrong. Because the experience guy knows that it is not a crime even if it was looked like as crime with zero probability of prosecution. "Yeah, I'll type it up, but I will not write *War and Peace*." Whereas the new guy, who is happy to have a job, is writing *War and Peace*. Keep in mind that guy writing *War and Peace* has got other guys shagging his calls. So it's... You learn as you go along.

*Interviewer:* So seniority, shift bid, shift change, all things being equal, seniority wins out...

*Sergeant:* Seniority is the only thing that matters for shift bid. As an officer you can have your seniority, you build that up you get better shifts. Then when you test and promote, you go back to the bottom again, you lose all of your seniority as an officer and now you are in a new group. Then, when they do the sergeant's bid now I have to worry about "have you been a sergeant longer than me."

*Interviewer:* I doesn't matter how long you have been here, but how long you have been in rank?

*Sergeant:* Yes, time in rank.

In summary, many of the examples above describe how seniority in this policing organization influences normative behavior for both sworn officers and civilian employees. Final decisions are made by the most senior officer responding to a call for service. The best choice of patrol cars, seats in briefing rooms, and parking spots are consigned to senior officers through tacit knowledge. While humorous as time has passed, my own naiveté to this concept resulted in my offending a Commander by parking in an undesignated spot that was culturally designated as his. Yet, the cultural impact of seniority is not limited to unwritten influences of behavior. Sworn and civilian employees are structurally objectified by the organization through written policies and guidelines based on tenure. Seniority determines shift bid order and vacation selection. Even more significant, during the budget reduction process, seniority determined if an individual would keep their job. Through a Foucauldian lens, seniority is a relationship of power that objectifies individuals based on tenure. Seniority replaces individuation by overshadowing skill, work ethic, and need (i.e. vacation time to attend a wedding). Employees are quickly indoctrinated to the reality that much of their wellbeing in the organization is determined by the date they are hired in relation to those around them. Individual productivity, character, and ethics are not the means to enhance work schedules, to access the newest equipment, nor to receive preferential treatment on vacation selection. Rather, the subject's tenure in the organization in relation to the subjects around them is the determinant for greater wellbeing.

## *Unions*

Dividing practices continue beyond hiring and selection as new employees are separated into one of five employee groups: a police officers association, a firefighters association, a civilian line level employee union, a supervisors association, or as a classified employee. The assignment of individuals into employee groups is another manner in which civilian employees are objectified differently than sworn employees. Specifically, each employee group has its own governing structure, and has been given bargaining rights through the City's code. Each is represented as part of the City's six sided partnership; inclusive of the above five employee groups and the City Manager. The six sided partnership meets on a consistent basis to discuss organizational changes and/or issues that may impact employees. Regardless of the specific employee group, each is said to represent the employee and their needs as a member of the organization. Employees do not have a choice as to which employee group in which they want to belong. Instead, each City position has a predetermined employee group designation. This information is readily accessible as it is included in each job description. Of greater interest is the access union officers have to discuss issues with Police Department management. While each union president has consistent access to the City Manager as part of the six sided partnership, union president access to upper management in the Police Department is differentiated. As such, it will be seen that sworn employee representation has a significantly different access to management than civilian employee representation.



As employee groups are said to represent the employee, they are also a relationship of power that influence employee behavior. While employee groups are not a part of the daily discussion for most employees, bulletin boards in the Police Department break rooms contain paraphernalia for many of the employee groups. Pamphlets and newsletters are a constant sign for employees that they are represented by a larger group. Memorandums of Understanding (MOU), or legally binding agreements between the City and the employee groups are negotiated between the employee group and City Manager on a periodic basis. These agreements establish the association's rights, the right of its members, wages and compensation, hours and leave, working conditions, and benefits. These binding agreements dictate behavior and objectify the individual through a formalized dividing practice. Greater clarity of this relationship of power is provided below through the words of two individuals who represent two distinct employee groups, and are themselves represented by these same employee groups.

The police officers association is an employee group that represents police officers and sergeants within the organization. Its governing board consists of a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and three trustees. This seven member board acts on behalf of its membership on decisions that affect this employee group. The most significant act for this board is to represent its memberships every two years in developing and bargaining for a contract with the City.

While all sworn police officers and sergeants are represented by the police officers association, those paying monthly dues are considered official members and receive additional benefits. As the State is a "right to work state," City employees do not have to become a member of a union. This nuance impacts the identity of the police

officers association. In other words, this employee group is officially called an association, but it is referred to in practice as a union.

*Police Officer Association Member:* We are a negotiating body. Um, and to take it a step further as police officers, the ultimate union tool a lot of times is to strike. Well police officers, no matter where you are at in the country, we don't strike. Um, so it is an interesting dichotomy in relationship, me being from the northeast and having a very different union structure than out here. But essentially it's more or less an association. A group of people that have gotten together and decided to negotiate pay and benefits and things of that nature with the City, and then with the legal protections that an attorney, that the [association] has on retainer, can use that attorney for everything from a law suit from a citizen to merit board hearings, to uh you know disciplinary, internal disciplinary matters, silent representation, things of that nature.

The non-supervisory civilian association comprises approximately 750 City employees, representing approximately 240 different job classifications. This is the largest employee group in the City. As in the sworn officer association, all employees fitting within the above job specifications are covered by the union. Special benefits are provided to those members that pay annual dues. The union has an executive board with 2-year terms. Elections are conducted to fill the board positions: president, vice president, treasurer, and union representatives. Should they have need, members are provided legal counsel through a partnership with an outside entity. This is a non-profit

employee rights coalition. This service is only provided to dues paying members. This is viewed as an incentive for eligible employees to join the union.

The stated purpose for the unions is consistent. The civilian union president states their purpose begins with fairness. Rather than viewing the civilian union's purpose as one of cooperation with the City, the desired state is one of collaboration. Employees should be able to have a voice at the table of decision making. They should have the ability to discuss wages and working conditions. At its simplest, if an employee is required to wear a uniform, they should have voice as to what that uniform should look like. The employee is the one that is going to wear the uniform on a day to day basis, as such they have a greater stake as to what vendor is selected, the aesthetics of the uniform, as well as the durability and functionality of the uniform.

*Civilian Union President:* It is about being a partner, coming to the table, and having a say.

*Police Officer Association Member:* Now, I think that a union should be doing a lot more than that. It should be a benevolent organization. I think it should be involved in charities. I think it should be doing what it can to meet administration goals and City goals and looking at the greater good. But when everybody's backs to the wall, that's its purpose: save jobs, and the second thing is to improve the working environment as best you can and then you go from there.

While the City's rules and regulations cover most employee benefit issues, employee groups have chosen to negotiate these rules and benefits further in the form of the MOU. This includes vacation time and enhanced pay for specialty assignments. The

employee associations have the ability to negotiate these terms by bargaining with the City and creating a separate contract, or MOU. The MOU is a charter containing multiple sections that defines and discusses the role of the president and its board members, the voting process, record keeping, administration, meeting laws, and other day to day operations of the association. Whereas the City's rules and regulations may state that employees will accrue six hours of vacation time in a pay period, the association can attempt to negotiate that accrual to 8 hours per pay period. In short, association members believe that anything negotiated and agreed to by the City in the MOU takes precedence over the City's rules and regulations.

When asked about the advantages of being represented by the association, the police officer association member responded that the association's benefits are interpreted differently by each of its members. Employees that work holidays receive an increase in pay, called "holiday pay." Employees that work midnight shifts receive an increase in pay, called shift differential. This increase in pay, and the amount of increase, is negotiated between the association and the City and codified in the MOU.

*Police Officer Association Member:* When I got hired here there was very much a mindset of an entry level employee makes this much across the board. Supervisor makes this much. So a library supervisor and a police supervisor are making the same amount of money. I would respectfully argue that that's probably not appropriate. I think they are doing very different things, and there are certainly people that should be making more than a police supervisor and those that should be making less.

Some may see disadvantages at being a member. There may be decisions made by the association that do not benefit a particular employee.

*Police Officer Association Member:* I guess outside of our small little work here, what I don't like about unions is when unions start to push an envelope that makes it financially impossible for either the government entity or the company to afford, to essentially operate. And whether that results in outsourcing to the private sector or layoffs or whatever the case may be, if you start pushing your work beyond the income of the organization then you've crossed that line. It is a fine line in government because you could essentially just argue, in its simplest form, well increase revenue and pay me more money. People have to pay their taxes, etc. etc. For a company it is obviously very different. If you charge too much for your product, people aren't going to buy your product. And then there is a slippery slope, or chain of event of issues. But as tax payer and I don't mean to sound cliché, but as a tax payer, and a citizen, I want taxes to be reasonable, but I am also willing to pay what I need to pay to have essential services delivered. On the back end of it, I think as a government employee for what I do, I'm a bargain, I'm a value. At times I think I'm making too much money. I mean I can sit at my desk for an hour a day a say, "boy I made a little too much money right there." But I can be on the street for another hour and say, "boy for the last hour you woefully underpaid me."

In essence, associations have the ability to negotiate pay and benefits beyond the financial capabilities of the City. As a result, association members' positions may come into jeopardy, as seen during the recent economic crises where City revenues no longer

support current services and associated costs to administer those services to the community.

Influence, described as power by this association member, is an action upon action.

*Police Officer Association Member:* Our power comes from political power. Us making contact with the citizens and saying, “Hey, we are pleading with you to put pressure on our elected officials to keep us equipped, paid well, and safe within the confines of the job.”

Influence is gained through fundraising and different processes that reach the community from multiple angles. This association member states that these actions are overt and not conducted through a back door.

*Police Officer Association Member:* It is not like a back door kind of “Hey, let’s go smoke cigars in a back room and talk about how [City] police officers are the best officers in the world.” It’s that... out in the open. It is overt. “Hey, we’re your [City] Police Department. We’re having a fund raiser. It is a [police officer association] sponsored event. Feel free to come on out. We’ll tell you anything you want to know.” We use lobbyists. It’s called the uh... I can’t remember this right now... I’ll send it to you. Basically it is an organization where its members are unions. It is not an individual. I’m drawing a blank. [State name] something... but that group employs lobbyists, and those lobbyists are regularly at the capital fighting for... I mean you start looking now at bigger pictures, pension issues, pay issues, death benefits. I mean any gamut that state law effects. These

lobbyists are in there... “hey! don’t take away our pension, don’t take away our benefits, protect our insurance, etc. etc.” We attack that front too.

Other law enforcement associations have disseminated fliers via local newspapers. One example given consisted of a 10 to 15 page flier that listed all of the crimes that occurred in a specific jurisdiction.

*Police Officer Association Member:* And basically the president of their union had a little opening to this flier that basically said “Hey, we want to protect you but we’ve been cut this many jobs, we are losing this kind of pay, boom... boom... boom... boom. Well look at all of the crime that is going on in your City. We need better pay, better benefits, and better equipment to fight this crime.” So pleading directly to the citizenry in hopes that the citizenry will get back to council and say “we demand... we demand...”

The association’s influence, or power, is limited as they do not believe they have the ability to strike. Negotiation and the approved MOU are key factors of influence for the association.

*Police Officer Association Member:* Because at the end of the day we can’t... we can’t walk. We don’t have the ability to hold out. Contracts are... this is your contract. If we don’t come to some sort of agreement, essentially the city can basically say “This is what we are going to pay you. Have a nice day.” If it is outside of the contract, there is no collective... I don’t want to say there is no collective bargaining, I’m not that educated on the topic... but there isn’t the traditional collective bargaining where when two sides can’t reach an agreement an arbitrator comes in and picks one of the sides. It is essentially that our contract

should be honored for the timeline that it is in place. Once it expires, if the City just sat across the street and said, “You know we are not gonna negotiate with you, we are going to pay you this much.” We are kind of limited in what we can do.

Association board members have access to City Council members and the City Manager. As representatives of the associations’ members, the board members can speak upon the members’ behalf. Officially, only the associations’ president can speak for the entire membership.

*Police Officer Association Member:* So as a trustee, I can’t go across the street and say, “Hey, Mr. [City Manager] let’s talk benefits, and negotiate some contract.” [The association’s president], or his successor, is the only person that speaks on behalf of the... Now, once he comes to an agreement on a contract, for example, it is brought back to the membership, put out, voted on. 50 plus 1 says yes, so be it. 50 minus 1 says yes, it ain’t happening. [The association’s president], or the president, has to go back and continue the process.

Thus, the association president officially negotiates for the membership. However, the president is unable to finalize a contract without the vote of the membership. This interactivity of negotiation and influence is understood by the association’s board members, the City Council, and the City Manager. Checks and balances exist.

*Police Officer Association Member:* But they [Council members] are also beating a drum. And we have to make sure, like I said, that that negative part of the union, that kind of ties into that. They are also saying “fiscally conservative, reduce people’s taxes throughout the city, um, do more with less, work smarter not



harder.” Pick your cliché. So, if we start pushing too far, well cops need more benefits, more equipment, more this, more that. The citizens are like, “Look, I don’t have a job. I’m scraping for money. I’m barely employed. And you want me to give you 50 bucks more, 100bucks more, whatever the case may be every year, so that you can make \$75,000 instead of \$72,000? Give me a break!”

A fine line exists in which the association negotiates for better pay and benefits while trying not to ostracize the community at the same time.

The manner and degree in which the association involves itself with employee discipline is a significant issue. The association member believes there is a strong differentiation between the police and other associations. In short, there is a belief that police officers are held to a much higher standard than other employees.

*Police Officer Association Member:* Some people in this department have a distrust, and maybe this gets more to your question, some people in this organization have a distrust for management. And it is either because they had a personal relationship with someone in the chain in command or they just think anybody with anything on their collar is evil or out to get them or whatever the case may be. And, maybe that is based on “Hey, I did this two years ago and I got this significant discipline, and that wasn’t that big of deal. And this other person did the same thing and they didn’t get any discipline.” So part of that is, something that I’ve talked to people in this organization, is getting information out. As far as, well we are dealing with... I don’t want to mention any... We’re dealing with some merit board hearings. People think well, he or she they just did this. And then they get fired, and now they are in the merit board. I can’t even

walk out of the station or I'm gonna get fired. Yeah, but what you don't know about is the 15 incidents that happened before that. And you don't know all of the details of this incident. So there is more to it than that. Um, but you combine those two. It is the constant... some people just provide bad customer service, they are always getting complaints. Some people can't win, and they are getting complaints regularly. They distrust management. They see people around them getting dinged and getting hit hard for things. Or, at the end of the day they did do something, or are accused of something very significant, and they are just in over their head.

Any number of those factors... I probably could have just said that in the first place... any number of those factors, you start saying, "You know what I'd feel better with somebody in the room. Somebody who can tell me am I... am I... and for the most part silent witnesses, but those silent witnesses, that's a misnomer, because in reality they can speak, they just can't answer questions for you, they are not council. You're sitting in there and you have an IA investigator getting over anxious, that silent witness can be like, "Hey, we probably need... let's take a second. And just step back and take a break. We'll come back and continue to answer your questions."

So that representation helps. You are in a room full of people. It is intimidating. Just having the second person their helps. Just kind of levels the playing field. Makes you feel a little bit more comfortable. "Hey, at least I have one person on my side." Even at the end of the day, I don't see IA as an adversary; I see them just as an information gatherer. They are just investigators.

But people, a lot of people, don't see them like that. "They are out to get me." I can't say they shouldn't feel that way. I think there are examples of inconsistent treatment over the years in different areas of the organization where people do get treated differently.

During the discipline process, the association attempts to "level the playing field." This includes having direct communication with the Chief. The union attempts to make the discipline process fair.

*Police Officer Association Member:* The facts and the circumstances are what they are, but at the end of the day the process is flawed. When the process is fixed we will put the employee back through the process. If the same outcome is there, we did what we could do for the employee. At the end of the day the employee made his or her bed when they did what they did. But, um... no. We need to fight that battle for what is right. These are the rules. I think we do that in this organization regardless of what it is. These are the rules. If we are not following those rules somebody should be standing up and saying, "The rule's wrong and needs to be changed." Ok, or.. "We are willfully allowing this to occur, that needs to cease. We can't be making things up as we go along. Especially when we are dealing with people's lives and their livelihoods."

Supported by the accounts above, additional observations, and interactions, employee groups are similar in their desire to promote fairness in the form of salary and wages, leave time, and discipline. However, significant differentiation exists in the Police Department with access to management. Specifically, the police officer

association president has a standing meeting with the Chief of Police. This is an opportunity for a representative of sworn officers and sergeants to discuss wants, needs, ideas, and concerns with the head of the department on a regular basis. The civilian employee group president does not have the same privilege. Rather, the civilian employee group president has a standing meeting with the Police Department's director (i.e. civilian assistant chief) instead.

*Civilian Union President:* We have our labor management meeting, and so we meet with [civilian director], our assistant chief, and then we started inviting the chief to those as well. When he is free he pops in on those as well. He thought that it was important for the two of us to meet on a regularly basis.

The nuances of the above account are important. First, the civilian employee group regularly scheduled labor/management meeting attendees include the union president and the Department's civilian chief of police. The Chief of Police attends when he is free. During a discussion with an attendee of these meetings, I was informed that this structure is preferred. Having a civilian represent management in these meetings provides a greater understanding of issues as they are themselves a civilian. While this may be true, the disparity remains. Specifically, sworn officer and sergeant issues are presented directly to the Chief of Police. These thoughts are not filtered by an assistant chief of police. Civilian concerns are first filtered by a civilian chief of police before reaching the Chief of Police. This structural difference is significant. Labor/management meetings and the composition of attendees further objectifies civilian employees

differently sworn employees. In this case, union representation is not equitable between the groups.

In summary, as new employees enter the organization their indoctrination process includes a dividing practice in which their job title determines the employee group in which they are associated. At the City level, employee groups negotiate wages and compensation, hours and leave, benefits, and working conditions. The association provides discipline oversight and legal representation. Regardless of the individual employee's wants, their association determines how seniority is defined, how overtime will be distributed amongst their employee group, and how vacant positions will be filled. While representation at the City level is consistent through the six sided partnership, representation within the Police Department between labor and management differs. In other words, employees are objectified by the distinction of the employee group they are assigned (i.e. sworn officer association, civilian line level association, supervisor association, etc.). Through this objectification, sworn officers have consistent representation with the Chief of Police. Civilian employees, on the other hand, are relegated to an individual who is lower in the hierarchy of the organization. As direct access to the Chief of Police is valued, the structure of labor/management meetings in the Police Department reflects civilian employees having less value to the organization than sworn officers.

### Discipline

Discipline is another goal oriented activity that shapes the life world of the organization. The Department's general order on the code of conduct states, "It shall be

the policy of the Department to hold employees accountable to the community, organization and each other through the fair and consistent administration of appropriate disciplinary procedures.” It further states, “The ultimate goal is to achieve self-discipline through voluntary compliance.” Compliance is reached through the internal enforcement of Federal law, State law, City ordinances and policies, City Personnel Rules and Regulations, and the Department’s general orders. The totality of which provide the foundation of expected employee behavior as the organization “turns inwards” to address “negative functions” (Foucault, 1977, p. 209). Violation of any of the above laws, rules, and guidelines, if identified, will result in discipline. As allegations of wrongdoing are brought forward, Department personnel find themselves objectified through dividing practices as well as scientific classification. Policies and procedures drive decision making through objectivity in the spirit of fairness. The goal oriented activity of discipline becomes another means in which the individual is objectified through the exercise of power.

### *Internal Affairs*

Internal Affairs is a mechanism of the discipline process. However, as a relationship of power, its role and responsibilities are consistently misunderstood, or unknown, by employees. It is believed, by most, that Internal Affairs both investigates allegations and determines final discipline. As will be discussed, this belief/perception is false. Made up of two sergeants and an administrative assistant, the Internal Affairs Unit (IA) investigates allegations of serious misconduct. Serious misconduct includes those actions that may result in suspension for a significant amount of time, reduction in pay,

demotion, or termination. Complaints against Department personnel are received by external individuals (i.e. citizens) and internal employees. IA may choose to involve themselves when an allegation appears to require a lengthy investigation, multiple witnesses, or cross bureau boundaries. Further, most cases of racial bias allegations are forwarded to IA for investigation. With these general guidelines comes some ambiguity on what they do and do not investigate.

*IA Sergeant:* People will call directly. They call with a complaint and want to talk to somebody in IA. They will contact dispatch. Dispatch will be their first contact. Dispatch won't be able to get much information from them. Because often times they will just say that they want to talk to Internal Affairs. Dispatch will transfer them to us. We will listen to what they have to say. If it is a general rudeness complaint or something that they did not agree with, or they did not like how something was done and it is kind of a minor deal, we will send it back to... we will get the information, make a copy of our recording of our interview and send it down to the lowest level of supervision.

...

So, if it was a patrol officer. Someone was calling us saying officer so and so was rude during a traffic stop, well that is not something IA would deal with; their supervisor will. So what we would do is package it all together, the information together, and send it down to the immediate supervisor of that officer. It would be their responsibility to follow up and conduct an investigation if they felt it was necessary to do.

As such, the IA Sergeants rely on their Lieutenant to determine what investigations they should and should not conduct.

*IA Sergeant:* But usually it is our lieutenant will come in and say, “Hey, I got this, and we are gonna take it.” That is really, typically, how it happens.

*Interviewer:* So, he is the clearing house?

*IA Sergeant:* Yes. We’ve had direct.... I’ve had other lieutenants contact me direct from other Bureaus, and said that they wanted me to take it. And I say, “Sorry, it is not up to me. It is up to my.... You will have to talk to my lieutenant.” It has to filter from our chain of command to make sure it is something that we will take.

*Interviewer:* Is it pretty consistent?

*IA Sergeant:* Yeah. I think so. I have yet to experience a situation where I have taken something straight from someone telling me we have to take it. It is always been um.... I either forward my boss a note that, “Hey they might want to touch base with so and so, they have brought forward this, and they think it should be handled by Internal Affairs.” So, he will follow up. So, we definitely do not make that call. It will come from our lieutenant, that we take the call.

Through this process, IA Sergeants are able to defer decision making to their Lieutenant on what type of investigations and how many investigations they work.

Legislation and policy drive IA investigations. Recent legislation requires investigation to be completed within 120 business days. Prior to this legislation, Departments set their own guidelines for timeliness of investigations. Employees are provided a Notice of Investigation at the onset of an investigation. This notice informs



the employee that they are being included in an investigation; it informs them whether they are a witness or the focus of the investigation; and it informs the employee about the specific allegations involved. The notice functions as a “gag order” in which those involved, both the focus of the investigation and witnesses, are ordered to limit their conversations about the allegations to include certain individuals (i.e. spouse, doctor, clergy, and investigator). The notice is also intended to protect the employee from a “fishing expedition.” Meaning, only those allegations that are provided in the notice can be investigated by IA. Should IA find other forms of violations during their investigation, they are obligated to create and serve a new notice based on those new findings. Union members, both sworn and civilian, have the right to have union representative, and an attorney present when given the notice. The notice also informs the employee that all information gathered for the investigation can only be used for administrative purposes. Meaning, if there is a belief that the employee has done something illegal, they will be charged criminally and that the criminal investigation will be handled outside of this administrative process.

The difference between an internal investigation and a criminal investigation is significant. An internal investigation focuses on violations from an administrative perspective. As such, employees are compelled to answer questions. If, however, it is believed that an employee has broken the law, they will be charged criminally and be given the same rights as other citizens. A sticking point exists in which an employee may admit to criminal behavior during an IA investigation. Knowledge gained about criminal behavior through an employee’s self-disclosure as part of an internal affairs investigation cannot be used in a criminal case because the employee was compelled to speak.

*IA Sergeant:* So, if we thought they were involved in criminal activity, the best thing is not to interview them at that point, and let Criminal Investigations conduct the investigation. Because, Miranda rights will apply at that point. And, they have the right to remain silent if they are under a criminal investigation. And, we cannot force them to give up that right as an employee to come and talk to their employer. So, on a compelled statement, that we give on the Notice of Investigation, we are telling them that they are required to talk to us, but that information that they tell us, we cannot tell the criminal investigator, if there is one. Or, if something criminal comes up, we cannot bring that to the attention of a detective. And we cannot bring criminal charges up based on that information.

...

That becomes a sticking point, is you don't really want to run IA investigations with Criminal investigations, because you could have that tainting or the appearance that you are tainting the investigation.

Employees are not thoroughly educated on this distinction, which results in confusion as to IA's role in criminal investigations. In essence, IA has no role in criminal investigations.

As an outcome of the investigation, IA is expected to provide findings. Findings include "sustained," meaning the allegations have been found to be true based on a preponderance of evidence; "non-sustained," meaning there is not enough evidence to either sustain the allegation(s) or exonerate the employee; and "unfounded," meaning there is no evidence to support that the incident in question occurred. These findings are included as part of the investigation packet.

The greatest misnomer as part of the discipline process is the employee's belief that IA recommends and provides discipline.

*IA Sergeant:* We don't make any recommendations or make anything for disciplinary... discipline. All we do is forward it to their chain, the employee's chain of command, with our findings. And, then it is up to the employee's chain of command to make a decision if there should be discipline or not.

...

After explaining to an officer the process, the officer is like, "I didn't know you guys didn't do the discipline." They seriously think we are responsible for suspensions, firings, demotions, and pay cuts. They really do. That is not the case. And, I think that is where a lot of things change. [IA Sergeant] and [IA Sergeant] really tried to make that a point to people. I've seen [IA Sergeant], you know on the first couple interviews that I was just sitting in, "Let me make this clear... we are only making findings, we are not making decisions on discipline". And you can see the employee just go "oh..." Not necessary putting them at ease, but you can see that it is different. They are kind of treated. They see the process a little differently.

IA limits their role to the investigation. Are the allegations found to be true based upon the preponderance of evidence or not? If allegations are sustained, it is left to the employee's chain of command to determine the type and form of discipline.

In practice, most allegations are not investigated by IA. Rather, investigations are typically conducted by an employee's direct supervisor, or further up in one's chain of command.

### *The Discipline-Mechanism*

In addition to the discipline process which is used to promote and deter certain behaviors, discipline mechanisms are also a significant part of the life world. Foucault (1977) describes the discipline-mechanism as “a functional mechanism that must improve the exercise of power by making it lighter, more rapid, more effective, a design of coercion for a society to come” (p. 209). As an example, the Department’s detention facility reflects the physicality of Bentham’s panopticon. While prisoners are placed in multiple holding cells, a single room containing large surveillance screens allows detention officers to oversee their prisoners. Their gaze is continuous, omnipresent, and relentless. Foucault’s (1977) description written in *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* remains relevant today.

This enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the centre and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead – all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism. (p. 197)

Yet, panopticism, surveillance techniques, and the gaze is not limited to suspected criminals, it is incorporated into the life world of the employee.

The Communications Bureau is located in the Department’s newest substation. Built in the early 2000s, the substation is home for communications, north patrol, the

traffic unit, and other ancillary functions. Communications is located on the second floor of this two story facility, and is the only workgroup on this floor. Entry is made by climbing the stairs and either waiting for the administrative assistant to “buzz” you in, or, if you have the appropriate rights, by placing your ID card up against a security card reader to unlock the door. Progressing past the administrative assistant’s work area, another door, requiring security access, must be passed to enter into the heart of the communication’s work area. My ID gave me access to pass through both secured doors.

The first impression when passing through the second secured door is that space is in abundance. The work area is large, open, and well lit. Large windows span both the north and south walls of the area. Yet, there is also an odd feeling as the openness of the work area is only felt when looking left and right, but straight ahead is a raised platform that splits the work area in half. As I past the administrative assistant on my way into this area I was informed that my interviewee was located on this centrally located raised platform. I walked up the ramp and met with the on-duty supervisor. From this vantage point I am able to see the entire floor. Employees are working at separate stations on either side of the platform. From this elevation I also see that the opposite wall that I came in from is lined with offices. I am later told that these are the offices for the supervisors and manager.

Through my discussions with the on-duty supervisor, I learn that this raised platform is an assigned work area for the supervisors. It was designed so that they have the ability to see the entire floor. The split in the room is purposeful in that it separates two distinct work functions. The north side is for the dispatchers who continually monitor all patrol personnel, while the south side is for the 911 call takers who receive all

incoming calls and determine how best to address the caller's needs. As previously mentioned, along the east wall are several offices. Each supervisor has their own office. The manager's office is on the far south of the offices with a conference room being the last enclosed room on this wall. Along the west wall is the entrance to communications (the door I had just entered) and a training area. A movable wall separates the training from the rest of the floor. At times this training area is an extension of communications, and like today, it can be closed and become its own separate work area.

The building is relatively new along with the furniture. The desks have the ability to be adjusted at different heights. As such, the call taker or dispatcher can raise the desks and work while standing, or be lowered to work while seated. Every workstation has multiple monitors on it. These monitors are connected to racks that allow them to be stacked on top of each other so as to have a panel of monitors 2 x 2 or 3 x 3.

Built with the desire to provide communications personnel the appropriate space to conduct their work, it is hard not to see the resemblance to the panopticon. While the central supervisor platform was crafted so that supervisors can readily determine which employee may need assistance when handling a call or working with an officer, the elevated platform reflects Bentham's central area in which a constant gaze can be felt by the prisoners, and in this case the call takers and dispatchers. The height of the platform and pony wall around it, the manner in which monitors are situated, and the height of the supervisors sitting position make it difficult for the employees below to see if someone is present on the platform. As such, the supervisor gaze is continually present regardless if the platform is in use or not. The offices along the wall are designed to provide supervisors privacy to complete work, but also privacy to address performance issues

with employees. They are a constant symbol to the employee that they are not a supervisor, and not in a position of authority. This newly crafted, state of the art facility, maintains the structure and feel of the panopticon.

Other examples in the organization, while not a one for one translation, also exist. The bullpen, or cube farm, for line level employees surrounded by supervisor offices is seen in investigation, patrol, and administration work areas. Lacking an elevated platform, these work areas retain a panopticon feel as line level employees are “surrounded” by supervisors. As a result, a constant gaze is felt by these employees regardless of which supervisors are present and which are not.

Surveillance is used as an investigative tool to locate and apprehend criminals. It is also used as a mechanism to piece together the movements of suspects and investigative leads to support cases as they progress through prosecution. However, surveillance is not limited to those outside of the organization. Rather, surveillance, in the form of ID cards, of employees is constant in the organization’s life world. An employee’s ID card functions as both a mechanism to identify that an individual belongs to the organization, and as an access key card.

*Project Manager:* When you talk about the simple thing as a key; a key is power. And, when you talk about a paramilitary group that have this rank and file, or some of them are power hungry, that key starts to represent a lot more. And to come up with a system on how it works, can be very interesting or very combative [laughs].

Upon hire, all Department employees, sworn and civilian, receive an ID card that has the employee’s picture, name, job title, and the word “POLICE” displayed. This ID

card also functions as an access key. Card key reader pads are placed strategically on the exterior of the building and throughout the interior of the building. ID cards are programmed to give each employee access into and throughout the building.

Programming allows the organization to selectively provide and deny access at the individual level. Meaning, an employee's ID card may provide them access into the building, and into their work area, but may deny them access to other areas of the Department. As the new construction at headquarters began, how employees would move throughout the building, and who would have access to certain areas became a structural challenge.

*Project Manager:* In one of the bubble diagrams I had put a barbed wire thing around SIB [Special Investigations Bureau]. And the original thought that the new ACOP wanted was that the two work together. In my own humble opinion, I don't think he had ever worked in that work group. That work group was ingrained in their secrecy and the thought of removing those walls and doing this, was almost against every fiber in their bodies to do that. So there is a wall that didn't exist that runs between SIB and the rest of the department. At one point that wall was gone, because we were looking for this interaction [laughs], but then reality kind of sets in, tradition sets in, "Nope we cannot have that". So the wall goes up, the card readers go on, and these special card statuses exist.

As a result, a workgroup that was purposely moved from an offsite location to promote greater day to day interaction with other detective workgroups and analysts, has, by means of a wall and electronic key pad readers, separated and isolated itself within the walls of the Department. Those excluded from access must seek permission to enter.



This permission may be informal by an employee opening a door and allowing access to another individual, or formalized by requesting access approval through the employees chain of command.

ID cards, as a discipline-mechanism, come to the forefront when supervisors begin to question the behavior of their employees. An email from a supervisor to the Department employee assigned with card key reader oversight results in a listing of activity. The supervisor can request a listing of all activity for an employee throughout the organization, or specific readings at a particular location. When requested, the most frequent report produced is used to determine if an employee is arriving to work on time. As most parking locations require an employee to read their card, this report provides the specific dates and times when an employee enters the parking location. When tardiness becomes a pattern of behavior, the employee can be subject to discipline.

A third example of a discipline-mechanism as a part of the everyday life of patrol officers during this study was the implementation of global positioning system (GPS) technology in the patrol vehicles. Knowledge of this new system and its capabilities was transmitted through the organization through multiple mechanisms. Highlights of the new technology were provided in a weekly Chief's Update written by the Assistant Chief of Support Services as follows:

Next Monday, June 6th, is our GO LIVE date for the second phase of the Police Information Network (PIN) implementation, which will incorporate the new Computer Aided Dispatch (CAD) and Mobile Data Terminal (MDT) components of the system.

The Global Positioning System (GPS) will enhance officer safety as well as prefill certain fields within the system, such as checking off on a traffic stop, changing location, and initiating a prisoner transport--minimizing the need to type on the MDT and reducing the amount of radio traffic. The GPS will also be helpful in situations wherein a unit requests assistance verbally and/or by emergency button and is not checked off. The dispatchers and others with an MDT will know where an officer's car is and be able to send assistance.

Citizens will benefit from the GPS feature because dispatchers will have the ability to send the closest units to priority 1 calls, reducing response times and providing more accurate information on who is responding to the calls.

Outcomes from the implementation of this new technology did include the examples provided in the Assistant Chief's message. Additional outcomes included the Department's ability to verify the current and past locations of officers. Specifically, this new technology is used to determine if a patrol officer was truthful about their whereabouts during their shift when the officer's behavior is in question. In addition to the above examples, the new system tracks the heading and speed for each vehicle. This makes it possible to determine the speed an officer is driving when responding to calls for service. This additional source of data has become a part of collision investigations when patrol vehicles are involved. As such, estimates of speed are now replaced with actual calculations. This is not to say that the Assistant Chief's message was erroneous. This new technology directly supports officer safety by providing communications dispatchers with the knowledge of where each officer is located at any given time. In addition to that benefit, unintentional, or intentional consequences include a new discipline-mechanism

that is being used to verify the whereabouts of officers, to determine if they are traveling at speeds within policy, and to track officer behavior minute to minute during their shifts. In all, GPS has become a discipline-mechanism that has turned the City into a panopticon.

In summary, discipline, as a relationship of power, has been analyzed through its process (i.e. Internal Affairs) and form (i.e. the panopticon). Internal Affairs' mission is to review allegations of wrong doing and make recommendations to sustain, non-sustain, or unfound alleged employee violations. Once an allegation is brought forward, employees are objectified as an object "under investigation" until Internal Affairs personnel reach a decision. Further, examples of Foucault's discipline-mechanism are seen in action in the form of room design, ID access cards, and GPS in patrol cars. These functions of the panopticon and surveillance are ever present as means to discipline the subject as object in this life world.

## Chapter 8

### RELATIONSHIPS OF COMMUNICATION - LANGUAGE, SIGNS, AND SYMBOLS

As stated prior, the exercise of power consists of the interplay between relationships of communication (e.g. means of language, signs, and symbols), relationships of power (e.g. forms of subjugation and exclusion), and goal oriented activities (e.g. selection and hiring) (Foucault, 1994). This chapter focuses its attention on one of these components: relationships of communication. Divided into three subsections, the first subsection provides a greater understanding of the relationships of communication in a police organization through the analysis of discourse, structural determinants of communication, and methods of communication. The second and third subsections delve into the organization's system of signs and symbols and how they transmit information. The symbolic nature of employee uniforms and space plays a significant role by actively objectifying the individual as they move through the life world of the organization. In its entirety, this chapter provides greater clarity to structural relationships of communication and their role in the formation of knowledge.

#### The Spoken and Written Word

Spoken and written words convey information. In an organizational setting, it is the combination of the discourse communicated, the structural determinates of who talks to whom, and the methods of conveying information that creates knowledge and guides decision making. This section provides specific examples of significant discourse transmitted and how their interpretation results in action and/or inaction by those working in the organization. It reviews dialogic structures along with their formation, reformation

and how these structures control information and knowledge. Finally, it discusses core methods of communication used in the Department to transmit discourse and create/reinforce knowledge.

### *Discursivities, Discourse, and Knowledge*

As represented in Foucault's (1972a) archaeology of knowledge in which discursivities (i.e. common thoughts, writings, discourse, and accepted truths and norms within a society) become knowledge in a world-view, the organization is a place where information becomes knowledge as dyads and triads of individuals mold and vet discourse in a sea of power relations. Through the exercise of power discourse becomes knowledge; knowledge becomes power. Flyvbjerg (1998) states:

So far, we can provisionally conclude that power does not limit itself to defining a specific kind of knowledge, conception, or discourse of reality. Rather, power defines physical, economic, ecological, and social reality itself. Power is more concerned with defining a specific reality than with understanding what reality is.  
(p. 36)

Discourse defines reality. Two examples of this phenomenon follow. First, I discuss how a specific discursivity (i.e. an efficiency study) fails to become accepted knowledge in the Police Department's life world. Specific effort is placed by the Chief of Police and command staff to safeguard current discourse of organizational practices while disavowing new scientific fact. Second, I provide an example of the manner in which discourse, as knowledge, objectifies the subject. Specifically, I will discuss a discourse

that permeates the organization as knowledge that further objectifies the civilian employee as a second-class member of the organization.

Sitting down at my desk one afternoon and reviewing my email, I opened a particular item that was titled, “[City Name] Efficiency Report.” This email was sent by the Assistant Chief of Police (ACOP) for Support Services to the Department’s planning and research supervisor and me. The specific email read as follows:

From: [ACOP of Support Services]

Sent: Friday, April 29, 2011 1:45 PM

To: [OMBR Administrator], [Planning and Research Supervisor]

Subject: [City Name] Efficiency Report

Greetings,

This hit the papers today, and I imagine we will get questions related to the issues brought forward in the report. Please browse through this and let’s talk early next week.

Thx.

[ACOP of Support Services]

Approximately three hours later, a follow-up email was sent by the same ACOP that carbon copied (i.e. cc'd) two additional email recipients (i.e. ACOP of Operations and the ACOP of Organizational Services) and provided additional context.

From: [ACOP of Support Services]

Sent: Friday, April 29, 2011 4:48 PM

To: [OMBR Administrator], [Planning and Research Supervisor]

Cc: [ACOP of Operations; ACOP of Organizational Services]

Subject: [City Name]

Greetings,

I read the [Name] PD Efficiency Study this afternoon, and thought I would get our conversation rolling on this topic as we will no doubt get several inquiries about how we do business. Below are some things I think we should look into, and some questions that I hope you can provide your perspective/interpretation on. I've listed the items in chronological order, as they came up in the report.

Can we provide the same metrics for [our city] that were included in the report comparing [the other city] to other agencies? For instance, can we include [our city] in any comparative tables, such as the one on page 8 of the report that addresses demographics, land area, etc.?

Can we go one step further, and update the workload indicator table that we have used previously that compares us to other local agencies in regard to crime, cfs, traffic accidents, etc.?

Determine how they calculated response times (call received to arrival vs. dispatch to arrival).

Provide me your perspective on how they determined what the workload or demand for services were for Patrol. On page 7 they state that “The core of our analysis is based on an examination of the relationship between service expectations, the demand for services, and staffing needs using data provided by the police department.” It appeared to me that they focused on traditional citizen cfs response as the demand measure for Patrol staffing purposes, but then went on to say that all of the positions that would be saved could be reallocated for proactive work. In essence, I did not see anything wherein crime, proactive work, etc. were considered in regular staffing schemes. They talk a bit about an activity survey that was conducted to see how Patrol officers spent their time (page 7), but the approach they take seems to suggest that currently, Patrol Officers do no proactive work. This gets even more confusing on page 17 when they talk about proactive staffing...has it been included in their assessment or not? It is a theme throughout the report, and seems odd to me.



[Planning and Research Supervisor], can you summarize the elements that were taken into consideration with our recent change to our Patrol deployment plan? Can you also look on page 19, the second bullet regarding scheduling practices, and see how our new plan addresses the identified issues. Also, [Name] mentioned that you were already looking at the 5-8 schedule piece.

Reference Administrative Support on page 15, I was not clear on exactly what positions comprised administrative support. Let me know how you interpreted that component.

Can we do some type of overview of the number of officers that currently respond to different types of calls. I'm not sure we need to go into every call, but some of the more frequent types would be interesting (p. 18).

On pages 22 and 23, they discussed the expectations of Commanders. Did you infer anything that suggests that crime, complaints, or any other type of activity would be driven by data? Perhaps it is assumed in the goals they are supposed to establish....seemed like a pretty big weakness.

They made a recommendation for some pretty significant cuts to Communications, which are interesting. I sent it to [Communications Manager] to review, but given the CAU's history in working on Communications staffing, any input you have would be appreciated.

Please let me know if there are any other issues you thought we should look into more; or, if any of the above items are not reasonable, let me know that too.

Thanks!

[ACOP of Support Services]

Approximately thirty minutes later, this topic had escalated further as all command staff personnel received the following email from the Chief's executive assistant.

From: [Chief's Executive Assistant]

Sent: Friday, April 29, 2011 5:15 PM

To: [Command Staff]; [SPARC Supervisor]

Cc: [Chief of Police]

Subject: Innovation and Efficiency Study of the [Name] Police Department

Good Afternoon,

Attached is an Innovation and Efficiency Study of the [Name] Police Department that is currently posted on the City of [Name] Website at [http://\[name\].gov/citygovernment/efficiency/index.html](http://[name].gov/citygovernment/efficiency/index.html). [City Name] Mayor and City Council hired consultants to conduct studies of all city departments in order to improve efficiency. The first study is of [Name] PD.

[Chief of Police] has asked that each of you review this document to get some ideas, etc.

[Chief's Executive Assistant]

This executive level email informed all command staff members about an efficiency study conducted for a neighboring law enforcement agency, and requested that they read the document and “get some ideas.” So, what did this study report that energized its neighboring department to react so abruptly? And, why is there an expectation to “get some ideas?”

Published as a public document, this report addressed specific areas in which the neighboring law enforcement agency could integrate innovative solutions and increase efficiencies. Police department positions and functions were scientifically classified through the lens of enhancing efficiencies in providing police services. Upon review of multiple indicators the consultant recommended staff reductions; specifically patrol officers. A more efficient work schedule was suggested to eliminate the culturally accepted 4/10 work schedule (i.e. work four days and then have three days off per week) and replace it with 5/8 schedules. Also, the report recommended the reassignment of workload to increase the productivity of sworn supervisors. Further, the consultant recommended greater oversight of dispatching practices as they report reported too many officers were reporting to individual calls for service. Entire programs and positions were recommended for elimination (e.g. an underutilized specialty tactical unit).

Of greater significance for this study were two specific recommendations regarding civilian staff. The consultant argued that there are multiple opportunities in the department where a civilian employee can be as effective as a sworn employee doing the same job. By civilianizing these positions the City will net significant savings. Civilian positions are less costly than sworn. Civilian hiring and mandatory training processes are less stringent and less costly. Further, the efficiency study stated that civilian positions are typically held by individuals for a greater duration as sworn employees typically rotate in and out of positions on a consistent basis. As such, less organizational disruption and training costs are associated with a civilian position. Second, the consultant recommended the City look to privatizing certain services. For example, it was recommended that the department hire contracted personnel to conduct background checks on police department applicants. The consultant argued that by privatizing this work function, the department will gain greater efficiencies.

This discursivity (i.e. the efficiency study) entered the life world of the Police Department through its publication in the media and having been read by an assistant chief of police. Of interest is how the originating agency, and my host agency reacted to this study. The neighboring agency's response to this report was surprising. Having hired the outside consultant to conduct the study, I would have thought that the agency would have responded by acknowledging there were opportunities for improvement in their organization and provide steps on how they were going to achieve those improvements. This is not how the agency responded. Instead, as reported in a local newspaper article, the neighboring department's mayor and council were extremely critical of this report and the work conducted by the consultant. They commented that

now is not the time to be reducing police officers but instead they should be increasing staff numbers. Their police union president commented about the validity of the numbers and felt the report fell short of reality. In the form of resistance, the neighboring city chose to criticize the findings of the report. As such, the neighboring agency did not respond to the findings or report that they would initiate any of its recommendations.

My host agency responded by treating this discursivity as a threat. Rather than a full frontal assault on the consultant and their efforts, the direction was given for command staff to interpret the relevance of the findings for their work areas and then craft responses to those findings (i.e. “get some ideas”). Special meetings were scheduled amongst command staff personnel to review the documents as a group and brainstorm responses. The efficiency report, as a discursivity, was critiqued by command staff, responses were crafted defending current practices, no actions were taken, and the current discourse regarding staffing, allocation, assignments, scheduling, etc. remained in tack. In sum, the recommendations from the efficiency study failed to become knowledge in the Police Department. Further, the specific recommendations to replace sworn officer positions with cheaper civilian positions and to privatize specific police functions failed to become accepted knowledge in the organization and drive change.

This awareness is significant. I have argued that the outcome of the City’s budget reduction process, in which a disparate number of civilian Police Department positions were eliminated, was a foregone conclusion. The above example of the failure of the above discursivity to become knowledge supports this argument. While an outside consultant provided a recommendation to leverage civilianization and privatization for greater efficiencies and effectiveness, the Police Department continued down the path of

eliminating civilian positions. The current discourse (i.e. objectifying civilians as second class citizens), as knowledge, supported the resistance of this new information.

The first example provided a description of Foucault's archaeology of knowledge in practice. A discursivity enters the organization, and in this case meets significant resistance, is disavowed, and the current discourse, as knowledge, pervades. This second example provides greater analysis of the current discourse itself. During an interview with a records supervisor the conversation turned to the topic of acknowledgment. One consistent form of communication provided to the organization is the City Manager's weekly update. This update is sent via email to all City employees. This update provides employees with the thoughts and views of the City Manager regarding historical milestones, current events, and future initiatives. The following account discusses how a recent lifesaving event is acknowledged by the City Manager.

*Records Supervisor:* If you watch like the write ups that are put out for, I don't know, say we respond to a baby drowning and the officers go and do CPR. Kind of like the one in [City Manager's] update. The officer did a great job. Well, you know it goes beyond that. There is going to be a police report written that the records clerks are gonna have to do data entry on and make sure that that thing does not get lost in the system, is available for review. It does not stop at the scene with those officers that responded and saved the baby's life. There is a dispatcher that took the call that had to keep the guy on the phone calm. There is a lot of other pieces that go into this thing you know. If the baby didn't survive and it became an investigation they are bringing us the evidence. They bring us the evidence and we have to make sure it does not get lost. So, it is there for

review, or trial, or law suits or whatever it might be. We get real focused on the incident and not the bigger picture. There is a lot of other people behind the scenes that are making this stuff happen and making this police department is what it is. Do I explain myself well enough?

*Interviewer:* Yes. City manager puts out information on a weekly basis? Put out an update?

*Records Supervisor:* Yes, a lieutenant from the police department wrote it to him letting him know how well Fire did and our PD guys did.

*Interviewer:* Non-sworn positions mentioned in it?

*Records Supervisor:* I don't know. I know it focused most on the life saving at the scene. And, that is usually where it stops. We really miss seeing the end product. Yeah, there is a whole lot more that goes on with that. We did a great thing out there, but it has to come full circle. There are a lot of other people that touch that in some regards.

As a significant event, the records supervisor describes the actions of not only the officer's responding to the scene, but also the dispatcher handling the initial call, the potential for identification technicians to be deployed to collect evidence, and the records personnel who ensure the paperwork is properly logged and filed. All of these participants are part of the information available as the scene evolves. As a matter of discourse, only the actions of the officers involved are shared with the entire City employee group. To the organization, emphasis is placed on the specific actions of the officers responding to the baby drowning call. The civilian support staff becomes "non-dits" (i.e. absence from the organization's discourse), as if they did not exist. To be fair, I

participated in awards ceremonies and other meetings in which civilian staff were acknowledged for their actions and support. During these ceremonies, civilians have received distinguished service awards and meritorious service awards. However, the exclusion of civilian support, as described above, is common when reviewing the daily activity recaps emailed between patrol lieutenants and command staff. In most cases, the description of significant events is limited to the sworn officers responding to the call for service.

*Forensic Services Technician:* It's a little frustrating, you know, to be held accountable to the same standards as a sworn, but to be paid less. Um, to be held on to the same policy and procedure, but yet, you know to be recognized less in some ways. But in some ways it's great that it's all there in black and white. You know even though we always say in law enforcement, that we treat everybody the same, we literally do not. Because some people need more kid gloves than others. You know some people need things explained to them differently.

Discourse further emphasizes a dividing practice. In this case civilian support personnel are divided from sworn staff in which acknowledgment is targeted to a specific group. Organizational value and employee value is placed on what is discussed in written form; in this case, the City Manager's weekly update. Additional observations and interactions with Department employees further supports a lack of acknowledgment of civilian personnel during critical incidents. As such, discursivities inclusive of the heroic deeds of the officer and absent the actions of support civilian staff become accepted discourse and resulting knowledge base in the organization. Through their absence, civilian



employees, and their contributions to the organization, are objectified as unworthy of acknowledgement.

These two examples of relationship between discursivities, discourse, and knowledge combine to provide a greater understanding of the objectification of the civilian employee. The second example brings to the forefront that discursivities describing Police Department responses to significant events elevates sworn officers as heroic employees and in many cases devalues the efforts of civilian support staff. These discursivities frame discourse in the organization. This discourse has direct influence of the actions of the Police Department command staff as seen in the first example. While the findings of a consultant's study recommend greater efforts toward the civilianization of sworn officer position and outsourcing police functions to private entities as a means for greater effectiveness and efficiencies, these discursivities fail to become knowledge in action. During the City's budget reduction process, an entire workgroup of civilian employees (i.e. community service officers) designed to respond to non-emergency calls for service is eliminated in lieu of sworn officer positions. This action is in direct opposition to increased civilianization as a means to balance the budget.

#### *Structural Determinants of Who Talks to Whom*

Relationships of communication are also witnessed through dialogic formations in which communication is conducted amongst the members of the organization.

Specifically, who is communicating to whom? To begin, dialogic structures in the form of dyads and triads of communication can be formed and reformed based on the free will of the organization members. For instance, friendships and/or familial relationships

existing prior to individuals working together, or formed while working together are examples of dialogic structures where information, both work related and personal, is shared. Rather than attempt to define and analyze the multitude of ways in which dialogic structures are created, destroyed, and reformed, my focus is placed on one of the organization's structural mechanisms in which it creates these relationships. This mechanism is a structural form of the exercise of power that is rarely questioned by individuals working in this life world. While rarely questioned, this mechanism objectifies the subject through a distinct dividing practice that ultimately subjugates and excludes the individual. This mechanism is a structural determinant of who talks to whom. This mechanism is called the "standing meeting."

Standing meetings are an ingrained structural mechanism of information sharing in the organization. I define these meetings as those scheduled on a reoccurring basis. As part of my observations, I attended a multitude of meetings that were scheduled on a weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, and quarterly basis. Standing meetings tended to fit within two structures. The first structure was that of workgroup information sharing in which hierarchical structure determined attendance. For instance, every Monday, except if it was a holiday or for other exigent circumstances, a mandatory executive team meeting was held in which the Chief, assistant chiefs, and legal advisor attended. Following this meeting, a command staff meeting was held in which the executive team in addition to the Department's bureau managers attended. Following this meeting, the executive team excused themselves and the bureau managers met as a group. This structure of information sharing cascaded throughout the rest of the organization as lieutenants conducted standing meetings with themselves. Structure of these standing meetings

altered slightly at the lowest level of the hierarchical structure for both sworn and civilian first line supervisors. Standing meetings for line level supervisors were established to communicate information to their specific staffs. In other words, civilian first line supervisors would meet regularly with their staff to share information while not scheduling time to meet with their peers. This practice was consistent for sergeants. Sergeants had a standing meeting with their squads in the form of daily briefings, but not standing meetings with their peer group. As numbers in each hierarchical structure grow exponentially from top to bottom, logistics should not be discounted as a reason for the structural change in standing meetings between the manager/lieutenant and supervisor/sergeant levels of the organization. Specifically, it is easier to logistically meet as a work group at the lieutenant level, comprised of eleven individuals, as compare to sergeants, comprised of over fifty individuals.

A second manner in which standing meetings take form is based on topic. Topical standing meeting examples include a crime fighting focused meeting called Crime Suppression Team (CST), labor management meetings, Fusion Center meetings, new hire welcoming meetings, and council meetings. Access to topical based meetings is determined by function rather than hierarchy. In this regard, structural forms of power remain in play. For instance, attendance to CST was a volatile subject during this study. CST is a standing meeting in which the attendees focus on the topic of fighting crime. Similar in nature to the nationally known COMPSTAT process, CST is intended to enhance the Department's focus on understanding current crime problems resulting in the timely realigning and deployment of resources to attack those problems. At times access to this meeting was very open in which lieutenants, public information officers, and

command staff attended. As the executive team felt this practice was becoming ineffective, access was limited to command staff personnel for a period of time as a mechanism to place greater accountability of crime fighting on the bureau managers. Based on interactions with command staff members, it was felt that the larger group structure diluted specific conversation on crime fighting. By limiting attendees, bureau managers were forced to become knowledgeable about specific crime activity in their assigned areas and methods being employed to impact that activity. During this study, the bureau managers began feeling the pressure of accountability solely resting on their shoulders while the lieutenant workgroup became more and more disengaged. Through a very contentious process, access to the meeting eventually reopened to include the lieutenant workgroup.

Labor management meetings are another example in which accessibility is strategic in nature. State law, and the City's charter, allow for the formation and existence of employee labor groups. While unions were discussed prior as a form of indoctrination of the individual, their meeting structure provides a clear example of the exercise of power. As a brief review, Department employees are members of one of four labor management groups based on their position in the organization. These groups are confidential employees, which includes executive staff, a supervisor association that includes civilian supervisors and sworn lieutenants, a sworn officer association that includes both line level officers and sergeants, and a civilian line level association. The Department's executive staff has standing meetings with two of the four groups. This structure provides a few points of interest. First, standing meetings are in place for only two of these workgroups; the sworn officer association and the civilian line level

association. These two workgroups comprise the largest population in the Department. These standing meetings provide these workgroups with consistent access to executive staff. Understanding knowledge is power, these two associations have the largest influence on day to day activities of the Department in part due to their regular access to knowledge via executive staff. Unlike the other two associations, the sworn officer association and the civilian line level association have consistent access to the thoughts and ideas of executive staff. In turn, they have consistent access to alter those thoughts and ideas by providing a world view from their perspective. Second, as mentioned prior, the executive staff represented in these meetings is not the same. Meaning, the Chief of Police meets with the sworn officer association on a regular basis to discuss current events, as well as concerns, and challenges. The Department's civilian assistant chief meets with the civilian line level association. While this may seem to make sense as the Chief has more in common with sworn employees and the civilian assistant chief has more in common with the civilian line level staff, this structure places greater emphasis on the sworn association rather than the civilian. In other words, the sworn association has consistent access to the highest level executive of the Department to share their ideas of change and concern. The civilian line level association is excluded from this access.

As stated above, this distinction provides significant meaning to the organization. First, the disparity of access between the sworn officer association and the civilian line level association reinforces tacit knowledge that the organization values the civilian line level association less. Second, in practice, new ideas and concerns presented by the civilian line level association are filtered before they reach the Chief of Police. As such, the message the civilian line level association intends for the Chief of Police may, or may

not, be delivered as intended. In sum, the second largest employee group in the Department is excluded by a structural practice that limits access to the Department's top executive. That is not to say that the civilian line level association does not have access to the Chief. They have every right to schedule a meeting to meet with him "as needed." The point here is that structurally, regular consistent access is provided to one membership group while the other is excluded from this same practice.

Standing meetings determine who talks to whom based on their structural form (i.e. hierarchical, topical, or employee group). As a function of general workgroup information sharing or topically based, standing meeting access is predetermined. Consistent access is denied based on organizational structure or not being selected as relevant to a specific topic. Intermittent access can be given based on the permission of the regular attendees. Meeting minutes are not created or disseminated. As such, information and knowledge shared in these meetings is owned by those attendees. Those attendees then have choice as to share or hoard that knowledge. To be clear, standing meetings are not a sinister function of the organization. However, the manner in which access is rarely questioned and the relationships of power fostered through exclusion needs to be questioned. Discourse, as knowledge, is created when one employee association has direct access to the chief on a regular basis; the other is relegated to a civilian assistant chief; while the remaining two do not have standing meetings with any executive staff. These relationships of power impact significant decisions as seen during the City's budget reduction process.

### *Methods of Communication*

While multiple forms of communication exist such as face to face conversations, phone conversations, handwritten notes, body and hand gestures, etc., three distinct forms utilized in the Department provide clear examples of the exercise of power through relationships of communication. These three forms are face to face conversations, email, and secured texting. Observations and interpretation of each form as they relate to a greater understanding of relationships of communication follow.

Face to face conversations are conducted throughout the organization to share information. This form of communication is the most fluid form of interaction between members of the organization as face to face conversations can be scheduled, planned, or ad hoc. Purpose of the conversation is established by the communicator, but the purpose of the conversation and what is actually communicated during a face to face interaction may differ as new information is added by the other participant(s) or cue from the setting in which the conversation takes place. Face to face communication is used to clarify expectations and reinforce efficiencies in daily duties. While relationships of power direct what information becomes knowledge in the organization, face to face interactions as a form of communication most reflect individual agency and choice rather than a structural form of power. While multiple examples of this phenomenon were observed during this study, the following example provides a very unique form of face to face conversation in the Police Department.

Patrol lieutenants and sergeants utilize face to face interactions with their squad members to gather information, develop rapport, provide mentoring, and take corrective action. Many of these face to face interactions occur out on the street and are referred to

as “bumper conversations.” Without the luxury of meeting in offices or cubicles, the patrol car bumper becomes a preferred meeting location for officers and their supervisors.

During a ride-along with a patrol sergeant one evening, I asked how he provides guidance to his officers when, other than during briefing, all of his subordinates are out on the street all night. He stated that he takes the opportunity in briefings to review a couple things at a time that they need to know, in order to keep it simple. He then uses “bumper conversations” during the evening to provide guidance to individual officers. During these interactions he provides feedback on actions and then lets the officer continue on with their night. Rather than using the radio, the phone, or email, face to face communication, in the form of bumper conversations, becomes the communication of choice.

Following this evening’s ride-a-long with the Southside patrol sergeant, I witnessed “bumper conversations” in action on multiple occasions as a means for lieutenants and sergeants to communicate amongst themselves and with their officers on the street. During another evening ride-a-long with another patrol sergeant, we arrived to a crime scene in which a suspect was being detained for an outstanding warrant. Based on the criminal history of this suspect, a specialized unit had been deployed to conduct surveillance at a known hangout for this individual. On this particular evening, the suspect arrived at the targeted location and multiple officers were deployed to bring that suspect into custody. As the sergeant and I walked around the location and acknowledged the multiple officers on scene, the on-duty lieutenant arrived. As he walked around the scene he acknowledged each officer that he came in contact. Upon reaching myself and the sergeant, he asked the sergeant to walk with him. The two of



them walked to the bumper of a patrol vehicle that was out of earshot from the rest of the officers and conversed for a few minutes. During this bumper conversation the sergeant informed the lieutenant about a separate incident that we had left prior to arrival on this scene. A bar patron had been offended by a transient in the City's bar district. Due to this patron's level of drunkenness, communicating in a way to deescalate the situation by the responding officers was becoming very difficult. The sergeant had a feeling that we would be called back to that location this evening and thought it was important to give her lieutenant a "heads-up" based on the potential volatility of the situation. In addition, this sergeant also provided an update on the status of the present crime scene. The sergeant informed the lieutenant that the sergeant's squad members were processing the scene and investigating the case rather than a detective. The detective that had requested this particular subject be detained had been contacted by one of the responding officers once the subject was detained. However, the detective had declined to respond to the scene. Once this communication was completed, the lieutenant returned to his vehicle and left the scene. The sergeant checked in with the responding officers to see if any help was needed. As no request for help was given, we returned to the patrol vehicle and continued our tour through the City.

A second significant form of communication in the organization is email. In general, email is an efficient method to share information throughout an organization. Organizations typically craft policies and procedures regarding email usage to direct employees on the proper use of email and improper use of email. In this organization, these policies and procedures inform Department personnel that email is considered an organizational tool and not to be used for personal matters. Inappropriate email, defined

as jokes, images, and words or phrases that could offend another individual or group of individuals, are strongly discouraged. Yet, while there is significant effort placed on managing the messaging that can be contained in an email to deter violations of Title VII and other civil rights laws, it is the analysis of the organizational topics communicated on a regular basis and the chosen distribution of emails that provide greater knowledge on the exercise of power through relationships of communication. The repetition of consistent messaging (i.e. commonly used subject lines) and the control of information (i.e. chosen distribution lists) emphasize relationships of communication as part of the exercise of power in the form of subjugation and exclusion through a structural dividing practice.

As organizational archives were collected throughout this study, I placed significant effort in reading and analyzing transmitted email. As the study progressed, my focus targeted on the forms of consistent messaging provided by the organization through the use of email. I define consistent messaging as those email topics (e.g. found in an email's subject line) that were conveyed to the organization on a periodic basis utilizing wide ranging distribution lists such as "all police employees." Through this analysis, distinct typologies were identified. First, police employees are provided consistent messaging as it relates to the law, policy, and procedures. The Department's legal advisor distributes a legal update to all police employees that provides knowledge of case law updates, holdings, and their significance to the Department's operations. General Orders (i.e. rules that govern the Department and its employees) additions and changes are communicated by executive staff to the organization through this means. In addition, the Department's audit and compliance workgroup distributes information

updates to the organization to clarify expectations in operations, reinforce procedures that are being conducted incorrectly or with significant error. Further, the City's Human Resources Department communicates significant City policy changes, updates, and rulings throughout the organization using this method. An example of this type of communication follows:

### **INFORMATION UPDATE 549**

**ALL POLICE EMPLOYEES MUST READ AND FOLLOW THE POLICY/PROCEDURES OUTLINED BELOW. If you have any questions regarding its content, see your immediate supervisor or call [Audit and Compliance Employee], Policy & Procedures Analyst, for clarification. Everyone is responsible for the items in this update.**

#### **OOPs/Injunction against Harassments**

Please note that Orders of Protection and Injunctions against Harassment are NOT reciprocal unless both parties have gone to court and obtained individual orders against each other.

#### **Recording Juveniles (Update to Parents' Bill of Rights)**

The Governor has signed SB 1244, which took effect immediately. SB 1244 clears up an issue raised by legislation passed in 2010 regarding Parents' Bill of Rights and the tape recording of juveniles. SB 1244 **allows for a law enforcement officer to make a video or audio recording of a minor *without* parental consent as long as the recording is part of an investigation** (Anonymous, 2011)

Second, the City Manager and Police Chief utilize email to disseminate weekly updates to the organization. While the message changes week to week, employees are provided consistent updates from the City and Department's executives on current events, historical memories, employee milestones, and plans for the future. While these messages may not be specifically written by the individuals (i.e. ghost writers), their message is approved and sent out under their auspices. These weekly updates are read, discussed, and establish a tone for the organization for the upcoming weeks. Third, a few workgroups disseminate information via electronic newsletters (i.e. training newsletter and volunteer newsletter). These newsletters are used as marketing tools to promote inclusion, as well as provide information on mandatory and voluntary training and events. Fourth, email is utilized to inform the organization about internal positions available for transfer, and the reassignment of personnel. Specifically, due to employees exiting the organization, new positions created, and/or employees moving to other workgroups, openings for the vacated/new positions are made available through selection processes. An example follows:

From: [Hiring and Training Lieutenant]

Sent: Monday, April 11, 2011 10:45 AM

To: PD - Police Supervisors

Subject: K9 Sergeant Test

Applications are now being accepted from sergeants interested in testing for the position of Patrol K-9 Sergeant/Handler.

Application Process: The application process will require the completion of the transfer application, a memo of interest (no longer than 2 typed pages in length), and copies of the applicant's most recent evaluation and current performance log.

Application Deadline: Applicants should forward the completed packet of information as described in the "Application Process" to Lieutenant [Name] by Monday, April 18, 2011, at 1700 hrs.

Required Experience: Any sergeant who has completed probation and has a minimum of five (5) years police experience as a sworn officer from their date of hire to the application deadline is eligible to apply. Of the five years police experience, a total of two (2) years since date of promotion as a [Agency] Police Sergeant must be completed prior to application deadline.

The selection process may consist of any and/or all of the following:

Review of your memo of interest

Oral board interview

Hands-on canine exercise

Assessment of work history including feedback from current supervisor.

Please refer to the attached announcement and application for further information to include specific requirements necessary to house assigned canine.

If you have any questions regarding this assignment or testing process, please contact Lt. [Name] at 480-350-8622.

These notifications inform the organization about career opportunities, required experience, how to apply, and clarity on the selection process. As these processes are completed, a follow-up notification is sent via email to all Department personnel informing readers who was selected for the position. A fifth type of organization information sharing is that of individuals exiting the organization through retirement, acceptance of a position elsewhere, or termination. These emails provide the organization's members with an understanding of who has recently left the organization, and the manner in which they left. For instance, the following example is an email from an employee to the entire organization regarding their retirement:

From: [Communications Employee]

Sent: Sunday, April 10, 2011 1:50 PM

To: PD - All Employees

Subject: Hasta Luego

It's that time to say Hasta Luego (See Ya later)

After 35 years in Law Enforcement (23 total with [City]) it is time to turn over the helm to the younger generation.

I truly will miss seeing all of you. I cherish all the friendships I have made over the years.

You have taught me a lot.

We have had a lot of good times, laughs and shed a few tears along the way.

I have had the privilege of witnessing you all doing amazing things during trying times...

Finding needles in haystacks, showing compassion, recognizing the red flags when things are about to go sideways... taking out the crystal ball every once in a while.

Your bravery is second to none.

You truly are amazing and do not always get the recognition you deserve and most all, you respond by saying "I was just doing my job!"

Know that you make a difference, you are the first line of defense and the voice that represents the City of [City]/Police Department.

Take care of each other and be safe.

You have my cell phone number and my personal e-mail is

[email address]

Drop me a line every once in a while and let me know how you are doing.

Abrazos Y Besitos

[Communications Employee]

This heartfelt email was sent by a communications employee to the entire organization through the use of an “employee all” distribution list. Another exiting example follows:

**From:** Mounted Unit Sgt

**Sent:** Thursday, September 01, 2011 3:27 PM

**To:** PD - All Employees

**Subject:** Smokey the Horse is Retiring

“Smokey” is retiring to greener pastures.

After serving the city of [City] for 9 years “Smokey” is being retired on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Please join us at [Address] at the Mounted Volunteer potluck between 4PM and 5PM if you would like to say goodbye to Smokey. He will be moving to a new home in a few weeks. He will be cared for in his twilight years by a former and current [City] Police Officer.

Sgt. Mounted Unit



Each of these announcements, the first written by the employee involved and the second by a Mounted Unit Sergeant on behalf of a retiring horse, are sincere acknowledgements of an employee leaving the organization. A different form of email that documents the exiting of an employee follows.

**From:** [Patrol Lieutenant]

**Sent:** Monday, August 20, 2012 06:52 PM

**To:** PD - All Employees

**Cc:** [Human Resources Analyst]

**Subject:** [Employee Name] in no longer a city employee

As of 8/20/12, [Employee Name] is no longer a [Police Department] employee.

He is not allowed in any restricted areas without an escort.

[Patrol Lieutenant]

Patrol Operations

This last example provides employees overt and covert knowledge of a particular employee. This form of exiting email overtly states that a particular employee is no longer a member of the organization, and that the identified employee should not be let into police facilities without an escort. Further, an attachment of the mentioned employee's picture is contained in the email to clearly identify who is the subject of the

email. However, no mention is given as to why the employee is no longer a member of the organization. Based on discussions with Department employees, covertly, as tacit knowledge, it is known that this type of email means that the employee involved has been either terminated or has resigned in lieu of termination.

In totality, these five types of organizational emails direct discursivities that become knowledge in the organization. Whether the topic is a change in law and associated general orders, policies, and procedures; executive messages; newsletters; career opportunities; or changes in employee status, organizational distributed email communication designates what information becomes knowledge for those working in its life world. In other words, email, as a relationship of communication, directly controls the distribution of information as knowledge throughout the life world.

As discursivities are communicated through email to direct discourse and create knowledge, the use of distribution lists is a structural dividing practice in which individuals are objectified and excluded. Throughout the study I observed occasions in which individuals voiced their displeasure for not being included in an important email sent by particular individuals. As I sat in meetings, conversations would move from topic to topic and at times one of the participants would ask how the rest of the group had prior knowledge of certain events. Eventually, one of the participants would respond, “I got it in an email.” At which time the original discussant would state that they were not included in that email and voice their displeasure. Rather than focus my attention on specific incidents in which one employee or another felt they were excluded from a specific email conversation, a more concerning practice of exclusion (i.e. dividing practice) is the common use of distribution lists to determine who receives messages.

The Department has implemented a practice of creating distribution lists for employees to use. These distribution lists are created and maintained by the Chief's executive assistant. Updates and edits to these distribution lists are limited to the executive assistant. Of particular importance is that the distribution lists are designated by the employee's status in the organization. In essence, the distribution lists are a form of dividing practice that objectifies the individual based on their position in the organization. It should be noted that individuals can be added to another group's distribution list. However, this allowance is only granted by the Chief's executive assistant if written permission is given through that employee's chain of command including an assistant chief of police. Examples of this form of exclusion include an "executive team only" distribution list, as well distribution lists limited to bureau managers, lieutenants, sergeants, police officer union members, supervisor union members, civilian line level union members, and commissioned officers. While innocuous in nature as a method to quickly communicate information to specified workgroups without having to select each member individually, these distribution lists segregate and exclude knowledge based on employee status. For example, as a specific crime series is communicated to commissioned officers via their distribution list, civilian crime analysis support staff is excluded from this knowledge. This exclusion greatly impacts their ability to quickly identify current crime series and patterns in which to analyze and provide additional intelligence. Further, this civilian workgroup becomes reliant upon individuals to communicate necessary information for success, creating a relationship of subservience and dependence.

While the above is just one example, this practice and subsequent outcomes are common in the organization. Power is exercised through a dividing practice that is defined by organizational structures that originated as efficiency mechanisms to distribute information to targeted audiences without inundating the rest of the organization with superfluous information (i.e. white noise). In practice, power is exercised through distribution lists by segregating knowledge in the organization. Some workgroups receive knowledge (e.g. sworn officers) while others (e.g. civilian analysts) become dependent on others for that same knowledge. Further, this relationship is not limited, and/or defined by hierarchy. Rather, the relationship is based on knowledge as power in which any workgroup that shares knowledge via a limited distribution list elevates themselves, while those workgroups excluded from this knowledge, regardless if that workgroup is higher in the chain of command, are devalued.

A third significant form of communication employed by a limited number of police employees is a secured texting process utilizing a specific communication device. Command staff and lieutenants are provided with Blackberry communication devices to send and receive phone calls, emails, and to manage their schedules. Another distinct operation included on these devices is a secured texting application known as PIN. This form of communication is significant in that it is a secured form of communication that is encrypted when sent from device to device. As a public entity that is accountable to public records laws and the release of public information, communication transmitted through PIN is excluded from these requirements. In other words, PIN communication is not subject to public records requests as the messages sent and received are not stored for future retrieval and are encrypted. As Department users know this, communication sent

and received via PIN is rarely censored for fear of someone requesting copies of the communication for scrutiny.

As a relationship of communication, expectations are set for those deployed with Blackberries regarding timeliness of response. The culture of the organization is one in which employees receiving a PIN from another member are expected to review and respond to the message as a top priority. PINs are used as a method of communication to set expectations, communicate displeasure, and to play in the form of humor. Further, the culture of the organization supports pinning during meetings as a form of entertainment and to communicate thoughts and strategy with limited individuals.

The Chief of Police is a frequent user of PIN in the form of play, reaffirming expectations, and requesting certain actions. For example, during a multiagency executive meeting, I began to receive PINs from the Chief telling me I had chocolate on my shirt (I was eating a chocolate donut), and that my socks did not match. Neither comment was true, but the Chief had decided it was time to have a little fun during an otherwise dry meeting. In a separate meeting I received specific direction from the Chief via PIN that I bring a software system up on a large screen that he wanted to discuss with the larger group. In addition he asked that I bring a member of my workgroup into the meeting who was not originally invited to participate. On a separate occasion, I was participating in a strategic planning session that included sworn and civilian employees with the rank of lieutenant (i.e. civilian equivalents) and higher. Fulfilling the role of facilitator for this session, I received constant direction from the Chief via PIN throughout the morning. Messages included a request to meet the Mayor at the front door and walk him to the session, to move a podium to the front of the room for guest

speakers, to get an easel and marker, to pull a guest speaker off the floor that was going long, and to find a key to unlock an adjacent room. All of this communication was conducted via PIN while the session was in motion. Further, PIN is not limited to communicating with the Chief of Police. This practice is shared by all members who have Blackberry devices.

The significance of PIN as a form of communication is important in its practice and intent. The covert nature in which the technology is utilized supports exclusionary practices. First, Blackberries are provided to the lieutenant rank and above. Those without Blackberry's are excluded from access to the technology as well as the communication shared. This is a structural form of power in which hierarchy determines who is assigned a Blackberry and who is not. As meetings are conducted, the keen eye can pick up on sidebar conversations between participants as Blackberries are typed on and reviewed by select members in the room. The cadence of activity supports the interpretation that electronic communication is being conducted between certain members of the room aside from the overt discussion. These observations were supported through discussions with meeting participants after the fact. On multiple occasions I was brought up to speed on a decision that had been made in the room via PIN that was not discussed overtly in the room with the entire group of participants. On other occasions I was brought into a joke, or provided a heads-up on a question that was coming my way.

Through the analysis of these three significant forms of communication, power relationships are readily seen in action and interpreted. Face to face interactions are an agency centric means of communication. However, structural forms of power are clearly

witnessed in the use of email communication. The five identified typologies of organization emails direct discourse that becomes knowledge in the organization; while the management and use of email distribution lists is an exclusionary practice that controls access to knowledge. Finally, PIN is a form of exclusion, as not all Department employees are given access to this covert method of communication. Further, those that have access are subjugated by its use.

### Uniforms: Civilian and Sworn

When moving through the organization and interacting with its members, I observed multiple forms of dress. Some individuals are in uniform, some in business suits, while others appear as if they are members of the City's homeless community with Department identification cards attached to their clothing. At times, I observe members in business casual attire working beside individuals in t-shirts and shorts. And at other times there is great uniformity of dress with all male members in a meeting wearing button down shirts and ties, and female members wearing business professional attire. Due to this variance in dress, it would appear that there is little structural or organizational meaning coinciding with individual dress choice. However, further examination unveils dress as a significant channel for the exercise of power as a symbolic means of language and form of subjugation and exclusion. Select observations follow that further explore dress in the daily lives of the organization's members. The significance of these observations necessitated follow up interviews, and in-depth archival review. Findings from this inquiry clearly define dress as an organization dividing practice that objectifies civilian employees differently than sworn.

During my fieldwork I had the honor to attend the celebration of life for an officer who lost his battle with cancer. Upon arrival to the service, two lines of uniformed officers, over 100 in number, stood at the entry way. They formed a human tunnel in which attendees walked through on their way into the service. Their dark navy uniforms included patches, badges, ribbons, gun belts, and hats. There was great uniformity in dress, posture, and demeanor. None spoke; all stood still, straight backs, looking straight forward. All wore the same patch designating the Department in which they work. There was a sense of reverence and oneness. As the service began, a bagpiper led the family into the church followed by uniformed officers. As the family took their place at the front of the church, the uniformed officers were directed to a section of the church that had been reserved for them. A second group of officers emerged, described as the honor guard. This smaller group of officers, six in number, presented the Nation's flag, and the State's flag. They moved in unison; they moved as one. Commands were given by one of their member, and those commands were followed quickly, with strong measure. Known as the honor guard, their uniform varied from the rest of the officers. Their uniform included a jacket and modified hat. Interspersed throughout the church were uniformed officers from other agencies. Their uniforms varied in color, but contained similar items such as badges, patches, gun belts, and ribbons. In its most general sense, the symbolism of the uniform designated who belonged as a member of a police organization. It is an emotive symbol of police officer unity and support for the family and friends who remain.

As the prior observation provides an example of how the police uniform differentiates the Department's members from those outside of the organization, in



another setting, distinctions of dress inform those internal to the organization of membership status. Before new officer recruits are sent to the police academy they are scheduled to attend one of the Chief's command staff meetings. This is an opportunity for new recruits to meet the command staff in a semi-informal setting as a group. Typical of most command staff meetings, attendees on one particular day included the Chief, assistant chiefs, and bureau managers. Additional guests included members from the Chief's public information area (i.e. the public information officer and two community affairs liaisons), the training lieutenant, training sergeant, and the audit and compliance sergeant. Command staff welcomed the new officer by introducing themselves, including their area of focus in the Department. The recruit was then asked to tell staff a little about himself. He stood, crossed his arms behind his back and informed us of his military career as a marine, and his past civilian job. The recruit was wearing a white button down shirt, black shoes, black pants, black belt, and black tie.

On its own, the recruit's dress could be interpreted that the individual likes to wear black and white clothes. However, this interpretation would not be complete. At the beginning of a subsequent new recruit welcoming meeting one of the assistant chief's stated that I could be seen as a new recruit. Seeing confusion on my face, the assistant chief pointed out that I looked like a new recruit. I scanned the room and noticed that the three new recruits were all wearing a white button down shirt, black shoes, black pants, black belt, and black tie. I assessed my own attire and noticed I was wearing the same thing. My dress matched the uniform standards for new recruits until they complete the academy.

On a separate occasion, as I walked through headquarters one morning, I was stopped by an officer who was in the company of two others that I did not know. I learned from this officer that those with him were vendors on sight to correct some problems with the technology in the Department's intelligence center. One of those vendors had asked him a question about the attire individuals wear while at work in the Department. The vendor had noticed significant variations in dress and was curious as to the meaning behind that. This vendor's observation drew my interest as I myself had been making attempts to interpret the exercise of power through the symbolism of dress.

I listened to the officer explain his understanding of dress. He stated that patrol officers, sergeants, and lieutenants are typically in uniform. In contrast, criminal investigations detectives and sergeants typically wear button down shirts and slacks. He made a point to state that these detectives and sergeants are rarely seen wearing a tie. At times these detectives and sergeants wear polo shirts rather than button down shirts. Bureau Managers (i.e. sworn commanders and civilian administrators) and above are identified with shirts and ties. This level of attire is typically seen at the lieutenant rank with some exceptions. Specifically, the Special Investigations Bureau Lieutenant who is responsible for narcotics, undercover operations, and SWAT is usually seen in BDUs (i.e. SWAT like attire), or Tommy Bahama style button down casual dress shirts. Detectives working in special apprehension assignments are typically in jeans and t-shirts, and at times in shorts and t-shirts with sandals. The officer stated that if you see someone that you would expect to be on a street corner, wearing shabby clothes, having unkempt facial hair, a baseball hat, etc., you have probably ran into a narcotics officer.

The above observations reflect how dress is a symbolic identifier signaling membership to the organization and where in the organization they may work. These observations suggest dress is utilized as a dividing practice to communicate who belongs and who does not. However, further inquiry of the symbols found on the uniform establish greater meaning to this practice and, more specifically, how the uniform objectifies the civilian employee distinctly from sworn employees.

### *Sworn Officer Uniforms and Symbolology*

Symbolism, as a relationship of communication, is prevalent on the uniform in the appearance of the Department patch, badge, ribbons, other signifying patches, and pins. The following section combines research observations along with interview responses toward a greater understanding of the symbolology of the sworn uniform. This symbolology is an overt, yet subtle, exercise of power that objectifies the subject through dividing practices.

The Department's patch is located on the uniform's shoulders. This patch signifies the specific agency that the officer represents. For this Department, the patch is in the shape of a kite shield, with the City's logo prominently displayed in the center, the word "POLICE" is embroidered above the logo, and the City's name is embroidered below the logo.

*Investigations Sergeant:* It is a huge deal. It is a unique. Cuz, like in the military, your patch is your unit. The symbol is unique to what your unit does. So, your patch is like that.

While the patch is a unique identifier for the Department, some Department units have altered the patch as further differentiation from other workgroups. This differentiation has not always been formally approved by the Department or accepted by its members.

*Interviewer:* I've seen different patches here. Different shades of color. Some are black and grey...

*Patrol Sergeant:* Yeah!!! [laughs]

*Interviewer:* What is that all about? Should I not have seen it?

*Patrol Sergeant:* No! It is funny because... they

*Interviewer:* Who's they?

*Patrol Sergeant:* It makes their unit unique to the rest of the Department. I didn't... I don't know why... that's been allowed, that we can change that. That's unique to me that that's.. the only ones that I've know that always have a different color patch is SWAT. Because they are more subdued with their uniform. They can't have a bright color patch on their sleeve. But now I'm noticing a few more units who are getting that approved to have it more subdued. Yeah... I think we should all be the same.

In a later conversation with the Department's bureau managers, a Patrol commander asked his peer if he had noticed the newly created gang unit's uniform. He wanted to know who had approved the patch they were wearing as it was not the normal Department patch. Rather it was the subdued SWAT patch. His peer responded that he had seen it on their uniform but did not know who had approved of its use.

Referencing the time of knights and Paladin, one sergeant stated that the badge is a symbol of the knight's shield, and must always be placed on the left.

*Investigations Sergeant:* You know you would get up in the morning, you know... if you are employed by the king and your job is to protect the kingdom and the king. Every day you get up and typically everything is always with the right hand. How you approach somebody. You know, when you say hi you are showing the right hand and showing there is no weapon in the right hand. That is where that comes from. It is the same thing with the badge. The badge represents the shield. The shield was always held in the left hand. That is why the transfer over time, sword went to gun, so when an officer gets ready in the morning it is no different that when a knight got ready in the morning. 1600s... instead of picking on the shield on the left side, it's shrunk down and now it's just a shield. That is why they call it the shield and it goes right here. Sword goes away... firearm... so when you go out and do your kings bidding... it is no different now than it was then.

Each officer's badge shows the officer's specific badge number. While other methods exist, the badge number is a quick reference guide for officers to establish seniority. Lower numbers reflect more senior employees as badge numbers are not reissued upon leaving the organization.

Opposite the badge is the officer's name tag. This tag is a slim metal pin that is engraved with the officer's first name initial and full last name. Name tags are seen as a mechanism to eliminate the anonymity of the officer.

*Investigations Sergeant:* Well they had to start putting a name tag on there. Not just to know what officer you are dealing with. It also made the officer take accountability for what they are saying or doing. It is kind

of a duel edge sword. It helps the citizen know who they are talking to. It helps the officer know they are not anonymous. So don't say or do anything that you are not proud of. Because your name is on it. So... And the name always goes on the right and the badge always goes on the left.

Earned ribbons are placed above the officer's name tag on their right chest. As ribbons are earned they are placed by importance with the most important ribbons placed toward the center of the officer, less important are placed on the flank. Importance of ribbons and their placement is determined by the Department's general orders. Ribbons are typically only worn for special ceremonies and events and not on a day to day basis in the field.

Officer rank is found in the form of pins and chevrons, or stripes. Pins on uniform collars represent the ranks of lieutenant, commander, assistant chief, or chief. One bar equates to lieutenants, one star equates to commander, two stars equate to assistant chief, and three stars equate to chief. Sergeants are identified with three chevrons on their shoulders. Field training officers are signified with a patch and rocker on their shoulder. All of these symbols are clearly displayed so that officers who may not know each other individually can quickly determine rank.

Special pins can be found in between an officer's ribbons and name tag. These pins are earned by officers when they work in certain specialized units. Examples of these pins include crossed swords, wings, and an eagle with a lightning bolt representing the mounted unit, motor squad, and SWAT membership respectively. To earn these pins an officer must remain in the specialized unit for over a year. Once earned, they can continue to wear that pin even if they have transferred into a new unit. Not all

specialized units have a designated pin. In short, officers consider it a great honor to wear a specialized pin.

As an officer progresses through their career they are awarded longevity stripes, commonly referred to as hash marks, which are placed on the forearm of the uniform. A new hash mark is earned for every four years of service. However, there are organizational norms that dictate when those hash marks should be sewn onto the uniform as the following sergeants elaborate.

*Investigations Sergeant:* For every four years that you are employed you get a hash mark. So... you get some guys that are like, "I got four years. So, I'm putting on a hash mark." I would never put on one hash mark. It makes you look ridiculous. People do it. They are entitled. Go for it. I did not put hash marks on until I had 8 years on. It, my opinion, it has got to be two to look decent. It is a seniority thing; it shows how long you have been here. You see some with hash marks from here all the way to hear. Guys that have been on for 25, 20, 35 years, they run out of room for hash marks.

*Patrol Sergeant:* Orders say, so each stripe is for 4 years. So orders say you can wear one at 4 years, but nobody wears one stripe. Because then you would be kind of a nerd. That's like "really" one stripe? You don't wear them until you have two. Still, at four years you are nobody. That's kind of like.. four years? You don't want to brag about that, until you have two stripes.

While the average citizen on the street would not know what the longevity stripes represent, internal to the organization these stripes carry significant meaning.

*Interviewer:* What about officer to officer?

*Investigations Sergeant:* Matters. If I work North side, and I go down and handle a call down Southside with an officer that I have no idea who they are, and I show up, I'm a one year wonder, and I show up and somebody has got two or three hash marks, that is a senior officer and I am going to default to what they want to do on this call. It is their call. And that could also mean if that guy says you are taking this, ok... I'll take it. Cuz it is a seniority thing. As far as I am concerned it is also a respect thing to. I have earned the right to be able to make the judgment call on this caper. Now you can disagree and we will talk about it, but I will default to what that officer says.

These comments accentuate the value of symbolism on the uniform as the Department's membership is large enough that officers may arrive on a call and not know the other responding officers. In this case, longevity stripes quickly reflect seniority and establish decision making protocols without officers needing to know each other.

The symbolism of ribbons, longevity stripes, pins and patches of rank on the sworn uniform all provide signals to fellow officers about an individual's status in the organization without prior knowledge. While valued for the everyday officer, this symbolism is considered inappropriate for the honor guard. As witnessed during the fallen officer's funeral services, the honor guard uniform is a big departure from the normal officer uniform. This uniform is strictly ceremonial. The uniform includes a dress jacket, and a lower profile hat. Of significance, is that this uniform does not include rank.

*Investigations Sergeant:* When you are grieving and you are walking down the line, the family is coming in. They are carrying the casket. We should be all



looking the same. There should be no rank. There should be nothing designating, I am better than him, or I am his boss. There shouldn't be any of that crap, because it is not about rank. It is about honoring this fallen honor. You should be standing, should be no rank, not a bunch of junk on your belt. I am not planning on making an arrest at the funeral. The only thing you really need is a gun. You will have a name tag on the front. There is a formal pin. That goes on the front. It is an honor guard pin. You have to be on the detail to wear it. They are numbered. Basically, there is no "bling" on your honor guard uniform. There is no medals. No ribbons. Name, badge, gun, and that it should be very plain.

While individuals are objectified through symbols of Department allegiance, rank, specialty, awards, and longevity in their sworn uniform, honor guard uniform symbology objectifies the subject as ceremonial Department representatives without individualism.

The symbols on the sworn officer uniform objectify of the subject. Symbols reinforce the value of seniority by the placement of hash marks on the sleeve of the uniform. Symbols reinforce the value of rank by the prominent display of sergeant chevrons, lieutenant bars, or the number of stars to represent the commander, assistant chief, and Chief of Police rank. Symbolism places value on specialty units (i.e. SWAT, Mounted Unit, Motors, etc.) in the form of distinct pins. Further, symbols represent honorable acts in the form of ribbons. There are a multitude of symbols, inclusive of the Department's badge and patch that objectify the sworn officer. These relationships of communication provide knowledge of the individual as an object of the organization.

### *Civilian Uniforms and Symbolology*

Symbolism, as a relationship of communication, is also present in civilian uniforms. However, the information presented by the symbolism of the uniform objectifies the civilian employee significantly different than a sworn officer. Based on interviews and observations, civilian employee uniforms objectify the civilian employee in two distinct respects: organizational membership, and organizational value. Each of these respects are explored below.

Civilian uniforms are an important mechanism to differentiate Department employees from the community and from the sworn ranks. When asked, one civilian supervisor stated that some workgroups arrive on scenes with fellow officers. As such, Civilian uniforms readily inform the officers which individuals are Department employees, and have a reason to be on scene, compared to community members. These workgroups include property custodians, identification technicians, parking enforcement aides, park rangers, and detention officers. For all civilian uniforms, except detention officers, the following applies. Civilian uniforms were selected based on utility and consist of BDU (i.e. Battle Dress Uniform) slacks and polo shirts. Uniform color varies between civilian workgroups. Tan shirts and brown pants are worn by parking enforcement aides and park rangers. Grey shirts and black pants are worn by property custodians and identification technicians. Regardless of workgroup, the Department's patch is embroidered on the left side of the shirt. The employee's name and their workgroup are embroidered on the right side of the shirt. As with the sworn officer uniforms, the name consists of the employees first name initial and their full last name. In this regard, the civilian uniform is a mechanism to objectify the individual as a

member of the Police Department. Except for detention officers, civilian uniforms also differentiate civilian employees from sworn officers due to the differentiation in look between the two uniforms.

The differentiation in look between sworn officer uniforms and civilian uniforms was not always the case. During an interview with a civilian employee, I was able to learn the history behind this change.

*Forensic Services Technician:* I worked patrol when our uniforms were changed from the blue to the tan for our safety. Um, that all came about because of a safety issue that they felt that there was some concern. We responded in marked patrol cars. And we were delivering semi the same service except we weren't the ones that were taking people into custody. But we were there sometimes in volatile situations; absolutely. Um, but I just felt that the community services ... service officers we had in place actually knew their place and kind of separated themselves, but were there to assist if needed and when needed. But, then they came to the decision to separate the uniforms. You know, have them identify the civilians with the civilians and the sworn with the sworn. Me, having worn them, didn't change the way I did my job, didn't change the way I was responding to calls for service or anything like that. Um, I, I just ... I guess I didn't really feel there was a threat.

*Interviewer:* The push to make that change didn't come from your work group? It came from...?

*Forensic Services Technician:* It came, it came from ... It was first brought to the attention to the workgroup, by the sworn.

During this interview, I learned that this employee's workgroup wore a uniform similar to sworn officers. Based on concerns raised by sworn personnel, this uniform was changed to be distinctly different than sworn officers for "safety reasons."

Symbolism on civilian uniforms, except detention officers, is kept to a minimum. Having not completed the academy, civilians do not have a badge to include on their uniform. While civilians have the ability to win awards, they are not given ribbons. Instead civilian employees receive a certificate. Pins and patches of rank are absent. Civilian employees do not receive or display longevity stripes. Further, civilian uniforms do not include pins to inform others that one belongs to a specialized unit. In sum, non-detention officer civilians in uniform are objectified without rank, specialty, significant merit recognition, and longevity.

Unlike the other civilian uniforms, the detention officer uniform is difficult to differentiate from a sworn officer's uniform. The colors are the same. They have a badge, and symbols of rank. Detention officer supervisors have the same sergeant patch on their sleeve as a sworn sergeant. As differentiation between sworn and civilian uniforms lessens, conflict rises.

*Investigations Sergeant:* In 2000 or 2001 the jail said we want to look more like patrol. And they put it out. Said ok. What does everybody think? I opposed it... not that I don't think the jail is professional, because I do think our jail is professional. I don't think that if you are using the rank system... you are not sworn, you are going to use the rank system and that means there is going to be sergeants and sergeants got chevrons and the chevrons look just like mine. Well... I had to almost kill myself

and give up my first born to get those stripes. I earned them. And it was not because I wrote a memo that stated I really think that I should have them. That was from my personal point of view. From an operational standpoint, a safety standpoint, I don't like the idea that they are on the street and that they look like sworn officers. What inevitably happens, people see them, and they come running up to them saying "Officer officer can you please help me with this?" He has no training to support this. If something truly goes bad, that jailor is not ready to do that.

I have seen like the property folks and it seems to be a pretty good working uniform. A good utility uniform. They are lugging stuff around. They are working. So they have to have a uniform that you can bend down and pick stuff up. They are not going to put themselves in jeopardy because they don't have anything that anybody would look at and say "you know that looks like a cop. I hate cops. I'm gonna go hurt or kill that person." They don't have that problem.

*Interviewer:* Do they have rank on their uniform like officers do?

*Investigations Sergeant:* No, I don't think they do. I could be wrong. But... I'm usually kind of sensitive to the rank thing because I look for it. I don't recall seeing rank on their uniforms.

While attending a meeting one day, I was introduced to a detention supervisor sitting across from me. During this meeting I reflected on the comments made by the investigations sergeant above. Had the detention supervisor not been introduced to me, I

would have thought he was a sworn officer. His uniform was almost identical to a patrol sergeant's uniform. He had chevrons on his sleeve marking him as a sergeant. He had ribbons on his shirt designating Department awards and ribbons, and he had a duty belt with equipment on it. A happenstance comment made later at a separate command staff meeting caught my attention regarding this uniform. A bureau manager stated that one of the outcomes of a recent detention study suggested there may be safety issues with Detention Officers wearing a uniform that so closely resembles that of a police officer. The study raised questions about citizen's expectations of a response from Detention officers that have direct contact with the public when they transport prisoners from point A to point B. Specifically, it is believed that most citizens would assume a detention officer is a police officer. Not knowing the difference, potential issues could arise with citizens assuming a detention officer is a police officer and not receiving the service they expect from a police officer. As I was concluding my fieldwork, I learned that there was an active initiative to change the detention officer uniform. This initiative was attributed to some employees' concerns with the safety of detention officers due to the resemblance of their uniform with that of a sworn officer.

The exploration of the sworn and civilian uniform is important. It provides specific examples of the objectification of the subject through the exercise of power via symbols. The intricacies of the sworn uniform provide knowledge that guides employee behavior (i.e. seniority, rank, etc.). This behavior is guided by the symbols rather than by the individual wearing the uniform. Further, the civilian uniform and the minimalist approach to symbolism on the uniform objectify the subject based on membership and value. Lacking ribbons, rank, and specialty pins, the civilian uniform objectifies the

civilian employee as an object of the organization that must be differentiated from sworn officers for “safety reasons.”

### Space as a Symbol

Through daily observations, listening to conversations, and seeing the outcomes of decisions about work areas and individual work stations, space loses its innocence. I think of Taylorism, scientific measurement, the perfect shovel size, and the perfect amount of coal that should be shoveled per stroke. Space is but another shovel, in which there is a perfect layout for each type of position as it relates to square footage, furniture, and location. Foucault speaks of power and space as a constructive action. Assuring employees are given proper space to complete their job duties is a constructive means to fulfill an organization’s mission. Yet, space allocation is also a symbol as a means for division, separation, subjugation, and exclusion. The innocence of space, the innocence of intent, and the objective process all support an action with constructive structural intent. Through the discussion that follows, space allocation in practice, and the symbolic medium of space provide clear vision of the omnipresent objectification of the subject in the life world of the organization.

The allocation of space in an organization is a goal oriented activity teeming with symbolism. As new employees enter the organization they are shown where they will conduct their work. These spaces are typically the same confines their predecessor habited. Computers, chairs, and file folders are passed on from generation to generation until significant means for change develop. On some occasions, offices and/or cubicles are swapped between workgroups as a result of organization structural changes, bartering

tactics, or a combination of the two. While these individualized moments provide minute settings in which to study the exercise of power, I had the opportunity to observe and experience a “big bang” of space allocation. Prior to my fieldwork, the Department received approval and spending authority through the City’s capital improvement project program to remodel its headquarters facility. During my immersion in the organization, this remodel was actualized in the form of objective intent, overlying concepts, and formalized process. Through the lens of the exercise of power, this actualization was abundant with relationships of power and objectifying techniques in the form of symbolism and practice.

### *Space Allocation*

Police Headquarters was originally designed in the late 1980s to house the Department’s administration personnel, northern patrol operations, communications, and investigations. The recent move of patrol and communications from headquarters to a new substation provided the organization with opportunities for structural change. As a twenty-plus year old building, providing twenty four hour a day services, the Police Department’s headquarters building internal structure reflected heavy wear and tear, and aesthetics grounded in the 80s. Doors showed marks, scratches, and dents from abuse. Mauve painted walls showed similar signs from having furniture moved, slid, and slammed into them. Employees and visitors sank into lobby and waiting room chairs as the cushions no longer provided the buoyance and support they once had. Further, with the exodus of patrol and communications, significant spaces were left empty. Seizing the opportunity for change, the Department’s administrators received Council approval and



funding to remodel aspects of the headquarters building. These aspects did not include the entire facility. Rather, Council approved the renovation of the building's first floor which housed patrol, investigations, and some support functions. Limited areas of the building's second floor were also designated for remodel. These included the area in which communications had vacated and an open walkway that visitors traverse when meeting with Department administrators on the building's second floor. The remodel's intent was to update certain aspects of the headquarter building and effectively utilize the recently vacated space.

While limited to the current footprint of the building, as no approval was given to create additions to the headquarters facility, the project manager and architects were given freedom to reshape the interior of the building. Walls could be added or removed, entire work areas could be moved, and the functional use of space could be redefined. To support decision making, four main concepts were used by the Department's remodel project manager when determining the use of this space. First, as mentioned prior, the Department was transitioning into an Intelligence-led Policing philosophy. Two of the assistant chiefs provided the project manager with consistent input and feedback as to their expectation that the remodel should be driven in support of the Department's philosophical transition. Following the premise that decision making should be supported by information and intelligence, the Department's newly created Crime and Intelligence Center (CIC) should be treated as a hub and placed in a centralized location. The tradition in which narcotics officers and surveillance squads are located offsite at secret locations where very few Department personnel know of their existence was to be changed. Instead, space must be allocated in the remodel to house these personnel. The

intended result is to promote information and intelligence sharing between the undercover detectives, the crime and intelligence center (CIC) analysts, and criminal investigations detectives by housing them in the same building and using the CIC as the hub. Second, the project manager, along with the architects, realized that simply housing workgroups together was not enough, in and of itself, to promote information flow. Therefore, common areas would be designed to draw employees into them to promote interaction. As an example, the prior building design included separate areas for a mail room, a copy room, and an evidence processing room. The remodel would combine each of these functions into one larger area. As such, random interactions amongst detectives, officers, analysts, supervisors would be increased by having one location created to serve multiple needs and functions. In addition, this common space would be tied to the CIC. Again, the placement of these areas was purposefully thought out to promote interaction and the use of the CIC. Third, administrators felt a significant amount of space was being underutilized due to employees coveting file cabinets. Large file cabinets were strewn throughout the Department housing decades of saved files. Having a greater sensitivity to the State's records retention laws, and the litigiousness of society, administrators asked the project manager to find innovative ways to support a paperless environment. As a result, the project manager and the architects sought mechanisms to eliminate redundancy of files, ways to promote electronic file storage, and to promote the proper purging of files. While several influencers existed to help guide the project manager and the architects, space design in support of the Intelligence-Led Policing philosophy, utilizing common space to encourage communication, and promoting a paperless work environment were the three most significant drivers of decision making.

A formalized process of drafting, review, and approval was followed during the planning stages of the remodel. This process and subsequent outcome communicate through symbolism the extent to which organizations objectify the subject. Individuals are visually represented as objects, figuratively and literally maneuvered around other objects, and placed within an organizationally defined setting based on their hierarchical status. Key concepts of this form of objectification include spatial allocation and proximity of workgroups, and the types and size of work areas. First, of great interest was the manner in which space was allocated to workgroups. Called bubble diagrams, the project manager and architects encapsulated each workgroup that would be a part of the new designed space into their own bubble. Upon receipt of input from administration and workgroup supervisors, bubbles were then moved around and connected to other bubbles based on the level of perceived connectedness between the workgroups. Robbery detectives and homicide detectives were viewed as common in nature and needing to be near each other in space. As such, these two bubbles were connected. Similar functionality was found between the CIC and homeland defense. Therefore, these two bubbles were connected. In the end, each workgroup was spatially represented as a bubble and placed amongst other bubbles on a diagram. The resulting bubble diagram was then overlaid onto the footprint of the building. The project manager and architects then translated this overlay into actual space allocation.

Second, individual titles (i.e. hierarchical status) were used as a dividing practice to determine an individual's work area and type of furniture.

*Project Manager:* The City has what they call a space needs analysis that they did for a particular project and since we are officially on and off the record, it's an

interesting study that they did on a particular project and then said, “Hey let’s make that our City standards”. We’ll call it quality in building (QIB), and when you talk to Public Works people, this is their baby. They are the ones that are charged with procuring services. They take this QIB and tell the architects and designers that that is what they need to build by. When I flip through it, I can show you the scribble marks on the book (laughs).

*Interviewer:* Scribble marks are?

*Project Manager:* Someone just added them to it. This was the study done by [contractor]. Cannot remember the year. They go through. They put some square footage down. And, it basically goes by your workgroups, hard offices, modular, just talks about different things that they can do. Kind of similar to what [local agency] did in a way, but this was done on a particular project that they then are saying let’s do it for the entire City.

The project manager and architects followed the QIB to determine the number of offices and cubicles for each workgroup. In other words, the QIB states supervisors, bureau managers, assistant chiefs, and the Chief should have offices, while line level staff should work in cubicles. Further delineation is found in the layout of cubicles, size of offices and the type of furniture found in those offices. Specifically, detective cubicles include a hanging locker to store uniforms, civilian cubicles do not. Assistant chief offices include space for a small table and chairs, bureau manager offices do not include this space. In short, while bubble diagrams determine where workgroups are located in the remodel, position titles determined the type and composition of workspace for each individual.

As the process for space allocation is seen as an exercise of power the practice of space allocation is rich with exclusionary practices. The innocence of providing space for employees is tarnished as the revelation of an exclusionary practice is witnessed. The innocence of designing space to promote integration, communication, and collaboration is lost as unplanned walls are erected and electronic card access points are mounted. Space as a symbol turns from a collective enterprise to support organizationally defined needs to a secretive endeavor in which employees are divided into halves, have nots, and not welcome.

As space is vacated, Department administrators see an opportunity for revitalization, renewal, and the opportunity to establish structure in support of a new philosophy. Objective processes are put into place to redesign the building's interior and ensure proper work areas are available for the employees that will work within. But, not all employees that remain at headquarters see this opportunity realized for them or their employees. This point is further amplified due to the scope creep that occurred with the project itself. As funding was originally targeted to remodel the first floor and limited areas of the second floor, the scope of the project grew to include remodeling the basement of headquarters to provide new workspace for criminal investigation detectives. While it may be seen that the Department took advantage of the economic downturn to utilize the value of the dollar further, the following conversation with a civilian supervisor provides greater insight to the dividing practice that ensued.

*Interviewer:* Did the records staff ask for those uniforms? How did that come to your attention?

*Civilian Supervisor:* I think someone snagged their clothes. The desks are a fright up there. And, we have them all taped together like the Formica is peeling off, and somebody tore a shirt, or snagged it like it was not going to be usable anymore. It would be really nice to have uniform shirts. Polo shirt, dress slacks, casual slacks for up there. And, I said “yeah” that would be kind of nice. Don’t think we have the money to do it. Have to pay out of our own pockets to do something like that. I think the bigger issue is the desks not the uniform. They tear clothes on them quite frequently.

*Interviewer:* The remodel did not include records?

*Civilian Supervisor:* No, it did not. We at least found money for paint and carpet. I’m taking what is left in my operating budget to buy them new chairs. I was just talking to a peer and I still have some money in property and talking to [ACOP of Support Services] to use money to replace the middle desks. The edge desks are not as much an issue. The middle ones are used a good portion of the day. Every single day they get the wear and tear. If we could just replace that workgroup to start, it would be helpful. It would make them a little happier too.

*Interviewer:* Property got a new building. When was that done?

*Civilian Supervisor:* Four years ago

*Interviewer:* Include furniture?

*Civilian Supervisor:* Yes, all new from the get go. Nothing old brought over. We brought rolling shelves for storage in the back is all.

*Interviewer:* What about ID downstairs?

*Civilian Supervisor:* No, they have been very neglected. They didn't get new carpet. They did not get anything. In fact, I gave them an old refrigerator from upstairs which was in pretty bad shape but better than what they had. Theirs was rusted out. The Public Works guys were thrilled because that was better than what they had. Recycled everything. Nothing went to trash. They are step children. We are step children. And, everybody knows it, um unfortunately.

*Interviewer:* ID?

*Civilian Supervisor:* Records, ID, Property, all the folks feel like they are second class. They always get nothing or left overs. They are never the focus. It is always the sworn side. So.

*Interviewer:* You've lived on both sides.

*Civilian Supervisor:* I've lived on both sides. The culture is still true to this day. It was back when I was here. Um... and it is wrong. And it is hard to fix. Um. ...

*Interviewer:* Kind of getting treated like second class. If I am an employee, civilian, non-sworn, how would I know that I am being treated as second class?

*Civilian Supervisor:* Let's look at the building. We just went through and renovated the building. Let's look at what got renovated. You started with the Detectives, and it was well overdue. Nobody will argue that point at all. But if you go downstairs, used to be an auditorium, it is now where the detectives are housed. ID is housed down there as well. Right? Go down there and look. The renovation stopped at the door of ID. Now what does that tell those people?

*Interviewer:* Right at the door?

*Civilian Supervisor:* I'm serious. Right at the door. You open the door, they have shit... sorry they have crappy carpeting. They did not get paint, they didn't get new desks, you know. It stopped at their door. What...? To me... What does that say...? That says... Yeah, you are not important.

*Interviewer:* Do you think the employees felt that?

*Civilian Supervisor:* Totally... totally they do. Yeah. Because they beg borrow and steal for everything that they get. We won't use the steal word. They beg and borrow [laugh]. We are the Police Department of course. There is no stealing that goes on in here.

Same thing... You get to this level. The main level of the organization. The main level. We did a pretty good job on this level because it became sworn for the most part with some little niches of civilian people in here. For the most part it is a sworn environment. You go upstairs, upstairs turned mostly over to IT. We moved communications out of there and it is mostly IT. Is there a courts door? There is a courts door. There is a Chief's area.

Basically, the Chief's office got remodeled and stuff, and pretty much stopped again. Still some sworn up there, but the rest of that floor, I would say 80% is civilian staff. Got nothing. K? Um... And now we are... We found some money to buy some paint. So, we at least painted their walls all the same color. Which was important to do. Found a little more money to carpet. A good thing too, because we had duct taped it down.

*Interviewer:* To clarify, was there some issue with the current carpet that pushed that issue?



*Civilian Supervisor:* Yes, somebody tripped. You know if the Chief was walking the executives through, I'm sure he would have avoided that area. It's not pretty. Really. There is a renovation completed and you have duct tape holding the floor together. Really... Um... So we were able to at least find carpeting to do that. But, again it stopped at the civilian door. Um... Once again.

*Interviewer:* Remodel where you can see where the money stopped? Or, where the money was chosen to be spent? Any other ways?

...

*Interviewer:* Pockets that did get renovated. How does staff look at the CIC being built and that it's all new. New office for me as a civilian? Analysts next door in nice beautiful room. How does that fit?

*Civilian Supervisor:* Well, I think um... I think that the people outside of that group are happy for them. Um... I think that organization, or that component, was kind of created as we were kind of putting this new renovated building together. I mean they existed but it came to culmination once it was built. I don't think they see that they got anything that they shouldn't have gotten. Does that make sense? It is what they need to do their job. We just haven't finished that. Give everybody else the tools that they need.

A dividing practice in action is revealed. As the scope of the project increases, those who benefit and those who do not are further categorized. A distinction between the haves and the have nots is further clarified as a distinction between sworn and civilian employees. As discussed above, the auditorium in the basement of headquarters is leveled so as to add new work space for criminal investigation detectives. In this same

location, new carpeting, new paint, and new furniture stop at the door of the identification unit. A unit comprised of all civilian employees. A trip to the second floor of headquarters and you will see new carpeting, and new paint stop at the door of the records unit. Again, a unit comprised of all civilian employees.

Space allocation is not limited to geography within the walls of the Department's facilities as revealed in this final example. Access becomes a further mechanism of objectification as it relates to the allocation of parking spaces. Based on City policy, employee seniority determines where employees park their vehicles when they come to work. Least senior employees are given access to uncovered parking lots in which they must walk a block or more to reach their worksite. More senior employees are given access to covered parking lots adjacent to their worksite. In this particular community where temperatures reach extreme hot conditions, covered parking is considered prime space not only for convenience but also for quality of life. Further exclusion is found within the parking lots themselves. For instance, some employees have designated/marked parking spaces as others do not. It just happens that those designate parking spots are for Command staff employees. These parking spots are found near the entryways of the Department and covered. These parking spots are not based on seniority, they are based on hierarchy.

### *Symbolism in Space Allocation*

Space is a symbol. It is a symbol that objectifies the individual through dividing practices. An individual's workspace symbolizes their position in the organization as a line level employee or supervisor. It symbolizes through the size of the office and type of

furniture the hierarchical status of the dweller. Space symbolizes freedom and confinement through exclusionary access points. Space, as a symbol, illuminates subjugation by way of new furniture and the recycling of old. The employee is objectified by the amount of steps they must take from the parking lot to reach their workstation. They are subjugated by the amount of time they must endure extreme heat before feeling refreshing cool air. Space, and the allocation of space, is not innocent. It is filled with real symbolism that clearly communicates an organization's intent of the objectified subject.

## Chapter 9

### THE LIFE WORLD FROM THE INDIVIDUAL'S PERSPECTIVE

During this ethnography, I had an opportunity to sit and discuss a multitude of topics with members of the organization. Through one on one interviews I met with communications dispatchers, records clerks, patrol officers, narcotics detectives, motor officers, administrative assistants, executive staff, property technicians, criminal investigations detectives, and forensic services technicians. These discussions provided opportunities to assess employee awareness of the exercise of power in the life world of a policing organization. I was able to ask specific questions about the budget reduction process, the interpretation of space, the work environment, and what it is like to work in a policing organization. Chapter 5's discussion of the City's budget reduction impact on the Police Department employee was one outcome of these conversations. This section is dedicated to the employees of the organization. Its intention is to provide their perspectives of living in the life world of an American policing organization, as well as to gauge their awareness of power relationships. Significant findings are identified as employees describe what it is like to work in a policing organization, personal impacts from the budget reduction process, workspace, and forms of employee resistance.

#### Working in a Policing Organization

As Foucault (1944) states, the exercise of power, specifically actions upon actions, are not necessarily apparent by society. This section explores this concept further through the analysis of observations made by Department employees about their life world. The awareness of a few employees provide detailed accounts of actions upon

actions and their impact on membership in the organization and the influence of employee behavior outside of the Department.

First, as I spoke with a motor officer about working in a policing organization, this employee reflected on their career. He spoke to me about his early days as a police officer and the challenges of the job. He shared with me that he left the organization early in his career because he did not like how the organization was changing him. This officer's specific account follows.

*Motor Officer:* Well, I was--my personality was outgoing, you know, and cheerful and respected everybody and everything like that. And as I interacted with the people on the streets in the course of my duties, well it started to change my--I became bitter. I had a sour note if that makes sense to how I was treating people. And I took a step back and looked at myself and said, "That's not me." The job itself was making me out to be a different person than who I really was and I didn't like that. I became angrier, that carried over onto my home life and to my interactions with people outside of work which was not very good.

So, I contribute that to how I was dealing with people on the police force in just that interaction, you know, because you always have these people who were, I don't like the police. I don't like the cops. I'm not going to talk to you for this. I hate you, and all those sort of stuff. That really paid--played a toll on how I conducted myself. And so in order not to continue on in that, I took a step back completely and got out of this work.

But I still stayed on as a reserve officer. So once I--once my job was--well, my secular job that was based on the [name] industry and after 9/11 well

those jobs were a few and far between so they started laying people off. I came back to the police department with an understanding that I don't have to take the job home with me. I don't have to allow people to change who I am personally, emotionally, spiritually, you know, that type of stuff. I don't have to allow that to happen. So I'm coming in with that understanding.

I had a new perspective on police work. Police work to me was not as stressful anymore because I left the job when I left it I went home and I was at home. So home was home and the work was work. People were people. I couldn't let that be--I couldn't allow that to be a personal attack on me what they did. And so given that perspective, I was able to, you know, I don't want to say not to become acclimated but, I was able to work in a way that was beneficial to me, to the department and to the people I came in contact with.

This officer's account describes an awareness of how his job as a police officer changed him into something he did not want to be. Upon leaving the organization, he was able to reevaluate what it meant to be a police officer. He returned to the organization with self-awareness that the job was a job, and home life was separate. The action upon action was identified, reflected upon, and the officer put into place a mental mechanism to separate work from home life. While other officers did not have the same story of leaving the organization and then returning with greater awareness, several did discuss the necessity to separate work life from home life. The following account provides another account of how officers mentally separate who they are as an officer from who they are at home.

*Police Officer:* So I mean I had like no confrontations at work and everything.

And I'm actually, it's kind of weird because I've had people come on ride-a-longs

with me and they say that I'm a completely different person, which I don't know if I like that a whole lot when I'm at work. But it's not that I'm like a mean guy or anything when I'm at work, but it's like a switch that I turn on as soon as I hit the street that there's certain things that I need to do and that I need to take care of to protect myself. So when I'm not at work I'm a pretty passive guy. I don't like altercations or anything and I'm pretty quiet. But when I come to work it's just time to take charge, and people will walk all over you if you don't take charge of the situation right away so. And this all goes back to (clears throat) trying to read people obviously I'm not going to like yell at everyone or anything, but there's certain times and situations, and certain people you have to deal with differently based upon that situation and that type of person that you're dealing with. Um so it all depends on who you're talking to and how you want to read that person, but I mean bottom line you want to make sure that you're going home at night so whatever you need to do to take control of the situation you have to do it.

These accounts in conjunction with other interviews support an action upon action in which working in the Police Department redefines the subject.

Second, in addition to the individual being molded during their time in the life world of a police department, the individual's behavior is guided outside of the life world as well. Specifically, some members of the Police Department are aware that their behaviors outside of the organization are scrutinized at a higher level than the average citizen.

*Patrol Officer:* Well, basically it's, it's I mean you're, you're wearing a uniform. Um you have to live up to a certain code of conduct and you have to um have a

certain appearance um that wouldn't be necessarily the same as a civilian job. Whereas if I was working for a company like um Coca-Cola in, you know, in their logistical department, and I went out one weekend and got a DUI, it really wouldn't affect my job at all, you know. Um whereas in this job or this career field, you know, if I went out and got a DUI, um it would be much more traumatic and I would lose my position. So you're held to a higher standard, um, in a way that someone in the military is and we're governed more than someone who would be doing just a normal civilian job.

This higher level of scrutiny for Department employees is an action of power that influences the behavior of individuals outside the life world of the Police Department.

### Employee Perceptions of Space

Chapter 8 discusses the symbolism of space. I argue that space is a relationship of communication that objectifies the subject. During my interviews, I asked several employees about their perceptions of space. Initially, their responses surprised me as they did not include descriptions of subjugation, exclusion, or domination. Samples of their accounts follow:

*Detention Officer:* One thing that a lot of people, which, when I came here freaked me out too... Lt. [Name] said when he came over too that there is no windows. Even at the county jail we had some windows. But there is absolutely none down here. So... but it is.. it is strange what you get used to.



*Interviewer:* I guess that is the question, is are you used to that when you come in. Is it just a place to work or do you feel differently. I am in jail, I am in a prison?

*Detention Officer:* No, I guess it is just.. you go to your office. And that is normal to you. And I come down here and this is normal to me.

*Interviewer:* the big doors, the steel, it really is just part of the day?

*Detention Officer:* Yeah. Yeah

*Interviewer:* A very secure door. Does that impact how you work? I mean there's not very many windows or ... I mean, does this structure, just this structure is just where you work or does it ... Do you pay attention to it or?

*Property Technician:* Not really. If ever I feel like claustrophobic or I need to take a walk or something I can just go out and ... Go out and get some fresh air. So that's not really a ... I've never really thought of that to be honest. You're so focused on what you're doing and stuff that everything is just second nature I guess.

*Interviewer:* Yeah, because when I come in here and I see the big doors

*Property Technician:* Yeah. It can be intimidating.

*Interviewer:* I see all the locks. My I.D. that gets me into almost everywhere it doesn't get me anywhere over here, right?

*Property Technician:* Yeah, yeah true.

*Interviewer:* So that's just ... It's just a part of your day.

*Property Technician:* Part of the day, yeah. Yeah, part of the day.

*Communications Dispatcher:* When I first started supervising, I went home with my head buzzing a couple of days. But this room, the supervisor is in the middle of this communication center. The dispatchers on one side, call takers on the other but it's an all ... it's all open and I think that has been vast improvement for the supervisors to be able to have that ... that one-on-one contact with the call takers without having to get up and go to the room and stand there and say, "What, what's going on? So ..."

*Interviewer:* Right. The platform is kind of elevated for the supervisor.

*Communications Dispatcher:* I, I don't know what the purpose of that was. Maybe uh, to see if, if they were at the same level, it'd be harder to see the people at the, the desk behind so that maybe what the aim was. Um, I don't know that it makes a big difference to us as dispatchers, that, that they're like higher, you know. I don't feel any more uh, need to suffocate myself, you know, and bow when I come in.

These three accounts are provided by individuals working in areas that I have described as panopticons (i.e. Detention, Property, and Communications). None of these accounts support an image of subjugation, exclusion, or domination. I believe this point has great value. Each of these accounts describes the work environment as normal. In the case of the communications dispatcher, she recollects two prior work environments that were extremely substandard to the area where she now works. Further, when describing the life world of the organization in comparison with other workgroups, most interviewees had difficulty responding because their entire career has been in the Police Department.

They had no point of reference to compare. In other words, the panopticon's influence is not directly felt by the subject as object. While surprising at first, these findings directly support Foucault's conceptualization of a relationship of power.

### Personal Impacts from the Budget Reduction Process

At the beginning stages of the budget reduction process when positions were targeted for elimination and those positions became public knowledge, employees at risk of losing their job were notified by Human Resources. A few of those interviewed, both sworn officers and civilian employees, were included in this notification. Their comments follow.

*Criminal Investigations Detective:* I know at one point when I got brought back, they were waiting on a vote at City Council from the, uh, the public. And it was a sales tax vote. And if it didn't pass, then the bottom 35 officers -- the most recent 35 officers that we hired were going to lose their jobs. Um, and at that point I was kind of in that bubble of right around that 35, 36 number, so I really wasn't sure. My situation's a little different because I still had the pension from the first 20-something years. And that would be probably the only time that I can recall over 27 years where we ever seriously talked about or had the serious threat of officers losing their jobs. You know, it's typically: You show up and you do what you're supposed to do, and you do your job. It's usually a fairly safe environment as far as keeping your career -- unless you screw up. You know, some of the aspects of the job may not be that safe, you know, as last night -- the last three nights have kind of shown us. But that would be the only time that there was any -- anything

that I remember over the last 27 years where the financial -- the fiscal issues around the city could impact officers within the police department.

*Records Clerk:* And the rumor was that they were going to eliminate like four positions, which I would have been number four. So I was a little, you know, concerned about that, and I didn't really have any place else to go because I didn't come from [City], you know, from another city position where they could just put me back someplace. So I was a little concerned at first, but then when it all came down to it they eliminated vacant positions and we didn't know that that was going to happen at first so it was kind of, "Whew," (laughs) you know, thank goodness.

The above criminal investigations detective and records clerk examples provide insight as to the impact on employees who were at risk of losing their job. Once the budget balancing process was ratified by the City Council, targeted positions were eliminated and employees were either bumped into other jobs or laid off. One of the employees interviewed directly experienced this process. She was a member of the civilian Community Service Officer program that was eliminated in its entirety.

*Forensic Services Technician:* I guess the city was just doing an evaluation of personnel. And we were having budget crisis, financial issues. And they decided to identify some workgroups that we might be able to just do without. Um, it didn't mean that we were laying them off right out. But the City was willing to um, send them back to their former um, what would you call it ... former jobs that they'd done in the past. Um, and some did. Some were absorbed back to their

former jobs. Myself, from a CSO, I could have gone back to a ... 911 dispatcher. However, I chose to ... some of the openings that they did identify that they would need personnel reallocated to, to continue to do the service as a, as a city, as a police department was the 3511, vehicle impound specialist. So, I put in for that position there. And that's where I moved out, moved to.

*Interviewer:* So, all the CSO positions were eliminated as far as the budget reduction process.

*Forensic Services Technician:* Correct.

*Interviewer:* And you were one of them.

*Forensic Services Technician:* Correct. I was actually the first in my last name started with an S. (Laughing)

*Interviewer:* So the whole group is saying, "You're done."

*Forensic Services Technician:* Correct.

*Interviewer:* And did you have a voice in that decision or how was that decision made for that group to be ... I mean from your perception do you have any awareness as to how that happened?

*Forensic Services Technician:* Um, I ... how it happened really no. Um, as a ... and I'm not saying I'm a company person... but I've been here for 17 years as a city employee, as a ... and I'm a little bit different. As a city employee in the Police Department, it was the right thing to do. And I say this only because um you had a civilian workgroup doing the work of police officers. Wearing a uniform, so on and so forth. But yet we're short police officers and we want to

hire more police officers. But how do we show that as a, as a police agency to city hall?

If we say, “We have these civilians doing this amount of work”, which is kind of like sort of what the police officers should be doing or do do if we don’t have them on duty, you know? And, “But I still need more police officers.” How do we do that as a, as a, as a police department? You know. So even though at first we were not part of the highlighted group to be in danger... to me I saw that as , as a ... yeah. You know you better... and then you know I didn’t take it personal. You know um, as some people did. Some ... from my workgroup, as a community service officer, I believe only one opted to just basically go look for employment elsewhere. Outside the City, basically. I ... there might have been a severance package that they got or you know ... and, and only one. Everybody else either found another job or went back to what their former jobs were if they qualified. And I think everybody did. The City did a good job at, you know, taking them on. Um, but you know, I just I don’t know. (Laughs) In all fairness, I have to say it was the right thing to do. If you had to cut down personnel, that was the right group.

These comments, from a Forensic Service Technician, describe how her entire civilian workgroup was eliminated from the Police Department. Employees in this workgroup were expected to accept a severance package, retire early, or bump into a position they held prior in the organization. Some of these employees took the decision personal, while this particular employee states that the decision “made sense.”

As this civilian employee told me her story of living through the budget reduction process, I was startled when she began supporting the decision of the Department to eliminate her workgroup rather than sworn officer positions. Before this interview I had learned that community service officers were more cost effective than sworn officers. I had learned that this work group was effectively responding to over 30% of the Department's calls for service. Yet, this civilian employee told me that eliminating the community service officer program was the "right thing to do." As a civilian employee, her comments support the objectification of this civilian workgroup as subjugated entities. This is reinforced when she stated that if this workgroup remained in place, it would be more difficult to hire sworn officers.

### Resistance

Foucault (1978) states, "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in the relation of power" (p. 95). Mainstream theorists of power have addressed the concept of resistance as a measurement for power (Emerson, 1962; Pfeffer, 1992a). In other words, the greater the resistances overcome by actor A, the greater the power of actor A (Emerson, 1962). Whether viewed as a measurement of power, or as a defining light of individual agency in the exercise of power, acts of resistance were open for observation and interpretation throughout this study. Examples of the more significant instances observed follow: an individual technology employee assigned to the Department's resistance, officer behaviors in response to a citywide budget reduction process, and the awakening of a records manager.

The Department has an information technology technician specifically assigned to support its day to day technology needs. Typical support from this employee includes setting up new computer workstations, installing software and hardware, troubleshooting computer and printing problems, and an assortment of other technology based functions. Being new to the organization I was not familiar with this information technology assignment or the nuances surrounding their support. This naiveté was quickly erased during the implementation of a new technological for the workgroup I was assigned. Specifically, my workgroup had requested assistance from this technician to install security access software that would allow all of us to access certain high security software systems. I was informed earlier in the week by my workgroup that I was included in this service request. Having waited a few days, and not having the security access software added to my computer, I contacted the information technology main support desk for help. They quickly informed me that my request was being handled solely by the Department assigned technician. I was troubled by this information as I had seen that employee working on several of my workgroup's computers earlier, but had not yet had the program loaded on to my computer. The individual from the helpdesk responded that they were surprised as well since they had placed my name on top of the service request.

Having escalated my request to the helpdesk and then to the technician's supervisor, the security access software was added to my computer a few days later. Curious as to the delay, I brought this topic up with a member of my workgroup for greater understanding. I was informed that I would have greater success for timely support by making my requests through a line level employee. Armed with this new



information, I learned that my workgroup member was correct. More specifically, requests coming from line level employees were responded to by this technician in a timely and efficient manner. Requests originating from managers were placed lower on the technician's priority list and received the longest delay in response. While frustrating when needing technological support, I was fascinated by the manner in which this employee resisted upper management requests by placing them lower on their priority list. As a result, line level employees held this technician in high regard for their response time and support.

A second example of agency in the form of resistance was seen through the collective action of patrol officers. During this study, city employees were beginning their second year of furloughs. As a method to save city positions, City Council approved a five percent reduction in pay for all employees in the form of furloughs. Each employee would work five percent less hours in a year and make five percent less. This method of cost savings, rather than salary cuts, was approved by council due to the City's labor groups' unwillingness to open their MOU for renegotiation. Police officers were not excluded from this budget reduction initiative. However, police officers retained their ability to increase their earnings in the form of overtime pay.

During a budget meeting with command staff, patrol overtime figures were identified as being significantly over budget. Following this meeting a Patrol Commander shared with me his beliefs as to why the patrol overtime expenditures were out of line with expectations. First, he felt that the patrol workgroup's overtime budget was not initially budgeted properly. He stated that a secondary workgroup had been reorganized and a portion of their overtime budget should have been reallocated to patrol.

Of greater significance was his next reason. The second reason the Patrol Commander suggested was his belief that Patrol Officers were finding ways to hold over on their shifts in order to compensate for the mandatory furlough hours imposed by the City. Methods by which officers could hold over included taking significant calls for service toward the end of their shift that would keep them deployed beyond their normal work schedule, or by retaining significant numbers of reports at the end of their normal work shift that had to be written before they could leave work. By holding over, officers are paid overtime at time and a half. Slang had been created by officers to describe this behavior.

While difficult to prove, officers had found a way to resist the Citywide imposed salary reduction in the form of furloughs. This practice was openly discussed by officers and by management, but accountability was hard to enforce due to the nature of the position. Line level supervisors in a normal work environment can check on their employees by walking through the work area. Patrol sergeants do not have this luxury as their employees' work area consists of miles of city streets, alleys, and private drives.

Finally, as part of my interview process, I interviewed a records manager to gain a greater knowledge of civilian employee uniforms and their meaning. During this interview the conversation transitioned to a discussion on the recent remodel of headquarters and the specific workgroups that were remodeled and which workgroups were not.

*Interviewer:* The remodel did not include records?

*Civilian Supervisor:* No, it did not. We at least found money for paint and carpet. I'm taking what is left in my operating budget to buy them new chairs. I was just

talking to a peer and I still have some money in property and talking to ACOP of Support Services to use money to replace the middle desks. The edge desks are not as much an issue. The middle ones are used a good portion of the day. Every single day they get the wear and tear. If we could just replace that workgroup to start, it would be helpful. It would make them a little happier too.

This conversation continued in which the Records Manager clearly articulated how her civilian workgroups had been neglected from the headquarters remodel.

*Records Manager:* Let's look at the building. We just went through and renovated the building. Let's look at what got renovated. You started with the Detectives, and it was well overdue. Nobody will argue that point at all. But if you go downstairs, used to be an auditorium, it is now where the detectives are housed. ID is housed down there as well. Right? Go down there and look. The renovation stopped at the door of ID. Now what does that tell those people?

While this is the second time in which these quotes have been used in this study, they are significant not only to describe a dividing practice in the organization, but also to articulate the energy this manager felt during the conversation.

A few days following this interview I was contacted by the Records Manager via phone. One of my roles in the Department was to oversee its budget and finances. The Records Manager's demeanor was calm and friendly. She proceeded to ask me about the process to charge new records furniture to the Department's RICO (i.e. asset forfeiture) account. I informed her that the Department has a RICO committee that reviews and approves/denies all RICO expenditure requests. She needed to write a memo stating what her need was, and then forward that memo to the RICO committee for approval.

Presently, the records unit is being remodeled to provide greater workspace and new furniture for its employees.

## Chapter 10

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This inquiry's intent is to fill a void in organizational research as it relates to the understanding of power in a policing organization. A comprehensive review of the literature resulted in choosing an alternative perspective of power as a theoretical foundation in which to study power in an American Policing organization. Through a Foucauldian lens, this inquiry provides detailed accounts and thick description of the exercise of power and the objectification of the subject in this context. In this chapter, I return to the research questions established in Chapter 2. Major findings from this inquiry are summarized in association with these questions. This is followed by a discussion of the major contributions this research provides to the greater understanding of organizations, policing, and power. I conclude with a discussion of realities of ethnographic research and concepts for future research.

#### Answering the Research Questions

This ethnography has provided substantive answers to how power is exercised in a contemporary American police organization. Using this study's research questions as a guide, the following summarizes the major finding of this inquiry. *First, this study identified and explored three specific forms of communication used in a police organization to transmit discourse and create/reinforce knowledge: face to face conversations, email, and secured texting.* Through the analysis of email content and distributions lists, distinct typologies of email direct organizational discursivities that become knowledge in the organization. Further, the management and use of

organizational distribution lists is an exclusionary practice that filters knowledge in the organization. Finally, secured texting (i.e. PIN) is a covert form of communication that excludes organizational members. Specified members of the organization are authorized to have this tool, while others are not.

*Second, uniforms and space are means of language, system of signs, or other symbolic medium to transmit information.* Patches, badges, pins, ribbons, and other items on the sworn officer uniform transmit significant information. These signifiers objectify the subject based on rank, tenure, specialty (i.e. SWAT member), prestige (i.e. award ribbons), and membership of a specific life world (i.e. Department patch). The symbolism of the civilian uniform provides further understanding of symbols and power. Specifically, the civilian uniform is absent of these signifiers. Symbolism on the civilian uniform is limited to organization affiliation (i.e. patch), and name (i.e. name tag). This difference promotes two distinct discourses of value in the organization. The symbols of the sworn uniform transmit knowledge of hierarchy, seniority, etc. The symbols of the civilian uniform are limited to the transmission of knowledge of membership. In other words, the symbolism of the civilian uniform is purposed to visually differentiate civilian employees from common citizens and sworn officers. The interplay of these two distinct discourses, as knowledge, promotes the organization's treatment of civilian employees as second class citizens.

Space, as a symbol, is found to be another significant means of communication. The exercise of power is readily seen in space allocation (i.e. office size and location, workspace design, and newness of furniture) and employee access to space. In sum, space can no longer be seen in simplistic terms; rather space is a symbolic medium that

communicates an object's value, hierarchical placement, and membership to specific workgroups.

*Third, the phenomenon of "standing meetings" was explored due to its significance with dialogic structures.* Standing meetings are a structural determinant of who talks to whom based on organizational hierarchy, topic, or employee group. In other words, standing meetings are a relationship of communication that influences the composition of dyads and triads of communication. Knowledge is limited to attendees with access to these meetings. As a result, standing meetings exclude and subjugate Police Department employees.

*Fourth, this study followed a specific discursivity (i.e. an organizational efficiency study) through Foucault's archaeology of knowledge as a means to understand the discourse communicated within the above forms of communication, and how discourse is interpreted and acted upon by those working in a police organization.* This example provided a practical understanding of how information becomes, or is denied as, discourse in an organization. Meaning, the resistance of command staff to 1) save civilian jobs in lieu of sworn positions during the City's budget reduction process, and 2) implement an efficiency study's recommendations for greater civilianization was significantly influenced by a prominent discourse in which civilians are second class citizens in the organization.

*Fifth, the City's budget balancing process, as a reaction to the Nation's economic crisis, is an action of power acted upon others which in turn impact their actions (i.e. action upon an action).* The totality of City defined target allocations are actions upon actions that significantly impacted the life world of the Police Department. These

external influences reinforced the objectification of Department employees based on organizational worth. Impacts included the loss of jobs, increased workloads, and altered work schedules. In most cases, these impacts targeted civilian employees.

*Sixth, hiring and selection, indoctrination techniques (pedagogy, seniority, and unions), and discipline are forms of exclusion in this policing organization.* As a goal oriented activity, the selection and hiring process determines who can and who cannot become a member. In addition to objectifying candidates to determine future membership, differing objectifying processes establish a foundation of difference between sworn and civilian employees. This is the beginning stages of the subjectification of civilian employees as second class citizens. City and Department enforced training influence the life world of the organization as new discourse becomes knowledge. Seniority devalues skill, abilities, and individuality through normative and structural means. Finally, employee group membership is determined by job title. Predetermined assignment to an employee group also impacts access to, and exclusion from, organizational leaders. As stated prior, as direct access to the Chief of Police is valued, the structure of labor/management meetings in the Police Department reflects civilian employees having less value to the organization than sworn officers. Finally, the discipline mechanism subjugates and excludes through multiple forms of the panopticon. Forms include the structure of workspace (i.e. Communications, Detention, and bullpen areas), surveillance techniques (i.e. cameras), and employee tracking (i.e. ID cards and GPS).



## Contributions

As an ethnography, this inquiry provides a rich description of the life world of an American policing organization. As Levi-Strauss (1955), Geertz (1973), Clifford, and Marcus (1986) immersed themselves into the cultures they studied, I immersed myself into a policing organization to better understand its structure, its processes, and the behavior of its inhabitants. Significant effort was placed on describing the research site, the manner in which individuals become members of the organization, methods of indoctrination, and forms of discipline. Through the inquiry of language, signs, and symbols, the provided observations and quotes reveal the look and feel of the organization from within. Further, Chapter 9 is purposeful with its intent. While this inquiry emphasizes the structural components of the organization, it is inhabited by people. Chapter 9 is dedicated to their voices and descriptions of working in an American policing organization. As many will never have the opportunity to experience the day to day life of working in a policing organization, this inquiry provides a window in which to share its life world.

This inquiry advances Denhardt (1981) and Hummel's (2008) contributions to organizational theory. As discussed in Chapter 2, Denhardt (1981) describes the structure of the organization as a relationship of power that bounds individuals to set behaviors. In other words, the organization ethic supersedes an individual's ethic. As an outcome of his inquiry, Denhardt (1981) promotes the image of the hero (i.e. desire for adventure), the artist (i.e. striving for individual expression), and the storyteller (i.e. purposeful choices of information to share) as guides for the individual to reach transcendence beyond the confines of the organization ethic. Denhardt (1981) argues that through the

intertwining of these three images with concepts of leadership and play individuals can consciously move out from the shadow of organization. Hummel's (2008) argument is similar to Denhardt's (1981) in that he also states that organizational structure is a relationship of power that guides the behavior of individuals. Specifically, Hummel (2008) argues that "bureaucracy serves as the conversion machinery for turning a project for a humanistic way of life into a mechanistic one" (p. xxi). Like Denhardt (1981), Hummel (2008) provides suggestions for the individual to remain aware of this phenomena and steps to resist.

This inquiry advances Denhardt (1981) and Hummel's (2008) contributions to organizational theory by providing a contemporary example of the "shadow of the organization" and the "bureaucratic experience" in action. Specific examples have been provided in the analysis of hiring and selection practices, the symbolism of uniforms and space, organizational discipline, and forms of communication. In these discussions, relationships of communication, goal oriented activities, and relationships of power are shown to influence the behaviors of the individuals working in the organization. In summary, this inquiry provides specific accounts of Denhardt's (1981) "organizational ethic" and Hummel's (2008) "bureaucratic experience" in action through the exercise of power and the objectification of the subject in an American policing organization.

Findings from this inquiry advance prior research on policing and power. To begin, Maynard-Moody, Musheno, and Oberweis (2001, 2003) provide significant contributions to the understanding of street-level, or front-line, public service worker decision making and behavior. Their emphasis of analysis lies on the decision making of state actors and the service they provide to the community. Their findings recognize the

rules, regulations, and policies associated with government organizations. However, through the analysis of stories from the front lines, Maynard-Moody, Musheno, and Oberweis (2001, 2003) argue that human agency is of vital importance as to how state actors serve the community. In particular, Oberweis and Musheno (2001) state:

We have shown in this case how identity, moral view, and organizational culture interrupt the abstraction of law and influence the ways that laws are enacted, policies enforced, situations defined and outcomes evaluated. At its core, this interruption reveals how state agents subjectify citizens in particular, value-laden ways, enforcing such subjectifications through their decisions about how and whether to distribute the states' protections, liberties and coercions. (p. 96)

State actors are described as agents who wield power, and fix the identity of citizen-clients (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003, pp. 21, 154). Through this identity formation, "street-level workers exercise their power over citizen-clients" (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003, p. 154).

This inquiry complicates these findings. As Maynard-Moody, Musheno, and Oberweis (2001, 2003) emphasize state actor agency in decision making and the subjectification of the citizen, this inquiry illuminates how police department employees are objectified through relationships of communication, goal oriented activities, and relationships of power beyond agency. Through this inquiry's shift in focus from the analysis of state actor-citizen relationships, to organization-state actor relationships, the context of power expands beyond individual agency. These findings raise the question of the relationship between the exercise of power in an American policing organization and the manner in which services are provided by its members to the community.

Further, there are a multitude of studies recently published that incorporate the analysis of power within a framework to better understand police discretion, corruption, police community relations and accountability of police (Marks, 2004; Rowe, 2006, 2007; Vinzant & Crothers, 1998; Wakefield, 2008). A few of these studies refer to Foucault and his theoretical contribution to this field of study (Beckett & Herbert, 2008; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003; Oberweis & Musheno, 2001). But, even fewer attempt to utilize Foucauldian analytics within their research (Gordon, 2006; Herbert, 1996). This inquiry advances this prior research through its specific application of Foucault's conceptualization of power and its study in the organization. Meaning, power is no longer tied to an agency centric point of view. Rather, power is everywhere at all times, and greater understanding is found through the study of how power is exercised. Toward this end, this inquiry began by operationalizing Foucault's works on the exercise of power into a theoretical model. Chapters 5 through 8 delve deep into each of its three core concepts (i.e. relationships of power, goal oriented activities, and relationships of communication) to explain how power is exercised in an American policing organization. I believe this theoretical model can be utilized as a foundation for future research.

Finally, this inquiry advances Foucault's discourse on the objectification of the subject. Through the exercise of power in this American Policing organization, civilian employees are objectified as second class citizens. Evidence through the inquiry of goal oriented activities inclusive of hiring and selection and indoctrination techniques objectify the civilian employee differently than the sworn employee. Both scientific classification and dividing practices establish a distinct discourse of the ideal sworn employee and the ideal civilian employee. Further evidence is found as Police

Department employees are divided into employee groups based on job title. Ramifications of access and exclusion for the civilian employee are distinct as compared to the sworn employee. Structural determinants of who talks to whom and methods of communication further promote a discourse of civilian employees as second class citizens. In addition, the symbolism of space, as the exercise of power, clearly shows civilians valued less than sworn employees. As example, the remodel of headquarters stopped at the door of two significant workgroups (i.e. Records and Identification). Finally, the meaning of the civilian uniform is a clear dividing practice to symbolize the civilian object distinctly from sworn employees and the common citizen. In summary, the exercise of power in this American Policing organization objectifies the civilian employee as a second class citizen. I argue that the outcome of the City's budget reduction process in which a disparate number of civilian positions were eliminated from the Department was a forgone conclusion based on this discourse as knowledge.

### Realities of Ethnographic Research

This inquiry of power in the organization is theoretically based, incorporated the appropriate methodology in which to study this phenomenon, and utilized sound research methods. However, as with all forms of research, limitations to this form of research exist. The following section acknowledges these realities and provides further clarity as to how this study attempted to eliminate or reduce their impact.

Researchers consistently point to validity and reliability when addressing limits to qualitative research in general (Maxwell, 2005; Silverman, 2005). Researcher bias can occur when a researcher selects data, and only that data, within the study that supports the

researcher's existing theory (Maxwell, 2005). In addition, reactivity of the subjects under study may occur through the unintentional influence the researcher may have on the setting (Maxwell, 2005). Further, Van Maanen (1988) argues that the narrative and rhetorical conventions instituted by the ethnographer shape its outcome. Van Maanen (1988) states, "Most of the intellectual hopscotch that follows is about how social reality is presented, not known. Culture is not strictly speaking a scientific object, but is created, as is the reader's view of it, by the active construction of a text" (p. 7). As such, ethnographers are to be cautioned in regards to the level of authority, through voice, they present in their writing.

Madison (2005) states that limits of ethnography are realized through conceptual errors. Conceptual errors include faulty generalizations in which the ethnographer inappropriately generalizes the interpretation of one individual or one action to a larger population (Madison, 2005). A second conceptual error is circularity. Madison (2005) states, "Circularity does not account for the fact that value and reasoning from any one individual, cultural tradition, or intellectual perspective is partial, idiosyncratic, and constructed" (p. 123). In other words, circularity exists when an employee within an organization states they are the best employee within an organization and it is accepted by the ethnographer solely based on the employee's statement. A third conceptual error is peculiar theoretical constructs and inadequate paradigms (Madison, 2005). This conceptual error exists when an ethnographer applies a model or theory within a culture but has not uncovered a holistic understanding of the culture. As such, the ethnographer's model or theory "makes sense" when applied to that which they have observed, but having fallen short in their observations, the model or theory does not

appropriately fit the whole. The fourth conceptual error is falsification of the status knowledge (Madison, 2005). This error is seen when an ethnographer confuses a culture with the histories and interpretations provided by other sources (Madison, 2005). Each of these four conceptual errors provides potential limitations to ethnography.

Incorporating the work of Dwight Conquergood (1985), Madison (2005) states ethnographers can also hinder the value of their ethnography through four specific actions. The first action is described as the “custodian’s rip-off” (Madison, 2005, p. 125). Within this perspective, ethnographers enter the field with the sole intention of taking what they need regardless of the lives in which they interact. This form of behavior impacts current and future research studies specific to the culture under study, and in general, due to its obtrusive and negligent outcomes (Madison, 2005). A second action that limits ethnography is the “ethnographer’s infatuation” (Madison, 2005). Madison (2005) states, “The ethnographer’s infatuation occurs when ethnographers go into the field imposing their own romantic lens over difficult realities” (p. 125). When this occurs, the ethnographer’s ability to interpret what is “real” is significantly diminished. This results in biased interpretations, and outcomes (Madison, 2005). A third potential limitation to ethnography is described by Madison (2005) as the “curator’s exhibition.” This limitation exists when the ethnographer seeks only the exotic, exciting, and different as the focus of their ethnography (Madison, 2005). This form of ethnography results in unrealistic tales and understanding of a culture (Madison, 2005). Finally, a fourth action that may limit ethnography is the “skeptic’s cop-out” (Madison, 2005). The skeptic’s cop-out is seen when an ethnographer takes a complete disengaged approach to an ethnography. Madison (2005) states, “The skeptic remains detached and determined that

he will not enter domains of Otherness. With cavalier certainty, he claims he cannot embody or engage an identity outside his own” (p. 127). This form of limitation destroys the ethnographer’s engagement with the other and raises questions on the value of their final interpretations and publications (Madison, 2005).

In response to these realities of ethnographic research, I will begin by focusing on this study’s methods. To reduce reactivity I embedded myself into the organization two years prior to conducting field work to build trust and a normalcy of my presence in the organization. While I believe this tactic greatly supported a more natural feel to my observations and interview responses, I know that I was not entirely successful on at least two counts. First, following the conclusion of my field work I was informed that my presence in communications was met with suspicion from both the manager and employees of this workgroup. I later learned that this workgroup was highly contentious and my presence elevated this contention. Specifically, this workgroup was unsure if my presence was simply for personal information gathering or as a managerial tactic to evaluate workload and employee behavior. Second, as stated prior, following my interview with the records manager a request was submitted and approved to remodel the records unit. It is possible that my interview with this manager created greater awareness of a disparity that would not have otherwise been addressed. In sum, having full intention to enter and leave the field as hikers are expected to enter and leave the mountains, I was not fully successful in “leaving no trace behind.”

Second, ethnography is an interpretive science. Self-history and bias have the potential for influencing understanding of observations and interview responses. I believe my significant understanding and knowledge of phenomenology helped reduce



the placement of my stereotypes onto the research site. I utilized time between observations and writing to engage self-reflexivity. In addition, I combined information gained from observations, interviews, and artifacts to substantiate interpretation. Finally, this study was presented to a member of the organization to review and provide comment. Their input and feedback further substantiated this study's analysis and findings.

Finally, Tracy's (2010) warning to shy away from "voyeuristic scandalous tales" for the sake of titillation was a constant reminder during my field work (p. 847). Policing is an honored profession in which men and women choose to serve their communities. This particular act of service places many of them in harm's way on a daily basis. Work shifts are extended, employees are expected to respond to emergencies on a moment's notice, and family life is severely impacted. Out of respect for this noble profession, great effort was made to provide a reflective account of the life world of an American policing organization rather than an over dramatized rendition.

### Future Research

Findings from this study support future advanced qualitative and quantitative research endeavors. Chapters 5 through 8, along with their associated subsections, provide a multitude of hypotheses. While this study has emphasized "how" power is exercised, greater knowledge can be gained as to "why." What are the organizational gains by lessening hiring requirements for civilian employees? What are the financial benefits to crafting a decision making rubric that determines office size and furniture types? Are greater efficiencies found with the advent of email, smart phones, and cloud

computing? What are the costs associated with the implementation of this new technology? Each of these questions can be honed as future research topics that combine the study of power along with other organizational theory facets.

In addition to exploring each of the Chapter's subsections, further research specific to methods and methodology can be conducted. Had this study, or one similar, followed Luke's radical view of power, or Clegg's circuits of power, how would the findings be similar and/or differentiate? Further, the complexity of the relationship between individual agency and the objectification of the subject remains. How can the inquiry of power be conducted in a manner that provides greater understanding of the interrelatedness and distinction between concepts of the individual versus the subject as object? In addition, how can empirical quantitative research methods advance a Foucauldian understanding of power in the organization? Against Foucault's claim that power is not something to be measured, is there a method to measure the relationship between structure and agency? Each of these questions provides opportunity to further hone methodology and methods in support of a greater understanding of power in the organization.

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APPENDIX A  
RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

**RECRUITMENT SCRIPT**  
**THE STUDY OF POWER IN AN AMERICAN POLICING ORGANIZATION**

I am Paul Bentley, a graduate student under the direction of Professor Thomas Catlaw in the School of Public Affairs at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to gain a greater understanding of American policing organizations.

Most of the research conducted as part of this study has been completed through normal everyday observations of those working in this organization and through the analysis of the organization's archives (i.e. written policies, budget documents, newsletters, and other public records). At times, during my observations, I have seen interactions among the organization's employees that I would like to understand in greater detail. In those instances, I am recruiting those involved to participate in an interview to gain greater clarity. These interviews take approximately 1-hour to complete.

Recently, I witnessed an interaction between you and (enter other party or parties here). (Provide a brief synopsis of the targeted behavior or statements observed). I am asking if you would be willing to participate in and schedule a time to complete an interview with me. Your participation in this interview is voluntary.

Greater detail will be provided at the beginning of the interview, but for now, it should be clear that your participation in this study will be kept confidential. Meaning, your name, and any other personal identifiers that could distinguish you as a participant, will not be known/used. Your specific involvement in this study will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team, including City and Department members. Further, if you choose to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call me at (480) 858-6204.

Date, time, and location for scheduled interview:

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Participants Name:

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APPENDIX B  
INFORMATION LETTER

**INFORMATION LETTER - INTERVIEWS**  
**THE STUDY OF POWER IN AN AMERICAN POLICING ORGANIZATION**

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

I am Paul Bentley, a graduate student under the direction of Professor Thomas Catlaw in the School of Public Affairs at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to gain a greater understanding of organizational behavior in an American Policing organization. In general terms, organizational behavior includes research topics such as decision making, culture, and leadership.

If you decide to participate, then you will join a study where most of the research has been conducted through general observations and the study of public records. However, in some instances I have observed behavior, or actions, that I would like to gain greater clarity. Those involved in those behaviors, or actions, have been asked to participate in individual interviews, like this one, to gain greater clarity. During these interviews, I provide a brief synopsis of behavior or actions that have been observed. I then ask for the participant's willingness to provide greater clarity of those behaviors or actions observed. Participant responses greatly assist this study by providing additional context to certain situations.

As mentioned prior, your participation in this study is purely voluntary, and you may decide to exclude yourself from participating at any time. Further, you have the right not to answer any question, and to stop the interview at any time. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty (for example, it will not in any way impact your annual performance evaluation or status as a member of the organization). If you say YES, then your participation will last for approximately 1-hour.

The main benefits of your participation in this research include practical significance by prompting change or affecting policy in the fields of public administration, organization theory/behavior, and policing. More specifically, this study is intended to provide a greater understanding of police organizations. This study is intended to provide significant contributions relevant to academia, practitioners, as well as the lay public. Finally, there are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential. The results of this research study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the researchers will not identify you. Your name will be recorded by Paul Bentley for the rare instance that he may need to conduct a follow-up interview for further information. In order to maintain confidentiality of your records, Paul Bentley will code all names so as specific names will not be located in interview transcriptions. This information is being collected to ensure the investigators are able to reconnect with participants should additional clarity be required. The schedule for this, and other, interviews are secured off-site when not

being used by the co-investigator. Notes taken during interviews, the recording, and later transcription will be secured off-site when not in use by the co-investigator. At no time will the investigators share information derived from observations or interviews outside of the research team (unless duty to act exists). Finally, the organization has agreed that any data gathered associated with this study is the property of the research team and not accessible for their direct use.

However, as Paul Bentley is a member of the [Name] Police Department, if he is provided information during this interview that establishes you or others violating policy, he has a duty to act on this information based on his membership in the organization. Should such a situation occur during your interview, Paul Bentley will fully disclose what he has heard that fits in the City's expectation as a duty to act. He will terminate the interview and follow the City's general guidelines in response.

In addition to taking notes, I would like to audiotape this interview for later analysis. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be taped; you also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know.

Interview notes, audio recordings, and their transcriptions will be secured off-site and destroyed (i.e. shredded or deleted) 10 years from the date in which this study is completed.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at:

Thomas Catlaw  
School of Public Affairs  
Arizona State University  
411 North Central Avenue, Suite 400  
Mail Code 3720  
Phoenix, AZ 85004-0681  
(602) 496-0459

and/or

Paul Bentley  
3031 N 81<sup>st</sup> Place  
Scottsdale, AZ 85251  
(480) 440-4871

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects



Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788. Please let me know if you wish to be part of the study

APPENDIX C  
SWORN HIRING DISQUALIFIERS

**Police Officer  
Automatic and Discretionary Disqualifier Questionnaire**

**NOTE: FAILURE TO ANSWER ALL OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN DETAIL MAY DISQUALIFY YOU FROM FURTHER CONSIDERATION.**

**AUTOMATIC DISQUALIFIERS**

The City of Tampa Police Department and/or Arizona Post will automatically disqualify any individual who answers "Yes" to any of the following questions. *Please read and answer the following automatic disqualifiers:*

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Been convicted of a felony or any offense that would be a felony if committed in Arizona.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Been dishonorably discharged from the United States armed forces.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Been previously denied certified status or has his or her current certified status revoked or under suspension.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally sold, produced, cultivated, or transported marijuana for sale.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally used marijuana for any purpose within the past three years.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally used marijuana, dangerous drugs or narcotics other than for experimentation. The use of an illegal drug is presumed to be not for experimentation if: 1. The use of marijuana exceeds a total of 20 times or exceeds 5 times since the age of 21 years. 2. The use of dangerous drugs or narcotics, other than marijuana, exceeds a total of 5 times, or exceeds 1 time since the age of 21 years.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally used marijuana while employed or appointed as a peace officer.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally sold, produced, cultivated, or transported for sale any dangerous drugs or narcotics, other than marijuana.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally used dangerous drugs or narcotics, other than marijuana, for any purpose within the past seven years. 1. This includes, but is not limited to: a. Cocaine/crack, heroin, opium, morphine, LSD/acid, methamphetamine/speed, peyote (except during religious ceremonies), mescaline, or derivatives thereof or steroids after 1994.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Illegally used dangerous drugs or narcotics while employed or appointed as a peace officer.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Had a pattern of abusing prescription medication.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Convicted of or adjudged to have violated traffic regulations governing the movement of vehicles with such a frequency so as to indicate a disrespect for traffic laws and a disregard for the safety of other persons on the highway within the past three years.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Been previously employed as a law enforcement agent and since has committed or violated federal, state, or city laws pertaining to criminal activity.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Been convicted of any crime under a domestic violence statute.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Lied during any stage of the hiring process.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Falsified his or her questionnaire or application.

**If you answered "YES" to any of these questions please withdraw your application as you are no longer eligible for consideration.**

**DISCRETIONARY DISQUALIFIERS**

The following disqualifiers may, upon review by the Tempe Police Department, make you ineligible to become a City of Tempe Police Officer. *Please read and answer the following discretionary disqualifiers:*

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Unlawful sexual misconduct.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Excessive traffic violations.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	DUI conviction or suspension of your Arizona driver's license as a result of a DUI.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Suspension of your Arizona driver's license or driving privileges from another state.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Commission of a felony.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Any discharge from the United States armed forces other than an honorable discharge.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	A pattern of failing to meet financial obligations.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Any other conduct or pattern of conduct that would tend to disrupt, diminish, or otherwise jeopardize public trust in the law enforcement profession.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Used or tried any narcotic or dangerous drug by injection.

**If you answered "Yes" on any of the areas listed as Discretionary Disqualifiers, please provide a full explanation on a separate sheet of paper.**

**ILLEGAL USE OF DRUGS / CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES**

TYPE OF DRUG	HAVE YOU EVER ILLEGALLY USED, TRIED, OR EXPERIMENTED WITH?		IF YES, HOW MANY TIMES?	HOW MANY TIMES AFTER AGE 21?	DATE FIRST USED	DATE LAST USED
MARIJUANA	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
COCAINE / CRACK	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
METHAMPHETAMINE / SPEED	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
HEROIN	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
OPIUM / MORPHINE	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
LSD / ACID	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
PEYOTE	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
MESCALINE	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
HASHISH	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
STEROIDS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
ANYOTHER ILLEGAL DRUG OR NARCOTIC	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
ILLEGAL USE OF PRESCRIPTION DRUGS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO				
<b>IF YOU ANSWERED YES ON ANY OF THE AREAS ABOVE, PROVIDE A FULL EXPLANATION ON A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER. INCLUDE, IF APPLICABLE, THE FOLLOWING:</b>						
a. How the drug was ingested or consumed			d. How the drug was obtained			
b. The duration of usage			e. Why you stopped using the drug			
c. The motivation for use			f. Any other factors you believe are relevant			

### CRIMINAL CONDUCT

A. Have you ever committed a felony or an offense which would be a felony if committed in this state?

YES       NO

B. Have you ever committed a criminal offense involving dishonesty, theft, unlawful sexual conduct or physical violence?

YES       NO

**IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO EITHER QUESTION A OR B, PROVIDE A FULL EXPLANATION ON A SEPARATE SHEET OF PAPER.**

NOTE: Failure to answer all of the above questions in detail may disqualify you from further consideration.

I certify that I have read and understand the Automatic and Discretionary Disqualifiers associated with the City of Tempe's Police Officer positions.

APPLICANT NAME (PRINT)	APPLICANT SIGNATURE	DATE

APPENDIX D  
CIVILIAN HIRING DISQUALIFIERS

**Automatic and Discretionary Disqualifier Questionnaire**

<b>NOTE: FAILURE TO ANSWER ALL OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN DETAIL MAY DISQUALIFY YOUR APPLICATION</b>	
<b>AUTOMATIC DISQUALIFIERS</b>	
The City of Tempe Police Department will automatically disqualify any individual who can answer "Yes" to any of the following questions. <i>Please read and answer the following automatic disqualifiers:</i>	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever been convicted of a felony or any offense that would be a felony if committed in Arizona?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever sold, produced, cultivated, or transported marijuana, narcotics or dangerous drugs?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you lied during any stage of the hiring process?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you falsified your questionnaire or application?
<i><b>if you answered "YES" to any of these questions please withdraw your application from consideration.</b></i>	
<b>DISCRETIONARY DISQUALIFIERS</b>	
The following disqualifiers may, upon review by the Tempe Police Department, make you ineligible to become an employee of the City of Tempe Police Department. <i>Please read and answer the following discretionary disqualifiers:</i>	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever abused prescription medication and/or FDA approved over-the-counter preparations?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever used any hallucinogenic drug including hallucinogenic mushrooms (except during religious ceremonies)? Hallucinogenic drugs also include LSD.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever used any type of illegal drugs or narcotics before the age of 18 years? <i>Examples of a dangerous drug or narcotic drug would be, but is not limited to: cocaine, crack, etc.; Methamphetamine (Crystal Meth or speed of any kind); Anabolic Steroids (after 1994), except prescription only or FDA approved over-the-counter preparations.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever used any type of illegal drugs or narcotics after the age of 18 years?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you engaged in unlawful sexual misconduct?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever had excessive traffic violations?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you ever been involved in the commission of a felony?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you received a discharge from the United States armed forces that was other than an honorable?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you demonstrated an unwillingness to honor fiscal contracts or just debts?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Have you engaged in any other conduct or pattern of conduct that would tend to disrupt, diminish, or otherwise jeopardize public trust in the profession?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Had your Arizona Driver's license suspended as a result of excessive traffic violations or any other act that would automatically suspend your driver's license or received a suspended driver's license from another state as a result of similar circumstances?
<i><b>if one or more of these disqualifiers pertains to you, be prepared to fully disclose the facts, circumstances, or details as part of a thorough background investigation and polygraph phase of the selection process.</b></i>	
I certify that I have read and understand the Automatic and Discretionary Disqualifiers associated with the City of Tempe's Police Department positions.	
_____	
Applicant's signature	Date

**ILLEGAL USE OF DRUGS / CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES – Please Complete ALL Sections**

Type of Drug	Have you ever tried?	How many times after age 18?	Date first used:	Date last used:	Have you ever sold, smuggled or transported for sale or personal gain?
Marijuana	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Hashish	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Cocaine / Crack	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Methamphetamine / Speed	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Heroin	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Opium	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Morphine	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
LSD / Acid	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Psyche	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Mescaline	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Steroids	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Any other illegal drugs	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Illegal use of prescription medications	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No				<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

If you answered "Yes" on any of the areas listed above, please provide a full explanation on a separate sheet of paper. Include, if applicable, the following information:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a) How the drug was ingested or consumed | b) The duration of usage                      |
| c) The motivation for using the drug     | d) How the drug was obtained                  |
| e) Why you stopped using the drug        | f) Any other factors you believe are relevant |

I hereby certify that this entire supplemental questionnaire was completed by me and all statements contained herein are true and complete to the best of my knowledge. I understand that omissions or misstatements may be cause for rejection of this application, removal of my name from the eligibility list, and/or discharge from City service. I understand that this information is subject to verification by any federal, state, and local agencies.

Applicant's Name (Print)
Applicant's Signature <span style="float: right;">Date</span>



APPENDIX E

OFFICE OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND ASSURANCE APPROVAL

**To:** Thomas Callow  
UCENT

**From:** Mark Rosta, Chair *MR*  
Soc Beh IRB

**Date:** 03/31/2011

**Committee Action:** Exemption Granted

**IRB Action Date:** 03/31/2011

**IRB Protocol #:** 1103006248

**Study Title:** The Study of Power in an American Policing Organization

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

