The Rhetoric of the Organizational Saga: A Fantasy Theme Analysis of the Organizational Communication Culture of the Louisiana State Police.

Brookie Ann Allphin
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/5707

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.
INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0500

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
The rhetoric of the organizational saga: A fantasy theme analysis of the organizational communication culture of the Louisiana State Police

Allphin, Brookie Ann, Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1994
THE RHETORIC OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL SAGA: A FANTASY THEME
ANALYSIS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION CULTURE OF THE
LOUISIANA STATE POLICE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in
The Department of Speech Communication

by
Brookie Ann Allphin
B.S., Louisiana State University, 1975
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1979
May 1994
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this study to my family and in memory of my grandmothers, Stella D. Allphin, lady rhetorician, and Eugenia Rush, who would be so proud.

Without the love, patience, and support of my entire family, I could not have completed this study. You made this possible. God bless you all. To my daughters, Brenna and Brittany, who were four and eight when the program started, thank you for understanding. You have grown up through these years with me and have truly made the greatest sacrifice. Now, my dissertation is done. My husband, Sergeant Kermit Smith, married into this study in its final year and became its impetus. Thank you for your love, support, understanding, and for being such a good Dad.

My parents, John and Johnell Allphin, made this possible through their support, patience, meals, carpools, and love. Thank you, Johnnie and Wanda Allphin and the girls, for understanding. To my new family, the Smiths and Lorios, thank you for your support and for understanding as well.

My appreciation goes to Dr. E.G. Bormann for his time in responding to my questions, for his inspiration, and his bibliography. I owe special thanks to my committee members: Dr. Donald Ragsdale, who will never really understand the nature of his support, but he believed, and to Dr. King, whose constant understanding and encouragement during the early years, kept the "vision" alive. Thank you Dr. Harold
Mixon, Dr. Owen Peterson and Dr. Ron Garay for more years of combined support than we would like to remember. Finally, my appreciation to Dr. Ken Zagacki, for rhetoric is epistemic.

In memory of Dr. Waldo Braden, I dedicate my effort. He first told me I was to do this. He taught me the art of persuasion and the value of rhetoric.

My sincere thanks to Dr. Dan Walsh who read the drafts and introduced me to the culture of State Police. He promised it would change my life. My thanks to the staff of the Office of Government Programs and ATAP for trying to understand me and enduring these last weeks: Carol Conques, Billie Tripp, Chris Smith, Rajesh Dadhia, Carol Hutchinson, Tom Tucker, and especially to Lee Badeaux for typing with me. Donna Burton deserves credit for the final typing. For Marc Goldstein and other friends who have supported this effort, I am most appreciative.

Finally, my most sincere thanks to Captain Ed Kuhnert, Commandant of the State Police Academy, to Region III Commander Major W.R. "Rut" Whittington, and to the troopers who shared their stories and their trust. You are "Soldiers of the Law."
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .......................................... ii

ABSTRACT .................................................. v

CHAPTER
1 INTRODUCTION .................................... 1
2 SURVEY OF CONTRIBUTING LITERATURE ............ 32
3 THE METHOD ......................................... 48
4 EVIDENCE OF A SHARED GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS .. 72
5 MAPPING A SHARED SOCIAL REALITY ............. 122
6 PERSONAE AND SAGAS IDENTIFYING CRISIS:
  IN THE RHETORICAL COMMUNITY .................. 161
7 ACCOMMODATING CHANGE:
  THE RHETorical FUNCTION OF THE SAGAS .... 195
8 DISCUSSION .................................... 234

REFERENCES ............................................... 252

APPENDICES
  A LOUISIANA STATE POLICE TRAINING ACADEMY
    SURVEY AND EVALUATION ........................ 261
  B SURVEY FOR LSP IN-SERVICE TRAINING .......... 275
  C SUPERINTENDENT'S REMARKS, 69TH CADET CLASS
    GRADUATION, JULY 2, 1992 ................... 285

VITA ...................................................... 288
ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a fantasy theme analysis of the organizational communication culture of the Louisiana State Police. This study interprets the rhetorical function of the organizational sagas of State Police.

State Police has a distinct history aligned with Louisiana Politics. In 1937, General Louis F. Guerre, the first superintendent, envisioned a new State Police, immune from political pressures, "soldiers of the law in the first line of defense for society." The symbolic persona of LSP has survived through fifty-six years of politics and policing as the state's ranking law enforcement agency.

As participant observer, the researcher gathered communication data and observations through interviews, informal conversations, and surveys with veteran troopers and cadets. The surveys provide data for content analysis and to correct discrepancies. A fantasy theme analysis as a taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory of communication provides the methodology to discover and interpret narrative and dramatic communication materials. This study reconstructs the rhetorical visions and sagas as the social reality of the organization to determine how and why members create culture through communication.

This analysis validates two overarching organizational sagas of Soldiers of the Law and The Academy. These function as the members' common symbolic bond to the organization.
The study reveals that the symbolic personae function as the unifying elements of the sagas and the members' identification with the organization. Documented in the study are three patterns of symbolic convergence as consciousness creating, raising, and sustaining communication. The LSP Training Academy experience and the graduation ritual function as consciousness creating and raising communication strategies through which new recruits are acculturated into the organization. Finally, consciousness sustaining communication is documented through Internal Affairs sessions.

The study confirms that State Police is an organization in flux. In response to crisis, members create new fantasy themes and rhetorical visions as strategies to accommodate change. The organizational sagas of State Police function rhetorically as primary communication forms through which members create, raise, and sustain the culture and make sense of the chaos of organizational life.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

A truism of contemporary life is that organizations are inescapable - whether one is working or playing, living or dying. While the omnipresence of organizations makes them an important phenomenon, it is their character, however, that makes them intriguing.

-Charles Bantz (1993)

As complex symbolic entities, organizations provide provocative and intriguing areas of inquiry for the rhetorical scholar. In their essay, "Communication and Organizational Culture," communication scholars Michael Pacanowsky and Nick O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) describe organizational life, as constituted by communication, as interesting in its own right, a "legitimate area of inquiry for organizational communication scholars" (p. 117). George Cheney (1991) concludes from his rhetorical study of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops that in late twentieth-century America there are "profound senses in which organizations are rhetorical and rhetoric is organizational... an observation that can be generalized for the entire industrialized world" (p. 9). In 1993, Charles R. Bantz, author of Understanding Organizations, describes organizations as symbolic realities constructed by humans through communication. Specifically, Bantz emphasizes the constitutive nature of communication to define these symbolic realities as organizational communication cultures (OCC). He defends the role of communication in the construction of
organization reality as "an important intellectual question, receiving a great deal of scholarly attention" (p. ix).

The Interpretive Perspective

As a communication practitioner and a student of rhetoric and organizational communication, I became intrigued with the possibilities suggested by a rhetorical criticism of the shared communication processes that constitute complex organizational cultures like the Louisiana State Police (LSP). This dissertation explores the organizational life of the LSP, as constituted by communication, as rhetorically significant and an intriguing and scholarly research endeavor. This study is not concerned with the organizational problems traditionally studied by organizational behaviorists and sociologists or in the domain of management or police administration. Nor does this study pursue the traditional functionalist perspective of organizations as objects that exist separate from the members' personal experience of them or the relationship between organizational process and effectiveness. Rather, I approach this research from the interpretive perspective that views organizations as cultures, socially constructed through the process of members sharing words, symbols, and actions (Bormann, 1983, 1993; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983; Putnam, 1982). I interpret the entire dramatic communication processes through which members of State Police have created a common culture. This study of the symbolic
convergence of the organizational culture of LSP views the composite fantasies, fantasy themes, and rhetorical visions of the organizational sagas as rhetorical strategies through which the members create, raise and sustain the culture (E. G. Bormann, Personal communication, September 7, 1993).

Central to understanding the research problem of this dissertation are the key concepts of organizational communication, the culture or interpretive perspective of organizational communication, and the definitions of rhetoric and rhetorical criticism. Bormann (1983) defines communication as the symbolic and shared human social processes through which people create, raise, and sustain group consciousness. Similarly, he defines culture in the context of communication to mean: the total ways of living, organizing, and communing built and transmitted by humans to newcomers. The components of an organization's culture include: verbal and nonverbal communication, shared norms, reminiscences, stories, rites, and rituals that provide the members with unique symbolic common ground (Bormann, 1983, p. 100; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983). Finally, I borrow Bantz's (1993) term for interpreted culture, "organizational communication culture (OCC)," to underscore the importance of communication in culture analysis. Bantz explains that the OCC strategy "marks the intersection of organizational communication and organizational culture and represents the perspective that organizational culture is
constituted in communication" (p. 29). This dissertation focus is an interpretation of the strategically shared symbolic forms in the messages of the members of LSP that constitute the organizational communication culture.

The interpretive or culture perspective of organizational communication treats structures and organizational relationships as a "complex web" of symbolic processes created and maintained through communication (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983; Putnam, 1982). This approach is likened to that of an anthropologist studying "the workways, folk tales, and ritual practices of a culture" (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, p. 123). The interpretivist's goal is to reveal communicative activities occurring in a variety of settings to produce the unique character of an organization (Smilowitz, 1982). This study adopts the interpretive view of organizations "as culture" enacted through the communication process, rather than "as having" artifacts of culture to be studied separate and apart from the shared communication processes occurring in the organizational setting (Bantz, 1993; Bormann, 1983; Frost et al., 1985, 1991; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983; Pondy et al., 1983; Putnam, 1982).

**Sense-Making and Symbolic Reality**

Dennis K. Mumby (1988) defines the notions of organizational sense-making and organizational reality as key theoretical concerns of the interpretive perspective. Mumby
(1988) describes the concept of sense-making as the impetus for examining the ways organizational members engage in the creation of a shared sense of organizational reality. He defines organizational symbolism as "myths, stories, legends, jokes, rites, logos - as the most clearly visible articulation of organizational reality" (p. 3). Bormann (1983) explains that people can make sense out of the chaotic experiences of organizational life, if they can explain happenings in terms of human behavior, "if they can assign motives and responsibility, they can praise and blame, they can arouse and propitiate guilt" (p. 104). It is the sharing of these key communication episodes that creates a common social reality and accomplishes sense-making for the participants (Bormann, 1983, p. 100). Specifically, this study investigates the shared communication process through which members of LSP reach symbolic convergence and make sense out of the experience of life in the chaos of a police organization.

The interpretation and perspective of organizational reality is a central issue of discussion in organizational communication research. The objective view of organizational reality sees organizations as concrete objects reflected in the communication process. A subjective view of reality, defined by the common interpretation of experience, is socially constructed through the members' communication. This dissertation focus is the social construction of
symbolic reality in the organizational context. Through rhetorical analysis, the critic can take the social reality contained in the rhetorical vision, reconstructed as drama, and can examine the symbolic world as the substance of reality (Bormann, 1972).

**Rhetorical Criticism**

This dissertation extends the descriptive goals of interpretive research to include a rhetorical criticism of the complex communication processes through which organizational members create and maintain organizational reality. For the purpose of this study, I refer to Bormann's (1972) definitions of "rhetorical" and "rhetorical criticism." Bormann defines rhetoric as the power of discourse to influence the behavior of groups of people. A rhetorical criticism, therefore, examines and interprets the entire process of communication through which discourse influences the behavior of groups of people. Bormann (1992) defines "rhetorical criticism" in his essay "Fantasy Theme Analysis and Rhetorical Criticism," included in *The Rhetoric of Western Thought*, as a liberal and humanizing art, "a scholarly endeavor that aims to illuminate the human condition." He explains the goal of rhetorical criticism that this dissertation pursues:

> It is particularly concerned with the human condition which works to divide and integrate communities of human beings, to interpret human problems and enable cooperative efforts to be made to solve them, to provide self and group concepts
for human beings searching for meaning in their existence and endeavors (p. 379).

This dissertation explores the complex symbolic terrain of the LSP to interpret how organizational meaning is accomplished, communicatively, in the organizational community of the LSP. That police organizations in general - and LSP specifically - provide the rhetorical scholar with rich rhetorical materials for an interpretive study is supported by Peter K. Manning's (1991) ethnographic studies of the police. Manning concludes from his 15 year study of the police culture, *Symbolic Communication: Signifying Calls and the Police Response*, that the police represent a unique subculture of organization. He describes their communication as "narrative, influencing, and purposeful"; drama absorbing; drama processing and drama producing, the primary products of which are symbolic messages which require "unpacking" to reveal a number of facets and their origins (p. 33-34). Manning concludes that police messages should be studied as a "specially framed bit of culture." Although Manning's perspective is sociological, his conclusions support the value of a rhetorical analysis of the dramatizing messages of the police as "purposeful and influencing."

Statement and Clarification of the Problem

Traditionally, organizational research has been the domain of management, psychology, sociology, and organizational behavior, rather than rhetoric and speech communication. Only in the last two decades has the study of
organizational communication emerged as a new subdiscipline of speech communication. Current perspectives of organizational communication research are problematic and remain as diverse as the speech communication and social science traditions which shaped the new discipline. Cheney (1991) concludes that there is a felt need in communication studies for comprehensive, significant case studies of organizational life which contribute to the theoretical development of the discipline (p. 164). This study of the LSP addresses the need for systematic and sound research from the interpretive perspective of organizational communication which can be generalized across the discipline. The more specific problem of interpreting the rhetorical significance of the shared organizational communication processes of the LSP led me to the research questions which developed this study.

This dissertation purpose is to discover and describe the narrative and dramatic elements in the communication forms and practices of the members of State Police. Using a fantasy theme analysis as a taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory of communication, I arrange and interpret the recurring patterns of communication that constitute the organizational communication culture of the State Police (Bormann, 1972, 1983). Fantasy theme analysis provides the critic with a viable methodology and a theoretical framework "for integrating micro-level stories and jokes with macro-
based organizational sagas, values and goals" to interpret how and why organizational members build a general consensus about organizational reality (Putnam, 1983, p. 99). Bormann's (1972, 1983) perspective of the symbolic convergence theory of communication provides the theoretical framework for this study. The symbolic convergence theory explains how and why people construct their world view through their rhetoric to achieve a new group consensus. Central to his hypothesis of symbolic convergence is the "dynamic of people sharing group fantasies" (p. 101).

Research Goals

My research goal is twofold: First, to determine whether a dramatistic based fantasy theme analysis can provide a more accurate understanding of the shared dramatic communication processes through which members create organizational communication culture. Second, and more specifically, I analyze the composite organizational sagas of State Police as distinct rhetorical strategies through which the members of a threatened community create, raise, and sustain the culture as social reality.

This study illuminates the human condition of a complex police community in flux, threatened by the internal and external exigencies inherent in policing and state politics. It investigates how the members of LSP use communication to adapt to their environment, make sense of their organizational life, and solve the rhetorical problem of
holding the organization together while converting new members. Ultimately, this dissertation contributes support for the rhetorical methodology of fantasy theme analysis and a dramatistic perspective as a theoretical framework for interpreting organizational communication culture.

Research Questions

My observations of the distinct and shared communication patterns of the members of the LSP prompted me to investigate and address the following areas of inquiry: What is the evidence of symbolic convergence in the community of State Police? What are the areas of conflict and consensus defined by the rhetorical visions of State Police? How do the rhetorical communities in conflict co-exist in the same culture? Can this process be generalized to all organizations or to all police organizations? How can leaders manage organizational sagas to maintain cohesion? A fantasy theme analysis of the discourse investigates the aforementioned areas of inquiry and illuminates the human condition of the community of the police through these specific research questions:

1. What are the key communication episodes that evidence a group consciousness? Are these distinct to the State Police? If so, how and why? What does the discourse reveal about their past and present identity? What are the unique characteristics of discourse that evidence a shared group consciousness? What are the values and symbols expressed in the fantasy themes? How are new members taught the culture?
2. What are the fantasy types and core dramas that define the rhetorical visions of LSP? What do the dramatic elements of drama reveal about the meaning, motives, and emotions of community and the inner life of the members of the LSP?

3. How do the members of the police community relate within the vision? What is the expressed hierarchy of the police? Who are the insiders and outsiders? What are their roles and how do they negotiate their roles? Can we predict the behavior of members in the rhetorical visions? If so, how and why? How does the discourse function to enculturate new members?

4. What are the rhetorical visions and communities that comprise the sagas? What role do the sagas play in the organizational life of LSP? What are the key symbolic aspects of the organization revealed through the sagas? What are the areas of consensus and conflict? How do the sagas function in the public organization?

5. What are the areas of conflict and consensus among the sagas? What do sagas reveal about the values and the human condition of the police? What does the discourse of the surveys reveal about the members' perception of the culture? What are the emerging patterns of change revealed in the sagas?

6. How do the members of LSP cope with change and crisis? How do the sagas function as strategies for the members to accommodate change and crisis? What does a knowledge of the rhetorical function of sagas contribute to the understanding of organizational communication? What can be learned about a rhetorical community in crisis? How do the sagas function to accommodate sensemaking in chaos? What are the rhetorical problems of leadership during crisis?

Historical Background of the Problem

Prior to writing this dissertation, my research interest in organizational cultures led me to investigate the centrality of communication in public sector organizations. My job responsibilities with LSU, Division of Continuing Education, as a consultant/trainer to local governments provided me direct access to the LSP. I initially observed the communication behavior of the members of LSP training
staff in formal and informal group settings. Intrigued with their distinctively dramatic communication processes, I began to collect communication samples and to journal my observations.

I observed the members constructing complex narratives and figurative language as a primary mode of communication about LSP activities and state government. These observations led me to question why dramatic communication functioned uniquely in the police culture. I pursued this research goal through formal interviews and surveys constructed from Bormann's (1983) taxonomy of the organizational saga to interpret the shared social reality of the organization of the State Police.

Politics and Policing

The distinctive law enforcement and political history of LSP explains the members' common identity with the past and reveals the symbols and legends which constitute the organizational communication culture.

In 1937, General Louis F. Guerre, the first superintendent of the state police, greeted the first Police Training School class as "soldiers of the law" to impress upon them the seriousness of their mission:

> a policeman is a soldier of the law in the first line of defense for society in its continuous war against crime and anarchy . . . pay attention, work hard, or get out (Heleniak, 1980, p.29).

Guerre's greeting is at least familiar to every state police officer commissioned since 1937. The motto, "Soldiers of the
Law" was chosen by the Cadet Class of 1992, fifty-six years after Guerre's first training class. Today, LSP troopers share differing interpretations of Soldiers of the Law which reveal a duality of role and mission of LSP as (a) the governor's private "militia" and, as one trooper stated, "handmaidens" and (b) as the premiere law enforcement agency of the state as Guerre envisioned. This duality of politics and policing threatens many modern police agencies, specifically the LSP, as members strive to understand their roles and responsibilities.

The historical mission of a state police was established in 1922 as The Louisiana Highway Commission. A 1936 Act of the Louisiana Legislature created the present day organization of the LSP. The General Procedural Manual (1983) states the official mission of LSP as "the protection of life and property" and its authority "of such importance that it must be accompanied by a method of accountability. The State Police are accountable to: 1) the Governor, 2) the Legislature, 3) Judicial Bodies, 4) the public" (p.1-2). Implicitly suggested and understood by all its members is the potential political power of the state's ranking law enforcement agency and its commander. Today, the Superintendent of LSP serves as the Deputy Secretary of Public Safety and Corrections. With legislative approval, the State Police Superintendent is appointed by the governor.
for as long as the governor is in office and/or chooses the Superintendent to serve.

The following excerpt from a farewell editorial by James E. Jordan, Jr. (1992), who was defeated for president of the Louisiana State Troopers Association (LSTA), appears in the *Louisiana Trooper*, the official publication of the LSTA. Jordan's description exemplifies the duality of the role of LSP, a meaning shared all or in part by the members of LSP. He depicts the heroic persona of the state trooper and blames his defeat on politics.

The first time I remember wanting to be a policeman . . . I was around five, only I didn't want to be just a policeman. I wanted to be a state trooper. Louisiana state troopers were second only to God almighty. They were . . . some of the most respected members of my community, they were also the most feared. You did not mess with the state police. Dan Page, retired, was our local trooper as was Stanley Martin. They were my consummate heroes . . . To me, troopers had a mystique about them - state troopers rode alone, so they had to be tough . . . Machiavelli once said: "There is nothing more difficult to carry out . . . than to initiate a new order of things" (p. 3).

Jordan's dramatization perhaps exaggerates his efforts to reform the organization. Revealed is the conflict between the values of politics and policing.

The political mission of LSP evolved in 1932 under the leadership of the state's most famous politician, Governor Huey P. Long. Heleniak (1980), in his book *Soldiers of the Law*, recounts an intriguing political history of LSP from the numerous stories and anecdotes gathered from interviews and
LSP was called in 1932 - moved from Shreveport to Baton Rouge to serve as "Huey's Gestapo" (Heleniak, 1980, quoting Harnett Kane author of Louisiana Hayride, p. 16). Heleniak (1980) described the historic move as:

a shift to the state capitol . . . of course resulting in the Bureau becoming more involved in the political affairs of the state - and controversy . . . embroiled the state agency in the controversies and escapades that marked the public and private life of the fast moving "Kingfish" (p. 15).

Historian T. Harry Williams writes that Long preferred to choose "men of action to those of reflective nature . . . (Long) swaggered behind their protection" (Heleniak, 1980, p. 15).

In 1937, Colonel Guerre, the first Superintendent of LSP, attempted to replicate the FBI and train a state police force to act in a "G-Man manner." The FBI was an agency with virtual immunity from political pressures. According to Heleniak's (1980) accounts, Guerre failed in his attempts, as:

the political system of Louisiana dictated that the governor appointed only one of his most trusted aides to head the State Police - the superintendent could destroy a governor. Since governors could not succeed themselves in office, a change at State Police Headquarters was expected following every election. Unfortunately, it did not stop there. No trooper enjoyed security from the political system and would not have it until . . . placed under civil service (p. 45).

During the 1940-1944 administration years of reform Governor Sam Jones, the LSP State Civil Service System was created to protect troopers from political influence. The
system was repealed during the 1948 term of Governor Earl Long and reestablished in 1952 under reform governor Robert Kennon. Heleniak (1980) states that the state's pattern of vacillating between reform and anti-reform politics was matched "to some degree by the fortunes of the State Police" (p. 49). Today, LSP is under a State Civil Service System governed by a separate State Police Commission of members appointed by the governor.

The 1952 gubernatorial campaign demonstrates the conflicting roles of politics and policing. Colonel Roy, Director of Public Safety, authorized a large contribution from the State Police Benefit Fund to the gubernatorial campaign of Judge Carlos Spaht, "Earl's (Long) Boy." Reform governor Robert Kennon defeated Spaht, replaced Roy, and made an attempt to end the political influences on LSP.

Governor Kennon appointed Francis Grevemberg as Superintendent of State Police. Grevemberg's attempts to rid the state of crime and corruption distinguished LSP as the premier crime-fighting agency. His attack on vice in the state reportedly drove so many Pelican State racketeers to Las Vegas that the city became known as "Little Louisiana" (Heleniak, 1980, p. 69). Speaking to a group of LSU students, Grevemberg defined 5 stages of reform for LSP: (a) depoliticize (quit ticket fixing); (b) build an "esprit de corps" among the troopers; (c) attract "high type men"; (d) upgrade training; and (e) provide the best equipment.
possible to his men (Heleniak, 1980, p. 68). Today, these reform goals represent stock fantasies that will be discussed in Chapter 4. Heleniak (1980) reports that Grevemberg was unsuccessful in his efforts to "depoliticize" LSP, as a man who "himself, came from political stock" (p. 69). Grevemberg resigned as Superintendent of LSP and entered the 1955 gubernatorial race claiming a call to a higher duty. Defeated by Earl Long, Grevemberg discovered that "gubernatorial politics and effective police work do not necessarily complement one another" (Heleniak, 1980, p. 78).

Long's inaugural address on May 15, 1956 ended the Grevemberg reform vision:

> The State Police will be used as intended, as an agency of protection, and not to harass and intimidate the citizens. Speeders, drunken drivers, and overloaded trucks will not continue to run rampant. "Let the good times roll" (Heleniak, 1980, p. 79).

Long reportedly called the troopers his "obliging boys," as a commendation of their assistance to him during a campaign in which he was not the incumbent. The professional development of the State Police was not an administrative goal. A. J. Leibling, in the Earl of Louisiana, describes Long's appointed Superintendent of LSP, John Nick Brown, as a man who gave "conflicting signals" where gambling was concerned and relinquished control most often to the "home rule" of the local police and politicians. The LSP superintendents appointed by governors Jimmy Davis, John...
McKeithen, and Edwin Edwards continued the "home rule" and a hands off approach to gambling regulation.

During the decades of the 1960's through the 1980's, advancements in technology and training developed the professional image of LSP. Today, State Police retains its authority as the ranking law enforcement agency of the state. The dual image of LSP as a political organization, where decisions are influenced by state politics, is a general assumption of members of the organization.

A mediated image of LSP in a recent editorial ("Our Views", 1993) by the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate staff reflects an organization threatened by budget cuts and Louisiana politics. Evident is but another emerging role as regulator of the state's new gambling industry. The editorial headline reads: "Gambling Depletes State Police Ranks." The editors' concern is for the "dilution of trooper strength caused by gambling enforcement." Statistics reveal a declining trooper force from 1,000 positions in 1980 to 488 positions in traffic and 63 positions in investigations in 1993. Colonel Paul Fontenot, superintendent of LSP, ("Our Views," 1993) confirms that "the basic mission of state police has been put on the back burner." The editors ("Our Views," 1993) conclude that:

the crux of the problem is that state police are trying to cope with the 1993 problems - increased crime, traffic, narcotics and now, gambling - with the same number of troopers as 25 years ago, when Col. Tom Burbank was head of state police (p. 6b).
Since December, 1993, the licensing practices of LSP have been the subject of a local grand jury investigation.

Not surprisingly, State Police experienced its greatest professional growth and development during the reform administrations of Jones, Kennon, and Treen when funds were spent on training and technology. Significantly, political controversy and the resulting negative publicity emerged most often under the leadership of populist governors who also perpetuated the role of LSP as the governor's private militia.

Significance of the Problem

This study is designed to address the need for theoretically sound research that can be generalized to other organizational studies and can be utilized by those who work in organizations to improve the quality of organizational life. Specifically, the significance of this study is threefold: First, it addresses a void in the discipline for systematic research. Second, it provides significant data which can be utilized by both scholars and practitioners working in organizations to understand better the complexities of organizational culture. Third, it illuminates the human condition of a threatened, modern day police culture. It is, therefore, timely in its examination of the LSP.
Addresses a Void in the Research

A review of the last two decades of organizational literature pinpoints the need for the kind of systematic and theoretically sound research afforded by a rhetorical criticism of organizational communication. In their two articles published in the Communication Yearbook I, II, Richetto (1977) and Dennis, et al. (1978) criticized organizational communication as "an immature discipline." They blamed the overwhelming diversity of theoretical and methodological knowledge of organizational research for impeding the development of a comprehensive, unified paradigm for organizational communication research.

Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) wrote "Communication and Organizational Culture" as a specific response to the earlier criticisms of Richetto, et al. (1977). Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) proposed the cultural perspective of organizational communication research to ask "radically different" questions about the relationship between communication and organizational life. In contrast to the functionalist notion of culture as the structural features of jargon, stories, ideologies, and strategic knowledge, they concluded that empirical research of organizational communication was needed to complement current knowledge and to provide a larger picture of organizational communication (p. 147).
Pacanowsky and O’Donnell-Trujillo (1982, 1983) represented an early interpretivist view of organizational culture as a metaphor for study. They did not define a viable methodology for research, but suggested a set of indicators of organizational sense-making for research: "relevant constructs, facts, practices, vocabulary, metaphors, stories, and rites and rituals." Pacanowsky and O’Donnell-Trujillo (1990) concluded that organizational culture research has "theory-generative, theory-contextualizing, and even theory-testing possibilities" (p. 150).

Almost two decades after Richetto (1977), Dennis et al. (1978) cited the need for a viable research paradigm, understanding the relationship between communication and the construction of organizational culture remains a central question in interpretive organizational research. As a rhetorical criticism via a proven rhetorical methodology, this study explores the possibilities offered by symbolic convergence theory and its potential contributions to current organizational communication research. Mumby, in his 1987 article "The Political Function of Narrative in Organizations," recognizes the research of Pacanowsky and O’Donnell-Trujillo (1982, 1983) and other interpretivists as a significant shift from the static approach of the functionalist perspective. However, he criticizes most of culture theory as merely a description of organizational
sense-making which provides a "rather limited and theoretically naive" view of the relationship between organizational symbolism and organizational reality (p. 113). Mumby (1988) and Skopec (1982) pinpoint the significance of a rhetorical perspective of organizational culture. Skopec (1982) argues that the use of "unique or idiosyncratic patterns of rhetoric," rather than the arbitrary clustering of individuals, represents a rhetorical manifestation of culture. Mumby (1988) extends Skopec's conclusions and defined these rhetorical indicators of organizational culture: (a) a characterizing mode of discourse, (b) members assigning particular meanings to discourse that is validated through shared consensus, and (c) finally, as the strongest indication of organizational culture, outsiders' interpretation of organizational events compared for uniformity of responses from members (pp. 15, 16). The LSP communication culture qualifies as worthy of examination by Mumby's (1988) rhetorical indicators: (a) as characterizing mode of police discourse, (b) by the shared consensus about the discourse as the symbolic reality, the culture, of the organization, and (b) finally, as "the strongest indication of organizational culture," a comparison of my participant observations with the members' identified fantasy themes for uniformity of response.

As a rhetorical criticism of organizational communication culture, this study addresses Mumby's (1987)
concern for research that explicates the "deep structure process through which certain organizational realities come to hold sway over competing world views" (p. 113). Mumby (1987) defines narrative as a principal symbolic form through which meaning is explicated, specifically power, and ideology. He suggests a reading of the relationship between narrative, power, and ideology in organizations to demonstrate that story-telling is a politically motivated production. This study explores dramatizing messages, fantasies, narratives, and other forms of discourse that constitute the organizational sagas of LSP. This study interprets narratives contained in the sagas as principal symbolic forms through which a number of relationships are expressed, not just power and ideology. For the purposes of this study, I conclude that Mumby’s suggestions are incomplete and provide a limited, preconceived view of organizational reality. A rhetorical methodology can better provide researchers with theoretical tools to explicate for analysis a number of structures and complex symbolic forms that constitute organizational reality (Bormann, 1983).

Sue DeWine, in her 1988 article, "The Cultural perspective: New Wave, Old Problems" published in Communication Yearbook, criticizes the cultural perspective of organizational research as the latest "new wave" in social science research, providing more insight for the researchers than the practitioners: "are we writing for ourselves
because we are intrigued with our own thoughts or are we writing for the benefit of those working in the cultures we are attempting to study?" (pp. 345 - 346). DeWine (1988) fails to define a research methodology but concludes that research should address the need for clearly articulated methods that generate more case examples. She argues that researchers should spend less time arguing and more time using the merits of various research paradigms (p. 352). This study addresses DeWine's methodological concerns.

Pilotta, Widman, and Jasko (1987) describe organizational theory development as a "desideratum" and criticize researchers for attempting to "exorcise the ghosts of positivism and functionalism," rather than articulating principled methodological and theoretically accountable tools of their own (p. 310). Pilotta et al. also fail to define a viable methodology or a theoretical framework for research. A fantasy theme analysis, as a viable methodology for rhetorical research, has a proven value as a theoretically sound research tool (Bormann, 1980, 1981, 1982b, 1982c, 1983, 1990; Cragan and Shields, 1981, 1992).

The need for systematic research which can be generalized across the discipline is echoed in the organizational behavior literature. In their book Reframing Organizational Culture, editors Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, and Martin (1991) describe the organizational research of the last decade as "faddish," "dead end," and...
"unrelated to mainstream." Frost et al. argue that "since 1985 the proliferation of research on organizational culture has continued unabated" and conclude that a theoretical consolidation of knowledge has not occurred. They cite as problematic, those researchers who have failed to agree about what culture is, why it should be studied, and how to study the same phenomena from the same theoretical, epistemological, or methodological points of view" (p. 7).

Practical Application of Data

This dissertation fills a gap in the discipline for practical application of viable organizational communication research. Karl E. Weick (1983) supports this need in his general criticism of social science research as "obvious or irrelevant or absurd, but rarely interesting." He argues that "understanding is a joint product of theory and common sense" (p. 23). Weick concludes that much of organizational research is not helpful to managers who are often overtrained in analytical skills, control strategies, and action plans.

Communication scholars Linda L. Putnam and George Cheney (1990) support the need for practical application of research in scholarly endeavors. In this excerpt from their article "Organizational Communication: Historical Development and Future Directions" Putnam and Cheney summarize theorists' view of the discipline:

Social scientists and organizational practitioners exist in an inseparable bond that stems from the bridge between theory and practice and from the dual roles of researcher and consultant. Just as

Putnam and Cheney (1990) urge the researcher to take an active role in the application of theory, to employ a pluralism of methods, and to view the complexities of organizational life from a variety of angles. They contribute support for message analysis as a focus of this study and as a way to explicate meaning from all organizational levels:

As organizational communication progresses . . . researchers will probably emphasize message content and process even more, striving to capture meaning, context, and changes in symbolic activity among organizational actors . . . researchers continuing to explore to a much greater extent the multiple perspectives of organizational actors . . . that the meaning of 'practice' or 'application' will continue to broaden, as researchers attempt not only to help 'the organization' (upper management) but also individuals and groups within it, often through critique of the existing order (p. 56).

This dissertation focus is message analysis gathered from multi-methods of research. I hope to contribute support for the value of the symbolic convergence theory in rhetorical criticism and as a theoretical foundation from which researchers can apply a pluralism of methods.

The current organizational communication literature supports the value of rhetorical theorizing as a needed direction for study within the discipline. In his 1991 book Rhetoric in an Organizational Society George Cheney explores
the nature of organizational rhetoric as "organized persuasion," as the management of multiple identities. He concludes that much of contemporary rhetorical practice is organizational, within complex organizational settings. Thus, "organizational and rhetorical theory converge" (p. 2). Putnam and Cheney (1990) define the rhetorical and cultural perspectives as two families of significant emerging research and reviewed four lines of rhetorical research for studying complex organizations (p. 47). The symbolic convergence theory (Bormann, 1972, 1982a, 1983) offers a complete theory and methodology to interpret organizational culture as shared communication process. This dissertation demonstrates the value of these two perspectives as research that can explain how and why the organizational culture of a complex community like LSP is created, raised, and maintained through dramatic communication.

Timely

Lynch, Thibault, and McBride, authors of Proactive Police Management (1990), define the complex police organization as a "vocational subculture group" worthy of study:

relatively isolated from the rest of American culture . . . strong bonds of loyalty and secrecy . . . a feeling of we against them . . . a knowledge of these informal groups and subcultural norms will ensure the success of modern police management practices (p. 5).

Bormann (1992) argues that a rhetorical criticism of communication illuminates the human condition, particularly
communication which works to integrate and divide communities of people. This study builds on the theoretical ground of Bormann’s work with fantasy theme analysis to explain how communication functions rhetorically to create a shared group reality within and among competing subcultures of an organization. Understanding how the communication process integrates and divides the threatened community of the LSP presents the rhetorical critic with a scholarly and timely research problem.

Specifically, an analysis of the complex rhetorical dramas of the organizational sagas of LSP explicates cultural values, hopes, and fears and identifies the areas of consensus and conflict in a modern day police organization. This study is, therefore, timely as a more accurate interpretation of the police culture. It can then be generalized to other modern day police agencies as threatened communities to determine how their communication functions, rhetorically, to divide and integrate the community.

The conflicting and changing roles and mission of modern day policing present additional internal exigencies to the police community. Dunaway (1984) describes the police as an institution by definition, charged with a contradictory mandate to protect both public order and individual rights. A. D. Yarmey (1990) in *Understanding Police and Police Work* describes the police, glamorized and stereotyped through the media, as "intelligent, sophisticated super-sleuths while
others suggest they are bumbling, aggressive, childish idiots who accept bribes, bully women, and shoot thieves" (p. 29). These conflicting missions of the modern day police agency create internal morale problems and present a threat to the police culture. Edwin J. DeLattre (1989) in his book *Character and Cops: Ethics in Policing* illuminates the police as "victims of a nonsystem":

Conscientious officers become demoralized and generate cynicism that permits callousness and indifference . . . frustrated by the irrational management and illogical variations in policies and practices . . . More harm results from the crazy quilt of thousands of uncoordinated, ineffective agencies than from the misbehavior of poorly motivated officers (p. xv).

Finally, current police management literature justifies a study of the police culture as unique and timely. In conflict are the management and training philosophies of the old, para-military approach verses the more humanistic styles of the 1990’s. Police leaders are divided along the demographics of age and education level as older or less educated members are increasingly threatened by a younger or college educated police officer of the 1990’s. Thibault, et al. (1990) write:

Police management has evolved from the rather rigid (semimilitary) organizational mode of the late nineteenth century to the more flexible approach of the 1980’s that emphasizes human relations skills. Proactive police managers who have been professionally trained and college educated synthesize contributions from all periods of police management (p. 25).
Throughout the last decade, media reports of corruption and brutality have contributed to the declining public image of the police community. Widespread publicity about the 1991 police beatings of Los Angeles motorist Rodney King, the acquittal of the accused police officers, the ensuing riots, and the recent federal trials and convictions of these police officers have called into question the credibility of the police. A Louisiana State Trooper described the internal tension observed during an LSP testing session for promotion which was held during the Rodney King trial:

For the first time in 20 years I could sense the tension between black and white officers in that classroom. The black officers were on one side of the room and the white officers were on the other. No one was talking and joking. It was a bit unnerving; it reminded me of the 60's again; we've moved backwards a decade or two. (Personal conversation, June 11, 1992).

This dissertation explores the communication culture of a modern day police organization to understand how communication functions rhetorically as members dramatize events in the there-and-then to relieve tension in the here-and-now. This knowledge can contribute to our understanding of the police culture and can explain how police officers use group communication to cope with the internal and external threats to their community.

Testability of the Problem

This study is limited to observations of the communication patterns and the behavior of cadets and active and retired members of LSP. The data for analysis was
gathered from anonymous surveys from the members of the 1992 cadet class, surveys of 200 veteran officers attending in-service training sessions, and follow up interviews with LSP officers. The primary site of the observations and surveys was the LSP Training Academy. Only the follow up surveys with retired LSP officers and observations of special activities of LSP were conducted outside of the LSP Training Academy setting. The study was conducted within these limits for these five reasons:

1. The year 1992 defines the new governor's administration. Governor Edwin Edwards appointed a new State Police commander, the Colonel of State Police; therefore, 1992 marks a new era of leadership for Louisiana and for State Police.

2. The researcher was temporarily assigned teaching and coordination duties at the training academy throughout 1992 and 1993 which provided direct access to the culture.

3. A new cadet class which began in February of 1992 providing the opportunity to observe how new members come to share a group consciousness about the culture.

4. The LSP Training Academy represents a unique slice of the culture of the organization where the new cadets and veteran members are trained. The Academy displays historical and cultural artifacts of LSP.

5. The Academy training staff presented a valuable resource for the researcher by validating observations, interpreting some of the survey responses, and directing the researcher to historical data and background information.
CHAPTER 2
SURVEY OF CONTRIBUTING LITERATURE

Practically all the reality we wake up facing is a human construct left over from yesterday.
- Northrop Frye

The boundaries of knowledge about organizations, culture, and the process of organizing are indeed wide, extending across the disciplines of management, sociology, anthropology, organizational behavior, and organizational communication. A review of recent management and social science literature reflects an emerging concern for a communication perspective of organizational culture research.

The concept of organizational culture was first popularized in the "pop management" books of the 1980's that marketed culture as the cure all for organizational problems. The notion corporate culture evolved from the managerial discipline in a near faddish style as a metatheory for the explanation and prediction of corporate effectiveness and employee performance and satisfaction.

Deal and Kennedy (1982) describe the notion of a corporate culture in their book Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life as the driving force behind continuing success in American business (p. 5). Management gurus Tom Peters and Bob Watermann (1982) conclude that effective organizations are those with powerful, homogenous cultures. Their perspective of organizational culture is simplistic and problematic. They define culture
as artifact, a valuable tool for managers to build a strong working environment of happy employees. Peters and Watermann fail to explain the human condition of competing values and divided loyalties which exist, to some degree, in every organization to cause fragmentation.

An Emerging Discipline: Organizational Communication

Throughout the last two decades, organizational communication has emerged from the three main speech traditions of public address, persuasion, and social science research as a subdiscipline of speech communication. A review of the organization communication literature reveals numerous organizational culture studies from the functionalist and interpretive perspectives. The functionalist perspective reflects a management bias in its examination of communication styles and channels as indicators of organizational effectiveness and attributes of culture. The functionalist views organizational communication as an artifact of culture, "something an organization has." The interpretivist views organizational communication as it constitutes culture - "something an organization is" by virtue of the sense-making function (Smircich, 1981). Predictably, the emerging literature of the last two decades reflects attempts to define a paradigm and to determine viable methodologies for research in the discipline. This dissertation contributes support for the
rhetorical methodology for organizational communication research.

As previously reviewed, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) were among the first interpretivists who proposed the culture perspective of organizational culture as it is accomplished communicatively. They acknowledged its potential for generating, contextualizing, and even testing theories (1982, p. 129). Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) define the set of indicators and displayers for organizational sense-making, the procedures for observations and information gathering, the potential utilities of the culture approach, but not a theoretical framework or a methodology for an interpretation of the findings.

In his book Communication and Power in Organizations, Mumby (1988) provides extensive support for the subdiscipline of organizational communication as a viable research area and an alternative to the functionalist approach to studying organizations. He credits the study of organizational culture as the "vanguard" of the movement towards the interpretive frame of reference and the "major theoretical rally point" for moving communication scholars towards this approach (p. 4). In his 1993 article, "Critical Organizational Communication Studies: The Next 10 Years," Mumby describes the research of the late 70's as a move toward a meaning-centered approach with a concern for the ways communication functions "dynamically, processually, and
constitutively" to create organizations as collective meaning systems (Deetz, 1982; Putnam & Pacanowsky, 1983; and Smircich, 1983). He argues, however, that the move to interpretive research has succeeded in "problematizing" the traditional terms associated with the functionalist approach - "hierarchy, message, effectiveness, and the term organization itself" (p. 18). Mumby (1993) concludes that a focus on critical organizational theory is needed to provide new, "fruitful, and interesting ways of talking about organizations," rather than testing more powerful methods and concepts for analysis (p. 19). As a rhetorical criticism, this dissertation addresses these concerns for more meaningful research to determine how communication functions uniquely to constitute the culture of the LSP.

Rhetorical Perspectives on Research

The precedent for this rhetorical criticism of organizational communication culture can be found in two areas of research: First, the current body of organizational communication literature which supports the rhetorical-critical perspective as a way of understanding organizational meaning. Second, the research studies of the last decade that define fantasy theme analysis as a viable methodology for organizational communication culture research. This study bridges these two areas of interpretive research.
The Critical Interpretive Approach

Mumby's (1987) article "The Political Function of Narrative in Organizations" best exemplifies the critical-interpretive focus of organizational communication research. Mumby (1987) criticizes the interpretive perspective as naive in its description of sense-making as surface level. He supports a deep structure analysis of discourse to explicate meaning. Mumby's research focuses on the role of narrative as a legitimating device in formal organizations and an accurate interpretation of organizational meaning.

A fantasy theme analysis supports Mumby's view as a systematic investigation of the complex symbolic forms of the organizational sagas of the LSP, including organizational narratives. In his article, "The Political Function of Narrative," Mumby (1987) examines an organizational story about a young woman employee of IBM who denies board chairman Thomas Watson, Jr. entrance into a secured area because he is not wearing an acceptable badge. Mumby supports previous research (Martin, Feldman, Hatch, & Sitkin, 1983) using script analysis of organizational narratives to reveal the functional relationship between organizational narrative, power, and ideology in the organization of IBM. He argues that ideology is materially grounded in the organized practices of social actors and that organizational rationality is maintained and reproduced through narrative.
Mumby provides intriguing questions for this study as a rhetorical criticism of the complex sagas of LSP. He fails to define a concise methodology for interpretive research or to explain those random storytelling practices which have no particular relevance to the organization's meaning and culture. Mumby's (1987) conclusions are significant to this study as support for the importance of a deep structure analysis of the shared symbolic messages of LSP. Specifically, this study supports Mumby's conclusions that: (a) narrative form is a powerful means for explicating deep structure meaning and of accomplishing sense-making; (b) it provides members with an identifiable exemplar of organizational reality; and (c) narratives constitute organizational reality rather than just informing members of the values, practices, and traditions to which the organization is committed.

Mumby's (1987) fourth conclusion is that narratives subordinate or devalue other modes of rationality. This study recognizes this conclusion as a significant function of narrative, but not the single function of narrative in all situations. Bormann's (1983) argument that organizational meaning is explicated from the areas of shared consensus about rhetorical themes that constitute the organizational saga provides relevant support for this study. Fantasy theme analysis as a taxonomy for interpreting the consensual
sharing of recurring themes in the visions and sagas is, therefore, most appropriate for this research.

Mumby's (1987) justification for describing how a particular narrative, or cluster of narratives, functions to influence behavior further supports a fantasy theme analysis. Mumby (1987) cites Hall's (1985) justification for examining clusters of narrative:

Ideologies do not operate through single ideas; they operate, in discursive chains, in clusters, in semantic fields, in discursive formations. As you enter an ideological field and pick out any one nodal representation or idea, you immediately trigger off a whole chain of connotative associations. Ideological representations connote - summon - one another. So a variety of ideological systems or logics are available in any social formation (p. 104).

Hall's conclusion that people "trigger" connotative associations mirrors Bormann's (1983, 1985) description of members chaining fantasy themes to transcend the here-and-now in a communication social setting. A fantasy theme analysis provides the researcher with the methodological tools for uncovering these clustered ideas as rhetorical boundaries from which to identify rhetorical visions and communities (E.G. Bormann, personal communication, September 7, 1993). An analysis of the organizational sagas as composite narratives can then provide insight into how members negotiate their roles in an organizational hierarchy.

A problem with Mumby's (1987) research is twofold: First, his example of script analysis of a single narrative does not alone account for the complex systems of meanings
across organizations or of the dramatic communication process of storytelling that contribute to an in-depth examination of organizational meaning. Second, Mumby's (1993) research appears to assume the existence of power structures in which the superiors victimize and subjugate the subordinates in every organization. Bormann states that "Mumby as a critic cannot generalize from his study of a narrative to a broader theory of narrative. He can only illustrate his political position by using narrative" (personal communication, September 7, 1993). A fantasy theme analysis proves valuable to communication research as a taxonomy that incorporates consistent terminology and methods to replicate studies, and to expand and refine other theories within the same theoretical framework.

The Organizational Communication Culture Method

Support for this focused analysis of the shared communication messages of LSP is found in Charles R. Bantz's (1993) book Understanding Organizations. Bantz defines the analysis of organizational communication, specifically message analysis, as a "useful avenue" for understanding organizations. Bantz broadens the interpretive perspective of organizational communication culture to underscore the centrality of communication. Bantz's perspective, as both a "label" and a research strategy, emphasizes the symbolic entity that is an organization (p. 1). He labels these symbolic entities as cultures because they are conceived as
patterns of meanings and expectations (Allaire & Firsatro, 1984; Geertz, 1973, chaps. 1, 15; Keesing, 1974).

Bantz (1993) recommends three lines of research that support the rhetorical research goals of this study: (a) the analysis of speech as it constitutes collective action and culture, (b) Bormann's symbolic convergence theory, and (c) structurational and critical approaches to organizational communication (p. 29). A symbolic convergence taxonomy provides the methodology to implement Bantz's strategy in which the researcher (a) gathers messages; (b) analyzes the messages for vocabulary, themes, architecture, and temporality; (c) analyzes the symbolic forms in the messages—metaphors, fantasy themes, and stories; (d) infers patterns of expectations from the elements, symbolic forms, and the messages themselves; (e) infers patterns of organizational meanings from these same elements; and (f) "weaves the patterns of meanings and expectations into a tapestry that represents the organizational communication culture" (p. 2).

Fantasy Theme Analysis and Symbolic Convergence Theory

Bormann's (1985) fullest exploration of fantasy theme analysis is found in his book The Force of Fantasy: Restoring the American Dream. Bormann analyzes discourse which works at the level of community in his study of the impact of the rhetoric of early American ministers whose only bind to the community was symbolic, through the shared metaphors and common themes in their sermons. Fantasy theme analysis makes
direct use of group discourse to reveal the social reality of a community of people who experience symbolic convergence. Fantasy theme analysis provides the researcher with the distinct advantage of examining the evolution of a community as revealed through its accompanying discourse. This methodology is invaluable to understanding a threatened organizational community like the LSP. Bormann's work provides the researcher with an explanation of intent: "why organizational members share the fantasies they do when they do" (Bormann, 1983, p. 101). As previously stated, fantasy theme analysis provides the researcher with a systematic research tool to examine common themes, metaphors, narratives, personification, and other imaginative forms of communication in groups. The rhetorical perspective supports a deep structure analysis of organizational culture not accounted for in interpretivist research. Of significant interest to this study is Bormann's explanation of personification as "particularly important in building community and analogies which are critical to integrating rhetorical visions" (personal communication, September 7, 1993) and his discussion of the inside-joke syndrome (Bormann, 1983).

As stated, a purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the value of a fantasy theme analysis and symbolic communication theory in organizational communication research that can be generalized across the discipline.
Specifically, this analysis discovers and interprets the communication processes of the organizational sagas of LSP through which the members create, raise, and sustain group consciousness and make sense of the complexities of life in a police organization.

The organizational saga. Bormann (1982, 1983) borrows the term "organizational saga" from Burton Clark (1970, 1972), a sociologist who has conducted extensive research to develop the concept of the organizational saga. Ernest G. Bormann, Ralph G. Nichols, William S. Howell, and George L. Shapiro (1982), in *Interpersonal Communication in the Modern Organization* enlarge Clark's (1972) definition of the organizational saga to include the shared group fantasies, rhetorical visions, and narratives of achievements and events of the entire organization. To function, Bormann (1982, 1983) states, "the saga like a fantasy must be shared." The significance of the work of Bormann et al. (1982) is their defined taxonomy for analyzing the symbolism in the sagas as a technical term in Bormann's taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory.

Clark (1972), a sociologist, defines the organizational saga in his study, "The Organizational Sagas of Higher Education," as "the collective understanding of the unique accomplishments in a formally established group" (p. 178). Clark's study is not a rhetorical criticism of the sagas of higher education. He examines the mission statements of
three highly regarded colleges, Reed, Antioch, and Swarthmore (Clark, 1970), to illustrate how the saga developed. Clark's research examines the relationship between the members' acceptance of the saga and their degree of organizational participation as a measure of organizational effectiveness.

Clark's (1970) significant contribution to this dissertation is his discussion of the positive elements of the educational sagas. Bormann's (1983) draws from Clark's research to conclude that the saga can contain material primarily aimed at insiders, "the front parlor elements of the saga," or material relating to "the back kitchen, the storage closet, and the bathroom." These are the fantasy themes that insiders try to keep from the public, or perhaps upper levels of management (pp. 116-117).

From this analysis, I hope to illustrate the value of a rhetorical criticism as a way of illuminating the human condition of the police by interpreting the competing "front parlor" and "back door" sagas (Bormann, 1983). Specifically, Bormann's work provides a way to accurately define and to interpret the symbolic world of the LSP, to understand how the saga functions to bind the members to the organization of LSP, and to determine areas of conflict and consensus revealed by those elements of the saga about which members do and do not share consensus.

Bormann (1983) pinpoints the significance of interpretive research of the organizational saga as it
relates to this study of LSP as a threatened community. He concludes that "an organization, to survive, must have a saga that gives its members a feeling of significance and worth" (p. 96). How a threatened community, like LSP, can continue to survive as its members fail to share the fantasies of the primary organizational sagas provides an intriguing question for research.

A dramatistic approach. The precedent for this analysis of the recurring symbolic messages of the rhetorical dramas which constitute organizations is found in two books: Applied Communication Research: A Dramatistic Approach by John F. Cragan and Donald C. Shields (1981) and Interpersonal Communication in the Modern Day Organization, by Bormann, et al. (1982). Their work supports the need for theoretically based organizational communication research with practical application value for the organizational setting.

Cragan and Shields (1981) argue that communication theories are not right or wrong, only useful or not useful. They cite the Bormannean dramatistic theory for applied communication research as useful in its focus on message analysis to discover meaning, emotion, and motive for people's actions. Cragan and Shields (1981) validate rhetorical visions as important entities for communication scholars and conclude that Bormann gave speech communication the construct of the rhetorical vision which has subsequently
discharged creative-descriptive research. They conclude that Bormann's dramatistic theory is "relevant and beneficial" in describing, interpreting, evaluating, and predicting communication behavior in real world settings and contexts (p. 10). Their work is particularly applicable to the interpretive study of complex organizations like LSP as an analysis of the rhetorical visions and organizational sagas.

Unpublished Contributing Research

At least two dissertations contribute possibilities for fruitful exploration of fantasy theme analysis as a viable methodology for studying culture: Gordon (1991) examines the rhetorical function of community ritual. She demonstrates a community's use of discourse to develop and maintain group hierarchy. Gordon concludes that, through ritual, the members of a threatened community of shrimpers continue to reaffirm their culture and identity in the face of internal and external pressures and to conform to mainstream social American values. I extend the goals of this research to include an examination of the discourse about organizational ritual in a police organization where members face similar pressures for survival. Gordon concludes that more investigation is warranted to discover how other threatened communities are adapting to the clashes similar to those facing the shrimpers of Chauvin. These conclusions pose research questions for this study of a threatened community (p. 157). Dunaway (1984) proposes to generate a theory
grounded in qualitative data that explains how the police social reality is brought to life in human communication. He describes an ethnographic study of how communication defines/creates the social reality (culture, meaning, world view) of an elite group (detectives) in a modern police organization (p. 1). Dunaway concludes that comprehensive investigation of the significance of hierarchy in organizational communication processes could yield important insight to improve communication quality in institutional environments (p. 126).

Unpublished dissertations that demonstrate the value of a fantasy theme analysis in organizational research as dramatistic theory (Cragan and Shields 1981) contribute support for this dissertation. Eyo's (1985) study of participative management in a modern business culture examines organizational change/innovation by discovering the rhetorical visions of managers and employees on the use of involvement teams to process change. Kovel-Jarboe (1986) analyzes organizational culture during change via fantasy theme analysis in the framework of the symbolic convergence theory to understand the process of sensemaking in a changing culture.

McCafferty's (1988) study "The Last Watch: Rhetorical Visions of Chicago Police Officers" provides support for an analysis of the rhetorical visions of police officers. From that analysis the researcher determines the reality of what
the officer considers police work and effective police training. McCafferty reveals three rhetorical visions over twenty salient issues concerning police officers, their work, and their training. Grainey (1980) examines the rhetorical visions of steel workers to discriminate high and low risk potential insurance malingerers encompassing three rhetorical visions over 20 salient issues concerning work injuries. Dramatistic theory, as a systematic methodology to uncover fantasy themes and to construct rhetorical visions, contributes support for the culture survey in this study.
CHAPTER 3
THE METHOD

Your overall goal is to collect the "richest possible data." Rich data mean, ideally, a wide and diverse range of information collected over a relatively prolonged period of time.

-J. Lofland and L.H. Lofland

The dissertation encompasses the interpretivist or culture perspective for this analysis of the organization communication culture of the LSP. E. G. Bormann's (1983) methodology of a fantasy theme analysis provides the analytical tools for this research. A rhetorical study using fantasy theme analysis begins with the general communication theory of symbolic convergence. Bormann (1983) states that symbolic convergence exists when organizational members experience the elements of fantasy, fantasy theme, fantasy type, and rhetorical vision. He includes the organizational saga as a technical concept in symbolic convergence theory which accounts for the motivating and persuasive force of the saga.

Interpretivists Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) argue that organizational culture studies should answer two questions: (a) What are the key communication activities, the unfolding of which are occasions when sense-making is accomplished? and (b) What is the sense members of an organization make out their experiences? Bormann (1983) extends the research of Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) via the symbolic convergence theory and the rhetorical
methodology of fantasy theme analysis to explain how organizational members come to share a new group consciousness and to identify the key communication episodes and activities that result in organizational members making sense out of their common experiences as they create and sustain the culture.

I began this study of the organizational communication of the LSP in the role of a participant observer. I investigated the questions posed by Bormann (1983) and Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) to determine their significance to this study. Finally, as a rhetorical critic, I interpreted the findings in this study via the taxonomy of a fantasy theme analysis to explain how the dramatic elements of the sagas of State Police function rhetorically to create, raise, and sustain the organizational communication culture of LSP.

The Researcher as Participant Observer

E. T. Hall (1966) argues that it is not possible to acquire more than a crude notion of the insiders' world until you comprehend the culture and language that is used to communicate its meaning. Danny L. Jorgensen (1989), in his guide, Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies, states that the methodology of participant observation focuses on the meanings of human existence from the viewpoint of insiders and is, therefore, appropriate for scholarly studies of almost every aspect of human existence.
Jorgensen (1989) says that it is appropriate to use participant observation research in these situations: when little is known about the phenomenon, when there are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders such as subcultures and specific occupations, when the phenomenon is obscured from the view of outsiders; or when the phenomenon is hidden from public view (p. 12-13). The organization of State Police meets Jorgensen's criteria as a culture, closed to the outside observer.

The participant observation method is appropriate for exploratory studies, descriptive studies, those aimed at generating theoretical interpretations, and for critically examining theories and other knowledge claims (Jorgensen, 1989). My initial experiences and observations led me to conclude that this methodology would support a rhetorical study of the organizational communication culture of LSP.

I conducted this study covertly and overtly as defined by the participant observation methodology. Key Academy staff members and the Superintendent of LSP were informed of my research goals. Academy staff members assisted in the survey and interview process. Troopers involved in the survey were informed that the surveys were part of an important research project to assess training and to provide research information on LSP. I included covert observations.
of selected group conversations and behavior in the journal of observations as defined by this methodology.

Jorgensen (1989) says that it is "highly desirable" for the researcher as participant observer to perform multiple roles during the study and to gain a "comfortable degree of rapport, even intimacy, with the people, situations, and settings for the case study" (p. 21). Jorgensen (1989) also states that the validity of observation is determined by the researcher's degree of direct access to the insider's world of meaning.

To interpret accurately the unique symbolic aspects of the communication culture of LSP, direct experiential and observational access to the insiders' world of meaning was necessary. The Associate Dean of my department first introduced me to the LSP Academy staff as the lead instructor for two pilot LSP-LSU Anti-Terrorism Assistance Programs (ATAP) for foreign police officers. The Dean had earned personal and professional acceptance as a trusted member of the culture. I observed troopers communicating with him in the same open and lively style shared with fellow staff members. He introduced me to the staff as one who "understood and appreciated the role of the police" and, humorously, as "one of us - you can trust her."¹ This introduction and my role as an instructor for ATAP and the new cadet training class initiated my direct access as a participant observer. I developed subsequent relationships
with officers attending in-service training and gained access to reliable informants who assisted me by interpreting certain observations.

Finally, the participant observation method suggests gathering data from life history reviews, casual conversations, in-depth formal and informal interviews, and questionnaires. These are the primary sources of data for this fantasy analysis of the organizational communication culture of LSP.

The Researcher as Rhetorical Critic

For the purpose of this study, I analyzed data in the role of the rhetorical critic as defined by Bormann (1972):

A critic can take the social reality contained in a rhetorical vision which he has constructed from the concrete dramas developed in a body of discourse and examine the social relationships, the motives, the qualitative impact of that symbolic world as though it were the substance of social reality for those people who participated in the vision. If the critic can illuminate those people who participated in the rhetorical vision related to one another, how they arranged themselves into social hierarchies, how they acted to achieve the goals embedded in their dreams, and how they were aroused by the dramatic action and the dramatis personae within the manifest content of their rhetoric, his insights will make a useful contribution to understanding the movement and its adherents (p. 401).

Bormann's definition reflects his earlier applications of fantasy theme analysis, including studies of political campaigns and religious and political movements. Bormann extended fantasy theme analysis to study the group development of zero-history organizations in speech
communication classes at the University of Minnesota. Rhetorical critics using fantasy theme analysis of group discourse uncover and identify metaphors and themes that are explicitly and implicitly expressed. This study demonstrates how fantasy theme analysis as a taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory can be adapted to conduct a rhetorical criticism of an entire organizational communication culture as expressed through the individuals' shared fantasies.

Symbolic Convergence Theory

The symbolic convergence theory of communication represents a general theory that provides a broad framework to explain human communication in terms of socially shared narratives or fantasies (Bormann, 1985). Built on Bales' (1970) research about the dynamics of group fantasizing, symbolic convergence theory describes the process of "the dynamic of people sharing group fantasies" (Bormann, 1983, p. 101). Symbolic refers to the "human tendency to interpret signs and objects by giving them meaning." Convergence refers "to the way two or more private symbolic worlds . . . overlap during certain processes of communication" (p. 102).

The theory, as it applies to organizational communication research, explains the way "organizational members make sense of their social and material realities" and how groups of people, after engaging in numerous episodes over a long period of time, may come to embrace similar
social reality (Bormann, 1975, p. 398). The conclusions of Bormann and Bales that define social reality as revealed through the rhetorical visions are most significant to this study of LSP.

Bormann (1988) explains that the symbolic convergence theory grew out of fantasy theme analysis,

as a contemporary movement to develop a broad-based program of social, scientific and humanistic studies in which a number of investigators use the same scholarly viewpoint and the same technical vocabulary . . . such a program allows comparison to be made across a number of studies so investigators can draw generalizations with an eye to developing general theories about communication (p. 392).

The power of the theory rests in its explanation of how people with varying personality traits, attitudes, and individual motivations make decisions and take actions, praise or blame, and assign responsibility for actions. The analysis contributes to our understanding of life in a threatened community like LSP.

**Fantasy Theme Analysis**

Bormann's fantasy theme analysis as a taxonomy of the symbolic convergence communication theory provides the rhetorical framework to interpret the shared systems of symbols and meaning in the organizational community behavior of LSP. The advantage of analyzing organizational communication culture via a symbolic convergence taxonomy is twofold: First, the theory provides the defined analytic tools to sort out the complexities of those subcultures
within the organization which are in conflict and those which share consensus (Bormann, 1983). Second, it provides the critic with a viable methodology and a theoretical framework "for integrating micro-level stories and jokes with macro-based organizational sagas, values and goals" to interpret how and why organizational members build a general consensus about organizational reality (Putnam, 1983, p. 99).

Terminology of a Fantasy Theme Analysis

Bormann's (1985, 1982a) most complete definitions of the key concepts of fantasy analysis are found in his two books, The Force of Fantasy and Interpersonal Communication in the Modern Organization, respectively. Communication, as defined by Bormann (1983), is "symbolic and shared" and refers to the "human social processes by which people create, raise, and sustain group consciousness" (p. 100). Bormann (1983) lists the important components of culture as symbolic: "the shared norms, reminiscences, stories, rites and rituals that provide members with unique symbolic common ground" (p. 100). This perspective guides this study of the organizational communication culture of LSP. The technical terms which apply to this analysis include:

1. **Dramatizing message.** "a narrative or story about real or fictitious people in a dramatic situation or setting other than the here-and-now communication of the group" (Bormann, 1985, p.4)

2. **Fantasy.** "the creative and imaginative interpretation of events that fulfills a psychological or rhetorical need" (Bormann, 1985, p. 5)
3. Fantasy theme. "content of the dramatizing message that sparks the fantasy chain" (Bormann, 1985, p. 5)

4. Inside joke. "a communication incident in which a speaker alludes to a previously shared fantasy with a nonverbal signal or sign or verbal code word, slogan, label, name of hero or villain, or story summary" (Bormann, 1983, p. 109)

5. Fantasy type. "stock scenario repeated again and again by the characters or similar characters" (Bormann, 1985, p.8)

6. Rhetorical vision. "unified putting-together of the various shared scripts that gives the participants a broader view of things" (Bormann, 1985, p.8)

7. Rhetorical community. "when a rhetorical vision emerges, the participants in the vision come to form a rhetorical community" (Bormann, 1988, p. 396)

8. Organizational saga. "contains the shared group fantasies, the rhetorical visions, and the narratives of entire organization" (Bormann, 1988, p. 396)

The Communicative Taxonomy of Symbolic Convergence

Fantasy theme analysis is defined as a taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory of communication. The taxonomy allows the researcher to identify the fantasy themes and fantasy types that are crucial to the development of rhetorical visions.

In a threatened community like LSP, fantasy chaining increases as members try and redefine the visions and sustain the organization (Bormann, 1990). The taxonomy of symbolic convergence provides a framework for laying out the complex fantasy themes and types to search for core types of the rhetorical visions, rhetorical visions, and overarching dramas which form the sagas. Mirror-image rhetorical visions and competing sagas can be defined through the taxonomy. Two
concepts important to understanding how a fantasy theme analysis begins are:

Dramatizing message. Bormann (1983) defines the dramatizing messages as "the most important concepts of a fantasy theme analysis", those with the potential to trigger the fantasy chains which give rise to the rhetorical visions. The dramatizing message might include the anecdotes, narratives, double entendre, figures of speech, and nonverbal cues which spark the fantasies for group sharing.

Sharing group fantasies. Only when the dramatizing message has been shared in the chaining process to form a new group consciousness, does the result become a fantasy theme. Evidence of the sharing of group fantasies is critical to a fantasy theme analysis. Sharing group fantasies is a communicative phenomenon of several or more people participating in the narrative contained in the dramatizing message. A group fantasy might begin as a discussion of day to day information or organizational business when one member uses dramatic imagery, wordplay, or, as Bormann (1983) states:

more often tells a story in which characters enact a dramatic scenario in some other place or time than the here-and-now of the unfolding group experience. One or more of the others will be caught up in the narrative and begin to participate in the dramatic action. They may laugh . . . speak at once . . . become emotional . . . forget their self-consciousness . . . the mood becomes charged and the participants become committed and involved in the conversation (p. 103).
When organizational members have shared the same fantasy, they have shared the same emotion, developed the same attitudes and emotional responses to the persona of the drama, and they have interpreted some aspect of the experience in the same way. Bormann (1983) concludes they have, thus, achieved symbolic convergence about their common experiences.

When small groups of people in the organization communicate on a daily basis, they share fantasies which identify them as a formal or informal group. They create a sense of history and cohesiveness as a separate group consciousness and culture (Bormann, 1988, p. 396). State troopers share highly technical and symbolic discourse throughout the daily operations of policing. They embrace a shared social reality of their community, constituted through the discourse, symbols and rituals shared throughout its fifty-six year history.

The Phases of Symbolic Convergence

Bormann (1985, 1981) identifies the process of fantasy theme analysis which requires that the rhetorical critic begin by:

1. making a study of the communication practices of a group people by using tapes, manuscripts, recollections from participants, or direct observations;

2. discovering and arranging the recurring patterns of communication to identify fantasy themes and fantasy types;

3. describing the recurring persona and patterns of characterizations, situations, actions, and settings which script the rhetorical visions; and
4. reconstructing the rhetorical vision as the expression of the social reality of the organizational culture.

From the reconstructed fantasies and rhetorical visions, a critic can define organizational sagas. The shared sagas answer specific questions about the organization which Bormann (1983) says, "provide an explanation of our better natures and our strengths" (p. 116). He describes the narrative materials contained in the sagas as the "front parlor" elements for public consumption and those relating to the "back kitchen" that we keep from the public (p. 117). I will examine these elements of the sagas of LSP in the following chapters.

Bormann (1983) says "the symbolic convergence theory provides an explanation that accounts for conscious creating, raising, and maintaining communication" (p. 101). The creation of a common group consciousness through symbolic convergence is essential to the development of a group culture and cohesiveness. Once the group members have experienced symbolic convergence, Bormann (1990) says they have a basis for communication with one another, to raise the consciousness of new organizational members, and to sustain the consciousness of group members when challenged. Chapters 4, 5 and 7 reveal how through these phases of symbolic convergence members of LSP create and maintain the culture.

The scholar's main task in making a fantasy theme analysis is to find evidence that symbolic convergence has
taken place. Chapter 4 is a discussion of the evidence evolution of a shared group consciousness of LSP. Specifically, a common consciousness is documented through the aspects of the community which identify its collective self: a common group history and symbolic membership, the unifying symbols, dramatizing messages, shared fantasies, and shared types. These have been legitimized through symbolic convergence to form a group consciousness.

The factors that explain why people share the fantasies they do when they do is a significant part of symbolic convergence. Bormann describes this as the most difficult phase of the analysis because of the members' "current baggage" of personal and shared group fantasies brought to the communication episode. The explanatory factors also include the rhetorical skill of the presenters.

A fantasy theme analysis first examines consciousness creating communication. Once the critic finds evidence that the group has shared fantasies and created a common identity, the group must face the rhetorical problems of recruiting new members to raise consciousness. The community must sustain consciousness as a commitment to the vision to accommodate crisis and change. A Chapter 7 discussion investigates the organization's response to change and the viability of the sagas to accommodate the members to changes that accompany its unfolding history.
Data Collection and Analysis

Multiple Methods

I used a multiple methods approach to conduct this research. I collected varied samples of the organization's communication to satisfy the first requirement for a fantasy theme analysis. Faules (1982) supports the use of multiple methods "in use" with an implication on results and triangulation of complementary qualitative and quantitative methods, each compensating for the weakness of the other.

The previously discussed participant observation methodology combined with the qualitative/quantitative data interpreted via a fantasy theme analysis provides structure and validity to this study. Jorgensen (1989) states that validity is rarely problematic for the participant observer. In defining research concepts, the extent to which these actually reflect everyday life is a determinant of the validity of the research. The participant observer is naturally preoccupied with defining and interpreting concepts used by real people in their everyday life. The reliability of the participant observation method is more often questioned because repeated usage of the technique for measurement is not likely. Dependable and trustworthy findings are concerns of the method and, therefore, account for a view of reliability interrelated with validity.

Faules' multi-methods approach supports Jorgensen's (1982) checklist of methods that insure validity and
reliability of participant observation research: multiple procedures, a high degree of direct access to the insider's world, a greater depth of description and discussion of procedures than required by the scientific approach, public examination of procedures, testing actual usage in everyday life, and support by independent restudy. This dissertation provides the extended, lengthy description and discussion of the participant observation method, symbolic convergence theory, and fantasy theme analysis to satisfy these requirements.

The Interpretive Perspective of Data Analysis

As discussed in the previous chapters, interpretive theorists often fail to agree about the goals of organizational communication research. Interpretivists, however, share consensus about the general realm of inquiry and the symbolic data base for analysis which they define as: the words, symbols and actions that members use to construct reality (Putnam, 1982); "everything that constitutes organizational life," the jokes, stories, songs, myths, rites and rituals which give "substance and meaning to otherwise insensate behavior" (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo 1983, p. 146); the myths, stories, legends, jokes, logos which represent the "most clearly visible articulation of organizational reality" (Mumby, 1988 p. 3); and imaginative language in general, such as the puns, word play, double entendre, jokes, gags, figures of speech, metaphors,
narratives and personification through which organizational members build community (E. G. Bormann, Personal communication, September 7, 1993).

In this interpretive study of the organizational communication culture of LSP, I examine members' key communication activities, the common narratives of the values, themes, stories, myths, rites and rituals, and ideal states shared by the organizational members as evidence of a shared group consciousness of LSP.

Interpretive theorists further agree that, to have legitimate symbolic value, these communication artifacts must have a shared, consensual meaning among at least a portion of the membership (Carbaugh, 1982; Frost et. al, 1985, 1991; Mumby, 1988; Putnam & Pacanowsky, 1983). Carbaugh (1982) specifically argues that the central question of the interpretive perspective must ask: "what shared systems of symbols and meanings are constituted and revealed in workers' routine communicative life?" (p. 10). As suggested by Carbaugh (1982), I observed the routine communication life of the LSP Training Academy and discovered a distinct system of symbols and meanings worthy of interpretive study. The strategic use of symbolic communication in the organizational setting of LSP and the observed influence on the communication behavior of its members led me to a more systematic collection of data for a fantasy theme analysis.
Data Collection

As stated, I used multiple methods to collect samples of organizational communication required for critical research via fantasy theme analysis (Bormann, 1972, 1983). Specifically, I gathered data for this fantasy theme analysis from these sources: (a) preliminary participant observations recorded from March of 1992 through June of 1992; (b) informal interviews and conversations with members of the organization; (c) follow-up surveys with the cadet class to examine the shared communication and identify new fantasies; (d) follow-up, in-service surveys to measure veterans' agreement about organizational vision, rites, and rituals; and (e) interviews and informal conversations with retired members of LSP.

Additional support data for this study includes published information in the formal documents of the organization. Of primary value are the fiftieth anniversary book, Soldiers of the Law; the Trooper magazine and recent newspaper and magazine articles. These provide pertinent historical data, personal quotes, public perceptions, and information about organizational structure. Media articles published in 1993 and early 1994 document the evolving rhetorical visions of the LSP. In the final months of the writing of this dissertation, an emerging role of LSP as regulator of gambling licensing is validated through the media reports of a grand jury investigation, courtroom
hearings, and challenges to state police rulings on video poker licensing.

The use of multi-methods proved necessary for accurate data collection in the closed community of LSP. No active members of LSP would allow me to audio tape conversations or interviews with them, even after an Academy staff member's introduction. However, troopers communicated openly with me in group settings after the introduction was made. These episodes provided valuable data for analysis.

The In-Service and Cadet Surveys

A goal of this dissertation is to contribute support for fantasy theme analysis as a viable rhetorical methodology for organizational communication research. To achieve this goal, I constructed a survey to administer to cadets and veteran troopers. The survey is designed to address two areas of need in organizational communication research: (a) theoretically sound research which explores the organizational communication culture of threatened communities like LSP and (b) practical application of research methodologies which can be generalized to actual organizational settings and utilized by members who work in organizations. The survey represents a component of the multi-method approach of this study.

Bormann's definition of the organizational saga and the taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory provide the theoretical framework for the development of the questions.
The survey measures the participants' level of agreement with statements about the organization. Open ended questions provide participants the opportunity to respond to questions that are provided by the organizational saga: What kind of organization are we? What kind of people are members of our organization? What do we do? What is our purpose? What exploits of the past are we proud of? Why are we admirable? What great things do we plan to do in the future? (Bormann, 1983, p. 116) The anonymous survey proved to be a valuable research tool to collect intimate responses from members of a closed community like LSP. The results of the survey are discussed in Chapter 6.

The cadet class survey was administered on the last day of their training. The overall purpose of this survey is the same as the in-service survey, to gather new members' patterned responses for a comparison with the veterans' responses. This survey and the report to the Academy staff are included in Appendix A.

I administered the in-service training survey to a random sample of 200 veteran troopers. The troopers surveyed represented five groups who were attending annual training during the month of their birthdays. The statewide trooper population is predominantly white and male. The survey identifies troopers' years of service to LSP as either 0-5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20, or over 20 years. Troopers were told that the request for information about rank was optional and
would be used to assess the management and training related questions.

The first six questions of the survey solicit respondents' level of agreement with the percent of time that should be spent training for law enforcement activities as recommended by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. My strategy of blending training assessment questions with fantasy theme questions addresses two needs: First, a practical need to gather valuable information to develop new training programs. The Commander of the Training Academy later received this information to direct future program development with LSU. Second, a need to insure accurate responses from troopers.

The next 27 survey questions gradually develop more sensitive topics and perceptions of the current leadership of LSP, the cadet program, their role in LSP, and the public's perception of the role and image of LSP. The open ended questions that gather communication samples of references to heroes, villains, rites, rituals, and legends of LSP. By using this design, I hoped to increase participation and accuracy of response and to limit confusion and suspicion among the troopers that the survey was a prank or an investigative tactic. This proved to be a successful strategy. A Likert scale measures the respondents' level of agreement with statements about LSP as: strongly agree, agree, have no opinion, disagree, or strongly disagree.
Clusters of these questions form the open-ended questions at the end of the survey. The survey is included in Appendix B.

I observed the respondents' verbal and nonverbal behavior response during the survey session for evidence of symbolic convergence. Following the session, small groups of troopers always remained to discuss the issues raised by the survey. They asked direct questions about how the data would be used and if it could be used to improve the organization. Their interest indicated a developed trust in me and their concern for the organization. These observations and conversations proved significant to this study and are discussed in Chapter 6.

The Research Plan

The plan of this study is divided into two sections. The first three chapters provide a review of the unique and continued political history of the LSP and the extensive and unfocused literature which has evolved from research in the new subdiscipline of speech communication. Such attempts to define the paradigms and the methodologies for a new discipline like organizational communication can be expected and are, in fact, critical to its natural emergence as a significant discipline of speech communication. As previously stated, an in-depth analysis of methods and practices validates a participant observation approach to data gathering.
Of greatest significance to this research plan are the conclusions of the cited major theorists in the field which I discuss in the survey of literature who support a rhetorical analysis of organizational communication.

Chapter 4 traces the emergence of a common consciousness of State Police as evidence of symbolic convergence and revealed through the common exigencies and group history. The values and meanings embedded in fantasy themes are discussed.

Chapter 5 maps the shared consciousness of the organizational communication culture as constructed rhetorical visions and rhetorical communities that define the rhetorical boundaries and hierarchies as the subcultures of LSP. This chapter discusses how the Academy ritual and discourse function as rhetoric to raise consciousness and perpetuate the community.

Chapter 6 explores what Bormann (1983) defines as the "front parlor" sagas and the "back room" sagas of LSP. The members' perception of self and projected persona revealed through the surveys are discussed. These develop a panoramic view of the organization.

Chapter 7 explores the rhetorical function of the sagas to accommodate change within the threatened community of the LSP. Specifically, this chapter examines the emerging Conspiracy Saga and Restoration Saga as consciousness sustaining communication strategies. How the sagas
accommodate crisis, stress, and change for its members is explored. Chapter 8 concludes this study with a discussion of the research findings areas of future research.
Chapter 3 Endnotes

1. This introduction to the Academy staff was made March 8, 1992 to the Academy Commandant, his assistant, an ATAP staff lieutenant, a staff sergeant, the physical training officer, and a secretary. The setting for the introduction was the office of the Anti-terrorist Training Program (ATAP) at the Academy. Prior to the Dean's introduction, we had observed the group engaged in lively conversation about an incident that had occurred in the gym with the new cadets. Our entry caused the conversation to cease. Because the staff members had known the Dean through previous training programs, they paused to wait for the "real" introduction. Instead, the Dean continued, "it's really ok, she has clearance from the FBI, the CIA, the KGB . . . " [introduction trailing off in the shared laughter]. After several rounds of lively conversation about my "undercover credentials," the Dean changed the mood of the conversation to a serious tone. He explained that I would, in fact, be the lead instructor for two LSP-ATAP pilot programs. The group became quiet as members questioned my role in the program. Because I was not a police officer, I was obviously a suspect, invading their culture, who needed to be legitimized.

Troopers later told me that after the Dean and I left, the group momentarily questioned the validity of the Dean's introduction of my "credentials" before they dismissed the incident as a joke. Their suspicions can be explained as typical responses from members of the closed culture of the police where language and actions often have double meanings and few things are rarely as they seem.
CHAPTER 4

EVIDENCE OF A SHARED GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

Many old stories are being thrown out, and new stories, which are sure to shape our perceptions for decades to come, are undoubtedly being written.

"Talk of the Town"

E. G. Bormann (1983) says that the first issue to address in fantasy theme analysis is verification that symbolic convergence has taken place, that the group has shared a fantasy and a common consciousness. This chapter explains the common identity of State Police through the exigencies and deeply rooted group history that define its collective self. Complex, recurring fantasy themes and fantasy types, are examined as evidence of a mature symbolic culture created through the process of symbolic convergence. Finally, this chapter explores the communication practices of the LSP Academy graduation ritual as consciousness creating communication strategies for enculturating new members of State Police.

The Common Consciousness of LSP

The Common Exigencies of the Police

Bormann (1983) says people can make sense of the chaotic experiences of organizational life if, through shared communication, they can explain happenings and assign praise and blame in terms of human behavior. Ironically, the members' shared fantasies about the actual exigencies that threaten the community also function to create group culture.

72
Bormann (1990) explains that fantasy can function as a coping mechanism to provide organizational members with a sense of meaning against the panorama of seemingly unchangeable forces. A way the members of LSP generate the group culture is through this coping function of fantasy.

Troopers share the societal problems of the larger police culture. They cope with death and injury, low pay for long hours with potential risks, and face decreasing manpower to combat escalating crime. A study of the occupational stressors in a sample of 121 police officers explains that the significant stressors facing police today are a lack of social support and the more mundane events such as frustration with the court system, police administrative policies and practices, constantly changing shift work, and a lack of opportunity for advancement in the typical police organization (Kaufmann and Beeher, 1989, p. 187).

From the organizational perspective, modern police officers experience the organizational stress of living in an authoritarian work culture within a democratic society. Yarmey (1990) confirms that the overall lack of professional management training among top level police administrators and the gap between these roles contribute to the primary frustration for the rank and file officer. This frustration is manifested as an "us against them culture" of the police. Even the more progressive police agency is likely to be a decade behind the human resource/human relations model of the
American organization. These organizational exigencies identify a unique subculture of the police community and a set of corresponding values.

Media reports of emerging exigencies specific to State Police management reflect individual role and leadership ambiguity relative to gambling regulation. Throughout the last two years, that drama has "gone public" via the media coverage of the ensuing conflict between LSP and the courts, the regulatory commissions, and private citizens seeking licenses to do gambling business in Louisiana. From a rhetorical perspective, the composite dramas of the rhetorical vision have begun to catch up the larger group of the public historically served by the public persona of the state's premiere law enforcement agency.

In his article, "Police, Power and Politics," in the Louisiana Political Review, John Maginnis (1993) confirms that "in the 1990's the State Police's mission has expanded to the regulatory responsibility of legalized gambling in Louisiana" (p. 33). Yet, he notes, the overall force is down to 770, the lowest number since 1986 and 109 officers less than its peak number in 1983; there are 153 fewer officers patrolling state roads than a decade ago and the starting salary of a state trooper is at the bottom of Southern states and $2,400 below the average (p. 33). Over the past year, 59 officers have retired from State Police. Maginnis (1993) quotes a master trooper's dramatization of the morale problem.
enhanced by the politics of promotions in LSP: "For that trooper out in the hot sun writing tickets, the whole situation contributes to a case of early burnout" (p. 33).

On February 11, the Baton Rouge Advocate "Metro/State" headlines read: "State police appeal dismissed." The article reports State District Judge Mike McDonald's ruling that the LSP "lacks authority to appeal decisions of the Riverboat Gaming Commission . . . to allow state police to appeal the commission's decisions 'would create a ludicrous result,' according to the judge" (Talley, 1994). The next day the Advocate reported a different gambling issue, a reverse on an order holding two state police officers in contempt of District Court for intending to "impair the dignity of the court or respect for its authority for rulings involving video poker" (Gyan, 1994). These media reports define the emerging exigency of a declining public image of LSP.

A Common History of LSP

As discussed in Chapter 1, the community identity of LSP is deeply rooted in its unique history of politics and policing. Bormann (1983) says the end result of sharing sufficient group fantasies through dramatizing materials is a contribution to group culture that impacts many features of organizing behavior. Sharing fantasies about their past is a mechanism through which the members of LSP have developed their distinct group culture and traditions. Therefore, it
is important to understand how the community image and corresponding values developed.

The culture of state government provides members of LSP with a common symbolic ground for fantasy. In his introductory remarks to Soldiers of the Law, Heleniak (1980) defines this unique relationship:

After all, Louisiana, a state as much renown for its hot political climate as for its spicy Cajun cuisine, is apt to mix politics with any institution regardless of the nobility of its cause. Thus it is only fitting that the history of the top law enforcement body in the state reflect this mixture - one that is as diverse and colorful as the people of the state and its political leaders (p. 49).

Heleniak (1980) defines State Police history as a pattern of vacillating between reform and anti-reform politics that "was matched to some degree by the fortunes of the State Police" (p. 49). Today, surviving fantasy themes typically depict the cyclical history and politics of the past, political problems in the here-and-now community, or dreams about the potential effects of politics on the future of LSP. The fantasies reveal an LSP intertwined with the gubernatorial politics of the state through recurring themes that define the good and bad "old days" of state politics and policing. Statements like "incestuous politics of state government" are found in the discourse and expressed in the survey responses of active and retired troopers. These themes reinforce a shared reality of State Police dependent upon the state for survival.
The group history of LSP has evolved through the shared fantasy themes. According to the history, the year 1936 marks the cultural transition from a highway patrol force to the current State Police. The predominant fantasy themes of individualism and elitism evolved from the first class of Soldiers of the Law and survive today as messages that script organizational behavior. The persona of the first soldier class is a unifying symbol of the fantasies and rhetorical visions that scripts the behavior of an ideal trooper. The generations of leaders of LSP have contributed their own fantasies to the communication culture. Through the process of symbolic convergence a common symbolic ground has evolved as a distinct group history of LSP.

Symbols of Group Unity

Bormann (1983) defines communication as a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for culture. Other things - material goods, artifacts, tools and technology - are required, "but without communication these components would not result in a culture" (p. 100). Cragan and Shields (1981) say that dramatistic fantasy themes can depict characterizations, plot, and elements of scenes that define the anatomy of rhetorical visions and the group culture. Specific fantasy themes can graphically describe "vital props" of a scene (p. 6). Dramatistic themes of LSP specifically define "vital props" around which rhetorical dramas are expressed through themes about the technology and
the equipment distinct to LSP. These function rhetorically as unifying elements of the scene in the rhetorical visions about law enforcement.

The unit. The trooper's car is his unit. The predominant themes about the car, reveal its significant values of as a symbol of independence, pride, and professionalism. The unit defines the role of State Police in the hierarchy of law enforcement. A trooper explains,

Every day, it happens every day, at least every day that I am called to a scene where other law enforcement officers are present. I passed a wreck on my way home just the other day... The parish was there [Sheriff's Deputies]. I pulled up in my unit just to see if I could help. It doesn't matter how trivial, when a trooper arrives, it always happens, they delegate authority. The deputies turned around and tried to show me the accident report... I wanted to get home. Sometimes, it is almost embarrassing, especially when there's nothing you can really do but be there to support (Personal conversation, February 10, 1992).

I investigated the often shared one "car-per-man" fantasy to determine its historical significance as a distinguishing symbol of the community. The one car myth is fact and fiction intertwined. Former Colonel Donald Thibodeaux claims it was his practical idea to assign each trooper their own vehicle in 1972 to carry their additional gear. He recalls it was also "the opportunity to sell Roemer [Director of Administration, Charles Roemer, Sr.] and the administration... so that we would be ready at a moment's
notice to deploy anywhere in the state . . . the selective enforcement angel" (p. 55).1

The fantasy of the unit functions as a powerful motivation for behavior. With each new administration, a new governor changes the color of the cars. One of Governor Edwards' first gubernatorial actions in 1992 was to change the color of unit from the blue of the Roemer administration to white.

Troopers who remained after the in-service survey sessions often shared stories about the unit. Many defined the car as a symbol of "who we are": "We borrowed it from the Texas Rangers, same thing, its about one-riot," "All you need is one trooper," "State Police are independent," "State Police are so well trained, they do not need a partner," or "State Police are loners." When I questioned cadets about the significance of each officer having his own vehicle, I received similar responses such as, "State Troopers ride alone," indicating that the fantasy had captured the new officers. They all have a story about the symbol that distinguishes LSP among law enforcement communities.

The technology. The fantasy themes about the technological superiority of LSP develop from the discourse that describes: "elite police," "the best equipped," "the best prepared," "the best trained," and "the best police training most states have to offer." Recurring stories about the gun, particularly "jacking off a round of the shot gun,"
define fantasies of superior guns, tools, and equipment as distinct to LSP. Again, the values define an elite persona and initiate discourse that keeps this vision alive. Language fits and adjusts the trooper's behavior to the vision. For example, I asked a trooper how the in-service training program was going. He quickly offered an opinion based on the fantasy of technology:

RT1: Recently they took our 50-yard firearm course away because no one else in the state had to shoot at 50 yards. The whole point is we are State Police and we are supposed to be better than the rest.

RT2: Yea, if we are supposed to be the best, why, do we lower our standards? (August 18, 1992).  

The uniform. A significant unifying symbol of the community of LSP is the uniform. Stories about "undercover guys," "guys in blue" vs. "civs" [civilians] validate the uniform as a symbol of the hierarchial role and function of LSP. Yarmey (1990) explains that traditional police uniforms have a history of stereotyping that may affect the credibility of the wearer and their need for instant recognition. Troopers' stories about their uniforms define a symbol of power and prestige. Some explain the uniform as a way to control [enforce] the public. Others share a view of the uniform as a symbol of pride and public service. Specific descriptions of the "spit and shiny buttons" are recurring themes in discourse. The buttons on the uniform
are solid brass, and officers are expected to have them hand polished. Troopers are compensated for dry cleaning their uniforms to insure their professional appearance. The uniform is, therefore, a common symbol of unity, elitism, and professionalism indicative of a shared consciousness of the community of LSP. This fantasy was shared among retired troopers and is significant as the composite symbols of unity that define the persona of the trooper:

The local community, the local law enforcement. They live and work in the community all the time. Everybody knows everybody. When "Joe Deputy's" off work, he's probably out drinking and carousing with all the have-to-riders to begin with. They got no respect for him. When a professional agency or perceived professional agency comes up there, spit and shiny, buttons polished, gets out of his well preserved and maintained car, jacks off a few rounds with his shot gun, he's going to command respect (Retired Troopers Focus Group).

Embedded in history, the stories about the ritual of choosing the uniforms further validate the fantasy that creates group consciousness. In an interview reported in The Trooper, Thibodeaux explains how the royal blue uniform of today was selected. Initially, he ignores the importance of the uniform as a symbol of administrative power. His conclusions about the hat, however, underscore the significance of the uniform as a distinct symbol of the shared consciousness of the culture:

Years ago it was common for a new administration to change the uniform ... usually the governor or colonel's wife ... but I told troopers they could select the uniform - pick any color they wanted - blue, green, pink - hell I didn't care, but I held back on one thing, the hat. There
would be no compromise on the hat. I required the "Smokey the Bear" hat to be our headgear . . . Deputies should wear cowboy hats, city police should wear caps and we should wear campaign hats (Jones, 1991, p. 63).

The fantasy themes about uniforms combine fact and fiction to define a unified persona of LSP that has evolved through the discourse to evidence a common consciousness re-created through symbolic convergence.

Heleniak's (1980) narrative history of LSP includes several references that further validate the evolution of the LSP uniform as a symbol of unity. The early uniforms of the Highway Patrol were worn by "Huey's Cossacks" or "Huey's Gestapo" to designate Huey Long's hand picked body guards. The importance of image as a symbol of elitism is apparent in Heleniak's description of Superintendent Atkins' 1944 message over State Police Radio Network that specifically amended General Orders to add 113 regulations about appearance. The regulations prohibited:

- harsh, coarse, profane, insolent, indecent, suggestive, sarcastic or insulting language . . . prohibited the wearing of the leather jacket of the motorcycle patrol to the men riding the machines and only if the jacket was completely fastened at all times, while off-duty motorcycle troopers shall not wear the leather jacket (p. 30).

The early SWAT team member was distinguished by uniform because "not every trooper can wear the patch of a Tac Unit."

Today, the SWAT uniform defines distinct functions and roles of the hierarchy of LSP. With great pride, a trooper recently told me that LSP had been selected the best dressed
state troopers by the National Coalition [not verified]
(Personal conversation, December 10, 1993).

Community Values and Core Assumptions

Fantasy themes constructed from recurring patterns of
discourse provide valuable insight into the identity of a
community. Values and emotions in a community exist in part
in the message and in part in the people (Bormann, 1981).
The focus of this analysis is on the message. The people of
State Police constitute a distinct subculture of
organizations. The values that drive their individual
fantasies are, therefore, important to understanding their
community identity.

The Predominance of Conflict

Yarmey (1990) describes the distinct character of the
police as authoritarian and the corresponding traits as:
conventional, aggressive, domineering, and power-oriented.
These traits do not necessarily define all police actions as
authoritarian. However, discipline and conflict represent
dominant recurring themes in the shared communication of LSP
members. The authoritarian culture explains the police
hierarchy as one in which those viewed as more powerful often
devalue and dominate those perceived as weaker or
subordinate. The way troopers and officers along the
hierarchy negotiate their roles in the organization resembles
a quasimilitary culture. Troopers, as police, view
themselves as commissioned to judge right from wrong and
"good guys" from "the bad." They view reality as a perpetual conflict between "we" and "they." Conflict is inherent in their communication style and in fantasy themes that depict conflict. For troopers, these traits often present communication problems both with management and in their interpersonal relationships outside the police culture where dominance is a dysfunctional communication strategy.

The values that undergird the persona of the trooper are also in conflict. Police protect and serve the public as public servant, a symbolic reality rooted in core assumptions about stewardship, compassion, and fairness. Police also constrain and contain the public in dealing with the criminal element. The themes about good and bad cops express this basic paradox of values inherent in the police culture. The conflict between these values drives some police to use excessive power.

Conflict in the LSP culture is expressed in the themes about political controversy. Recurring themes about the good and bad styles of politics express the community's focus on state government as a key to their survival, not unusual in a state where politics is akin to sport. As citizens of Louisiana, troopers share a core assumption about the inevitable nature of "Louisiana Politics" that perhaps explains their tolerance for bad or manipulative politics.
Discipline: Values of Consistency and Order

Regiment and consistency are values inherent in the police culture, dictated by the nature of the job. A concern for discipline and order surfaces in the recurring patterns of discourse about time. Troopers mark time in the organization by eras of political leadership. As a group, they choose fantasy themes that typically depict the past, present, or future orientation of LSP according to governors, political figures, "the Colonel" and other "Captains" and "Commanders": "It's another [Colonel] Flores deal"; "In [Colonel] Thibodeaux's era, that didn't happen"; "that hasn't happened since Thibodeaux"; or "From the time of [Colonel] Garrison to [Colonel] McCormick and two years into Flores' time." Through these personae the members depict peaks of growth in technology, education, professional growth, fair promotions, training, and resources: "In Thibodeaux's day we had technology." The survey results and observations reveal the overall value troopers place on discipline of the body, mind, and holistic self. In some visions of LSP, discipline is expressed as a mutated form of aggression, enforcement, or violence.

A concern for consistency of mission is revealed in the recurring fantasy themes of the inefficiency of the administration that depict "politics run rampant," "a hodgepodge mission," "no mission at all," and a "focus on Riverboats and gambling" at the expense of "education and
professionalism." This fantasy unfolded in response to my question about current management problems:

But, today, it's just so hodgepodge, today. I mean it's like when you play sandlot football and they say, "now everybody go out long." I mean there's just no plan. There's no organized play, let's say. I mean all you have to do is pick up the newspaper today and see what's happening (Retired Troopers Focus Group).

**Pride and Loyalty: A Focus on the Past**

Sharing fantasies about the group history, insiders and outsiders, rituals for recruits, and symbolic membership in the organization are typical, and Bormann (1983) says, requisite to the development of organizational group cultures. The past governors, LSP colonels, and members of State Police together with their collective failures and heroic feats, provide the real and fictitious dramatic personae and storylines for the members' shared fantasies. Related to their concern for time and consistency, troopers value tradition. Their focus on the past evidences pride and loyalty. Thibodeaux and Garrison are the contemporary Colonels that emerge in discourse as heroic personae of LSP. They personify pride and loyalty and function as unifying symbols in the rhetorical visions and sagas. The sagas of pride and loyalty depict a panoramic view of a utopian LSP. The heroic personae function as a benchmark for comparison of all leaders of State Police, past, in the here-and-now, or those envisioned in the future. Thibodeaux and Garrison
symbolize consistency of leadership and professional pride to current members of LSP.

**Independence**

Troopers cite independence as a dominate, recurring trait of the trooper. The trooper is depicted in discourse as independent, free to decide and to take command. Yet, this representation is, in reality, a paradox, a stark contrast to the reality of the police agency: authoritarian control by a few and a focus on the "chain of command" as the ultimate authority for decision making and problem solving. However, in the hierarchy of the police, LSP is independent because of its jurisdiction statewide.

The trooper's perceived value of independence is, in reality, a dependence on the political role of the Colonel to obtain resources and to determine the overall style of politics for the department. The persona of the Colonel as political leader evolves from the group history and the core assumption that politics is the key to organizational survival. The Colonel has the ultimate authority to make political decisions about department activities. Since 1936, the Superintendent of State Police has been appointed by the governor to serve at his discretion. Heleniak (1985) explains that the political system "dictated that the governor appoint only his most trusted aides to head the State Police" (p. 45). The historical cycle of interdependency between the LSP Colonel and state government
is a social reality of LSP in sync with the new administration. Maginnis (1993) explains:

Since politics is a part of life in State Police, many in the troops were heartened by the selection of Paul Fontenot as superintendent in 1992. As Edwards' former body guard and security chief, no one in the State Police was believed to be closer to the governor . . . That was supposed to translate into higher departmental funding, more personnel, better equipment and eventually higher pay (p. 33).

Eighteen months later, "into the job," Maginnis (1993) says "that has not turned out to be the case." The only extra funds have gone to "beefing up gambling enforcement."

The Values of Education/Intelligence/Professionalism

State Police above all view themselves as professional, intelligent, and educated. These are the predominant personality traits that troopers cite to distinguish State Police from other law enforcement agencies. The admired heroes revealed through discourse are educated, intelligent, and competent. Trooper's disdain and intolerance for those who are not intelligent is also a recurring theme. I often asked troopers about their own level of education. Many troopers have college degrees or the two years now required for acceptance into the Academy. However, they expect their leaders to be educated, regardless of their own level of education. Recurring fantasy themes about "guys who lied about their college experience to get into the Academy" and administrators who do not have the minimal education now required of cadets underscore the community value of
intelligence and education. I asked the group of retired troopers about the "turning point" in this trend of educated leaders. The group metaphorically defined a time "when LSP hit the iceberg":

B: Why was that the turning point [when we hit the iceberg]?

RT3: Cause Marlin Flores was Colonel, Bill Lynch was Inspector General. Between Marlin Flores' high school education and Bill Lynch's no nothing investigative skills . . .

RT2: [interrupting] GED, actually [Correcting education to Graduate Equivalency Degree]

RT3: Yea, GED - [continuing] . . . professional management - governor's, uh, what do you call it, Bi-partisan Review Agency? [noted sarcasm] Uh, there's just no where to go but down.

This fantasy is rooted in the core assumptions of the community values of education and professional competence. The Assumption of Elitism

The value of elitism undergirds the fantasy themes and rhetorical visions that depict the superiority of LSP. The value of elitism also represents a paradox in the discourse that explains how administrators justify behaviors such as political promotions. Troopers' fantasies reveal a shared self-persona of the independent, elite officer. Recurring fantasy themes define an elite administration that
subordinates the concerns and the positions of the rank and file officers. In actuality, life in an authoritarian agency like State Police offers very few opportunities for independent thought, behavior, or elitism. Troopers' elitist view is actually their self-persona and a projected public persona of the elite law officer of the highways where other law enforcement officers are subordinate to troopers. It is this paradox of the hierarchy of the police agency that can explain the aggressive behavior of some officers towards those they perceive to be inferior to them (Yarmey, 1990). The core assumption of an elite LSP justifies the actions of troopers as enforcers of the law, who ride alone, who come to riots alone. Elitism without merit becomes a contaminated value that motivates the persona of the old, militaristic type of disciplinarian that shares a rhetorical vision of The Enforcer discussed in Chapter 5. Elitism functions as the recurring sanctifying agent that justifies the actions of troopers across all lines of rank and experience and explains the "we/they" mentality of the police. For The Maverick character, elitism justifies living by the spirit of the law as well as the letter of the law. For The Enforcer character, independence/elitism may even justify actions above the law.

Compassion/Fairness and Honesty/Trustworthiness

The trooper as public servant is a persona driven by the community values of compassion, fairness, honesty, and trust.
Even in the most negative response group of the survey, officers with 5-10 years service, reports "public service" as a recurring value. In the opening remarks of the cadet class graduation speech, the Colonel of State Police reinforces this community value:

... And as much as some among us may not like hearing it, we are, first and foremost, public servants. As State Troopers our service to the community and to our public extends far beyond enforcing the law... be compassionate with those you come in contact with (Fontenot, July, 1993).

Symbolic Maturity as Common Identity

Symbolic maturity of the communication culture provides the most significant evidence that the members have reached symbolic convergence, that troopers have shared a fantasy. In fact, troopers have shared many fantasy themes throughout their generations. The shared exigencies, deeply rooted history, defined core assumptions, and unifying symbols of State Police have a corresponding effect on fantasy sharing. Indicative of a closed communication culture, the communication style of troopers can be called rhetorically mature (Bormann, 1985). Troopers have, over time, developed a common practice of using similar structures and symbols. As an outsider, new to the communication culture, it is often difficult to understand some group exchanges. Only after two years of research, did I become more aware of the special meanings embedded in the symbolic cues. A fantasy theme analysis of the current communication culture of LSP reveals few incidents of new fantasy sharing in the first year of the
new administration. Indicative of a mature symbolic culture, troopers communicate with allusion-cues and non-verbal cues to recall entire narratives and arguments. This process of fantasy chaining probably began with the mixture of fact and fiction surrounding Colonel Guerre's infamous greeting to the first class of "soldiers of the law" in 1937. The fantasies have survived as the composite narratives of the Soldiers of the Law Saga of LSP.

Figuratively, I describe troopers' discourse as "skipping the fantasy chains and going straight to the master analogies." Their discourse reveals numerous clusters of fantasies that pattern fantasy types and depict similar, coherent views of a rhetorical vision. I refer to their language as fossilized to explain how generations of figurative language, cryptic allusions and inside jokes have been passed down, embedded in discourse. The remainder of this chapter examines the complex fantasy types that function to create group consciousness and script the core dramas of the rhetorical visions of LSP.

The Dramatisitic Perspective of Fantasy Themes

Cragan and Shields (1981) explain the value of fantasy theme analysis that explicates from group discourse the fantasy theme as the smallest unit of communication in Bormannean dramatistic communication theory. This perspective is valuable in providing a valid interpretation of the complex fantasy themes and types that script the core
dramas of the rhetorical visions of LSP. As a complete dramatistic statement or scenario of organizational life, the fantasy theme can reveal elements of plotline, time and style of a vision, the major concepts of the scene, and motives and justification for action through an identified sanctioning agent (Cragan and Shields, 1981; Bormann, 1972).

The dramatistic fantasy themes of LSP often function to index entire rhetorical visions. The mature culture of LSP provides a common symbolic ground from which members can depict entire community conflicts through dramatistic fantasy themes. Bormann (1985) refers to this phenomenon as mirror-image fantasies in which courses of action and characters are laudable in one theme/vision and denigrated in its mirror image. Examples in LSP discourse include themes of good/bad politics and good/bad cops that define rhetorical visions of Meritorious Politics or Powerful Politics and Soldiers of the Law or The Enforcer, respectfully.

Fantasy Themes as Scene

Some fantasies can depict the scene in the core dramas of rhetorical visions. As discussed, these fantasies can provide "vital props" (Cragan and Shields, 1981). Most of the LSP fantasies of scene define the actions of troopers. For example, the trooper on the road is depicted as being in control of his destiny and as having ranking authority among law officers statewide. Fantasy themes that depict action in the boundaries of the LSP define a hierarchy of LSP according
to location. The subordination of the trooper in some scenes depicts the authoritarian culture of LSP. Another cluster of fantasy themes of scene depicts troopers as having fun, at conventions, at parties, at graduation. These define a rhetorical vision of The Maverick.

**Fantasy Themes as Sanctifying Agent**

Shields (1981) says that the most salient motives for actions of the group/individual are contained in fantasy themes that describe the sanctifying agent of the drama. The recurring sanctifying agents in LSP discourse are the power of the elite, the legal power and authority of the commissioned badge, the acts of the legislature and governor, events of the legislature, the acts of the Colonel, and the behavior of an unlawful public. As the Chapter 5 discussion reveals, these forces justify action in the rhetorical visions of LSP. An emerging vision of gambling is sanctified by the power of state government to act in the perceived best interest of the citizens.

**Fantasy Themes of Characterization**

Cragan and Shields (1981) explain that fantasy themes may depict the concept of characterization as dramatis personae: heroes, villains, and supporting players with motives for actions and a given scene. Personae of LSP are discussed in Chapter 5 as evidence of the hierarchy of LSP expressed in the rhetorical visions. These fantasy themes may mirror an entire rhetorical vision and are typical in the
discourse of troopers. Personification as a predominant strategy for creating consciousness about the organization will be discussed. Personae are the key symbolic elements in the LSP sagas that function as primary vehicles for conveying meaning. Troopers fantasize often about their self-persona and the personae of public officials. Indicative of a public organization whose essence is communicated through the public leader persona and the members' personae, troopers value their image.

A predominant dramatis persona that appears throughout the rhetorical visions and sagas is depicted by the dramatistic fantasy theme of The Maverick, a label I chose to designate the symbolic character that recurs throughout the discourse. An extended fantasy theme depicts a story about the maverick persona lobbying the legislature [a prohibited act for state employees]. The fantasy of the legislature is shared among troopers I observed. It recalls a time "when they changed things themselves" and represents the fantasy type of a cluster of stories about how troopers command a scene. This unfolding drama depicts a cunning, fun loving officer whose actions are always sanctioned by "the spirit of the law" and "for the good of the department":

RT1: The most satisfaction I got from the job was working the legislature. Me and [two other troopers], we kicked ass and took names in the legislature . . . for the department
RT3: - and for law enforcement . . . in general

RT1: We changed that department. We saved that department in those four years - five years

B: Was this through pay raises, benefits?

RT1: Through generating fees to dedicate back to the department so the department could budget it. We changed all the legislation that needed to be changed to do that. We fought . . .

RT3: [interrupting] We fought for legislation. We were the first cops to lobby in the legislature from a cop's perspective, basically.

RT1: There was no one in the legislature fighting for us. Tougher penalties. Not letting drug heads out of jail. You know, just all that kind of stuff. Nobody was doing that for us. We did it.

B: Did you do this in an official capacity or on your own?

RT3: A state employee cannot lobby [with sarcasm]

B: [laughs] That's what I thought!

RT1: We were the "department representatives" to the legislature to "supply information." [wordplay and nonverbal exchanges between RT1 and RT2 indicated shared fantasy about the legislature]

RT3: We learned a lot. And, we had fun doing it. Chapter 6 provides a detailed discussion of the
role of persona as unifying symbol of the sagas (Retired Troopers Focus Group Interview).

**Fantasy Themes as Basic Plotlines**

Historic plotline fantasy themes describe detailed scenarios in the members' discourse. These are important indicators of the past identify of LSP and explain how their present image evolved. These basic action plots provide motivation and justification for their leaders' political behavior and explain their here-and-now and future political actions. As explained, recurring themes and survey responses depict the administrations of past governors and colonels as various "turning points" in the history. The actions of Colonel Thibodeaux mark the end of competent and educated leaders. Bo Garrison defines another "turning point" among heroic colonels. Governor Roemer and his appointee Marlin Flores are recurring symbols of the "turning point" in the plot of recent history that moves LSP towards "politics without merit in promotions," "loss of the traditional leadership," and "a decline in education and training excellence." This historic fantasy depicts a member's perception of "the turning point" in the history of performance of LSP:

RT3: Yea, it [LSP] had hit the iceberg then [1988]. That was when Roemer came in office and was going to fix everything [sarcasm/double play]. I think at that time he appointed a fella by the name of
Bill Lynch as Inspector General. It was a turning point [feigned difficulty in recollection for emphasis] (Retired Troopers Focus Group Interview).

A dramatic fantasy theme of early retirement depicts the crisis of the mass exodus of troopers [59 this year] due to retirement. The theme of early retirement is a recurrent one that defines a trooper's choice to retire for a better job or because of a stifled career.

RT3: They put me on the shelf, my career had ended, there was no chance for advancement in it for, not only for at least 6 years - probably for the rest of my career in state police and I, uh, had bucked the system. Yet, I still [emphasis on still] did not go look for another job. The job came to me. For whatever reason I still liked it - liked it that much. I didn't actually go look for a position, the position came to me. And, I finally came to my senses and took it.

B: So, would you say that it is usually difficult for someone to just wake up one day who has been with state police a long time and say, "I want to leave?"

RT3: Well the question is, had the opportunity not come knocking on my door, would I have gone looking? That's the question. And, I can't answer that.
B: Uh huh.

RT1: Well, neither one of us could have retired if they had not passed the Early Retirement Bill.

RT3: Exactly! If that screw up had not been made by somebody, somewhere on down the line, we would have both probably stayed with state police for the "full twenty." Not a day more I might add! But we would have stayed the "full twenty."

Fantasy Types

Bormann (1985, 1990) explains that fantasy types develop when a number of similar themes, including particulars of scene, characters, and situations have been shared through clusters of stories. Groups can move to the more abstract level of sharing fantasy types of general descriptions that refer to all similar dramatizations. Numerous fantasy types discovered through this analysis, define a mature culture of group consciousness that has evolved through history. The following is a discussion of the most significant fantasy types that define the core dramas of rhetorical visions.

Fantasy Type: Good/Bad Politics

Fantasy themes and allusions to politics predominate the members' discourse and define a fantasy type of good/bad politics. Fantasy types of politics confirm a past and present image of LSP as a political organization and mirror entire scenarios for the rhetorical visions of Power Politics and Meritorious Politics. These are contained in The Saga of
Politics that provides a panoramic view of LSP as a political organization, a reality and a mission shared by all members.

Good politics. An organization that reports directly to the governor provides numerous opportunities for the politicians to return political favors through appointments and promotions. The fantasy themes of politics and merit describe promotions and appointments received through politics, but where the candidate was qualified and the troopers benefitted. Typical of the fantasy type good politics is this trooper's story about Thibodeaux:

Well, when you talk about politics. You have to go back in history to day one and all. Everyone knows you can't get a big job in state police unless you have politics. And if you read that interview with Don Thibodeaux he even says, "I got my job through politics. And I got first troopers' promotions through politics." And like he says the reason why he went to Northwestern Traffic Institute was so he could have credibility to his rank and all that. That was his decision (Retired Troopers Focus Group Interview).

In this fantasy, Thibodeaux's politics are sanctified by his education, his "credibility"; therefore, his actions are justified. To be political is acceptable in this fantasy type, if your actions are good for the troopers.

Bad politics. During a series of 1992 in-service training sessions, a veteran trooper openly voiced his concern about the role of bad politics in the State Police:

politics play the most important part in the business and promotions of LSP. In fact it is all political, now, and that is just killing us as an organization. We are not motivated to try and improve.
Another veteran trooper (private conversation, August, 18, 1992) stated: "politics, favoritism over merit, is destroying policing and our public image. Because of the politics, we can't do our job."

The fantasy type of good/bad politics reconstructed through this analysis confirms the troopers' acceptance of departmental politics as a way of life, but their disenchantment with the abuse of bad politics and power for the self gain of a few. When politics interfere with the execution of their duties, their own failed promotion, or deprives them of training and technology, the disenchantment turns to conflict. Significantly, I found few stories that depicted LSP members themselves to blame for allowing politics. Instead, most troopers blame an abstract force of politics for a multitude of problems.

Fantasy Type: Good/Bad Cop

This dramatistic fantasy type includes the recurring stories about troopers who fell from grace and others who overcame the public, the legislature, the administration, and other forces to become heroes of LSP. The fantasy type depicts the themes of media "cop" stories and mirrors the competing symbolic reality expressed in the rhetorical visions of The Enforcer [bad cop] and Soldiers of the Law [good cop]. This complex fantasy type is recalled by the allusion-cues and inside jokes of: the thin blue line,
esprit de corps, one riot/one car, and another Mardi Gras Detail.

The thin blue line is significant as a contemporary symbolic cue that calls forth an entire identity and vision of the 1937 class of soldiers. When I asked groups what One Trooper/One Riot or Soldiers of the Law meant, typically, they would hesitate and say, "the thin blue line." Explained, it recalls General Guerre's greeting to the first class of soldiers as the "last line of defense for society" between law and order. It uses the symbol of the blue uniform to reinforce the fantasy of: "continuous war against crime and anarchy" (Heleniak, 1980, p. 30).

The Inside Joke Syndrome

Bormann (1985) says that when a group of people have shared a fantasy, "they have charged their emotional and memory banks with meanings and emotions that can be set off by a commonly agreed upon cryptic cue" (p. 7). The inside joke syndrome is a distinct communication incident in the discourse of LSP. It functions as a symbolic cue to trigger an emotion or shared meaning through code words, slogans, and nonverbal signs that are characteristic of troopers' communication. The prevalence of the inside joke syndrome in the discourse of troopers explains my initial difficulty in trying to document the fantasy chain, the moment that a fantasy was shared. The mature rhetorical style of troopers allows immediate symbolic convergence on many salient topics.
A fantasy could be shared and another begun in the matter of minutes through shared cryptic cues. The inside joke provides further proof of the shared group consciousness of LSP, deeply rooted in past history and handed down embedded in discourse.

The inside joke also signals a special brand of humor in the police culture as a way troopers communicate about significant events that happen to each other. For example, two ranking officers received heightened press coverage over a citation for contempt of court when they challenged a judge's decision on gambling. In response, the "guys at the troop" put together a box of toiletries normally given to the prison inmates upon their arrival at headquarters and sent the box to the officers. The nonverbal cue of the box calls forth the absurdity of the threat of a jail sentence over a minor incident. I have concluded that to survive in the social milieu of LSP, troopers must learn the skill of administering and receiving elaborate practical jokes. More importantly, they must understand the symbolic meaning.

**Personification as Inside Joke**

Bormann (1985) describes personification as a rhetorical device which identifies the group culture in terms of an individual or by treating the group as a persona acting as a human. The consistent practice of personifying the organization as an elite law enforcement hero evidences a shared group consciousness of LSP. Personification functions
as an inside joke and cryptic cue. Personification calls forth complexity of dramatistic fantasy themes that depict dramatis personae, characters, and supporting characters; plotlines; scenes; and sanctioning agents across the rhetorical visions that define various aspects of reality for members of LSP.

The personified organization. The personification of LSP as dramatis personae in the rhetorical visions and sagas functions to unify and strengthen the rhetorical vision. Most often personified characters in the discourse are heroes or insiders: "G-Men," "Soldiers of the Law," "the lone trooper," "the esprit de corps," "heroic warriors," "militiamen," or "elite police." Negative personified images of the organization include: "witch hunt" or "Gestapo Tactics" for Internal Affairs Investigations (IA), "a political animal," or "just politics and that's all."

Personified elements of scene. Troopers use personification to designate geographic locations of LSP by traits of those who work there. The device scripts scenes of core dramas of the rhetorical visions. For example, troopers at headquarters in Baton Rouge are called "headquarters humps" and "the hot lunch bunch" because they eat hot meals in the cafeteria rather than on the road or during shifts at the troop. "Humps" are considered political because they work in the "hallowed halls," the offices of the top administration. This excerpt from the retired troopers
interview explains how "headquarters humps" functions as a cryptic allusion to a fantasy type that indexes an entire shared reality of headquarters:

B: What's a hump?

RT1: Everyone on the road calls everybody in headquarters a hump. They guys on the road think . . .

RT3: [interrupting] They're political hangers on

RT1: The guys on the on road always think the guys are just . . . a bunch of . . . political . . . "humps."

B: Are they?

RT1: No. Depends on the section. I found out when you get to headquarters you work a lot harder than you do on the damn road.

The trooper personified. The personified images of the organization as heroic troopers who ride alone, who handle riots alone, who police cities alone contribute to the complex vision and saga of Soldiers of the Law. When I asked troopers, individually, to recall or explain Soldiers of the Law, they would often explain the historical or administrative meaning that embodies the persona of a trooper: "the only statewide enforcers of the law," "we serve the governor," "we enforce state and federal laws," "paramilitary police," "we protect and serve," "we are the most disciplined," and "we are independent."
The Inside Joke about Riding Alone

Troopers use traditional inside joke to initiate stories about other troopers present or absent. I heard a group of troopers share a fantasy about a young cadet graduate who had taken on an irate drunk without back up assistance. In the struggle, the drunk locked himself in the cadet's vehicle. The incident was explained to a new group member as: "Thompson was really riding alone." The members' shared emotional response to the cue, riding alone, evidences a symbolic convergence. Often the inside joke syndrome functions to convey double meaning as a vehicle for communicating confidential information. I amused officers with my constant request for interpretations of their double meanings. They would always explain, but not until they offered another volley of discourse to further confuse me. All done in good humor, the strategy evidences how language functions uniquely and defines a mature communication culture.

The Inside Joke of No Holes in This Badge

I shared a recurring inside joke that initiates a fantasy of the lone trooper, but specifically explains the distinct jurisdiction of LSP: no holes in this badge. I observed a group of veterans complaining about the quota system for tickets, "making quota," when they were interrupted by a trooper with a story:

you know . . . last week, I "pulled over" a girl, right here in front of the Academy. She runs
right through the light and waves and smiles. When I pull her over she gets smart and tells me I can't pull her over because I am State Police and this is the city (Personal conversation, June 5, 1992).

The lively group response indicated the group shared an inside joke. I responded by saying that I did not realize troopers issued tickets off state highways. The officer pointed to his LSP badge in the shape of the state and asked me, "Do you see any holes in this badge?" The group members shared anecdotes about similar encounters with the public. The inside joke became a common response to my request for information about the roles and responsibility of LSP. An officer only had to tap his badge to cue an entire fantasy of troopers who ride alone or the elite police. Another related and more prevalent cryptic allusion is The Mardi Gras Detail which calls forth the entire 3 weeks when LSP took over the enforcement of the law in New Orleans during the police strike of a decade ago.

The Inside Joke of "Ta-Ta"

Recurring nonverbal gestures are predominant in the members' discourse. A recurring gesture noted in several situations is a quick tapping of the wrist with two fingers. The gesture, followed by shared laughter in the group, was explained to me as: "ta-ta - you know, he got something for nothing or half price." I assumed that, like most double meanings, this was symbolic of the disdain for those who take advantage of the system, "get free rides," or political
favors. At the conclusion of a meeting at LSP, our group decided to dine away from the Academy. A trooper named a restaurant, tapped his wrist, and gave no verbal explanation. The members began to leave for the restaurant. In response to my confusion, I was told that officers in uniform could eat for half price at this restaurant: "you know, ta-ta, half price." It also explains how a trooper was promoted without doing much for the promotion. In this situation, nonverbal cues signal the shift in the meaning of "ta-ta."

The Inside Joke of Name Calling

The practice of namecalling as a strategy for dramatizing further evidences a mature culture and shared group consciousness. Namecalling emphasizes the secret nature of the culture and the "we/they" perspective. Not all of police life is investigative or undercover. However, the attitude of secrecy prevails throughout their discourse. Name calling is a strategy used in everyday conversation to hyperbolize an emotion or quality of a story or person. The example of "Mr. Best and Brightest" better communicates members' caustic disappointment with the man [Roemer] who created the metaphor for a new administration. Typical of the undercover nature of the culture, troopers rarely refer to each other by common first names. They use the last name alone, a title (Captain, Sarge), or a shortened version of the first name with qualifiers. Namecalling is not a short cut to communication, as many of the contrived images are
longer and more complicated than the original name. Indicative of the mature culture, name calling carries complex meanings, recalls entire events, and functions as shared fantasy: "Madd Dog Bill Spencer," "Perch Hilburn," "Russell Banty Rooster Cook," "Bucky Millet," "Spider Webb," "Tim Lazy Man," "Boss Martin," "Red Strange," "Ole Bill Cook," "Eddie Rae" for "Ed," "Dous-ie for Dousand," "Eek and Geek," "Mr. Poor Attitude Mickey." An unusual first or last name is often stylized, as in the example of the french pronunciation of Dupuy changed to Doopie.

In the communication culture of LSP, namecalling can symbolize unique character, notable action, complex affection, humor, or disdain. Nonverbal cues are the most accurate indicators of actual meaning. Group members I observed evidenced a high degree of recognition with these names, recalled as inside jokes. Even members from other troops could share the appropriate emotion of the fantasy chain from most shared stories or anecdotes about a person or their actions.

The Fantasy Chain

The inside joke makes possible the sharing of fantasy types and symbolizes an entire fantasy chain through brief allusions to it (Bormann, 1990). Shields (1981) states that to understand symbolic reality and the culture of a group, the researcher need only analyze the moments of group fantasy chaining (p. 237). During these moments, members
rhetorically dramatize events and a world filled with various characters. I relied on Bales' (1970) definition of creating a "group fantasy event" to determine when a fantasy had chained in a group: increased rate, members getting excited, interrupting, laughing, and generally forgetting self-consciousness (p. 138). The analysis of fantasy chains proved valuable in interpreting actual motive and meaning among the many cryptic allusions to past events and narratives. Fantasy chains often provided evidence of actual moments when members were creating a shared aspect of their reality. In a communication culture dominated by narrative discourse, analyzing the moment a fantasy chained, often differentiated significant communication episodes for analysis. However, the same mature culture often created difficulty in fantasy chain identification.

The Remember When Fantasy Chain

The plotline, fantasy, remember when, defines a fantasy type that appears across all rhetorical visions as a script that embellishes an ongoing fantasy or begins a new fantasy in the other than the here-and-now communication. The significance of the recurring structure is its proof of past organizational history. Troopers talk most about the past, indicating they share a long past in a closed society. The structure also signals disillusionment with the present and an uncertainty of the future direction. As one trooper said, "I remember when we had a strategy, now it's just day to
Through fantasy sharing, Bormann (1990) says members can then simplify, organize, and form a shared social reality about these complex issues and events. The following is a general description of a remember when chaining episode I often observed in the group discourse. I analyze the chain by Bales' (1972) explanation of dramatizes:

First, an ongoing fantasy or code word triggers a remember when interruption to clarify, embellish, or dispute ongoing conversation. The fantasy begins with "hey, remember" or "remember when" followed by a narrative, code word, allusion, or a trooper's last name with an anecdote. The remember when structure functions as a cue to change the course and mood of the discourse and to indicate that a shared consciousness about the event has occurred through symbolic convergence.

The second part of the remember when chaining is followed by a predictor message such as these samples from the discourse: "you can book it - its coming down" or "it's not coming down - not going to happen." The fantasy then predicts or explains the future course of events based on the group's shared past experience of the remember when fantasy. The fantasy plays out as drama somewhere else in some other time. The most often chained issues are the symbolized problems and ambiguities about leadership decisions, the new issues of gambling regulation, memorable arrests, and
investigations, promotions, transfers, or legislative actions.

The rhetorical power of the fantasy is its ability to influence through argument. Based on a group shared fantasy of the past, the fantasy provides the grounds to support rational and irrational argument in the present or about future events. Bales' (1970) definition of fantasy chained is "drama as mirror" of the groups' here-and-now experience and its relation to the external environment. His definition is illustrated by this remember when fantasy that unfolded as argument that promises based on politics cannot be justified. The trooper plays out a drama of blame somewhere else [in the Roemer administration]:

RT1: Remember when [strong emphasis on sarcasm] Mr. Best and Brightest promised us - hell the whole state - everything? Had us all believing that promotions, transfers, pay raises - everything - would be on the up and up?

RT2: Shit, I [emphasis on I] never . . . No one - not since Thibodeaux got us supplemental pay - has tried to work the Legislature in our behalf . . . or cared.

RT1: Well, anyway, you're about to see it happen again: the promises, because of the Colonel's [Fontenot's] perceived politics [sarcastic emphasis on perceived]. I don't see it. Ain't
gonna happen. We'll be lucky if we get the 3%. Gambling, riverboats . . . the casino. That's all they're talking — it's the number one priority (Retired Troopers Focus Group Interview).

The code word "best and brightest" calls forth an entire rational argument from the past to support the conclusion about the present leader of LSP. The nonverbal chained response from the members met all of Bales' criteria for a chained drama. Through the remember when fantasy plotline, State Police members often define people and issues that are real, fictitious, liked, or disliked.

Another recurring drama is remember the strike or remember Mardi Gras to designate the historical time when State Police took over the enforcement of New Orleans during the police strike. The extended metaphor alludes to the "fun detail" when State Police had the available troopers for the massive urban policing operation, but not the training. Numerous stories evolve from this allusion, but as one trooper recalled, "it won't happen again," evidencing his pessimistic view of revitalized LSP with forces and resources equivalent to the stature of the Mardi Gras Detail (Personal conversation, June 16, 1992).
Consciousness Creating Communication:
The Academy Experience

The Academy experience is described, respectively, in this chapter and in Chapter 5 as evidence of consciousness creating and consciousness raising communication needed to perpetuate the culture. Through the discourse and the experiences of the Academy and rituals, the private symbolic worlds of veteran troopers and cadets move closer together and overlap to create a shared consciousness about the same events, concerns, and issues of importance. The Academy experience is a significant example of the power of symbolic convergence to develop a unique group consciousness. Through their shared stock stories of the past history and feats, the veterans shape the symbolic world of cadets. Together, cadets shape their own social reality of the individual class experience. These fantasy types are chained into rhetorical visions of The Academy and The Academy Class that comprise the common symbolic tie of all members to the organization as an organizational saga of the Academy.

Creating the Consciousness of a New Identity

Bormann (1983) explains that fantasies function to provide members with clear rhetorical and symbolic boundaries to serve as guidelines for initiation and acceptance rituals for recruits (p. 106). The Academy experience and Academy graduation identifies a unique example of the recurrent forms of symbolic convergence: consciousness creating and raising
communication. New cadets learn the unfolding dramas of LSP through the discourse and the experiences of sharing the unifying symbols of LSP. During the 4-month stay, cadets come to know the culture through symbolic convergence and share the experience and communication critical to the perpetuation of the organizational culture. Members of LSP, therefore, create the culture through the Academy experience, graduation day discourse, and the ritual of graduation.

Across all levels of the organization and among retired troopers, The Academy functions as the cryptic cue that recalls the entire rhetorical vision of the trooper's early life in LSP. In the surveys, members and cadets describe the Academy experience as the one that most made them feel a part of the organization. They recall: events "that happened while I was at the Academy," members "who were in my Academy class," and times when "we were at the Academy together." The Academy also provides members with chronological references of social reality: "not since the Academy."

Personification is a primary strategy for chaining the culture to new cadets. The personified organization as Soldiers of the Law examples a rhetorical strategy to create a group consciousness among new members. The new Cadet Class #69 chose Soldiers of the Law as the class motto. The choice represents a clear consciousness of the past, of the 1937 class of cadets. The cadets' responses to "Soldiers of the Law" as a label on the survey describe a superhero image of
a personified State Police: "professional law enforcer," "intelligent," "disciplined," "tough but fair," "honest and trustworthy," "compassionate," and "loyal."

**Heroic fantasy themes.** Fantasy themes function as consciousness creating strategies to convey the heroic deeds of past troopers. These are prevalent themes in the discourse of the Academy training process. Stories about troopers past reconstruct the culture and acculturate new members. From the survey responses, I could reconstruct a past history of LSP through the heroic and not so heroic deeds of troopers. One recurring story of the cadet survey defines the persona of officer Bobby Smith, the trooper who was shot and blinded. Others told of villainous deeds of bad troopers. A common heroic fantasy type shared with cadets is of the public servant trooper. One cadet told me the story of a trooper who wrote a motorist a citation for an expired Motor Vehicle Identification tag after he had helped to pull the trooper out of a ditch.

**The Ritual of the Academy Graduation**

The participation in rituals and rites of passage evidences a common identity and a symbolic convergence for the new members of LSP (Bormann, 1982a). The ritual of the Academy graduation is the outward and visible evidence that cadets have made a formal commitment to community membership. The symbolic importance of rites and rituals is recognized throughout anthropology and culture literature. Victor
Turner (1986), in his book *The Anthropology of Performance*, describes the active performances of ritual as "distinctive phases in the social process, whereby groups and individuals adjust to internal changes and adapt to their external environment" (p. 158). Graduation marks a distinctive social and professional change for the cadet and his family. The day of graduation begins with photo sessions with the Commanders of LSP, followed by a tour of the Academy and a look at the "Big Bertha" tank and the new police cars of a new administration. The families gather for a reception in the Academy auditorium to view the video: "Fifty Years of Pride."

Through the medium of video, the families and cadets share the unfolding drama of LSP from the first class of Guerre's "G Men" through the present day image of "the best equipped, the best trained" police. They experience symbolic convergence, a group fantasy about their new lives. The video concludes with current footage of troopers at work and a voice over describing a State Police keeping a "constant vigil" through "highway patrol, hazard waste protection . . . LSP has been, will be there - 50 Years of Pride - I'll be watching you." The training officer concluded the program with a promise to the cadets and their families: "We continue to make 56 years of history."

I was told that the "actual purpose" of the film and family day was to prepare the family members for the changes
in their lives as a police family so they could function as a support system for the new cadet. Actually, the short video drama and the reception provided limited information about the day to day life of a police officer or how to cope with change. The persuasive power of the event evolves from the public chaining of fantasy themes that evoke a common emotion, evidenced by the audience's shared reactions. Most significant, is the sharing of interrelationships that evolve as the group acts out the ritual of the Academy graduation day. The symbolic convergence theory explains group value change as a sharing of fantasies which make possible the enactment of the ritual. The unifying symbols of Academy graduation include: the themes of the video drama, the discourse about the uniforms, the photo sessions, the displays of new patrol cars, the flags, the marching music, the ritual of formal inspection, and the public discourse of the Colonel's address. By sharing the common symbols embedded in the ritual, the new members and their family share the fantasy themes and rhetorical visions that constitute the social reality of LSP.

Evidence of Consciousness Creating

The ritual of the Academy experience and graduation evidence the communication process of consciousness creating, described by Bormann (1990) as the way groups of people move towards a new consciousness and come to clear reality of their collective selves through communication. The first
fantasy of an elite State Police was shared sometime in its past history. Either through the individual creation and innovation of the first class of "soldiers" or as collective community effort of a new group of police sharing a radical new vision, the fantasy was chained. Generations of police officers since General Guerre's first class have been caught up in the fantasy of the stories of the group history and through traditions shared by the Academy training staff. This episode of chaining results in the rhetorical visions of the Academy and two overarching organizational sagas: The Academy Saga and Soldiers of the Law Saga. These become a shared consciousness of all troopers through the Academy experience. The analysis of the chaining of these sagas reveals that LSP is and always has been a community deeply rooted in their pride of profession and public service. They appear to value their heroes and keep them alive through discourse. Chapter 5 describes the Academy discourse as consciousness raising communication.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to verify recurring patterns of discourse indicative of symbolic convergence. It is not a purpose of this study to identify the process of the symbolic convergence of the first fantasy of LSP. However, the evidence presented in this chapter proves that the process of consciousness creating occurred and has evolved as the mature symbolic culture of LSP. Bormann (1990) explains
that symbolic convergence defines three kinds of recurrent communication forms: consciousness creating, raising, and sustaining communication. Through their common exigencies, history, and unifying symbols the core assumptions of a community have been preserved. The core assumptions undergird their group identity and are expressed in the defined fantasy themes.

Bormann (1990) explains that moving a group towards a new consciousness is a rhetorical problem. The early history of LSP reveals an uncertain mission. The culture of LSP has survived the cycles of police and politics through the unified symbols and fantasy types that are evident in the current discourse. Today, the culture of LSP faces new exigencies and change. How LSP copes with the changing cycle of politics and policing is for future discussion. Chapter 5 continues to document the evolution of a shared consciousness of the organizational communication culture of State Police through an analysis of the dramas of the rhetorical visions of LSP.
Chapter 4 Endnotes

1. Troopers most often recall Don Thibodeaux as a remembered hero of LSP. The article "The Loss of a True Warrior" in the Louisiana Trooper magazine is a tribute to the late Colonel who served as superintendent from 1972-76 (Jones 1993). Included in the article is an interview with Thibodeaux. The interviewer asked the Colonel to remember his first budget as superintendent. The Colonel describes his "relationship" with Commissioner of Administration Charles Roemer and head of purchasing, Paul Hayes, as "fundamental in getting our reorganization efforts off the ground by providing what we needed." This was the largest operating budget and period of growth for LSP of the last two decades. Thibodeaux describes his success in getting State Police included in supplemental pay: "I personally called each and every senator and representative...I'd already cleared everything with Roemer and Edwards (governor), so it went off like clockwork" (Jones, 1993, p. 53). In the interview, Thibodeaux takes credit for implementing Internal Affairs, Merit Board, and the one-car-per-man program and the expansion of the Intelligence Division. Thibodeaux supported education programs for troopers, ticket quota systems, a four year degree for promotion to captain and mandatory retirement at age 55, although not all of these were implemented.

2. These comments are typical of those following sessions. These were recorded via journal entry, August 18, 1992 following a one hour session in which veteran troopers were surveyed. Most troopers were unwilling to be taped. Many were willing to remain after the survey session to discuss the "real motives" for the surveys. These conversations evolved into small group discussions about the problems of LSP. These sessions provided extremely valuable examples of group fantasy sharing are cited throughout the study.

3. This repetitive structure transcends the here-and-now and is used extensively to explain the present, predict future events and to recall the past through the various Colonels and commanders. Only the names of the Colonels change according to the era recalled. The names often used include: Bo Garrison, Flores, Gravemberg, Thibodeaux, Carpenter, Quibodeaux, McCormick, Burbank, Norris, Fontenot, Geneusa, and Millet.

CHAPTER 5

MAPPING A SHARED SOCIAL REALITY

Of all the arts, rhetoric is perhaps the most sensitive to the intellectual and social milieu in which it finds itself, and is constantly changing with the times.

-Douglas Ehninger

Bormann (1981) explains that the critic can take the social reality contained in the rhetorical visions constructed from concrete dramas and examine the relationship and motive as "if it were the substance of social reality for those people who participated in the vision" (p. 21). Police are dramatizers, and State Police share specific rhetorical dramas as expressions of their common identity and shared reality. This chapter explores the social reality of the organizational life of State Police as expressed in the hierarchy and relationships of the rhetorical visions. Finally, this chapter examines the unique rhetorical function of The Academy Vision as consciousness raising communication.

Based on Bormann's dramatistic perspective, Cragan and Shields (1981) define rhetorical visions as: "the composite dramas that catch up large groups of people into a common symbolic reality" (p. 6). From the organizational communication perspective, Bormann (1983) explains how rhetorical visions function to create organizational culture and hierarchy. When a number of people in the communication system, regardless of their title, position or division, have shared a number of fantasies and fantasy types they may come

122
to an integrated rhetorical vision. These perspectives are particularly valuable to the rhetorical critic pursuing organizational communication research.

The Hierarchy of State Police

Fantasy theme analysis forces the scholar to search for the rhetorical boundaries of the rhetorical communities that identify insiders and outsiders and heroes and villains. When a fantasy chains through a group, members create a common set of heroes, villains, saints and sinners, that act out laudable and deplorable behaviors (Bormann, 1983, p. 119). These dramatic characters and their common set of attitudes and values symbolize an important part of the group's culture. Troopers share some aspect of organizational reality through their membership in the rhetorical communities that define a formal, informal, and public hierarchy of LSP.

The Formal Hierarchy

State Police exists as a formal, hierarchial structure in which differences in the members' status and power are accepted reality. Traditionally, management and decision making follow a rigid chain of command. Bormann (1983) notes that formal structure is significant in that it assigns names for roles and turfs by the organizational chart. These function as labels through which members mark symbolic boundaries. The Colonel is the ranking officer in the hierarchy. He has ultimate authority to transfer officers
and influence promotions. He does not have legitimate authority to promote without approval of the Merit Board. However, recent survey responses refer to the Merit Board as "a joke," "all political." This perceived breach of the formal hierarchy is a source of conflict among the rank and file officers.

The Informal Hierarchy

Through their communication, members of LSP enact an informal hierarchy. As revealed through the surveys, rank is not a qualification for inclusion in a rhetorical community. The members' shared consciousness about politics and promotions, good cops and bad cops, is the more accurate indicator of inclusion. Troopers come to know who receives promotions by politics alone, "snitching," or unethical politics through shared fantasies.

The informal hierarchy defines the rhetorical communities and communication behavior of various divisions of LSP not found in procedural manuals. Transfer to the "dog shift" from headquarters can be a stressful move because of the perception of "a headquarters hump" who hasn't done time on the road. The discourse and surveys reveal that transfers without warning represent a recurring threat to troopers and a significant source of internal stress. A trooper can be transferred from his position in a unit and given 24 hours to report to an entirely new position in the formal hierarchy. Often, he must learn an entirely new task. This is a
recurring problem in the police culture. Transfers require cultural role shifts to negotiate new roles in the hierarchy, a process disruptive to a rhetorical community and the organization. Bormann's (1990) Minnesota case studies compared the process of letting roles emerge vs continual role shifting. He found that allowing roles to emerge to stability resulted in increased efficiency, high morale, and organizational stability. Continual role shifting, often a sign of poor management, yields the opposite results of role confusion and collisions, tension points, closed communication, secrecy, hoarding of information, and the creation of distrust. Viewing LSP as a culture of rhetorical communities, where roles are often negotiated through informal communication without formal indoctrination, provides another explanation for the role ambiguity and conflict that define the threatened community of LSP.

Members of LSP also define their roles through characterizations in the complex scripts of the "we/the" scenario. Troopers give unpopular past Colonels names reflective of their leadership style or persona. Informally, the top leadership of the hierarchy, the Colonel and his two Lieutenant Colonels, are called "One, Two and Three" by the rank and file. Metaphor and namecalling are strategies of defining divisions of LSP by function. Troopers who work in research and development are "research moles" because they do not get out in to the light of day to work. The Troop is the
symbol of each trooper's home base, the place he started and, as one retired trooper said, "they all come home to the troop one day." The Region references one of the three geographical areas that contain the troops. These symbolic cues function to call forth an entire concept of a division in the hierarchy as complex as research and development or headquarters operations.

Through my observations of State Police, I have confirmed that there are few areas for negotiation of roles and relationships in this "either or culture." Inherent in the authoritarian communication culture that defines the police agency is a structure that discourages open communication needed to resolve the conflict among these roles. The chain of command of policing further delineates the subcultures of the community in the formal and informal hierarchies.

A Public Hierarchy

A public hierarchy of LSP exists which includes other police officers in the state and the general public. Outside the formal organizational hierarchy, the trooper's status and power shifts from the bottom position. He shares the top role in the public hierarchy of the police as the "elite law enforcement officer" with ranking authority in the state. For the trooper in the public hierarchy, there are "no holes in this badge." Yarmey's (1990) discussion of the psychological issues of policing in Understanding Police and
Their Work reveals that the conflicting role expectations of the police complicate the hierarchy. The most visible role of the police is public servant, a role enacted by the police in the community and legitimized by the public they serve and protect. Police are expected to be guardians, peacekeepers, crime-fighters, public servants, military, and authoritarian. The practices of the police necessary to enforce the law are in and of themselves unlawful outside the hierarchy of the commissioned police community, thus adding to the role ambiguity.

**Insiders and Outsiders**

A function of fantasy is shared group self-awareness in the form of we are and we are not dramas (Bormann, 1990). When people dramatize an event, they select characters as insiders and outsiders. For troopers, fantasy often positions factions against an outside force for the purpose of recalling a former conflict or event to explain the uncertainty of a future or perceived threat. Typically, I observed insider-outsider dramas depicting State Police against: the legislature, "we kicked ass in the legislature"; the "Feds" as in "it was a typical 'Feeb' (FBI) operation"; the governor, typically "any governor who appoints a bad superintendent" or "who doesn't support LSP"; and other law enforcement agencies, "NOPD, sheriffs, and locals."

Indicative of the assumption of conflict, troopers define each other as insiders or outsiders: troopers against
the "head shed"; blue suits [troopers] against "civs" [civilians]; loyal troopers against "snitches" [anyone who is disloyal to fellow troopers] and "spies" [those who provide information in exchange for promotions]; troopers against Internal Affairs; and troopers who "came up the ranks" against officers who got political promotions.

An archetypal fantasy of the "brotherhood" of the police underscores and defines an international community of the police. All police share this rhetorical community. They draw lines against those who are not capable of understanding their bond. I witnessed a dramatization of this fantasy at the conclusion of an LSP reception for Argentine police officers. Speaking through an interpreter, the Argentine delegation leader proposed a toast to "his American brothers." He depicted a "world without geographical boundaries" for those united by the common understanding of meaning and emotion of the police, all brothers in their profession (December 1, 1993).

Heroes and Villains

Bormann (1985) says that without heroes and villains there is little drama. Shared fantasies are coherent accounts of experience depicting heroes and villains in the past or envisioned future that simplify and form the social reality for the participants. In the unfolding drama of police life, they communicate structure and provide meaning for the community. The heroes and villains of LSP are
distinguished from insiders and outsiders by the nature of their threat. The villain poses a clear threat past, present, or future to the community. The hero embodies community values.

The survey results. The scenario of villains and heroes is distinctly revealed through the survey responses. Cadets and veterans report a high level of agreement about the identified heroes and villains, thus evidencing symbolic convergence. Villains are those who violated the cadets' shared consciousness of LSP: "any villain who brings discredit to the department or to himself"; "people who make decisions out of order or chain of command"; "troopers who use their office to get sexual favors"; "troopers who play politics"; and "creeps, bloods, motorcycle gangs and rastafarian." Cadets list specific names of troopers who violated values of the community. A recurring villain is a trooper who propositioned a "go-go" dancer. Other villains include officers and instructors perceived as "a discredit to the department or himself."

The cadets' heroes are shared legends of LSP, such as Sir Robert Peal, the Father of American Law Enforcement. Again, Thibodeaux is the recurring heroic past Colonel most often cited in the surveys. Specific heroic trooper stories define brief, storyline descriptions: "Bobby Smith, the trooper who lost his vision, but not his will"; "Captain Kuhnert, the Academy Commandant who made the experience
positive"; "Trooper Martin"; and every trooper who "gives a 100%," "who has achieved rank status," "who survives the program," and "who gives his life in the line of duty."

The veterans' responses most often define heroes and villains by the actions of Colonels. For example, the portraits of LSP Colonels hang on the Academy training walls. I asked troopers throughout the day, to identify photos of the Colonels. Without my encouragement, most officers prefaced the introduction with a qualifier statement or a story about the Colonel. Their responses included: "he was the best," "did the most for education," "the smartest," "hell on trooper morale, but he let a qualified trooper do his job," "supposed to be one the best and brightest, but was the worst and dumbest," "not the smartest, but cared the most about the troopers," "political," "the biggest idiot," "the biggest embarrassment," "did the most for LSTA," "believed in training," "too good, that's why he didn't last," and "they're all just political hacks, except Thibodeaux."

Troopers often use the Colonel's last name to signify an administrative strategy as heroic or villainous or to recall and explain a current event. For example, a trooper might explain an administrative success or failure as: "A Thibodeaux" [or other Colonel's name] "action," "move," "maneuver," "promotion," "success" or "screw-up." The significance of the persona of the Colonel to the formal and informal hierarchy of LSP is confirmed in discourse.
Personae of the Hierarchy

Thibodeaux and Garrison. Dramas about the "good old days of police and politics" most often recall the personae of retired Colonels Thibodeaux and Garrison. Troopers associate the heroic and idealized traits of: "merit first then politics," professionalism, intelligence, fairness and trustworthiness with these contemporary heroes of LSP. Their personae represent a time when education and training were priorities, leadership was "political but fair," and the Colonel supported the mission of LSP and the troopers' needs.

I investigated the education and training backgrounds of Thibodeaux and Garrison for a comparison of each symbolic persona to the man. Garrison, now a United States Marshall serving in Central Louisiana, was "a career man in the department, holds a degree in law enforcement from SLU" (Heleniak, 1981, p. 125). Thibodeaux, who died in September of 1993, served from 1972 to 1976 during Edwin Edwards' first administration. Reports of his actual superiority vary. Overall, the comments about the man as the leader of LSP are positive. Heleniak (1980) depicts an historical Thibodeaux characterized by his contributions:

Today [1981], many serving at Headquarters . . . on the Regional and Troop levels are men moved up by Thibodeaux, as a group, they are articulate and bright; few, if any of them could qualify as modern versions of the "Keystone Cops." A large number [25] . . . have attended the prestigious Northwestern Traffic Institute in Evanston Illinois, the "West Point" of law enforcement (p. 125).
A lengthy tribute to Thibodeaux in *The Louisiana Trooper* (1993, Fall) recalls: "by the time he left those outside saw a more polished, proud . . . professional cadre of men . . . it was a revolution again politics" (p. 37). This recollection from a retired trooper serving "before, during, and after Thibodeaux" depicts the persona most often shared by troopers:

And if you read that interview [December, 1993 in the *Louisiana Trooper*] with Don Thibodeaux he even says, "I got my job through politics. And I got first troopers' promotion through politics." And like he says the reason why he went to Northwestern Traffic Institute was so he could have credibility to his rank and all that . . . you can have politics in everything you do. But as far as getting a grip on things, Donald Thibodeaux, he got a grip on things. He really changed the good ole boy type theory around to where he put a lot more credence into it to who was the most qualified to do a particular job. He put emphasis behind education (Retired Troopers' Focus Group Interview).

The persona of Colonel Thibodeaux functions as a fantasy type of stock stories of the Thibodeaux era when troopers could depend on: "promotions based on merit, not politics"; a priority placed on education; and pay raises, benefits, and leadership practices that "benefit the troopers, not the Colonel."

**Personae of villains.** The villains are clearly defined as those who Colonels "indulge in political favoritism over merit for promotions"; "lack intelligence, common sense and education"; "wouldn't know a cop if he bit him on the butt"; "commit stupid or bumbling acts in public"; "don't prioritize
education and training"; "are owned by the governor"; "are disloyal to troopers"; "ruined the department"; "caused moral to be low"; "didn't help develop LSP"; "cast public doubt and distrust"; and "never worked the road." These images pollute the fantasies of the saga of elite, intelligent, and professional state trooper that binds members to the organization.

Generic villains generate norms for behavior defined in the anecdotes about the troopers who: "were stupid," "the laziest," "the second laziest," "wrote up a trooper for brutality who helped him in a fight," "practiced brutality," "was an overweight doughnut eater," and "was Mr. piss-poor attitude." In response to an open ended survey request to describe villains of LSP, a master trooper of 10 years wrote: "there's not enough paper here to be 'PC' [perfectly clear]. To jot down just 5 names would be an injustice to villains that have worn the uniform."

Other personified villains include: the "Legislature," "the governors who appointed bad superintendents," "the public who threatens the image of LSP," "the media who creates false images of LSP," and "politics over merit."

A Panoramic View of Reality of LSP

This chapter captures the dominate rhetorical visions in the organization for the purpose of identifying competing and compatible rhetorical dramas as symbolic reality. The members of State Police share some aspect of organizational
reality through their membership in the rhetorical communities. An analysis of the competing and emerging rhetorical visions of the sagas of LSP, provides further insight into how members of a threatened community raise and sustain the group consciousness of the culture. In a closed community like LSP, with mature symbolic communication patterns, this perspective is valuable. The key concepts of Bormannean dramatistic communication theory and symbolic convergence stem from the assumption that people construct a rhetorical or social reality through their interchange of public symbols that differs from the mere existence of phenomena (Cragan and Shields, 1981). Interpreting the differences among competing rhetorical visions and dramatis personae can reveal disjunctures in the shared reality of the community.

The Shared Reality of Politics

The shared reality of an effective LSP administration is depicted through what Cragan and Shields (1981) define as dramatistic fantasy themes that manifest motives. For example, motives for appointments, promotions, and transfers define a reality of the organization. A leader or trooper's shared reality of a past, "here-and-now," or future dream of a quality administration is often legitimized by the allusion to its "brand of politics." The choice one makes to become caught up in an administration's politics, defines his personal "brand of politics."
Fantasy themes about good and bad politics discussed in Chapter 4 script the panoramic rhetorical visions of politics. I have defined the overarching drama of Politics as a saga of LSP because of the common symbolic bind between the trooper and the organization via the rhetorical visions of Meritorious Politics and Powerful Politics.

The dramatist personae in the rhetorical visions of Meritorious and Powerful Politics are the governor, the colonel, the troopers and a cast of characters who belong to the legislature. The characters may represent another "connected" source as a third party validator for a trooper's promotion or transfer or a recruit's acceptance to the Academy. Politics are also practiced at the colonel's level to influence appointments and promotions and in the legislature to secure resources for the department. The sanctioning agents distinguish the realities of these two visions. The higher power of "Louisiana Politics," out of the control of the trooper in both visions, dictates that the rank and file accept or concede that politics is a player in this drama.

Meritorious Politics. In this rhetorical vision, the leader and the trooper operate from a core value system tied to the vision of the heroic trooper: competency, professionalism, and loyalty. Playing politics that are good for the department are justified because the trooper is competent. Troopers passed over for politics during these
eras typically told me that "they expected it" or "the other trooper was just as good, not a bad choice, with more political pull and still a good guy."

**Powerful Politics.** In this rhetorical vision, merit is not a necessary condition for promotion. The trooper must be politically connected to be promoted, "its the system." Ironically, the troopers who justify maneuvering in this view refer to the same core values and assumptions of the heroic trooper. They falsely justify their independence by their elitism. However, elitism, like authority, requires legitimized actions and merit. This rhetorical vision poses the greatest threat to the viable rhetoric of the vision of Meritorious Politics. King (1987) offers hope for the vision of "politics over promotions." He explains that every moral order comes to grips with power: "capitalism, on the grounds that its inequalities are generated by merit" (p. 22). Placing troopers in positions of responsibility on the basis of politics without ability can only destroy credibility.

The decision to play politics in either reality is not necessarily a reflection of moral character. A competent trooper who knows he is capable may justify action and play politics in either vision, "for the good of the department." The danger comes from those who are not competent or fair, but who have always played politics at all cost. Their only hope for survival is to "play whatever politics" are necessary if promotion by education and experience over
politics should become the management directive, they have no opportunity for promotion. Both visions of politics have been the predominant scenarios of reality during different administrations. An officer explained politics and merit as a sort of unspoken "gentlemen's agreement," but not something "for public consumption, an accepted way of life in State Police."

Through the media, public chaining of the emerging and competing visions of politics poses a threat to Meritorious and Powerful Politics. The mediated reality of the political maneuvers of LSP threatens its public persona as a premiere and objective agency of the law. For example, John Maginnis (1993) entitles a portion of an interview with the present LSP Colonel Paul Fontenot as "Politics of Promotion." Maginnis reports that the Colonel confirms his political ties with gubernatorial politics saying, "I never asked Edwin Edwards for any kind of promotion. He did them all for me." Of his recent appointment as Superintendent of State Police, Fontenot describes "one night during the transition when the Governor called me and said there had been a lot of politics involved, but then he congratulated me and that was that" (p. 37).

The personae of Meritorious Politics. The characters that function as unifying personae of this vision have been reconstructed from samples of discourse and survey responses. For example, a fantasy can explain "how's one's politics" by
the groups' chained response to that inquiry. Because a group's chained response as spontaneous communication is more likely to be the accurate/unconscious response, the researcher can match the fantasy to the personae and the vision they script (Bormann, 1990). Then, we can make predictions about a person's future behavior in one vision or the other. For example, a trooper's identification with a heroic colonel who stood up for the good of the troopers against politics is a good indicator of how that trooper will respond to a request to act against the core assumptions of the community.

The romanticized persona of Thibodeaux provides distinct rhetorical boundaries that define behavior in the rhetorical vision of Meritorious Politics:

Even when I was there, I could see the politics were rampant, really. But, now when Don Thibodeaux took over he did his best to take out politics. And, I tell you what, I think he did a real wonderful job of taking out politics (Retired Troopers' Focus Group Interview).

Through focused group interviews and survey comments, I reconstructed the persona of Wiley McCormick, a former Colonel of LSP. Unlike Thibodeaux, McCormick is not perceived as the heroic persona who embodies the values of fairness, education, and care for the trooper. His actions are pragmatic, justified by Purposeful Politics. For example, recurring themes reveal that Colonel McCormick was not the most liked or an "heroic" leader, but he was not perceived as a serious threat or a villain by most. A
typical survey response indicated "he did nothing for the department morale."

He is, however, a sanctified leader in the Meritorious Politics vision simply because of his "purposeful politics." He is justified because he listened to competent troopers.

A retired trooper who served under McCormick recalls:

McCormick was probably the best [overall administrator], professionally, as far as conducting themselves, relying on people who had knowledge in an area to give him information and to make decisions based on that information. He did a pretty good job of that. He played a few games - on purpose (Retired Troopers' Focus Group Interview).

The personae of Powerful Politics. Included in the vision of Powerful Politics are the fantasies that depict: "bad politics," "forced early retirement," or "they can force you to retire." The drama of forced retirement is discussed in Chapter 4. The sanctification for forcing a trooper to take early retirement from the perspective of the dramatis personae [administration] is a disloyal trooper. The trooper who "uses" the organization by developing his skill level is a recurring threat to those who share the Powerful Politics vision. The victim/villain, depending on the perspective, of this scenario is the trooper who most often leaves for more lucrative employment in the private sector. If he gives in to the administration and accepts a position far below his competence level, he is a victim; if he stands up to the administrative pressure, he risks disciplinary action; and if he retires to the private sector, he is a villain seeking
private sector opportunities and is depicted as disloyal. There are no viable personae that unify The Powerful Politics rhetorical vision. Troopers responding to the survey do not share consciousness expressed in this vision. As the discourse and surveys reveal, the core assumptions of the community of LSP conflict with the values of the personae of Powerful Politics.

The Shared Reality of Soldiers of the Law

Troopers Ride Alone. I asked the Commandant of the LSP Training Academy why troopers ride alone. He smiled, paused for a brief reminiscence, and said, "We borrowed it from the Texas Rangers." He continued to tell this story which I now identify as the rhetorical vision of Troopers Ride Alone or The Lone Trooper:

There were some riots going on in a Texas border down between the Mexicans and the locals. The local sheriff called the Texas Rangers for back up assistance. Supposedly, the train arrived and one Texas Ranger stepped off holding his shotgun. The Sheriff asked where the reinforcements were. The Ranger said, "One riot? All you need is one Ranger." (Personal communication, June 9, 1992).

The symbolic and unifying personae of this vision are heroic troopers who ride alone: The Lone Trooper, Soldiers of the Law, and the thin blue line. Uniquely complex, these personae function to depict a panoramic rhetorical vision of reality of LSP. As personified images of the organization, these are powerful allusions that function to call forth all the previously discussed heroic qualities of the trooper to the inanimate institution. The fantasy type of the thin blue
line is discussed in Chapter 4 as the modern day version of The Troopers Ride Alone vision.

The chaining of a rhetorical vision. The names for the heroic legends of LSP do not always function as cryptic cues to recall fantasies. In fact, only when I facilitated focused group discussions did members begin to participate in the drama of the Lone Trooper. My initial conclusion was that this was not a viable rhetorical vision and that it held no meaning for troopers in these threatened times. I asked the retired troopers group what Soldiers of the Law meant to them. No one spoke for several seconds. Then, the general responses were denial of importance, flippant, and nonchalant. Only when a group member recalled the fantasy of the thin blue line did the troopers begin to chain the fantasy of the Lone Trooper in the Soldier of the Law vision. This fantasy chain unfolded to reveal the rhetorical power of the persona of LSP. Embedded in the messages are meaning, motives, and emotion that catch members up in the fantasy of riding alone:

RT2: Yea, yea, the "thin blue line." That other foolishness . . .
RT3: Them against us. We're the premier law . . . [voice trails off in boredom]
RT2: Yea. That other foolishness, "one riot, one trooper", is uh . . .
RT3: [interrupting with increased enthusiasm] We're the best!

RT2: Yea, we're the best. There's a riot. So what you do. You send one trooper. Then, when you get there you say, "so where's the other troopers." And they say, "well, how many around you?" And they say, "just one." And, "they say . . . well you only need one trooper if you only got one riot." That's that crazy attitude, that macho cop attitude [laughing], you know.

The trooper [RT2] who had first appeared disinterested, begins to legitimize the vision. He responds first to the meaning, rather than the motive, of the previously shared drama. By recalling the contemporary images of Soldiers of the Law, the trooper extends the rhetorical boundaries to include RT1 in the fantasy:

RT3: Hey, it's good stuff to have.

RT2: Well, it's good stuff to have, but its not realistic. Ok?

RT3: The "Esprit de Corps"

RT1: Well it never really was supposed to be realistic. Nobody ever believed it [begins shared emotion].

RT2: Well, now, the thing about it, let me tell you this. I think the state police have always commanded a lot of respect from the people, even though we don't have a riot.
This is the point in the fantasy chain when RT1 begins to pick up on the content themes of scene [the riot/disturbance], and the vital elements of the gun and plot. He embellishes the vision with his own version of the plot:

RT1: [leaning forward into the conversation with noted excitement] That's right! A state trooper could pull up to a scene in a state police car, and jack one round of a shotgun and the riot would be over . . .

At this point the rapid conversation evidences the group has shared the fantasies that script the rhetorical visions of The Lone Trooper and Soldiers of the Law.

RT2: Yea,

RT1: Or the disturbance

RT2: Yea, the disturbance. You know, and it's happened many, many, many times. One trooper. Because state police rode by themselves, for the most part (Retired Troopers' Focus Group Interview).

Validated is the power of the vision to provide a total view of the reality of being a state trooper. Troopers come to share the reality through the interchange of the dramatic symbols and fantasy themes. Represented are all elements of the dramatistic fantasy themes for (a) personae, the troopers past, present and future; (b) the plot, "they take over at any crime or accident scene and are the best at all law enforcement functions"; and (c) the scene in which they have
statewide jurisdiction and law enforcement powers ["no holes in this badge"].

The rhetorical vision provides some part of a coherent view for every trooper. The troopers' actions are justified as commissioned by law, "the last line of defense." This vision is included in the overarching saga of Soldiers of the Law, as the common symbolic tie that binds members of the organization.

The Mardi Gras Detail

The Mardi Gras Detail is defined as a coherent view of the social reality of LSP, therefore, a rhetorical vision. The vision conveys the same stock scenario as Soldiers of the Law, or Troopers Ride Alone. The heroic persona in this drama is The Maverick, a fun-loving, rogue of an officer. The preceding fantasy of the lone trooper continued to evolve into the Mardi Gras Detail after a brief discussion about how State Troopers command respect in the local law enforcement community. The retired troopers shifted to this fantasy about the New Orleans police strike during Mardi Gras season when State Police became the agency of enforcement for the city. At that point in the discussion there was an increase in tempo and a rapid exchange of similar allusions to recall the past. Once the drama unfolded, it caught the troopers up in a reality other than the here-and-now. The message also validates the rhetorical power of the persona of LSP to catch the public and the trooper up in fantasy:
RT1: If LSP would have been in New Orleans about 3 more weeks, they'd got their butt kicked. The people were scared of them and we were overreacting to most things. Five cars showing up for every call. And, if a couple of more weeks had gone by, the crime rate would have dropped to almost nil. But they would have caught on pretty quickly.

RT2: Well, the people were afraid. Because they didn't know how the state police would react. They saw troopers coming out of a car with automatic weapons and shot guns. Something they had never seen before [intensified group laughing]. You know.

RT3: Yes

RT2: You know, a service call. They see five, six, seven troopers handle a service call and all. They just, they didn't know what to expect. They were in awe. But, like you say. I think if you had stayed down there a little bit longer, you know, they would have said, "wait a minute." You know.

B: The image would have . . .

RT3: [interrupting me] Oh, well, they would have caught up with us . . .

RT1: Yes, sooner or later

RT2: Oh yea. Um huh [laughing]
All troopers who have served since the Mardi Gras Detail, including the cadets, share the detail vicariously, if not actually. It is the modernized, realistic version of One Riot/One Trooper included in the taxonomy of rhetorical dramas that comprise the Soldiers of the Law saga.

The Enforcer

The Enforcer is a competing rhetorical vision which mirrors the reverse motives, emotion, and actions of The Lone Trooper and The Mardi Gras Detail. This view of reality is unified by the corrupted personae of Lone Trooper and Soldiers of the Law. The Enforcer walks the thin blue line, I was told, [by an enforcer]: that line between "the spirit of the law and the letter of the law and the implied right to test it." The Enforcer's actions are legitimized by the same values that sanction the heroic trooper: professionalism and elitism. However, The Enforcer may define superiority as his own power to take over, rather than his commissioned power to serve and enforce the law. The Enforcer, rather than the law or the public, justifies his own actions in this vision. This misuse of legitimate power can cause officers to commit unlawful acts.

The Enforcer is not a cryptic cue in the discourse. I use this as a label to personify the traits of the troopers who would respond to the question of "what does it mean to ride alone?" by saying, "you get to do whatever it takes." The Enforcer views his job as "human garbage collector" or
"aggressor," rather than public servant. According to survey responses and discourse, Enforcers are self-defined "ass kickers" and "butt whippers" who "harass the public." Troopers define the vital elements of this vision as a need for more "firearms training - we need more" and a need to "return training to the tough way it was with more discipline on cadets."

According to discourse, The Enforcer represents a small population of the troopers interviewed. However, this persona, to the detriment of the police community, is most often depicted in the media as committing acts of public brutality and wrong doing. In reality, The Enforcer is an active member of the police culture. Often threatened by an emerging younger or more educated police officer, The Enforcer is most visible in the reality of the visions of Powerful Politics and Soldiers of the Law. The Enforcer poses the greatest threat to the LSP community today because he views power politics and force outside the law as his only hope for survival.

The Status Quo and Restoration

This rhetorical vision defines an aspect of the social reality of LSP included in the taxonomy of law enforcement. Troopers who share this vision include a large group of the membership that has become apathetic. The rhetorical vision is cued by the allusion: "just putting in my twenty." The mood of this vision is passive. Discourse indicates that
members justify actions by the loss of profit and promotion opportunities. The disillusionment results from the shared reality of the politics of promotions and the knowledge that 700 troopers cannot have Powerful Politics.

The dramatis personae of this vision share the core assumptions of the heroic trooper and the organization. However, the reported power politics of the present administration render the personae who share a status quo view of reality powerless to enact change. The shared emotion of apathy inherent in the message is not a strong motive for action. Members appear to be waiting on a leader to save them from power politics. This passive view of reality poses a great threat to the organization. The conflicting vision of Power Politics is active with the potential to catch up members who justify unethical actions.

An Emerging Restoration Vision

Evidence of emerging fantasies scripting new heroes in the discourse represent a response to LSP Internal Affairs Investigations of the past two years. The Investigations have resulted in twenty-five appeals to the State Police Commission by troopers on the basis of "unfair and invalid" suspensions and promotions. The new themes also express hope of restoration of funds in the legislature, "perhaps not as focused on gambling," and new leadership visions. The fantasy type restoration is discussed in the next chapters as powerful drama for change.
The Academy Vision and The Academy Class

The survey results and data gathered from my conversation with troopers, define The Academy as a lifestyle rhetorical vision for cadets depicting their 4-month stay at the Academy. A lifestyle vision is so "all-encompassing" as a symbolic system as to permeate an individual's social reality in all aspects of living (Bormann, 1985, p. 8). Not every identified LSP fantasy theme defined is contained in the Academy vision. Yet, every active and retired member of LSP that I interviewed evidenced a common identity with the Academy vision and the core fantasy themes. As a common symbolic tie that binds all members to the organization, the Academy vision defines the overarching saga of The Academy.

The Academy vision expresses two levels of shared symbolic reality: (a) the overall panoramic view of the organization shared through the rites, rituals, and reminiscences and (b) the individual member's recollection of the specific fantasies that express his Academy Class experience. The Academy Class vision is similar to the overall Academy/Vision in plot, scene, and characters. They both share the same sanctioning agent, the heroic image of Soldiers of the Law and the "esprit de corps."

The Academy Vision as Consciousness Raising Communication

To be "selected" as a cadet to enter the Academy requires a minimum two years of college, pre-testing, and screening for qualifications. A member of the Cadet Class
#69 told me that his was the "most political class," "hand picked by the governor." The rhetorical vision of The Academy functions as consciousness raising communication in the life cycle of LSP. The fantasy of the "elite" State Police threatens the survival and perpetuation of the culture. New cadets sustain the organizational culture. The Cadet Class #69 was the first class in two years to graduate because of state budget cuts, another exigency threatening the survival of LSP.

Initiation Rituals

The community of LSP is a unique organization for rhetorical study as an example of the ongoing and simultaneous communication processes of consciousness creating, raising, and sustaining communication. The symbolic maturity of the communication culture of LSP can in fact be explained by the repetitive cycles of consciousness raising communication of cadet training. Symbolic convergence theory explains that a shared group consciousness is necessary for consciousness raising communication. The existing rhetorical visions provide the rhetorical boundaries as guidelines for terminating rituals to force members out or initiation rituals for new recruits. The Academy vision functions rhetorically to raise consciousness through initiation/acceptance rituals for new recruits.

Bormann (1985) explains that symbolic convergence theory defines two cases of consciousness raising communication:
(a) those which restrict membership and (b) those which envision a future in which members actively seek converts and promote universal awareness. The closed culture of the LSP evidences the former case of consciousness raising. Bormann (1985) defines the following phases of consciousness raising that explain the process of closed recruitment used by State Police.

Delineating insiders and outsiders. Bormann (1985) explains that when members celebrate the insiders, they answer the question, "Who are we?" by initiating fantasies. They depict their members as better than outsiders and their rhetorical innovations as superior to other world views. Those who share the Academy vision symbolically delineate membership among other law enforcement communities. Don Thibodeaux describes what makes being a trooper "different from other law enforcement endeavors":

The esprit de corps, that bond of devotion and camaraderie that exists between troopers, all working towards a common goal. The job is more demanding than either the job of a deputy or a municipal officer, maybe less demanding for some of the physical aspects, but intellectually, it's out front. And troopers know that (Jones, 1993).

Cadets traditionally come from law enforcement agencies and share this basic assumption when they apply to the Academy. This is the motivation, they explained to me, for going through the rigorous application process. Many more are rejected than accepted. In fact the Class #70 defined
themselves as the class of "rejects" because all members had at one time been turned down for admission.

**Restricting membership.** Bormann (1985) says that consciousness raising fantasies which restrict membership portray one or two diametrically opposed futures in which only the elite deserve to be members and share a new higher consciousness. The fantasy of "lost shirts" or "lose no shirts" examples this consciousness raising strategy that scripts the ceremonial practice of marking a red "X" on the shirts of cadets who drop from the program. The shirts are hung in the gym as a reminder to cadets of the future reality of "quitters."

**Breaking up the foundations of old visions.** The next phase of consciousness raising requires breaking the recruit from previously shared visions to share the new fantasies of the new community vision. In addition to the ongoing discourse that reminds cadets they are privileged, the Academy staff brings in troopers as speakers to tell the stories about past heroes and their escapades. They share the anecdotes and stories. This was explained to me as "the way they learn to be troopers, by meeting those who have been there and done it."

Bormann (1985) defines this stage as potentially disturbing to converts, as they often feel a combination of revulsion and attraction to the vision. This is the stage when recruits as social creatures attempt to define
themselves in terms of the group consciousness and may leave the program. Tearing away commitments to former visions requires reexamination of personal values and motives for behaviors and may even attack the fantasies of their own self-consciousness. Military tactics designed to break recruits are indicative of this phase of consciousness raising. Knowing these dynamics, organizational trainers can chain fantasies designed to involve the recruit in community membership through positive discourse designed to replace elements of the old vision with fantasies of renewal. My experience with the Cadet Class #69 training staff revealed an awareness of the need to change outdated training tactics and to merge the self image of cadets with the new vision by increasing self esteem.

An important question for the critic relates to the way participants in a new consciousness celebrate themselves and their group and how they divide the good and evil people. The cadets experience many celebrations of consciousness throughout the Academy experience through class parties, group activities, and actual consciousness raising sessions where recruits are "taught" symbolically how to be troopers through personal testimony and actual lessons in the group history. In fact, the survey responses indicate a high level of shared knowledge of many of the good cop/bad cop fantasies of LSP villains and heroes. Cadets recall the "evil troopers": "any trooper who brings disgrace to his badge,"
"who propositioned an undercover vice officer," "the trooper who stopped a go-go dancer for a violation and offered to trade out the citation for sexual favors," and a specific fantasy of a "radio operator syndrome" for officers who had affairs with LSP radio operators.

The process of confirmation and action. By the end of the Academy experience, the class is, "by design and tradition," to create a class motto. This is one of the steps of confirmation and action as a final phase of their conversion. Others include the graduation night party about which many of the memorable veteran stories were told. The graduation ritual is the most significant action of confirmation and is discussed in Chapter 4 as consciousness creating communication.

The graduation ritual is also significant as the last step of the process of group consciousness raising as confirmation in the form of action. The discourse of the graduation ritual confirms the final stage of value legitimization. In his graduation address, the Academy Commandant, Captain Ed Kuhnert, recalls the events and traits that distinguish the Cadet Class #69. He confirms the values of education/intelligence, elitism, pride, and unity in his commendation of the cadets' academic performance, measured by their high class scores on the Police Office Standards and Training exam, the highest of any previous cadet class. Kuhnert, distinguished by the cadet surveys as an admired
hero/persona, concluded that "the last class to graduate all cadet members with a 100% passage rate just happens to be my class." By attaching his persona to the discourse he reinforces the consciousness raising affect of the ritual.

The Academy Class vision is significant as an example of two simultaneous phases of symbolic convergence: (a) the development of a common consciousness and a group identity necessary for (b) consciousness raising communication as an overall function of creating and re-creating group culture. **A Facilitated Fantasy Chain**

The cadet survey was administered during the last hour of the cadets' last training day. The next day was graduation. The survey purpose was to provide the Academy with evaluation information and to identify possible themes to compare with veterans' communication. The session provided an opportunity to observe the class as it had evolved through the four month training experience via the phases of consciousness raising communication.

I met the cadet class on the eighth day of their training through a stress management class I taught at the request of the Academy Commandant and staff who had set rigid goals for academic and field training. The training philosophy included a dual concern for training to retain the cadets in the Academy program and to ensure long term employment. Research reports stress and stress related
illnesses as primary factors in declining police personnel
and incidences of police brutality.

Indicative of the stress associated with the self-
awareness phase of recruitment, the cadets shared numerous
fantasy themes about training during the stress management
class. By the end of the four hour program they were able to
communicate their concerns about commitment to a program they
felt "compelled" to finish.

At the conclusion of the class, I facilitated a fantasy
chaining exercise designed to relieve stress and assist the
class in dramatizing a common rhetorical vision. As stated,
fantasy chaining is the process through which members create
culture as group consciousness and can accomplish goals
(Bormann, 1983). Based on the veterans' group identity with
the training experience and our knowledge of group dynamics,
I could conclude that fantasy chaining was inevitable for
this group of forty men and women, living together for 4
months. I predicted that, by facilitated dramatizing, the
group could, through symbolic convergence, begin to develop
a common group identity and function as a support team for
the training experience. The purpose of facilitation was to
create a vision in line with the training fantasy rather than
a competing vision. Through this analysis, I can now explain
the exercise as a fantasy event. The following account
examples consciousness creating communication as a result of
fantasy chaining.
Fantasy recalls something that happened to the group in the past or a dream of what the group might do in the future. Therefore, as the group had no past, we began by calling forth expressions of a future dream: "Where do you see yourselves in twenty-five years?" The exercise allowed voluntary and spontaneous fantasy, as no one was compelled to participate. Cadets began to call forth individual fantasies of being on a desert island or a snow mountain which began a chain reaction of active participation in dramatizing. One cadet interrupted to change the course of the individual fantasies by confirming how difficult it was to imagine a group that lived all over the state. His statement launched a fantasy about the commonality of their differences. Then, the group began to script a vision of their "here-and-now" groupness as a basis for a future reality. This script led to this fantasy theme: that "all forty cadets would graduate as one - then retire together on a desert island." Having chained a group fantasy, the group communication subsided, and the class ended on the core assumption of a vision of unity, indicative of the training philosophy.

Whether or not the influence of facilitated fantasy chaining for recruits in training or the philosophy of the training program affected the retention and performance rate of the Cadet Class of #69 was not a formal part of this study. However, based on the predictability of the dramatistic theory and the known effects of consciousness
creating and raising communication strategies, I could predict the cadet class would share a rhetorical vision of Soldiers of the Law from the identified fantasy themes.

**Cadet Class #70: An Emerging Vision**

As further evidence of the predictability value of fantasy theme analysis and dramatistic theory, I can assess the shared social reality of the Cadet Class #70. The dramatic fantasy themes that script The Enforcer vision depict a similar reality described in *The Louisiana Trooper* as the Cadet Class #70 training experience. The article entitled "What Ya Gonna Do When We Come For You?" was written by the new LSP training director. He explains:

> If the title of this article sounds familiar, don't be surprised. It's reminiscent of the lyrics to the popular song used in one of the most widely watched syndicated police shows these days, *COPS!* It was also chosen as the motto by members of the most recent graduating class from the Louisiana State Police Academy Cadet Class #70 (Holtzendorff, 1993, Fall, p. 11).

An interpretation of the new cadet class motto reveals elements of The Enforcer vision, implied by the unstated lyrics that begin this song: "Bad boys . . . what ya gonna do when we come for you." The show "Cops" is a drama of real life incidences of policemen enforcing the law. Indicative of the last stage of consciousness raising, the Cadet Class #70 chose a motto as a celebration of unity. However, the unity theme also identifies with The Enforcer and is a reverse image of Commander Guerre's protective Soldiers of the Law, a motto chosen by the former cadet class.
The director describes the scenario of a new Academy class as: "the order of the day, as well as for the many days to follow, was ABSOLUTE discipline . . . total and unquestioned!" The scene of the drama is depicted as one that: "became known as the 'l-o-n-g' hot summer."

Finally, the dramatistic personae, the Academy staff, are depicted as the protagonists in this drama: "The cadets quickly learned that the 'heat was on' and the best way to avoid being 'burned' was not to test the 'fires' being kindled by the Academy staff." In the mirror vision of Solders of the Law and when compared to the staff of the Cadet Class #69, these staff members are antagonists who threaten unity and professionalism. The cadet persona is the tragic hero: "the fervent pace kept everyone sweating just a bit and, in fact, proved to be the ultimate downfall of four of the original cadets."

The conclusion of the training director's description of the drama provides insight into the projected persona of the new trooper in the rhetorical vision of The Enforcer: who is "prepared, well-trained and anxious to be unleashed to do what they feel that they can do best . . . wipe out crime and serve the public every time they put on that blue uniform."

Based on the dramatistic analysis of the rhetorical visions of LSP, the researcher can predict a future shared reality of these new troopers. Therefore, the importance of consciousness raising communication as a way group members
create culture is evidenced. The evolving personae of the new recruits of Cadet Classes #69 and #70 share mirrored rhetorical visions of the Academy Class: Soldiers of the Law and the Enforcer, respectively.

Conclusion

The ultimate purpose of this dissertation is to interpret the rhetorical function of the sagas of LSP. Through the interpretive framework of fantasy theme analysis and dramatistic theory, I have documented the group fantasies and rhetorical visions as the members' shared symbolic reality and expressed organizational communication culture of State Police. These visions constitute narratives of the present and emerging sagas of LSP.
Human organizing is a complex undertaking, an alchemy wherein individuals become socialized, develop interpersonal relationships, systematize their activities, and make sense of their surroundings.

- E. M. Eisenberg and P. Riley

Today does not mark the end of the training process. Rather, today's graduation is a milestone, the completion of one phase. Because, in reality, training a trooper is not a 17 week process; We must never stop learning. As troopers, each of you must learn to be compassionate in the administration of your duties... You've been exposed to some of the best training currently available in law enforcement, and tomorrow you'll be provided with some of the best equipment (Fontenot, 1992).

These are the opening remarks of the Superintendent of State Police to the Cadet Class #69 and their families during the July 9, 1992 Academy graduation. This excerpt contains key statements that define the public role of the LSP. The entire speech depicts an organizational saga. The rhetoric and the ritual of the Academy graduation function to reaffirm the members' commitment to the organization and to acculturate new members and their families into the community of LSP. It is unlikely that those who participated in the drama of the Saga of the Academy graduation would agree that State Police is a threatened community. Yet, this fantasy theme analysis confirms that State Police is in flux.

The Saga of the Academy is the story of State Police that is available for public consumption. Through the
colonel's address and the power of the media, television and the cadets' hometown papers, this saga of State Police is shared statewide. It embodies the heroic symbolic persona of the organization and provides the customs, ideal states, and the symbolic aspects of the organization: full dress uniforms, public inspection of the cadets, commissioning of the badge, sharing the oath of office, and assigning weapons. ¹ Commanders from Headquarters, the Region and the Troops share the saga with the Academy Staff and the audience. By appearances, the members are united and committed to the organization.

This chapter examines the sagas of State Police defined by the unifying rhetorical visions, shared fantasies, and fantasy types of the previous chapters. The purpose of this discussion is to reveal the social reality of the organization from the perspective of the troopers write-in responses to the survey questions. These responses confirm a current reality of an organization in crisis. Pacanowsky (1987) explains the rhetorical significance of understanding meaning expressed in the organizational saga. He concludes that the saga serves to motivate positive organizing behaviors as well as to provide motives, values, and emotional interpretations of events (p. 399).

The value of the symbolic convergence theory in organizational communication research is its explanatory power that enables the critic to search for boundaries of
rhetorical communities in complex organizations like LSP. The outward and visible artifacts of State Police, the rituals, and music revealed in the graduation day ceremonies depict a unified organization. A fantasy theme analysis reveals the members' common group identity with the overarching sagas of Soldiers of the Law Saga and The Academy Saga. They have the same overlap of emotion and meaning. However, the competing motives and meanings among the rhetorical visions are in conflict, as explained in Chapter 5. Investigators (Dotlich, 1981; Eyo, 1985; Koval-Jarboe) found that where there are large rhetorical communities committed to different organizational sagas, there are internal battles over policy, mission, decisions and hiring and firing of employees.

Personae and Sagas in the Public Sector

The rhetorical function of the organizational sagas of public sector organizations has not been fully explored in the research. A goal of this dissertation is to determine the value of fantasy theme analysis as a tool for explicating organizational meaning. Bormann (1990) says that the most important rhetorical strategy available to management is to create a persona related to a member of the organization. When the leader of the organization becomes public persona, his discourse and behavior are presented to a larger audience through the media. The expression of rhetorical facts bonds the persona with the abstract entity of the organization.
Therefore, the public sector organization of the police presents a particularly intriguing study. The troopers and the colonel function as public personae of the organization of LSP. They must manage many roles as the unifying symbols of the sagas: enforce the law, contain and regulate behavior when needed, and maintain the persona of a public servant. Finally, the public persona of the police is vital to the officers' ability to enforce the law and to maintain their public credibility.

The public persona of State Police revealed through the discourse of the surveys, observations, interviews, and the media is in crisis and further evidences the crisis of the organization. John Maginnis' (1993, December) recent interview with the present superintendent of State Police reveals a persona in conflict with the persona of State Police expressed in the Academy speech. Maginnis writes about the "burgeoning field of video poker," where State Police have sole regulatory authority, where sometimes:

problems will reach Fontenot's desk. He was consulted when former deputy commissioner Joe Terrell received a video poker license in Louisiana after being rejected in Illinois because of his association with Brilab defendants Charles Roemer and the late Carols Marcello.

Maginnis reports Fontenot's response to the controversy: "we have to judge everyone by the same standards . . . just because someone has been high profile . . . we might have to defend this action in court . . . so we have to be fair" (p. 34).
Police, the self-personae revealed from the surveys, and the analysis of competing rhetorical dramas, further evidence an internal crisis of LSP.

The Rhetorical Significance of Persona

Bormann (1973) concludes from studies of the personae of political campaigns that the concept of image is static and inadequate to explain the dramatic affect of the public persona. The public persona conveys dynamic notion of action to the public: "when the same persona acts in a series of fantasy themes [media appearances, speeches, hearings] that chain through the public, the cumulative dramatizations create a more generalized character or a persona as part of the rhetorical vision [saga] of the rhetorical community [organization] (p. 143).

The Colonel as Rhetor/Persona

The rhetorical problem of holding the saga together is a function of the public persona of leadership. Media reports of the controversies surrounding the licensing of Riverboats and the inferred connections between the governor and the colonel have called forth the public persona of LSP for public scrutiny.

Sagas contain expressed messages of meaning, motives, and emotions of the community. The motives of the persona script the scene and the emotion of the internal environment. Therefore, a failed persona can destroy the power of a vision [saga] to generate commitment and action and to attract new
converts (Bormann, 1982a, p. 112). Understanding the motives of the personae of LSP are critical to understanding the current reality and predicting the future of the organization.

The Police Persona as Rhetor

Warren Bennis (1987) in Why Leaders Fail states that the single most important function of the leader is to manage the vision of the organization, not the organizational chart. Symbolic management requires rhetorical sensitivity and knowledge of human relationships. The problem of the trooper as symbolic persona then, becomes apparent. Training for the roles of manager/leader, public speaker or public servant is not in the typical police Academy program. Furthermore, the essence of the authoritarian police culture is conflict driven in the "we/they" mentality: rigid/stylized, role specific, controlling, inflexible to change, and suspicious. Conditions for effective interpersonal communication include trust, openness, and reciprocity. Rhetorical sensitivity, a concept developed by communication scholars. Hart and Burks (1972) define five characteristics of the rhetorically sensitive person which include: (a) role-taking as part of the human condition, (b) avoidance of stylized behavior, (c) ability to distinguish acceptable communication, (d) willingness to adapt, and (e) an acceptance of others' ideas. Flexibility and adaptability are not core assumptions of the LSP culture.
Therefore, the public persona of the trooper is further threatened by the cultural inability to adapt to crisis and change.

The Anatomy of the Saga

Bormann's (1983) discussion of the symbolic convergence theory and organizational communication delineates the organizational sagas of "back kitchen narratives" and the sagas of "front parlor narratives." Bormann (1983) borrows the concepts from Clark's (1970) university studies of the positive elements of an organization's saga that a group puts forward for public consumption or for their own self image. Clark concludes that sagas emerge at the organizational's founding and during critical turning points in its development.

The present has been defined in discourse as a turning point for State Police. An emerging Conspiracy Saga is discussed in Chapter 7 as consciousness sustaining communication in response to the exigencies defined by this analysis. Clark (1970) and Bormann (1983) identify sagas as rhetorical strategies that accomplish organizational sensemaking and active persuasion. How the organizational sagas of LSP function rhetorically to create and maintain the culture is the research goal of this study. An analysis of the competing and emerging sagas expressed in the members' shared discourse contributes to a deeper level of
understanding of what has happened and why, in the unfolding drama of State Police.

The Crisis of Competing Rhetorical Visions

Chapter 5 identifies the predominant rhetorical visions of LSP via a fantasy theme analysis. A review of a taxonomy of the rhetorical visions, sagas, personae, and goals provides relevance to the discussion of the complexity of the symbolic terrain of LSP. For the purposes of interpretation, an active vision is defined as one with goals and a unifying persona with the potential to impel the members towards action. The motives for action are embedded in the messages of the rhetorical visions, hence the sagas of the organization provide members with meaning and motives for action.

A passive rhetorical vision may provide the stories and the traditions of the organization or serve as a coping device during crisis, but lacks meaning for problem-solving. The Academy Saga functions to unify or to recall past events, but does not provide motives to impel members to action. The rhetorical visions that support the roles and mission of law enforcement and training are contained in the Soldiers of the Law Saga and the Academy Saga. The Enforcer vision is also included in these sagas. The motives and emotions of the personae of LSP are in conflict over their roles. None of these present a unifying persona for change.
A Taxonomy Of Sagas

The Academy Saga is an overarching saga that provides the members' common symbolic tie to the organization. Contained in the saga are the fantasy themes about training and recruitment that function to create and raise consciousness. Both a "front parlor" and "back porch" saga, it contains the rhetorical visions of the Rookie Year, the Academy and the Academy Class, and the ritual of graduation. The saga delineates the two primary levels of shared reality expressed in this saga: (a) the trooper's overall experience and (b) his particular cadet class shared reality. These are indexed by the fantasy type the Academy. A passive saga, the Academy has no unifying persona for action.

Soldiers of the Law is an organization wide saga because it functions as a common symbolic tie between members and the organization relative to duties and roles of law enforcement. It is the most complex saga because many of the themes overlap the Academy vision. The saga expresses numerous interpretations depending on the troopers self-persona. Soldiers of the Law is chosen as the label for the saga because of its overarching historical significance. The cryptic cues of the thin blue line, the unit/one car, or troopers ride alone function to trigger the fantasy. Rhetorical visions contained in the saga include: Soldiers of the Law [Soldiers, who focus on training excellence], One Trooper/One Riot [The heroic Lone Trooper who commands
respect, competence can ride alone], the Mardi Gras Detail [recalls entire fantasy type of the Maverick and "the strike"], and the competing vision of the Enforcer [those who focus on "discipline and militaristic training"]. The Enforcer vision is a mirror image of the ideal heroic soldier/public servant and is passive/aggressive. The unifying personae of the saga symbolic: The Trooper Who Rides Alone and its equivalent, the Maverick [the humanized, fun loving version of the soldier]. The saga can be passive/aggressive, depending on the perspective, but primarily passive, calling forth past events to explain the here and now and the future.

The Political Saga is an organization wide saga because of the recurring fantasies about politics that are shared by all members. Two perspectives of the Politics are included in this saga: Powerful Politics [promotions/negotiations on the basis of politics alone, "being connected"] or Meritorious Politics ["came up the ranks the way we did, politics but competent"].

This saga is discussed in Chapter 7 as one emerging from "back porch" to "front parlor" because of recent media exposure. The unifying personae are complex. Heroes are "Colonels who took care of troopers/let them do their job; rewarded competence; used politics and merit; stood up to the system." Villains of the Powerful Politics vision create a passive trooper/persona "waiting on things to change."
The Gambling Czar is a controversial, emerging saga. Dramatized through the media, it has powerful potential for mission change. Contained visions include: The Riverboat Commission, The Gaming Unit, and Gaming Regulators. The unifying personae are complex and most function outside the culture: the Governor/Legislature, "guys in gaming," "The Commission," the courts, gambling business owners, the Colonel, the media, the Riverboat people, and Las Vegas people. It is an active saga with a large mediated reality and a large audience potential for chaining. Without a unifying persona acting on merit, the saga threatens to destroy the public persona of LSP.

The Conspiracy Saga is a highly controversial emerging saga. As a mirror vision, it expresses two perceived views of "the conspiracy." It contains the rhetorical visions of Internal Affairs (IA) and Appeals Hearings. The visions are indexed by the fantasy types of: Gestapo Tactics, Witch Hunt, IA, "snitching" and "don't trust them" [stories about the those out to get you]. Both active and passive, depending on the perspective [some are just waiting on the conspiracy to get them]. The IA vision is active and is discussed in Chapter 7 as consciousness sustaining strategies.

Revolution/Reform vision defines the evolving discourse indicative of an emerging saga of a competing vision of "guys who are standing up to the system" through public discourse and appeals to the Police Commission. Personae include: The
guys who are fighting the system/appeals, the LSP Commission, the public speakers. It has the greatest potential to be active and to impel members to action.

Status Quo is a "Back Porch/Vision" because of its widespread adoption as an ideal reality to share until retirement. The cue Just Putting In My Twenty triggers the vision. It symbolizes a reality of: "not doing anything," "writing tickets," "just making quota," "just doing my job," or "just keeping my mouth shut." No unifying persona impels members to action through this vision. The emotions expressed are passive/aggressive: anger and apathy.

This taxonomy reveals the complexity of the symbolic terrain of LSP. The symbolic reality of the conflicting rhetorical visions provides more conclusive proof of the internal crisis of the State Police. The primary crisis is a rhetorical one of conflicting personae. As evidenced in the discourse, the personae and sagas of LSP have been called into question through public exposure of the internal problems and the questionable role of LSP in gambling regulation.

Typically, an organization will have one or two overarching sagas to which all or most of the members belong with three or four rhetorical visions (Bormann, 1993, personal correspondence). This study has reconstructed nine primary rhetorical visions and five sagas. Bormann (1990) explains that when two or more substantial groups of people
are pushing opposing or differing sagas, the organization will be full of conflict and warring camps. This is the current reality of State Police.

The Emerging Crisis in Public Discourse

That State Police is in crisis, is further evidenced through the public discourse of its membership. Baxter Welch, the new president of LSTA, depicts a current drama of crisis of LSP in an editorial published in The Trooper, the magazine of LSTA (1993, Fall). The magazine has a readership of 1,000 members. Therefore, it can be assumed that a portion of the membership has shared the discourse. Welch describes the conflict of individual troopers fighting for their own political survival in a political culture. He blames the complacency through a familiar persona of the "lone wolf" and blames members for the crisis of an organization without a mission, complacent and failing. The recurring themes of consistency and independence are called forth as strategies to unite and then impel the group to action. Missing is the viable vehicle or persona for action. The trooper actually has very little power to change the mission in the authoritarian structure of the LSP. Baxter's editorial calls for action indicative of reform rhetoric that expresses a current crisis of LSP:

History reflects the lone wolf mentality. Personal achievement projects have become commonplace. With each administration comes new directions. Rather than establishing goals and striving to achieve them, we attempt to hold together a hodge podge of failed programs.
Individuals eventually tire of trying to make new projects succeed. This strengthens their independence. He or she disassociates from such failures. The results lead to complacency (p. 5).

The Cadet and In-Service Surveys

Defining the Sagas of LSP

A goal of the survey was to correct disparity of perceptions of the reality observed through group observations and from the members' write-in responses. The surveys were first designed to supplement data by asking members to individually fantasize about their own self-persona and their perception of the public's projected persona of LSP: What do we do? What image do we communicate? What kind of an organization are we? The survey asks for the stories, rites, and rituals "that bind us" and the "legendary heroes and villains that come to mind" (Bormann, 1983).

Bormann's (1983) definition of the organizational saga and Shields' (1981) studies of the dramatis personae of St. Paul Fire Fighters provide the structure and justification for this survey. Shields empirically captured and re-created the social reality of the fire fighters' rhetorical visions regarding their self-personae and the projected personae of the public. Based on the dramatistic elements in the visions, the meaningful events, motives, and emotions that inspire people to action could be understood. The LSP survey results guided future interviews and provided a basis for deep structure analysis of the sagas and visions.
The surveys measure the cadets' agreement with the statements about their knowledge of the mission/vision of LSP, troopers' values/traits, images of the organization, and their perception of new roles/ responsibilities. The In-Service survey measured veterans' agreement with similar statements in addition to questions designed to measure agreement with 13 statements about their self-image and their perception of the public's image on the same questions. The results contributed to what Shields (1981) identified as a view of the self-persona, how the members see themselves and their projected-persona, how members believe the public sees them.

The fantasy of the survey. My first perception of State Police was that they were closed communicators. Therefore, I anticipated a negative or nonparticipative response. Instead, I define the events of the survey session as a chained fantasy of the survey. The groups were at first stoic and suspicious during my introductions. Their nonverbal behavior gradually intensified after the first 17 questions about generic training issues. Their communication activity intensified and peaked when they began to answer the write-in questions requesting their favorite stories, heroes, and villains of the organization. Their response indicated a high level of symbolic involvement with these issues evidenced by the many inside jokes that were shared. The activity slowed down when they reached the
final questions about the mission and became intensely involved in answering the questions. Afterwards, small groups remained to talk with me about their feelings about LSP.\(^7\)

The only observed differences were that some groups began sharing the fantasy earlier and more intensely than others. By the last sessions, the news of the survey spread. Several troopers arrived and began to ask for the opportunity to complete survey. They had come from all over the state. Therefore, I knew the survey experience and discourse had been chained statewide.\(^8\)

The Survey Results

**The Cadets.** Three open ended questions measure cadets' perceptions of the ideal trooper persona. Out of a total of 600 possible responses cadets generated 529 total responses to three requests for 5 images of: (a) the personality of a trooper (203), (b) the professional qualities needed to be a State Trooper (196), and (c) answers to the question of kinds of people who are members of LSP (102)\(^9\). The results that are most significant to this study are: First, cadets report no significant negatives (8): **cocky, aggressive** (2), **cynical** (2) **closeminded, callous,** and **those who are negative about LSP.** The negatives contribute to a persona of "crazy ole troopers," "kicking ass," "driving crazy" which support the persona of the Maverick or the Enforcer.
Second, cadets' identification of (a) specific images of LSP (196) and (b) personality traits (203) of the personae of troopers are significantly higher than the number of traits they associate with (c) actual members (102), thus indicating a greater shared identity with the symbolic persona of a trooper/LSP than with the actual troopers. Those cadets cite as model personae: the Commandant, Captain Kuhnert, "the professional staff," the trooper who was blinded by gun shot who spoke to them, and Colonel Thibodeaux [a symbolic persona to them].

Third, the highest recurring categories support the core assumptions of the community. These are clustered into (a) professional/elite (147), (b) intelligent/educated (111), (c) honest/trustworthy (84), (d) disciplined/elite (78), (e) loyalty/pride (57), and (f) compassionate/fair (44). Soldiers of the Law is the single most recurring image cadets cite specifically, or by qualities, across these categories, which further evidences their idealized self-persona of the heroic State Police. Other reported images include: "Top Dogs," "creme de la creme," "One Trooper-One Riot," and "esprit de corps." Numerous references to being a loyal, honest, compassionate public servant reflect a self and a projected persona that coincides with their perception of the public's view of the heroic public servant.

Overall, the Cadet Class #69 left the Academy experience with a heroic self-persona of very high self-esteem. They
see themselves as active, intelligent heroes upholding the spirit and the letter of the law as Mavericks and Lone Troopers, but, predominately, as Soldiers of the Law. Above all other traits, cadets see themselves as professional and intelligent with education and common sense. They cite images about discipline, but more often images of mental discipline and healthy bodies, than brute strength/enforcement. Their self-persona of a State Trooper has loyalty and pride and is committed to the organizational mission, history, and values. Compared to the In-Service surveys, cadets report no significant negative political images of LSP. The fantasy of politics and promotions did not appear in their responses, which leaves a concern for how long the vision will hold their commitment to the organization.¹⁰

The cadets share the visions of the Academy and Soldiers of the Law through the unifying persona of the heroic trooper and their newly acquired symbols and traits which they attribute to the Academy experience. They do not share in the competing Enforcer vision. In fact, the negative traits about the troopers who were duty officers were the only recurring negatives about training: "those who played politics with favored cadets," who were "arrogant," "their childish negative treatment," and "some thought they were running a military operation." One cadet described a duty officer who used "Gomer Pyle" boot camp strategies."¹¹
The In-Service Survey

A fantasy theme analysis of troopers' discourse supported by the survey results depicts a varied and complex clusters of traits. Of significance is that the self-personae and the projected personae of veterans identify competing and emerging visions discussed in Chapter 7. Therefore, the survey validates the complexity of the culture of LSP identified in Chapter 5.

The persona of a trooper. According to the survey, troopers are dramatic, dedicated to public service, and share the composite drama of Politics as a background saga of LSP. Their fantasy themes of good and bad politics identify the Power Politics and Meritorious Politics rhetorical visions. Political fantasy themes of persona, plot, and justification cut across all levels of the organization, indiscriminately of rank or geographical location, further qualifying Politics as a shared saga of LSP. These results support the conclusions in Chapter 5 that rhetorical communities of LSP define a culture in conflict.

Troopers define this persona through themes about politics. The emotions carried by the political themes vary the trooper's years of service. Troopers nearing retirement share the traits of the era of Colonel Thibodeaux: promotions/transfers through "politics and merit," and "for the good of the trooper."
Rookies (0-5 years service). Troopers within five years of graduation have not suffered many unfair promotions. They still share the idealized fantasies of the sagas of Soldiers of the Law and The Academy. They share the heroic trooper self-persona. Their defined rhetorical vision of LSP is: "too easily affected by politics," "too easily affected by the Governor," "somewhat political," but still "an elite department looked up to by all Louisiana policemen and citizens." They share the core assumptions of the Cadet Class #69: A trooper is caring, disciplined, honest, professional, well-groomed, and well-trained example for the public. Their self-persona is one of high self esteem, and less tainted by Powerful Politics than the veterans. Yet, they voice a concern for the future: "we need the politics out," and "we need people who care to take hold of politics."

The seasoned trooper (10-15 years service). Troopers with 10-15 years service share the persona of the hardworking and practical, public servant, who accepts the reality of politics: of "good ole boy politics," "influenced by politics," "internal politics," and "promotions on politics and friendships." These troopers are the ones most likely to have received their own promotions "through the ranks" the "regular way" and through "politics, friendships and merit." They share a self-persona in common with the idealized persona of Thibodeaux. However, the seasoned trooper shares
the McCormick persona of "politics with a purpose" as the more realistic image of LSP.

**Wise veteran troopers (15 - 20 years service).** Troopers with 15-20 years service share the persona in common with the retiring troopers and the same service/stewardship fantasies that define the trooper as public servant: "public service"; "who provides assistance, enforces all laws fairly, and is impartial"; "is supportive"; and "believes in the military." The wise trooper shares many of the idealized traits of the cadets and retiring troopers. They identify with Meritorious Politics and have no patience for Powerful Politics. They share the core assumption of authority, education, and discipline. They are "caring," "capable," "professional," "well-trained," "confident," and "dedicated." The wise veteran views the current organizational reality of LSP as one of "bad politics": "no one in command has true concern for its workers," we have "incompetent leaders," and we are "an organization of low morale." Their self-persona projects self-respect, pride, and fatherly wisdom, but they are realists who view politics without merit as the potential downfall of the department. They tend to share the Status Quo vision.

**A persona of disillusionment (5-10 years).** Troopers chain the fantasies that script the rhetorical visions of the sagas. The fantasy chains of this group resemble a declining political campaign (Bormann, 1982a). They are stagnant.
Apathy, anger, and frustration have replaced the excitement that chained the original fantasies of the Academy Saga. This analysis of the persona of the most active members of LSP, those with 5-10 years service, is revealed through observations and discourse and confirmed on the surveys as the rhetorical community most in need of revitalization.

Evidence from the rhetoric reveals a threatened persona of a trooper who has up to 10 years invested in retirement, but with a decade or more until he can retire with full benefits. In reality, troopers with 5-10 years service are the ones most effected by the bad politics of lost promotions, political transfers, and declining resources. They shared no actual experiences from the Thibodeaux era to call forth in the "here-and-now" or from which to rationalize the future. They can only draw from fantasies of the immediate past to create a shared reality of LSP.

These troopers have the potential to emerge as the future leadership persona of State Police. Dramatistic themes define this persona and an emerging saga of revolution discussed in Chapter 7. Fantasy statements that depict actions, motives, and manifest behavior can mirror an entire rhetorical vision as social reality. This is the social reality mirrored by the their discourse:

Troopers with 5-10 years of service share a lower self-concept that is significantly different other survey groups.
This self-persona is evidenced by what they say they do: "anything politics"; "all political"; "political bagmen"; "political chauffeurs"; "political spies"; "underfunded, understrength, unorganized"; "we collect human garbage"; "drunk catchers"; "insolence advisors"; and "baby sitters." They blame these symbolic actions on unfair politics and promotions. They see politics as a threat to their self-persona. Politicians are those "who look down on troopers." A veteran trooper explained the declining self-image of these troopers: "They are the ones who always have to 10-17 [pick up papers/packages] for the legislature, politicals, and the mansion." These troopers are "seasoned." They can be trusted to behave properly in political circles so they run political errands. Most do not have the rank needed to perform the day to day operations of LSP.

In response to the write-in survey question about memorable first events, these troopers recall these "firsts": "sex in a unit," "unit accident," "merit board," "civil suit for brutality," and "Internal Affairs Investigations." The fantasy theme of "riding alone" is depicted as "a few of us fighting several of them." When asked to recall the events that serve as the "glue that binds" the organization, these troopers choose statements of aggression and conflict: "fighting the department over being wronged, suspended, or being fired"; "issuing handfuls of tickets"; "loading up the back seat with drunks"; "swat raids"; "arresting yo-yo's";
"breaking a flashlight over an idiot's head"; and "good high speed chases when you catch the shitbird."

This emerging self-persona of a disillusioned trooper mirrors a view of social reality that is passive-aggressive. He is angry, but waits for "a new administration," "a new governor," or "someone else who will come in and clean things up," while he marks time in the Status Quo vision. The trooper justifies his passivity by the shared values of the "independent," "tough," and "seclusive nature" of the elite police. Troopers in this category project a self-persona as victim, one of the 700 troopers who cannot all have Powerful Politics needed for promotion. They share the values of the Meritorious Politics vision, but are disillusioned by the current reality contained in the Saga of Politics.

The Projected Self-Persona of State Police

The survey measures troopers' projected self-personae by their agreement with 8 recurring traits identified from the cadet surveys and observations. The purpose of this part of the survey is to further correct discrepancies of observations. Based on their own experiences, troopers assess the public's perception of the same traits in response to statements that "A State Trooper is": honest and trustworthy; independent; intelligent/educated; fair; aggressive; and mentally, physically and overall disciplined.

All 4 groups of troopers rate their projected self-persona highly by indicating that the public agreed to
strongly agreed with each trait, including aggressive. Ironically, troopers with 5-10 years service report the highest mean scores among all four groups on each trait except aggressive. They shared the third highest rating on aggression with troopers who have 0-5 years service. The differences among groups is not significant. However, the results support the analysis of the troopers with 5-10 years service. Their self-image is not a reflection of their lack of commitment to the public they serve. They view their public image as favorable. The survey proves valuable in reconstructing the composite social reality of LSP and in verifying the core assumptions of the community.

The Unifying Personae of the Sagas of LSP

Persona, in the dramatistic sense, is defined by Bormann (1972) as the character a public person plays in a given rhetorical dramatization. Chapter 4 identifies personification as a predominant rhetorical strategy through which members create and share fantasies and group culture. Bormann (1972) says that when a persona acts in a series of fantasy themes that chain through the public, the generalized character creates a rhetorical vision. The heroic persona of State Police has been identified as the embodied traits and values of the Soldiers of the Law and Academy Sagas. When analyzing down to the basic unit of dramatistic fantasy theme, the sagas of LSP are unified by the self and projected personae of LSP members, past and present. Unique to the
police organization, a viable public persona is critical to their ability to uphold the law. Unlike the traditional organization, each member of LSP functions as public persona of the organization. The real exigency of the police community is that the police do not recognize the rhetorical power of persona to build or destroy credibility. The progressive police agency utilizes the public persona of the police to develop cohesion internally and with the community through police community relations programs. However, State Police faces a current crisis of a declining public persona.

The Academy Saga as Public Persona of LSP

Be mindful that you are the most public of all public employees, a symbol of the very state government which employs you. Your conduct in that role reflects on all public employees. Make them proud. (Fontenot, 1992, July)

The Academy saga contains the persona of the public servant. The saga functions as the common symbolic bond that binds every member to the organization, both through their unique Academy Class vision and the overarching Academy vision. The saga functions across all organizational lines and rhetorical boundaries to recall stock scenarios of past events and personae that embody an ideal reality of State Police. Throughout the history of LSP, The Saga of the Academy has functioned rhetorically as "the glue that binds" troopers, retired and active, to the organization and the primary symbolic vehicle for the perpetuation of the communication culture of LSP.
The Saga of the Academy constitutes the ideal narratives, fantasies, mission, and rhetorical visions of LSP. It functions rhetorically to evoke emotion, to instil pride, to develop commitment to the organization, and to convey social knowledge. This saga has the potential to support emerging sagas of LSP that have an active, unifying persona. The current saga does not offer a viable plan for coping with crisis.

Soldiers of the Law

The personified images of the organization as heroic troopers who ride alone, who handle riots alone, who police cities alone contribute to the complex personification of Soldiers of the Law. Troopers share the reality of Soldiers of the Law through these fantasies: "the only statewide enforcers of the law"; "we serve the governor"; "we enforce state and federal laws"; "paramilitary police"; and "we protect and serve, we are the most disciplined, and we are independent." The personification of Soldiers of the Law examples how a recurring theme, shared repetitively within group discourse, can function to create a shared group consciousness among new members and sustain culture among veterans.

Apathy on the Fantasy Chain

The surveys provided catharsis for veteran troopers who, through the process, recalled experiences from a time other than the here-and-now. They communicated their feelings
about crisis and change. Troopers chain the fantasies that script the rhetorical visions as shared reality of the complex organization of LSP. The fantasy chains of LSP, not unlike a declining political campaign, are stagnant. Apathy, anger, and frustration have replaced the excitement that chained the original fantasies of LSP. The surveys reveal that troopers remain committed to the "front parlor" sagas of the organization, The Saga of the Academy and the Soldiers of the Law Saga. Yet, State Police is not internally cohesive.

Bormann (1982a) explains that communicating the big picture through the sagas is necessary for organizational commitment, but not sufficient to assure cohesiveness. What is required is that leadership generate an organizational saga by triggering the necessary fantasy chains in which the major portion of the members share. Commitment to the saga means that the rhetorical visions within the community not be in conflict. This is the crisis that explains the emergence of consciousness sustaining communication strategies defined in Chapter 7.

The results of this survey provide valuable insight into the most important component of the rhetorical visions and sagas of LSP, the unifying persona. The survey further delineates the rhetorical boundaries of the rhetorical hierarchy of LSP. The members' responses verify conflicting shared visions as evidence of internal crisis. If a rhetoric is to accommodate a community in crisis, it must meet the
members' needs in anxious times. The question remains whether the sagas can provide the answers to accommodate crisis and change. This final excerpt from the Academy speech offers few rational solutions for the trooper in the current reality of LSP:

The Cadet Class #69 Graduation Speech (Continued)

As troopers, each of you must learn to be compassionate in the administration of your duties. No one expects you to be perfect, we just expect you to grow and develop and mature as a result of the imperfect process . . . . You’ve been exposed to some of the best training currently available in law enforcement and tomorrow you’ll be provided with some of the best equipment . . . . And finally I hope that you learn first hand that your job is the purest form of public service far beyond enforcing the law . . . . we are required to protect others from harm aid those in need . . . without regard to personal prejudice . . . a symbol of the very state government that employs you . . . . the privilege of being counted among Louisiana’s finest. Today you become a State Trooper. (Fontenot, 1992, July)
Chapter 6 Endnotes

1. See Appendix C.

2. Chapter 6 defines the rhetorical function of the leader as persona and unifying symbol of the saga. Warren Bennis (1989) in *Why Leaders Can't Lead* explains that the first trait apparent in effective leaders is their ability to communicate an extraordinary focus on commitment through a compelling vision that brings others to a place they have not seen before" (p. 19). While Bennis does not use the technical language of symbolic convergence, he explains the rhetorical process of convergence through which members come to know the reality of the organization. They make sense of the goals and directions needed to solved problems and perform tasks that sustain the community.

3. Bormann (1990) contributes theoretical support to Bennis' argument: "the motives embedded in the shared fantasies, rhetorical visions, and the organizational saga become compelling" (p. 276). He explains that implied motives impel members to strive for certain things and ignore or downgrade others. The composite narratives of the saga can describe a social reality of cohesion or one of hatred and frustration.

4. The survey measured agreement with the statements about their knowledge of the mission/vision of LSP (2), troopers' values/traits (8), preconceived and current image of the organization (11) and their perception of new roles and responsibilities (11). The In-Service survey measured agreement with statements about the need for leaders to receive training (2), their Academy experience (7), their self image of their character (8) and the political nature of the organization (3) and their view of the public's perception of their image and the politics.

I compared traits between the two surveys. The In-service was more complete, as I had gathered 5 months of observations from which to draw questions; therefore, the In-Service survey measured questions on promotions by politics or merit and the public's perception of these; perceptions of mental, physical and overall discipline needed to be a trooper; the Academy experience; militaristic practices of training; additional questions about the roles and responsibilities and the added traits of honest/loyal, independent, intelligent, fair and impartial and aggressive.

5. In an effort to build credibility, I told them that I taught police officers statewide and that the results of the survey relative to training topics would be given to the Academy for joint program development with LSU.
Sitting in raised theater chairs, some members actually turned around and whispered to each other when I told them the responses were anonymous. I could not interpret whether they were simply amused at having to take an LSU survey or whether they did not believe that the surveys were actually going to be shared in full with LSP. I told them they had an hour for the exam, but could take as much time as needed.

6. The group members spent an average of 10 minutes on the first 17 questions about training issues. I marked this time by the increase in nonverbal communication and whispers as they answered 3 questions about leadership’s need for training. There was a mixed reaction of suspicion, sarcasm, and a few laughs. They enjoyed the 11 questions about their image, evidenced by the subtle comments of humor. The atmosphere continued to become more relaxed as they shared answers and jokes about cheating, "Dan back here’s cheating on his image question."

7. The activity increased until members began to answer question 48 which asked them to describe rites, rituals and stories shared. They began to share "remember whens" and officers’ last names. The activity peaked with the questions on heroes and villains. They asked questions and made jokes until I explained that these were people, places, ideas, forces or bodies of government, ideals or entities that threatened their survival. At that point they became very thoughtful and serious about their writing. A very few made comments. At least half the class stayed past the hour to write.

Always, one or two would ask if they could put their names on the survey which always evoked laughter. Several (10-15) would shuffle their surveys into the stack to be sure it was buried. In each session at least one or two would ask if their handwriting would be traced.

In three sessions, troopers kept me for one hour to discuss their feelings about the survey, generally indicating that this was a relief for them to write, a catharsis. These would evolve into group sharing of problems and remedies and ideas. Then, the excitement would decline, indicative of the end of a fantasy that "this would change things."

They were most impressed with questions that asked for their opinions about the kinds of training programs they would like to have taught, indicating that "no one ever asked their opinion on what troopers wanted." Generally, their concerns were about budget cuts, low pay, no hope for changes, declining resources and training opportunities, and apprehension about the role of gambling its effect on their division. The most prevalent concern was about being transferred and the insecurity of never knowing when that
would happen, where they would be transferred and if they were best skilled for the job. Overall, they had hope for the new administration because of the Colonel’s ties with the Governor, but were losing faith into the second year of the administration. I began the session with a self introduction.

8. The changes that the group most wanted to see happen in the organization were issues that could be clustered as: (a) training opportunities to increase their skill level; (b) management training; (c) a change in the promotion system on the basis of politics competence, performance and education and (d) the opportunity to contribute ideas, resources to the organization.

Their needs and concerns reflect standard management principles of human resource management: a concern for the employee as a valuable resource, participative decision making and problem solving, opportunity for promotion and advancement, opportunity for employee skill training, open communication between employee/employer, a concern for mutual respect regardless of position and a choice in job task to meet their skill level. These are management principles absent in an authoritarian organization.

Their answers indicated a basic human need, even in the police culture, to communicate upward to leadership, to be treated as an equal adult, to work in the same democratic environment in which they live and to simply be recognized for hard work and competence. All troopers in every situation exhibited a high level of commitment to the organizational values, the symbolic persona of the Lone Trooper. Their concerns did not reflect anger as much as a genuine concern for the future of an organization dominated by politics.

9. The traits were gathered directly from the surveys. Many Cadets listed 2 descriptions for a single trait, as in fair and compassionate; therefore there were more than 200 images in one category. These were listed separately in order to develop a perspective for the volume of images that were generated as evidence of creative fantasizing about a persona. The fact that they did not generate as many images of members indicates that fantasy is more attractive than conjuring up ideal traits of real people they met.

Repeated images were then grouped into like groups of 49, 53 and 52 separate descriptions for the respective questions. I examined those groups for words and themes that were similar or the same and clustered those descriptions into these categories: professional, disciplined, honest/trustworthy, intelligent, independent/elite, compassionate/fair, public servant, loyal/proud, militaristic/para militaristic, leader and lover of life;
The specific name Soldiers of the Law was the single most recurring image cited specifically or by qualities across these categories. The last two categories and the negative categories did not contain a significant number of references.

The paramilitary and disciplined categories were merged into disciplined/elite, as those yielded like images of physical discipline, toughness, rigidity, enforcement and independence. The number of responses for enforcement did not warrant a category. The independent/elite professional were merged into the category of professional/elite based on like images of the professional law enforcement officer, "soldier of the law" who is also the trooper who rides alone. The elite/lone trooper is a recurring image across the military and the professional category; however only 19 total responses were linked to military, compared to 117 professional/elite.

The images/traits of compassionate/fair (34), honest/trustworthy (72) and public servant were combined in the personae public service because of their relevance to a trooper's public responsibility, but they are kept as separate traits because of the high number of responses.

The descriptions contributing to the category of intelligence were distinguished because of the recurring images of a troopers' education, common sense and mental toughness/discipline. Intelligent/educated remained an independent category because of the high number or recurring responses (26) and because of the recurring number of mental discipline references. The category of loyalty/pride supported the troopers' commitment of the organizational mission, history and values.

10. Some write in responses made references to this being a "political class" and to the organization as high profile, historical (3) and political (1).

11. Clusters of phrases about the strengths and weaknesses of the Academy Experience were unique in that they were not the typical evaluation responses about food, quality of program or aesthetics. Their responses contributed to a vision where they learned: "discipline of body, mind" and the "uphill fight to get to the top"; "preparation for life" statements; "an experience I won't forget"; "prepared to enforce the law," "well trained and well educated." The only negative comments were about trainers and duty officers who tried to be too militaristic.
12. Relative to their self-persona, the ratings were essentially the same. Troopers with 0-5 years service rated their self-personas only slightly higher than the troopers with 5-10 years service rated theirs. No significant differences were found among these scores.
ACCOMODATING CHANGE
THE RHETORICAL FUNCTION OF THE SAGAS

Of all the arts, rhetoric is perhaps the most sensitive to the intellectual and social milieu in which it finds itself, and is constantly changing with the times.

-Douglas Ehninger

The rhetorical problem of sustaining consciousness is most difficult during the periods of maturity and decline. Members can lose interest in the old sagas or seek new visions. Bormann (1985) explains that a viable rhetoric is needed to sustain the community in troubled times and to accommodate the members to the societal and technological changes that accompany its unfolding history (Bormann, 1985). The need for a viable rhetoric is a current threat to the community of State Police.

This chapter is a discussion of the rhetorical function of the organizational sagas of State Police as consciousness sustaining communication. These questions are answered: How has the current identity of LSP been shaped and reshaped by its sagas? How have the sagas functioned rhetorically to accommodate change? What are the emerging sagas and how do these function to sustain consciousness? What do the sagas reveal about the current identity of the community? What is the function of leadership in organizational change?
Shaping and Sustaining the Culture

The Sagas of the Academy and Soldiers

Bormann (1985) explains that some rhetorical visions rupture, while others are stable and inflexible and persevere through long periods. He cites as an example, the vision of the Puritans of New England, which sustained the community for hundreds of years. Similarly, the overarching sagas of Soldiers of the Law and The Academy have functioned rhetorically to shape and sustain the culture of the LSP throughout its fifty-six year history of politics and policing. Through the ongoing cycles of the Academy experience, the discourse and the ritual of graduation have functioned uniquely as strategies for consciousness creating, re-creating, and raising. The Soldiers of the Law saga provides the motives, meaning, and emotions to impel officers to be the best trained, most competent public servants. The Academy Saga provides the social and technical knowledge, the meaning and emotion to sustain the rhetorical visions.

Indications from the discourse are that some members of LSP still find the old stories and traditions adequate to sustain their commitment. They share a Status Quo view of reality. However, others are disillusioned and seek a new vision to accommodate crisis and change in the unfolding history. The current crisis of State Police demands real solutions to here-and-now problems.
The traditions and ideal traits and personae expressed in the Soldiers of the Law visions have kept the overarching sagas alive. Can the sagas then motivate the members to revitalize the organizational mission and personae of State Police? I asked the retired focus group members interviewed to name five traits of an ideal trooper. Although their responses constitute the persona of the heroic Soldier of the Law, the discourse offers little hope for the modern day trooper who faces few opportunities for advancement and pay raises. They shared this fantasy of the heroic Soldier of the Law:

' RT1: He's physically fit, professional, humanistic, educated, dedicated - That's my five.

RT3: Yes . . . humanistic - able to deal with people.

At this point, RT2, a newly retired trooper, challenges the heroic trooper traits and calls for a reality check. The other two members retired over a decade ago. The most powerful argument in this fantasy is the shared drama of the Soldier as public servant.

RT2: Hey, I mean what we're asking for in a person is almost nonexistent.

RT3: That's true.

RT2: I mean, there's some them out there - but not a lot I said - almost nonexistent.

RT3: They're somewhere out there, sergeants and below.

Though I can't put my finger on what happens to
them after that. I don't know what happens to
them down the road.

RT2: Well, lets face it, [RT3], you're asking for a man
who has all the ideal qualities that anybody in
this world can possibly have. And then, your
putting him in a situation to where, number one,
you're not giving him a livable salary. Number
two, you're asking him to go out there and work
these screwed up hours, these screwed up days, you
know ... policing!

The question facing LSP today is whether the rhetoric
will sustain the members in the face of crisis and change.
The *esprit de corps* faces the novel experience of having its
public image questioned on many levels of reality. The
internal stability of LSP has been damaged by budget cuts, an
unclear management mission, and the exodus of troopers. An
active media has shared this drama with the public. If you
ask a trooper today to define the three priority goals of the
organization, his response is likely to be: "I'm just doing
my job."

Through the unfolding fantasy, the newly retired trooper
attempts to call forth the discrepancies between the current
reality of life in LSP and the symbolic reality of the saga.
His response is triggered by the cryptic allusion of the
persona of the public servant who knows what to expect "going
in":

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
RT3: They know that going in, though.
RT2: Well, sure they know that, but . . .
RT3: [interrupting] Hey, you take a guy and you fill his expectations for that job, support him in that effort and he’s going to stay that way.

This justification is a recurring one, in discourse perpetuated by the sagas of Soldiers of the Law and the Academy. The rhetorical visions contained in the sagas have successfully functioned as self-fulfilling prophecy to script the behavior of those troopers who shared the reality of the heroic state trooper. Can the sagas of the past continue to sustain the organization in crisis and meet the needs of a changing social environment? Bormann (1987) explains that sharing the saga is a necessary, but not sufficient requirement for building an empowered organization to accommodate change: "What is required is the right kind of saga" (p. 40).

Accommodating Past Change

According to history and the surviving discourse, the traditional sagas of LSP have functioned as "the right kinds of sagas" to accommodate change. In the past, troopers were called "Earl’s obliging boys" for assisting Long in his campaign when he was not the incumbent. The fantasies reveal graft and corruption of past administrations and a history of operating from politics as the base of power. Yet, the system or the governor eventually vindicated the organization...
by removing or punishing the offenders. A new administration relying on traditional sagas revitalized the damaged vision. The surveys report that members do not believe recent leaders have managed the visions, accommodated the change, or have a feasible plan for the future of LSP.

The evolution of the rhetorical visions that comprise the surviving sagas of LSP is a chained response to crisis in the organizational life of LSP. Clark (1972) explains that sagas often emerge during periods of transitions. The most significant shift in the mission of LSP was the transition from a highway patrol to a State Police in 1936. General Guerre's first Academy of Soldiers marks the historical transition. Led by a focused leader as unifying persona, the rhetorical vision of "G-Men," free from political influence, was chained. In the image of the FBI, the vision defined personae of law men commissioned to fight crime, corruption, and gambling. Newspaper photos from that period reveal troopers destroying back room gambling parlors as evidence of a drama shared by the public through the media. Troopers who stayed with the first Academy began to chain the fantasies to members of other classes. The evolving sagas have both shaped the social reality of LSP and been shaped by the shared fantasies of each generation of troopers.

The discourse also reveals that the sagas have functioned to sustain the public persona of LSP as the state's premier law enforcement agency, at least into the
last decade, as evidenced by the Mardi Gras Detail. Cragan (1981) and Bormann (1972) explain the rhetorical power of the public saga as shared drama. Bormann explains that the complex and reciprocal set of relationships among fantasies and visions can create a symbolic reality that catches up large groups of people in a rhetorical movement.

Cragan (1981) describes a rhetorical drama/movement created and repeated by spokesman through multiple communication channels. He cites, as example, a public Movement drama of the 1960’s staged by American Indians that failed because the timing and setting were not correct. The Movement lacked a revolutionary hero fighting a conspiring oppressor. Cragan’s criteria for public drama explains the power of the public persona of the Soldier that troopers recall through the Mardi Gras Detail. The drama was enacted during carnival season and has survived through fantasy as troopers’ most memorable moment. The scenario is State Police converging on the citizens of the famous city of New Orleans to save them from the neglect of their own police and the oppressors of crime. Justified by the shared organizational sagas of Soldiers of the Law and the Academy, troopers were impelled to enact the rhetorical vision that caught up a larger public who shared the drama. The power of the media and timing were also critical to the public’s sharing of the social reality as revealed in this unfolding fantasy of the Mardi Gras Detail:
RT3: Well, it was a fun detail. We got a lot of good press. We got some bad press too, but mostly good.

RT1: It was hard work.

RT3: We did lots of things. There were lots of things down there that don't need to be talked about (laugh) but . . . no felonies

RT2: I think what most people don't understand is . . . No violent felonies. But urban policing is different than state policing in a situation like that . . . well, it was different let's say. Let's just leave it like that. It was different.

RT3: You. You took a work force down there that in two weeks some of them saw as much criminal activity as they'll see in 10 years, naturally they'd remember that. That's why you're getting that.

RT3: You take some of these rural boys from north Louisiana and from the very rural parts of the state would not see the number of crimes they responded to down there in their entire lifetime. There's no way you can ever bring it back . . .

The Mardi Gras Detail as actual drama played out in the public provides reliable evidence of sagas as viable rhetoric. The symbolic terrain of LSP today defines emerging sagas and corresponding rhetorical visions. This phenomenon
evidences a strain on community values. As members try and redefine their relationships within the new visions or find ways to sustain the old visions, they initiate new fantasy themes.

**Accommodating Current Crisis and Change**

Through this fantasy theme analysis, the symbolic convergence of the communication culture of State Police has been documented. In the second year of this study, the cycle of convergence began again, evidenced by new fantasy themes of emerging visions and sagas. The preceding chapters validate State Police as a community in flux. The emerging new fantasy themes of revolution and restoration reinforce the crisis and reveal a basic concern for the preservation of the core values of elitism, conflict, consistency, and discipline. These values are mirrored in two, competing fantasy types of conspiracy and restoration/reform. These complex fantasy types define the problem of the authoritarian community. Stratification and authoritarianism are the norms for organizational life in the police department. King (1987) explains that in a heavily stratified community, elites may control recruitment and determine the constituents' knowledge and evidence. In fact, their exercise of power is the ability to define the nature of reality (p. 51). The evidence gathered from this study verifies this description of power as a current reality of LSP. This is an organization of conflict and competition.
Special interest groups create their own consciousness aside and apart from the reality contained in the founding sagas of LSP. The emerging Restoration Saga and the actions of members who have appealed unfair actions represent a response to the illegitimate use of elite and legitimate power.

The power of State Police, any police officer, is based on legitimate authority and its projected persona, as evidenced by the Mardi Gras Detail drama. Rupture of the public persona poses a potential threat to troopers' ability to enforce the law. Chained through the media, the fantasy themes of politics and policing and the controversies surrounding gambling licensing pose additional threats to the projected public persona of LSP. Internally, the members' self-persona, their self image, is threatened. This is revealed through observations and validated through the survey results. The reality of lost funding and declining resources is one the esprit de corps is not accustomed to sharing with state government. In fact, this is the first time troopers interviewed in this study could recall the low morale and the shortage of personnel that define the present reality.

From the rhetorical perspective, the current crisis of LSP is the reality of competing rhetorical visions and sagas. The chaos of life in a community is explained by the lack of a viable organizational saga or unifying persona to unite the members for action: "when there are substantial communities
within an organization committed to different organizational sagas, you can anticipate many battles and conflicts . . . " (Bormann, 1990, p. 94).

The Emerging Sagas

As discussed in previous chapters, a fantasy theme analysis of the rhetorical visions and sagas provides the rhetorical critic with accurate information from which to assess the present day reality of the threatened organizational community. What are the changes that have occurred in the community of the LSP that threaten the survival of its formal mission and its community values? Chapter 4 identified the core assumptions confirmed by the surveys as: conflict, discipline, pride and loyalty, independence, education/intelligence, professionalism, and the virtues of public service.

Three emerging sagas, as panoramic views of the organization, contain conflicting rhetorical perspectives that threaten the traditional sagas of LSP: Conspiracy, Politics, and Gambling Czar. The Conspiracy Saga is discussed separately as an example of consciousness sustaining communication. The sagas function as rhetorical strategies, as the members' response to exigency and the way they come to know their reality. The Gambling Czar functions as mass persuasion and provides the members and the public with social knowledge of a coherent view of organizational reality. However, the emerging sagas pose a threat to the
core values of the community because of conflicting motives shared by a select group of members who do not represent the whole membership.

The Saga of Politics

The Saga of Politics, as described throughout this study, contains fantasies that define the reality of State Police according to the practice of good or bad politics. The practice of politics varies with the leadership, but has remained a "back porch" saga, not for public consumption.

Through the power of the "media merchants," the attitudes and values of Powerful Politics, politics without promotions or for political self interest, have been legitimized. Media reports reveal the public persona of the superintendent has merged with the persona of the governor and the powers of the legislature to form a unifying persona exempt from the traditional and ethical practice of politics defined by the policy and procedures of LSP. Maginnis' (1993) article "Police, Power and Politics" in the Louisiana Political Review describes the state police system of promotions that "remains a fact of life" in the department. Until recently that "fact of life" has been part of the "gentlemen's agreement" of "back kitchen" fantasies. Maginnis writes: "officers seeking advancement have to pass a civil service test and a screening by superiors, but troopers learn early on the importance of patrons" (p. 36). Asked if he hears from the Mansion on key promotions such as
captain, Fontenot's response is: "I hear from the Mansion for any kind of promotion. It could be a transfer. People are conditioned to asking someone higher up for help" (p. 37).

In reality, politics is politics. Once members begin to play the game of Meritorious Politics or Powerful Politics, they justify the actions of all who play politics. The overarching Soldiers of the Law Saga does not have an active or unifying persona to combat the values or actions of the Saga of Politics. The unifying persona is symbolic, therefore not a viable rhetoric to "referee" the political game or to determine when politics are fair or unfair. According to the discourse, the last heroic personae to accomplish Meritorious Politics were Thibodeaux and Garrison.

The Gambling Czar Saga

Since 1992, State Police has been empowered by the legislature with the legitimate authority to regulate gambling. The new mission of LSP relative to gambling and the accompanying dramas played out in the media define an emerging saga labeled, the Gambling Czar. The label is a metaphor for the powerful dramatist personae identified by their symbolic and actual ties to LSP through the shared reality of legalized gambling. The Gambling Czar is a visible public saga that represents a mediated panoramic view of the organization's new mission, also shared by the public. Many of the primary personae of the core rhetorical dramas
are not members of the organization: the general public; an elite group of gambling entrepreneurs; the governor; and factions of the legislature comprising those who make the laws, those who oppose legalized gambling, and even those who allegedly have ties to the gambling industry. Internal personae include the factions of the LSP administration directly involved with licensing and those administrators who, by their legitimate authority in the bureaucracy, are empowered to direct LSP in the activities of investigating applicants for licensing. Media reports question the activities of some leaders within LSP. Controversy has surrounded the emerging saga of gambling. Herein lies the threat to the traditional sagas of LSP. Those who are legitimately empowered to direct the organization also control the mission and define the current reality. Interviews and surveys report that the Gambling Czar mission has become a primary focus of internal management.

Again, the power of the media puts the public persona of State Police squarely in the public domain through the leader persona of the Superintendent. Media coverage calls into question the legitimacy of LSP involvement with licensing and regulation. This new persona of LSP conflicts with the unifying personae of the Academy and the Solders of the Law Sagas. Maginnis (1993), in an interview with Superintendent Fontenot, reports the colonel's defense in district court of recent State Police actions that include writing regulations.
for truckstops. Judge Frank Saia agreed with the plaintiff and ruled that State Police had exceeded their authority granted to them by the legislature. Colonel Fontenot’s response as public persona is: "I knew there would be a court challenge but I think we will win it (on appeal) (Maginnis, 1993, December).

The persona of the present governor has long been associated with gambling. An Associated Press story of March 10, 1994 reports, "Edwards appears before grand jury for 20th time":

Louisiana’s high rolling governor appeared before a state grand jury investigating gambling . . . and told reporters ‘I’m comfortable with it.’ He had been expected to be questioned on . . . high-stake poker games and telephone calls to state police on behalf of casino operators seeking licenses (Coats, 1994 March 10).

In January of 1994, a series of media stories report another licensing controversy involving LSP and depict the Superintendent as a key persona in the unfolding drama of the Gambling Czar Saga. Superintendent Fontenot authorizes State Police to appeal the Riverboat Gaming Commission’s reversal of a refusal by LSP to license Horseshoe Casino of Las Vegas. The LSP lawsuit was thrown out of State District Court. The Superintendent authorized a second filing in Appeals Court where the suit was again dismissed. In February, the Louisiana Attorney General’s office rejected Fontenot’s request to appeal the Commission’s reversal of the order. As
of March, 1994, the case was pending before the 1st Circuit Court of Appeal.

Through the media, the public comes to know the actions of LSP in this new role as Gambling Czar. The Superintendent's actions are best understood through the discourse and explained as behavior motivated by the powerful messages of the Gambling Czar saga. Two dramatistic fantasy themes contribute to this powerful, emerging saga. The fantasy of Powerful Politics depicts the higher power of the legislature and the governor's office as sanctioning agents to justify the actions of the Superintendent. The heroic fantasy of the elite State Trooper, specifically the Enforcer, provides the manifest meaning, emotion, and motive for actions perhaps outside the letter of the law. These powerful fantasies combined with the fantasy of legalized gambling script the Gambling Czar Saga.

Bormann (1981) offers a possible explanation for the emergence of the conflicting sagas. He states that in most instances a viable rhetorical vision accounts plausibly for the evidence of senses for those who pick it up. However, on occasion, small, dedicated groups generate and sustain visions "so out of joint with the common-sense and everyday experience of the majority" that their appeal is very limited. Emerging negative public opinion reports from the majority of citizens opposing gambling and media reports of an LSP exceeding its legal authority are indicative of
Bormann's analogy of these "bizarre rhetorical visions with pathological states in individuals" rather than shared group reality (p. 20).

On March 22, The Advocate headlines report "Casino firm sues state police chief" (Talley, 1994). Talley reports the law suit seeks $30 million in damages for lost profits and harm to the reputation of Horseshoe Entertainment of Las Vegas. The front page story reports that Horseshoe "went on the offensive Monday and sued Superintendent of State Police Paul W. Fontenot, accusing him of conducting a 'campaign of harassment' to block Horseshoe's riverboat casino license." The discourse of the petition depicts Fontenot's conduct as an "evil motive" or "callously indifferent" to actions that "manipulated, impeded, obstructed, and attempted to defeat the due course of justice."

The resolution of this suit could depend on a lengthy court battle. Of significance to this study of the rhetorical function of the Gambling Czar saga is the power of the media to chain a public fantasy and how the saga constitutes a social reality of LSP in conflict with the traditional role of the elite law enforcement agency. The Sagas of Politics and the Gambling Czar collectively represent emerging sagas of LSP legitimized through the power of the media as public fantasy. The contributing fantasy themes and rhetorical visions are shared in part by the Sagas of the Academy and Soldiers of the Law, through the fantasies

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
of the elite police. These emerging sagas represent a significant change in the public's perception of State Police and also the greatest risk to its public persona and its current mission. The gambling regulation practices now under grand jury investigation could result in a mandate or consent decree to decrease the powers and responsibilities of State Police.

The Soldiers of the Law emerged in 1937 in response to Act 94 of the legislature. The act created the Department of State Police from the merger of the State Highway Patrol and the State Bureau of Criminal Identification: "into a modern, well-equipped and well trained state constabulary" (Heleniak, 1980, p. 17). Today, fifty-seven years later, LSP risks a new mission change, one with the potential to return the organization full circle to its original charge as an agent for highway patrol.

Consciousness Sustaining Communication

A serious threat to the stability of State Police is an internal one posed by diverse factions within the organization that threaten cohesion and commitment to the vision. As explained, the rhetorical problem of sustaining consciousness is often most pressing during periods of maturity and decline. While the old stories sustain some members, others are disaffected. The need to revitalize the members' commitment to the vision becomes a pressing one (Bormann, 1985). A typical condition of decline in the
organizational community results from ambiguous or nonexistent formal directives and communication from leadership.

In response to ambiguity and chaos, organizational members can form factions and create fantasy events to cope with the unexplainable; through symbolic convergence, rumors can chain throughout the organization and create powerful dramas that catch up members in competing visions (Bormann, 1985). Bormann (1981) defines the condition in which rumors evolve: "whenever occasions are so chaotic and indiscriminate that the community has no clear impression of the facts, people are given free reign to fantasize within the assumptions of their rhetorical vision without inhibition" (p. 26). Rumors and factions can develop when leadership moves the mission of an organization off into an unqualified or unsanctioned direction resulting in an atmosphere of fear, conflict, and chaos. The discourse evidences the competing visions that constitute this reality of State Police. The emerging Conspiracy Saga expresses this perspective that can be defined as a dysfunctional organization, a concept widely accepted by theorists as a condition of stress, tension, and imbalance in a closed system (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Through shared fantasies, leaders create a culture of conspiracy in which factions are perceived as conspirators "out to get" the leadership, while members chain a mirror fantasy in which the leadership is "out to get them."
The Conspiracy Fantasy: A Current View of Reality

The fantasy type conspiracy is the core drama of emerging rhetorical visions about Internal Affairs Investigations, politics of suspensions, transfers, and forced retirement. Cragan (1974) defines the conspiracy drama as a popular rhetorical mode for Americans to frame their social reality. The typical scenario is the super-hero emerging to piece together conspiracy, uncover secret plans/hideouts of the villain, and punish the conspirators. The emerging conspiracy fantasy type and Conspiracy Saga are evidenced by the members' recurring fantasy themes of "forced retirement," "appeals to the State Police Commission," "witch hunts," and "Gestapo tactics," and are validated by the surveys and observations. These fantasies have been chained throughout the organization as (a) members' responses to rumors and ambiguity typical of a threatened community facing crisis and change and (b) leadership's response to the members' generated fantasy themes as attempts to redefine a viable rhetorical vision.

The Conspiracy Saga therefore emerges as a coherent view of reality that captures members in the same conspiracy drama. The roles they play as protagonists or antagonists in the drama are determined by their position in the hierarchy of LSP. The Conspiracy Saga expresses a consciousness sustaining communication strategy generated by a faction of the administration to discipline members through series of
recent Internal Affairs Investigations. Specifically, the communication style of these investigations examples consciousness sustaining communication strategies designed to reform those troopers who are perceived to be members of a conspiracy to undermine management.

An emerging communication style. As stated, a viable rhetoric must deal with anxiety aroused by trouble, evil within the social reality (Bormann, 1985). The emerging Conspiracy Saga discourse represents what Bormann (1985) defines as a mature rhetorical style based on a symbolic ground of assumptions that uses inside-cues to trigger fantasies and arguments. Bormann (1985) explains members may even denigrate the current rhetorical style of the community. State Police examples distinct communication styles that correspond to specific rhetorical communities. Evidence of a rhetorical style used by Internal Affairs investigators is documented through the shared discourse of members who had "been there."

The Internal Affairs Session

The evolving discourse of the last year of this analysis reveals recurring fantasy themes about Internal Affairs sessions, suspension sessions, transfers, firings, and appeal board hearings. Through the follow up focus group interviews, I posed the question, "what does an internal affairs session mean to you?" The members shared numerous fantasies that validate consciousness sustaining
communication strategies. Specifically, Bormann (1985), defines the consciousness raising sessions in *The Force of Fantasy* that validate the series of Internal Affairs investigations. These consciousness raising sessions were designed to reform members perceived as pulling away from current management's view of reality.

Bormann (1985) discovered the power of the consciousness sustaining sessions in the rhetoric of the Puritans of New England who reformed backsliders by pressuring them to conform and to pull them away from their revitalized visions. The intense sessions focused on the "backslider," "bombarded the wayward one" with messages that compared the ideals of the rhetorical vision against the person's bad behavior and character. The Puritan, similar to the investigated trooper in an IA session, is accused of enacting bad scenarios. The session is successful if the backslider makes a public confession of wrongdoing, often followed by public repentance and testimony of renewed commitment to the vision. The scenario of the recent IA sessions, depicts members suspended, transferred, demoted, or choosing retirement as forced public confessions for perceived wrongdoing. The Puritan groups practiced "public scathing" on the "backslider" in front of the congregation or featured the public persona delivering speeches to small segments of the group population as a tactic of "taking the hide off the audience" (p. 15). Administrators of LSP reportedly used
similar communication strategies in troop meetings throughout the state to remind members of the successful operations of the gambling division in spite of media reports of conflicting interests. Those who disagreed or did not respond enthusiastically were chastised for their lack of support of the new mission.

Bormann (1985) explains that the success of the consciousness raising session necessitates that all participants share a rhetorical vision as a common ground for symbolic convergence. This condition for consciousness sustaining explains why the IA sessions have failed as a strategy to "reform" members of LSP. The investigators and members share mirror conspiracy visions. The investigated troopers also share the vision of Soldiers of the Law. The core dramas of these visions conflict. This best explains why the emerging conspiracy fantasy has failed to reform members.

According to the discourse and the focus group interviews, the recent IA investigations were conducted after disciplinary action was taken, indicating an assumed guilt before charges were proven. Investigators arguments were built on hearsay and rumors designed to make the troopers feel like "criminals." Other descriptions of IA reported in the surveys included hearings about vague accusations, supposed violations of "the code," or about "just fighting with management about suspensions and firing."
The discourse and surveys reveal fantasies that depict competing motives of rhetorical visions of IA investigations, past and present. The following example of a fantasy of past IA investigations emerged in the retired troopers' focus group interviews. A maverick/trooper persona acknowledges "getting caught," but also getting one up on IA:

RT3: My first one was a fight off duty. Internal affairs had already decided since I had only been out of the Academy two weeks they wanted me to "roll over" on "Ted." They let me stay with a couple of days suspension, but they wanted to use me to get "Ted."

B: Did it happen?

RT3: No, and I didn't get fired. They suspended both of us. They took me off probation [as a first year rookie] so they could suspend me. As a result, I was the first guy right out the Academy that got turned loose with his own car [laughing].

In this account, the trooper shares a rhetorical vision of IA in which discipline was enacted on the basis of good reasons.

RT2: I mean, when I had my first internal affairs investigation I knew the outcome before it happened. And I'm not saying it was rigged or anything like that because I ended up with time off. I knew I was going to get time off because of the situation and what happened and all that.
In this unfolding drama of a recent IA session, the officer does not share the rhetorical vision of conspiracy or any other common vision with the investigator:

RT2: The second internal affairs investigation I had, I was treated like a criminal, you know, and I felt after twenty something years of loyal, dedicated service, that I should have been treated differently because I didn't do anything wrong. When they call you in and read you your rights, and that. And the way your treated, you know. That's one reason why I left, too . . . They told me I couldn't talk to anybody. That's one reason why I left, too. I wasn't happy with the way I had been treated. I am not saying that I should have been treated with kid gloves or anything else. I am just saying that the internal affairs investigation was the biggest debauchery, I had ever run in to since I had been at state police.

The strategy of "being silenced" supports the conspiracy fantasy type as a strategy of consciousness sustaining communication that seeks to dismantle the disaffected factions. This shared reality of IA sessions defines a conspiracy fantasy influenced by powerful politics:

RT1: Well, first of all there are no professional investigators working in internal affairs. Instead of taking the best qualified investigators
and putting them there to do a job that has to be done, and I agree it has to be done, and we certainly need that division. Unfortunately, it ended up just being another place to use internal politics to get somebody either promoted or transferred to a job off the road, regardless of their investigative, or lack thereof, skills.

Discussion

The scenarios of IA investigations depict a denigrating communication style in the unfolding drama of conspiracy that scripts the trooper as villain. The sessions have proven to be rhetorically ineffective in "reforming the behavior" of the troopers, as the fantasy of the conspiracy is shared only by the investigators. To chain, a fantasy must "hit a psychodynamic chord" (Bormann, 1972). The members do not share the same rhetorical vision about the investigation, evidenced by the fact that the investigation resulted has appeals and a retirement. Over the past two years 25 appeals have been filed with the State Police Commission in response to IA hearings, investigations, and/or disciplinary rulings. The last 7 appeals have been overturned as dismissals in favor of the troopers.

The IA consciousness sustaining sessions are rhetorically powerful in that they impel the "backsliders" to actions they would not have otherwise taken. However, the emotions expressed in the recurring fantasy themes and
discourse, indicate that the troopers are not unaffected by the stress of the experience. Bormann (1985) explains this as the process of disassociation that pulls the trooper’s self-persona apart from the rhetorical visions expressed in the Soldiers of the Law Saga that function as the members’ symbolic bond to the organization. Not understanding the process of convergence, the trooper relies on his past fantasies rather than the rationality of the argument about these investigations. Bormann (1985) explains that fantasy is a necessary and prior condition for argument, explaining why the trooper’s symbolic tie to the unifying persona of the saga functions as the more powerful argument than rationality.

**Conspiracy Sagas and the Police**

As stated, the fantasy types and rhetorical visions of conspiracy evidence the chaining of an emerging saga, the Conspiracy Saga. This is a defined saga because the members surveyed and interviewed share all or part of the contained dramas, either by experience or through the experiences of other members. The saga contains the motives for the enacted consciousness sustaining rhetoric of IA and validates an emerging coherent view of a reality of State Police in internal crisis.

Conspiracy drama is not unique to State Police. The fantasy type defines a powerful core drama that depicts a reality of police life. The saga has been chained to the
public through the media dramas of such movies as *Serpico* and *Internal Affairs*. The mediated dramas catch up police officers and justify unfair suspensions and investigations as "reforming strategies." The drama of officers betraying one another or their profession is compelling and functions to legitimize the conspiracy saga.

**The Conspiracy Saga and Hierarchy**

What does an emerging Conspiracy Saga and its contained visions communicate to the membership about the hierarchy of and power structures of the organization? The fantasy type conspiracy is the core drama of two related rhetorical visions which emerged through the discourse during this fantasy theme analysis: the rhetorical visions of *Internal Affairs* and *Appeal Board Hearings*.

The consciousness sustaining strategies of the IA sessions reinforce the "we/they" dichotomy of the police culture, the limited control of the authoritarian agency, and a culture of conflict. The troopers are reminded through these communication sessions that they are subordinates. The structure emphasizes the heroes and villains and the lines of stratification already apparent in the bureaucracy. Outside the formal hierarchy, the misuse of power and politics, not for meritorious purpose, creates an environment of suspicion and conflict, of impending revolution, as evidenced by the surveys and discourse.
The fantasy type of conspiracy is powerful persuasion for the police community in that it reinforces an inflexible hierarchy of the authoritarian structure. It does not accommodate a community to the unfolding history of American organizational life or the legitimate authority of the police community. The fantasy type conspiracy, in fact, legitimizes the role of the Enforcer that has plagued the police throughout its history.

A Vision and Saga of Restoration

As stated, in the absence of a viable rhetorical vision, a community challenged by stress must either support the rhetorical vision to preserve the identity of the community or redefine themselves (Bormann, 1985). The rhetorical problem of sustaining group consciousness of an organization in crisis is the need to revitalize the individual's commitment to the rhetorical visions (Bormann, 1985). The failure of the IA sessions to "reform" members has been explained by the lack of a shared vision. Over the final months of this study, I observed a change in the members' communication strategies as a response to the crisis of competing visions. Public rhetoric that "scathes" members into revitalizing commitment to the vision is also a defined strategy for consciousness raising (Bormann, 1985). Bormann (1985) explains that in search of a viable rhetoric, members will chain new fantasies and create new dialogue that reinforce or replace the rhetorical vision. They attempt to
interpret failure and success, solve problems through rational argument and logic, and implement plans.

The dramatic messages contained in an editorial by the new LSTA president evidences the fantasy type of restoration as an attempt to revitalize members' commitment to the sagas of Soldiers of the Law and the Academy. The power of the fantasy rests in its mixture of reform and conservatism that suggests a return to the basic foundations of government rather than a revolution. Bormann (1982b), in his article, "A Fantasy Theme Analysis of the Television Coverage of the Hostage Release and Reagan Inaugural," recounts the historical development of the fantasy type in political rhetoric. He defines Andrew Jackson, Lincoln's version of the Dred Scott decision, Douglas' Doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, and Reagan's discourse as rhetoric that unified our nation in troubled times.

In a recent article in The Trooper (Summer, 1993), LSTA President Baxter Welch constructs this drama of the exigency of politics and fragmentation that threatens LSP. He defines a history that reflects "years of this 'lone wolf mentality'." In his call for unity among 1100 members of LSTA, Baxter depicts the persona of The Lone Trooper Vision as the major obstacle facing the LSTA as:

... a character trait synonymous with state troopers: independence. Our training ... indoctrinates us to take charge, be in control ... handle the situation ... when we apply this to principal to association business, we become fragmented, divided. Conceding or compromising is
difficult. It is easy to withdraw, become complacent, rather than stand together . . . This "it's my way or no way" attitude is prevalent in our Association and our Department (p. 5).

Restoration rhetoric conveys the potential for change and is, therefore, persuasive because it calls forth personae from previously established, viable visions. In contrast, the revolutionary rhetoric tears down existing visions and foundations to build new personae from new fantasy themes. The Restoration Saga, to become a viable saga, will need the support of the organizational members to provide impelling motives for action. Restoration rhetoric allows the rhetor to catch up people in the here-and-now without having to convert to a new vision. It is conservative rhetoric that functions well in the police community that is, above all else, conservative, slow to accept change and new ideas. Furthermore, troopers share mature rhetorical style, a rich symbolic memory bank of cryptic allusions needed to call forth members' past fantasies to create a rhetorical vision of unity and conservatism, based on the old sagas.

Baxter's discourse has circulated through the 1100 members who subscribe to the magazine and has the potential to chain a new saga. Baxter depicts a current threat of "a divided and fragmented" culture. He calls forth the real villain of the culture, "politics": "It is this type of experience [we hold a hodge podge of failed programs] that has eroded our political support. Rather than using this
support, we are notorious for saving the 'green stamps' [political favors] for personal advancements."

In his call for unity he visits all the rhetorical visions past, the Lone Trooper Vision, the Soldiers of the Law Saga, and the Academy Vision and pulls on deeply embedded symbols, based on familiar personae: "the lone wolf," "the independent trooper," "our training and experience indoctrinates us," "It is time for LSTA to unite!" He calls forth retirees as heroic personae, "with the respect they deserve," "untapped resources." He asks for the commitment: "Are you willing to take the first step to get involved?"

It is doubtful that Baxter, as rhetor, has consciously developed a rhetorical strategy of restoration as a viable rhetoric for the troubled times. However, the discourse reveals how the traditional fantasies function as strategies to revitalize visions threatened by conspiracy. Through symbolic convergence, the common sense rhetoric of unity and reform, rather than revolution, evolves. With the potential to solve problems, personal and group fantasies shared through the common symbolic bond of the police culture sagas represent a viable rhetoric.

Sagas as Sensemaking

Sagas have a primary sensemaking function for the members as defined social knowledge, the expressed social reality of the organizational life. As stated, the warring visions and emerging sagas create conflicting social
realities for the members of LSP. Through symbolic convergence, members can reach an empathetic understanding about issues of confusion in the middle of chaos based on their past shared fantasies. An extended fantasy about the ideal trooper is typical of the creative and imaginative interpretation of events that fulfill a psychological or rhetorical need. This discussion of the 5 ideal traits of a trooper/leader of LSP, triggered a fantasy chain that called forth the visions of the traditional sagas to make sense of the current threats to troopers. The meaning and motive for action imbedded in the traditional messages evolve to explain one’s motivation for being a trooper:

RT2: You know what it’s like? There was an analogy used by a retired trooper who went to work for a trucking company. He said, "you know - with truckers - if you give them a little 4% pay raise and a new rig every other year, they’re happy as hell." And, he said, "you know, state troopers are the same way. You give them a new car every two years and a little pay raise and you know, it seems to go a heck of a long way." When you stop to think about it, you know, it's the little things you can do to keep them there.

RT3: Support them and you got them

RT2: Well, anyway, we’re talking the organization. She’s talking about the ideal candidate.
Making sense of exigencies can offer viable solutions for change. A cyclical history of good and bad politics has apparently created a social reality of acceptance among members of the community of LSP. However, the surveys support the emergence of a disillusioned and angry rhetorical community of police officers with 5–10 years service who no longer buy into this fantasy of politics. They exhibit passive-aggressive behaviors with the potential to damage the vision, if their needs are not identified and met.

For some organizations, a symbolic persona can function to define social reality and provide meaning among chaos. Members of LSP continue to rely on the traditional persona of heroic troopers as the unifying symbols for change. They call forth the persona of Thibodeaux when asked to define the ideal leader. Whether he was a heroic leader or not, is not the issue. The persona functions as a contemporary unifying symbol for the primary sagas. Members through discourse create reality about ideal administrations and leadership based on his persona. The extended fantasy was shared among retired troopers. Typical of the heroic fantasy, the trooper depicts a time in the past that was utopian through the unfolding sagas of Soldiers of the Law Saga and the Academy:

RT2: Well, that's what I'm saying. State police is no longer a professional organization. At, at one time. I mean, I think Donald Thibodeaux might have had a lot of problems. But, to me, he was my...
hero because Donald Thibodeaux stood for what was right. He took it as long as he could. See, I was there before Donald Thibodeaux. And I was there during Thibodeaux. And I was there after Thibodeaux. And I saw an organization that was - that was just unbelievable, a "rag tag," holey political organization, come to one of the most highly respected, one of the best equipped, best trained, most respected organizations as far as state police agencies go in the United States. And we hit out our pinnacle there, and then we started to come down because Donald Thibodeaux could no longer fight the political wherewithal. But, today . . . I mean there's just no plan. There's no organized play, let's say. I mean all you have to do is pick up the newspaper today and see what's happening. Especially this thing about gaming. I mean state police is fighting with the River Boat Commission, and the courts. And the Attorney General is not backing it. I mean, its, its a horrible situation today. I feel sorry for people who are in the department there today - for the troopers who are really dedicated (focus group interview with retired troopers).

By going straight to the rhetoric, the critic can determine the members' shared reality of organizational life
and ideal leaders. The persona embodies the community values, norms, and motives of the trooper's ideal self-persona, and is, therefore, an accurate expression of the organizational culture. However, the traditional sagas offer no active personae for action to move the drama and to impel members to act.

Conclusion

The Rhetorical Problem of Leadership

The rhetorical problem of sustaining community consciousness of State Police is a function of leadership. The persona as the unifying symbol of the saga is a powerful vehicle for change. However, in the authoritarian hierarchy of the police organization the superintendent has the legitimate authority to lead the organization. The governor has the legitimate authority to hire and fire the superintendent with legislative approval. Therefore, the power to change rests with an inflexible hierarchy.

The current crisis of State Police is enhanced by the dysfunctional use of the powers derived from the community value of elitism and the legitimate role of the leader. "Going public" with the visions and public personae that conflict with the Soldiers of the Law Saga and The Academy Saga deepens the crisis of State Police.

Bormann (1982a) defines the function of rhetoric in the organizational setting as the highest level of consciousness competence requiring members to draft purposeful messages to
achieve communication objectives. By this definition, the level of consciousness of State Police is one in flux. The sagas of State Police have in the past functioned rhetorically to create, raise, and sustain the organizational culture. Hope for restoration of the Academy Saga and the Soldiers of the Law Saga lies in the active persona of leadership and in the personae of members. History reveals that the conspiracy rhetoric functions as short term action, while restoration fantasy can provide powerful rhetoric for change. State Police needs a viable rhetoric of restoration and problem solving to impel members to action and out of the reality of the Status Quo vision. In the conclusion of the focus group interviews, I asked about the future of the organization:

RT1: Well, how many troopers are there on the road, 700? 600? The piece of shit problems right now, can be narrowed down to the maximum, how many? Fifteen people?

RT2: Your talking about . . .

RT3: It's mostly management . . . it's not the mission.

RT2: Well the management direction gets his direction from politics, though.

RT3: Those seven hundred and something troopers out there still want to do the job that they went to the Academy to do. And, if it changed tomorrow, they'd be the happiest sons of bitches in the
world. If that job came to be what they perceived it to be [noted emphasis on perceived].

I asked about a current persona hero of State Police:

RT2: A current hero of state police? Well, you take away the top three. Then, there’s three majors and out those two, there’s really no respect for them. Out of the captains, there’s only about two captains that anybody cares for. So, it doesn’t take a rocket scientist to figure out if you’ve been around state police. It’s got to be Rut Whittington. It can’t be anybody else.

Through the taxonomy of symbolic convergence theory, the rhetorical function of the sagas of LSP has been verified. Needed is a viable rhetoric and an active persona to accommodate present crisis and change.
Chapter 7 Endnotes

1. Reported dramas define the members as threats [villains] to the group [LSP, various management factions, or IA investigators, also vaguely defined] who should be punished. The recurring fantasies shared among the rank and file through surveys and interviews indicate that only a small portion of the membership share the IA vision of Conspiracy in which the members were villains and the investigators were heroes upholding the mission by uncovering conspiracy.

A coherent view of the police community that evolved through this analysis is the "code of silence." In this scenario officers stand by one another. In this vision, "snitches" are deplored as those who sell out for political jobs and promotions. One trooper explained, "you know they tried to get me to put one of my guys up on the box [the lie detector]. I told them, 'hell no' I'm not going to do it." Consciousness sustaining sessions do not function as effective rhetoric unless the members share a common vision through symbolic convergence.
CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION

The true copper’s dominant characteristic, if the truth be known, is neither those daring vicious qualities that are sometimes attributed to him by friend or enemy, but an ingrained conservatism, an almost desperate love of the conventional.

- C. MacInnes

This rhetorical analysis illuminates the human condition of the Louisiana State Police. As researcher and practitioner, I was concerned with the need for epistemologically sound research that could be applied to our studies of actual organizations and, thereby, deepen our understanding of communication culture. Cheney (1991) echoes the felt need in communication studies for comprehensive, significant case studies of organizational life which contribute to the theoretical development of the discipline (p. 164). Specifically, my goal was to determine how symbolic convergence theory and a dramatistic perspective could contribute to a deeper knowledge of the processes through which organizational members create culture. The distinct instances of the community of the State Police provided rich research opportunities for a rhetorical study of organizational communication culture. The results of this study can be synthesized with others to draw new generalizations about how members of a threatened community sustain their culture and accommodate change.

Through the rhetoric of the organizational sagas, State Police create and maintain a complex culture and public
personae as the "esprit de corps" of law enforcement. They acculturate new members into the community. Their rhetoric must now accommodate change.

Data collection represents a multi-method approach to research using a combination of case studies, participation observations, surveys, focus group interviews, and the public discourse of the members of State Police. This multi-method approach provides an overall composite view of the complex organization of the State Police.

This dissertation purpose is to discover and describe the narrative and dramatic elements in the communication forms and practices of the members of State Police. Using a fantasy theme analysis as a taxonomy of the symbolic convergence theory of communication, I arrange and interpret the recurring patterns of communication that constitute the organizational communication culture of the State Police (Bormann, 1972, 1983). Fantasy theme analysis provides the critic with a viable methodology and a theoretical framework "for integrating micro-level stories and jokes with macro-based organizational sagas, values and goals" to interpret how and why organizational members build a general consensus about organizational reality (Putnam, 1983, p. 99).

Bormann's (1972, 1983) perspective of the symbolic convergence theory of communication provides the theoretical framework for this study. The symbolic convergence theory explains how and why people construct their world view
through their rhetoric to achieve a new group consensus. Central to his hypothesis of symbolic convergence is the "dynamic of people sharing group fantasies" (p. 101).

The Symbolic Convergence of the Culture of State Police

Through symbolic convergence, the members of LSP have chained the fantasies and created rhetorical visions as the shared social reality, as group culture. A review of how the communication culture of LSP evolved through symbolic convergence to its present state is best understood through Bormann's (1990) explanation of the three kinds of recurrent communication forms that have been validated through this study: consciousness creating, raising, and sustaining communication as the way the members of State Police have come to know their social reality.

Consciousness creating communication is rhetorical innovation that creates new fantasies either through the fantasy chained from the innovation of a creative leader, from groups within the culture or organized groups that create a new vision. This process explains how the common identity of LSP as organizational communication culture came to be. The focus of this study is the more abstract saga, which Bormann (1983) includes in the taxonomy of symbolic convergence. A focus on the rhetorical function of saga is appropriate for this study of the mature communication style of the members of State Police. Explained in Chapter 7, the documentation of the first symbolic convergence of LSP is not
the focus of this study. State Police represents an intriguing organization for study. Understanding the process of consciousness creating communication distinct to the Academy experience, the researcher can examine a time in the life cycle of LSP and glean a representative sample of the communication process.

A Consciousness of LSP

Through the process of symbolic convergence, members of State Police share the four elements of fantasy, fantasy theme, fantasy type, and rhetorical visions. Bormann (1983) includes the saga as a technical term in the taxonomy of the theory of convergence to explain how members share and then create organizational culture. Over time they share the same heroes and villains, values and codes, norms, rites, and rituals as their common symbolic ground contained all or in part in the sagas.

Fantasy Theme and Fantasy Type Sharing

One of the interesting discoveries of this study is the identification of the language samples that validate the mature culture of LSP. The closed communication culture accounts for the members' difficulty in accommodating change and initiating problem solving. Creating a new consciousness requires rhetorical innovation and new fantasy sharing which explains why my initial investigations of the chaining out process through which troopers share new rhetorical visions was not productive until I examined consciousness raising
communication to enculturate new cadets. Indicative of a mature symbolic culture, the members communicate through cryptic allusions and inside jokes that often identify entire scenarios of rhetorical visions. For example, the Mardi Gras Detail is both a cryptic allusion and an entire rhetorical vision of a specific reality that constitutes the culture of LSP. Without discussing the details of the story, members can simply say: "remember the Mardi Gras Detail." Chapter 4 defines some of the numerous examples of complex symbolic cues and inside jokes that recall entire visions without the observed process of chaining.

I observed that fantasy chains function more often to spur a lively argument or to recall past events to clarify the present. Chapters 5 and 6 analyze a fantasy chain through which the rhetorical vision of One Trooper/One Riot evolves. In conclusion, State Police dramatize, and they do it often through lively communication and the more abstract fantasy types triggered by inside jokes.

The Evolution of a Prior Common Identity

The current identity of a State Police evolved in response to a 1936 legislative mandate to expand the mission of the Louisiana Highway Commission to the State Police. Today, the official mission of statewide jurisdiction remains: "the protection of life and property." The culture of State Police has been created and recreated through personification, discussed in Chapter 4 as the most
significant rhetorical strategy. The predominant strategy of personification then explains the recurring references to troopers' self-personae in the surveys. How the complex personification of the organization of LSP came to be is explained through symbolic convergence.

Consciousness Creating Communication: The First Fantasy

In 1937, General Louis F. Guerre, the first superintendent of LSP, scripted a rhetorical vision of the best trained police officers, trained in the image of "G-Men" of the FBI, who would be exempt from political influence. Whether fact, fiction, or a combined myth, Guerre's greeting to the first Academy class is rhetorically significant, evidenced by its survival as the core dramas of the overarching sagas of LSP:

a policeman is a soldier of the law in the first line of defense for society in its continuous war against crime and anarchy . . . pay attention, work hard, or get out (Heleniak, 1980, p.29).

Reportedly, several members of the first class of "soldiers" quit the stringent training routine. However, those that remained have survived as symbolic personae in the core dramas of the overarching sagas that constitute the organizational communication culture of LSP. The most conclusive evidence of symbolic convergence survived as the fossilized symbolic language of the present day members of LSP. The recurring fantasy types continue to carry the values of elitism, discipline, professionalism, excellence in training and education, and public service. Symbolic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
convergence theory provides an explanation of how and why the rhetorical visions survived.

The Chaining of the First Fantasy of Persona

As explained, Bormann (1985) defines three kinds of recurrent forms of symbolic convergence. He explains that the first form, consciousness creation, is creative and innovative. The first fantasy that chained the complex rhetorical visions of sagas began through creative innovation. The sharing of fantasies can be the rhetorical innovation of a powerful personal consciousness, dramatized so skillfully that it is shared by converts. It is unlikely that General Guerre was the lone rhetor who chained the overarching dramas of LSP. Of rhetorical significance, is the powerful persona that was chained. Bormann (1985a, 1990) explains that more often, the innovation results from small groups drawn together by similar impulse to share fantasies. A group moving towards a new consciousness and open to diversity might come to a clear reality of the their collective selves. This would explain how the many episodes of consciousness raising sessions evolved as the Academy Vision.

A community might also adopt historical fantasy types with new personae adopted to new events. This provides the best explanation of the chaining of the first fantasy of persona as a process of symbolic evolution. Guerre's depiction of the soldiers of the law actually evolved,
transformed, from the persona of "Huey's Gestapo" of 1932. Through Grevenberg's public speeches of his five stages of reform, further attempts were made to "depoliticize" the persona of the "esprit de corps."

At sometime in this process, the "Lone Trooper" persona emerged from its counterpart of the Texas Ranger in the vision of One Riot/One Trooper. In 1971, Thibodeaux added the symbolic mystique of the "one-man-per-car" program to the persona. In 1976, the power of this chained historic persona caught up the citizens of New Orleans in the real life drama of the NOPD Strike. The "the thin blue line" evolved as the unifying persona of the Mardi Gras Detail today shared by every member of State Police. Even those who did not participate can recall the details through the sagas and actions of the personae. The concrete symbolic triggers of the thin blue line, The Mardi Gras Detail and One Trooper/One Riot call forth the complex historic personae of the rhetorical visions and sagas of State Police.

The evolution of the historic persona of the organization is conclusive evidence of an ongoing symbolic convergence that began through creative innovation. The chaining of historical fantasies into the composite narratives and rhetorical visions of The Academy Saga and Soldiers of the Law Saga has continued throughout the generations of LSP.
Consciousness Sustaining Communication

Consciousness sustaining communication is confirmed in Chapter 7 as evidence of the community response to crisis and change. Typical of the communication patterns defined through this study, consciousness sustaining communication strategies represent two competing sagas. Identified are the core fantasy types of conspiracy and restoration that script the rhetorical visions. The Conspiracy Saga functions as rhetoric to reform perceived backsliders. The emerging Restoration Saga is an emerging response from other factions in the organization to revitalize the traditional sagas and to develop unity. The emerging sagas evidence community response to change to bring about renewal of commitment to the vision.

The Political Saga and the Gambling Czar represent "front porch" sagas that define a new public persona for State Police. Both have been chained to the larger public through the media and legitimized by that process. Of the emerging sagas, only the Restoration Saga offers a viable rhetoric for State Police to accommodate the unfolding changes in its history.

The Third Phase of Dramatizing: Making Sense of Life

Bales (1970) explains the third dimension of the dramatizing message which manifests itself in some groups, but not others as an expression of the individual member's psychodynamics: their past individual and history, personal
fantasies and "excess baggage." Bales explains that timing and the presenter's rhetorical skills also appear to be factors in whether a fantasy chains out.

Bormann (1990) describes the rhetorical skill involved in the creation of a fantasy theme that always puts a "spin on the facts" which are then slanted, ordered and interpreted by group members (p. 107). The extensive evidence of fantasy chaining in the culture of LSP evidences the potential rhetorical power of the police members. Manning (1991) reminds us that the police are drama absorbing and drama creating and form a meaningful subculture of organizations for analysis.

Throughout their day to day symbolic communication, members of State Police have clearly developed an untapped rhetorical skill to communicate through cryptic allusions and detailed metaphors. The communication style of troopers reveals they are jokesters, dramatizers, narrators, cynics, but rhetorically clever and inventive. Through this analysis I have documented the use of various rhetorical inventions and strategies. These explain how the rhetorical visions and sagas of LSP function rhetorically to create, raise, and maintain consciousness as the essence of their organizational communication culture.

Organizational Saga As Epistemic

Fantasy theme analysis examples rhetoric as epistemic. That is that members of State Police create their social
reality through their rhetoric. The sagas of LSP reconstructed through fantasy theme analysis provide a composite view of the social reality of the community. Bormann (1981) says that critic can take the social reality contained in a rhetorical vision reconstructed through fantasy theme analysis and can illuminate "the qualitative impact of the symbolic world as the substance of social reality for those who participate in the vision" (p. 21).

The taxonomy of symbolic convergence is particularly useful to this study as a framework for this analysis of the complex and emerging sagas through which police create their complex culture. This taxonomy provides a systematic and deep structure analysis of the organizational communication culture of State Police.

When I began this study two years ago, I knew that State Police was a unique organization for a study of narrative discourse. Fantasy theme analysis provided the most thorough taxonomy for analysis of organizational sagas, my primary interest. As this study progressed, I validated a complex communication culture created through the ongoing cycles of communication practices of consciousness raising and sustaining. I also discovered an organization in crisis and change. Fantasy theme analysis proved to be a particularly useful tool for examining the stages of community change through the discourse. Another methodology would not have allowed for those dynamics.
Ironically, a problem encountered with this study is presented by the rich rhetorical samples that made this study intriguing. State Police are crafty rhetors, and they dramatize often. From my first introduction to this closed society, I assumed that I would have difficulty gathering samples. For that reason I developed the survey to increase the sample of data and to triangulate the data. Although only the retired officers would allow me to tape interviews, the officers I met throughout this study were willing to share their stories and their fantasies. I found a membership starved for communication with an outside stranger. The opportunity to talk about their organization, their history, their fears, and their concerns proved to be as important to the troopers as to this research.

This study illuminates the human condition of a complex police community in flux, threatened by the internal and external exigencies inherent in policing and state politics. It investigates how the members of LSP use communication to adapt to their environment, make sense of their organizational life, and solve the rhetorical problem of holding the organization together while converting new members. Ultimately, this dissertation contributes support for the rhetorical methodology of fantasy theme analysis and the dramatistic perspective as a theoretical framework for interpreting organizational communication culture.
From Fantasy Theme Analysis to Dramatistic Theory

The organizational sagas of State Police are complex dramas that provide a deep level understanding of the culture. The sagas function rhetorically to provide social knowledge, to create and recreate the culture. Sagas represent strategies for making sense of the chaos of life in a threatened community as members share reality through discourse and the process of symbolic convergence.

Interpreting the relationships among these complex narratives proved to be a shortcoming of the symbolic convergence taxonomy. Through Cragan and Shields' (1981) collection of dramatistic research examples in Applied Communication Research, I was able to apply the Bormannean based dramatistic theory to describe the members' symbolically created reality, assess the meaning, and examine the relationships among the complex dramas. I was able to develop the taxonomy of rhetorical visions included in Chapter 6. This process allowed me to examine the competing and compatible elements to make relationship comparisons within and among rhetorical visions. This was the most important methodological implication of this study.

I thank Dr. Bormann for that direction and his valuable insight. After submitting my prospectus, I continued to gather the raw data for this study. Because of the complexity of the culture, I had difficulty finding the "beginning of fantasy" and organizing the many elements of
drama gathered. I went straight to the source and shared my research ideas. Dr. Bormann responded enthusiastically to the unique characteristics of my study with a detailed reflection of avenues, options, and resources via the dramatistic perspective. His comments provided focus for this study of a complex culture: "I trust that your study will begin with an open mind and, perhaps, find the deeper structures . . . that do not empower a few but also others who exercise power. If you use fantasy theme analysis, you should go in with an open mind and go where the evidence leads you" (personal correspondence, September 7, 1993).

I took Dr. Bormann's advice. The most enlightening experience of all was coming to know the charming and intelligent people of the State Police, who beneath their disciplined, rigid, inflexible exteriors are deeply human, caring, public servants. On the day that Dr. Walsh introduced me to the State Police he promised, "this will change your life."

If it appeared as though I examined the conflicts and the clashes, I did. To have explored only the areas of consensus would not have provided an accurate view of the culture. The goal of this study was to interpret the social reality of State Police through the shared communication fantasies of the people who are State Police. I hope that something in this rhetorical analysis will assist the State Police accommodate change in their organizational life and
enable their cooperative efforts to find meaning in existence and solve problems.

Implications

One of the goals of this study was to contribute theory based research for practical application for consultants and trainers who work with organizations. A tool that can provide a deeper, more accurate knowledge of the organizations we work with can only improve our field. This was one of the goals of the survey. In my work with organizations, I conduct training and strategic planning sessions. I cannot conduct a participant observation with each organization. The survey allows me to gather substantial information from anonymous responders. From their write-in responses, I can gather a more accurate view of the inner life of the organization. It is important to know their social reality before trying to change it.

The opportunity to examine the communication practices of a mature symbolic culture like LSP is a significant research find. Like an anthropologist discovering an uncontaminated culture, I could examine the surviving language of shared fantasy. Many surviving fantasies are in fact the result of cycles of fantasy sharing within the closed culture. By closed culture, I emphasis the recruitment process that distinguishes the way members are brought into the culture for training.
One of the most significant outcomes of this study has been the validation of the rhetorical power of public fantasy. The phenomenon of the Mardi Gras Detail and its influence on the behavior of the citizens of New Orleans was told and retold by officers with little variation. The impact of the persona of LSP on the citizens of the city is a communication phenomenon worthy of future study. For three weeks, State Police functioned in its persona as the premier law enforcement agency. By their own admission, they were not equipped for urban policing and did not expect to hold down the New Orleans strike for three weeks. I repeat the depiction of the fantasy of the Desire Street Projects as evidence of the power of shared public fantasy:

RT1: We’d go in the Desire Street projects, and we’d go in there with just one car. And we’d scream out and chase them up in the thing and all. They were scared of us. NOPD does that, they have to take two cars. Because while one’s standing for the call, the other one’s got to be looking out for the sniper. But not State Police, not for that while (Retired Troopers Focus Group Interview).

Directions for Future Study

The entire area of interpretive research of organizational communication cultures offers many opportunities for study. The public sector domain is an area of particular interest and one that has been virtually
ignored in the communication literature. The role of public persona in social agencies and other government agencies should yield interesting data about the relationship between the media and chaining of public personae and sagas.

The extended study of the police culture is one that offers many opportunities for analysis. The culture of the police Academy is an intriguing area to examine as its own entity. The process of closed recruitment has functioned to keep the organization alive. Culture studies of organizations as communities offers the communication scholar an untapped research source and an area of needed expansion in the field.

My study focuses on evidence of shared fantasy. In the culture of the police, this is the predominant form of communication. Bormann (1990) notes the importance of examining the dramas that did not chain as providing valuable information about the culture. In my research, I found several evidences of apathy chains, topics that brought about a noticeable change in tone, but were not picked up members. These are key areas for explicating meaning and represent exciting areas of future research.

Finally, in examining Bormann (1972) and Shields (1981) research in the area of rhetorical movements, I discovered the similarities between the public saga as public drama, evidenced in the Mardi Gras Detail and Shields' descriptions of rhetorical movements. Investigating public sagas as
rhetorical movements, in large public agencies like LSP, should provide interesting insights into another underdeveloped research areas of organizational culture studies.
REFERENCES


Fontenot, Paul (1992, July 2). Unpublished graduation address to State Police Cadet Class #69, Baton Rouge, LA.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.


APPENDIX A

LOUISIANA STATE POLICE TRAINING ACADEMY SURVEY AND EVALUATION

CADET CLASS #69

This training questionnaire is to be answered anonymously to secure the most accurate answers for each respondent. The results of this survey will be kept confidential and will be used to develop future training programs to meet the needs of law enforcement officers. Your accurate response is greatly appreciated. The results of this survey will be used in research conducted by Louisiana State University.

For each statement below, please respond with your level of agreement on a five-point Likert scale. Please circle the appropriate number below each statement. For each statement, "1" is the lowest level of agreement and "5" is the highest level of agreement:

1= Strongly Disagree
2= Disagree
3= Undecided
4= Agree
5= Strongly Agree

TRAINING PROGRAM ORIENTATION, FACILITIES AND ADMINISTRATION

1. I understood the purposes of the LSP Cadet Academy Training program as defined by the Academy Staff

   1 2 3 4 5

2. I understood how course time was scheduled including breaks, lunch, and starting/ending times

   1 2 3 4 5

3. I was told how to use all the student manuals and how to follow along with the instructor’s explanations

   1 2 3 4 5

4. I was given information concerning the facilities and location of classrooms, lunchrooms, restrooms, etc.

   1 2 3 4 5
5. I felt I was given proper orientation and introduction to the appropriate officials and my fellow cadets
   1 2 3 4 5

6. I felt I was properly prepared by State Police to begin the cadet training experience
   1 2 3 4 5

7. My cadet training experience met the expectations I held prior to entering the Academy
   1 2 3 4 5

8. I felt eager and stimulated to learn the material from the course purposes and introductions given in training segments
   1 2 3 4 5

9. I found the Academy experience and training philosophy uplifting and honorable
   1 2 3 4 5

10. I found the Academy experience was often degrading and a source of feelings of rejection
    1 2 3 4 5

11. I found the disciplinary practices and philosophy to be fair and impartial
    1 2 3 4 5

12. I found the disciplinary practices and philosophy to be unfair and discriminatory
    1 2 3 4 5

13. I believe the training experience was conducive to the development of the image of a State Trooper
    1 2 3 4 5

14. I found the training experience to be overly militaristic
    1 2 3 4 5
15. I found the training experience developed an attitude of professionalism and pride in me
1 2 3 4 5

16. I found the quality of food and the housing facilities to be exceptional
1 2 3 4 5

COURSE CONTENT AND QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

17. The course content was a proper mix of theory and practical application
1 2 3 4 5

18. The course content should have contained more practical exercises and tactical maneuvers
1 2 3 4 5

19. The course content should have contained more role playing and scenarios for instruction
1 2 3 4 5

20. The course content should have contained more classroom instruction
1 2 3 4 5

21. The course content properly prepared me for my legal responsibility as a State Trooper
1 2 3 4 5

22. The course content properly prepared me for the human relational side of law enforcement
1 2 3 4 5

23. I feel adequately prepared to cope with a variety of human communication situations for my entry level
1 2 3 4 5

24. I feel adequately prepared to deal with the public media in a crisis situation for my entry level
1 2 3 4 5
25. I feel adequately prepared to deal with stress and how it affects my ability to perform my job
1 2 3 4 5

26. I feel I have an accurate understanding of the code of criminal procedure
1 2 3 4 5

27. I feel adequately prepared for handling citizens in crisis situations for my entry level
1 2 3 4 5

28. I feel like I was adequately prepared for the stressors induced by the nature of my job
1 2 3 4 5

29. I feel like I was adequately prepared to manage stress so that it does not adversely affect my family life
1 2 3 4 5

30. I feel like I was adequately prepared to cope with fatality and serious injury
1 2 3 4 5

31. I feel like my family has been adequately prepared for the changes my job might cause in my family environment
1 2 3 4 5

32. I feel like I was able to manage the stressors of the Academy experience more effectively in the latter weeks of training
1 2 3 4 5

33. I did not feel any additional stress induced from the Academy experience
1 2 3 4 5

34. The Academy experience has created stress in my family/home environment
1 2 3 4 5
35. The Academy experience has created stress in my outside relationships with friends
   1 2 3 4 5

36. The Academy experience has created stress in my intimate relationships with loved ones
   1 2 3 4 5

37. My family/loved ones are more supportive of my choice in career now than when I began the Academy
   1 2 3 4 5

38. My family/loved ones were always supportive of my choice in career
   1 2 3 4 5

39. I feel that the Academy experience has prepared me for any attitudinal changes that might occur in my character
   1 2 3 4 5

40. I feel that the Academy should provide more programs to assist spouses/family in the career transition I have made
   1 2 3 4 5

41. I would be supportive of my spouse/family participating in a family support group
   1 2 3 4 5

42. The course content instilled in me knowledge of the mission of La. State Police
   1 2 3 4 5

43. The course content instilled in me knowledge of my specific role in carrying out the mission of LSP
   1 2 3 4 5

44. The course content provided adequate communication skill training
   1 2 3 4 5
45. The course content provided adequate sensitivity training for police in coping with all people

46. The Academy experience has clearly defined for me the values of the La. State Police

47. The troopers I met upheld my preconceived image of La. State Police

48. The troopers I met represented a positive image of La. State Police

49. The troopers I met can be described as leaders and self-motivators

50. The troopers I met can be described as macho, having a "killer instinct"

51. The troopers I met can be described as educated and professional

52. The troopers I met can be described as invincible and powerful

53. The troopers I met can be described as kind and considerate

54. The troopers I met can be described as independents
55. The troopers I met can be described as honest, loyal and trustworthy
   1 2 3 4 5

56. The instructors were, overall, professional and prepared to teach
   1 2 3 4 5

57. The instructors were, overall, well educated and knowledgeable about the subject matter
   1 2 3 4 5

58. The instructors were supportive and allowed for adequate questioning
   1 2 3 4 5

59. The total course content was well organized and understandable
   1 2 3 4 5

60. The in-class activities and exercises were useful to reinforce the subject matter
   1 2 3 4 5

61. The field activities were useful to reinforce the subject matter
   1 2 3 4 5

62. I was given ample opportunities throughout the course to develop my special skills
   1 2 3 4 5

63. I was given motivation to develop leadership skills and professional independence
   1 2 3 4 5

THE OVERALL VISION OF STATE POLICE AS COMMUNICATED BY THE ACADEMY EXPERIENCE

64. I understand the basic structure and functions of the sub units of LSP
   1 2 3 4 5
65. I understand the "political" structure that exists in the LSP

66. I understand the roles and responsibilities of a State Trooper

67. I understand the relationship of LSP to the environment of State Government

68. I understand the rites and rituals of LSP

69. I understand the slogans and inside stories of LSP

70. I feel that completing the Academy experience has been the "rite of passage" into LSP

71. I feel that the Academy Graduation will be the "rite of passage" that will make me a State Trooper

72. I feel like the informal communication I experienced with the fellow cadets has made me feel like a member of LSP

73. I feel like the discipline of the Academy experience has made me a State Trooper

74. I feel like the informal communication with troopers most made me feel a part of LSP
75. I feel like I represent the image I have come to know of a State Trooper

1 2 3 4 5

WRITE IN RESPONSES

76. Please list the top 5 most effective field training exercises

77. Please list the top 5 most effective classroom room courses

78. Please list the top 5 instructors you met throughout the course experience by name, if possible, course, or area of expertise

79. Please list 5 words that best describe your perception of the personality of a State Trooper

80. Please list 5 words that best describe your perception of the professional qualities needed to be a State Trooper

81. Please list 5 images (words or phrases) that best answer the question, "What kind of an organization are we"?

82. Please list 5 images (words or phrases) that best answer the question, "What kind of people are members of LSP"?

83. Please list any slang expressions/slogans (words or phrases) that best describe the job of a State Trooper, "What do we do?"
84. Please list the heroes of LSP that you have come to know through stories and/or conversations

85. Please list any "villains" of LSP that you have come to know through stories or legends or conversations

86. Please list any recurring stories or legends of LSP you have heard repeated

87. Define the mission of LSP

88. Define the vision of your Academy experience, of the Cadet Class of 1992

89. Your age__________ Your years of Law Enforcement Experience__________ Previous Occupation__________________

90. Please write in any responses, feelings about the above topics you would like to add

91. Please list the 5 strengths of the Academy program/experience

92. Please list the 5 weaknesses of the Academy program/experience
LOUISIANA STATE POLICE TRAINING ACADEMY EVALUATIONS SUMMARY
CADET CLASS #69

This summary was presented to the Academy Commander for review.

Questions 1-16: Training Program, Facilities and Administration:

Overall, the cadet class found the training experience to be honorable and uplifting (3.9 agree), conducive to the development of the image of a trooper (4.1 agree), the training experience developed an attitude of professionalism and pride (4.1 agree). Relative to the fairness of disciplinary practices, two questions (#11-12) indicate that, while they disagreed (2.4) that practices were unfair and discriminartory, they were still undecided (3.2) as to whether or not these practices were fair and impartial. Overall, cadets agreed that the quality of food and housing were exceptional.

Questions 17-63: Course Content and Quality of Instruction

These questions were designed with three purposes in mind: 1) to not assist the training academy staff by providing course feedback, 2) to provide information about the kind of images the training program communicated about State Police to the cadets, and 3) to provide more in depth information about the cadets' perceived need for more humanistic training topics in the areas of sensitivity training, stress management and family relationships.

Overall, the cadets agreed (3.9) that the course content was an adequate mix of theory and practical application with agreement (4.4) that additional practical exercises and tactical maneuvers could be added.

Cadets found the instructors to be professional, prepared to teach, well educated and knowledgeable about the subject matter with a 4.6 level of agreement. They agreed (4.2) that the content was well organized and understandable and that both in-class (4.4) and field activities were useful (4.5) to reinforce the subject matter.

The class agreed that the training prepared them (4.0) for their legal responsibility as a trooper, in understanding the code of criminal procedure (4.3), and for handling citizens in crisis (4.3).
Relative to understanding the mission of LSP, the cadets agreed that the training instilled in them the values (4.2) and the knowledge (4.3) of their specific role in carrying out the mission of LSP.

Of greatest significance were the responses to questions 22, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44, 45, 62, and 63. These questions dealt with the level of agreement on humanistic issues raised during the training program.

Responses indicate a moderate level (3.7) between uncertainty and agreement that the program prepared them for the human relational side of law enforcement and the same (3.8) level of agreement that they were prepared to deal with the public media in a crisis situation. These responses indicate a need for more human and public communication courses, especially in the area of crisis management of communication.

They expressed moderate uncertainty (3.6) as to whether or not their families had been adequately prepared for family changes. Cadets were uncertain as to whether or not the Academy experience had created family/home environmental stress (3.2). They mildly disagreed to were undecided about whether the Academy experience had created stress in their outside relationships with friends (2.5) and in their intimate relationships with loved ones (2.6). These responses indicated that the training experience has created stressors if only by the uncertainty. It should be noted that the cadets disagreed (2.2) with the statement that they did not feel any additional stress induced from the Academy experience. These questions indicate that, as would be expected, the Academy experience is stress producing, as all life changing careers are stressful; however, they agreed that the program adequately prepared them to manage stress (4.1) and for the stressors of their job (4.1). It should be noted that stress management was included in the course content. The write in questions indicated a much stronger agreement that courses in personal and career stress management, family stress management and family relationships should be added to the Academy training and provided for the family members of troopers.

Cadets moderately agreed (3.7) that the program provided communication skill training and were undecided (3.1) as to whether or not they had been provided adequate sensitivity training for coping with all people. These responses supported by the write in questions indicated that expansion of courses in the areas of communication, especially cross cultural and sensitivity communication, should be developed in the training program.
Relative to the communicated image of State Police, cadets agreed (3.8 to 3.9) that the troopers they met during their training upheld their preconceived image of LSP and represented a positive image of LSP. They agreed (4.2) that the Academy experience clearly defined the values of LSP.

The cadets agreed significantly on what values were communicated by troopers they met through the Academy experience: that troopers they met were leaders and self-motivators (3.8); educated and professional (4.1); independents (4.); honest, loyal and trustworthy (4.1). Further support for the positive image communicated through the Academy experience is reflected in the levels of disagreement with statements that troopers were described as being "invincible and powerful" (2.2) and as having a "killer instinct".

Cadets expressed indecision to moderate agreement (3.6) that they were given ample opportunity to develop special skills and the same level (3.5) of agreement that they were motivated to develop leadership skills and professional independence, thus indicating a need for expanding the program to include more opportunities for individualized skill testing and training in order to gain the highest and best use of the human resources available among the diverse cadet classes. This practice of specialized skill training is common among advanced corporate training programs. These responses also indicate a need for the inclusion of leadership training in the cadet program.

Questions 64-75: The Overall Vision of State Police as Communicated by the Academy Experience

These questions measured the cadets' understanding of the roles, responsibilities, rites, rituals and guiding vision of the LSP gained from the Academy experience.

Questions 64-67 surveyed the cadets' understanding of the roles and responsibilities of LSP. They agreed significantly that they understood the basic structure and functions of the sub units of LSP (4.4); the "political structure" (4.1); the roles and responsibilities of a trooper (4.5) and the relationship of LSP to the environment of State Government (4.3).

Relative to the rites and rituals of LSP, cadets agreed to strongly agreed that they had learned to represent the image "I have come to know of a State Trooper" (4.5). They agreed (4.3) that the Academy experience had been the "rite of passage" into LSP and the Academy graduation would complete the "rite of passage" that would make them a State Trooper (4.1). Overall, cadets agreed (3.9 - 3.8) that they
understood the rites and rituals and the slogans and inside stories of LSP learned through the Academy experience; however, it is significant to note that the cadets were undecided (3.4) as to whether the discipline of the Academy experience had made them a State Trooper while they more strongly agreed (3.6) that the informal communication with troopers most made them feel a part of LSP.

These questions are important indicators of the kind of training experience that will best prepare cadets for entry into the culture of LSP. Technical and law enforcement courses are a necessity for any law enforcement training program. The enhancement of these traditional police programs with more humanistic experiences is also essential as reflected by the responses in this survey. The cadets agreed that the experience of the exposure to professional education, open communication with professional troopers, dignified and professional treatment by the training professionals, communication of the rites and rituals and stories of LSP, and, finally, the Academy graduation experience, was effective in preparing them for their roles and responsibilities as a State Trooper. The philosophy of training police cadets in a professional and dignified environment, rather than a less dignified and strictly disciplinary style training program, has been adopted by more progressive law enforcement training units, nationwide, as the most effective program for training police professionals. This training philosophy produces a better trained police officer with a higher retention rate.
APPENDIX B

SURVEY FOR LSP IN-SERVICE TRAINING

This survey is being conducted by LSU to assess the current LSP Training Academy In-Service program and to provide research information on LSP. Your responses will remain anonymous and the surveys will remain the property of LSU to be used for research purposes only. If you are not a State Trooper, please answer questions 1-15 and 53-55 only. Thank you for your cooperation.

Instructions: Please read each statement and rate your level of agreement with each statement. A "1" indicates the highest level of agreement. A "5" indicates the lowest level of agreement.

1 = strongly agree with the following statements
2 = agree with the following statements
3 = have no opinion on the following statements
4 = disagree with the following statements
5 = strongly disagree with the following statements

FOR QUESTIONS #1-#6: The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Task Force on Police, recommended that the police training curriculum should focus on a variety of experiences to include the following breakdown of course content. Please indicate your level of agreement with each percentage of time that should be devoted to these topics. If you disagree with the percentages shown, please indicate which percentage of instruction would have most benefitted (or will now benefit) you in your job as a State Trooper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Topics</th>
<th>Recommended %</th>
<th>Your Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a. Introduction to criminal justice system</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 b. Law</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 c. Human values and problems</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 d. Patrol and investigation procedures</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 e. Police proficiency 18% _____
   1 2 3 4 5

6 f. Administration 9% _____
   1 2 3 4 5

7. Currently, the LSP In-Service training program meets my needs for updating theory and practice of law enforcement.
   1 2 3 4 5

8. The LSP In-Service training program should include more current information on police management.
   1 2 3 4 5

9. LSP should develop a spouse/family support and education program for State Troopers' families.
   1 2 3 4 5

10. I would help organize a support group for families of State Troopers.
    1 2 3 4 5

11. LSP should offer classes which include stress management.
    1 2 3 4 5

12. LSP should require stress management as part of the In-Service training.
    1 2 3 4 5

13. LSP should offer classes in "police sensitivity training."
    1 2 3 4 5

14. LSP should require classes in "police sensitivity training" as part of the In-Service training.
    1 2 3 4 5
15. LSP should offer more "communication and human relations courses."
   1 2 3 4 5

16. LSP should require courses in "communication and human relations" as part of the In-Service training.
   1 2 3 4 5

17. LSP field training should combine theory and practice, equally, to best impact officers.
   1 2 3 4 5

18. More training is needed for LSP executives and leadership.
   1 2 3 4 5

19. Leadership and management training should be required for upper level management of LSP as mandatory In-Service training.
   1 2 3 4 5

20. LSP In-Service training programs adequately prepare me to function efficiently and effectively in my job.
   1 2 3 4 5

The following questions refer to your LSP Cadet training academy experience and to your perception of the current Cadet program.

21. The Academy training adequately prepared me for my legal responsibility as a State Trooper.
   1 2 3 4 5

22. The Academy training adequately prepared me for the human relations side of law enforcement.
   1 2 3 4 5

23. The Academy experience was too militaristic.
   1 2 3 4 5
24. The Academy experience was not stringent enough to prepare me for the reality of being a State Trooper.
   1 2 3 4 5

25. The Academy experience adequately prepared me to deal with the public in a crisis situation.
   1 2 3 4 5

26. The current LSP Cadet training is not stringent enough to prepare new State Troopers for the job they must do.
   1 2 3 4 5

27. The current process for hiring LSP Cadets is professional and selective.
   1 2 3 4 5

The following questions refer to your perception of your own role and image as a LSP State Trooper, not public perception.

28. A State Trooper is honest, loyal and trustworthy.
   1 2 3 4 5

29. A State Trooper is independent.
   1 2 3 4 5

30. A State Trooper is intelligent and well educated.
   1 2 3 4 5

31. A State Trooper is disciplined, mentally.
   1 2 3 4 5

32. A State Trooper is disciplined, physically.
   1 2 3 4 5

33. A State Trooper is wholly disciplined.
   1 2 3 4 5

34. A State Trooper is fair and impartial.
   1 2 3 4 5
35. A State Trooper is aggressive.
   1 2 3 4 5

36. LSP is a political organization.
   1 2 3 4 5

37. Advancement in LSP is on the basis of merit rather than the traditional "politics" existing in other branches of state government.
   1 2 3 4 5

38. Advancement in LSP must be both political and on the basis of merit.
   1 2 3 4 5

The following questions refer to your perception of the public's image of LSP based on your own experiences:

39. A State Trooper is honest, loyal and trustworthy.
   1 2 3 4 5

40. A State Trooper is independent.
   1 2 3 4 5

41. A State Trooper is intelligent and well educated.
   1 2 3 4 5

42. A State Trooper is disciplined, mentally.
   1 2 3 4 5

43. A State Trooper is disciplined, physically.
   1 2 3 4 5

44. A State Trooper is wholly disciplined.
   1 2 3 4 5

45. A State Trooper is fair and impartial.
   1 2 3 4 5
46. A State Trooper is aggressive.
   1 2 3 4 5

47. LSP is a political organization.
   1 2 3 4 5

48. Advancement in LSP is on the basis of merit rather than the traditional "politics" existing in other branches of state government.
   1 2 3 4 5

49. Advancement in LSP must be both political and on the basis of merit.
   1 2 3 4 5

The following questions are your write-in responses which best describe your job and duties and your perceptions of LSP.

50. List 5 words, statements, images which best describe THE JOB of a State Trooper by completing the question: "What do we do?"
   1 _______________________________________________________
   2 _______________________________________________________
   3 _______________________________________________________
   4 _______________________________________________________
   5 _______________________________________________________

51. List 5 words, statements, images which best describe your perception of the image of a State Trooper by completing the statement, "a State Trooper communicates the images of":
   1 _______________________________________________________
   2 _______________________________________________________
   3 _______________________________________________________
   4 _______________________________________________________
   5 _______________________________________________________

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
52. List 5 words, images, statements which best describe the LSP as an organization by completing the statement, "What kind of an organization are we?"

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

Every organization has a history that is handed down through "generations" of organizational members through rites, rituals and stories. These activities act as the "glue that binds" organizational members together to create a unique culture of LSP.

53. Quickly list 5 events, traditions, ceremonies, "rites of passage" or rituals of LSP that first come to mind during your tenure as a State Trooper which most made you feel like you belonged to the organization of LSP.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

54. As the organizational history is taught to each new Trooper, formally and informally, stories are told that recall the past and help the new Cadet come to understand his role and image as a Trooper. Please list a recurring "legend" or story of LSP.

1. 
2. 
3. 

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Each organizational story or legend has its "heroes" and "villains", which represent the models of what a trooper "should be" and "should not be." Please list the names and/or roles of the prominent "heroes" and "villains" of State Police, PAST AND PRESENT: (The names will be used in research review, only.)

55. Legendary "heroes" of LSP that come to mind are:
1. _______________________________________________________
2. _______________________________________________________
3. _______________________________________________________
4. _______________________________________________________
5. _______________________________________________________

56. Legendary "villains" of LSP that come to mind are:
1. _______________________________________________________
2. _______________________________________________________
3. _______________________________________________________
4. _______________________________________________________
5. _______________________________________________________

57. Define the mission/vision of LSP in one sentence, "the mission of LSP is to":

58. Please rate the following training topics according to importance to LSP In-Service and Cadet training:

1 = very important, much needed
2 = important
3 = of little importance
4 = no opinion or not applicable

1. ----- Administrative procedures
2. ----- Administration of justice
3. ----- Basic law
4. ----- Updating police policy and procedures
5. ----- Updated training in areas of police proficiency
6. ----- Police community relations
7. ----- Updated supervised field training
8. ----- Hostage negotiation
9. ----- Communication skills for dealing with the public
10. ----- Basic public speaking skills
11. ----- Handling the media in a crisis
12. ----- Stress management
13. ----- Ethics and values
14. ----- Family crisis intervention training
15. ----- Improving family relations in your own home
16. ----- Employee motivation
17. ----- Developing and improving your leadership skills
18. ----- Self-motivation
19. ----- Police sensitivity training to cope with diverse publics
20. ----- Spousal support programs
21. ----- Developing and improving basic supervisory skills
22. ----- Police sensitivity training to deal with other troopers
23. ----- Organizational behavior
24. ----- Becoming a better police manager
25. ----- Finance and budget management
26. ----- Problem solving and decision making

The Following Questions Require Your Written Responses:

59. Please list any other topics not covered which should be included or updated for required In-Service training or optional courses:

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

60. Please list any suggestions for the Academy staff to improve the quality of training, the facilities, and/or the overall In-Service training program:

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

61. If you would like to write in responses or reactions to any of the above questions or topics, please provide your responses in the space below:

Please indicate the following personal background information:
(Optional; All background information remains confidential)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in law enforcement:</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years as a Louisiana State Trooper:</td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>16-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(OPTIONAL)

Your rank ____________________________

How long _______

Your duties are primarily:

Administration ________________

Supervision ______________________

Operational ______________________
Good afternoon, and on behalf of Governor Edwin Edwards, I would like to extend a personal welcome to each of you. Unfortunately, the Governor could not be with us this afternoon because of prior commitments, but he has asked that I convey his best wishes to you, the graduates, your families and friends.

Seventeen weeks ago I stood before this group of State Police cadets and told them what would be expected of them during the training process while at the Academy. Today, however, does not mark the end of the training process. Rather, today's graduation is but a milestone, the completion of one phase. Because, in reality, training a trooper is not a 17 week process; we must never stop learning.

As troopers, each of you must learn to be compassionate in the administration of your duties. Compassion is a trait not suitable to classroom training; one doesn't learn compassion from textbooks. When you report to your respective training officers in the coming days, you'll learn the mechanics of this job very quickly--how to work accidents, how to arrest drinking drivers, how to pursue violators. But learning to use your vested authority wisely and judiciously is much more involved. You must recognize that your treatment of others will define and preserve
respect not only for the law but for those chosen to enforce it as well. Be compassionate with those with whom you come into contact. Treat them as you would want to be treated, be mindful of the immense responsibility which accompanies the execution of your duties.

I would also hope that you learn from your mistakes, for you will surely make them. We can't deny that we live in an imperfect world, and as humans we make errors—that's to be expected. But if we fail to learn from those mistakes, if we fail to admit the error, or make the same error again, then we must have done our service a disservice. No one expects you to be perfect, we just expect you to grow and develop and mature as a result of the imperfect process. In the past few weeks you've been exposed to some of the best training currently available in law enforcement, and tomorrow you'll be provided with some of the best equipment. What you do with those skills and that equipment is in your hands.

And, finally, I would hope that you learn first-hand that your job is the purest form of public service. And, as much as some among us may not like hearing it, we are, first and foremost, public servants. As state troopers our service to the community and to our public extends far beyond enforcing the law. We are required to protect others from harm, aid those in need, and answer any call for assistance without regard to personal prejudices or preferences. Be mindful that you are the most public of all public employees,
a symbol of the very state government which employs you. Your conduct in that role reflects on all public employees. Make them proud. Make this state proud.

You leave here today with a formidable task before you; you'll find challenges around every corner. But don't permit yourself to become discouraged; don't settle for mediocrity, strive for excellence; strive to maintain a positive attitude about yourself, your job and this organization. That positive attitude will sustain you today, tomorrow and in the years to come.

Very shortly you will take your oath of office, when you do you commit, heart and soul, to what this organization stands for—unqualified courtesy, loyalty and service. In return you have earned the privilege of being counted among Louisiana's finest. Today you become Louisiana State Troopers. It is my privilege to congratulate you and wish you well. Thank you.
VITA

Brookie Ann Allphin was born in Lubbock, Texas on August 18, 1953. She is the daughter of John and Johnell Allphin.

Brookie graduated from Baton Rouge High School in 1971. She received her B.S. in Secondary Education with a major in Speech from Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, May, 1975. She received her M.A. in Rhetoric and Public Address on May 15, 1979, on the first birthday of her daughter, Brenna. Brookie was the officer manager for Allphin Agency, a family insurance and real estate business, from 1975 until 1986.

After the birth of her daughter, Brittany, in 1982, Brookie started Innovative Communications for political campaign and public relations consulting. In 1988, she was the public relations consultant for the Children’s First Act forums, Louisiana Department of Education.

In August, 1986, Brookie entered the doctoral program in Speech at Louisiana State University and worked as a graduate teaching assistant. From 1988 to 1991 she was an Assistant Professor of Speech, Southern University, Baton Rouge, and faculty advisor for the Southern University Digest 1990-91. Since 1991, Brookie has coordinated and taught the Local Government Manager programs and elected officials training in the LSU Division of Continuing Education. In November 1992, she married Kermit Smith. She received her Ph.D. from Louisiana State University in May, 1994.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Brookie Ann Allphin

Major Field: Speech Communication

Title of Dissertation: The Rhetoric of the Organizational Saga: A Fantasy Theme Analysis of the Organizational Communication Culture of the Louisiana State Police

Approved:

J. Donald Reynolds
Major Professor and Chairman

George T. Vrijland
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

April 5, 1994