

“Tough, loyal, reputable”: D/discourses and subcultures in police vocational training.

Cheryl Maree Ryan
PhD Candidate

Faculty of Arts and Education, Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, Australia

cmrya@deakin.edu.au

Paper presented at the seventh Australasian Women and Policing Conference (ACWAP), 21-24 August, 2011, Hobart, Tasmania.

Abstract

Warrior, *Tough-love family*, and *Perfect self* were identified as prevailing D/discourses (i.e., words, tools, beliefs, thinking styles) in police vocational training (i.e., vocational knowledge and skills to fulfil police operations). This paper provides an overview of research into the ‘discourse-practice’ (Cherryholmes 1988, p.34) framework of policing in a police vocational training environment with recruits. The research distinguished the dominant subcultures and prevailing D/discourses, and analysed the impact of these on individuals’ identity, subjectivity, agency, learning and membership within the policing community.

Keywords: police vocational training, D/discourses, subcultures.

Introduction

The demands on policing in the 21st century require that police training (i.e., vocational knowledge and skills to fulfil police operations) *and* police education (i.e., conceptual skills for theoretical and analytical learning) are capable of meeting a range of complex and diverse expectations (Kratcoski 2004). Policing is more demanding. It ‘requires the ability to exercise sound judgment and technical knowledge in a broad range of complex situations’ (Lanyon, 2007, p.107; Murray, 2005; Rowe, 2008). Kratcoski’s (2004) review of Australian and international police training found that the training concentrates on rudimentary aspects of law enforcement at the cost of the higher-order conceptual skills.

Juxtaposed with this context is an agenda amongst Australian and New Zealand police jurisdictions for policing to become a profession. This raises questions about the efficacy of police training and education not only to meet the requirements of dynamic practice, but the aspirant intention of policing to become a profession. Lanyon (2007, p.107) argues that policing needs to move away from its ‘artisan status’ to that of a profession to meet ‘the current and future sophisticated demands and expectations’. In response, a number of police jurisdictions have initiated partnerships with universities to provide higher education pathways. Underscoring all of this is the need for ‘radical restructuring’ of police organisations (Lanyon, 2007, p.107), clarity about the nature and scope of policing (Lanyon, 2007; Murray, 2005;

Rowe, 2008) and the preferred model of policing, and what constitutes a body of knowledge for policing (Lewis, 2007; Murray, 2005).

This paper provides an overview of research that focused specifically on police vocational training for recruits. The research identified and analysed the dominant subcultures and prevailing D/discourses.

Review of Literature

Police culture

Shearing and Ericson (1991, p.487) define police culture as 'figurative logic' whereby culture is not literal. Instead, it is symbolic, rhetorical, and metaphorical: it is the product of oral communication (narratives, 'war stories') that explains and justifies action. These conceptions of police culture resonate with the notion of D/discourses as particular 'ways of talking' and 'ways of seeing' that are resistant to challenge and change (Fairclough, 1995, p.41).

The literature review of police culture reveals a range of common characteristics that are inherently interrelated, dynamic and need to be viewed as products and resources of D/discourses. These characteristics can be more easily understood in terms of three subcultures I have named for ease of explanation: *family-relationships*, *command and control*, and "*real*" *police work*.

Subcultures

The heart of the *family-relationships* subculture is that peers represent the 'family' and the organisation the 'parent' (Bonifacio, 1991). Whilst 'parent' and 'family' provide a common understanding and identity, they are also supportive *and* punitive (Bonifacio, 1991; Fielding, 1994; Neyroud & Beckley, 2001; Prenzler, 1998; Reiner, 1992, cited in Shanahan, 2000; Waddington, 1999b). Family-relationships are built upon the perception of and ability to be capable and reliable, which necessitates the need to be or be seen to be "perfect" (Bonifacio, 1991; Neyroud & Beckley, 2001; Manning, 1978, cited in Chan, 1997; Shanahan, 2000; Waddington, 1999b).

The *command and control* subculture, with its paramilitary ethos and the organisation's strict hierarchical command structure (Bonifacio, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992; Cain, 2002; Fleming & Lafferty, 2003; Palmer, 1994; Panzarella, 2003; Waddington, 1999a, 1999b), simultaneously underscores and complicates the *family-relationships* subculture. Waddington (1999a, p.301) describes the police organisation as a 'punishment-centred bureaucracy' where poor behaviour is readily noted and punished, but where good behaviour is often unacknowledged. The paramilitary model has been criticised for maintaining the status of police managers and stifling independent thinking and innovative practice (Cowper, 2000; Panzarella, 2003).

Finally, the "*real*" *police work* subculture is grounded in operational policing. This is supported by a 'sense of mission' (Reiner, 2000, p.89) and political and legal sanctions to control society (Manning, 1977). The 'cult of masculinity' combined with the emphasis on fighting crime provides further justification for the application of authority and the maintenance of reputation and status (Dick & Cassell, 2004; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Reiner, 2000; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Waddington, 1999a, 1999b). The need to maintain assertive control requires quick and decisive action that

means thinking (reflectively or critically) could be judged as a weakness (Bonifacio, 1991).

Police training

The literature on police vocational training reveals the predominance of pedagogical training methods over andragogical (adult learning) methods and questions the doctrinal versus educative intent and value of these methods (Birzer, 2003; Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; McCoy, 2006; Marenin, 2004). Such methods and the lack of integrated curricula do not guarantee the development of skills in decision making, problem-solving, and critical thinking (Birzer & Tannehill, 2001, Ortmeier, 1997, cited in McCoy, 2006; Marenin, 2004; White, 2006).

Police instructors are ‘...primarily law enforcement practitioners and not educators’ (McCoy, 2006, p.88). McCoy (2006) stresses the need for police trainers to develop a professional training standpoint and to engage in reflective practice. ‘Experience alone does not make a person a professional adult educator...’ (Elias & Merriam, 1995, cited in McCoy, 2006, p.89) and the ability to reflect upon her or his practice and experience is imperative. Vickers’s (2000, p.508) and Adlam’s (2002) critiques of police management education found a set of unchallengeable assumptions about police work and conduct that repressed ‘learning through reflection and critique’.

Nature of policing

In attempting to define the nature and scope of policing, four dimensions are identified, but the boundaries appear to be blurred. The dimensions are (1) fighting and preventing crime, (2) the legitimate, state-sanctioned use of force, (3) the provision of a public service and maintenance of public order, and (4) ‘administrative and procedural’ functions in response to the requirements and systems of accountability (Rowe, 2008, pp.8-13).

Model of policing

Integral to the nature of policing and training is the model of policing. Lewis (2007, p.149) draws on Murray’s (2002, 2005) work in comparing the key features of these two models. A traditional model frames ‘policing as a craft/trade’ whereas the contemporary model defines it ‘as a profession’. An ‘authoritarian approach to policing’ is adopted in the traditional model as opposed to the contemporary model’s ‘problem-solving’ approach. Historically, policing has been characterised by a ‘quasi military management style’ that is antithetical to a ‘democratic management style’ of the contemporary model. ‘[E]mphasis on physical attributes’ underscores the traditional model of policing, whereas the contemporary model has an ‘emphasis on intelligence’, or the thoughts that underscore action. Finally, the traditional model is characterised by an ‘insular and defensive culture’, unlike the ‘open and consultative culture’ of the contemporary model.

Theoretical framework and methodology

A deconstructive/post-structural approach and assumptions were applied to this research. (Connole, 1993). It therefore aimed to challenge that which is taken-for-granted by investigating the construction and interpretation of knowledge, “truth”, and social realities and the deconstruction of these through the lens of the prevailing

D/discourse. While trainers might believe their ‘discourse-practice’ framework is based on ‘true statements’ (Cherryholmes, 1988, p.34), from a deconstructive/post-structural perspective, ‘truth is discursive’, and discourses are situated in history and are influenced by power (Cherryholmes, 1988, p.34). According to Foucault (cited in Cherryholmes, 1988, pp.34-35), truth is represented by:

...the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true...the means by which it is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.

Gee’s (2005, p.7) definition of discourse as the correlation between ‘language-in-use’ (little “d” discourse) and other elements (big “D” discourse) such as symbols, tools, values, beliefs, and thinking styles best captures the intent of this research. This definition is explained further by Gee (2004, pp.40-41) as:

...a way of using not just words, but words, deeds, objects, tools, and so forth to enact a certain sort of socially situated identity, and...cultural models (taken-for-granted stories)...to construct certain sorts of situated meanings.

The repertory grid technique is situated within the constructionist paradigm (Cassell & Walsh, 2004; Fransella & Bannister, 1977). Through the exploration of various character and personality attributes and gender relating to a range of policing functions and roles, the grid interview (Cassell & Walsh, 2004; Dick & Jankowicz, 2001; Fransella & Bannister, 1977) facilitated access to trainers’ and trainees’ innermost beliefs about themselves and others, either as police officers and police trainers or in the case of the trainees, as their anticipated ‘police self’ (Conti, 2006, p.227), and expectations of the ‘discourse-practice’ (Cherryholmes, 1988, p.1) framework of policing. Data from the questionnaires and interviews were analysed using grounded theory and a discourse analytic framework respectively.

Fourteen police trainees (six females, eight males) and nine trainers (four females, five males) participated in the repertory grid interviews. In addition, 54 questionnaires were completed by 46 trainees (15 females and 29 males, the majority in the 19 to 25 years age group) and eight trainers (three females and five males, the majority in the 36-45 years age group).

Findings and Discussion

The most common personality and character attributes and gender (elements within the grid interview), were classified according to the three D/discourses identified from the questionnaire data.

Table 1 - Elements

<i>Warrior D/discourse</i>	<i>Tough-love family D/discourse</i>	<i>Perfect self D/discourse</i>
Element 1 – <i>tough</i>	Element 4 – <i>compliant</i>	Element 12 – <i>reputable</i>
Element 2 – <i>authoritative</i>	Element 9 – <i>accepted</i>	Element 13 – <i>sensitive</i>
Element 3 – <i>willing to exercise power</i>	Element 10 – <i>different</i>	Element 14 – <i>tolerant</i>
Element 5 – <i>strong</i>	Element 11 – <i>loyal</i>	Element 15 – <i>logical</i>
Element 6 – <i>willing to use force</i>	Element 17 – <i>conforms</i>	Element 16 – <i>assertive</i>
Element 7 – <i>female</i>		Element 18 – <i>self-control</i>
Element 8 – <i>male</i>		

The analysis of the data from the interviews revealed the predominant D/discourse across the three groups was that of the *Warrior*, closely followed by the D/discourses of *Tough-love family* and *Perfect self*.

D/discourses

Warrior D/discourse

<i>Female</i>	“Males are always believed to be the stronger and tougher sex”
<i>Male</i>	“At some stage throughout the course ALL the females have been emotional (i.e. upset, crying, etc) and no males have”
<i>Male</i>	Police culture is conveyed through “war stories”
<i>Female</i>	“Putting your body on the line”
<i>Male</i>	“Being tough, strong and aggressive”

Gender and the body as a political object (Foucault, 1977; Westmarland, 2001) are at the heart of the *Warrior* D/discourse. Whilst many types of masculinity can exist simultaneously, one type can dominate (Hearn & Collinson, 2006) and become “culturally exalted” (Connell, 1995, p.110). This is certainly evident within this D/discourse. Underscoring this D/discourse are the *command and control* and “*real*” *police work* subcultures. The former is founded on the paramilitary ethos and strict hierarchical command structure (Bonifacio, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992; Cain, 2002; Fleming & Lafferty, 2003; Kappeler, Sluder & Alpert, 2001; Palmer, 1994; Panzarella, 2003; Waddington, 1999a), which represent a ‘punishment-centred bureaucracy’ (Waddington, 1999b, p.301). The “*real*” *police work* subculture signifies: ‘crime-fighting’ and a ‘sense of mission’ (Reiner, 2000, p.89); state power and the legitimate use of force; physical strength, power and ability to take control; and authority and compliance (Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). A consequence of the *Warrior* D/discourse is that gender becomes a powerful resource, a ‘rationale’ and an ‘outcome’ (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p.126) for both females and males. The representation of policing as an essentially masculine occupation through D/discourse and images permits gender and other differences to be constructed and maintained (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Garcia, 2003; Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). The policewoman therefore represents the ‘ultimate oxymoron’ (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000, cited in Silvestri, 2003, p.31).

In the grid interview, element 8 – “male” was positively correlated and ranked highly by the trainers in three constructs – *admire*, *instructor*, and *ideal police officer*, with “female” ranked low. In the questionnaires, each participant group perceived differences (trainers – 62.5 per cent, trainees – 59 per cent and 46 per cent) between how males and females experienced police training. Gender differences relating to physical ability, levels of aggression, academic ability, and personality attributes such as an authoritative manner, were commonly identified by both the trainers and the trainees.

Tough-love family D/discourse

<i>Male</i>	“It’s like a private club to be joined at some time”
<i>Male</i>	“Team, loyalty, strength, unity” versus “Look after mates, gossip, and bitchiness”
<i>Female</i>	“Supportive (common work goals) and provides peer networks” versus “Misguided loyalty and suppression of individual initiative”
<i>Female</i>	“It’s a huge gossip factory – if you don’t hear your own name, you must be doing OK”

The *Tough-love family* D/discourse is about internal relationships, conformity, membership, and identification. It coalesces with the *family-relationships* subculture characterised by solidarity, a common identity provided by peers (family) and the organisation (parent) (Bonifacio, 1991; Fielding, 1994; Neyroud & Beckley, 2001; Prenzler, 1998; Reiner, 1992, cited in Shanahan, 2000; Waddington, 1999b), and tempered by support *and* punishment (Bonifacio, 1991). The *Tough-love family* D/discourse is both a product and resource of the dominant culture, the power relations inherent within it, and hence circumscribes individuals' subjectivity and agency. It is about membership and acceptance within an organisation, occupation, and a peer group, and how one is "Othered" by others (Hall, 2004). "Othering" can be understood as a consequence of a number of D/discourses that construct difference and enact "Othering" based around a number of factors such as gender, sexuality, commitment to the family (peers) and the parent (organisation), and lack of conformity.

***Perfect self* D/discourse**

- Male* "It's *us* (police) versus *them* (general public)"
- Female* "Supportive, understanding and a sense of belonging" versus "insular, us and them mentality, and elitist"
- Male* "It is important to look and act professional."
- Male* "The public want to be comforted by us when they are hurt, but they want more so to be reassured by our actions – that we have things under control at an incident. Our strength makes them feel safe."
- Male* "We know right from wrong... and we act with honesty and integrity."
- Male* "Must not allow the public to get under your skin and change your course of action."

Image, discipline, separateness, the ability to handle self (Westmarland, 2001) and a sense of superiority underlie the *Perfect self* D/discourse and combine with the "*real*" *police work* and the *family-relationships* subcultures. The *family-relationships* subculture is built upon the need to be or be seen to be perfect (Bonifacio, 1991; Neyroud & Beckley, 2001; Shanahan, 2000; Waddington, 1999a, 1999b). This supports the "*real*" *police work* subculture, which is grounded in operational policing and political and legal sanctions to control society (Manning, 1977). The *Perfect self* D/discourse and complementary subcultures support the development of particular thinking styles that maintain culture, D/discourses, and power and gender relations. Central to this D/discourse is an élitist identity. Adlam (2002, pp.27-28) refers to the 'socio-biological élitist rationality', built on the notions of legitimate power and authority (Silvestri, 2003), the belief that police 'know best' (Adlam, 2002, pp.27-28), and an obligation to 'look the part' (Frewin & Tuffin, 1998, pp.178-181). The élitist identity and maintenance of image and reputation bring into play the 'we/they [police/public] paradox' (Perez, 1997, cited in Garcia, 2005, p.68), and exemplifies an organisation's capacity to construct a particular stance towards outsiders (Fairclough, 1995, p.52).

In comparing the characteristics and functions of the subcultures and D/discourses with traditional and contemporary models of policing, outlined previously, they appear to be positioned predominantly within the traditional model.

Police training and its function

- Male* "The rank structure, authority, and discipline are driven home."

Female "...still an overriding feeling of male domination within the service."
Female "I often ask myself why am I here and should I be here?"
Female "Culture is based on loyalty to each other."

Police training is focused predominantly on law enforcement (Kratcoski, 2004), which reflects the aspirant intent of policing (Foster, 2003), maintains the status quo, and positions training in a traditional, technical framework (White, 2006). Webster (2006, p.5) argues that when pedagogies are viewed as a set of 'mechanical skills', a means rather than an outcome, learning is at best 'trivialised', at worst, never evaluated, taken-for-granted, and overlooked. This represents a narrow focus on content and behavioural learning that 'reflects a search for certainty and control of knowledge and behavior' (McLaren, 2007, p.196), or the '*micro objectives*' of learning (Giroux, cited in McLaren, 2007, p.196). Whereas the '*macro objectives*' of learning (Giroux, cited in McLaren, 2007, p.196) develop students' depth and breadth of knowledge and skills in decision making, problem-solving, and critical thinking (Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; Ortmeier, 1997, cited in McCoy, 2006; Marenin, 2004; White, 2006). Pedagogical approaches tend to support features of the traditional model of policing (Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; Marenin, 2004; White, 2006).

Pedagogies are not ideologically neutral. They can be used to regulate behaviour, actions, and practices and this is especially marked in settings where students are perceived 'as objects' of value to those in authority (Freire, 1970/2000, cited in Webster, 2006, p.6). In this context, a police trainee is a paid employee and that status essentially 'buys off' a trainee's 'rights to choose how she or he should be treated' (White, 2006, p.393). The trainee is paid to learn and is an 'object' of value to the organisation.

Various authors (Birzer, 2003; Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; McCoy, 2006; Marenin, 2004; White, 2006) are unanimous in recommending a move from traditional pedagogical approaches in police training to andragogical methods with integrated and holistic curricula, and the adoption of professional practice requirements for police trainers (McCoy, 2006).

Conclusion

The findings of this research are set in a somewhat complex context with an agenda amongst Australian and New Zealand police jurisdictions for policing to become a profession, debates about the nature and scope of policing, and the preferred model of policing. While deliberations about these critical areas continue, the purpose, design and delivery of police training and education varies amongst police jurisdictions.

The three prevailing D/discourses in police vocational training corroborate critical aspects evident in the literature in terms of police culture, subcultures, the traditional model of policing, and training practices. The research shows that the D/discourse of the *Warrior* predominates in police training closely followed by the D/discourses of *Tough-love family* and *Perfect self*.

Critically, the *Warrior* D/discourse influences both internal and external relationships and interactions, and therefore the enactment of the other two D/discourses. The trainers' and trainees' personal constructs in relation to gender and the body as a

political object (Foucault, 1977; Westmarland, 2001) reveal the strength of the *Warrior* D/discourse. This is complicated by pedagogical practices that reflect doctrinal values rather than educative values. Membership, conformity, competence, and being the 'perfect' police trainee are manifestations of the *Tough-love family* D/discourse and determined by the *Warrior* D/discourse. Similarly, the need to establish status and a reputable guise are manifestations of the *Perfect self* D/discourse imposed by the D/discourse of the *Warrior*.

The functions and consequences of the D/discourses are the acquisition of a specified identity and membership within the policing family. The manifestations, functions, and consequences of the three D/discourses coalesce to establish and maintain a powerful and challenging context within which identities are formed and augur a challenging context for change. The words of two trainees reflect the challenges the culture, subcultures, environment, and these D/discourses present to the trainees:

Female "Policing is the strongest, most pervasive culture I have come across."
Male "I try to fit in and I think I do fit in... most of the time."

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