

# Considering the Declarative and Nondeclarative Modes of Military Police Culture

Considerando os Modos Declarativos e Não Declarativos da Cultura Policial Militar  
Considerando los Modos Declarativos y no Declarativos de la Cultura de la Policía Militar

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## Abstract

**Research objective:** This essay argues that the cultural analysis of military police organizations must adopt a methodological path that considers the nondeclarative aspect of culture, going beyond what is declared verbally and formally, focusing on the culture manifested in everyday situations. **Theoretical framework:** Given the absence of such debate in the literature on culture in police organizations, we look to the theory of culture as a dual process for answers to the conflicts and contradictions that emerge in everyday police practice.

**Results:** In the conception that culture as cognition manifests itself in declarative and non-declarative modes, we seek to build an analytical and methodological path to access such ways. Because these modes operate in distinct ways in the enculturation process, we offer specific suggestions regarding the acquisition, storage, processing, and use of culture. We also show that there are phenomena of interest and possible investigations.

**Originality:** Understanding how culture manifests itself through cognitive cultural schemes has enabled new ways of thinking about cultural analysis. The originality of such perspectives could contribute to studies of organizations, especially when linked to public security.

**Theoretical and practical contributions:** The cultural analysis of military police organizations, from the perspective of methodological paths suggested here, can challenge the assumptions underlying the existing literature, enabling more useful and precise research and definitions.

**Keywords:** organizational culture, cultural analysis, nondeclarative mode, cultural schemas, police organizations.

## Resumo

**Objetivo da pesquisa:** Este ensaio defende que a análise cultural das organizações policiais militares deve adotar um percurso metodológico que considere o aspecto não declarativo da cultura, indo além daquilo que é declarado verbalmente e formalmente, concentrando-se na cultura manifesta em situações do cotidiano.

**Enquadramento teórico:** Diante da ausência de tal debate na literatura sobre a cultura em organizações policiais, buscamos na teoria da cultura como processo dual respostas para os conflitos e contradições que emergem no cotidiano do exercício policial.

**Resultados:** Na concepção de que a cultura como cognição se manifesta de modos declarativo e não declarativo, buscamos construir um percurso analítico e metodológico para acessar tais modos. Como esses modos operam em formas distintas no processo de enculturação, oferecemos sugestões específicas quanto à aquisição, armazenamento, processamento e uso da cultura. Também mostramos que há fenômenos de interesse e investigações possíveis.

**Originalidade:** Compreender como a cultura se manifesta por esquemas culturais cognitivos têm possibilitado novas maneiras de pensar a análise cultural. A originalidade de tais perspectivas poderá contribuir com os estudos das organizações, principalmente, quando ligadas à segurança pública.

**Contribuições teóricas e práticas:** A análise cultural das organizações policiais militares, sob a ótica de percursos metodológicos sugeridos aqui, pode desafiar os pressupostos subjacentes à literatura existente, possibilitando pesquisas e definições mais úteis e precisas.

**Palavras-chave:** cultura organizacional, análise cultural, modo não declarativo, esquemas culturais, organizações policiais.

## Resumen

**Objetivo de investigación:** Este ensayo sostiene que el análisis cultural de las organizaciones de policía militar debe adoptar un camino metodológico que considere el aspecto no declarativo de la cultura, yendo más allá de lo declarado verbal y formalmente, centrándose en la cultura manifestada en situaciones cotidianas.

**Marco teórico:** Dada la ausencia de tal debate en la literatura sobre la cultura en las organizaciones policiales, consideramos la teoría de la cultura como un proceso dual para encontrar respuestas a los conflictos y contradicciones que emergen en la práctica policial cotidiana.

**Resultados:** En la concepción de que la cultura como cognición se manifiesta de modos declarativa y no declarativa, buscamos construir un camino analítico y metodológico para acceder a dichas formas. Debido a que estos modos operan de distintas maneras en el proceso de enculturación, ofrecemos sugerencias específicas con respecto a la adquisición, almacenamiento, procesamiento y uso de la cultura. También mostramos que existen fenómenos de interés y posibles investigaciones.

**Originalidad:** comprender cómo se manifiesta la cultura a través de esquemas culturales cognitivos ha permitido nuevas formas de pensar sobre el análisis cultural. La originalidad de tales perspectivas podría contribuir a los estudios de las organizaciones, especialmente cuando están vinculadas a la seguridad pública.

**Contribuciones teóricas y prácticas:** El análisis cultural de las organizaciones de policía militar, desde la perspectiva de los caminos metodológicos aquí sugeridos, puede desafiar los supuestos subyacentes a la literatura existente, permitiendo investigaciones y definiciones más útiles y precisas.

**Palabras clave:** cultura organizacional, análisis cultural, modo no declarativo, esquemas culturales, organizaciones policiales.

## 1. Introduction

*"I can't say that I follow the rules completely. I don't. But I interpret them in each situation and make the best decision. Yes, from my own value system, I suppose" (statement by an American police officer in Maynard-Moody and Musheno, 2022, p. 3).*

Regardless of what laws govern, it is undeniable that police officers adapt to the situations they actually face when applying the law. This is true even when considering differences between countries, legal regimes or police organization systems (Loftus, 2010). Thus, police officers, as public agents who operate at street level, have to reconcile, at the same time, legal requirements, regulations and departmental policies, which restrict the ways in which they must carry out their work, with the daily needs of their everyday lives (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2012, 2022; Portillo & Rudes, 2014) which involves often dealing face-to-face with individuals who threaten their own lives and the lives of others (Khaled Jr, S. H., Góes, L., & Pedroso, A. F., 2024; Solomon & Martin, 2019; Zhao & Papachristos, 2024)..

The reconciliation of legal requirements with the more mundane demands of police action can lead to a series of contradictions, dilemmas and conflicts, whose questions not only hinge on whether the police officer follows the law or not (Lima, 1997; Mangels, Suss, & Lande, 2020) but how they effectively interpret, judge and adapt their actions when executing the law (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2012). Such questions are treated in the scope of Public Administration as a fertile field of investigation called street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980) which seeks to understand how public agents interact with the population (Portillo & Rudes, 2014) giving vent to their voices and desires, which often clash with policies and rules (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2022; Terpstra & Schaap, 2013). Such studies tend to focus on analyzing the autonomous and discretionary nature of these agents (Portillo & Rudes, 2014). There is an increasing emphasis on understanding how the belief systems of these agents condition the judgment they make about people, the circumstances of their work and their own identity (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2022; Sandfort, 2000).

Given the central character that belief systems and their respective cultural repertoires have in the context of police action (Demirkol & Nalla, 2020; Keesman, 2022) in this essay, we seek to make an analytical and methodological contribution to studies on these public agents by rediscussing the concept of culture from the perspective of theories that emphasize the intertwining of the tacit and discursive nature of human agency (Rossoni, Guarido Filho & Coraiola, 2013) which refers to the framework of *dual process* models, Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo, Mowry, Sepulvado, Stoltz, Taylor, Van Ness & Wood, 2016; Vaisey, 2009) which has already been used in the study of police activity (Hagan, McCarthy, Herda & Chandrasekher, 2018; Keesman, 2022). Therefore, our aim is to argue that the cultural analysis of military police organizations should adopt a methodological approach that considers the non-declarative aspect of culture, going beyond what is verbally and formally declared, focusing on the culture manifested in everyday situations.

To this end, we must emphasize that current studies on the culture of the military police face some limitations in understanding this complex phenomenon (Demirkol & Nalla, 2020; Keesman, 2022). On the ontological side, most research in this field has focused on normative and idealized approaches to organizational culture, neglecting the diversity of subcultures and perspectives within the military police institutions themselves (Paoline, 2003; Silva, 2019). In the methodological field, studies point out that the lack of access to sensitive information, as well as the resistance of members of the corps to participate in sociocultural studies, have made it difficult to obtain a comprehensive understanding of military police culture (Keesman, 2022; Rocha & Carvalho, 2018). Such limitations highlight the need for more inclusive approaches and alternative research methods that can capture the multiple facets of culture in the military police.

Given these limitations, researchers have explored different approaches to analyzing organizational culture, including that of the police. Many of them initially sought an integrative cultural perspective, which emphasizes the multiplicity of police corporate culture (Paoline, 2003) seeking to overcome the view that there is only one culture determined by top management (Martin & Frost, 2001). This approach was later expanded to include perspectives on the differentiation and cultural fragmentation of police organizations (Demirkol & Nalla, 2020)

by recognizing the cultural diversity caused by the complexity of organizations (Silva, Junquilho & Carrieri, 2010). However, by adopting the perspectives of fragmentation and differentiation, these approaches ended up reinforcing, to a certain extent, what the more integrative perspectives already defended, by attributing cultural variation to a mere degree of consensus (Carrieri, 2002; Carrieri & Pimentel, 2005; Denilson, 1996; Fischer & Mac-Allister, 2001; A. R. L. da Silva et al., 2010). This has led to an innocuous discussion about the nature of culture, focusing only on its compartmentalization or fragmentation, resulting in disagreements and inaccuracies that contribute little to understanding organizational culture. (Rossoni, Gonçalves, Silva & Gonçalves, 2021) including police culture (Keesman, 2022).

Our contribution refers to the introduction of conceptual and methodological foundations from the cultural models of dual processes (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016; Vaisey, 2009) in the study of police culture. These models emerged embryonically with DiMaggio (1997) with the intention of better understanding the role of shared schemes of meaning in cultural manifestation in real situations of action (Cerulo, Leschziner, & Shepherd, 2021). These models emphasize that culture goes beyond public manifestation, whose "fragmentation" is understood by recognizing that it also exists on a personal level, internalized as memory traces (Lizardo et al., 2016). Thus, based on cognitive theories from social psychology, anthropology, linguistics and neuroscience (Cerulo et al., 2021; Lizardo, 2017) we pioneered the incorporation of the distinction between declarative and non-declarative modes of personal culture to better understand the culture of police organizations, emphasizing the effect of the internalization of these two modes of culture on police action.

This path is not new, as there is evidence in Brazilian studies that seek to understand the cultural manifestations of police officers through the analysis of social practices (Conde, 2022; França & Silva, 2022; Khaled Jr et al., 2024; Lima & Cunha, 2022; Lopes, Ribeiro & Tordoro, 2016; Poncioni, 2005). Many of them even draw on practice theorists such as Bourdieu, Callon and Giddens, who also inspired the dual process models in understanding the role of culture in practical manifestations (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016; Vaisey, 2009). However, these studies presented an outdated and analytically inaccurate conception of culture (Lizardo, 2017) especially at the personal, non-declarative level, undermining the analytical effort of systematization. In addition, from a methodological point of view, there is a mismatch between the interest given to public culture to the detriment of personal culture, especially when these are manifested in their non-declarative mode. Thus, by differentiating personal culture into its declarative and non-declarative modes, it is possible to observe aspects of variability and contradictions at the tacit level (Lizardo, 2017).

For example, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2022) point out that there is a worrying paradox in American police approach procedures, in which, despite an explicit ban on racial profiling of suspects, in which the police themselves declare that this practice is illegal and ineffective, surveys and interviews indicate that blacks and other minorities are stopped by the police much more often than whites. Understanding this paradox leads to the need to recognize that police work depends on non-declarative knowledge, such as body skills and ways of instilling knowledge at its tacit level (Keesman, 2022). Thus, in this essay we argue that empirical research aimed at developing a cultural analysis of police organizations should seek methodological ways of accessing their declarative and non-declarative modes, adapting the nature of the manifestation of culture to the assumptions of contemporary cultural theories, enabling phenomena expressed tacitly or at a cognitive level to manifest themselves.

To this end, analyzing what police officers say in their speeches or in response to the researcher's questions in interviews will not be treated here as the only possible methodological path. Considering that the cultural analysis of military police organizations must take into account non-declarative aspects (Hagan et al., 2018; Keesman, 2022)(Hagan et al., 2018; Keesman, 2022), going beyond what is expressed verbally (interviews) in organizations or even in documents, we point out the possibilities of exploring the dual process approach as a starting point to justify the use of techniques that capture bodily expressions, the use of words in loco and visceral manifestations in the daily lives of these agents with the intention of understanding culture as something tacit. To illustrate how the analysis of declarative and non-declarative aspects can be conducted, and under what conditions these modes are relevant, we will take military police organizations as an example.

After this introduction, we present the fundamentals of public and personal culture in its declarative and non-declarative modes under the aegis of cultural sociology. We then use military police organizations to exemplify methodological alternatives, which have been organized into methodological paths to capture the

declared and the undeclared in four domains of cultural manifestation in loco (Lizardo et al., 2016) acquisition (*learning*); storage (*remembering*); processing (*thinking*); use (*acting*). We end the text with final considerations.

## 2. Public Culture and the Declarative and Non-Declarative Modes of Personal Culture

As well as public culture, Lizardo (2017) emphasizes that culture manifests itself on a personal level, where it operates in declarative and non-declarative modes. According to the author, this qualified separation of culture combats a frequent tendency to use the term *culture* in an undifferentiated, generic and analytically unproductive way, obscuring the relationship between different cultural elements. These statements are in line with the defense of Vaisey (2009) when he presents a new model of culture in action, distinguishing between discursive and practical modes of culture and cognition. Lizardo (2017) links the analytical distinction between declarative and non-declarative culture with the larger distinction between culture manifested at the level of the individual (personal culture) and culture externalized in the form of public symbols, discourses and institutions (public culture).

In this sense, there are two levels of cultural analysis: public and personal (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014; Lizardo, 2017; Ryle, 2002; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). Public culture is investigated based on the degree of organizational consensus (or not), with organizational culture understood as shared meanings, or fragmented, but still at the public level. It can be recognized as the knowledge of "what", being phenomenologically transparent, is captured as linguistic accounts, manifesting themselves, for example, as codes, symbols, rituals, frames, vocabularies, classifications and narratives and models (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014; Lizardo, 2017; Ryle, 2002).

Personal culture, on the other hand, refers to the knowledge of "how" the implicit or non-declarative aspects of culture, being phenomenologically opaque and not open to linguistic articulation, are manifested in everyday actions (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016). Two modes are distinguished by Lizardo et al., (2016) one declarative personal, which manifests itself through values, attitudes, orientations, worldviews or ideologies; the other non-declarative personal, embodied in practice, which manifests itself non-verbally, through skills, dispositions, schemas, prototypes or associations.

Although researchers tend to privilege only one dyadic set at a time (two by two, for example, public culture with declared culture), any cultural analysis must consider, implicitly or explicitly, that culture manifests itself recursively both in the public sphere and in declarative and non-declarative modes (Lizardo, 2017). In other words, at the risk of being unclear, empirical research that makes use of cultural analysis must therefore endeavor to carry out careful work on the complete set of these relationships (declarative and non-declarative; public and declarative; and, public and non-declarative); or, at the very least, consider that much of the cultural variability takes place, at the same time, in linguistic expressions and in the mental and automated appreciation of recurring social phenomena (Lizardo, 2017).

As many empirical research methods in cultural studies focus on the discourse of agents, many researchers end up embracing instruments that emphasize a verbally rationalized view of culture and are not suitable for capturing what is non-declarative (Vaisey, 2009). The question therefore arises as to how we can access non-declarative culture and then relate it to other cultural elements (public culture and/or personal culture in its declarative mode).

In empirical terms, this even calls into question the value given to interviews as a cultural research tool (Lamont & Swidler, 2014; Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016; Pugh, 2013; Vaisey, 2009). Consequently, analyzing what people say in response to the researcher's questions should not be considered the only possible methodological path, especially when the empirical research in question requires an analysis of what is not said or expressed verbally in organizations, nor what is not made public through symbols and rituals.

From this perspective, the "multimodal turn" stands out (Höllerer, Daudigeos & Jancsary, 2018) in research on institutions and organizations, which are constructed and experienced through different resources, whether visual, textual or sensory. As Höllerer et al. (2018) state multimodality expands the meaning-making potential inherent and specific to each individual mode as well as the meanings that emerge only through the

combination of different modes, which can be extended to understanding the declarative and non-declarative modes of culture.

### 2.1 Enculturation in Declarative and Non-Declarative Modes

Lizardo (2017) distinguishes two main ways in which personal culture presents itself to the analyst at the personal level: (a) culture seen as declarative *know-that*; and (b) culture seen as non-declarative *know-how*. These forms are dissociable. For example, people may exhibit declarative skills to produce (public) cultural knowledge about *what*, but don't know *how* to use it; or they may possess implicit cultural skills with no publicly accessible declarative counterpart. Therefore, interviews alone are not enough to understand cultural analysis.

Although people cannot articulate clear principles of moral judgment, their choices are made on the basis of a broader cultural script (Vaisey, 2009). To understand these personal choices, Vaisey (2009) advocated cultural analysis through a model of culture in action that he called the *Dual-Process Model of Culture in Action*. Later, Lizardo et al. (2016) showed how this model can be applied to a variety of analytically distinct issues, in addition to specific issues related to morality, such as: culture in learning (acquisition of culture); culture in memory (storage of culture); culture in thinking (processing of culture); and culture in action processes (use of culture). Thus, the authors outline the implications of this argument for work in cultural sociology.

In the analysis of culture in action, Lizardo et al. (2016) argue that, in each of the enculturation phases, there is Type 1 (non-declarative) and Type 2 (declarative), respectively, as follows: (a) in the **acquisition of culture** (learning), there is slow learning (practical, incorporated, implicit) and fast learning (conceptual, symbolic, explicit); (b) in the **storage of culture** (*remembering*) there is distributed representation ("*Know how*") and symbolic representation ("*Know that*"); (c) in the **processing of culture** (*thinking*) there is parallel processing ("*see this*", fast and effortless, based on associations) and sequential processing ("*reason*", slow and laborious, based on rules); and, (d) in the **use of culture** (*acting*) there is the automatic (impulsive) and the controlled, (reflective).

Based on this discussion, the question arises as to the feasibility of a research design that is coherent with the declarative and non-declarative aspects of cultural analysis in organizational studies, especially for the analysis of Brazilian police organizations. Overcoming these challenges is suggested in the next section, through methodological approaches that recognize the ways in which culture becomes personal, in other words, the process of *enculturation* through which people *acquire* and *use* culture.

The methodological suggestions for the study of police organizations can also exemplify, for other studies, methodological alternatives for accessing personal culture in its non-declarative mode. As will be seen, this approach enables a more precise analysis of culture in military police organizations, in order to challenge the assumptions underlying existing theories of organizational culture, which are unable to support empirical manifestations in their private mode.

## 3. Investigating Declarative and Non-Declarative Cultures: Thinking about Police Organizations

In order to operationalize empirical research that considers the declarative and non-declarative aspects of cultural analysis, it would first be necessary to recognize how organizational culture manifests itself, especially in its non-declarative mode. We are therefore discussing how it would be possible to capture non-declarative culture in the day-to-day running of the organization, and under what conditions it would manifest itself. In this sense, the study of military police organizations can illustrate how such an analysis could be conducted, and under what conditions it would be relevant. As these are organizations whose daily activities are expressed in an extremely tacit way, in which, at the same time, rituals and symbolic manifestations are extremely significant for the identity of the police officer, they are a significant case to be explored.

### 3.1 Characterization of the military police organization as an object of cultural research



Faced with the serious context of Brazilian public security, police organizations have led institutional changes towards citizenship, in response to the democratic environment that the country has experienced since the 1980s (Ferreira, Rossoni & Oliveira, 2022). In recent decades, military police organizations have also sought alternatives to the growing rate of violent crime that compromised the trust of the population and the press (Vieira & Protásio, 2011).

If we consider the elements that make up institutional formation, we can understand that the Brazilian military police organization seeks to reconcile multiple logics (Ferreira et al., 2022) one military, whose aspects refer to the concept of how the army and armed forces function; one professional, whose police organization refers to the bureaucratic functioning of a state function; one managerial, strongly based on market and technological monitoring mechanisms, stemming from the ideals of *New Public Management*; and one community-based, linked to participatory public management and aligned with the preservation of constitutional and democratic guarantees.

Researchers have increasingly used the concept of institutional and cultural logics to study and explain cultural phenomena (Garcia & Matitz, 2024; Valentino, 2021). Therefore, recognizing that the study of institutional logics can be carried out from cultural analysis (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016; Vaisey, 2009; Valentino, 2021) is also to understand that the analysis of police culture can also be carried out from the study of the institutional logics of the Military Police.

The cultural investigation of this police organization could then elucidate the implications that these logics have on police practices, enabling the researcher to challenge the underlying assumptions of symmetry between what is manifested as public culture and what is internalized as culture by the agent. This is because each of the logics not only has its own declarative and non-declarative elements, but these elements also coexist in everyday police practice, leading to complex combinations between these modes (Rossoni et al., 2013).

### **3.2 Use of Declarative and Non-Declarative Research Instruments**

Pragmatically speaking, the most common tools for cultural analysis can be considered to be those more closely linked to the declarative (such as interviews and text analysis); and those more closely linked to the non-declarative (such as observations, whether participant or not, simple questionnaire items and implicit association techniques). Each of the possible data collection techniques can capture what is declarative (rationalization of judgment and discourse) and non-declarative (spontaneous and instinctive). Broader research that can consider both declarative and non-declarative modes of personal culture can be applied in an ethnographic approach (Clifford, 2008; Magnani, 2009; A. L. C. Rocha & Eckert, 2008) or even ethnomethodological (Bispo & Godoy, 2012; Coulon, 1995; Garfinkel, 1967).

This division of data collection techniques between those that capture the declared and undeclared levels is not entirely clear. The question is not what, but *how* these techniques will be conducted. For example, vignettes (Jenkins et al., 2010) in videos and/or on paper, can be useful for both the undeclared and the declared. When the researcher asks people to mark items on the questionnaire, or to choose words, it ends up eliciting a much more automated sense from the people surveyed. Any empirical data collection technique, such as interviews, which gives the individual room to rationalize, will be more at the declared level. To access the non-declarative mode, the technique needs to value the instinctive and automatic more. The more effort the individual makes to give an answer, the more deliberate and rationalized it will be, and therefore further away from the non-declarative mode.

It is more common for interviews to be able to elucidate the declarative mode of personal culture. However, interviews carried out in conjunction with other data collection and analysis techniques can also help to capture the non-declarative modes of culture. Group dynamics, in general, can also be used for the non-deliberate part of culture, although it depends on how the researcher uses them. A series of reflections can be made about what police officers would do when confronted with specific episodes, manifesting a reflective capacity about their own practices and beliefs, declaring them to the researcher; however, depending on the use of the technique, the researcher can also access a pragmatic synthesis, as something more automated.

Flexible interviews, such as the episodic interview by Flick (2002) which includes elements such as narrative and semantics, are very useful for accessing the declarative mode. Episodic interviews are suitable for research focusing on everyday knowledge, with the aim of extracting definitions and narratives from the interviewees. By selecting situations that interest them, the interviewees tell their point of view through narratives and arguments, using semantic knowledge to present their reasoning. Participant observation, on the other hand, works very well for researchers looking to capture the non-declarative modes of personal culture. In this technique, "participant observers insert themselves into the research situation and into the lives of the people they are studying [...] in order to study naturally occurring phenomena" (Selltiz et al., 1987, p. 79-80).

The combination of various techniques enriches the empirical material in the cultural analysis of the organization, since these are constituted multimodally (Höllerer et al., 2018). In the methodological approach taken by Rolandsson (2015) who investigated how civilians justify partnerships with the police, managing local combinations and tensions between various logics, the author used observation, interviews and documentary research. The analysis of documents (training manuals, organizational legislation, written agreements, meeting minutes and *websites*) can be combined with the logbook, constructed during observation and interviews. The logbook can help with the ongoing analysis of the empirical material collected. For example, you can capture the interviews with their recordings, but also make notes in the field diary before and after the interviews, with the researcher's observations about what wasn't said, including the spontaneity of the interviewee. Initial coding can be carried out during the course of the research. When the interviews are transcribed and coded, they will also be validated and compared with other techniques.

### 3.3 Methodological Paths for Capturing the Declared and the Undeclared

In Table 1, we show how personal culture in police organizations manifests itself in its declarative and non-declarative modes, highlighting the phenomena of interest for each mode. As these modes operate in different ways in the enculturation process, we offer specific suggestions for each of them: acquisition, storage, processing and use of culture (Lizardo et al., 2016) adding possible investigations and methodological suggestions for each of them.

Studies that seek to understand police organizations from a cultural perspective could benefit from addressing the non-declarative mode of personal culture. Aiming to understand police officers and their engagement in everyday life, their day-to-day practice, raises the question of the nature of human judgment and thought. In this sense, it is important to consider the contribution of social psychology and cognitive psychology to cultural studies (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016; Vaisey, 2009) and, consequently, to question how it would be possible to analyze these empirical manifestations in everyday policing.

In this sense, in order to investigate police organizations, we suggest first recognizing where the organizational culture of the organizations manifests itself, especially in its private, non-declarative mode. Knowing how police officers act, and what they say, is also getting very close to what they think, and therefore recognizing how and where modes of personal culture manifest themselves. The manifestation of policing practices can be observed in the policeman's day-to-day life (who he is, what he does, what he believes, what he thinks).

In the methodological indications pointed out in Table 1, we suggest seeking to capture the phenomenon studied from the perspective of the individuals participating in the research; in other words, approaching "the world outside (rather than in specialized research contexts such as laboratories) and understanding, describing and sometimes explaining social phenomena from the inside in a number of different ways" (Flick, 2009, p. 8).

Table 1 - Possibilities for empirical research.

	Modes	Type 1: <i>Non-declarative personal culture</i>	Type 2: <i>Declarative personal culture</i>
LEARNING Acquisition of culture	Empirical manifestation of action	Informal guesses by superiors and colleagues about police action in an imagined extreme context, carried out in training and simulations that predict police responses to an imminent assault/unexpected emergency.	Written suggestions given as a matter of course by instructors or newcomers, in official evaluations about police actions in simulated extreme contexts, formalized in training that foresees police responses to



			imminent aggression/an unexpected emergency.
	Phenomena of interest	Slow learning: practical, embedded and implicit.	Rapid learning: conceptual, symbolic and explicit.
	Possible investigations and methodological suggestions	<p><b>Theme:</b> Brazilian police training in the face of traditional policing models and the country's recent democratic context (culture in learning).</p> <p><b>Techniques:</b> documentary research on curricular matrices, teaching materials and written assessments (tests); aligned with observations made in classes and training sessions in police training courses.</p> <p><b>Challenges:</b> difficulties of access for researchers to military organizations .</p>	

(continued)

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	Modes	TYPE 1: <i>Non-declarative personal culture</i>	TYPE 2: <i>Declarative personal culture</i>
REMEMBERING Crop storage	Empirical manifestation of action	Police officers' justifications for what they do and why they do it, when in a real extreme context that requires them to respond quickly.	Documents produced by the government or senior management, which are used by police officers as support tools to act in real extreme contexts.
	Phenomena of interest	Distributed representation ( <i>know-how</i> ).	The symbolic representation ( <i>Know that</i> ).
	Possible investigations and methodological suggestions	<p><b>Themes:</b> the complex Brazilian public security system, high crime rates, organized crime and deficiencies in public policies (culture in memory).</p> <p><b>Techniques:</b> analysis of official documents providing guidelines for police emergencies; and analysis by police officers of their practices, during their work and/or in anecdotal interviews about real extreme situations.</p> <p><b>Challenges:</b> complexity of the multiple and heterogeneous empirical evidence in Brazil, (re)configured by the regionalities of a country of continental dimensions.</p>	
THINKING Culture processing	Empirical manifestation of action	Priorities given by police officers in dealing with police emergencies, when faced with a real extreme context, <i>on the spot</i> .	Priorities given by police officers in the records of police emergencies, minutes, letters, reports or documented analyses of such occurrences.
	Phenomena of interest	Parallel processing ("see this", quickly and effortlessly, based on associations).	Sequential processing ("reason", slow and laborious, based on rules).
	Possible investigations and methodological suggestions	<p><b>Themes:</b> ambivalent logic of adaptive prevention and punitive segregation in the fight against crime present in the Military Police (culture in thought).</p> <p><b>Techniques:</b> observations, vignettes and more flexible interviews such as group and episodic interviews about the routine of police work.</p> <p><b>Challenges:</b> the use of multiple methods; difficulties in constructing indicators of feelings of security and fear of crime compared to criteria for evaluating police efficiency linked to the number of arrests and seizures; and difficulties in establishing causality between policing practices and crime.</p>	
ACTING Use of culture	Empirical manifestation of action	Occurrences of high complexity, which require the police officer to understand quickly in order to take effective action. Police action in the extreme context <i>on the spot</i> , for example: approaching a suspicious individual, criminal prosecution and capture in the act, rescuing victims at risk, etc.	Recording highly complex police incidents, which requires the police officer to have a certain rhetorical skill in order to justify the actions taken by the officers in a given extreme context.
	Phenomena of interest	Automatic police action (impulsive and reflexive).	Controlled (reflexive) police action.
	Possible investigations and methodological suggestions	<p><b>Themes:</b> culture in the processes of action regarding (a) the bases of legitimacy of the Brazilian police, considering their social structures, and the practical actions of legitimizing the Brazilian police in the democratic context; (b) the logics imposed by the militarization of the police force and recent Brazilian democracy; (c) violent culture and typically Brazilian social problems, such as hunger, education, mobility, basic sanitation and other social inequalities.</p> <p><b>Techniques:</b> observations, vignettes and more flexible interviews, such as group and episodic interviews, on highly complex police incidents.</p>	

		<b>Challenges:</b> difficulties in understanding how different audiences legitimize the actions of the police and what the basis of their judgment is.
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Source: prepared by the authors, based on Lizardo et al. (2016), Ferreira et al. (2022) and Rossoni et al. (2013).

In order to construct Chart 1, we considered that the definition of the empirical manifestations to be investigated would be directly linked to the data collection techniques, which would allow them to be accessed and analyzed. However, we suggest first locating the researcher's interest in the four dimensions pointed out by Lizardo et al. (2016) (*learning, remembering, thinking and acting*). To illustrate this theoretical-methodological effort, seen here as possibilities for empirical investigations, or methodological paths for the cultural analysis of military police organizations, we frame some research provocations presented by Ferreira et al. (2022) from the perspective of the four dimensions presented by Lizardo et al. (2016). For each of these dimensions, we relate the non-declarative and declarative modes of personal culture, called by Lizardo et al. (2016) as Type 1 and Type 2, respectively.

Considering that police work is sometimes linked to extreme contexts, we believe that the acquisition, storage, processing and use of culture are also linked to danger, fear and death. The results achieved at work end up interfering in the worker's private history, marked by the meaning that being a police officer means "living with fear, danger and risks", also giving it a meaning of "being a hero, worthy and honorable" (Alcadipani & Rodrigues, 2016). By giving the profession an aura of honor, pride, determination and sacrifice (Sá, 2002) the military police end up becoming personally involved with their profession beyond their professional goals. The risk of life faced by the police officer becomes desired, or rather, as stated by Ferreira and Borges (2021), on a daily basis, in the exercise of the police function, "dying becomes noble".

It is in the extreme context of their professional activity that police officers end up becoming personally involved with their work, presenting the researcher with a rare opportunity to capture the non-declarative mode of personal culture, as phenomena of interest: slow learning (practical, incorporated and implicit), distributed representation (*know how*), parallel processing ("look at this", fast and effortless, based on associations) and automatic (impulsive) police action.

Regardless of the configuration of the police team under analysis, whether it is directed at preventive activities or criminal prosecution, the proposed empirical research would be interested in the practices of police officers when they are surprised by the extremity of their activity. In other words: police officers in police emergencies, surprised by the extreme context of their activity, which is unavoidable, unpredictable and imperative (Hagan et al., 2018; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2022).

In addition to the difficulties of the researcher's access to military organizations, the main challenge of this proposal is to consider multiple techniques and approaches, which must go beyond interviews. This proposal relies on the power of the multimode prism with the combination of multiple techniques for collecting visual, textual, material and symbolic data, capable of capturing declarative and non-declarative modes of culture in Brazilian military police organizations. Höllner et al. (2018, p. 3) argue that "multimodality involves the combination of multiple sign systems, each of which provides its own way of storing and communicating social meaning". The authors also warn that multimodal research must go beyond the product of communicative processes, considering how combinations of individual modes fit together and extend.

In any of the four dimensions of the research shown in Chart 1, we believe that the researcher will seek to understand everyday police practices, manifested above all in reference to extreme contexts, or police emergencies. This is when the empirical manifestations become more evident. Both in the preparation for the extreme context (simulated) and in the actual confrontation, much of the cultural variability occurs in declarative and non-declarative modes, both in linguistic expressions and in the automated appreciation of these recurring social phenomena. Thus, it will be possible to capture linguistic accounts, such as codes, symbols, rituals, vocabularies and narratives; and also to capture those realizations of everyday life that are phenomenologically opaque and not open to linguistic articulation (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016). The declarative personal mode manifests itself through values, attitudes, orientations, worldviews or ideologies; and the non-declarative personal mode, embodied in practice, manifests itself non-verbally through skills, dispositions, schemas, prototypes or associations.

Next, we present possibilities for empirical studies that can make use of cultural analysis within the proposal presented in Box 1. Considering that "a rejuvenated research agenda - driven primarily by attention to the visual and material ways of constructing meaning in and around organizations - has gained considerable momentum in organization and management studies as well" (Höllner et al., 2018, p. 2) we propose a methodological path for research into Brazilian police organizations capable of capturing the declarative and non-declarative modes of culture.

*a) The study of new police practices: the case of the Community Police*

Although it has been present in the Brazilian military police since the 1990s, the Community Police in Brazil is still considered by many authors to be a new practice, responsible for leading reforms in police practices in response to Brazil's recent democracy and society's desire for participation and citizenship (Frühling, 2006, 2007, 2012) especially when compared to traditional policing practices, linked to repressive criminal prosecution practices (Bayley, 2006; Rosenbaum, 2012; Skolnick & Bayley, 2006; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994).

Many authors have already studied the multiple forms of community policing (Ferreira, Rossoni, et al., 2022). For example, the community policing program called the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) implemented in Rio de Janeiro (Ribeiro & Vilarouca, 2018, 2019; Riccio et al., 2013; Vargas, 2013; Wolff, 2019) community policing in Belo Horizonte (Alves & Arias, 2012; Arias & Ungar, 2009; Beato Filho et al., 2017) São Paulo (Y. González, 2016; Y. M. González, 2019; Haubrich & Wehrhahn, 2015) Salvador (Wolff, 2019), Recife (Dammert & Malone, 2006) and Fortaleza (Garmany, 2014); and also the study on community policing carried out with the help of online social networks as a mechanism for interacting with the public in times of the Covid-19 pandemic (Ferreira, Oliveira, et al., 2022).

Community policing has thus become a model of police organization that aims to become the most advanced model of policing, or even citizen policing (Ferreira, Rossoni, et al., 2022; Frühling, 2007; Rosenbaum, 2012; Skolnick & Bayley, 2006). In short, the combatant police officer, feared and an enemy of crime, patrolling a passive and unaccountable society, no longer prioritizes a relationship distant from the public and begins to seek a relationship with the people of his local community, so he is seen as a police officer known and friendly to the local community, in the face of an active and co-responsible society. (Ferreira & Borges, 2020, 2021). It is expected that police officers, in a decentralized and autonomous way, will begin to solve local problems together with society, in a partnership where the officer recognizes the importance of citizenship, social mobilization and the quality of life of the public he serves, beyond criminal prosecution.

This model of police practice and organization is present in all Brazilian states and has received encouragement from the federal government in the training of police officers and Brazilian police organizations (Araújo, 2010). All Brazilian military police forces have made efforts to apply community policing, both in the oldest military police force in Brazil (in Minas Gerais, since 1775), created by the Portuguese Crown, and in the youngest (in Tocantins, since 1989), created under the Federal Constitution in response to society's desire for participation and citizenship.

Although there is almost a consensus that police organizations should prioritize Community Policing, there are still reports in the literature about the difficulties of implementing it: since the 1990s (Muniz et al., 1997) to more recent studies (Ferreira & Borges, 2020, 2021; Ribeiro & Vilarouca, 2018, 2019; R. R. da Silva, 2007; Wolff, 2019). After all, "despite the widespread defense of the effectiveness of such models, there are doubts about their effectiveness and what community policing is actually about" (Ferreira et al., 2022).

The success of community policing practices must involve reforms to the police culture itself (Ferreira & Borges, 2021; Muniz et al., 2018). Therefore, the contradictions and conflicts that community policing has generated in police practice can be understood through a study that investigates police organizations from a cultural perspective. We therefore affirm that a more comprehensive understanding of public security policies can be achieved if studies consider the contribution of social psychology and cognitive psychology to cultural studies (Lizardo, 2017; Lizardo et al., 2016; Vaisey, 2009) as shown in Box 1.

In this sense, investigating the empirical manifestations sponsored by police officers employed in routine preventive policing (if possible, in the community policing service specifically), is also an opportunity to

understand policing in general, both in the *remembering*, *thinking* and *acting* dimensions of culture, and in *learning* simulations (Chart 1). While police officers, who specialize in repressive practices, generally don't take on preventive practices, the opposite may already be possible. This is because of the urgency that an imminent and dangerous criminal event can demand of any police officer. It is therefore expected that when they are surprised by an extreme and unexpected event during their duty shift, police officers will resort to motivations and justifications. (Vaisey, 2009) to define their actions - culture in action - and it is then possible for them to seek legitimacy through reflexivity and speech (Crank, 2003; Giddens, 1979).

*b) The study of new technologies: the case of body cameras*

The adoption of new technologies such as portable digital cameras (body cameras) can improve police accountability to the public (Tavares, Cabral & Marcolino, 2024). In order to respond to society's wishes, these cameras began to be used by the São Paulo State Military Police in 2020 with the aim of monitoring the actions of São Paulo police officers on the streets, with the aim of reducing police violence and deaths during police actions. This new approach to police work has resulted in a drop in police lethality, as the state secretary admits (Cruz, 2023). However, although this use has caused a significant reduction in the average number of cases of police use of force (Monteiro et al., 2022) the issue is a subject of debate and controversy as to the advantages and disadvantages, especially if we consider the police officers involved and society itself.

The use of digital technologies and police action in extreme contexts is a contemporary issue, as indicated by Vianna, Rezende and Alcadipani (2022). These authors also cite other studies (Ariel, 2016; Jennings, Lynch & Fridell, 2015; J. da Silva & Campos, 2015) which evaluated the use of cameras in police work. The conclusions seem to point to positive reflections, including assertions such as that police officers have a positive view, relating the use of cameras to greater professionalism on the part of officers. However, we propose that research on the use of digital technologies should also consider police action in extreme contexts, from the perspective of the multiplicity of voices in a cultural study, which could be very enlightening.

Research proposals that consider the *insights* presented in Box 1 could shed light on the resistance and potential of this new technology for the Military Police. Based on Silva and Campos (2015) who analyzed the use of cameras attached to uniforms by the Brazilian police, it is possible to propose a methodological approach that considers multimodality, which "involves a combination of multiple sign systems, each of which provides its own way of storing and communicating social meaning" (Höllerer et al., 2018, p. 3).

Whatever the research proposal presented here, it is possible to seek contributions from a cultural analysis along the lines of Chart 1. In short, methodological proposals usually require a combination of more than one technique to express the declarative and non-declarative modes, which we suggest:

- (a) documentary research;
- (b) observations, participating or not (Garcia & Matitz, 2024);
- (c) in-depth interviews, in their most diverse variations, with the use of vignettes or other similar techniques, capable of capturing what is said and what is not said, individually or in groups.
- (d) questionnaires, especially those that require little response effort, which can be captured using correlational class analysis methods (Boutyline, 2017) shared cultural schemes underlying the police organization (Rossoni et al., 2021).
- (e) implicit association tests, which are useful for capturing the automated nature of responses (Cerulo et al., 2021).
- (f) video analysis, which can be introduced to understand the situational dynamics of police work, especially regarding bodily action (Keesman, 2022).

As for the challenges and limitations of these proposals, we can list them below:

- (a) the complexity of the multiple and heterogeneous empirical evidences in Brazil, (re)configured by the regionalities of a country of continental dimensions;
- (b) the use of multiple methods;

- (c) the difficulties in constructing indicators of the feeling of security and fear of crime in the face of criteria for evaluating police efficiency linked to the number of arrests and seizures;
- (d) the difficulties in establishing causality between policing practices and crime; and
- (e) the difficulties in understanding how different audiences legitimize the actions of the police and what are the bases of their judgment.

It is also important to point out that these approaches challenge the very practice of research. For example, the time required for techniques such as ethnography not only causes physical exhaustion for the researcher, but also burdens the research. We can also mention the difficulty of the researcher's access to military organizations, as well as the risk to their personal safety imposed by the nature of the police activities they intend to follow. Participating in police emergencies *on site*, even as a researcher, could bring unpredictable legal risks that could further burden the research. Finally, the ability of police interviews and speeches to translate what is naturally tacit should be put on hold (Lizardo, 2017). It is also important to avoid the misconception that formal methods and questionnaires cannot capture automated processes (Vaisey, 2009).

## 5. Final considerations

In this essay, we argue that research that considers the non-declarative modes of culture can challenge the assumptions underlying the existing literature, enabling more useful and precise definitions. Focusing on the analysis of personal culture, we highlight where people's actions are empirically manifested in the organization, in order to enable a cultural analysis in its declarative and non-declarative modes; where the phenomena of interest to researchers are; and what possible investigations can be carried out by these studies, as well as what are the possible methodological paths to access personal culture.

In this sense, taking the study of Brazilian military police organizations as an example, we present methodological notes for the construction of a research design that makes it possible to expose the declarative and non-declarative aspects of culture, which may be useful for the study of other organizations. To this end, we considered the dual process models of cultural analysis by Lizardo et al. (2016) as an analytical framework for analyzing police organizations by accessing the extreme context of police practices. Highlighting the importance of such extremes to demonstrate how culture at a personal level can operate in a totally different way between declarative and non-declarative modes, we made methodological points that enable the researcher to look at cultural analysis in the construction of a research design that, as advocated by Alvesson and Sandberg (2011) argue, can challenge the assumptions underlying the existing literature on organizational culture.

Even though the literature on the subject does not ignore undeclared personal aspects (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2012) it does not accurately consider the mental and tacit manifestations of cultural representations in organizations when these are asymmetrical with the definitions of public culture. As a result, it contributes little to understanding how culture manifests itself, especially when we seek to understand it in relation to action.

Finally, considering the non-declarative mode in cultural analysis allows the researcher to understand practices that are carried out automatically (Garcia & Matitz, 2024) especially in the extreme context (Keesman, 2022). The study of other organizations can also benefit from valuing the interest of empirical investigations in the extreme; in other words, in activities that require professionals working in organizations to be especially emotionally prepared, given the gravity of their actions in terms of their success/failure, loaded with private or collective consequences. After all, in any organization there can be the extreme of an end-activity; for example, when a doctor makes a decision during a highly complex surgery; or a teacher faced with serious indiscipline on the part of a student; or even the first decisions made by the manager of a mining company when he receives information that the dams may collapse.

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