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Defining power margins: a classification of power within the discourses of police and civilian in a crime 'hotspot community' in Northern Trinidad

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The article is part of a continuing research project on power manifestations in the discourses of police officers and civilians from a specific marginalized community in Trinidad and Tobago. The larger research draws on multidisciplinary knowledge frameworks to assist in the description and explanation of communicative negotiations at the community level. This paper looks specifically at describing power within the context of police and civilian interaction at the community level. It explores existing philosophies, definitions and frameworks with the aim of providing a definition relevant to the context of police and civilian interaction within a specific context – suburban, low-income, labelled, high-crime communities in a developing country. Data for the study were collected from interviews and recorded footage of police/civilian interaction within one of the 'hotpot communities' in Trinidad and Tobago. The study resulted in the identification of seven categories to account for manifestations of power in the discourses of police and civilians from crime 'hotspots' during interaction.

Keywords: power; power discourses; police civilian interaction

Introduction

Prior to the introduction of community policing perspectives in Trinidad and Tobago, the issue of police and civilian relations in 'marginalized' communities has been treated in a manner placing specificity on either police officers as agents of the state or civilians as social actors within a community. Existing research provides frames for understanding and analysing policing and police perspectives (Deosaran 2002; Bowling 2010; Chevigny 1995; Pino 2009; Mastrofski and Lum 2008), civilian perspectives on policing (Walklate 2009; Maguire et. al. 2010) and discourses on police power (Fairclough 2001), power ideologies, its manifestations and shifts within societies. The existing body of literature presents police and civilian interactions within these 'marginalized' communities as delicate and requiring improvement strategies to eradicate high occurrences of problematic relations. Some of these scholars made assertions about power relations between groups as significant to interactive processes. They identified human interaction as underscored by understood, accepted or contested power dynamics. Recorded instances of police/civilian interaction depict issues of power – powerlessness, power struggles, power exclusivity and power representation – at the core of the discourses produced. This points to a key area in understanding police and civilian relations as an analysis of the

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discourses reflective of this assumed power may prove beneficial to understanding police and civilian relations in 'marginalized' communities. Within the existing body of literature on police and civilian interaction within Trinidad and Tobago, there exists a void as it relates to the power discourses produced by police and civilians and the extent to which these discourses manifest information relevant to an understanding of the assumed problematic relations. The study describes the nature of power differentials as evidenced through the language use of police officers and civilians.

Several disciplinary approaches have been taken to discussing power. This study looks specifically at the sociolinguistic properties of power. Discourse structures reveal differences in experiences, positions and assumed power. An exploration of discourses not only provides an instrument to examine the extent to which language gives rise to power, but it also addresses the manifestation of power variances among individuals and groups of individuals. The study hypothesized that power is multifaceted and takes on different characteristics to suit the context within which it is manifested. This paper reflects a progression from an exploration of existing definitions of power to its description within a specific context.

Prevailing definitions of power

'Power' is a word habitually used in a multiplicity of contexts. It is often used to relate to situations reflective of unequal political, social and economic relations, or in a larger sense individual interactions marked by the existence of a binary superiority/inferiority framework. As it is commonly understood in Trinidad and Tobago, the term 'power' often relates to situations that are essentially negative, involving depictions of opposing representations of the same situation and in instances of discordant interests. It is typically marked by what Suares (1996) describes as a 'divergence of interests or beliefs, which makes it impossible for the horizontal aspirations of the parties to be simultaneously achieved' (76). The different meanings assigned to power are also reflected in the existing literature, where it is not only depicted as negative, but as dynamic and inventive (Foucault 1980). While existing discussions about power diverge in their interpretations, I acknowledge these contributions and adapt them to inform my explanation of power as manifested in the data gathered.

Weberian framework of power

I begin my discussion with the definition of power provided by Max Weber (1968). Power is the chance of a man or a group of men to realize their own will in a command action even against the resistance of others who are participating in that action (Weber in Turner 2005, 464). Weber put forward the idea that power should be understood as a relationship rather than as a substance, involving two parties engaged in communal action. It is therefore put forward as something obtainable. Power is further presented as characterized by probability and potential, where the chance of a perceived outcome is not guaranteed but the capacity to achieve set objectives is maximized to a point of assurance. For Weber, the exercise of power is not a necessity for its existence. He states:

> power is at its most powerful when those subject to it participate their subjection without it being actually exercised, when it operates through the power subjects' memory of past experiences of it or the imagination of their future ones, when it needs to be at most symbolically represented rather that actually put into action. (Weber in Turner 2005, 465).

Power should therefore render its actual exercise unnecessary.

Power is further described as a shared construct (Parsons 1950; Luhmann 1979). It is seen as employed in the service of the powerless where it is legitimized. This type of power accounts for small subsets within a society managing power on behalf of the larger sects. This systematic approach to power is dependent on a functioning legislative structure underscored by disposition, obligation and obedience. Power as legitimized is dependent on the positioning of subjects. For the established system to work, there is a requirement of subject obedience; whether automatic, calculated or forced. An understanding of subject position is explained by Michael Mann (1986) in his discussions of interpretative systems employed by individuals. He sees individuals as operationally dependent on the existence of cognitive, normative and aesthetic frameworks to inform their experiences with self and others, or more generally, as subjects engaged in the production of meaning and his explanation seems more focused with presenting the actualities of those over whom power is demonstrated. Popitz (1986) places greater emphasis on power holders or as he describes them, stakeholders of 'technical action'. For Popitz, power is essentially something that can be acquired and/or managed for the benefit of an individual or group. He argues individuals may influence the circumstances of others for their personal gain. In this sense, power is presented as a desirable asset to be acquired and maintained when police and civilians interact.

The criticality of Weberian contributions to discussions on manifestations of power as evidenced in the discourses of police officers and civilians is underscored by the positioning of police officers as agents charged with the responsibility of modifying behaviour in the maintenance of particular social circumstances deemed desirable by the 'legitimatizers' of power. Power is presented as a depersonalized construct that becomes formalized and integrated into social activities and works in the creation and maintenance of ideological layers – individual, social, institutional. There is the presentation of the individual as 'subject' functioning in the acquisition, preservation or negotiation of self-interest. Power is therefore presented as neutral in the sense that it is theoretically attainable while maintaining a complex situational transferability. Power can therefore be defined as a contextual construct enacted by active participants based on the interpretation of situational variables deemed applicable to the context within which it is manifested. Power, in its largest contours, describes a 'rite of passage'. This capillary nature of power is best described in the contributions of Foucault, which warrants an examination of his contribution to the discussion.

Foucault on power

According to Foucault (1982), definitions of power are largely underscored by legal and institutional models informed by what legitimates authority and notions of statehood. While this is so, he cautions that power transcends simple identification with an individual or individuals who possess or exercise it as a birth right or appointment. It should instead be considered as 'a machinery that no one owns' with individuals occupying different positions at different instances; positions that may be preponderate thus allowing for the production of conditional supremacy (156). In its simplest form, his explanation of power is interpreted as being informed by close interrogation of a conceptualized object and subject functioning within a specific reality informed by a set of conditions and awareness. Instead of a focus on defining power, interest is placed on the subjects in interaction and relations of signification – be they connoted or denoted.

Foucault describes power as productive in that it shapes its subjects to fit its respective needs. It does not work negatively by forcefully dominating those subjected to it, rather it incorporates them (1980). He states:

> Power is always a definite form of momentary and constantly reproduced encounters among a definite number of individuals. Power is thus not possessed because it is 'in play', because it risks itself. Power is won like a battle and lost in just the same way. At the heart of power is a war like relation and not an appropriation. (1972, 59–60)

Power is negotiable and dependent on a willingness by all stakeholders to comply with the respective processes. Essentially, power is demonstrated in the formation and demonstration of knowledge. Whether it is a general sense of awareness, possession of information or familiarity with a situation, individuals or surroundings, knowledge permits and assures the exercise of power. As Foucault asserts, 'every point in the exercise of power is at the same time a site where knowledge is formed' (1972, 62). Those who lack power or are relatively powerless remain so because they are ignorant of the ways of power: ignorant of matters of strategy, such as assessing the resources of the antagonist, of routine procedures, rules, agenda setting, access of informal conduits as well as formal protocols of the styles and substance of power (Clegg 1989, 221). Foucault rejects the notion of power as an inescapable form of domination or an absolute privilege on the side of the law. Instead, he focuses on the ways individuals demonstrate power through resisting domination yet remaining within the margins of the system, while constantly redefining its boundaries.

The relevance of Foucault's contribution is evidenced in its provision of a framework to explore the two groups negotiating power margins in the service or representing their own interests. Because the reason for their interaction spans a wide range of roles all etched in the service of maintaining law and order – arrests, questioning suspects, settling disputes, surveillance – the manifestation of power is likely to change continually from power as knowledge to power as dominance – dominance in the service of knowledge or knowledge resulting in dominance. The knowledge dichotomies account to a large extent for how and when power is manifested and the 'chips' with which participants 'gamble'. Foucault's explanation of power allows for its description as twofold – an ability to influence behaviour complimented by an ability to act (where action may be represented by a refusal to act), or it a broader sense, a process of constraint/enablement. Power is presented as a continually contested concept with methodological applicability. This dimension of power is well reflected in Stewart Clegg's characterization of power as essentially episodic, dispositional and facilitative. His contribution to discussions of power and its applicability to describing power within police and civilian discourses warrant further analysis.

Clegg on power

The contributions of Hobbes (1962) and Machiavelli (1970) underscore Clegg's concern with interpreting and translating power as opposed to stipulating what it should be. Machiavelli conceived power as pure expediency and strategy. Its manifestation is evidenced in its appropriateness to achieving one's goal and its suitability to the context within which it must serve. Hobbes, on the other hand, presents a discursive framework for the analysis of power as representative of motion, causality, agency and action. The

marriage/adaptation of these two scholarly positions is evidenced in Clegg's definition of power.

Power is a representative construct or 'practice'. It is metaphorical in nature and derives its meaning from its comparative context. It is as much an actor as it is an action in that it manifests in the performance of doing as well as ensuring things get done. An interpretation of Clegg's perspective depicts power as grounded in strategy. Its purpose is neither positive nor negative, rather it is focused and effective. He asserts:

> power is simply the effectiveness of strategies for achieving for oneself a greater scope for action than for others implicated by one's strategies. Power is not any thing nor is it necessarily inherent in anyone; it is a tenuously produced and reproduced effect which is contingent upon strategic competencies and skills of actors who would be powerful. (1989, 32–33)

Power cannot therefore be appropriately described independent of the context within which it is manifested. Instead an understanding of power is inextricably linked to its description, interpretation and translation within a given context. If power is strategic, then it is the production of intended effects within an established scope as well as the facility to cause something to happen. A police officer has the power to question any individual suspected of a crime whether or not there is in actuality a suspect. However, a suspect has the power to remain silent during questioning. In both instances, power is held whether or not it is actually exercised.

Similar to Mann's (1986) identification of four sources or bases of power – ideological, economic, military and political relationship – Clegg presents a description of power using three categorizations or 'circuits' – dispositional, episodic and facilitative. He sees these circuits as mobilizing relations of meaning and membership. Where power is premised on everyday interactions and is influenced by communicative acts fueled by emotions or resistance, this is described as episodic or macro-level power manifestation. This episodic presentation of power is believed to present a prohibitive, causal conception of power as it is manifested through opposition or subject failure to reach a point of mutual agreement. At this point, power involves securing outcomes as well as securing or reproducing the substantively rational conditions within which the strategies espoused in the circuit of episodic power make contextual good sense (Clegg 1989). A concern with the recurrent tendencies of human being to behave in a particular way is described by Clegg as dispositional power. He argues that the dispositional concept is distinguishable by reference to a notion of differential capacities for power which agencies have irrespective of whether or not they exercise it (1989). At this macro-level, there is an emphasis on meaning as a social construct influenced by specific rules of practice informing individual relations with self, others and perceived authority. At the facilitative level, power is manifested in the functioning of established systems – institutional, technological, environmental – operating at a binary capacity, where empowerment exists only against the backdrop of disempowerment. This facilitative dimension of power is echoed in Habermas' (1989) explanation that 'power implies not only compliance but also obligation when it is tied to authority; that is it requires a duty based on the recognition of normative validity claims' (271). Clegg's theory of power confirms the belief that power is not a unitary concept and it interacts on several levels, some of which are reliant on each other for the power manifestation to be actualized. It is largely influenced by choice; it requires a type of agency which is premised on the ability to

choose. As implied by Shwayder (1965), power exists when human agents can be shown to have been theoretic actors who could have acted otherwise.

Clegg's contribution to defining power speaks to its complexities, interdependence and its tendency to 'multi-manifest'. He points to the merit and necessity of its categorization as it continues to transcend unitary explanation. His interpretation of power brings to the forefront the criticality of roles – individual, normative, organizational and legislative – and their significance to discussions about power. The nature of organization frameworks in its theoretical sense suggest that individuals complying with orders are structurally disadvantaged in relation to the individuals issuing them.

The definitions of power, in every sense, reflect interpretations of different dimensions of human behaviour. On the one hand, there is influenced behaviour and on the other there is behaviour that influences. In both instances, the outcome may be power manifestations in the service of a direct or indirect result. The behaviour of an officer of the law towards a civilian or vice versa cannot be understood outside of the influential context. It is from this standpoint that Giddens and Clegg's contribution to discussions about power reflects similarities to the radical views put forward by Steven Lukes (1974) in his discussions about the different forms of power.

Lukes on power

Lukes' discussion on power presents the individual as well as the group dimensions of its manifestation. A focus is placed primarily on the group dimension for the diverse yet relevant perspective it presents in relation to the study. He presents power within legislative frameworks while also depicting its manifestation at marginal levels or within contexts that exist on the periphery of margins regarded as socially, economically and politically 'superior'. For Lukes (1974), 'power involves a focus on behavior in the making of decisions on issues over which there is an observable conflict of interests seen as express policy preferences, revealed by political participation' (15). It is sometimes manifested through the mobilization of biases. It reflects a type of successful control which secures compliance even to the extent of securing compliance through the threat of action, or more eloquently put, through the use of coercion. From this standpoint, power is synonymous with coercion, influence, authority, force and manipulation. Its multiplicity and tactility allow it to be all of these at different intervals, more than one of these or in some instances, none of the above (Bachrach and Baratz 1962). When manifesting as 'none of the above', power is representative of strength in numbers. Arendt (1970) asserts: 'power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence so long as the group keeps it together' (44). Power in this sense can be described as 'political' in that it derives legitimacy from the initial gathering or unity as opposed to any proceeding action. It is essentially manifested where individuals act in concert.

In addition to Lukes' position on power as a collective construct, he explores the inactive or passive properties of its manifestation. Power is not only an activity, but an ability on the part of the barer to manipulate, persuade, encourage or induce others for the purpose of gaining a desired outcome contrary to the interest of the individual over whom it is exercised. It is the production of intended effects as well as the capacity to produce them. It is no less powerful where it operates behind the scenes or is the result of resource control to influence outcome. Instead, manifestation is read in relation to its operational system – magnitude, distribution, scope and domain (Lukes 1986). For Luke, different amounts of power may be exercised by different individual/s, at any given time. Power is

therefore depicted as quantifiable. It may also be distributed through resource allocation, where the amount of resources owned places one in a position of powerfulness or powerlessness. The operational systems which are of primary importance here are scope and domain. The scope of power focuses on its assignment to activities or specializations as it relates to the actors and the activities. In this sense, power is closely aligned to individuals' social strata, class and professions. Power functioning within specific domains represents influence over a group that is limited to that group.

The literature continues to confirm power as relational in that meaning exists in the relational terms to which the representation of power defers. At the very core of power's definition seems to be an interrelatedness with meaning as imbued in language. Language defines and limits the possibilities of meaningful existence. Representations of power are only understood within the confines of the discourses used to distinguish them from other social phenomena and the assigned meanings.

Existing research reveals much ambiguities about power, its definition and representation between police officers and civilians. For some theorists, the concept of power in a singular sense only appears to be an essentially contested concept whereas for others it exists along a range. According to Haugaard (1997), power should be considered as a scalar concept where, at one end of the scale, there exists pure conflict, and at the other absolute consensus. Most interactions fall between both ends of the spectrum not dismissing the possibility of extremities. The theorists selected define power from different standpoints highlighting aspects of power that are purposeful and relevant to their understandings and research. The chronological presentation of their positions on power was an attempt to summarize their views while also showing how power has been defined and redefined to suit the context of the researcher. Their positions show that with each definition of power, new attributes are identified or previously identified attributed expanded. Existing definitions prove that one cannot provide a definition of power which is all encompassing and applicable to all discoursal conventions. A definition of power must therefore be derived within the context of the research and attention must be given to the different forms power may take within the context of the research. The categories identified must be applicable to the purpose warranting its constitution and informed by an understanding of how power functions. A summation of the existing literature led to the following explanations about power:

- It is not a unitary concept and it interacts on several levels, some of which are reliant on each other for the power manifestation to be actualized.
- It is an ability to influence behaviour complimented by an ability to act, or it a broader sense, a process of constraint/enablement.
- It is a contextual construct enacted by active participants based on the interpretation of situational variables deemed applicable to the context within which it is manifested.
- It cannot be appropriately described independent of the context within which it is manifested.
- An understanding of power is inextricably linked to its description, interpretation and translation within a given context.

Sample and procedure

The sampling strategy was premised on the deliberate selection of participants deemed relevant to the provision of data considered essential to the research. The study required

the acquisition of what Russell (2000) describes as 'cultural data'. It warranted the input of individuals from both research categories – residents from the researched community and police officers who engage with these residents. Two existing sample frames were employed for this study: namely the Central Statistics Office National Census and the National Citizen Security Statistics. The Central statistics census provided information about the number of residents within the community, as well as age, gender and economic distribution. Security statistics gave insight about the number and types of crimes within the community, and the reported victims of various types of crimes within the community. It is based on this information that the stratified sub frames or categories of individuals for the research were selected.

Civilian participants

Data provided by the Crime and Problem Analysis Branch of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service list a total of 17 reported serious crimes for the period 2008–2012 and 27 minor offences reported for the period 2008–2012. This amounts to a total of 44 reported crimes over a five-year period. Twenty-seven of the crimes committed involved perpetrators from the area. At the time of collection, statistics for 2013 was not yet available. To identify civilian participants for the study, known individuals within the community as well as persons identified by police officers were contacted. Although suspects were readily available, conducting interviews proved difficult as these individuals were apprehensive of detainment by police officers and the suggested interview cites posed a safety issue.

Procedure

Forty individual interviews were conducted over a period of six months from March to September, 2013. Civilians were approached requesting a brief interview and outlining the purpose of the meet. They were made aware that their contributions were being included as part of a study about police/civilian interaction in a specified community. Participants did not express scepticism and agreed to partake based on my explanation of the study. They did not request a copy of the interview document for analysis before interviews. The length of the interviews varied between 50 minutes and 2 hours resulting in the acquisition of approximately 48 hours of recorded data. Interviews were interrupted by family demands, business transactions and police patrols. In one instance, a shooting near the location where an interview was being conducted brought the interview process to a stop. This incident resulted in the other interviews being conducted at identified 'safe locations' within the community. In three instances, the interviewees were detained by police officers for questioning. This resulted in delayed completion of the process. Police raids coinciding with the conducting of interviews is believed to have affected the participation of individuals. The interviews were recorded to allow for accuracy of transcription. The interview protocol comprised 25 questions geared towards eliciting civilian responses about the police officers with which they interacted previously. For the last question, they were all shown samples of media footage and asked their opinions about what was depicted.

Police participants

Approximately 93 officers are assigned to the police station charged with the responsibility of responding to disturbances within the research community. The media samples selected for the study indicated civilian interaction with police office from three specific arms of the service – Charge Room Officers, Task Force Officers and Guard and Emergency Branch Officers. This informed the selection of officers to provide data for the study. Arms of the TTPS not directly implicated in the media samples, as well as officers not directly involved in interaction with the community were not included as a part of the study. The sample comprised 10 Charge Room Officers, 25 Task Force Officers and 5 Guard and Emergency Branch Officers. The study prioritized accessing Task Force Officers as they are the primary officers required to interact with the community and they were the main officers featured in media samples. All officers were identified based on their willingness to participate in the study.

Procedure

Forty individual interviews were conducted over a period of three months from July to September, 2013. Individual officers were approached requesting a brief interview and outlining the purpose of the meet. They were made aware that their contributions were being included as part of a study about police/civilian interaction in a specified community. They were also assured that an opportunity would be provided to verify representation of their contributions as this was condition influencing their willingness to participate. Despite initial hesitance to participate by the majority of officers, there was an eventual agreement on their part to contribute. A structured interview document was prepared and officers were given the opportunity to peruse the document before the interview commenced. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour resulting in the acquisition of approximately 40 hours of data. In some instances, interviews were interrupted by calls of duty and had to be continued on later dates. None of the interviews went uninterrupted owing to the spontaneous calls for service police offices respond to in their line of duty. In one instance, a one-hour interview spanned a period of two weeks. Another interview was interrupted on seven different occasions. Since officers do not adhere to a fixed lunch period while on duty, attempts were made to conduct interviews on officers' personal days. This also proved difficult as officers were called out to report for duty to accommodate staff shortages and limited manpower. The interviews were recorded to allow for accuracy of transcription. Of the 40 officers interviewed, the five Guard and Emergency Branch Officers preferred not to be recorded, which meant sole reliance on interview notes. The interview protocol comprised 20 questions geared towards eliciting officer responses about the community they serve in their line of duty and their actions in the field. For the last question, they were all shown samples of media footage and asked their opinions about what was depicted.

The study accepts that while all perceptions offered are valid, they are not representative of the views of the entire communities. It also acknowledges that the views of the participants may vary from each other. The perceptions held by officers about interacting with the community may directly contradict sanctioned acts of policing and are documented solely for informational purposes. It is also important to note that although perception and professional responses may align, they are not the same and should not be considered as such.

Data analysis

As indicated earlier, this study is part of a larger study on labelling, stigmatizing and stereotyping. The data for the larger study are stored and categorized in an NVivo data bank. One of the identified categories is discourses with high instances of 'othering' within syntactic structures. This was done based on earlier assumption about how power manifests and the binary categories accounting for its manifestations. The samples for this study were taken from this category. A search was conducted for syntactic structures including multiple occurrences of the words 'they', 'them', 'I' and 'we'. The samples for this study were selected based on the analysis of the speech acts present within the discourses and what they were believed to represent within the context of police and civilian discourse within the community.

Power pillars within a '**hotspot community**'

The term power pillars as employed within the study refers specifically to individuals with established authority within the research community. Their positions are acknowledged and fortified within the respective groups and in some instances, these positions are acknowledged by individuals not belonging to the respective groups. It is important to understand these categorizations as they sometimes influenced the production, type and impact of discourses collected. Linguistic manifestations of power, in most instances, were directly linked to individuals' positioning within the research community. The act of data collection was influenced to a large extent by support from these individuals. The power pillars are divided into two sub-classifications – formal pillars and social pillars.

The term formal pillars refers specifically to members of the police service. The positions held by these individuals were directly related to their ranks within the police service or their understood status within the police hierarchy. Within this study, reference is only made to the power pillars directly influencing data collection. Six power pillars were identified within the police group of respondents – Station Inspector, Charge Room Sergeant, Task Force Head, Senior Officers, Patrol leader and Resident Officers – and the hierarchy reflected in Figure 1.

Station inspector

The station inspector is the officer responsible for the functioning of all police officers within the research community. He is the highest ranked officer within the community and has the authority to prevent officers participating in the study. The rank of this officer allows for his production of power discourses. Requests are interpreted as commands, therefore his request of officers to participate in the study was interpreted as a command.

Charge room sergeant

This officer is directly responsible for the issuing of commands to respond to all incoming calls for service at the police station. Like the Station Inspector, he is able to demonstrate power over all officers holding lower ranks. He is able to override decisions made by lower-level officers and serves as the voice of authority in all matters arising while on duty. This individual makes final decisions concerning interactions with civilians at the station.
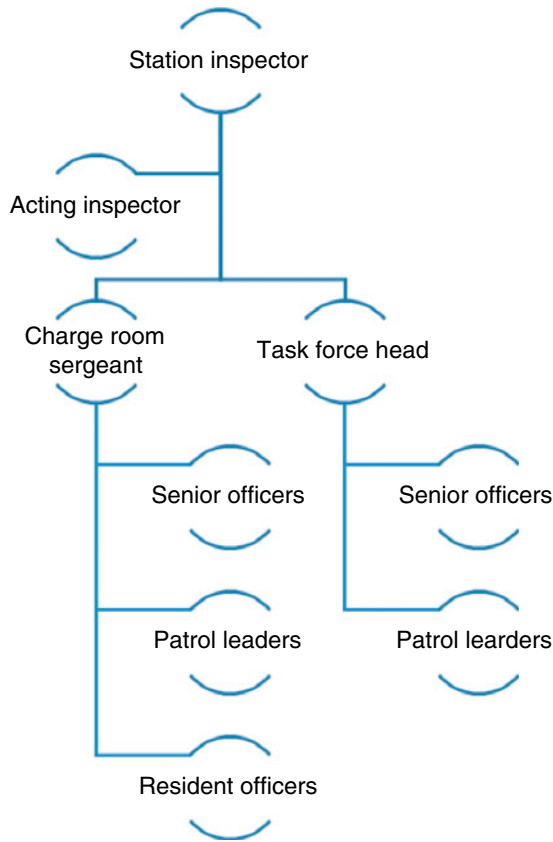
Figure 1.   Police power pillars.

Task force head

This officer is responsible for all officers attached to the Task Force Tactical Unit. In 'hotspot communities' Task Force officers function as the first line of defence. This is not the case in communities not labelled 'crime hotspots'. This individual issues all patrol commands and has full responsibility for officers' assignment to specific teams, patrol routes and duties. His requests are also taken as commands by lower-ranked officers although, unlike the two previous power pillars, he maintains a less formal relationship with his team members and they do not refer to him by his rank. Instead, he is referred to by an abbreviated version of his surname (like all other officers in his unit). Although his authority is evidenced in his control of the unit, his discourses are more persuasive than authoritative.

Senior officers

These officers are viewed as power pillars based on their years of experience in the field. They do not necessarily have assigned high ranks, nevertheless, they exercise power as a result of their seniority. Officers who are senior in years of service provide guidance for senior ranked officers with less years of service. They also benefit from having a direct input in their station duties.

Patrol leaders

Patrol leaders are the officers charged with the responsibility of making decisions in the field. These individuals make decisions about arrests, searches, questioning or decisions to abort operations.

Resident officers

This category of officers accounts for officers who are also residents of the research community. Their power is evidenced in their knowledge of the community geographic, individuals, individual associations and codes of conduct. These officers' familiarity with residents is sometimes used to provide a tactical advantage.

Social pillars is the term used to describe individuals within the research community with the power to influence the discourses of others as well as serve as the primary sources of power discourses. These individuals do not appear to occupy an established hierarchy like that of police officers. Instead, social power pillars seem to manifest within context as opposed to place in community. Their social position sets them apart from other individuals within the community for reasons which include but are not limited to age, status, education and encounters with the 'law'. These individuals include elders, women, gang leaders, shop owners, deportees and religious leaders. These categories have been identified based on the information provided by community members, personal observation, analysis of the media samples and literature on marginalized communities (Nurse 1999; Sletto 2002).

Elders within the community hold power over discourses produced. They are respected for their life experiences and in most instances family ties. Because extended families are common within the community, these elders would normally be the family heads and they would have contributed to the upbringing of several generations within their household. The respect received from their family members is also received from the peers of these individuals. Elders are well known within the community either directly or based on associations. They have the luxury of instructing residents to perform simple tasks. Access was gained to several participants for the study based on direct requests/instructions from elders. They are also allowed freedom in their production of discourses by other residents and police officers.

Women are also afforded power within the community hierarchy and represent a category of power pillars. The households within the community are predominantly headed by matriarchs. These women wield power through family associations, assumed frailty by police officers and their understood ability to distract/divert attention from persons of interest to police officers. The media samples show women as the primary individuals inciting community uprising and the main actors in sensationalized media footage.

Gang leaders command the respect and loyalty of the members of their social group, gang or 'block'. The leader is the primary supplier of arms and ammunition within the community and are protected primarily because of their ability to provide financial benefits or fear of repercussions. Their past experiences with police officers as well as their involvement in illegal activities afford them a social position of respect and admiration from individuals within the community aspiring to hold the same position.

Shop owners are afforded a position of power based on their ownership of resources and the communal meeting space they provide for male residents. Shops within the community are the spaces where retired individuals gather to discuss current issues. The shop owner usually serves as the mediator in disputes or the voice of wisdom on matters

concerning politics, world views and crime. This individual validates information about current issues based on self-assumed authority and the acceptance of community members.

Deportees are identified as power pillars based on their assumed knowledge of developed countries. Even in instances where the individual has not received formal education or exposure to foreign countries outside of the USA, he is still regarded as an authority on popular culture, fashion, travel and other issues pertaining to territories outside of Trinidad and Tobago.

Religious leaders are respected within their religious groups and by family members of the congregation. Like elders, they are well known and their power is based on respect based on relations and associations.

The identified power pillars are by no means all inclusive and have been identified for the sole purpose of providing a framework to assist in understanding power relations and their manifestations within the discourses produced. The categories identified may not apply to all 'hot spot' communities within Trinidad and Tobago or all police groups.

Categories of power manifestation during police/civilian interaction

A consideration of the existing literature, theoretical positions applicable to an understanding of the study participants, the actual study participants and research data, allow for the identification of seven categories applicable to the description of power manifestations within police and civilian discourses. These categories were also influenced by the types of speech acts identified within the discourses and the use of lexical items specific to one of the groups or a specific context. Within police and civilian discourses, power is manifested through domination, struggle, alignment, imposition, constraint, subjectivity and dynamism.

Domination

Weber (1978) describes two types of domination: domination by virtue of authority and domination by virtue of constellations of interest. In both instances, domination is self-serving. It is the power to command. According to Luke (1986), it is a situation in which the manifested will of an individual influences the conduct of others in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if these individuals had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake (33). The issuing of commands by police officers or area leaders is the main form of this type of power. In several instances, participants were required to gain permission from another individual to participate in the study. Police officers unwilling to participate initially were coerced into participating by senior officers. The power of coercion was directly linked to rank within the police hierarchy. This power is demonstrated during interaction where officers receive specific commands to act is a particular. This is depicted in the following discourse samples:

The sample in Figure 2 reflects the power of the senior officer to give instructions and command lower-ranked officers to act. In this context, power is expressed in the

> Officer Sample 1: *"The man start to cuss up Sarge [sergeant] and Sarge say the word…instant lock-up"*.

Figure 2.   Dominance sample 1.

Officer Sample 2: *"I tell them about the music once, twice, three times and they want to show me they aint fraid police so I show them who is boss. I make them fellers [junior officers] mash up every speaker".*

Figure 3.   Dominance sample 2.

illocutionary force of the speech act to action an arrest. Dominance is demonstrated in the ordering of the officer to perform the act and in the power to order the withdrawal of individual freedom. The senior officer does not partake directly in the arrest yet he is able to utter a 'word' and have the arrest actioned. This type of speech act reflects dominance in that the directive signals a type of assertion which signals an end to all communicative negotiations.

The sample in Figure 3 is taken from an interview with a high-ranked senior officer. The refusal of civilians to comply results in a senior officer issuing the command to destroy personal property. The issue of the junior officers' willingness to comply with the command is not raised. Instead, a command is issued and it results in action. The illocutionary force of the speech act in this instance manifests power through assertiveness and a directive. The verbal phrase used by the commanding officer not only expresses disregard for personal property, but it does so from the standpoint of justified actions based on civilians non-compliance with the law. Instances of such discourses were documented as police officers gave accounts of civilian strategic detainment on Friday afternoons ensuring a two-night stay at a detainment facility. This was usually the end result of civilian failure to comply with instructions given by officers.

Dominance as a form of power is not restricted to police officers, as civilians also produce these discourses. These were manifested in directives and expressive speech acts (Searle 1969). Instructions by community leaders to block roads with debris or provide a researcher with data or burn vehicles of residents perceived to be police informants are also reflective of this form of power. Individuals wielding this type of power within the research community were identified as 'resourceful' and involved in illegal activities. Power discourses of dominance from civilians were directly linked to power pillars as all mentioned instances related specifically to discourses produced by gang leaders. No speech acts reflecting dominance were identified within the discourses of other members of the community. It was also interesting to note that all civilian samples of this type of discourse either resulted in the performance of illegal acts by community members or the provision of data about illegal acts by persons not identified as power pillars within the community. The content of these civilian discourses directly contradicts with research ethics and is therefore not provided.

Struggle

Foucault identifies three types of struggle – struggle against forms of domination which may be ethnic, social or religious; struggle against forms of exploitation, which separates individuals from what they produce; and struggle as an individual experience against subjection, subjectivity and submission. Struggle can be further explained as existing along a continuum as institutional, societal and/or situational. In each instance, the form of struggle being represented is twofold – an agent attempting to maintain what is perceived as order and an opposing force attempting to dismantle or reject the order being imposed. Power as depicted through struggle cannot exist in isolation. As is the case when police officers and civilians within the research community engage in the

production of discourses, 'immediate struggle' as explained by Foucault (1982) ensues. The data depict civilians criticizing instances of power which directly impact them, or more specifically, the exercise of police action on/against them. The discourses of struggle produced do not acknowledge the state or laws governing civilian behaviour as the chief opposing entity, instead they respond to the immediate perceived enemy – the police.

Struggle as a category of power relates specifically to civilian discourses. The data depict struggle manifestations as threefold, interdependent and expressed through the stages of recognition, resistance and resilience. In the first instance, there is a recognition of injustice by an individual or group. This injustice directly contradicts ideologies held by the individual/group and is perceived as warranting a reaction to maintain 'order' or preservation of the individual/group ideology. The necessary action results in the production of discourses of resistance. Foucault describes resistance as relations of power locating subject positions and understanding the points at which power is applied through the use of specific methods or 'antagonism of strategies' (1982, 780). When police and civilians interact, this type of resistance is manifested in the conscious decision to oppose those charged with the responsibility of upholding law and order. Where civilians deem acts of policing as unjust and openly present opposing discourses, this is reflective of a power manifestation – struggle to resist injustice. The final phase of the struggle is manifested through resilience or the choice to maintain the held position against the perceived oppressor/s. Examples of these dimensions of power are reflected in the discourse samples in Figure 4 below.

In each instance, power is manifested through direct objection or illocutionary speech acts. In the first instance, a situation of injustice is identified and civilians mobilize to seek justice. The conscious decision to speak against the authoritative figures with the

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Recognition as Power – Civilian Sample # 16

"The police shout out doh move and the man kneel down in the road and put he two hand on he head and three ah them run up to him and start to real beat him all in he head! We went down to the police complaints office with the mother and report them! They too advantageous!"

Resistance as Power – Civilian Sample # 1

"They cyah just lock up the man just so with no warrant or nothing. We not taking that this rounds family. If is revolution they want they will get it. If they hadda lock he up well boy…is all ah we they hadda lock up"

Resilience as Power – Civilian Sample #3

"They come and make we turn off the music and as soon as they gone we turn it back on louder this time… well they come back the third time and mash up the boxes in the road…everybody bring out bottle and iron and we start to sing loud in the road now! They just park up in the jeep watching…"

Figure 4.   Struggle sample 1.

power to use force as witnessed in the interaction reflects power. The community refusal to allow officers to action a civilian arrest deemed unjust also depicts a type of power. Also, a continuance to act despite attempts to restrict action reflects another dimension on struggle as power. The validity of discourses of struggle as reflective of power manifestations is therefore essential to study.

Alignment

This category of power looks specifically at power as manifested through perlocutionary speech acts or discourses of agreement (Searle 1969). It indicates an acceptance of a particular situation, behaviour or discourse. Discourses of alignment depicted in the data take one of two forms – purposeful alignments or communal alignments. *Purposeful alignment* treats with discourses reflective of individual power derived through the attraction of others to a cause. This type of power is hinged on the ability to attract others and build loyalty, or establish 'referent power' (Fairclough 2001). It may be amassed at the community level in the persons of community elders, gang leaders, family members or area representatives. Within the police hierarchy, it is evidenced in the persons on senior officers, squad leaders, unit commanders or ranked officers. This type of power is primarily positional or relative to the duties or formal authority delegated to the holder by the state. The following samples in Figures 5, 6 and 7 reflect power discourses of purposeful alignment:

   Sample 1 is taken from the discourse of an alleged gang leader. He elicited the support of others to stand in the presence of police authority. The extract referred specifically to a period during a nationally enforced curfew where individuals within the research community were arrested for being on the streets during specified hours without lawful authorization.

   Sample 2 is taken from the discourse of a family member of an individual that was arrested. The female individual points to the possibility of anyone from the community being a possible police target. She plays on race and social strata to gain support. She trivializes the offence committed by her family member by alluding to more serious issues prevalent in the society. Her discourse is rich, purposeful and powerful.

   Sample 3 is taken from an interview with a senior Task Force Officer and Patrol leader. He gains alignment through emphasizing the constant threat of danger in the field and the benefits of expediency. He gains the support of the other officers not by outlining

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Civilian Sample 1: *"I done show them fellers the scene, when Babylon [police] come on the block doh run. We hadda hold we ground cause is we hadda live here so nobody cyah just come and make we scatter just so. You cyah tell big man to lock up inside like woman just so just so. Time for them kinda ranking thing overs family"*.

Figure 5.   Struggle sample 2.

Civilian Sample 2: *"They doh hadda lock up the boy for that! Why they don't go and look for them who raping and killing people? Them police just like to advantage poor black people. They wouldn't do them thing in Westmoorings! They outta timing!"*

Figure 6.   Alignment sample 1.

> Police Sample 1: *"I does tell them boys flat, the faster we get the thing over with is the faster we out ah it. Out they not nice mam. Is anything could happen at any time".*

Figure 7.   Alignment sample 2.

> Police Sample 1: *"Sometimes we go to make an arrest and as soon as we reach on the scene is ah crowd gather from outta no way. We have to either ride out or call for back up…Is five ah we and about a hundred ah them and you don't know who have what so you have to safe guard yourself and your team first".*

Figure 8.   Alignment sample 3.

the need for efficiency or effectiveness, instead he points to the need for speed and its benefits when performing duties.

Communal alignment as a form of power manifestation refers to discourses reflective of group power or power in the service of a common cause. Individuals produce discourses based on shared ideologies or interests in the service of acquiring a desired outcome. These discourses are based on a position of 'othering' where anyone identified as not belonging to the group or holding the position of the group members is 'othered'.

The discourse sample provided by a police officer in Figure 8 depicts community power. Officers are not able to function competently without the support of the community. In this instance, the community serves as the authority and directly contradicts established legislature.

Imposition

Imposition as a form of power manifestation refers to the act of establishing or creating agreement in an official way. It looks specifically at discourses employed in the creation of situational contexts premised on expectation to act met with a lack of convenience to do so or discourses produced in the service of inciting agreement. Power in this context is manifested in two ways – the imposer wields power in the expectation of action, be it power as assigned by the state or power as a result of contextual domain, and power as actualized through the interpretation of the powerless. This category of power looks specifically at discourses depicted as authorized (police discourses) and authoritative (police and civilian discourses). In this category, emphasis is placed on lexical items divested of their primary meanings for a purposeful connotation reflective of a new social identity. The transformation and/or transfiguration of the word renders its initial meaning distorted.

The study reveals two sub-categories of imposition – outlook impositions and data impositions. *Outlook impositions* looks at manifestations of power based on individual or group perspectives.

The discourses produced are justified only by what it negates and its source. It is neither factual nor supported by legislation. Examples taken from the discourses which reflect this type of power are illustrated in Table 1.

Data impositions treats specifically with linguistic manifestations of power informed by knowledge of the legislative systems governing police/civilian interaction. Power is depicted in officers' ability to influence civilian behaviour with commands as in the

Table 1.   Imposition samples.

Discourse sample	Source	Description and outcome
'I am the *law*'	Police	In this context, a police officer refers to himself as the law. He moves beyond his assigned role as a public servant enforcing the law to a self-proclamation of being that which he is charged with the responsibility to uphold. This imposition on his part implies an expectation of full compliance with his instructions and a claim to ultimate power.
'Is only *criminals* in dey. You don't treat *criminals* like girl guides and boy scouts. You treat *criminals* like *criminals*'	Police	The officer imposes his perspective of all civilians belonging to the research community. In doing so, there is the suggestion about how they should be treated in accordance with the laws of the land.
'No male officer cyah lock up no woman without a female police present'.	Civilian	The inaccurate perception held by a female civilian is imposed on community members and accepted as a statement of fact. Individuals are incited to act based on this false information in the service of (what they believe is) justice.

understood demand for documents ('licence and insurance'). This imposition is supported on the part of both parties with basic knowledge of the law indicating an officer of the law is permitted to request documents from a civilian driving a vehicle. Other lexical items such as 'case', 'charge' and 'lock-up' have become synonymous with the discoursal convention informing arrest. These are also understood within operational frames as impositions of depravation, where they indicate individual restriction. Discourses of imposition are also depicted in the presence of police officers within the community. The uniform worn by task force officers imposes a form of authority. A Task Force officer asserts in Figure 9.

The uniform worn becomes in and of itself a discourse of power. It becomes symbolic of force, action and results.

Constraint

Constraint as a form of power manifestation refers specifically to discourse of choice and access. In the first instance, it is the expression of power over self to abstain from engaging in the production of discourses deemed harmful to one's safety (physical or professional) or freedom. The discourses produced express control not only over what is

> *"When they see this uniform [task force uniform] they done know what time it is. They know is not them jokey police. When we come, they know we mean business. We not in them long talking and grin teeth shit with them. All them who like to play bad boys know what time it is when they see the blue kit".*

Figure 9.   Constraint sample 1.

Sample 1: *"…she doh have a clue what going on. She jump out the car and start to gallery she self and play mad…bout allyuh police mudda cunt!...yes…it was hurtful and very disrespectful! I wanted to tell she mam hush yuh cunt and come out the fucking road but I know that is all they wanted…them kinda people glad for ah inch to start…next thing is bottle pelting and chaos break out. We just take the man and ride out…allyuh think police have it easy? The things yuh does want to tell some ah them…but no I will make front page"*

Figure 10.   Constraint sample 2.

Sample 2: *"Family, I is not no informant. I is not no rat. Them could kill me with licks, I aint selling out my boys. Them doh understand how we does live. My boys have my back and if anything happen to me, my mother and my child mother them set so them police hadda kill me boy".*

Figure 11.   Constraint sample 3.

spoken, but actions and behaviours. This type of power is sometimes manifested in the ability to repress emotions and impulses which lead to the production of incriminating discourses. It is also evidenced in the ability to abstain from producing discourses under extreme conditions, which present the production of such discourses as the best alternative. The discourse samples in Figures 10 and 11 reflect different manifestations of power through constraint:

The discourse extract was taken from an interview with a senior Task Force officer. Despite verbal abuse received from a female civilian during an arrest situation, the officer reflected extreme constraint. The officer remained mindful of the consequences of a possible reaction and opted to demonstrate power through discourses of silence. A lack of constraint would have possibly resulted in 'chaos'. Not only did the officer assess the situation to determine the appropriate reaction, but he acknowledged his position and the relevant response.

The sample in Figure 11 reflects an intentional choice to withhold information despite the circumstances presented. The individual explains the negative connotation associated with providing the police with information. An 'informant' is equivalent to a rodent, a quality depicted as highly undesirable at the community level. Again, there is a clear position of othering as officers are labelled as 'them' within the discourse. This 'othering' is also presented against the backdrop of what it means to be a part of the community. Discourses of silence are an integral part of community relations. Therefore, strength is reflected through the power to withhold information even at the cost of one's life. Constraint guarantees the preservation of family life within the community and loyalty is rewarded and ultimately returned.

Discourses of constraint are also produced in instances of situational confinement. Where individuals are bound by limited or restrained access, these discourses are produced. In these instances, the power manifested may be depicted by the individual responsible for the presentation of the situation or the individual maximizing a situation of restricted access to gain a desired outcome. Manifestations of such power are depicted in Figures 12, 13 and 14 below.

The sample provided by a Charge Room officer reflects community power through restricted access. The community is aware of the leniency with which women and children are treated by police officers. The officer is aware of the discourse tactic

Sample 1: *"When you go to make an arrest, all the women and children does come out to the front. The women and them does just start to carry on and make ah set ah bacchanal like they programmed. The person you gone for doh be saying ah word eh…is only woman and children yuh hearing and seeing so yuh know what time it is"*

Figure 12.   Constraint sample 4.

Sample 2: *"Them cyah lock me up round here…if I on the outside yeah but not in my back yard baby…by the time them come out that jeep is Houdini lova…I out"*

Figure 13.   Constraint sample 5.

Civilian – Oh God, oh God, oh God alyuh…look what they doing the poor boy…Oh lawd

Civilian – Oh lord father in heaven! Look how they beating the man

Civilian – look how they have the woman kneeling down in the road infront she children! Them is animals! They don't have no conscience

Figure 14.   Constraint sample 6.

employed by the community; one which employs raised tones, incoherent rambling and actors identified as weak. These individuals knowledge allows for the creation of a situation which makes it impossible to function. Civilians' awareness of the powers associated with discourses of confusion and restricting access presents a position from which acts of policing can be challenged.

The civilian's familiarity with the terrain restricts police functionality and thus allows for the power manifestations. The discourse sample highlights lexical items synonymous with territory advantage. The civilian acknowledges the advantage of not being 'outside' or in unfamiliar territory. His reference to Houdini points to his ability to elude 'outsiders' while in his 'back yard'. The discourse acknowledges 'othering' of individuals unfamiliar with the terrain and highlights the power of belonging or in this instance, knowledge of the terrain. Restricted access limits police officers while assisting civilians attempting to avoid contact with these officers. The knowledge of the terrain as well as knowledge of the constraints faced by officers places the civilian in a position of power as evidenced in his discourse.

Subjectivity

At every point of police/civilian interaction, there is the production of discourse – discourses leading to interaction, discourses during interaction and discourses about interaction. Power as subjective relates specifically to the discourses produced based on individual representation of an interaction. Although all interaction can arguably be categorized as subjective, subjectivity as a category of power during police/civilian interaction refers specifically to discourses of omission and sensationalized discourses.

Discourses of omission speaks directly to data which intentionally reflect one-sidedness for the purpose of persuasion towards a particular standpoint. The effects of

such subjectivity may be direct, indirect or subliminal. This type of discourse is produced primarily when giving account of situations involving physical force. There is the tendency on the part of the civilians to give accounts of victimization and abuse at the hands of police officers for no just cause. Information accounting for the uses of force such as resisting arrest, use of force, possession of illegal substances or directly obstructing justice is usually intentionally omitted from the discourses. Police officers also engage in the production of discourses of omission as it relates to the use/abuse of force. This is interpreted as a manifestation of power where participants are subjective about what information is divulged in an attempt to persuade support and the knowledge attached the consequences of divulging withheld information (Toffler 1990).

Sensationalized discourses are imbued with power as they incite emotions and behaviours of others. These discourses are also referent as they highlight episodes to indirectly or subliminally provoke a reaction (Kraus 2013). Media representation of police/civilian interaction within the community presents this type of discourse. Civilian behaviour in these instances are underscored by emotive language, high vocal outbursts and heightened gesticulation. The context of the interaction is rarely ever made known to viewers and there is an absence of balance in the representation of police and civilian discourses.

In the samples provided in Figure 14, the civilians employ expressive speech acts to gain support of an audience. Reference is made to a divine deity to present the acts as 'ungodly' and unjust. The syntactic structure lacks coherence to present a state of confusion and distress about the situation. The diction also points to victimization, inhumane treatment and failure to respect roles – the role of a mother – deemed superior within the community. Such sensationalized discourse manifests power in that it suggests how individuals should react and highlights officers' villainess while distracting or ignoring the context warranting the interaction.

Dynamism

According to Toffler (1990), the nature of power is currently shifting. Dynamism as a category of power manifestation looks specifically at the kaleidoscopic nature of power and how it is shaped and influenced during police and civilian interaction. The discretionary nature of policing constantly brings discourses of dynamism to the forefront during interaction with civilians. The power to arrest a civilian for the use of obscene or offensive language as well as the power not to arrest for the same offence depicts the dynamic nature of policing. The labelling of a community as a 'crime hotspot' as well as the situations and roles of interaction influence the discourses produced by officers. There is also the reflection of power based on media influences and the currently iconized individuals. The referent terms or labels assigned to police officers are reflective of terms taken from music produced by iconized individuals in the lyrics of their songs. These songs are also internalized and influence discourses produced. Dynamism, while reflected in the previously explored categories, must be understood from the standpoint of its power to influence or inform the labels, stigmas and stereotypes produced during interaction.

The extract in Figure 15 is a transcription taken from a recording of an arrest by a civilian bystander. It reflects the power dynamism within police and civilian discourses. The civilian sample reflects 'semanticizing' to exclude officers from the communicative process through the use of an indirect speech act. The individual being arrested claims

Male Civilian being arrested – *drive the pine over by yuh mother for me cause is real outta timing thing them on…boy Babylon haul yuh mother scunt…allyuh just like to advantage people*
Arresting Officer – *if yuh innocent what yuh running for? And yuh cussing too?*
Bystander – you hear me cuss anybody? *allyuh police too advantageous*

Figure 15.   Constraint sample 7.

innocence while instructing another individual present to secretly transport marijuana from one location to another. The speech act contains codes which are intended to be missed by officers. The word 'drive' within the context of the communication connotes discrete movement and 'pine' is a name used within the community to refer to a type of marijuana. The civilian goes on to challenge the officer by using the coined word 'scunt', which the officer interprets as obscene language. Although several bystanders are recorded using actual obscene language, the officer removes only one individual from the scene. On the one hand, the civilian manipulates language to exclude and on the other the officer is selective in his choice of arrest.

Conclusion

Power is a contextual construct enacted by active participants based on the interpretation of situational variables deemed applicable to the context within which it is manifested. It is presented as constantly in defiance of monolithic description as it rejects control from a unitary perspective. The study revealed that it can only be defined within the context of research and attention must be given to the forms power may take within different contexts. Instead of deriving a general definition for power, it is more useful to identify categories which may account for various forms of interaction. The categories identified must be applicable to the purpose warranting their constitution and informed by an understanding of how power functions. In some instances, the description of the discourse may go beyond the scope of a single category. These can therefore be dealt with in the context most appropriate to realizing an accurate description.

Discourses not only serve in the representation of power, but they impact how power is interpreted and the response it generates. The data present evidence to support the claim that power is manifested intentionally and unintentionally. The discourses explored evinces that its examination provides an opportunity to interpret how power can be understood during police and civilian interaction within a 'hotspot community', and how participants act to shift or 'haggle' power during these interactions.

I conclude with the following propositions: Power and the discourse agenda of the bearer are inextricably linked. Manifestations of power in the discourses of police and civilians within the context of the study are adequately represented using one or more of the seven categories identified and described. Power discourses hold the potential to manifest in vastly different ways to allow for the creation of new categories, thus depicting power's generative capacities. Power is successfully manifested whether or not it aligns with the legislative frameworks governing behaviours within a society. Ultimately, definitions and categorizations of power are therefore susceptible to individual politics, agendas and ideologies.

Notes on contributor

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