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Care and Enforcement:
A study of police training for teacher education researchers

By

Jessica Erin Charles

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Judith Warren Little, Chair
Professor Daniel Perlstein
Professor Susan Stone

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Abstract

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Teachers must mediate the persistent tension in American society and American education between individual freedoms and civic virtue. This creates philosophical and practical problems for teachers in classrooms who must make decisions that affect the experiences of individual students as well as the whole class. Teacher education unsuccessfully attempts to mediate this tension by conceptualizing the work of teaching as "caring" work, and in doing so, regularly obfuscates the role of teachers in constraining individual freedoms in their day-to-day work.

In an effort to better conceptualize preparation for the difficult work of mediating the tension between individual freedoms and civic virtue in teaching, this study looks at police training to see how police are prepared to mediate the same tensions. Police unapologetically prepare candidates to constrain individual freedoms and to enforce a particular vision of social order. In an attempt make the familiar world of teacher education strange, this is a case study that uses a grounded theory approach to examine a signature pedagogy of police preparation – scenario training.

An analysis of scenario training revealed three signature problems for which candidates were prepared: uncertainty, stress, and the high cost of error. Police were trained to contend with these problems through routines that caused them to draw on both explicit and tacit forms of knowledge. The framing of these problems, as well as the strategies that candidates were taught to contend with them, caused police preparation to privilege enforcement of social order over the protection of individual freedoms. This raises the hypothesis that teacher education, by invoking care as a framework for understanding teachers' work, privileges preparation for nurturing individual students over enforcing order in the classroom or for preparing a citizenry for the common good.

For Eleanor

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Introduction

Two police recruits enter a home in response to a domestic violence call. When they arrive at the scene they encounter a man who is clearly in physical distress, holding his head and moaning. A few feet away, a woman hollers obscenities at him. The officers separate them and the lead officer questions the man first. His partner stands in front of the woman, preventing her from moving toward the man, but all the while, she screams at him across the room. The man tells the officer his head wound is making him woozy, and continues to grimace in pain. Then, the officers switch places and the lead officer begins questioning the woman. She admits to assaulting her husband and the officers arrest her. The lead officer tells the man how to obtain victim's assistance.

This was a training scenario acted out by students and their instructor at the urban police academy I observed for this study. When the scenario was over, the class debriefed the exercise. As was typical in the debriefs I witnessed, student observers were invited to critique the performance of the student role players. In this instance, some students critiqued the way the officers approached the scene. Noticing that the officers never contacted dispatch, they suggested that the officers should have obtained more information before entering the residence; perhaps if they had called dispatch they would have been able to find out if there were any known weapons in the household. Other students complimented the officers on separating the couple so that additional violence was prevented. All of the students' comments primarily focused on how well protocols and procedures were followed so that order could be safely restored.

Then it was the instructor's turn. Instead of emphasizing how the recruits might have reacted differently to control the situation, she identified an element of the officers' response that was missing – care for the victim. First, she told the students, it is important to remember to see if the victim's injuries require calling an ambulance. Neither of the officers had tended to the possible wound on the man's head. In addition, she continued, there is a way to approach a victim of domestic violence that is more sympathetic. She advised them: make sure you show compassion. She demonstrated this by sitting down next to the victim as she explained to him how he might request victim's assistance. But, as you counsel the victim, she said to the students, scooting forward, remember to sit on the edge of your seat. Be alert and ready, in case you have to react to an unforeseen event.

***

In the scenario described above, police recruits are learning to discern between perpetrator and victim, so that they can restrict the actions of one, and assist the other. Though the police recruits must be ready to react to and subdue any dangerous situation, should it arise, they must also learn how to behave compassionately toward victims. This is metaphorically represented by the police officer's chair, where the instructor advises students to show compassion by sitting down next to the victim, but in order to demonstrate readiness to quell danger, directs them to position their bodies on the edge of the seat. This study is located on the edge of the police officer's chair - the place where attentiveness to individual citizens meets the charge to maintain order.

Police work is characterized by dilemmas that require the police to balance individual rights and civic obligations. Police training must prepare novices to sort them out and determine who needs protection and whose behavior must be controlled. As Arthur Neiderhoffer explained in in his book, *Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society* (1967), "To people in trouble, the police officer is a savior. In another metamorphosis the patrolman becomes a fierce ogre that mothers conjure up to frighten their disobedient youngsters. At one moment the policeman is hero, the next, monster." (p. 1) Here Niederhoffer illustrates the responsibility police have to protect individual citizens, while at the same time, the authority they have to control them. In a country that makes claims of governance based on shared investment in the common good, as well as the protection of individual rights, the balance between individuals and the public is always in tension, but neither can be abandoned. In short, police work entails upholding institutional values, and police training must enable officers to use their own judgment in enacting them.

This scenario, which was part of a deliberate and increasingly complex curriculum, attempted to prepare them for the job of making decisions that balance their civic obligations and their duty to protect individual rights. As they responded to the simulated domestic violence call, the student officers were participating in a role-play that forced them to grapple with that tension. In this and other scenarios I observed, candidates struggled to attend to the victims of crime. Their actions and inaction, as well as the instructor's response, raise questions about both the content of police training and the pedagogical approach. For example, it is interesting that the officers did not immediately attend to the wounded man. Furthermore, it is intriguing that the scenario included a female perpetrator and a male victim – what was the pedagogical purpose of setting the scenario set up this way? What do student officers need to be able to "see" in a situation that defies gender stereotypes in order to respond appropriately? Also noteworthy is that once the instructor realized that students needed to be more compassionate, she demonstrated a physical maneuver – sitting on the edge of the chair – to help the student officers show compassion. This approach focused entirely on the physical embodiment of the work, rather than developing in the candidates an intellectual or emotional awareness of victims' feelings. What does this approach tell us about the primary

concerns of police training? Questions such as these help us think more deeply about what is required in preparing police for complex work in a democracy.

But to ask how police are prepared to balance the rights of individuals with civic obligations is a question that has implications that extend beyond police preparation. Since police work happens under high stress and police decisions can yield drastic and immediate consequences, police training must take into account how police can be best prepared to make decisions in dangerous situations. It is the very life-and-death pressure on police that bring sharply into focus the importance of training these public servants to use discretion under conditions of uncertainty. Studying police preparation gives us a frame to think about the knowledge and skills public servants may need to use discretion in the public interest, while also thinking about the pedagogical approach that may be useful in preparing them to do so.

Perhaps surprisingly, this study was conducted with teacher education researchers as the intended audience. This may be counterintuitive to some readers because they may be uneasy with what might seem like a comparison between teachers and police, or a call to train teachers to be more like police. Let me assure the reader that neither is the case. Instead, the surprise is an intentional device by which to open questions about teacher education that can more readily be asked by studying police training. This is an effort to make the familiar strange, and by doing so to lend insight into how we prepare candidates to teach. My study helps us think about aspects of teachers' work that are shared with the police and the problems of preparation that accompany them, and, more importantly, sheds a light on aspects of the work that have been previously neglected by teacher education research. Certainly teachers, who like police are required to negotiate their duty to individuals and civic obligations in their day-to-day work, must be prepared to make judgments that uphold institutional values. Of course, these dimensions are enacted under very different circumstances, with different populations and for different reasons. For example, while police must learn to differentiate those who need protection from those who should be investigated, arrested and subdued, teachers must know how nurture the growth of individual students, while simultaneously coping with the immediacy and intensity of "teaching in a crowd," (Jackson, 1968) through classroom management and discipline. And, while the consequences of teachers' decisions may not be as immediately obvious as those of police, the long-term effects of a million small decisions, made over time by the dozens of teachers the average child encounters, have a lasting and serious impact on the quality of educational outcomes of children (Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005).

However, while teacher education research has focused on how teachers might be better prepared to meet the individual needs of children, it has been less comfortable theorizing how they might be prepared to attend to civic obligations and the practical environment of the classroom that inevitably require the constraint of individual freedoms. Police training, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with preparing candidates for enforcing what they understand to be the social order. The subject of this research is police training because it shares with teacher education the concern to prepare candidates for their dual obligation to individual rights and civic obligations. Police training

unapologetically prepares candidates for the work of constraining individual freedoms, while teacher education, on the other hand, routinely obfuscates this as the one of the core elements of teachers' work and focuses mainly on preparing candidates to nurture individual children.

This can be seen in both the conceptual and behavioral frame that teacher education embraces. Conceptually, teacher education emphasizes that care, rather than constraint, is the main work of teaching. This philosophical stance is laid out in Nel Noddings' book, *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* (1984). Noddings envisions the student-teacher relationship as based on the mother-child bond, in which a child's moral development depends upon a nurturing relationship with her teacher. Affectively, attention to the needs of individual children is manifest in a ubiquitous constructivist approach. Constructivism is a theory that often invokes community ideals,[1] but at its core depends upon an individualistic notion of knowledge, learning and the relationship with the teacher.[2] This blind spot has led to an impoverished theoretical understanding of what is entailed in preparing teachers to meet their civic obligations and causes teachers to flail in the face of demands in the classroom and from the public.

Individual Freedoms and Civic Obligations in American Education

That public education has been charged with both the development of the individual student, as well as a duty to prepare him for civic life, is well documented. Durkheim (1961) argued that in modernity, religious morality had weakened as rationality had taken hold, and he advocated that a "secular morality" be inculcated in students through schools to promote social cohesion in the absence of the church. Schools should bring discipline to students to achieve two primary goals: to regulate the behavior of individuals for the benefit of civic life, and to prevent "exhaustion" in the individual and his "alienation" from society by teaching him self-regulation.

Writing around the same time, John Dewey (1902/2010) explained, "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy." (p.6). Schooling in a democracy, Dewey believed, included two obligations – one to the student, who should be nurtured to develop skills that would serve him in real life situations, and one to society, so that all members might be integrated and contribute to the common good. School, in Dewey's view, ought to be

[1] See John Dewey's *The School and Society,* (1902) and Ronald Butchart's *Local Schools: Exploring their History*, (2010).

[2] An elegant description of constructivism, and its blind spots, can be found in Howard Gardner's book, *The Disciplined Mind* (2000). Gardner envisions a perfect constructivist education in which the individual child is nurtured in a humanist tradition, whereby he is introduced to the virtues of "truth, beauty and goodness."

"made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons." (p.6). The school's mission transcended teaching skills for their own sake and, instead, was tasked to prepare children to participate fully in the economic and civic aspects of life.

Public schools in America, as Cremin (1951) argued, were conceived in response to broad cultural forces in the early nineteenth century, and have been situated historically as institutions by which social aims might be accomplished. In *American Common School,* he discerns "1) the democratizing of politics; 2) the growth of the struggle to maintain social equality; 3) the change in the conception of man and society; and 4) the rise in nationalism" (p. 1) as the cultural roots of the American common school movement. He argues that the United States "consciously" created schools as a response to these forces, and that schools were created to meet the social demands of the young nation. Schools were envisioned as positive institutions that could help build and shape the republic. Schools were to educate the citizenry so they might be better equipped to participate in democracy, close the gap between the educated classes and the newly enfranchised lower classes, and instill a cohesive American identity in recently arrived immigrant populations. In essence, public schools were one vehicle by which social goals were to be realized.

Yet realizing social goals is fraught with tension. As Amy Gutmann argues in "Democratic Education in Difficult Times," (1990) Americans struggle with competing notions of individual freedom and civic virtue, and seek philosophical answers to resolve the political problems that arise out of that tension. She writes,

> Most Americans value freedom of speech and also value protection from falsehood, deceit, and defamation. Yet it is impossible to provide complete freedom of speech and still prevent the widespread dissemination of falsehoods, deceits, and defamations. Most Americans value freedom of religion, and also want governments to shape the social environment so that people are predisposed to believe in "good" religions (or philosophies of life) rather than "bad" ones. Yet a society that grants complete freedom of religion cannot shape an environment resistant to repugnant religions. (p. 8)

Americans are caught between irreconcilable aims – to pursue the good that comes from honoring individual freedoms, or to seek the civic virtue that comes from a harmonious society. She characterizes these conflicting philosophies in education as the "family state" and the "state of individuals" which each offer views that usurp the other. A "family state" philosophy of education, based on the Platonic ideal, seeks to align citizens with the common good, and teaches them that individual behavior is only virtuous when it aligns with civic virtue. The "state of individuals" philosophy of education, on the other hand, believes that virtue is found by honoring individual freedoms, and therefore seeks to eliminate constraints on human pursuits. As an alternative, Gutmann argues that a democratic conception of education mediates the tensions between individual freedoms and civic virtue by inviting debate about which freedoms and which civic virtues ought to be included in the enterprise we call public education.

The debate Gutmann advocates, about how to achieve social and individualistic goals through education, implicates teachers' work. Teachers in public schools serve primarily two masters: the children they teach and the public they represent. Inherent in their job are the often misaligned goals of nurturing the individual child and sculpting her to fit desirable social outcomes. These goals can create moral dilemmas for teachers that arise from what is, ultimately, a paradox embedded in their work. James Baldwin, in his 1963 "Talk to Teachers" (Baldwin, 1985) explained,

> Man is a social animal. He cannot exist without a society. A society, in turn, depends on certain things which everyone within that society takes for granted. Now the crucial paradox which confronts us here is that the whole process of education occurs within a social framework and is designed to perpetuate the aims of society. Thus, for example, the boys and girls who were born during the era of the Third Reich, when educated to the purposes of the Third Reich, became barbarians. The paradox of education is precisely this - that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated. The purpose of education, finally, is to create in a person the ability to look at the world for himself, to make his own decisions, to say to himself this is black or this is white, to decide for himself whether there is a God in heaven or not. To ask questions of the universe, and then learn to live with those questions, is the way he achieves his own identity. But no society is really anxious to have that kind of person around. What societies really, ideally, want is a citizenry which will simply obey the rules of society. If a society succeeds in this, that society is about to perish. The obligation of anyone who thinks of himself as responsible is to examine society and try to change it and to fight it – at no matter what risk. This is the only hope society has. This is the only way societies change. (p. 326)

Teachers are charged to turn out "social animals" but are also beholden to the best interests of those in their care, a responsibility Dan Lortie (1975) described as a "sacred trust," and which Baldwin sees as the task of enabling the child to develop his unique identity through an honest critique of the society in which he resides. In order to navigate these potentially conflicting purposes, teachers must make decisions about how they interact with the children in their care that somehow live within the uneasy space between civic obligations on the one hand, and individualistic concerns on the other. These decisions are not straightforward and require the teacher to wrestle directly with the moral purposes of education (Clark, 1990).

Baldwin advocates that teachers take sweeping righteous steps to empower students to question and overthrow the system that oppresses them. While a justified response to the racist structures Baldwin rightly hopes to dismantle through teacher action, his speech envisions teachers as powerful agents behind a bully pulpit, capable of influencing, on a grand scale, the beliefs of children and the backward society in which they live. Yet,

many actions that teachers take are far less overt, but no less a part of the delicate dance between instituting civic virtue and focusing on the individual child. As Philip Jackson explained in "Life in Classrooms," (1968) in the mundane events of every day classroom life, authority relationships and social roles are transmitted to children. Classroom routines such as asking permission to use the pencil sharpener or to go to the restroom reinforce existing notions of social order, and teach children to defer their own desires for the good of the group. Small choices such as these, as well as big choices, of the political nature to which Baldwin points, comprise the job of teaching and constitute a multitude of decisions that require teachers to negotiate their dual obligations to the public and attentiveness to the individual child.

Care and Constructivism as the Moral Frame in Teacher Education

If democratic deliberation mediates the tension between individual freedoms and civic virtue inherent in the wholesale enterprise of public schooling, then teacher education attempts, albeit unsuccessfully, to mediate it through the concept of care and the practice of constructivism. The work of teaching, insofar as it balances individual freedoms and civic obligations, is moral work that requires a moral framework to be resolved. Alan Tom defines this moral work in *Teaching as a Moral Craft* (1984). According to Tom, the relationships teachers cultivate with students and the choices they make about curriculum create moral questions for teachers that arise out of the power differential between teachers and students and the connection of curriculum to the purposes of education. Teaching, he argues, requires the navigation of questions about the extent to which teachers should extend their authority over students, what they should learn, and how they should be taught. This is illustrated in Magdalene Lampert's piece, "How Do Teachers Manage to Teach," (1985) in which she explains how teachers are faced with second-by-second choices that have no easy answers, and encompass moral concerns. In her examples, Lampert describes the decisions she makes regarding the placement of boys and girls in the classroom, how she responds to their behavior, and the instruction that she is able to offer the children in her classroom as a result. She describes how placing male students at the front of the room in order to manage their behavior ultimately distanced the girls from the instruction at the "front" of the room. This was an instructional matter, as well as a moral one, in that it affected the degree to which individual students were able to engage with their teacher, and perhaps, learn the content. In Lampert's attempt to meet her civic obligation to teach the entire class, she made choices that may have compromised the learning of individual students.

The dilemmas of practice Lampert (1985) presents are the type of trade-offs that require a moral framework to resolve. Teacher education attempts to resolve these dilemmas through constructivism, which attends to the development of the individual learner in relationship with the teacher. Constructivism is the pedagogical instantiation of the care ethic, which emerges from a moral framework grounded in relationships.[3] Because

[3] Kohlberg's rationalist, and in her view, male, interpretation of morality was critiqued Carol Gilligan in *A Different Voice* (1982). The moral reasoning schema put

constructivism requires that teachers begin with what individual children know, develop curriculum that maps to their interests, and differentiate for each child, it necessitates that moral dilemmas are resolved by paying more attention to individual needs than to civic virtue. If students are seen to best develop in caring relationships with their teachers, then the idiosyncratic, not the universal, is the moral frame within which teaching practice, and preparation for practice, occurs. In this way constructivism is not the preferred pedagogical orientation of teacher education because it draws a warrant from cognitive science,[4] but because it is a means to resolve political questions. In Daniel Perlstein's article, "Minds Stayed on Freedom: Politics and Pedagogy in the African-American Freedom Struggle," (2002) he argues this point. He writes about constructivism,

> The enduring appeal of this pedagogy owes much to the way that it resonates with widely held American political values... Shared by constructivist and progressive theorists, the ideal of self-actualizing learners defining their environment mirrors the liberal democratic political synthesis of individual autonomy and collective self-determination. (p.249)

However, as Perlstein notes, this ideology bumps up against the realities of inequality in American life and American schooling. Constructivism, and the ethic of care for the individual that undergirds it, is inadequate for figuring out how to build a more equitable, just and harmonious society. In his article, Perlstein discusses constructivism as it relates to learning, but his analysis can be extended to teachers and to their preparation. In teacher education, constructivism attempts to resolve the tension between civic virtue and individual freedoms by equipping teachers to care for individual learners, but serves to obscure, rather than to successfully mediate, that tension because it does not explicitly address how they might enact their duty to create, in Dewey's words, "a broader community of interest," or the practical problem of how, when and why to constraint students' individual freedoms in furtherance of this goal.

The Inadequacy of Care and Constructivism

In a practical sense, care and constructivism may help teachers think about developing student thinking from an instructional standpoint, but are less helpful for considering how to enact discipline or how to engage moral questions of the type Baldwin advocates. They also rely on a notion that moral dilemmas that are, in fact, of public concern be resolved in the person of the teacher. That is, teachers are seen to need the skills to weigh dilemmas in relationship to their own perspectives and the context in which they arise.

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forth by Kohlberg, she argues, ignores and/or marginalizes the female perspective. In Kohlberg's (1981) six stages of moral development, Stage Three is concerned with the relationships and obligations of individuals. She argues that the female experience and, thus, moral reasoning, relies much more on personal relationships and responsibilities.

4

As Deborah Ball argues in her essay, "Moral and Intellectual, Personal and Professional: Restitching Practice,"

> To reason about the competing goods inherent in the alternative apparent in any particular situation, teachers are left to figure out what is right on their own...being responsible to the moral imperatives of practice remains a highly individual and personal matter, lodged within the person of the teacher. (p.202)[5]

The responsibility to make decisions that balance individual students' needs and the duty to civic virtue is one of the most difficult aspects of teaching novices encounter. Often this is expressed as an issue of classroom management, but decisions of classroom discipline transcend the technical conceptions that are common today, and actually reflect moral, social and political concerns. As novices encounter these decisions, often instantiated in seemingly small matters such as classroom rules and procedures, they struggle. As Fallona and Richardson (2006) explain, "As studies by McLaughlin (1991) and Weinstein (1998) suggest, one of the biggest challenges preservice teachers face is the dichotomy between caring about and controlling students." (p.1058). The struggle novices experience indicts the moral framework they are given in teacher preparation to make sense of their obligations to individual students, the whole class, and the public.

Care and constructivism are insufficient to address the civic obligations of teachers, as well as their practical concerns. First, in Noddings' (1984) conception, children are taught self-care and care for others through the primary relationship with the "one-caring." Hoagland (1990) critiqued this model for its emphasis on the dependency of the cared-for, and applied to a school system, Noddings' philosophy has been criticized for its infantilization of less powerful social groups. Instead of taking the civic obligations of teaching, which require the constraint of individual freedoms, head on, Noddings prefers to shroud them in softness; at their most visible a gentle outcome of reciprocal caring. But from a rational or pragmatic view, the classroom environment and public expectations of schooling demand that teachers control student behavior and restrict their freedoms. This is not soft, nor should it necessarily be so; to conceptually round its edges is to make opaque what should be explicit.

Noddings (1984) paints an incomplete picture that creates two basic conceptual problems. First, teachers are expected to uphold institutional values and by definition, this includes both nurturing students and constraining them. What we call classroom management is not merely a technical act that requires technical skill, it is the embodiment of deep social values that is designed to create desired social outcomes. In fact, so deep rooted is our belief in schooling as an institution of authority, than even when schools are purposefully

[5] This is Deborah Ball's rebuttal to Margaret Buchmann's *Teacher Thinking and Teacher Learning,* both published in *Detachment and Concern* (1993).

organized to reject traditional authority relationships, such as was the case in the free school movement of the 1970s, they still coordinate their activities to guide children and produce a particular vision of society (Swidler, 1979). It stands to reason, then, that to think about the care teachers must provide to individual students in the absence of the control they exert over their freedoms is to ignore a well-recognized purpose of schooling in a democracy. Second, care is not necessarily as altruistic and selfless as it seems. As Foucault (1975/1995) put forth, concern for the individual in modern life is often a guise for social control. By regulating the lives of individuals through a series of diagnoses, attention to specific needs and deficits, and proposed "cures," society is able to control the very souls of human beings. To use care as the primary ethic on which teachers' work is based, without recognition that care, itself, can be a vehicle of constraint, is to muddy the conceptual waters. The following excerpt from *Little Town on the Prairie*, a novel by Laura Ingalls Wilder (1971), illustrates this problem beautifully. Though this is a memoir of Wilder's one-room schoolhouse experiences in the late 19th century, the vignette conjures up a familiar image of a teacher who dons a "caring" persona, but who uses care as a mechanism of controlling students. Miss Wilder, a new teacher in town (and eventually, Laura Ingalls Wilder's sister-in-law – thus, the shared last name) begins her term as the town's teacher with the following speech, invoking the language of care:

> *Miss Wilder rapped the desk with her ruler, and said, "Attention boys and girls!" Then she made a little speech, smiling all the time.*
>
> *She said, "Now we are all ready to begin the school term, and we're all going to do our best to make it a success, aren't we? You know you are all here to learn as much as you possibly can, and I am here to help you. You must not look upon me as a taskmistress, but as a friend. We are all going to be the very best of friends, I'm sure."*
>
> *The small boys were squirming, and Laura wanted to. She could not look at Miss Wilder's smiling any more.*
>
> *She only wished Miss Wilder would stop talking. But Miss Wilder went on in her smiling voice: "None of us will ever be unkind or selfish, will we? I am sure that not one of you will ever be unruly, so there need be no though of punishments here in our happy school. We shall all be friends together and love and help each other." (p.131-132)*

Laura and the small boys feel uncomfortable because the sweetness with which Miss Wilder approaches the class is presumably unfamiliar, as well as disingenuous. When Miss Wilder tells the class that they will all "be the very best of friends," she is obscuring, through niceties and the invocation of the care ethic, the true power differential between teachers and students. And, of course, the friendship she claims to build with her students cannot exist the way she presents it and is soon dismantled. First, the boys in the class constantly challenge Miss Wilder, and she is unable to maintain classroom order. Wilder writes, "Miss Wilder was puzzling everyone in school. From the first day, of course, the boys had been trying to find out how far they could go in naughtiness before she made them behave themselves." (p. 151). Second, Miss Wilder

begins to act out against certain pupils (especially Laura and sister, Carrie) in particularly mean ways that contradict her claims to care. Laura describes an event in which she requires Carrie and another girl, Mamie, to rock the seat they are sitting on as punishment for inadvertently rocking it and making noise while they were studying:

> *Suddenly she [Laura] heard Miss Wilder speak sharply. "Carrie and Mamie! You may put away your books, and just rock that seat!"*
>
> *Laura looked up. Carrie's eyes and mouth were open in surprise. Her peaked little face was white from shock, then red with shame. She and Mamie put away their speller and rocked the seat, meekly and still quietly.*
>
> *"We must have quiet in order to study," Miss Wilder explained sweetly. "Hereafter anyone who disturbs us may continue that disturbance until he or she is thoroughly tired of making it."*
>
> *Mamie did not mind so much, but Carrie was so ashamed that she wanted to cry.*
>
> *"Go on rocking that seat, girls, till I give you leave to stop," said Miss Wilder, with that queer triumphant tone in her voice again. (p. 160)*

As the story goes on, Miss Wilder's becomes increasingly arbitrary, unfair and mean to students. The class becomes more and more disrespectful, and the "caring" intentions she laid out on the first day become ever more inadequate for classroom discipline, or for meeting the expectations of the town who hired her. Soon after this incident, Miss Wilder is paid a visit by the school board.

This story is instructive for teacher education in two ways. First, Miss Wilder's words of friendship on the first day of school are too thin a framework for the practical management of the class, or for meeting the town's expectations for a well-run school. Her behavior becomes more defensive and personalizes classroom discipline, given her lack of an objective and transparent framework for negotiating individual freedoms and civic obligations, instantiated here as classroom order. The second point, which is related but distinct, is that her behavior is "puzzling" to everyone. The students do not know the boundaries, since the boys are always trying to "find how far they can go in naughtiness," and are scared, surprised and shamed by Miss Wilder's seemingly arbitrary punishments. And, as Miss Wilder spirals out of control, the reader gets the sense that even Miss Wilder, clearly groping to maintain her dignity and authority, is also puzzled.

This puzzle still exists for teachers, and is one that teacher education ought to more thoughtfully address. As Ronald Butchart (1998) notes, "we do not talk philosophy any longer when we speak of classroom order." (p.4-5). This puzzle that teachers experience is both a theoretical problem, in that we do not have a sufficient analytical frame in teacher education research to fully or openly consider the inherent tension between attending to individual needs and civic obligations, and a practical problem, because this tension is manifest in the day-to-day work of teaching – emerging clearly in issues of classroom discipline, but also in questions of instruction (Lampert, 1985), curriculum (Tom, 1984) and social justice (Baldwin, 1985). And, regardless of whether teacher

education prepares candidates to balance civic virtue and individual freedoms, they are still expected to do it and the stakes are high.

This is especially true in urban classrooms where students are likely to be poor, minority and to experience daily the forces of inequality. The school environments in which teachers work are racialized, gendered places. If unprepared to thoughtfully negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms, teachers may take actions that are either directly harmful to students or abdicate this charge all together. Ann Ferguson argued in *Bad Boys* (2000) that the discipline practices of school staff worked to label students and track certain students into categories of "troublemakers" and "schoolboys, " categories that have long-reaching consequences for their life outcomes. The ways in which teachers interpreted the behaviors of their black male students and bestowed approbation or punishment created an environment in which black masculinity was defined against white expectations for appropriate conduct. Teachers' discipline not only affected who was punished or rewarded in the moment, but reproduced social inequalities and perpetuated the idea that black males should be feared and controlled.

In the absence of clear guidance about how to negotiate individual freedoms and civic obligations, teachers have not only floundered, they have given up ground that used to squarely belong to them. Judith Kafka (2009) reported that teachers in 1950s Los Angeles, reacting to a perceived threat of increasing student misconduct, pushed for stronger disciplinary codes to be enforced at the district level. This shifted what had been a central responsibility for teachers for at least a century. As a result it ironically wrested power from teachers and weakened their ability to implement discipline at the classroom level. In *Maximum Security*, John Devine (1996) looked at the increasing use of paramilitary measures to control student behavior in New York City schools and determined that zero tolerance policies, metal detectors and other institutional attempts to combat a perceived threat of increased violence in schools mediated student-teacher relationships. Teachers, distanced from their traditional role as disciplinarian, abdicated both caring for the individual students in their charge, and the obligation to prepare them for civic life. This abdication had detrimental effects for students and schools, because students became alienated from school and more inclined to enact the violence that was feared in the first place.

Lacking the capacity to make humane decisions about balancing individual freedoms and civic obligations also has deleterious effects on teachers, especially when this tension manifests in classroom discipline. Isaac Friedman concludes in his article, "Classroom Management and Teacher Stress and Burnout" (2006) that teachers who lack the capacity, for personal or organizational reasons, to fulfill their need for respect from students, or to regulate students' group behavior in a classroom, experience high levels of stress, which can lead to burnout. In his model, teachers who are unable to achieve balance along the "giving and receiving" poles are subject to high stress and more likely to burn out. In his conception, the "giving" pole indicates the amount that teachers care about and support students, and the "receiving" pole includes what teachers get back in terms of respect and power. Freidman argues that a healthy balance of the two is needed to help prevent teachers from experiencing burnout, and this may be achieved through

better preparation of teachers for classroom discipline. Though classroom discipline is not the only manifestation of the tension between individual freedoms and civic obligations with which teachers must contend, it is a clear example of how care and constructivism are inadequate for preparing teachers to negotiate the tension.

Integrating the Head, the Hand and the Heart

In Christine Ogren's book, *The American State Normal School* (2005), she describes a vision of teaching and teacher preparation that existed in the normal schools of the late 19th and early 20th centuries that evolved from vocation to profession over time. Though many state normal schools had at first emphasized the emotional calling of teaching, which Professor James E. Lough of the Oshkosh State Normal School of Wisconsin labeled the "heart" for teaching, normal schools across the country understood that mental engagement, or the "head" for teaching, as well as the technical tools of the profession, the "hand" for teaching, were important to develop in concert with one another to provide would-be teachers the best preparation for professional practice. In an era of increasing calls for teacher accountability measured by standardized outcomes, this perspective is easily lost on the teacher educators of today.

The deeply moral question about how teachers negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms is often redacted to a simplistic version of this dilemma we call classroom management. While some have written about the problem of this narrow technical conception (see *Classroom Discipline in American Schools: Problems and Possibilities for Democratic Education)* we also have developed narrowly technical responses to preparing teachers for it. In most classroom management literature, teacher education is treated as a necessary remedy for the problems teachers experience, but these remedies include more preparation of teachers for the more limited classroom management conception through workshops, inservice programs and module learning (Buchmann & Floden, 1993), more integration of field and course work during student teaching (Jones, 2006; Lasley, 1994; Brophy, 1988), or more integration of classroom management into teacher preparation standards (Stough 2006). In other words, we have focused on the "hand" of teaching, rather than the "heart," and even the "head." The technical "how" of teaching has been foregrounded, particularly around what we call classroom management, while the reason and morality that undergird technical practice have taken a back seat in our conversations about what it takes to prepare teachers to wrestle with civic obligations and individual freedoms in the classroom context.

In this dissertation, I attempt to help us think more deeply about the importance of integrating the head, the hand and the heart into teacher preparation, specifically around preparing teachers to make decisions that negotiate their dual obligations to individual freedoms and civic virtue. By seeking out the police example, I want to broaden the dialogue about not only *how* we prepare candidates for navigating inherent tensions in their work, but also they type of questions we ask about their preparation.

The Case of Police Preparation in the Context of Cross-Professional Studies

There is a tradition in teacher education research of looking to other professions to inform our understanding of what it means to prepare professionals to enact work that is similar to teaching across particular dimensions such as technical expertise, caring and moral leadership. Lee Shulman's (1986) example of medical education, and his argument that professions use "signature pedagogies" to educate their candidates for particular types of professional work launched a cross-professional dialogue about what it takes to prepare professionals to confront dilemmas of professional work. A cross-professional perspective can aid teacher education researchers in investigating dimensions of teachers' work and preparation that otherwise may not be apparent in studies that consider only existing teacher education practices. However, preparation practices in different fields are only useful to the extent that they share a particular dimension of the work done by teachers. For example, teacher education has benefited from learning how technical expertise may be acquired from the professional education of physicians (Shulman, 2005). This comparison has deepened our understanding of how to equip teachers with the technical knowledge they must have to successfully instruct students in content areas such as mathematics. Shulman's development of the notion of pedagogical content knowledge, as well as Deborah Ball and David Cohen's (1999) research on professional development for teachers that is context and curriculum specific, have elaborated the idea that teachers must develop expertise in a particular subject, the curriculum and the context in which they teach, as well as an ability to communicate that knowledge to students.

The technical expertise that teachers need, though, is only one part of their classroom role. Teaching has also been grouped with nurses and social workers among the "caring" professions (Etzioni, 1969; Nucci, 2001) because teachers are clearly expected to care for students (Nucci, 2001; Noddings, 1984). On this dimension of teachers' work, the Carnegie Study of nursing education, *Educating Nurses* (Benner, Stuphen, Leonard, & Day, 2009) is useful in examining how nurses are prepared for the caring role and considering the relevance to teacher education. *Educating Nurses* found that a model for professional education that reached beyond preparing candidates for the technical expertise, and included a sense of "salience" – the ability to notice what was important in clinical practice – was a core feature of successful nursing education, and learning a sense of salience was context dependent. Salience, unlike technical knowledge, cannot be fully explicated and is brought to the fore only by the particularities of contexts, and concerns itself with tacit judgments that must be made by the practitioner.

Another part of teachers' work, moral leadership, benefits from yet another Carnegie study, *Educating Clergy* (Foster, Dahill, Golemon, & Wang Tolentino, 2005). It contributes a notion of professional formation – learning to both embody and advance faith – that deepens our appreciation how teachers might be prepared to contend with aspects of their work that extend beyond the technical and even the enactment of care. *Educating the Clergy* emphasizes the development of candidates' pastoral imagination – that is an ability to both teach and *be* the faith they possess and represent. Expectations that teachers both harbor and perpetuate morality in their students (Tom, 1984; Clark, 1990) or that they embody particular dispositions or teaching stances (Lemov, 2010) makes *Educating Clergy* an instructive cross-professional study for teacher educators.

Beyond the illuminative cases of physicians, nurses and clergy, cross-professional research has also been useful in better understanding pedagogies of professional education. In "Teaching Practice: A Cross-Professional Perspective" Grossman and colleagues (2009) studied the education of clinical psychologists, clergy and teachers. They created an analytical model that described the way that these professions "approximated" practice to prepare their candidates, which entailed purposefully creating situations that replicated components of practice candidates were expected to encounter in their work. The researchers found that clergy and psychology candidates had many more opportunities than did teacher candidates to approximate practice before they were expected to perform in real world situations. This finding can help shape the direction of teacher education research in terms of how we analyze the elements of professional preparation in general, but also how we attend to the importance of "approximation" in the field of teacher education specifically.

However, as useful as these studies have been in thinking about the content and pedagogy of teacher education, none of them deal directly with the tension in teachers' work between social control and care. In fact, all of these comparisons have focused on the technical or nurturing side of teachers' work, and do not consider the social control aspect of teachers' work, despite its clear importance to teachers and students. To add to the body of professional education literature that is relevant for conceptualizing the preparation of teachers, a new perspective is needed. This study of police preparation is able to highlight the social control aspect of teacher preparation that has yet to be studied or theorized fully.

Conceptual Frame

Three ideas frame this study. The first is that professional work is characteristically uncertain and requires discretion (Schon, 1987; Lampert, 1985; Jackson, 1968). The second is the notion that "signature pedagogies" (Shulman, 2005) are employed in the preparation of particular professions, and that "signature pedagogies" might be productively examined for the ways in which they attend to the "signature problems" (Little, 2012) of professional work. The third is that one way to analyze what happens in professional preparation is to look at the opportunities that programs afford their students to "approximate" practice (Grossman et al., 2009) and how practice is "decomposed" and "represented" to create such opportunities.

These ideas are analytical tools that can help make sense of the heart of police training - scenarios. Preparation of police at the academy, as well as the state curriculum, call for scenario practices and tests that replicate situations that the field has determined as "typical" of police work, and that require candidates to develop skills that are seen as crucial to success as a police officer. These scenarios are a key element of police preparation – they call on police to enact what they have learned in more traditional "book learning" classes and lectures, and prepare candidates for scenario tests, an authentic assessment that determines whether candidates are able to pass the academy and become police officers. For this reason, scenarios are the focus of this study, and the following theories will be used to look closely at what happens in them.

Uncertainty and Discretion

Donald Schon explains in *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* (1987) "…the problems of real-world practice do not present themselves to practitioners as well-formed structures. Indeed, they tend not to present themselves as problems at all, but as messy, indeterminate situations." (p. 4). According to Schon, the practitioner must be able to wield the necessary knowledge and skill to tame such messy situations and to make moment-by-moment decisions that artfully sculpt the outcome. That professional work is inherently uncertain and requires discretion is an important concept for a study that has implications for the education of teachers, because teachers' work is uncertain in several ways. First, teaching requires professional judgment and expertise to be employed (Ball & Cohen, 1999; Kennedy, 2005; Lampert, 2003). Second, the practical environment in which teaching happens creates uncertain conditions. The demand on one adult to meet the needs of thirty children creates an intensity and immediacy that is by its very nature uncertain (Jackson, 1968). Third, the expectation that teachers make decisions to appropriately balance care and control creates an uncertainty particular to the work of public servants. These types of uncertainty can be parsed for analytical reasons, but in actuality often happen at the same time and subsume one another. For example, as Lampert explains in "Teaching Problems and the Problems of Teaching," (2003) teachers are often faced with decisions about how to manage their class, and how to best instruct certain groups of students. From Lampert we know that the uncertainty of teachers' work is presented in technical dilemmas, as well as in dilemmas of care and control.

It is uncertainty around care and control that teachers share with the police, and it requires both occupations to make high-stakes decisions in their daily work. Police work pivots on uncertainty, and the more uncertain the situation, the more necessity there is for police to know how to balance care and control in a way that reflects institutional values. Police are entrusted with life-and-death decisions, and are expected to make them in "messy, indeterminate situations." Additionally, police are held to a high ethical standard that includes protecting the innocent from harm. In his 1960 article, "Police Discretion Not to Invoke the Criminal Process: Low-Visibility Decisions in the Administration of Justice," Joseph Goldstein (1960) argued that police, not prosecutors or judges, actually account for the largest percentage of enforcement decisions in the criminal process. Police, under public pressure to make certain types of arrests, or for reasons of personal or institutional bias, may choose not to arrest offenders in favor of other goals. The consequences of police shootings are a more dramatic example of the type of high-stakes judgment expected of the police. In his book, *Into the Kill Zone*, David Klinger (2004) asserts that police, "have the responsibility to use their power judiciously: to protect themselves, fellow officers, and innocent citizens from harm, on the one hand, and to refrain from shooting if at all possible, on the other…police officers often have to make their decisions about whether to shoot or hold their fire in split seconds, with limited information, in situations where the wrong choice can lead to needless injury or death and even the right choice can have substantial repercussions." (p. 11-12). This study uses the concepts of uncertainty and discretion as a means to delve into the places in police training that prepare police for the moments must use discretion to balance social control and care for citizens. These moments are embedded in the uncertainty of daily police

work, revealed in the context of "real life" situations, and appear in scenario form during police training.

Signature Pedagogies and Signature Problems

The Carnegie studies of engineering, law, medicine, nursing and the clergy reveal what Shulman (2005) has called "signature pedagogies" in professional preparation. Shulman uses the idea of signature pedagogies to look at the "personalities, dispositions and cultures" of their fields. Each profession makes choices about how to balance the preparation of its candidates to think, perform and act. These choices are found in the surface structure (curriculum and instruction), the deep structure (assumptions about how to best prepare professionals) and the implicit structure (beliefs about professional attitudes, values and dispositions). This study uses Shulman's frame to look at one of the signature pedagogies of police preparation – scenario training – to learn more about the structures police preparation has developed to prepare police to exercise discretion in negotiating care and control under conditions of uncertainty.

Moreover, this research relies on Judith Warren Little's (2012) elaboration of Shulman's (2005) "signature pedagogies" of professional preparation by contending that signature pedagogies might map more or less fully to the "signature problems"[6] of its practice. While Shulman's three structures help to analyze the pedagogical choices and assumptions that are made about preparation, Little's contribution allows us to think about the problems of practice with which police preparation concerns itself. This aids us in paying attention to problems that police preparation imagines recruits will encounter in their work, and how those problems might be resolved. My study analyzes scenario training, a signature pedagogy of police preparation, as a place where signature problems of practice may be surfaced.

Representation, Decomposition and Approximation of Practice

Finally, the recent study, "Teaching Practice: A Cross- Professional Perspective," (Grossman et al., 2009) yields helpful analytical tools to make sense of what is actually happening during scenario preparation. Pamela Grossman and her colleagues moved the field of teacher education research forward when they identified three concepts – representation, decomposition and approximation of practice – to examine the pedagogies of the professions. Representation is the way that practice is represented to candidates in the field and what such representations make "visible" to candidates. Decomposition is

[6] Little (2012) notes that legal preparation in the United States, which relies heavily on the use of appellate case law to teach legal reasoning, has been criticized for its failure to prepare lawyers for the actual practice of law; she cites as an example a front-page story in the New York Times with the provocative headline "What They Don't Teach Law Students: Lawyering." She speculates that occupations with a higher potential cost of error (nursing, for example) may be more likely to structure preparation so that their signature pedagogies map more fully against the signature problems of practice.

how practice is intentionally broken into its component parts for instructors to teach and for candidates to learn. Approximation is the opportunities candidates have to practice the profession in life-like situations, before they engage in higher stakes real-life practice.

This study uses the decomposition, representation and approximation frame in two ways. First, the study focuses primarily on scenario training, which is a signature pedagogy of police preparation, but is also an "approximation" of police practice that is key to the development of future officers. Second, within scenario training, it is possible to see how in the service of creating opportunities for candidates to approximate practice, curricular and instructional choices have been made to represent and decompose practice. This analytical lens aids us in better understanding how the curriculum and instruction of police training works to prepare candidates to use discretion under conditions of uncertainty in the public interest.

My study is guided by the idea that police work is inherently uncertain and requires discretion to balance dual obligations to enact care and control. It also relies on the notion that each profession carries with it a unique perspective on preparation, and that that perspective on police preparation can be found in the "signature pedagogies" of police training. Furthermore, "signature pedagogies" conceivably reveal "signature problems" of police work - the central concerns that police training anticipates police will encounter in their work. Finally, it uses representation, decomposition and approximation of practice as analytical tools to investigate the curricular and instructional choices and maneuvers that happen during scenario training – both a signature pedagogy and an example of approximation.

This conceptual frame helps to answer the following research questions:
1) How are police prepared to mediate individual freedoms and civic obligations?
    a) What are the signature problems of police work?
    b) How are recruits prepared to confront these problems?

In pursuit of answering these questions, this dissertation is organized in the following manner. Chapter two is a discussion of the study design and the data collection and analysis methods. This study grew organically from its inception, and over the course of data collection, both the data that were collected and the questions that were asked of it were honed and narrowed by initial phases of analysis. A description of this process, as well as an explanation of how I came to realize that studying police preparation for the purposes of teacher education research could also benefit the field of professional education is included. Chapters three, four, and five each take a different theoretical angle to tackle police preparation, and culminate in chapter six to add to existing theory of teacher and professional preparation. Chapter three instantiates Judith Warren Little's (2012) "signature problems" proposition by showing how three central concerns of police work show up routinely in the preparation of recruits: preparing candidates to contend with uncertainty, to act under extreme stress, and to make decisions that are associated with a high cost of error. Chapter four investigates how police training prepared recruits to resolve signature problems through action that entailed both explicit and tacit forms of knowledge and knowing (Brown & Cook, 1999). This knowledge included learning to

anticipate and respond to typical scenarios with scripted routines that officers used judgment to implement and depart from. Chapter five delves further into the cultivation of tacit knowledge in would-be officers, as recruits were learning to "see" like a police officer and how to automate their responses in uncertain, stressful and high-stakes situations.

Chapter six returns to the research questions and offers new ways to think about how teacher education research might more closely attend to the problem of preparing candidates to enact care and control by considering the signature problems for which teacher education candidates are prepared, and how teachers are prepared to resolve them. It also explores how teacher education might investigate how candidates are prepared to act, and how such an investigation would necessarily be framed by the notion that action is premised on explicit knowledge as well as tacit, embodied knowledge. This frame is also useful in researching professional education as a whole. Both the instantiation of Little's "signature problems" and preparation for action through attention to explicit and tacit knowledge are contributions to the extant literature on education of the professions.

Chapter 2: Study Design and Methods

Design

This study was designed in pursuit of a question about teacher education that evolved and was refined over time. It grew out of an interest in the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching studies of the clergy, nursing, and physicians that look closely at professional preparation practices from which teacher education may draw valuable insight. However, while these studies considered aspects of professional work that teachers share, such as technical expertise, caring, and moral leadership, they did not touch on other parts of teachers' work, such as the responsibility to negotiate care and control in their day-to-day reality. This intrigued me because it seemed that drawing lessons from studies of other professional preparations was only helpful to better understanding teacher education to the extent that the dimensions of the work aligned with the work of teachers. Aspects of the work that were dissimilar to the work of doctors, nurses and the clergy were somehow obfuscated or neglected in the search for guidance from these other professions.

At the same time, I was interested in exploring the question of preparation of teachers to make decisions in the moment. In particular, I was interested in thinking about how teachers were taught to use discretion in making decisions regarding the nurture of individual children on the one hand, and meeting obligations to prepare them for civic life on the other. This interest stemmed from Magdalene Lampert's (2003) notion of teaching dilemmas, where she explains how teaching is fraught with moments that require decisions with no clear-cut "right" answers. The need for action in the context of the immediacy of a classroom caught my attention. It made me think about how teacher discretion is not only used to make instructional choices, but is also used to balance the needs of students with the needs of society. Teachers are entrusted with this decision-making power, and I wondered how they were prepared to make such decisions.

These questions led me to the police. Perhaps because my thinking had been informed by the Carnegie professional education studies, I thought there was something valuable to be learned about teacher discretion by studying another fields' preparation, and I felt that the police could shed light on an aspect of professional preparation that had not yet been addressed in the Carnegie studies, namely preparation to negotiate care and control. However, as I began my research I was not quite sure how to go about it, what my exact research questions were, or what parts of police preparation would be valuable to study. Instead, I felt as if there were valuable insights to be learned for teacher education by studying the police, and I followed my questions as they developed.

Before explaining how I ultimately decided to design this study, I think it is important to explain what I was *not* attempting to do. First, I was not designing a comparative study of teacher and police preparation. I was not interested in explaining how teacher

education was similar to or different from police education, or in how teacher education or police preparation was superior or deficient relative to the other. Second, I was not attempting to learn ways that teachers could be prepared to become more like police, or vice versa. Teachers and police are quite separate occupations that play vital roles in society that are distinct and require different approaches to preparation. By studying the police, I was also not trying to make any normative statement about the role of teachers or police.

So, what was I attempting to do? I was interested in studying police preparation to build theory about teacher education and professional education regarding the specific issue of preparing candidates to negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms. I wanted to learn how police prepared candidates to do this, because the authoritative aspect of policing is a lead characteristic of the work, whereas in teaching it is often muddled by stronger claims about the job as a "caring" profession. I felt that if I learned more about how police prepared their candidates to learn to make decisions that lived within the tension between civic obligations and individual freedoms, I could perhaps more clearly study the issue in teacher education. The design of the study reflects that attempt.

Similar to the description given by Howard Becker and his colleagues of their study design in *Boys in White* (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961), this study began with no formal design. When I began, I wasn't sure if I should study police and teachers, or just police. I also wasn't sure what parts of police training would be most relevant to my question, because I didn't know much about the anatomy of police work, or the training for it. What I knew was that I was curious about police training, so I began by reading articles about police preparation and talking to people who knew something about it. I learned that a local police academy was actually renowned for its innovation in police preparation, and that many police training programs across the country had been modeled after it. I also learned that it was one of the only police training institutions operating in the area. Soon after, I came across an article about police decision-making written by a sergeant who had worked for many years at the local academy and had recently begun training in-service police officers. I contacted him.

The study design went through several iterations after that. Over a period of about four months, I spent time in one large urban police academy, as well as the police department in the area and the in-service training program. Though the in-service training program and the police academy trained officers from other jurisdictions in addition to the officers they trained for the local police department, many of the staff worked in some capacity for more than one of these three organizations, and all three organizations loosely cooperated to train many of the officers that worked for the local department. After spending time talking to various trainers and other police educators, such as the dean of the academy, the sergeant I mentioned above, and even the video unit that was charged with constructing educational videos for the department, I determined that the best place to conduct my study was at the police academy, with pre-service officers. I felt that the "basic course" at the police academy focused on building fundamental knowledge and skills in police, and performed work that was the closest to the teacher education programs to which I hoped to lend insight with my study.

Once I narrowed my focus to the police academy basic course, I still did not have a well-defined strategy for determining whom I should interview and what I should observe. I decided early on that I didn't want to focus on candidates, because I was more interested in the training from the perspective of the curriculum and instruction, but I didn't have a full understanding of the overall structure of the academy as I was beginning my data collection, so I spent a lot of time at the beginning hanging out, observing and getting the lay of the land. After a few days at the academy, I became very interested in scenario training, partly because it was a central pedagogical approach at the academy and partly because it was so different from the way teacher education, as I have witnessed and participated in it, is conducted. Additionally, having recently read Grossman and colleagues' (2009) article that introduced the notion of "approximation of practice," I saw this as an opportunity to know more about ways that police recruits were given the opportunity to approximate their work. I also thought that narrowing in on scenarios would allow me to explore how this characteristic practice of police training dealt with the issue of preparing candidates to make decisions that required the negotiation of care and control in action. It is important to note, however, that scenario training constituted one piece of a larger curriculum for new recruits. Police training at the academy was structured around 42 learning domains, only nine of which were addressed in the scenario training directly. Though this is a small portion of the overall training, it was the unique approach to preparing police officers for the work as they might encounter in the field that made scenario training a place to best answer my research questions.

Ultimately, I narrowed the design of this study to the investigation of scenario training at the basic course level at one police academy that served a broad geographical area in a large urban region. Even after I decided that scenarios would be a fruitful place to focus my energy, I still had to decide what aspects of what I was seeing were worthy of attention and more investigation, and I also needed to better understand the overall structure of scenarios so I could know what was happening as I was watching it. At first, I spent time taking field notes on scenarios without knowing much about what was happening in them. I annotated these notes with my own comments, and noted themes I that I thought might be emerging. After observing a few scenarios, I began looking at the official scenario workbook, which mapped the performance expectations for recruits in scenario tests, as well as the academy curriculum, which mapped the learning needs and objectives for training. These documents helped guide my perception of what I was observing in the training context. Additionally, I had several informational conversations before and during scenario training with the dean and other instructors that helped guide my understanding of what was happening in scenario training. Instructors also often made themselves available for questions during training, and sometimes volunteered commentary on what was happening and why. Their guidance was useful in helping me understand the context of the police academy, with which I had no familiarity before I began the study.

Overall, the design of this study was an organic exploration of questions about police training that emerged from my interest in cross-professional examples and a question about how police contend with preparing their recruits to negotiate civic obligations and

individual freedoms. I did not design this study to represent accurately every aspect of police training, but rather as an investigation of how police training treats the instantiation in practice the tension between civic obligations and individual freedoms. This was one part of a much larger puzzle of police training that I do not claim to fully understand or represent. Through the iterative design process I have described above, I determined that a narrow focus on a "signature pedagogy" of police training could help me think more carefully about how teacher education conceptualizes this tension. I used scenario training as a window into the world of the police academy, and have attempted to draw some useful concepts from what I learned during this process.

Methods

Epistemology, Theoretical Approach and Methodology

This study is grounded in a constructionist epistemology and employs an interpretivist theoretical approach. I am concerned with the meaning that the curriculum, as well as the administrators and instructors, assign to scenario training as a pedagogical approach. The curriculum was designed by a panel of police experts at the Peace Officers' Standards and Training Commission (POST), and therefore stands as an artifact of their thinking. The instructors and administrators at the academy were charged with making curricular and instructional choices at the academy, including scenarios. Both interviews with the instructors and administrators, as well as the curriculum, represent a particular orientation to training that I was interested in understanding from the perspective of those involved in the work.

Methodologically, this was designed as a case study. The police academy I studied in a large urban area served a vast geographical region. It was the only academy that, at the time, offered the "basic course" for large urban area. The scenario training aspect of the "basic course" at this academy serves as the case, and the curriculum I analyzed and the interviews I conducted were used to better understand and interpret those scenarios I observed. There are fourteen scenarios at the academy upon which recruits are tested, though only twelve of these are practiced. Recruits are tested on "Ambush" and "Ethics" by surprise, so there were twelve scenarios that were practiced. Of those twelve, I observed nine. As LeCompte and Goetz (1984) contend, it is important to assure the reader that your data represent empirical reality, and observing two-thirds of the scenarios on which recruits were tested could skew my data in some way. To compensate for this, I have analyzed the curriculum for all fourteen. Additionally, I formally interviewed the dean, the lead training officer, an instructor who led most of the scenarios I observed, and another instructor who previously worked for the academy and currently works for the department, and who is a recognized expert in police training. Each of these interviews was approximately 30-45 minutes long. I also spoke informally to several other police trainers during scenarios, and our conversations are recorded in my field notes.

Because I was most interested in understanding how the police trainers viewed scenario training and their role in it, I felt that unstructured interviews were the best way to keep the conversation broad enough to unearth a wide range of possible views. As Patton (1990) labels them, "informal conversational interviews" are good at reserving

"maximum flexibility to be able to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate" (p. 281). I created three categories of questions, which developed out of the analysis that I conducted of my field notes and the curriculum before I engaged in formal interviews. These categories related to 1) the core skills and knowledge police recruits should have; 2) the goals of scenario training; and 3) scenario training in the broader context of the academy. I hoped that this open-ended approach would allow me to gain insight into the perspectives of police trainers at this academy, and to cull my findings into a nascent theory about how scenario training is used to prepare recruits to negotiate care and control.

Data Collection and Analysis

I spent approximately four months collecting data for this study. As I described above, my data collection, as well as my research interests started out broad and narrowed over time. I spent a large portion of time at the beginning of this study collecting data that I ultimately determined were not useful in answering the questions that most interested me, but the process of collecting these data was helpful in creating the research questions, and for giving me a better sense of the context to better make sense of the data I formally used for this study. For example, I collected field notes on a class in which trainers of trainers were learning new teaching techniques. The observation of that class was valuable in helping me to orient to the key ideas that POST required police trainers to surface in training.

Since I didn't know at the start of my study that I would be most interested in scenario training, and because of the time at which my study began, (about one month into a six-month program), I began my observations of scenarios about a third of the way through the program. This allowed me to observe scenario training in Phases II and III, but not in Phase I. During this observation period, I annotated my field notes inductively with comments about emerging themes, and began a parallel process of analyzing the curriculum. I used the technique of open-coding (Glaser, 1978) to inductively code both my field notes and the curriculum. Engaging in this process helped me create categories of observation for subsequent scenarios, and helped me understand what to expect from the next scenarios observed. It also prepared me to ask follow-up questions in interviews based on the categories I had discovered.

Once my interviews were conducted, I used the categories I had unearthed in the early open-coding I employed during the data collection phase as the basis for a second phase of open-coding in which I coded for broad categories I had already discovered, but left room for discovering new ones. This included coding my interviews for the first time, and recoding my field notes. In addition to coding for broad categories I had discovered early on, as well as new categories that emerged, I began parsing problems of practice from contending with those problems in my data analysis. Next, I coded to see themes across particular types of scenarios. I created several matrices to represent the coded data from my field notes, which in turn helped me create new themes with which to code my interviews. This represented 5 or 6 passes at coding my interviews and field notes.

Next, I determined that the scenario workbook, which represented the performance expectations, as well as the content of each scenario in which recruits were required to participate by POST, was the most valuable document for understanding scenario training, and that I would not code other student and instructor materials that included information about the entirety of the police academy experience, and would therefore not necessarily be relevant to the specific questions I had about scenario training. I began to code the scenario workbook for the themes that had emerged as a result of my open-coding process with my field notes and interviews. In particular, I coded for the ways the scenario workbook presented problems of practice, and the strategies it presented for contending with them. I also specifically coded for each type of problem or strategy that emerged.

During this process I remained alert to evidence that did not fit with the broad categories I was uncovering, and adjusted my analysis when I found contradictory evidence (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As themes and broad categories emerged, I wrote analytical memos that helped me sort out the evidence for particular phenomenon I was observing. Additionally, I used a strategy of reading and re-reading my data, so that I became sufficiently comfortable with their nuances.

Chapter 3: Signature Problems of Police Preparation

Overview

This chapter investigates the question, "What are signature problems of police work to which police preparation attends?" and it relies on the framework presented in Grossman and colleagues' paper, "Teaching Practice: A Cross-Professional Perspective," (2009) to analyze the data that I collected. Using their typology of "decomposition, representation and approximation of practice" I was able to look closely at the curricular choices and instructional maneuvers as they unfolded during scenario training. This framework allowed me to pay attention, in particular, to the ways that practice was broken into its component parts for the purposes of candidate learning, the means by which the field of police work and moments embedded in practice were represented by the curriculum and instruction, and the opportunities candidates had to approximate field experiences. Because scenario training was built around the notion that candidates must approximate practice in order to prepare adequately for the work, approximation of practice was the focus of my observation and analysis, while decomposition and representation worked in service of the approximation scenarios candidates encountered.

Since the publication of the Grossman et al. paper, others have added to and applied the "representation, decomposition, and approximation" framework. Their contributions have also helped me consider how the police academy decomposed practice into different grain sizes to scaffold learning for recruits, and how police training included inherent assumptions about what constituted quality police practice. In their article, "Preparing Teachers to Lead Mathematics Discussions," Boerst, Sleep, Ball and Bass (2011) add to the Grossman et al. typology by showing how decomposition of teaching into "nested" practices that differentiate between "domains" and "techniques" helps scaffold the learning of teacher education candidates. They argue that while teacher education already chunks practice into such categories as "leading a class discussion," this is not sufficient for understanding the technical work of teaching. Attention must be paid, they explain, to the relationships between techniques and domains, as well as what is gained and lost from a particular "grain size." While decomposing practice into technique-level actions such as "revoicing" students' ideas during a class discussion allows teacher educators to scaffold the learning of candidates, it may lose some of the authenticity that is gained when a student participates in a more complex teaching experience.
In Pamela Moss's paper, "Analyzing the Teaching of Professional Practice," (2011) she contends that embedded within all representation, decomposition and approximation choices are implicit values about what constitutes "quality" practice. She proposes that in addition to "representation, decomposition, and approximation," conceptions of quality ought to be added to more astutely analyze the work of professional education.

By closely analyzing scenario training through the Grossman et al. lens, and the subsequent applications that have emerged since, I was able to surface three problems the training assumed candidates might encounter in the field. Judith Warren Little has called these "signature problems," (2012) which may be revealed through the "signature pedagogies" (Shulman, 2005) of a particular field. These problems: uncertainty, stress, and the high cost of error, were revealed as a result of a deliberate process of

"decomposition" and "representation" found in the state curriculum, and also surfaced at the academy during scenario training, in moments that were constructed intentionally to approximate practice. Because of tight coupling between the state agency that regulated police training and the academy's curriculum, I have good reason to suspect that much of what I saw may be representative of other Basic Course Training sites around the state of California.[7]

The language that was used at the academy, of course, was not framed in terms of signature problems. Rather, police trainers used "core competencies" and "learning domains" to describe the pedagogical structure at the academy. This structure was decomposed into different "grain sizes" to organize the learning experience for recruits. (Boerst et al., 2011) "Learning domains," like "core competencies" explicated the expectations for training at the state level, and were visible in both the progression of the scenarios to which students were introduced, and in the construction of the scenarios themselves. In addition to the formal language that was used in the curriculum, during scenarios and by police trainers in interviews, there was also a more informal vernacular that was used at the academy, as well. For example, police trainers spoke of preparing candidates for "the street" and to encounter "bad guys." Both the formal and informal language that was used described broad categories of concerns for preparing students at the academy to be successful on both their scenario tests and in real police work.

In this chapter, it is my goal to unearth these broad categories for the purpose of applying what I learned from studying police training to research on teacher education and professional education. These categories emerge as I attempt to discover the "signature problems" with which police trainers are concerned. In one case, the language in the curriculum and that trainers use matches exactly with the signature problems I was able to identify: police preparation grapples with training student officers to work under stressful conditions, and this is one of the core competencies listed in the curriculum, and was directly referenced by instructors and administrators in interviews. In two other cases, the match is not as neat, but rather encompasses threads from multiple

[7] POST, the Peace Officers Standards and Training Commission, closely monitors the teaching practices at the academy level. For example, police trainers must submit course outlines and even lesson plans for approval before they are implemented at the academy. This tight coupling was evidenced in many of the interviews I conducted. I began each interview by asking, "What are the core knowledge and skills a new police officer needs to learn at the academy?" Invariably, the conversation quickly turned to the core competencies and the learning domains that POST requires academies offering the "Basic Training Course" to implement. Core competencies are the eleven skills that POST has identified as crucial for candidates to develop and display in order to pass the Basic Training Course and move into the next phase of training, a Field Training Officer program. Recruits can be "screened out" of the academy if they do not demonstrate these competencies on scenario tests. Scenario tests are assessed on criteria set by POST, by POST-approved evaluators.

competencies and learning domains, as well as thematic concerns expressed in interviews by police trainers. In addition to preparing candidates to work under stressful conditions, an inductive analysis of the data also leads me to argue that police training was concerned with preparing recruits to encounter uncertainty and to make decisions that are associated with high cost of error. Preparing candidates for uncertainty as a signature problem of police training is not an explicit core competency or learning domain, but it is clearly visible in the construction of scenarios, their increasing complexity, and pervasive concern in the implementation of scenario training for officer safety and awareness that anything could happen at anytime. On the other hand, "Problem Solving/Decision-Making" is a core competency but does not address fully the concern expressed by trainers and instantiated in scenario curriculum and instruction that students must be able to solve problems and make decisions that reflect sound judgment, because if they cannot, the stakes are potentially life-and-death. So while decision-making is an explicit worry of police training, I have relabeled it "Making decisions associated with a high cost of error."[8]

The re-categorizing I have done serves two purposes. First, as I described above, it is my desire to accurately reflect the concerns of police training in a way that includes the formal language of the curriculum, as well as the informal language of the police trainers, and that represents, as accurately as possible, the signature problems with which the police academy expects would-be police officers to contend in the field. Second, the contribution I hope to make with this dissertation is to the field of teacher education and professional education research. Since this is the case, I am using the conceptual framework of signature problems to reveal salient concepts for an audience that extends beyond police preparation. At the end of the chapter, I contend with the problem of preparing student officers to negotiate care and control, by looking at the ways in which signature problems frame the between police and the public as one of distance, rather than as one of closeness.

The Signature Problem of Uncertainty in Police Preparation

Uncertainty was a signature problem of police preparation and examining the signature pedagogy of scenario training reveals this. Preparation for uncertainty undergirded all of scenario training at the academy. I mean uncertainty in the sense that Schon (1987) uses it: "messy, indeterminate situations" (p.3) in which the way events unfold is not a foregone conclusion, and their resolution requires intervention by the practitioner, who must use judgment. As the dean of the academy explained, scenarios helped prepare recruits for the eventuality that "something's gonna happen" in their career, about which they need to "make reasonable, smart decisions." Scenario training at the academy

[8] The dean of the academy stated that some of these terms are not the exact language the police trainers would use. The word "uncertainty," to her, connoted not having the tools to respond to dangerous situations. She also did not prefer the word "error," but stated she could not think of a better word to describe the consequences of wrongful action or inaction.

fleshed out the "something" that could "happen" for officers in the form of situations they might encounter in the field. That scenarios deliberately created uncertainty was evident in three ways. First, the scenarios with which students grappled were "representations" of typical uncertain moments in police work. Second, these situations were "decomposed" to create a progressively more complex curriculum, so that uncertain situations could be encountered in a sequence that scaffolded the recruits' learning, and gave them an opportunity to "fail forward," according to the dean, which meant that officers could make mistakes in judgment without experiencing the consequences of actual practice. While the sequencing of the curriculum, as well as the construction of the scenarios reflected a deliberate choice to decompose police work for the purposes of learning, it also highlighted that there was overlap between representation, decomposition and approximation. Approximation depended on the representation and decomposition choices that were made both formally in the curriculum and less formally in the learning context, which was contingent on the interactions within the scenario context. (Boerst et al., 2011) Third, the focus on officer safety, as well as awareness of danger during scenario training emphasized the point that uncertainty was a fundamental problem recruits would be expected to tackle once they became employed officers.

Representing Uncertainty in Scenarios

The scenario workbook, which guided recruits as they participated in scenarios throughout the 880 hours of training, depicted the scenarios recruits at the academy, and recruits in all basic training courses around the state, were required to experience, and on which they were eventually evaluated. These scenarios were based upon the learning domains created by POST, and were opportunities for recruits to perform core competencies. The following is a table of the scenarios included in the student workbook and how they correspond to learning domains and the core competencies that students were expected to demonstrate. Though scenarios represented a limited number of the 42 learning domains (the rest were addressed in other types of police training, including classroom instruction), opportunities for students to demonstrate all the core competencies were built in to the scenarios.

TABLE 3.1: Scenarios as they map to learning domains and core competencies

Scenario	**Learning Domain**	**Core Competencies***
Ethical Intervention	Leadership, Professionalism and Ethics	5,6,9,10,11
Death Investigation	Crimes Against Persons	5,6,8,9,11
Non-Deadly Force Option	Use of Force	3,6,8,9,10,11
Deadly Force Option	Use of Force	3,6,7,8,9,10,11
Pedestrian Approach	Patrol Techniques	3,6,7,8,9,11
Nighttime Pullover	Vehicle Pullovers	1,7,8,9
High-Risk Pullover	Vehicle Pullovers	1,5,6,8,9,11
Suspicious Person	Crimes in Progress	3,6,7,8,9,11
Building Search	Crimes in Progress	6,8,9,11
Critical Incident	Crimes in Progress	3,5,6,7,8,9,11
Ambush	Crimes in Progress	3,6,8,9,11
Domestic Violence	Domestic Violence and Victimology/Crisis Intervention	2,3,4,5,6,8,9,11
Felonious Assault	Preliminary Investigation	6,8,9
Mentally Disordered Person	People with Disabilities	3,6,8,9,11

*Core Competencies:1) Police Vehicle Operations, 2) Conflict Resolution, 3) Use of Force, 4) Local Procedures, 5) Leadership, 6) Problem-Solving/Decision-Making, 7) Legal Authority/Individual Rights, 8) Officer Safety, 9) Communication, 10) Ethics, and 11) Stress Tolerance and Emotional Maturity

Within each of these scenarios, types of uncertainty that police were expected to encounter in their work are represented. This is apparent in both the scenario titles and the learning domains to which they correspond. The learning domains represent broad categories of uncertainty, such as responding to a "crime in progress" or applying the proper "use of force." The scenarios are specific situations that fall within each category. For example, the "crimes in progress" learning domain includes a "suspicious person" scenario, a "building search" scenario, a "critical incident" scenario and an "ambush" scenario. The categorizing of types of uncertainty draws our attention to the important role that preparation for uncertainty plays in the academy, and the depth of thinking that has gone into preparing a curriculum that represents it in fine grain detail.

In addition to uncertainty as a broad category found in the learning domains, and the specific situation in which officers found themselves, uncertainty included the reactions of officers to the situation, and the potential actions of suspects and victims. For example, within the uncertainty that was created by a "Use of Force" learning domain – which asked police to determine what type of force was most appropriate – the "Deadly Force Options" scenario provided a context-specific dilemma about whether or not deadly force should be applied. This was a different type of uncertainty than was found in the "Non-Deadly Force Options" scenario, because the outcome of the scenario was a

question of whether or not someone would be killed. Beyond the uncertainty of the circumstances and potential outcomes, the reactions of the suspects, victims and officers themselves created another type of uncertainty embedded in the human behavior of those involved. Each of the scenarios revealed both the *scripted uncertainty* that was intentionally built into the design, and the *organic uncertainty* of suspect and victim behavior, as well as the reaction of student officers that the design was expected to elicit.[9]

For example, in the "Deadly Force Options" scenario I observed, a man suspected of violence toward his wife stood on the porch of his home, holding a baseball bat. A student who was coached by the instructor ahead of time played the role of the man, and a student officer took the role as "lead officer." After being asked many times by the officer to put his bat down, the man refused. When asked what he would do next by the instructor, the officer responded that he was going to shoot the man. Eventually, with intervention by the instructor, the lead officer was able to convince the man to put his bat down. This illustrates how scenarios created the circumstances under which deadly force might become an option for officers to resolve uncertainty, but that the human exchange was something that could not be scripted in advance, leading to organic uncertainty that was dependent on the role players – both suspect and officer. In order to shape this organic uncertainty for learning, the instructor intervened prior to the commencement of the scenario by meeting with the student who played the suspect, but still could not predict how the lead officer would react, or how the exchange between the suspect and officer would develop.

Fomenting organic uncertainty within the structure of scripted uncertainty scenarios was meant to throw recruits off-balance, causing them to doubt their own internal reactions and outward responses. And even when officers seemed to encounter the scripted uncertainty they found in scenarios with confidence, scenarios often evoked conversation about how such a situation would be more uncertain in real life, and that officers would be less sure of themselves, too. In the domestic violence scenario I observed, after the student officers arrived at the scene, the instructor pointed out the uncertainty that would occur in the field as a result of the officers' reactions. She told the group that the more aggressive they were, the more pumped up they would feel. Being pumped up was something to watch closely, so that one could account for it in determining how to react. In the high-risk vehicle pullover scenario, the instructor reminded students that they had to practice their responses, because they would "forget it if it's not robotic." This comment was aimed at getting recruits to see that under stress, they may not be able to rely on thinking straight and acting accordingly – a type of uncertainty they would experience within themselves.

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[9] This is similar to the idea raised in "Preparing Teachers to Lead Mathematics Discussions" (Boerst, Sleep, Ball, & and Bass, 2011) in which the authors note that teachers' work in preparing to lead class discussions is contingent upon the real-time interactions of students and the teacher in the class. (p. 2856)

Decomposing Uncertainty for Candidate Learning

The construction of scenarios in a way that deliberately guided candidates' learning illustrates a careful "decomposition" of practice to help students face uncertainty in their work. By categorizing uncertainty into predictable "types" officers were able to recognize patterns that allowed them to gauge an appropriate reaction. For example, knowing that they were practicing a "Deadly Force Options" scenario signaled that they would have to be prepared to make a decision about using deadly force; participating in a "Building Search" scenario meant that suspects could be hiding in the building and, thus, every corner should be carefully "pie-ed," (a search technique of pointing one's gun around blind corners while standing behind as much cover as possible) so as to make sure no danger was lurking. Additionally, uncertainty in scenarios was progressive. For example, students first encountered a pedestrian stop scenario, then a vehicle pullover scenario, and then a high-risk pullover scenario. A pedestrian stop had the fewest variables for an officer to consider, while a high-risk pullover had the highest number. As one instructor explained about the progression of scenarios, "So they start out low, right? ...person stops. Person stops is a fairly generic, garden-variety thing officers do." He was referring here to the design of scenario training at the academy, in which each of these scenarios built skills in students that later worked to help them confront the increasing uncertainty in the next scenario. This explanation squared with the dean's comment that, "The academy training is based upon a building block principle where the students must first learn the foundational material and move into application, decision making and critical thinking."[10] Scenarios were part of a larger training structure that encompassed a sequence of traditional lecture-type courses, scenarios and placements in field training officer programs at departments once they graduated. They were also progressive in and of themselves. Scenario training occurred in phases I, II, and III, and during each phase, officers were tested on particular scenarios. The following table depicts the usual order in which recruits were tested.

[10] While the theory of learning that was described by this training officer (acquiring knowledge in a classroom setting and then applying it in practice) was common at the academy and in professional education contexts elsewhere, it has been challenged several scholars, including Cook and Brown (1999), who explain the relationship between "knowledge" and "knowing," and the non-transferrable type of tacit knowledge that is present in practice. Mary Kennedy also critiqued this theory of professional learning in *"Inexact Sciences: Professional education and the development of expertise"* (1987), in E. Rothkopf (Ed.) Review of Research in Education, Vol. 13, p. 133-167. She explained that a skills-based focus in professional education that does not account for the purpose and context in which it must be applied is an impoverished understanding of what it takes to develop fluency of practice.

TABLE 3.2: Phases of Scenario Training at the Academy

Phase	Scenario Tests
1	Non Deadly Force Options Felony Assault Investigation Death Investigation Pedestrian Stop
2	People with Disabilities High Risk Car Stops Critical Incidents
3	Suspicious Persons Nighttime Vehicle Pullover Building Search Deadly Force Options Domestic Violence

*** Ethics and Ambush were inserted (separately) in any one of the phases. Recruits were not informed of either of these scenario tests in advance, because the nature of surprise was key to the test.

Emphasizing Uncertainty through Themes of Safety and Awareness

Within every scenario, the curriculum and instruction focused on two interconnected themes, safety and awareness, that showed a deep concern with the problem of uncertainty in police work and the need to prepare candidates for it. Safety of officers, or rather, the worry that officers were always in danger, was a large portion of the uncertainty for which the academy prepared officers. Awareness that officers could be in danger at any time was the companion skill officers learned for counteracting danger, and the focus on awareness, in addition to officer safety, illuminates the signature problem of uncertainty that surfaces when examining the signature pedagogy of scenario training. Considering safety, and, in particular officer safety, was drilled into the candidates. It was a core competency on its own, which speaks to prominent role it played in the training of officers. Officers were advised to take officer safely very seriously in scenarios. During a "crimes in progress" scenario practice, the instructor advised the class that failing to pat a subject down could be a "screen out," meaning that the officer could fail a scenario test because he had jeopardized officer safety, or perhaps fail out of the academy all together. In all but one scenario, attention to officer safety was a criterion on which officers were evaluated. In the "Non-deadly Force Options" and "Deadly Force Options" scenarios, the dimensions of officer safety on which officers were evaluated are listed below.

FIGURE 3.1: Criteria for evaluating Force Options scenarios

Assesses the scene
- The student demonstrates awareness of his/her surroundings (makes a tactically sound approach)

Uses sound officer safety tactics
- The student contacts the suspect using sound officer safety tactics (body positioning, etc.)

Selects objectively reasonable force options
- The student uses proper officer safety techniques

Applies force options correctly
- While applying force, the officer maintains officer safety in accordance with academy policy

Uses proper arrest techniques
- The student maintains officer safety while conducting the search (body positioning, etc.)

Both officer safety and awareness of danger are apparent in these criteria. Asking students to "assess the scene and demonstrate awareness of their surroundings" is a clear example of how awareness of danger, and thus, a concern with uncertainty, was built into the scenario curriculum. Perhaps less obvious, but nonetheless real, concern with officer safety and awareness of danger, is embedded in the criterion "Uses proper arrest techniques – the student maintains officer safety while conducting the search (body positioning)." In one scenario I observed, the instructor critiqued the student officer's arrest technique by explaining that he must be aware of the danger that getting too close to his subject with his gun drawn. After stating that the suspects "practice this in jail," he demonstrated how a suspect could grab his gun if it was too close when he was handcuffing the suspect. Then, he showed the class how to secure the gun in its holster and stand in the exact position that would enable him to successfully arrest the suspect without endangering his safety. From this scenario, it is apparent that officer safety and awareness of danger were not only represented directly in such evaluation criteria language as "demonstrates an awareness of their surroundings," but embedded into other criterion by asking the students to be aware of moments that could put them in jeopardy, and how. In Chapter Four, I will explore fully how anticipation of uncertainty helped recruits plan to react to it.

The representation and decomposition of uncertainty in the scenario curriculum and instruction illustrates how scenario training attempted to "approximate" situations in which students would confront uncertainty – a signature problem of police work. The attention that was given to uncertainty through the constant attention to officer safety and the focus on awareness of danger further shows the deep concern that police training had

for preparing recruits for uncertainty. Scenarios attempted to approximate typically "uncertain" situations in police work that were uncertain because of the circumstances that officers might encounter, but also because of the human behavior of those involved and the officers themselves.

The Signature Problem of Stress in Police Preparation

Stress was another signature problem of police preparation. Concern for adequately equipping police to work under stress was threaded through the curriculum, the interviews I conducted and in the scenarios I observed. Police trainers spoke of stress as an endemic feature of the job, which was linked to the uncertainty of the work, but also to the demand that police take action. One instructor explained, "If you don't train and if you don't have the command presence or the confidence in what you do in a job or have a plan B, you are going to probably not succeed under the stress of the job." Scenario training aimed to prepare candidates for both the type of situations they would encounter that could cause stress, and to create stress for the candidates as they were participating in scenarios.

Preparing Candidates for Stress as a Rationale for Scenario Training

Stress was a major purpose of scenario training. The instructors and administrators I interviewed described police work as inherently stressful, and viewed scenarios as a place to emphasize that. The director of the basic training course who also trained recruits offered this illustration of the type of stress that might be experienced by a police officer during the course of his career,

> *I'll give you an example. You're, you get a call that there's been an accident and it's not even in your area, but it's up the freeway so you, you get there, you find that a car has gone under a cable and... you got...it's sheared the top and you've got a husband and a wife who are standing over their 5 year old whose head has been decapitated. Okay? So you arrive, you've got to try to calm the parents down, you've got to... you've got a scene that you're gonna have to control, you've got oncoming traffic, you've got, um, a mother that's yelling at you, wanting you to do something.*

Here he speaks to how difficult circumstances create stress for police, as well as the expectation that police "do something" under the circumstances. Scenario training attempted to prepare candidates to act reasonably under circumstances that can be extraordinarily stressful. This instructor went on to explain how the academy approaches the problem of preparing candidates to deal with stress, "You explain as much as you can that those things are going to happen, it comes with the job...all you can do is put people in situations to try to test them." This was the rationale I heard from the dean, and from other instructors, as well. Scenarios were needed in order to recreate the stress that officers might experience on "the street."

As "Crimes in Progress" instructor said succinctly to his students, "Remember there are inherently dangerous points in your career." Living with danger, and knowing that uncertainty, out of which danger was born, had to be confronted with action was the

source of stress created in scenario training. Since recruits were supposed to demonstrate the core competency, "Stress Tolerance and Emotional Maturity" in scenario training and tests, the scenarios were meant to be simulations of stressful situations. Stress arose out of the uncertainty inherent in the circumstances, but also from the pressure on the police to act. During a "Deadly Force Options" scenario I described above, in which the student officer was attempting to get a man to lay down his baseball bat, the recruit was reluctant to leave the cover he had found when he approached the scene, and from behind which he conversed with the suspect. After the student officer was unsuccessful at the getting the man to lay his weapon down, the instructor urged him to break cover. At one point, the instructor explained to me that the scenario had been purposefully designed to make the recruit break cover and approach the threatening man. This shows how recruits were intentionally put into stressful situations via scenarios, and how the pressure on recruits to act augmented that stress.

Another instructor also talked about the scenario format causing the recruits to experience stress at the academy that could help prepare them for the stress on the street. He believed that scenarios could help the recruits reflect on how they might behave under stress, and understand the value of practice in advance. He said, "The scenarios, it pushes the recruits and it enlightens them that several things happen to effect them during stressful situations. One of them is hearing loss, auditory loss."[11] It was unclear if he thought recruits would actually experience hearing loss during scenarios, or if they would simply realize that stress could impact their ability to perform by participating in scenario training. Regardless, this instructor connected the scenario training to the signature problem of stress in police preparation.

Stress as a Core Competency in the State-Mandated Scenario Curriculum

Within the scenario curriculum outlined in the student workbook, stress was a consideration in almost every scenario. In the table below, the types of stressful situations that the curriculum expected the recruits to encounter is delineated. In the left column the scenario type is listed, in the middle column, the specific behavior upon which a recruit's response would be evaluated is shown, and in the right column, the specific skill for which the recruit was responsible in relation to core competency "Stress Tolerance and Emotional Maturity" is described.

[11] This phenomenon was documented in "Stress-Related Temporary Hearing Loss – Evaluation of Bio-Humoral Parameters: Forensic and Criminal Applications" (Borraccia et al., 2012).

TABLE 3.3: Scenarios as they map to specific skills and core competency demonstrations

Scenario	**Specific Skill(s) to be Demonstrated**	**Description of how the core competency "Stress Tolerance and Emotional Control" is to be demonstrated**
Ethical Intervention	The student takes action: intervenes when appropriate	The student maintains emotional control that corresponds with the circumstances encountered at the scene.
Death Investigation	The student assesses the scene: controls involved parties	The student maintains emotional control
	Communication skills: student effectively interacts with involved parties	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment (i.e. empathy)
Non-Deadly Force Option and Deadly Force Option	The student contacts the subject: selects objectively reasonable force options	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
	The student arrests the suspect: uses proper arrest techniques	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
Pedestrian Approach	The student maintains control of the subject throughout the stop: uses effective communication to control the subject	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
	Properly applies selected force option(s)	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
High Risk Vehicle Pullover	The student makes the arrest	The student effectively controls his/her emotions
Suspicious Person	The student locates the subject: uses effective communication to control the subject	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
	The student determines the appropriate disposition: determines release, cite or arrest	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
Building Search	The student arrests suspect and safely removes from building	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
Critical Incident	The student reacts to developments: reacts to developments in tactically sound manner	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
Ambush	The student approaches the scene: reacts appropriately to the situation	The student handles the call as dispatched (does not overreact to the call prior to the ambush)
	The student responds to the threat: responds in a tactically sound manner	The student takes appropriate action while under stress
Domestic Violence/Victim Assist	The student controls the scene and demonstrates communication skills: controls involved parties	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
Mentally Disordered Person	The student communicates with the subject: uses effective communication skills	The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
	The student communicates with the subject: applies control appropriate to the situation	The student maintains emotional control while applying the force option

From this table, themes of stress that are represented and decomposed for the purpose of scenario training emerge. Stress as it related to communication with subjects, the application of force, and in cultivating a response appropriate to the circumstances are presented. The state curriculum allows us to see not only that preparation for stress was an important part of scenario training, but that stress was multi-dimensional and attached

to specific aspects of the work. For example, the curriculum anticipates that recruits will experience stress when they encounter situations that require them to communicate with subjects, but that particular moments require a display of stress tolerance that results in particular outcomes. In many of the scenarios, recruits were required to "display professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment," but in the death investigation scenario, this requires that they show "empathy." In interacting with mentally disordered persons, the recruits must maintain control when communicating with the subject, and while applying the force option. Stress as a part of communicating and using force with the "mentally disordered" was emphasized, whereas it is not explicated in such stark terms when recruits are expected to communicate and apply force with other types of subjects. This was borne out in the scenario training I observed for working with mentally disordered persons. In the debrief, the instructor explained in great detail the difficulty in communicating with and arresting mentally disordered people, and the stress that officers might encounter in doing so. As a way of keeping themselves focused, she advised them to ask themselves, "Is what this person is doing unlawful?" If so, then student officers were to proceed with arrests, but to be mindful that the difficult reactions of the "mentally disordered" could cause unusually stressful situations, such as a person who had taken PCP who had heightened senses, or a mentally disturbed person who would flinch if touched.
The curriculum instantiated what the trainers I interviewed had explained about the purpose of scenario training. One intention of scenario training was to draw the recruits' attention to stressful situations, and another intention was to introduce the corollary – police stress was induced not only by the circumstance, but also by the necessity to act under those circumstances.

The Scenario Training and Testing Format as a Source of Stress
In addition to the stress that was simulated by the circumstances of scenario training and the pressure to resolve those circumstances through action, stress was created by the format of scenario training, itself. The dean explained how scenarios operated to produce stress because of high personal stakes for recruits, "It, it's the closest I can get to...create a high stress situation. 'Cause they know that they can fail out, right?" The theory posited by the academy was that scenarios could create a climate of stress because they caused students to risk failure. The dean acknowledged that this was not the same type of stress they would experience on the street, but believed it would be as close a substitute as she could provide. She stated,

> Obviously...they know that nobody's really gonna come around the corner and shoot at them so I can't, and Lord knows I wouldn't want to do that, so I can't simulate that for them and create that type of fear, but your body reacts the same way to stress... Your little heart beats a little faster and you know that this, oh my gosh, I don't wanna mess up, I don't wanna mess up. Which is kinda the little feeling you have every day on the street because you don't want to mess up. Be cause that's for real.

Instructors focused on the possibility of failure in scenarios in both interviews and during

scenario practices. During the "Building Search" scenario I observed, as well as during the "High-Risk Vehicle Pullover" and the "Deadly Force Options" scenarios, students were told that by taking inappropriate action, or neglecting to take a necessary action, they might fail a scenario. Given the dean's comments that scenarios were meant to create a fear of failure, and thus, a sense of stress when performing in scenarios, it may be that the emphasis on failure was a deliberate pedagogical technique.

Scenario training prepared candidates for the signature problem of stress through the content and the pedagogical approach. Scenarios were purposefully designed to confront teach candidates that they would encounter stressful situations, and that they would have to take action to resolve them, which would induce stress. They also attempted to create stress for the candidates by simulating stress through the fear of failure, and the performance aspects of scenario training, where recruits had an audience of their peers who were invited to critique them, or scenario testing that could result in being remediated or screened out of the academy.

The Signature Problem of the High Cost of Error in Police Preparation

A central concern of police training was the high cost of error that accompanied the decisions student officers would eventually need to make in the field. The curriculum, instruction during scenarios and interviews with police trainers revealed that police training saw at least three major costs to erroneous police action. The first cost, unsurprisingly, was the worry that error could cause an officer to be injured or killed. The second was the concern that error could lead to injuring or killing a civilian or suspect unnecessarily. The third was the thought that police error could cause an officer to be held personally liable, or that the erroneous actions of an officer could cause a department to be held liable.

The Risk of Injury and Death to Police Officers

Scenarios simulated situations that put officers at risk, and emphasized the ways in which error could lead to serious injury or death for the officers. Instructors explained the errors that could put officers at risk before and during scenarios, and debriefed the consequences of error after scenario practice. Using the strategy of "failing forward," student officers often made mistakes during scenario training that in real life could risk their lives. Instructors used these as teachable moments to emphasize the cost of error in police work. Below I have included three examples of this strategy, which show the minute attention that instructors gave to error and its relation to officer safety.

In the "Building Search" scenario, four officers entered the building in a single-file line. As each officer entered the building, the door opened and shut, making a creaking noise. The instructor stopped the group and explained the error they had just made. When entering a building, they needed to think about what potential suspects in the building could hear. He said that by allowing the door to open and shut, they had tipped off the suspects – now they knew that how many officers had entered the building. The instructor then showed them how to secure the door open and enter the building without putting themselves at as much risk. After the officers made their way into the building,

the scenario continued. The lead officer told the other officers to search the rooms whose doors were closed, while he and another officer moved forward and searched another part of the building. Again, the instructor stopped them. He reminded them never to split up. He told them that if they had to run back, it would be difficult for them to reunite. He told them, "Always stick together." When the officers continue with the scenario, they begin to search the rooms, one by one. Again, the officers made an error by opening the door but forgetting to look in the room. The instructor stopped them again, this time reminding them that someone could be hiding there. In this one scenario, the instructor stopped the officers many times, pointing out the errors they were making, and the high cost to their safety if they were made in real life.

In the second example, student officers were searching the trunk of a car during a "High Risk Car Stop" scenario. Once the lead officer had "cleared" the car, determining that there were no suspects or weapons in the front or back seats, she began searching the trunk with the help of her partner. She and her partner each stood on one side of the car, pointing their guns toward the trunk, but also in the general direction of one another. The instructor stopped them and redirected. He told them to stand behind the vehicle, so they didn't shoot each other if they had to fire their weapons. Like in the "Building Search" scenario, the instructor pointed out the high cost of a seemingly small misstep.

Finally, during a debrief of a "Suspicious Persons" scenario, the instructor discussed the approach that student officers made to a man who had been suspiciously lurking around cars in a parking lot. The students had entered the parking lot in the middle walking toward the suspect. While they had checked for danger behind cars between themselves and the suspect, using the cars as cover, the instructor pointed out that they had failed to look for danger that could be hidden behind cars that were located behind them. She suggested that officers hide behind trees that were adjacent to the scene in order to provide more safety. This scenario again illustrates the attention that instructors at the academy drew to small errors that could lead to deadly consequences.

The Risk of Injury and Death to Others

The scenario curriculum emphasized decision moments when student officers' actions could have drastic consequences. This heightened the attention that was given to the potential for error. As the dean explained,

> there's a little bit in the back of your mind there...that says, I don't want to hurt anybody that...not that anybody deserves to be hurt, but I wanna make sure that I have the confidence that when I point my gun at somebody if I have to shoot them... ...that it's going to hit the person that I'm aiming at...not go someplace else and hurt some innocent person.

In particular, the "Deadly Force Options" scenario highlighted the high cost of error if the officer made an "unreasonable" decision. The table below presents the criteria upon which the student officers were evaluated in the "Deadly Force Options" scenario. Careful attention to avoiding error is evident, particularly around the choices officers

must make concerning whether or not to apply force, and which force could be considered “reasonable.”

TABLE 3.4: Performance Activities as they map to evaluation criteria and specific behaviors to be demonstrated

Performance activity	Performance activity evaluation criteria	Descriptions of specific behavior associated with the performance activity
1. The student responds to the call	Notifies dispatch and provides updates as necessary	The student advises dispatch of critical events while responding to the call
		The student clearly communicates correct and essential information to dispatch
	Assesses the scene	Upon arrival at the scene, the student chooses a proper method of approach
		The student demonstrates awareness of his/her surroundings (makes a tactically sound approach)
2. The student contacts the suspect	Uses sound officer safety tactics	The student uses officer safety tactics that meet the needs of the situation
	Attempts to obtain compliance verbally throughout the encounter	The student clearly states what he/she wants the suspect to do throughout the encounter
	Selects objectively reasonable force options	The student uses objectively reasonable force options as specified by academy policy
		The student's use of force is consistent with legal authority
		The student uses proper officer safety techniques (body positioning, etc.)
		The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
	Applies force options correctly	The student applies force options for the situation
		While applying force, the officer maintains officer safety in accordance with academy policy
3.The student arrests the suspect	Uses proper arrest techniques	The student uses appropriate techniques for the force option used
		The student maintains officer safety while conducting the search
		The student displays professional, calm, and appropriate emotional responses related to the given situation/environment
	Assesses the injuries and requests/renders first aid	The student identifies possible injuries and requests or renders proper first aid
		The student clearly communicates with dispatch and notifies supervisor

In the first performance activity, "The student responds to the call" it is clear that the concern is primarily for the officer's safety. Making sure that dispatch is notified of the officer's whereabouts and the critical events that have ensued is a way of ensuring that appropriate support can be directed toward the officer. However, in the next two performance activities, "The student contacts the suspect" and "The student arrests the suspect" it is possible to see the concern that the training has over making errors that endanger the suspect, as well. For instance, the expectation that the officer "attempts to obtain compliance verbally throughout the encounter" shows the weightiness of using force against the suspect, and the effort of the police academy to train officers to avoid it, if possible. Additionally, making sure that if and when force is applied, it is done within the bounds of "reason" and is consistent with "academy policy" and "legal authority" shows an effort to circumscribe the use of force, presumably because of the potential cost to the suspect (and the potential ramifications for the officer and the department, as well). Furthermore, the requirement that officers "display professional, calm, and appropriate

emotional responses" indicates the concern that officers are making deliberative choices to use force, which may be less likely to end in error.

The effort to get students to avoid using excessive force was also spelled out in an interview with the dean, as well as in my observation of the "Deadly Force Options" scenario. In speaking about what she hoped student officers would take away from their experience at the academy she said,

> "Hopefully they will be able to step back and learn from that, in those situations, in the real life situations just like they did here at the academy... what we're really trying to do is give them the skills to make those, make decisions, make reasonable, smart decisions because sometimes we don't have to shoot."

Here the concern that officers learn to use force appropriately is apparent, as well as her desire to avoid unnecessary shootings. The dean's statement points to the purpose of training to avoid shooting errors through decision-making skills, and the "Deadly Force Options" scenario exemplified an attempt to do this. As noted above, during the "Deadly Force Options" scenario, a student officer was responding to a scene in which a man was holding a baseball bat and was suspected of harming his wife. After several attempts to get the man to put the bat down, the officer became frustrated. The instructor pressed the student officer to change strategies by saying, "You've asked him three or four times to put the bat down. You need to change tactics." The student officer responded by saying to the suspect, "I'm going to shoot." Immediately, the instructor stepped in and tried to get the student to rethink. He said to the student, "We're not going to make a move, engage him in conversation." Eventually, the student was able to resolve the situation without violence. The actions of the student, instructor, and the eventual resolution show that the academy took the choice to employ deadly force very seriously, and encouraged students to use it when all other options were not available. This points to a realization on the part of police trainers that shooting carried a high cost, especially if done in error.

The Risk of Personal and Departmental Liability

There was also attention given to the issue of liability at the academy, and it was given as a rationale to avoid error during scenario training. In the "Hate Crime" scenario, which was added as part of a "Cultural Diversity" initiative that the academy offered as a complement to the state-mandated curriculum, student officers were expected to identify a hate crime in progress and arrest the suspects for violating the constitutional rights of the victims. In the particular scenario I observed, the student officers failed to identify the incident as a hate crime, and also failed to arrest the suspects, as a result. During the debrief, the exchange between the instructor and the students showed both the difficulty students had in determining how to handle the situation, and also the consequences that the instructor wanted them to know could be attached to failing to treat the scenario as the hate crime it was. When the students that participated and observed the scenario were asked to explain what happened, the student who had role-played the suspect said that he had entered a store and called the store owner a "raghead" and a "camel jockey." Next, the student who was role-playing the lead officer offered that he had determined that he could not arrest the man and he had explained to the store owner that the man could not

be arrested on free speech grounds. At this point in the debrief, the instructor intervened and told the class they had a hate crime on their hands. The instructor went on to explain that such a crime not only constituted an arrest, but also a lengthy incident report. He said, "What if he [the suspect] comes back tonight and blows up the liquor store? That is a law suit waiting to happen." After a lengthier explanation (to which I will return in Chapter 4) of why this was, indeed, a hate crime, he concluded by saying that the bottom line was the Constitution, and that the student officer, by not arresting the suspect, "committed a felony." He said of the store owner, "He has a right to an arrest, and you have the obligation to arrest."[12]

This vignette depicts the instructor's focus on the importance of identifying the hate crime and the importance, liability-wise, for reacting to it appropriately. His comment that the suspect might come back and blow up the liquor store, from which a lawsuit could ensue, highlights his worry that an error could result in negative consequences for the police department. Additionally, his comment that the student officer had committed a crime by not arresting the suspect illustrates his intention to make sure the students know there can be personal consequences for error other than risking their safety. Finally, his explanation of the needed incident report was a description of report writing I heard more than once from trainers, which indicated that police trainers felt they needed to document their behavior in responding to events, so as to avoid question about whether or not they had erred.

A concern that avoiding liability was a reason to train officers to deal with stress also emerged during one interview. An instructor explained, "officers are people they worry about, you know, am I going to lose my job over this, am I going to lose my house, what's the grand jury going to say, am I in department policy... the guidelines, am I covering all that and still function in the next two or three seconds, to be able to do something, right?" Here he was stating that the liability costs due to error not only showed up in the long-term repercussions for individual officers and their departments, but the fear of being liable also impacted the ability of recruits to behave appropriately under stress.

Good Guys and Bad Guys

The signature problems of police work positioned police as "good guys" and everyone else as potential "bad guys." This was evident in the literal language they used, their

[12] It was difficult to tell from the scenario I observed what actions were taken that constituted a hate crime. The students interacted inside the building, where I was not able to follow, for a brief period and then I was able to take field notes on their discussion afterward. However, during that discussion, the term "hate crime" was not defined and they student's concerns about the violation of the right to free speech were not satisfactorily resolved.

preparation for the possibility that anyone could be dangerous, and the concern that the public would try to unjustly hold them accountable for error. This ultimately had consequences for the way they were trained to mediate individual freedoms and civic obligations. Police training used a framework of enforcement to account for the work of police. Enforcement could either be enforcing a particular notion of social order, or individual rights. However, at the academy, enforcement tended to drift toward social order. The polemicizing of police work into "good guys" against "bad guys" was one way training operated to do this.

In interviews and during scenario training observations, police academy instructors and administrators used the language of "bad guys" in a way that implied that police were the "good guys." For example, in my interview with one instructor, he was describing the set up for a scenario. He said, "on the scenario say he uses a red car and a bad guy came out of the red car and shot at the officer." Here he was not discussing whether or not the police are good or bad, he is just simply using the ordinary language police trainers used to describe the actors in scenarios. The guy is bad, notice, before he shoots at the officer. Most of the scenarios were set up this way, where the recruits knew that a "bad guy" would do something, which they would have to stop. This positioned them, by default, as the "good guys." However, it presupposed that the work of policing was to control behaviors, rather than to protect individual rights.

The signature problem of uncertainty was also a way that police saw themselves as the "good guys" and everyone else as potential "bad guys." The dean explained in her interview that candidates were prepared to think that anyone "could be a person of threat." This meant that police had to proactively seek to be in a "position of advantage" over civilians they encountered. Anecdotally, this meant that when I came across recruits at the academy, they were trained to look me in the eye and say "hello" before I had the chance to approach them. Recruits were on the lookout for danger. By looking at the work of policing as always potentially dangerous, and every individual as potentially threatening, police were taught to think about the public at large as "bad guys." In the "Building Search" scenario, for example, the instructor told the recruits to worry about how the suspects might hear them and this could put the recruits in danger. Regardless of who was in the building or what they were doing, the recruits were taught to think about them as "bad guys" and to protect themselves against a potential threat.

Finally, conveying stress and the high cost of error as signature problems of police work had the effect of positioning police against the public. Police recruits were taught to think that they might cause themselves or the department to be held unduly liable for error. The instructors repeatedly emphasized to recruits that they should worry about the consequences of action or inaction. In the "Hate Crime Scenario" this played out when the instructor warned recruits that if they didn't arrest the suspects, they might come back and blow up the store, and that a lawsuit might be initiated. This showed two things – 1) that the officers should fear reprisal from citizens if they did not perform adequately, and 2) that they should error on the side of enforcing social order, in case they would be accused of inaction later. In this way, recruits were given a double message – worry about what the public thinks of you, but they are not on your side.

Chapter 4: Preparing Police to Contend with Signature Problems through Routines

Overview

Scenario training prepared recruits to contend with the signature problems of uncertainty, stress and the high cost of error by developing analytic, discourse and embodied routines. Routines enabled student officers to respond to uncertainty with protocols, procedures and practices, "inoculated" them against stress, and freed them to use judgment in the field to prevent error. Throughout this chapter I use Feldman and Pentland's (2003) theory of organizational routines to think about how candidates were taught to use routines to cope with signature problems. They argue that routines consist of both "ostensive" and "performative" aspects. The ostensive aspects of routines are the idealized version – a set of norms or rules for how a routine ought to be performed, whereas the performative aspect of a routine is how the routine is practiced in reality. They believe that looking at both of these aspects, as well as their relationship, allows scholars to see how routines both pass on what is known about the work in an organization, as well as allow for flexibility and adaptation. They explain that by looking at routines this way, agency exhibited by individuals is more readily seen, and the ability of routines to respond to the needs of the organization, rather than to merely reproduce it, is also more visible.

At the police academy, both ostensive and the performative aspects of routines were conveyed to recruits. They were taught analytic, discourse and embodied routines that reflect both constituted "ideal" practices, but also emphasized the importance of flexibly responding to situations by using these routines in context, and the highlighted the agency of the individual officers in deciding when to employ routines, as well as how to adapt them. *Analytic routines* were ways in which the recruits were taught to think and problem solve. This included questions that recruits were taught to ask themselves about a particular situation, and patterns of thinking in which they were expected to engage. *Discourse routines* were systematic ways that recruits were taught to engage their colleagues and the public in discourse that enabled them to learn more about the situations and potential suspects they were encountering, to obtain resources, and to coordinate with others. *Embodied routines* were those routines that required recruits to engage in a physical response to a situation, a suspect, or a victim. Ideal forms of these routines existed "on paper" in the curriculum, the scenario workbook, and in the "core competencies." However, what was written down did not fully account for either the full range of activities that recruits were expected to perform, or the judgment that individual student officers alone, as well as a group, were expected to use in enacting them.

Feldman and Pentland (2003) address this problem by arguing that ostensive aspects of routines are necessarily broad to allow them to account for a variety of situations, whereas performative aspects of routines can respond to the particulars of practice. Examples of the ostensive aspects of routines could be found in the criteria for assessing student performance in the scenarios. For example, the expectation for good

"communication" in the "High Risk Vehicle Pullover Scenario" stated "Communicates with other officers on the scene – The student demonstrates clear command over the scene when required." The codified aspect of this discourse routine delineates the expectation that officers should both communicate with one another when they pull over a high risk vehicle, but also that the lead officer demonstrate his or her command over the situation through effective communication with other officers. While this exemplifies the features of an organizational routine according to Feldman and Pentland (p. 103-104) – it was repetitive (lead officers were always expected to command the scene through clear and effective communication), it constituted a recognizable pattern of action (it was expected that the first officer on the scene take the lead and command subsequently arriving officers), it included multiple actors, and their actions were interdependent (the lead officer had to communicate to other officers what to do first, next, etc.), it does not allow us to see how this routine is performed in the moment, because the routine represented in the scenario is an example of the ostensive aspect of a routine. Feldman and Pentland's ostensive/performative analysis allows us to pay attention to how this routine is enacted, and how that enactment is shaped by the context and the individual actors.

In this chapter, I will focus on analytical, discourse and embodied routines used in scenario training by looking at their ostensive and performative aspects. I will look at how three subcategories of routines– protocols, procedures, and practices, reflected both ostensive and performative aspects, and served to help recruits respond to the signature problems of uncertainty, stress, and the high cost of error. *Protocols* were the general guidelines for responding to typical situations, which included both ostensive and performative aspects. For example, in an ambush, recruits were told to follow the protocol: 1) assess the scene and return fire, 2) take cover, 3) notify dispatch, and 4) coordinate responding units. This was the ostensive aspect of the protocol, whereas the performative aspect would include determining who was firing and where to shoot, identifying the best place to take cover, deciding when it was safe to notify dispatch, and identifying what kind of back up resources to ask dispatch to send.

Procedures were the step-by-step processes that officers were expected to follow in implementing protocols. For example, while it was protocol for an officer to arrest a suspect by first getting him to put his hands up, then frisking him for weapons, and then, finally, handcuffing him, handcuffing and frisking themselves were a procedures that included both ostensive and performative aspects. Handcuffing and frisking were supposed to be done in a manner that posed as little risk to the arresting officer as possible, which included being aware of how to stand to make sure that the officer's weapon was secure while he stood close enough to the suspect to handcuff him. How the officer positioned his body depended on factors such as where the arrest took place and whether or not the person he was handcuffing was injured. In the "Crimes in Progress" scenario, for example, when the student officer attempted to frisk an injured man, the instructor intervened to show him how to adapt the routine for that circumstance.

Practices performed by the recruits that were "imbued with meaning" (Brown & Cook, 1999)(Cook and Brown, 1999) only as part of a routine. Such practices were not

necessarily an explicit part of the ostensive routine, because they did not apply across all contexts, but were necessary to the successful performance of a routine in the moment. In "Bridging Epistemologies: The Generative Dance Between Organizational Knowledge and Organizational Knowing," Cook and Brown describe how behavior become practices when seen in their organizational context. They use a medical exam as an example:

> By practice, then, we refer to action informed by meaning drawn from a particular group context. In the simplistic case, if Vance's knee jerks, that is behavior. When Vance raps his knee with a physician's hammer to test his reflexes, it is behavior that has meaning, and thus is what we call action. If his physician raps his knee as part of an exam, it is practice. This is because the meaning of her action comes from the organized contexts of her training and ongoing work in medicine (where it can draw on, contribute to, and be evaluated in the work of others in her field). (p. 387)

In police training, behaviors such as ducking under the windows when approaching a building became practices that enabled recruits to enact the protocol of staying out of the line of fire when arriving at a scene. However, ducking under the windows in another context, such as scene with no building involved, would not be necessary. However, staying out of the line of fire was always a protocol to follow when approaching a scene, regardless of the setting.

Additionally, certain practices could be invoked to meet the demands of more than one routine. For example, asking questions of civilians was a practice that helped officers gather information they needed to respond. This practice was both part of a discourse routine of how to engage with the public, as well as part of an analytic routine to plan next steps in the response. This meant that students did not necessarily invoke routines in the same order or in the same way each time. Instead, routines were a framework to guide the students' responses in the moment. At times, pieces of routines were discarded or altered, and the use of routines was informed by new information that was gathered along the way.

As Boerst et al. (2011) note in their article on leading mathematics discussions, professional practice is also contingent upon the interactions of individuals and context. The events that unfolded within the scenario were both independent and interdependent of the actions of the police. For example, while student officers might encounter an armed suspect, whether that scenario required deadly force was the result of a negotiation between the suspect's behavior and the actions of the police. As the police gathered information, they could re-identify the situation, and thus, respond with a new set of protocols, procedures and practice. However, the use of the same protocols, procedures and practices, albeit in different ways, in different orders, constituted a pattern of action that I am labeling analytic, discourse, and embodied routines.

Though it is necessary for analytical purposes to parse the ways in which routines addressed signature problems, routines were employed in the context of scenarios, where

recruits were often met with all three problems at once. For this reason, the same routine or routines served multiple purposes in the moment. Scenario training aimed to cultivate recruits' awareness of danger, their surroundings, and themselves. It also focused on teaching recruits to flexibly plan to meet the needs of the contexts of each situation they encountered, by gathering information, and identifying types of situations in order to categorize danger and respond appropriately. I will return to three scenarios that surfaced in Chapter 3, to show how routines were used in context to contend with the three signature problems of uncertainty, stress and the high cost of error. This will illuminate the emphasis in scenario training on preparing recruits for action through approximation of practice. I will then return to the issue of preparing police to negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms, and discuss how emphasis in police training reveals as an important element to consider in preparing teachers.

Analytic Routines

The primary objective of the scenario curriculum was to prepare recruits to respond to situations that they might encounter "on the street." During the scenarios, students would practice responding to various situations, represented in the state curriculum as typical of police work. They were trained to approach each one with a stance some of the instructors referred to as the "What If?" game. The what-if stance included two parts: anticipating events that might unfold and being prepared to respond appropriately to them. Student officers were taught that any situation could become dangerous at any time, and anticipation of danger was the heart of the "what if" game. During an interview an instructor explained, "If you play the 'what if' game and you practice, practice, practice in your mind about what could happen, your body will go there in stressful situations..." This reasoning was typical of the administrators and trainers I interviewed, and was apparent in the scenarios I observed. Trainers operated under the notion that if candidates were taught to anticipate danger, they would react better when they were faced with it.

Responding to dangerous situations involved putting a plan of action into motion, but that plan was contingent on the depth of knowledge the recruit summoned to react within the boundaries of the scenario. This process was discursive – the plan an officer made or an initial response strategy could change at any time based on more information.[13] Likewise, responding to a scenario and anticipating the potential dangers one may encounter was also discursive. Student officers did not always anticipate, then respond. They were often doing both at once, and one impacted the other. For example, as students were driving to a scene (already "responding"), they were expected to plan how they would exit the car and approach the building (now "anticipating") using the protocol for seeking cover they had learned from their instructors. At the same time, they were gathering information from dispatch, and reporting their position. As they learned more, they might change response strategies.

[13] Boerst et al. (2011) describe this in teaching as practice that is contingent upon unfolding events and interactions.

Analytic routines were ways in which the recruits were taught to think and problem solve. This included questions that recruits were taught themselves about a particular situation, and patterns of thinking in which they were expected to engage. Of these routines, awareness, planning, and identifying situation "types" were repeated throughout the scenario training curriculum and instruction.

Awareness

Awareness was a skill that instructors and administrators at the academy highly prized. The dean of the academy stated,

We start, even at the very beginning of the academy to make, to create that awareness...if I see that there's somebody around the corner or somebody here... whether it's an old lady or who it might be, that could be a person of threat. And as long as I'm aware of it then that's here and I can react to it more quickly and more logically...

Though a candidate's awareness was only visible as he responded within the parameters of a scenario, awareness itself was one aspect of a mental exercise: the "what if" game. Recruits were taught to "think like a suspect" and to consider the multiple possibilities that could unfold. They were also taught to be aware of their surroundings, suspects, and themselves. This awareness was a state of mind that encompassed both a way of thinking of every situation as potentially dangerous, and which required a projection of possibilities into the future. The "what if" game not only entailed realizing that danger could happen at any time, but thinking through how events might unfold in a dangerous way - it was not enough to know that it was dangerous to get too close to a suspect with one's gun, the candidate must be aware of how the position of his body might enable the suspect to grab it, and how, if he did, he would lunge for it. Danger was then categorized and predicted, and became something that could be planned for. Awareness was not simply paying attention, but entailed recognizing patterns of danger, which ultimately allowed officers to plan their response.

Planning

During a scenario in which students responded to a call that a building may have been broken into, their instructor prepared them to respond by insisting, "Always be prepared, always have a plan." Planning was a central part of anticipating potential danger and, eventually, responding to scenarios. It was an outgrowth of awareness; it concerned the actions that the officers would take in response to the events they were to mentally forecast. Planning was a combination of individual foresight and the knowledge of when to implement of formal and informal procedures in particular moments.

Planning was also an act of leadership. One of the student officers was assigned the "lead officer" role in each scenario, and that person was responsible for being aware of danger, making a plan to respond, and communicating that plan to his fellow officers. By holding the lead officer accountable for planning and communicating the plan to other officers, the central and vital role of planning was asserted. In some ways, planning and

leadership were synonymous. Without a plan, the officer had failed as a leader; likewise, a plan without a leader could not be implemented.

Identifying Types of Situations

When student officers responded to training scenarios, a great deal of emphasis was given to determining what type of situation they had encountered, as well as deciding who was a "victim" and who was a "suspect." Since preparing recruits for uncertainty, presented as danger and officer safety in training, was a primary focus, students were pressed to determine who was potentially dangerous and who needed their assistance. In more than one scenario, instructors advised students to carefully discern between "bad guys" and "victims." And beyond the identification of individual actors, student officer also learned to identify the type of crime that may have occurred, and the acceptable range of responses.

In the "Hate Crime" scenario, officers had to determine who was the victim and who was the perpetrator. First, they had to recognize that the situation they had encountered was, in fact, a hate crime (whether the behavior of the suspects actually constituted a hate crime is an issue that may be debated, but for the purpose of this training, the instructor intended the officers to identify the situation as a hate crime). During the scenario, in which officers arrived at a store that had reported racial threats being made by a patron, the officers had to make a determination about whether or not to arrest the patron, based on the statements that he had made. In the debrief, the lead student officer explained that he decided that the remarks were protected by the first amendment, and the man could not be arrested. The instructor had to help students identify this situation as a hate crime. He said to them "This is pretty serious stuff. This is Constitutional stuff." The student officers must be able to identify that the storeowner is the "real" victim, and they must know that the person who made the remarks should be arrested on Constitutional grounds. They were required to understand not only that this was a crime, but that it was a hate crime, and that the crime is one that violates the Constitution. Without that knowledge, or the ability to apply the knowledge in the moment, the wrong protocol will be followed.

The student officer, in responding to the instructor's critique that the perpetrator of the hateful remarks should have been arrested explained that from the academy's course on Constitutional law, he understood that hate crime laws should be rarely enforced, for fearing of infringing upon a person's first amendment rights to free speech. From his confusion, the complexity of the task being asked of the police was clear. In a very short time span, officers must be able to decide who to help, who to arrest, and on what grounds. Another instructor summarized this point in an interview,

A lot of people don't understand that police officers out in the street deal with constitutional limitations every single day. Because, basically, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is written as a document to protect the citizens against intrusions of government. And police officers, being the agents of the government, police officers have

to understand what their limitations are when dealing with the citizens, based on the Constitution.

Student officers must learn to sort through the information they have been able to gather and call upon their knowledge of law and police protocols to ensure a reasonable and just outcome. In scenario training, to practice identifying the type of situation they've encountered is one place where this complexity is deconstructed.

Discourse Routines

Discourse routines were systematic ways that recruits were taught to engage their colleagues and the public in discourse that enabled them to learn more about the situations and potential suspects they were encountering, to obtain resources, and to coordinate with others. One important discourse routine was information gathering, in which recruits simultaneously questioned suspects to glean necessary details, but also allowed them to gauge their responses in real time and adjust their approach as necessary. Another was rapport building, a routine that worked simultaneously with information gathering, but served the purpose of building trust between civilians and officers.

Information Gathering

Throughout many of the scenarios, gathering information and using it to identify the particular problem the officer had encountered was a key element. Gathering information generally took the form of asking questions that probed a potential victim or suspect. In more than half of the scenarios, instructors prodded their students to ask more questions. These questions ranged from "what is your name?" to "have you taken medication?" to "do you have any weapons in the house?"

Information gathering was not simply asking questions, it was also a communication strategy. Student officers were taught to build a temporary trust through their questions that would allow for a person who may be dangerous, or who felt endangered by the threat of police force, to reveal important facts about the situation that could help the officer determine the best course of action. In this way, it also served role of an analytical routine. Officers were taught to engage in the practice of asking questions to gather information so they could become more aware of the situations they encountered and more astutely plan for them. Information gathering was, therefore, highlighted and practiced as one individual thread of a more complex set of problems and potential outcomes.

Building Rapport

Questions often elicited more questions, and served the double purpose of learning more about the situation and building a rapport with the suspect or victim. But the momentary relationship that was created between the citizen and the police officer, the manner in which information was gathered, could itself impact the outcome. Student officers were not merely expected to get information through conversations with civilians, they were expected to gain their trust. One of the trickiest parts of the police work recruits

encountered in scenario training was developing ways of speaking to civilians that could elicit their trust.

Communicating with Dispatch

Student officers were also taught to regularly and systematically communicate with dispatch. First, they were taught a series of police communication codes, which allowed them to easily communicate about the types of situations they were encountering and to get information from dispatch about the scenes to which they were responding. At times, they were required to contact dispatch so they could prepare for an encounter or discern the truth from a suspect's responses to their questions.

Embodied Routines

Embodied routines were those routines that required recruits to engage in a physical response to a situation, a suspect, or a victim. These routines were a evidenced in a combination of protocols and procedures, in which the officer acted out physical maneuvers in order to respond to the needs of the particular context.

Implementing Protocols and Procedures

In responding to scenarios, student officers practiced determining which police protocols – the general guidelines for responding to typical situations – to apply and which procedures – specific step-by-step processes, such as handcuffing a suspect – to implement, and then doing so. Frequently, students were faced with situations where they had to apply protocols such as seeking cover and notifying dispatch of the events as they unfolded. They also often practiced arrest procedures, drawing their weapons and "pie-ing," a search technique that enabled officers to incrementally scope out a space where danger might be lurking, while minimizing danger to themselves. During the all the scenarios, student officers practiced protocols and procedures. Knowing which protocol to draw on and how to enact the procedure were separate but interdependent skills, and both were done in conversation with other response skills such as gathering information, identifying situations, awareness and planning.

In the following section, I will describe three scenarios: "Building Search," "High-Risk Car Stop" and "Deadly Force Options," in order to show how employing routines to contend with the signature problems of police preparation was an integral part of scenario training. By approximating practice, students were given the opportunity to learn and use routines that were meant to mitigate uncertainty, inoculate student officers against stress and allow them to make "reasonable" judgments in the moment. While each of these problems was confronted in each scenario, I have chosen to highlight how one signature problem was addressed through routines in each of the three scenarios. By narrowing the focus on each scenario, I hope to "freeze frame" the use of routines to clarify how they related to each problem.

Contending with Uncertainty: Building Search

A group of about 20 students walked out to the "skid" where much of the scenario training happened. The group walked past several parked police cars and gathered around one a group of modular buildings. When they were assembled, the instructor asked for a volunteer who would become the lead officer for the scenario. The lead instructor then chose a team of student officers with whom he would like to work during the scenario. The student officers were told that they are responding to a silent alarm. The door to the modular building (now the setting of a "crime in progress") was left ajar.

The instructor asked the group of student role players to consider, if they were to drive up to this scene, where they would park and how they would enter the building. The student role players discussed the instructor's questions and then the instructor turned to the rest of the students in the class, who were observing the discussion, for their reactions. After much deliberation as a group, the instructor emphasized to the class that it would be important to park somewhere that would ensure they had the most cover as possible when approaching the scene. Then, the instructor tells the lead officer to set a perimeter around the building. The officer labels each side of the building, respectively, A, B, C, D. He then sets a perimeter on each corner of the building.

The lead student officer then asked a question, which was inaudible, but the instructor responded by saying, "You're the officer," indicating that the student had to make the decision on his own. And then, in response to another inaudible question, the instructor said, "Either get dirty or shot." The lead student officer then told the other role players that they must duck under the windows and approach the door. The group followed the lead officer as they did just that, and then entered the building.

As each of the four officers entered the building, the door made a creaking noise as it opened and shut. The instructor stopped them, and pointed out that every time they came through the door, the squeaking was giving away to the "bad guy" how many people were entering the building. He told them that it was better to secure the door and walk in without alerting the suspect.

The whole class then filed into the trailer. It was a mat room that was used to practice scenarios such as these, so there were a few mats standing up, creating blind corners in the room. To the left as one entered the room, there were two doors. Once the class had entered the building, the scenario continued. The lead officer told two of the other officers to search the doors, and he and another officer moved forward. The instructor stopped them to remind them never to split up. He explained that it would be difficult for the officers to help one another if they had to run back. He said to them, "Always stick together."

The scenario continued. The officers opened the first door. The instructor reminded them to look in the room. He said that role players could be hiding anywhere if this was

a test. One of the student officers who checked the next door took out his flashlight first, but the second door was locked. The instructor told him that it wasn't necessary to take the flashlight out unless the door opened. He said it was just "one thing you don't have to worry about." The officers had forgotten to close the first door once it was cleared, and the instructor reminded them to close it.

The lead officer began the scenario again, searching the building, but the instructor stopped him because it was clear that some of the other officers didn't know what to do. The instructor asked if the lead officer had a plan, and the officer said "yes" and indicated that he already told everyone what it was. He proceeded with the scenario, but one of the officers was still confused. The instructor stopped the scenario again and said, "One of your officers doesn't know what the plan is." The lead officer (in a whisper) explained the plan to the rest of the group again.

The team moved forward and the began "pie-ing" the room. The instructor explained that this maneuver was important because it limited the officers' body exposure. A student who was role playing a suspect was hiding behind a mat that was standing on end. The student officers begin pie-ing around the corner and when they saw him they ask him to come out.

The suspect came out and the lead officer made an arrest. The instructor asked him if he pat down the suspect. He said, "no." The instructor told him that it was very important to do a pat down, because it could be a "screen out." The officer then sends the suspect with an imaginary arrest team and the officers continued searching the building. The instructor gave continuous feedback on their body movements. He explained that they should be aware that all the creaks they hear in the floorboards are also being heard by the suspects.

There is another mat set up in the room that makes a corner that is impossible to see into, even with the "pie-ing" technique. The class brainstorms about ways to deal with it. One student asks if you could send a dog in. Another student asks if you could call out to them and tell them to come out. The instructor says that those are good ideas, but they should be prepared if no one comes out, they will have to go in and check. He says, "Remember there are inherently dangerous points in your career."

In this scenario, it is possible to see how routines are being taught to students, and how those routines address the problem of uncertainty. It is also possible to see that the officers were expected to call on certain aspects of routines in the moment to address the particularities of any situation. This allowed the routines to be flexible enough to deal with demands of the situation they'd encountered.

Several times during the scenario, the officers were expected to employ routines to anticipate uncertainty. Awareness, a type of analytic routine, that enabled performance of was one key factor in addressing uncertainty, because it allowed officers to predict the potential danger that they might encounter. For example, the lead officer told his team of

officers to duck under the windows when approaching the building. This showed that the officer had learned to consider the possible danger of someone shooting from or seeing the police through the window, and he had anticipated that danger and responded to it by implementing the practice of ducking under the windows. In addition, the instructor drew the attention of students to the sounds that they were making twice during the scenario. In reminding students that they were alerting the potential suspects in the building to their presence, he was attempting to establish a sense of vigilance on the part of the officers regarding their own movements. The analytic routine of awareness was served by the protocol of making as little noise as possible when approaching a scene, and in this case, the practice of holding the door open so that as little noise as possible was made to alert suspects in the building.

Not only did students need to be aware that danger could come directly from a suspect from an action such as shooting through a window, they needed to know that they could put themselves in danger if they were not hyper-aware of the sounds they were making. Since scenarios represented a moment of "knowing in action" for these police recruits, the knowledge that they brought to the experience was then shaped by the experience itself and re-formed in the moment. The officers knew to duck under windows, but learning to listen for the sounds they were making themselves was a moment of new knowledge creation, afforded by the scenario and the instructor's direction. By acquiring a new awareness of the particular danger that was brought about by a suspect being "tuned in" to their movements, the officers could lessen the degree of uncertainty that they would encounter. If they were able to prevent the suspects from knowing they were there, or being able to count how many officers were on the scene, they were more likely to maintain a "position of advantage" by surprising the suspects.

Planning was also an analytic routine that officers used to contend with uncertainty in this scenario. Planning enabled individuals, as well as the group, to anticipate danger and to be ready to respond to it, and within the bounds of this scenario, officers learned to develop their planning skills. At the beginning of the scenario the instructor emphasized planning, when he asked the lead student officer, as well as the class, where they should park when they approached the scene. Planning an approach was a protocol that was part of the larger analytic routine of planning. This question initiated a planning process on the part of the role playing officers, and included the class in the process of evaluating the pros and cons of particular approaches. Later, once the class had moved inside, when the student officers split up to search the building, the individual and group aspect of planning as a response to uncertainty was highlighted. Having a plan was an important ingredient to anticipating what might happen next, and was based upon the lead officer's awareness of potential risk. When the officers split up and the instructor responded by telling them they should "Always stick together" he called into question both the lead officer's planning and awareness. He also drew attention to the interplay between the lead officer's plan and the group's action. Because the lead officer wasn't sufficiently aware of the danger that could come from splitting up the group, he made a plan that did not fully address the problem of uncertainty. Furthermore, a badly communicated plan did not reduce uncertainty, but, rather, enhanced it. When the officers became confused about what to do next because they didn't know the plan, the instructor again stopped the

scenario. He said, "One of your officers doesn't know what your plan is." The response to the scenario could not continue without all members of the officer group knowing what they were doing, otherwise the plan failed and instead of confronting the uncertainty of the situation, they were adding a new uncertainty that came from a poorly communicated and executed plan. This was also an example of where analytic and discourse routines overlapped. Recruits were expected to make appropriate plans to search the building, but were also expected to communicate with one another to effectively implement the plan.

This scenario was an opportunity for recruits, both those in the role-play and those observing, to learn the importance of anticipating uncertainty. This required cultivating an awareness of danger and the police officer himself, and working to create a plan to encounter uncertainty as individuals and as a group. The scenario was also a place for student officers to learn and practice responding to uncertainty. Responses built upon awareness and planning, as recruits gathered information, identified types of scenarios and implemented protocols and procedures. In the scenario, this process was evident in the moment when the lead officer determined that the group should split up to search the building. As the group split up, the instructor identified this as a place to teach recruits an appropriate protocol for a building search. The lead officer's plan to have two officers search the rooms on the left side of the building, while he and another officer searched the rest of the space did not adequately address the uncertainty of what might happen if some of the officers experienced a problem and needed help for the others. While the lead officer's plan had accounted for the danger that might lurk in the rooms behind the closed doors, when the plan was implemented, it was clear to the instructor that this was not the appropriate practice for the situation. This moment allowed the instructor to delineate a protocol for the student officers: "Always stick together."

During the scenario, recruits tried to implement protocols, procedures and practice, and were learning, in the context of the building search, whether they were using the appropriate ones and the extent to which they adequately addressed the uncertainty of the situation. For example, the officer who used his flashlight was told that it was unnecessary to take out the flashlight in advance of opening the door. The instructor explained to him that using the flashlight was an added component to the search that was just one more thing to worry about. He advised that he not make the response any more complex than it had to be. When the lead officer arrested the suspect and forgot to pat him down, the absence of the appropriate practice was pointed out as a serious error. The instructor explained that the recruit could be screened out during a test if he forgot to do this. Additionally, when the students were pie-ing the room at the end of the scenario, and then encountered the blind corner that required they put themselves at risk if they were to search it, they were learning that the procedure of pie-ing worked as a response strategy to a limited extent, and that in order to appropriately confront the uncertainty that was behind the corner, they must respond by taking the risk of exposing themselves to potential danger.

Uncertainty, a signature problem of police preparation that was identifiable in the curriculum and from the interviews with academy administrators and instructors, was addressed by training recruits to act to confront it. During scenarios, student officers

began to "know in action" how to anticipate uncertainty, and how to respond to it. Anticipation took the form of awareness of danger and safety, and planning for it appropriately, and responding entailed knowing which protocols, procedures and practices to implement in the particularities of this situation.

Contending with Stress: High-Risk Car Stop Scenario

Before they begin, the instructor tells students that after they run through the scenario, he will tell them if it is a screen-out, an almost pass, or otherwise how they are doing.

Two student officers pull up in a police car behind a civilian car. The officer who is driving gets out of the car and yells at the car they've stopped. She is pointing her gun at the car and is behind the cover of the police car door. She gives the driver directions about what to do. "Get out of the car, walk backwards, and lace your fingers behind your head."

The instructor interjects and reminds the candidate to "give the advisement" by which he means to explaining to the driver of the car that they are suspected of having weapons.

The candidate asks the instructor if she should cuff the suspect. The instructor responds that she should cuff him. The instructor then gives further instruction to the student. (He then turns to me and explains that under stress, the candidate's auditory and intellectual capacity is diminished.) He says that she needs to be specific about what she expects the partner to do. He says, "Say, 'Partner…' and be specific about what you need."

Then the candidate practices clearing the car. The instructor tells the candidate to "pie it" and physically moves her to the position he wants her to stand. Next, he shows her how to pop the trunk and gives her directions to "take three steps back." He tells her that both she and her partner should stand to one side of the car instead of opposite sides, so they aren't pointing their guns at each other and don't accidently shoot one another. Then the instructor asks, "Then what are you required to do?"

The student responds that she should report to dispatch. The instructor says, "What do you need?" As the student begins to list what she needs, the instructor says, "Keep thinking." He emphasizes that she needs to think about what she will do with the resources she is asking for.

When the scenario ends and the instructor says to the students who have participated in the scenario and the student who has been watching, "Let's talk." He explains to them the importance of automating their reactions and behaviors in scenarios. He says, "You will forget it if it's not robotic."

He also tells her that she "needs to get into the activity thing and direct." He is referring to the fact that she did not give clear directions to her partner when she arrived on the scene and was hesitant about notifying dispatch about what she needed.

Then he assures her that she won't get screened out, which is a reference to the POST exam, but emphasizes that the feedback he is giving her is important. He asks the group if there are any other questions and the student asks him to clarify the process for trunk searches. He walks through the scenario with the group again. He says that doing the scenario more than once helps them learn and feel more comfortable. The instructor tells the candidates to practice high risk car stops five times at home before the scenario test.

In this "High-risk Car Stop" scenario, as in the "Building Search" scenario, one can clearly see how the officers are again being prepared to contend with uncertainty, by anticipating danger and by responding with protocols, procedures and practices. However, what is also interesting about this scenario is how the instruction is obviously focused on preparing candidates to anticipate and respond to uncertainty in stressful circumstances. The instructor's concern that students will be acting under stress and will be impaired or "forget" to implement the correct protocols, procedures and practices, the focus on repetition as an important element of training, as well as the multiple references to the students' scenario tests show an intention to prepare recruits for the stress they might encounter "on the street."

The comment that instructor made to me that the recruits will lose auditory and intellectual capacity under stress was indicative of the larger theme that working on the street would be stressful. For example, the dean expressed the multiple demands that would be on officers once they took a job,

> *...they're going to get out on the street and what's going to happen? They're gonna sit in a briefing in the, in the beginning of their day that's going to tell them about suspects we're looking for, cars that we're looking for, cars that were stolen...Maybe issues in your neighborhood where you're working that you're supposed to go check on and realize that people are doing drugs, dealing drugs or people have been, um, running stoplights in this are or whatever it might be...And so you're driving along in your normal day and you're supposed to be watching for all of those things...In addition to listening to the radio to know where your partner is and what's going on with them and what kind of things are waiting for you to take reports on...And let alone, oh there's a car in front of me that might be a drunk driver...It's a lot to think about. It's a lot to think about.*

Scenario training was seen as the way to prepare recruits for these multiple demands, and took into account from the beginning that responses were conditional upon the stress experienced by the officer. One instructor explained that scenarios were designed to prepare candidates for stress:

The only way to do that [to prepare students to make reasonable decisions under stress] is through multiple scenario training type things where you put the recruit into a situation, driving their stress level high so that you get all those good catecholamines going into their body, all the adrenaline and all the good stuff so that their stress level is high and their brain isn't working on all cylinders, now they're, they, under stress, they're maybe losing some forebrain activity. So they're almost going into midbrain activity. So we need to get them so stressed so that when they're operating at this level under training, when they go out in the field and see they the same scenario, the brain has almost a 'been there, done that' reaction to this...

But encountering such scenarios was not enough. As the instructor in the scenario above pointed out, the routines needed to be practiced over and over, so that during a scenario test, and eventually during a real incident, the officer would be prepared to act under stress. The statement by the instructor that the students "will forget it if it's not robotic," and that the student needed to "get into the activity thing and direct" show the philosophy that preparing recruits for stress was done both by simulating stressful situations they might encounter in their careers, and through repetition. This was echoed by another instructor who explained the importance of learning to handcuff "mindlessly" during scenario training, "They shouldn't have to think about it. They shouldn't have to think about where, how to put on the handcuffs...there should have been enough repetition in the academy that the handcuffs are gonna go on almost second nature."

It is also evident that the scenario test, by curricular design, was used by the instructor as a way to motivate and induce stress for the candidates. Three times during the scenario, the instructor referenced the test and the importance of knowing whether or not the candidates were performing to a level that would prevent them from being "screened out." Police trainers emphasized this as a motivation for scenario training during interviews multiple times, so the intention to do so is clear.

When looking at the "High-risk Car Stop" scenario, the desire to prepare recruits to contend with the problem of stress by developing the ability to enact routines under stress is apparent. Through the construction of the scenarios, the practice of protocols and procedures in response, and the intention to simulate stress, the student police were trained to contend with this signature problem.

Contending with the High Cost of Error: Deadly Force Options

One student volunteers to be the lead officer, while one student is the cover officer. The instructor tells all the students that the cover officer must be mute and cannot interact in the scenario. The instructor reminds the lead officer that there should be a clock in his head. He tells him that every two minutes that go by he should give another update to dispatch.

The instructor speaks another student who has volunteered to be the "bad guy." The instructor also tells the two students who are not part of the role play to evaluate the lead officer's actions in the scenario. He tells the group to think about a tactical way to approach the porch, on which the "bad guy" is standing holding a baseball bat.

The lead officer is responding to a call from the neighbors that they heard fighting at his house. The lead officer takes cover near the building across a path from the building where the man is standing and draws his gun. He asks the suspect, "Sir, how are you doing?"

The suspect responds, "What are you here for"? The lead officer explains that they got a call that there had been fighting. He asks the man where his wife is and the man says she left and went to her sister's house.

Out of earshot of the role-players, the instructor tells me that this scenario is designed to make the lead officer break cover. On the test, he will fail if he doesn't break cover.

The officer asks the suspect to set the bat down and to come off the porch. He doesn't comply. The officer and the suspect go back and forth and the officer keeps the suspect talking. However, the suspect does not setting the bat down.

The instructor says to me, "He's not going to break cover." Next, he goes over to the lead officer and asks him, "What are you going to do?" The lead officer offers a number of ideas, none of which include breaking his cover. The instructor then says to him, "You've gotta go closer to the property."

Then the lead officer approaches the building with his gun drawn and the instructor tells him to back up. The instructor says, "You've asked him three or four times to put the bat down. You need to change tactics." Then the lead officer begins brainstorm ideas, one of which is to say, "I'm going to shoot" to the suspect. The instructor asks him to think of something else, "What else should you do?" The lead officer says he would ask him to get off the patio. The instructor says, "He's not going." The instructor says, "We're not going to make a move, engage him in conversation." Then the lead officer starts talking to the suspect, "Did you eat today?" "What have you been doing tonight?" The suspect responds, "Watching TV."

The instructor tells the lead officer that he is building rapport with the "bad guy." He tells the lead officer and the other students that he should go someplace with the conversation. It is the officer's job to be a used car salesman. The instructor explains that the attitude should be, "Even though I'm pointing a gun, I'm your buddy."

After more conversation, the suspect puts his bat down. The instructor asks the lead officer and the other students to walk through the follow up. Should this man be arrested? What should happen next? How do they verify that the wife is at her sister's?

The students agree that the house should be searched. And a follow up visit to the sister's house by another unit should happen so that the wife's whereabouts can be verified.

Scenario training helped ready student officers to respond "reasonably" under stress. As one instructor explained when I asked how they prepared recruits to make the best possible decision when they had to triage the various needs of a situation, he responded by saying,

> *Best decision and reasonable decision, those are two different concepts. The best decision could be argued for years...because if we have several experts in a room and we give all these experts the same scenario.. they'll come up with their own solutions and everyone will argue which one is the best...So we, we go for a reasonable decision. What is reasonable based on the totality of the circumstances known at the time for the officer... Because that's all we can really hold a human being to under stress is be reasonable.*

So, although scenario training aimed to equip students with optimal ostensive routines, police trainers recognized that preparing them to make "reasonable," and not always "ideal" decisions was the realistic goal. In other words, instructors recognized the relationship between ostensive and performative routines. Routines were seen as enabling officers to make reasonable decisions since some procedures could be automated to the point that they did not require conscious thought, such as the procedure of handcuffing, which in turn allowed them to attend more carefully to analytic routines, which depended on careful awareness to the particularities of a given situation.

This scenario illustrates how routines were used in scenario training to teach student officers skills to confront difficult situations that required critical decision making. The analytic routine of being aware and of planning an approach to the scene was visible in the lead officer's choice to stand behind cover and to ask the suspect to put the bat down as the officer pointed his weapon. The instructor also emphasized planning as he brainstormed with the student about what approach to take when the suspect refused to put his bat down. The analytic and discourse routine of information gathering was evident as the recruit asked the suspect questions, and inquired about location of the suspect's wife. This was also a means by which the lead officer could gauge what "type" of situation he had encountered. Figuring out whether he should respond to the man as though he has harmed his wife was part of what his questioning might uncover. Finally, the conversation in which the officer engaged the suspect was, itself, the application of a communication protocol, used to diffuse potentially dangerous situations. The analytic and discourse routines of information gathering were meant to enable the officer to think critically and to make a "reasonable" decision, given the circumstances.

As the instructor guided the recruit through determining his next steps once the man refused to put the bat down, the importance of being able to focus on the critical moment

of deciding whether or not he should shoot was illuminated. When the suspect and the student officer got locked in a conversation that seemed to be going nowhere, the instructor intervened and indicated to the student that this was the moment to use judgment, and to even be creative. He said, "Even though I'm pointing a gun, I'm your buddy" and told the student to act like a car salesman. He was telling him to focus on the rapport he was building with the suspect, and to pay careful attention to the situation so he could diffuse it if all possible. Moments like these emerged out of scenarios in which routines were necessary, but insufficient for resolving the situation. The students had to master routines in order to have clarity at times when judgment was required. As one of the instructors explained during an interview, routines were there so that the officers could pay attention to the important stuff. If the officers did not have routines, "...then their mind is not thinking about, or paying attention to what we want them to pay attention to." In this case, the student immediately sought cover when approaching the scene, began asking probing questions, and pointed his gun at the man with the bat. However, the routine of planning conflicted with the protocol for staying behind cover – an embodied routine. The instructor was pointing out to him that all of these routines freed him to focus on one aspect of the job that mattered most – avoiding harm to himself or others, if at all possible. However, the student had clear difficulty in weighing one routine against another, and making an independent judgment about what should happen next.

The Limitations of Routines in Scenario Training

While police trainers described routines as enabling officers to make critical decisions, instead of rethinking how to seek cover, or how to handcuff a suspect, or that they ought to make a plan for approaching a scene, during scenarios, students often clung to routines and had difficulty focusing on the improvisational aspects of the work. The "Deadly Force Options" scenario was one example of this. Though the officer clearly would have been making an "unreasonable" decision to shoot a man with a baseball bat who was not coming toward him or threatening him in any way, the student officer seemed locked into the embodied routine of staying behind cover and got stuck in the back-and-forth of the conversation in which the suspect refused to put the bat down. The instructor had to point out that the student needed to be creative and approach the situation in a new way, by engaging the suspect and "selling" him on the idea of putting the bat down. Scenarios taught students routines, but also created moments when students had to adapt routines, or even contradict routines in order to successfully resolve the scenario. The instructor's comment that the "Deadly Force Options" scenario was designed to make the student break cover is one example of this. Students were faced with situations in which they had to call on knowledge that was not directly represented in the core competencies in the curriculum or explicitly presented as the appropriate response to the situation, until it was revealed in context.

This happened in the "Domestic Violence" scenario that I described in the Introduction, as well as during the "Crimes in Progress" scenario, discussed in Chapter 3. During the "Domestic Violence" scenario, the officers responded to the scene and acted out routines. They show awareness of the danger in the situation by separating the victim and the

perpetrator immediately when they arrived on the scene. They implemented protocols such as questioning the husband and wife separately, to see how their stories aligned. They identified the situation as a domestic violence incident and arrested the wife, and gave the husband literature on victim's assistance. What was absent, and was pointed out by the instructor, was a sense of compassion for the husband who had been victimized. While the instructor demonstrated a procedure they might adopt by sitting next to the victim to show compassion, one can imagine that such a behavior could be implemented without fulfilling the larger need to care for the victim. Showing care was a type of nuanced response that could not be entirely accounted for by the learning and implementing of routines. However, like in the "Deadly Force Options" scenario, the need to break from routine and exercise judgment was highlighted as events unfolded in the scenario. This type of problem arose during a "Crimes in Progress" scenario, as well. When the student officers arrived on the scene, a man with a head wound came out with his hands up. The students first asked the man to participate in the normal procedure of walking backwards and kneeling with his hands behind his head in order to search him. After attempting this several times, despite the man's statements that he had a head wound and was going to faint, the instructor intervened. He told students that they must better discern who needs help so they can then implement the proper procedure of calling EMS. From their response, it seemed as though students were comfortable implementing routines, but when they were faced with an anomaly, particularly one that required them to demonstrate care, they were at a loss. In each of the examples I have included, the instructors stepped in and guided the candidates as they made decisions that required a departure from routines or a judgment about the routines that contradicted one another. So, while scenario training equipped recruits with routines to address issues that required enforcement with a deliberate focus on awareness, planning, information gathering, identifying situations and implementing protocols and procedures, the judgment that routines were meant to free recruits to use was addressed in a less structured way. Moments of judgment emerged in context, and the approach to teaching recruits to handle those moments varied on the way the scenario unfolded, and the instructor's pedagogical choices.

Routine and Improvisation

Looking at the moments in which student officers needed to enforce individual rights, either through protection or care, and the responses that recruits employed or that the curriculum and instruction demanded, allows us to examine the way in which police officers were prepared to negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms. In cases when enforcement of social order was needed, students were encouraged to respond with action, which often involved automated, embodied routines. On the other hand, when student officers had to enforce individual rights, such as in the domestic violence scenario discussed in the Introduction, they fell short, perhaps because they had not practiced routines of care that paralleled routines of social order. In fact, even the instructor's response to the domestic violence scenario emphasized enforcement of social order, while she was attempting to teach a care response. If you remember, the student officers encountered a domestic violence scenario in which a man had been beaten by his wife. When the recruit who was acting as the lead officer did not sufficiently show compassion

to the victim, the instructor intervened and demonstrated how to do so. This was a moment in which she emphasized the importance of care for individuals in police work. However, her comments show that she was just as concerned with teaching the recruits how to enforce social order. She advised them to show compassion, but to sit on the edge of the chair, so they could jump up at any time and respond to danger. Here, instead of teaching a routine of care, she was actually teaching how to improvise a compassioned response, exhibiting enforcement through an embodied routine.

Routine and the lack of routine is an important dimension to consider when thinking about how professionals are prepared to negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms. Routines in police preparation focused mainly on enforcement of social order, whereas moments of compassion had to be improvised. This is important because routines were a central way that the academy tried to influence the actions of police recruits. They taught candidates how to think through analytical routines, such as planning. They taught candidates how to move through embodied routines, such as "pie-ing," and they taught candidates how to communicate through discourse routines, such as information gathering. However, these routines were shown to be insufficient for demonstrating care for individuals, such as when the student officer in the "Deadly Force Options" scenario had to think of other ways to resolve the situation besides shooting the man with the baseball bat. Though the police academy relied heavily on routines, there were some moments for which routines had not been developed, and the way that recruits struggled to know how to behave in these situations indicated two things: 1) that students also relied on routines to guide their responses, and 2) that moments that required care were often the situations in which recruits floundered.

Consistently at the academy, routines were inadequate for informing a caring response. This was not because control required routines, whereas care did not. In *Educating Nurses* (Benner, Stuphen, Leonard, & Day, 2009), for example, the authors found that the preparation of nurses was built on routines of noticing patients and their circumstances in order to improve care. In their chapter on "Teaching for a Sense of Salience," they describe how nurses can be taught to approach patient care by developing a routine of noticing and prioritizing. Nurse educators helped nurses first understand how to gather the right information and make sense of it. Then, they are able to decide which problems are most urgent and need their attention first. They give an example of a nursing student, working in the ICU, who had planned to care for a patient's urosepsis, but who really should have been caring for her failing respiratory condition first. Through a series of guided questions, the nurse educator was able to walk her through a routine of what signs to notice, and how to create a list of priorities for her treatment. In this case, it was not only that a routine enabled the student to care for the patient, the routine was essential to successfully treating her and getting discharged from the ICU. Routines in police preparation focused on the enforcement of social order, and less on individual rights, and this was demonstrated in their lack of attention to the care and protection of individuals.

Chapter 5: Creating Tacit Knowledge to Support Routines

Overview

While the police academy taught recruits to contend with signature problems through routines, these routines were dependent upon both explicit and tacit forms of knowledge that recruits both employed and created during scenario training. This knowledge was acquired so that students could be come part of what Lave and Wenger call a "community of practice." In their book, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (1991), they explain, "'Legitimate peripheral participation' provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts and communities of knowledge and practice." (p. 30-31) Legitimate peripheral participation, or the process by which new members become fully integrated into a community of practice, is relevant to understanding how both explicit and tacit knowledge was acquired by recruits at the academy as they learned to become police officers. According to Lave and Wenger, communities of practice create avenues, through situated learning, for newcomers to come full participants in the community. This learning is social and contextual, and depends upon knowledge that is connected to doing.

The academy structured activities from which police were meant to emerge with a new understanding of police work, as well as a new identity as a police officer. Teaching student officers to use routines was a way to confront uncertainty with, but also to enable officers to work under stress and make reasonable decisions. This meant that routines were not just a set of steps the recruits were meant to follow, but relied on deeper intuitive impulses that scenario training was meant to cultivate. "Automation," or the ability to act "mindlessly" while carrying out particular procedures and protocols, was a kind of tacit knowledge that each student was tasked with learning in scenarios to support their implementation of action routines. Another type of tacit knowledge, '"seeing" was what the dean of the academy spoke of a "sixth sense" that officers needed in order to interpret circumstances and their surroundings. This ability to "see" like a police officer was cultivated in scenario training, and represented tacit knowledge that belonged to both the individual officer, as well as police as a group. Learning to "see" like an officer was connected to the formation of police identity. Whereas automation was a skill that allowed individual officers to respond to scenarios more seamlessly in the moment, seeing was a way of approaching the work in general – interpreting the meanings of situations and determining appropriate outcomes.

During scenarios, student officers learned to "automate" and "see." The scenario curriculum, the instructor and the students interacted in the context of scenarios to create new types of knowledge – both explicit and tacit. To best understand how scenarios operated to do so, I will use Cook and Brown's theory of organizational knowledge, delineated in "Bridging Epistemologies: The Generative Dance between Organizational Knowledge and Organizational Knowing" (1999). Their conception of tacit and explicit knowledge, as well as knowledge that is possessed both by individuals and groups, illuminates the distinct and mutually enabling types of knowledge that were both present and created during scenarios. In addition, their understanding of the separate but equally

important work of knowledge and knowing, and how knowledge and knowing interact with the world through a "generative dance" to create new knowledge helps to explain not only what knowledge police recruits were acquiring in practice, but how scenario training, which required "knowing," drew on different types of knowledge, to help recruits learn. In this chapter, I will describe Cook and Brown's theory and show how it can be paired with Grossman and colleagues' (2009) notion of "approximation, decomposition and representation" of practice in a way that is helpful for understanding knowledge creation in the police training context. Then, I will apply this theory to the data I collected to make sense of how tacit knowledge was acquired by recruits in order to successfully implement routines. Finally, I will discuss how tacit individual and group knowledge developed for the purposes of responding with action to signature problems has implications for preparing candidates to negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms.

Cook and Brown's "Bridging Epistemologies"

In their article, Cook and Brown (1999) walk through three concepts that are helpful in understanding how knowledge, and particularly, tacit knowledge, was created during scenario training. The first concept is that there are 4 types of knowledge. These types are explicit individual knowledge, explicit group knowledge, tacit individual knowledge, and tacit group knowledge. Individual knowledge is what one person possesses, while group knowledge is knowledge people hold in common. It is also more than the sum of its parts; group knowledge is the cumulative knowledge treasure of a group that can have a historical memory that extends beyond the individuals who can access or contribute to the knowledge in any one moment. Explicit knowledge is exactly that: knowledge that is clearly described and visible. Tacit knowledge, on the other hand, is knowledge that is intangible and hidden from view. Cook and Brown label each of these four types of knowledge to describe what they mean by each. They describe individual explicit knowledge as "concepts," individual tacit knowledge as "skills," group explicit knowledge as "stories," and group tacit knowledge as "genres." I will return to these four categories and the way they work together as I use them to analyze the types of knowledge that emerged during scenario training.

The second concept that Cook and Brown (1999) discuss is the difference between knowledge and knowing. Knowledge is something that can be possessed by an individual or a group, and exists beyond the moment in which it is employed by the person or people to whom it belongs. Knowing is the aspect of knowledge that can only be accessed by doing. For example, a student officer could have the knowledge of under which circumstances to draw his gun, but a part of that knowledge could only be engaged in the moment as he reached for it and pulled in from his holster – a contextualized action which Cook and Brown would characterize as "knowing." Scenarios were purposefully constructed moments in which recruits were meant to acquire new knowledge and knowing. Considering the differences and mutually enabling aspects of knowledge and knowing can help us understand both *what* recruits were meant to learn in scenarios, and *how* the academy expected scenarios to prepare them to act in the face of uncertainty, stress and the high cost of error.

The third concept that Cook and Brown (1999) offer is a theory about how new knowledge is created from the interactions between each of the four types of knowledge, and between knowledge and knowing. They call this the "generative dance." Their theory is premised on the idea that no type of knowledge is superior to, or subsumes another. These four types of knowledge work together to create new knowledge for individuals and groups, as well as expand their knowing, which is evident only in practice. Concepts, skills, stories and genres are all aspects of knowledge that a person or group draws upon to generate new knowledge and knowing. For example, while an individual recruit may know the "concept" that the fourth amendment protects against unreasonable search and seizure, the knowledge of how that is applied when the a police officer performs a car stop may be a "genre" of knowledge about police hold in common about how to perform a car stop in a way that protects fourth amendment rights. In scenarios, when recruits are expected to simultaneously display and acquire knowing through practice, they must draw on and learn individual knowledge, at the same time curriculum and instruction help them access group knowledge.

Using Grossman's "Approximation of Practice" frame in conjunction with Cook and Brown's "Bridging Epistemologies" to analyze the creation of tacit knowledge in scenario training

Using Cook and Brown (1999) to see how tacit knowledge such as "automation" and "seeing" is created during scenario training is enhanced by pairing their theory with Pamela Grossman and colleagues' (2009) notion of "approximation, decomposition and representation" of practice in professional education settings. Grossman and colleagues offer a window into professional preparation by providing analytical tools that help explain how curricular and instructional choices construct a particular vision of professional preparation. The idea of representation, for example, can be used to think about the way police work is portrayed to candidates. The curriculum and instruction during scenario training offers candidates a view of police practice that is filtered by the decisions that are made to represent one type of scenario over another, or what elements of police work are most important. The idea of decomposition, then, can be used to think through how aspects of police work are broken into component parts to scaffold the learning of recruits. An example of decomposition in police preparation is the progressive nature of the scenario training from less to more complex situations. Finally, the idea of approximation of practice is useful in thinking about the opportunities that recruits have to engage in the work of policing in an environment designed to replicate practice but that is bounded by the need to gear it for learning.

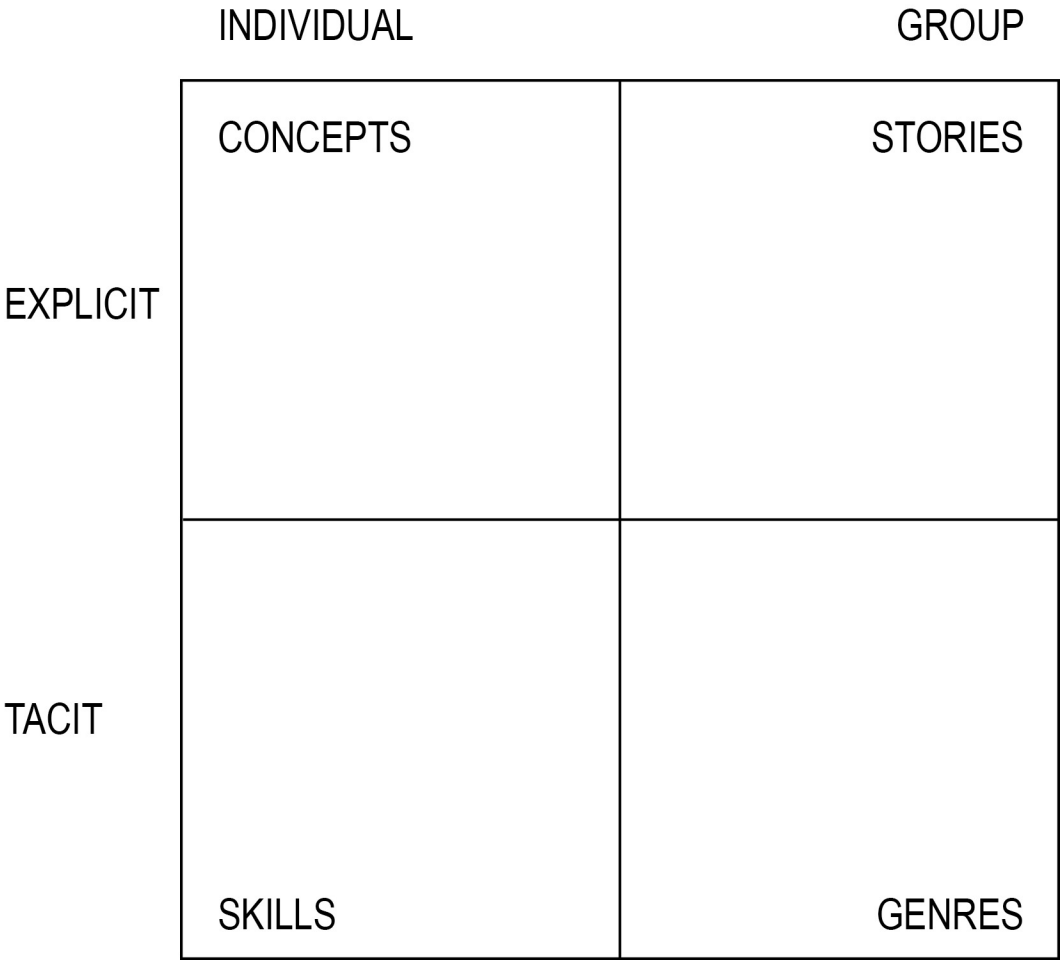
Cook and Brown's (1999) assertion that knowledge is created through a "generative dance" that draws upon four types of knowledge that are both static as knowledge and animated in the act of knowing overlaps with the idea of approximation, representation and decomposition. First, scenario training is an instance of approximating practice, and as such, is an opportunity for knowledge creation. Second, the curricular and instructional choices that are made during scenario training reveal representations of types of knowledge that are essential to police work. While the state-mandated scenario curriculum may represent explicit knowledge, for example, instructional maneuvers may

address tacit knowledge that is not necessarily included in the curriculum. Third, during scenario training, recruits are drawing upon knowledge while learning to know how to be a police officer in the moment. Cook and Brown's distinction between knowledge and knowing allows us to think about how different knowledge types are accessed and developed in the act of practice during scenarios. In short, while Grossman's (2009) theory enables us to think about the pedagogy of scenario training, Cook and Brown's theory helps to think about the types of knowledge and the knowing that emerges as a result of this pedagogical moment.

For this chapter, I am using Grossman (2009) and Cook and Brown (1999) together in this way to better explain how two concepts: "automation" and "seeing" were types of individual and group tacit knowledge, respectively, that were addressed through scenario training, and which scenario training attempted to cultivate in recruits. Throughout scenario training, the curriculum and the instructional choices helped recruits acquire tacit knowledge through a generative dance between the context, the knowledge recruits and instructors brought to the situation, and engagement in practice. In the next section, I will use these two theories to show how this generative dance operated to create the skill (tacit individual knowledge) of automation and the genre (group tacit knowledge) of being able to see like a police officer.

I will use Cook and Brown's (1999) theory to explore how the four types of knowledge: concepts, skills, stories and genres interacted in a generative dance that was the scenario. These scenarios were the result of curricular and instructional choices that reflect representation, decomposition and approximation of practice that were meant to fuel the creation of knowledge through knowing. The scenario workbook, as an artifact of explicit individual and group knowledge interacted with the instructor, who made decisions that allowed recruits opportunities to gather tacit individual and group knowledge in practice. While Cook and Brown represent their theory visually as depicted below,

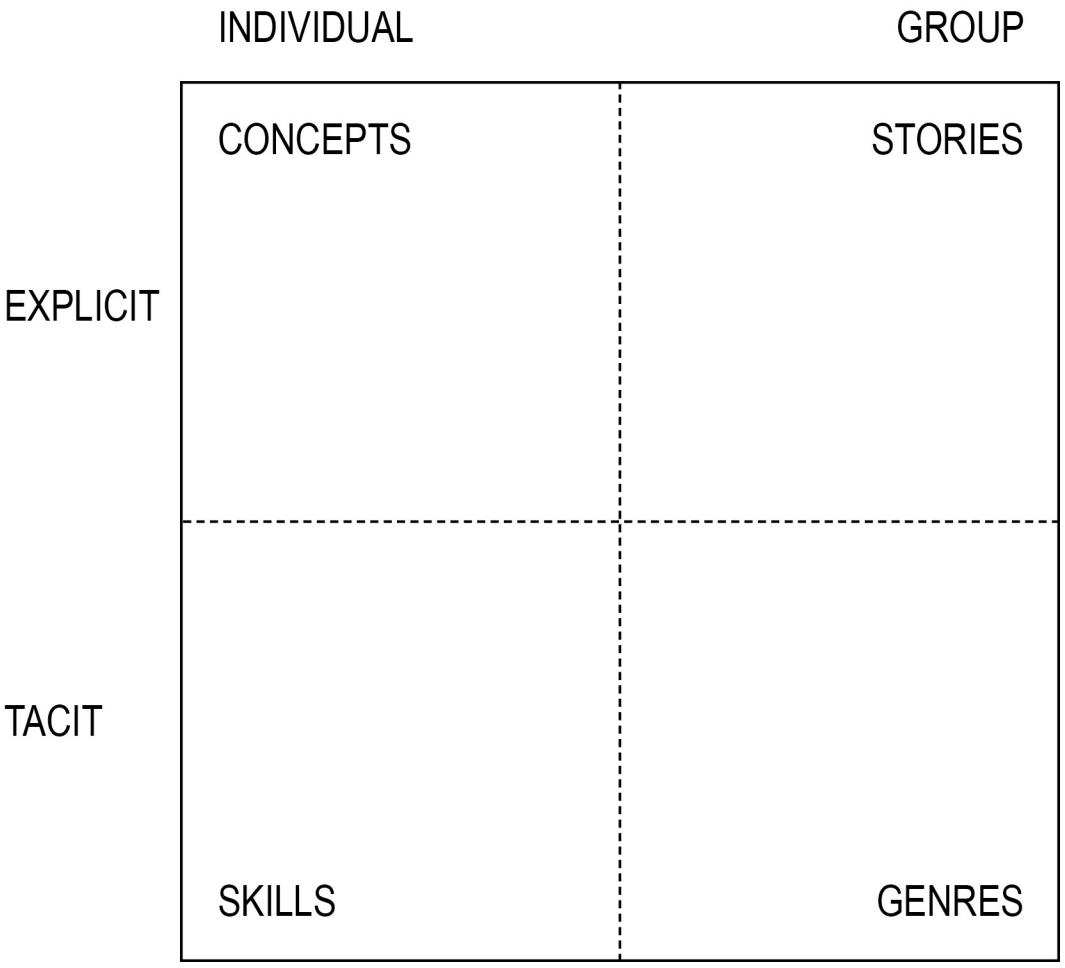
FIGURE 5.1: Cook and Brown's Four Forms of Knowledge



I will add to their theory by arguing that the solid lines representing a division between these knowledge types were skillfully transgressed by the curriculum and instructor to afford learning opportunities for candidates during scenario training. In other words, the "generative dance" between these types of knowledge and between knowledge and knowing were deliberately orchestrated for the purposes of training recruits. Additionally, the recruits engaged in the generative dance, too, as the explicit individual knowledge (concepts) that they gathered in class bumped up against tacit individual knowledge (skills) and group forms of knowledge (stories and genres) that were needed in order to successfully navigate scenarios in the moment. To describe how knowledge creation worked in scenario training, I have modified Cook and Brown's visual to accommodate the role of the scenario context, which included the curriculum, instructor

and students. The scenario workbook, as you can see below, served as documentation of both individual concepts and group stories. The instructor, on the other hand, helped to create opportunities for students to access all four types of knowledge, as did the scenario context itself.

FIGURE 5.2: Four Forms of Knowledge in the Scenario Context



Automation

Performing certain procedures "mindlessly" was an aspect of police training that was meant to address the signature problems of uncertainty, stress and the high cost of error. Being able to automate procedures reduced uncertainty because recruits were able to operate in a systematic way in unpredictable moments. This helped them know what to do in situations that were surprising and dangerous. Automating also addressed the problem of stress, because recruits were able to act under difficult circumstances, even if

they experienced a diminished sensory or intellectual capacity due to stress. Finally, automation helped recruits make decisions in the moment, because they were able to focus on decision making, instead of thinking about the details of how to put handcuffs on, how to search a suspect or how to draw their weapon. In many of the scenarios, students were required to practice automated procedures.

The emphasis on practicing indicated that automation was both a tacit skill, and also a type of "knowing" that was important to performing some of the tasks of police work. Student officers not only had to know the explicit handcuffing procedures, for example, they also had to get a feel for it in the context of practice. One training officer explained it this way:

> "...you can get a Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree in criminal justice, with a minor, let's say in psychology or whatever you can come and it's all book. It's all in a controlled environment, it's all book and it's, and a great deal of it is theory. And in an ideal setting, if you do this, this is going to be the outcome. Um, that's only maybe 50% of it, and so I'm... Where I'm headed is that we can teach the difference between a detention and an arrest. We can talk about probable cause, reasonable case. We can talk about these concepts, but it's a whole... and you could get an A...on a multiple choice or an essay, but how are you going to, when you're put into a real situation, when you've got people who are crying, you've got people that are injured, you've got suspects that are con-wise and trying to get away from you? Uh, that you've got people that want to talk to you, some people don't want to talk to you? Some people trust you, some people don't trust you. How do you know in the field? And so what I like to say is, is that it's nothing more than... scenarios are nothing more than taking the classroom approach and putting it where the rubber hits the road and that's in the field."

He is trying to differentiate here between explicit "concepts" that are learned in class or books, and the tacit "skills" that are acquired as part of practice. Though the training officer states that scenarios gave recruits the opportunity to "apply" knowledge, what became apparent during training was that there existed a whole different set of knowledge that was needed in order for recruits to automatically implement procedures in context. Body positioning was a clear example of this. During several scenarios, recruits were admonished to hold their bodies in positions for to maintain officer safety or a "position of advantage." They were also told to practice these maneuvers over and over so that it became automatic. Though officer safety was an explicit concept that could be described and taught in class, it was also a behavior that recruits were expected to perform automatically, and to become fluent in the behavior through practice, not through cognitive understanding. The notion that this was applied knowledge is insufficient for understanding the different types of knowledge that an officer needed to know in order to perform successfully. Cook and Brown's (1999) theory that tacit and explicit types of knowledge exist separately of one another, and that one is not a form of another, nor can one be transformed into another, is useful in accounting for the separate learning of "concepts" and "skills."

Individual Explicit Knowledge - The Concept of Automation
During scenarios, recruits learned they should be able to respond in moments of potential danger automatically. This was represented in the curriculum, as well as through the direct instruction of training officers. The scenario workbook outlined the criteria on which the students would be evaluated, as well as dimensions of their performance, which included rate, fluency and level. Rate was the amount of time and the pace at which recruits responded to an incident. Fluency was the amount of hesitation and coordination with which the recruits responded. Level was the intensity of the response. The ability of recruits to fluidly respond to situations speaks to the concept of automation. Because time was of the essence, and because potential danger was seen everywhere, recruits had to be able to act without thinking about every step they took. This was particularly true regarding officer safety. Officers were taught to seek cover, draw their weapons and perform search and handcuff procedures "mindlessly" to reduce the level of thinking they had to do in the moment.

Automation was taught as an explicit concept in scenario practice. During the "Use of Force" scenario, for example, the instructor described planning an approach to a scene as a "habit." He told recruits that in his 20 years in the field, he had gotten in the habit of calling out the sides of the residence he was approaching, so that there was no mistake about where he was headed. Describing his behavior as a habit signaled to the recruits that particular aspects of the work were to be automatically performed, and not necessarily conscious actions each time they approached a new scene. During the high-risk car stop, the instructor told students, "You will forget it if it's not robotic" when he debriefed how one student officer had responded during the scenario. He also told them to practice at home, so that their actions would become more automated. Both of these statements show that the instructors relayed automation as an explicit concept to recruits during training.

Individual Tacit Knowledge – The Skill of Automation
Though student officers were taught the explicit concept of automation, they were also given opportunities to acquire the tacit skill of automating their responses. At the academy, learning the skill of automation was seen to be acquired through two avenues: *doing* and *repetition*. The instructor who described the difference between learning from books and learning "where the rubber hits the road" exemplified the learning theory at the academy that tacit knowledge had to be acquired through what Cook and Brown (1999) would refer to as "knowing." The very existence of scenario training shows the attention the academy paid to the importance of tacit knowledge as part of recruits' training, because the instructors acknowledged that much of what was needed to perform adequately as an officer had to be acquired through practice, and because the scenario testing system evaluated recruits not only on what they knew intellectually, but how they could perform the work. And, during scenarios, it was obvious that a new knowledge, apart from what students had learned in class or through direct instruction, was being acquired. Scenarios forced the recruits to do the work under simulated conditions, which allowed them to experience some of how it would feel to do the real work, and which revealed to them the aspects of tacit knowledge that they still needed to acquire.

Doing

The tacit knowledge that recruits were meant to develop in scenarios was often revealed during what the dean referred to as "fail forward" moments. Student officers would begin to do the work in scenarios and the tacit knowledge that they had not yet acquired would become clear as they responded to the scenario. During the "Building Search" scenario, for example, an officer who was searching each room of the building took out his flashlight before opening the door to a room. The instructor stopped him and explained that he did not need to take the extra step of taking out his flashlight until he had opened the door. This was a moment that revealed the difficulty that this particular student officer had in handling his equipment appropriately, and in knowing the order of operations with which he should conduct the search. While the instructor's admonition that he shouldn't take out his flashlight before opening the door represented the instructor's explicit knowledge of how to approach the room search, the fluency of the officer's performance was also at issue, and represented a lack of tacit knowledge about how to proceed. The situation not only required that the officer know that the flashlight should be used after the door was opened, but that he could do all of this in the moment it was needed. He needed to be able to know when the flashlight should be used, but he also needed to perform the action automatically, without stopping to think about when flashlights were used and in what order. His inability to perform fluently in the moment alerted the instructor to his lack of both explicit conceptual knowledge and his lack of tacit skill.

The "Force Options" scenario was another example. After a student officer had searched and handcuffed a suspect, the instructor debriefed with the class about the importance of maintaining officer safety while handcuffing a suspect. He explained that the student officer who had conducted the search got too close to the suspect with his gun drawn, which could give the suspect an opportunity to grab his gun. The officer demonstrated for the group the exact distance that they should be standing from the suspect when they put the gun away and begin the handcuffing procedure. He also explained that the student officer had been looking away from the suspect when he had called for back up, which he shouldn't have done. He reminded the group to "talk, but look at him [the suspect]." Again, in this instance, both the explicit procedural knowledge of how to handcuff a suspect safely is stated by the officer, but the lack of fluency, and thus the lack of tacit skill in handcuffing, was revealed through the student officer's performance. The student officers are hearing from the instructor the elements of a good handcuffing procedure, but they must also be able to act it out correctly, which is a separate type knowledge the scenario is designed to surface, and to give the students an opportunity to develop.

Repetition

While scenarios emphasized doing, which was the one element in acquiring tacit knowledge, they also emphasized repetition. All the scenarios I observed involved the repetition of routines, which officers were meant to automatically implement. Routines, as I discussed in Chapter 4, were explicit steps that recruits were expected to take in response to scenarios, which included embodied routines, discourse routines and analytic routines. All of these routines required recruits to automate aspects of their behavior in

order to perform them fluently. All of the instructors and administrators at the academy indicated the importance of repetition in getting student officers to respond automatically. One instructor explained about handcuffing routines, "They shouldn't have to think about it. They shouldn't have to think about where, how to put on the handcuffs. There should have been enough repetition in the academy that the handcuffs are gonna go on almost second nature." And while embodied routines, such as the handcuff procedure, were a clear example of the importance of repetition for the purpose of automation, the academy also had students repeat discourse and analytic routines during each scenario as well.

The performance activities that were required from students in scenarios was one indicator of the repetitive curriculum at the academy in order to develop automated analytic, discourse and embodied routines. During most of the scenarios on which recruits were tested, for example, students were expected to show awareness of their surroundings and to assess the scene or situation, which was a type of analytic routine associated with the core competency, "Problem Solving." Students were also expected to communicate effectively with fellow officers and with the parties involved. In ten of the fourteen scenario tests, for example, recruits were expected to contact dispatch. Scenario training required recruits to practice this discourse routine over and over, and it was represented by the core competency, "Communication."

During the scenarios I observed, repetition as a pedagogical technique was quite visible. The following table shows the types of routines that were repeated in more than one scenario. Embodied routines, such as handcuffing and "pie-ing" were practiced as procedures, with specific steps to be followed in particular order. However, they also included tacit knowledge, that was often dependent on context, such as holding one's body in a position of advantage relative to the suspect. The repetition was meant to ensure that student officers would position their bodies mindlessly. Discourse routines were described as communication skills by the police trainers, but tacit knowledge was a part of these, too. For example, knowing when to engage a suspect in conversation, and knowing how to elicit information were communication routines that were practiced so that the recruits would become fluent and communicate automatically with the parties involved in scenarios. Analytic routines such as considering the approach to a scene before arrival were practiced so they would become "habit" and the recruits would begin doing them automatically. Giving recruits the opportunity to acquire the individual knowledge, or tacit skills, that were necessary to carry out routines in a fluid and automated way was a central purpose of scenario training.

TABLE 5.1: Scenarios and Types of Routines

Scenario	Embodied Routines	Discourse Routines	Analytic Routines
Non-Deadly Force Option	Seek Cover Handcuffing	Communicate with suspect Communicate with dispatch Asking for additional resources	Consider approach Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
Deadly Force Option	Seek Cover	Communicate with suspect Communicate with dispatch	Consider approach Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
High-Risk Vehicle Pullover	Seek Cover Handcuffing "Pie-ing"	Communicate with suspect	Consider approach Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
Suspicious Person	Seek Cover Handcuffing	Communicate with suspect Communicate with dispatch	Consider approach Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
Building Search	Seek Cover Handcuffing		Consider approach
Critical Incident	Seek Cover Handcuffing "Pie-ing"	Communicate with suspect Communicate with victim	Consider approach Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
Domestic Violence/Victim Assist	Handcuffing	Communicate with suspect Communicate with victim	Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
Mentally Disordered Person	Handcuffing	Communicate with involved party Communicate with dispatch	Consider approach Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)
Hate Crime		Communicate with suspect Communicate with victim	Determining disposition (arrest, cite, etc.)

Seeing

In her ethnography of Los Angeles police officers, Joan Barker (1999) observed that a distinguishing feature between veteran and novice officers was the ability of experienced officers to "see" elements of situations that civilians, and even new police could not discern. This ability was both a skill that individuals developed, and a hallmark of group identity. If one could see like an officer, then one was an officer. "Seeing" was a form of tacit knowledge that was gathered through practice, and which couldn't be directly taught, though officers needed the ability in order to conduct their work. This is concept is introduced in Goodwin's article "*Professional Vision"* (1994),(1994), where he argues that professions have particular ways of seeing, and that those professions create tools and language to help novices acquire vision. He examines how archeology and law engage in the three practices,

> (1) *coding,* which transforms phenomena observed in a specific setting into the objects of knowledge that animate the discourse of a profession; (2) *highlighting,* which makes specific phenomena in a complex perceptual field salient by marking them in some fashion; and (3) *producing and articulating material representations.* (p. 606)

He explains that "By applying such practices to phenomena in the domain of scrutiny, participants build and contest *professional vision,* which consists of socially organized ways of seeing and understanding events that are answerable to the distinctive interests of a particular social groups.

As an example, he explains how archeologists have created a "Munsell color chart" which is meant to help novices understand the distinction between various types of soil. The chart served to help archeologists use a particular schema for viewing the earth and to highlight what was important to see. This graphic representation was both a tool and a source of discussion about what was important to "see," since the chart was imperfect in a variety of ways.

As novices became full-fledged officers, the academy curriculum and instruction attempted to enhance their ability to see the way police officers do. In some ways, "seeing" was like the "sense of salience" that Benner and colleagues describe in *Educating Nurses* (2009). It was the ability to pay attention to what was critical in a situation and what required action.

During scenario training, officers were afforded opportunities to practice "seeing," and like automation, when their knowing in this regard failed, it could signal to the training officer what tacit individual knowledge, or tacit group knowledge, the officer lacked. Training officers often spoke about how to more correctly "see" what was going on in a scenario, especially when the student officers were not paying attention to the important aspects of the situation. The moments in which trainers represented or decomposed practice in order for recruits to have an opportunity to access the tacit group knowledge (or genre) of seeing like a police officer demonstrated how scenarios worked to help

recruits not only acquire tacit skills, but also how they were designed to initiate recruits into the larger police group. In Cook and Brown's (1999) theory, tacit group knowledge or as they label it, a genre, was the meaning the group assigned to particular categories that the group understood but did not explicitly codify. The example they gave was of the meaning assigned in particular organizations to the term "gathering." In one organization, a gathering could mean an informal event, where no real decision-making occurred, and in another organization, a gathering could be a place where power plays were regularly made within the organization. People who were members of either group would be privy to such meanings, and conversely, as one began to understand these meanings, this signaled they were part of the group. In the case of student officers, scenarios not only gave them the chance to practice responding to events, it also gave them some access to the genres of police work. I will discuss two examples that occurred during scenario training that highlighted how scenarios were used to train recruits to "see" such genres, and, thus, worked as identity forming moments.

The Hate Crime Scenario

The academy offered "Cultural Diversity" training in addition to the regular program mandated by the state. As part of this training, student officers participated in a "Hate Crime" scenario that was described in Chapter 3, in which two men came into a store and began calling the store owner a "raghead" and "camel jockey." The store owner called the police, and the responding student officers were supposed to determine that this was a hate crime and arrest the two suspects who were using the hateful language. During the debrief, there was much discussion of how to determine the "disposition" of the event. In other words, students and the training officer debated about 1) if this had even been a hate crime, and 2) if the student officers should have arrested the men. While the instructor insisted, "This is pretty serious stuff... Constitutional stuff," the student officer who had been the lead officer responding countered that in their courses, they had been taught to proceed very cautiously when they encountered a "hate crime," for fear of treading on the suspects' first amendment rights. The instructor held his ground and explained further that the bottom line was that the student had "two good arrests" and that "the store owner has the right to arrest, and you have the obligation to arrest."

What was interesting in the scenario was that the argument the student made was not entirely wrong. From the training officer's comment, it was difficult to see exactly how what had happened could have been a hate crime that was prosecutable in court. His response to the student's concerns just cited the Constitution, but did not draw on any explicit reasons why this was a hate crime, other than it coincided with issues that arise from Constitutional rights and protections. Instead, his comment to student that these were "two good arrests" raised questions about how he came to see the situation that way. He clearly believed these men should be arrested, and that the officers would be remiss if they did not arrest them. He even went as far as to tell the student that he had "just committed a felony" by not arresting them. However, he did not explain why he believed this so strongly, and his insistence that they were "good arrests" raises the possibility that he was relying on his experience and ability to "see" the situation differently than the novice officers (or a civilian observer) was what was driving him. In this moment, since

he did not elaborate reasons this was a hate crime, he may have been relying on his insight gained over time to "see" the scenario in this light.
Additionally, since he used the language "good arrest" he seems to be indicating that a consensus that arresting these men would occur among police, and perhaps others involved in the criminal justice system. His lack of specifics hinted at tacit knowledge, and his use of the normative term "good arrest" indicated that it was a tacit knowledge that would be shared by many others, as well. Of course, since tacit knowledge is unspoken, it is difficult to know exactly what understandings and experiences he was drawing upon in this moment, but this scenario illustrates how in the process of doing police work under simulated circumstances, student officers, instructors and the curriculum coincide to surface both tacit individual and group knowledge. Like the Munsell color chart described in Goodwin's (1994) article, the scenario served as both a tool for seeing categories such as relevant to practice, but was an imperfect artifact that caused the instructors and students to engage in discussion about the definition of a "hate crime," and what constituted a "good arrest."

The Critical Incident Scenario
In the "Critical Incident" scenario when the students first arrived at the scene, they found a man holding a rag to his head, while another man was lying unconscious against the wall. The student officers drew their guns and asked the man to come closer to them, attempting to get him to kneel and put his hands behind his head so they could frisk and handcuff him. The man with the bloody rag was played by the instructor, and he told the students that he is unable to move closer because he was about to faint. The students tried three times to get him to come closer by demanding that he turn around, walk backwards and kneel. Finally, the instructor stopped the scenario. He told the students that they have to treat this man as a victim. He said, "Among all the things you have to do as a police officer, you have to figure out who is a suspect and who is a victim, and you can't let this man bleed out." Then the instructor modeled how to frisk the man quickly while still getting him the help he needs.

In this scenario, the instructor was attempting to get the students to "see" the difference between victims and suspects, and that situations like these have nuance. When he told students that "Among all the things you have to do as a police officer, you have to figure out who is a suspect and who is a victim...," he is expressing the need for officers to attend to more in the scenario than their novice eyes are yet able to see. Although during the role-play, the man told the officers he was bleeding from the head and unable to walk because he would faint, the student officers stuck to the scripted frisking protocol, even though the bleeding man made the statement that he felt faint three times. However, the protocol was insufficient for resolving this situation appropriately. Through his explanation that part of police work entails differentiating between suspect and victim, the instructor was expressing explicit group knowledge about expectations for police behavior when a person was potentially in need of assistance. In their article, Cook and Brown (1999) describe explicit group knowledge as "stories about how work is done." Here he is explicitly describing the standard to which police are held when they encounter potential victims. However, in addition to the explicit group knowledge that the instructor is sharing with the recruits, his instruction, along with the scenario

construct, as well as the performance of the recruits in the moment created an opportunity for student officers to begin garnering the tacit group knowledge that would allow them to "see" the nuances in situations that require them to make determinations about how to treat potential victims and suspects.

The Generative Dance

Scenario training was a complex soup in which the four types of knowledge described by Cook and Brown (1999) worked together with the knowing that students were developing to create new knowledge and knowing. Each aspect of the scenario, from the curriculum that "represented" particular types of police work and which reflected choices to decompose practice for learning, to the pedagogical choices that were made by instructors that also decomposed and represented practice, to the students who engaged the scenario context in the moment (or what Cook and Brown would describe as "dynamic affordance"), participated in a generative dance that was designed to help recruits to learn the work of policing. In the following section, I will walk through the role that each of these played in the process.

The Scenario Curriculum

The scenario workbook was an artifact of scenario training curriculum that helped to define the parameters of the scenario, as well as specific behaviors that recruits were expected to demonstrate, described as "performance activities." It contained both explicit individual knowledge (concepts) that recruits were meant to possess, as well as explicit group knowledge (stories) about how police work was expected to be performed. Concepts were ideas that recruits were expected to know, such as "arrest techniques" and "situational awareness." Stories in this context were the performance guidelines, set by police experts at POST, a panel of police experts. Performance guidelines were narratives of explicit group knowledge. Police work, according to the group of experts at POST, was supposed to look like the way it was described in the performance guidelines. Concepts were embedded in these group narratives. For example, a police officer would assess a scene, display awareness of his surroundings, make a tactically sound approach, apply appropriate force and determine the correct disposition for the scenario.

The Instructor

Throughout each of the scenarios I observed, instructors played a central role making the scenario workbook come alive, and brought their own expertise to the scenario. This expertise enabled instructors to help recruits gather tacit individual and group knowledge, since they both possessed the skills that were needed to perform police work, and they belonged to the police "group" that held in common the genres of acceptable police behavior. Instructors regularly referred to their experiences in the field, and augmented the explicit knowledge that was introduced through the curriculum. Their knowledge as experienced officers also enabled them to stop recruits when their performance was not fluent, or reflected a lack of the tacit skill they needed to perform like an officer. Though instructors could not transmit tacit skills to recruits, they were able to skillfully recognize when students did not display tacit skills and create new opportunities for them to make routines more "automated," or to learn to "see" like an officer. Though the scenario workbook, with its emphasis on performance criteria called for the use of "automation"

and "seeing," the instructor was pivotal in honing the learning experience so that officers might acquire the tacit knowledge that was required to successfully complete the scenario.

The Student
Students brought with them to the scenarios a set of explicit concepts that they learned in lectures, as well as the concepts and skills they learned in previous scenarios. As students responded in the context of scenarios, they learned more explicit concepts, and began to master tacit skills, such as automating their body movements. As they interacted in the scenarios, instructors would notice what behaviors they still needed to automate, or what aspects of a scenario they were not "seeing" as an officer. Their performance in scenarios fomented an environment in which more tacit and explicit knowledge that was needed in order for them to perform successfully emerged.

Tacit Knowledge and Routines

One important dimension of preparing police to negotiate civic obligations and individual freedoms that surfaced was the relationship between tacit knowledge and routines. Though routines were explicitly stated as expectations in the curriculum and by instructors, tacit individual and group knowledge was necessary in order for student officers to perform routines fluidly. The tacit individual skill of "automation" and the tacit group genre of "seeing" were two examples that emerged from the academy, and which should inform our thinking about preparing teachers for their work. The points at which tacit knowledge was engaged to support the enactment of routines has implications for how and if routines are implemented in the service of civic virtue, individual freedoms, or both. For example, drawing one's gun when searching a building was a routine that was designed to maintain control over an unpredictable situation. This routine was practiced over and over by recruits so that they were able to acquire the tacit skill of drawing their gun, moving, searching and "pie-ing," in a way that maintained officer safety and gave them a "position of advantage." On the other hand, giving victim's assistance information was a routine part of responding to a domestic violence call, which was included in the scenario curriculum. Additionally the instructor during the scenario indicated that responding to a domestic violence call always included a step of "showing compassion." However, showing compassion, though explicitly stated as a routine, was not practiced over and over until the officers could show compassion in an automated way. The choice to give officers the time and opportunity to acquire tacit skills in drawing their weapons, but not in showing compassion, allows us to see that the way in which preparation privileges particular types of tacit skills can affect the fluency with which routines are performed, and can influence the amount of attention that is paid to either civic obligations or individual freedoms.

Furthermore, the tacit group knowledge of "seeing" informs our understanding of how tacit genres of knowing can intersect with routines. For example, during the hate crime scenario, the notion of a "good arrest" was introduced by the training officer, who did not explicitly state why it was a good arrest, and did not directly address the concerns by the

student who wondered if a crime had been committed at all. The instructor's insistence that it was a "good arrest" appeared to come from a particular orientation to police work that was would be accepted by the larger police community. This way of "seeing," then, impacted which routines he thought should be employed, and which should be disregarded. While the student officer advocated for protecting the rights of the suspects and not arresting, the training officer promoted arresting them. The instructor's tacit knowledge led him to privilege arrest over other options. That tacit knowledge can inform decision-making, and the explicit routines that students are taught to engage is something to which teacher educators should pay careful attention. Tacit group knowledge may intersect with the teaching of routines in a way that emphasizes some as important, and some as less important.

Students at the academy were consistently taught and relied upon routines oriented toward enforcement. These routines required students to engage tacit knowledge – automation and seeing – in order to successfully employ them. Students, for example, had to be able to "see" like an officer in order to appropriately implement analytic routines such as identifying situations and planning for them. As was demonstrated in the hate crime scenario, as well as in the crimes in progress scenario, being able to determine who was a suspect, who was a victim, as well as the appropriate disposition for the scenario (what action, such as an arrest or a citation, should be taken) was a crucial part of the student officers' performance in scenario training. Additionally, being able to "automatically" implement embodied routines was essential. Students needed to be able to do things like draw their weapons, handcuff suspects and operate vehicles appropriately without thinking. These routines, while at times focused on individual rights (like identifying a victim and obtaining medical assistance), mostly enabled student officers to learn how to enforce a particular vision of social order. Ultimately, both the way students interpreted the problems they were confronting and the way they automated procedures in response relied upon tacit group knowledge they were acquiring to determine who were the "good guys" and "bad guys."

Conclusion

The Problem

The impetus for this study came from an observation that teachers' work was routinely conceptualized as 'caring' work, both in education literature and in public rhetoric. This seemed like an incomplete characterization, given that teaching requires teachers to engage activities that both nurture and control children, in a practical sense at the classroom level, and in an ideal sense – teachers are expected to both foster the growth of individual children, while fulfilling an obligation to the public to create citizens that contribute to the common good (Dewey, 1902/2010; Durkheim, 1961; Baldwin, 1985; Jackson, 1968).(Dewey, 1904; Durkheim, 1901; Baldwin, 1963; Jackson, 1968). Teachers' work, then, involves balancing these tensions in their everyday practice, and to see teaching through the lens of care oversimplifies the work teachers are expected to do.

This oversimplification also has implications for teacher education. In order to adequately prepare candidates to live up to the demands of the public and their classrooms, it is necessary to conceptualize teaching as a job that requires the mediation of individual freedoms and civic obligations. This is connected to the same tension in American public education as whole, which demands on one hand that education prepare students to fulfill their obligations to society, while on the other hand reach their individual potential (Gutmann, 1990). Because teachers are actors within schools expected to negotiate these tensions, it is necessary for teacher educators to develop a theory of action about how to prepare candidates to do it.

I propose that by framing teaching as 'caring' work, teacher education has offered an insufficient framework for teachers to grapple with this tension, which leads to teachers who are ill-equipped to make decisions about why and how to constrain individual freedoms in the service of civic virtue. This is instantiated in teachers' difficulty with classroom management (Fallona & Richardson, 2006), as well as around larger questions about the teachers' role in deciding how to prepare students for society and the degree to which they should and can transform society through teaching (Baldwin, 1985).(Baldwin, 1963). In teacher education rhetoric, as well as in embedded in the courses of study for many teacher education programs, is the notion that constructivism, a pedagogical theory and practice, will enable teachers to negotiate this tension. However, constructivism, while it invokes the language of community, really focuses on care for individual learners by emphasizing individual knowledge, the relationship between the individual student and the teacher, and individual's particular approach to learning (Perlstein, 2002).

My study

In order to better understand how teacher education might conceptualize the problem of preparing candidates to mediate the tension between individual freedoms and civic obligations, I conducted a study of police training. I did this because police share with teachers the work of mediating individual freedoms and civic obligations. I designed this

study in the tradition of investigating other professions in order to better understand teacher education and the field of professional education. While teacher education has looked to the education of other professionals, such as physicians, nursing, psychology and the clergy, the degree to which those cross-professional cases are useful to teacher education is limited by the degree to which they overlap with the work of teaching. For example, drawing on examples from medical education is mostly limited to helping teacher education better understand the acquisition of technical expertise (Shulman, 1987).

This is also true of looking to police education to inform our understanding of teacher education. I wanted to learn from them how they prepared candidates to contend with the dimension of their work that overlapped with teachers – balancing individual freedoms and civic obligations. I was not looking to compare police to teachers, because it is clear that different rationales, historical approaches, and expectations from the public undergird their work. I was also not attempting to remake teaching to become more like policing or vice versa. My overarching research question was:

- How, if at all, are police prepared to mediate individual freedoms and civic obligations?

In order to answer this question, I used Lee Shulman's notion of "signature pedagogies" (2005) in the professions – the idea that each profession employs particular pedagogies to prepare their candidates – in conjunction with Judith Warren Little's observation that signature pedagogies may reveal how professions conceive of "signature problems" of practice (2012). I focused my study on the signature pedagogy of "scenario training" in police training and asked the following questions to help me answer my overarching research question:

- What were the signature problems of police work that surfaced in scenario training?
- How were police recruits prepared to contend with those problems?

I spent four months at a police academy that was the only operational basic training facility in the area at the time, serving a large metropolitan region. I observed nine scenarios, analyzed the curriculum for the entire academy, and interviewed four police trainers. These data were systematically coded and analyzed. I relied upon Pamela Grossman and colleagues' paper, "Teaching Practice: A Cross-Professional Perspective" (2009), as well as the elaborations and applications of this paper (Boerst et al., 2011; Moss, 2011) to see how police training represented, decomposed, and approximated practice during scenario training, as well as how it conveyed a sense of what constituted good police work.

What I found

First, I found that police training does attempt to prepare candidates to mediate individual freedoms and civic obligations. Primarily, it does this through a framework of

enforcement. Police training attempts to train recruits to enforce social order, which is their interpretation of civic obligations, and individual "rights," which is their version of protecting individual freedoms. However, the signature problems that surfaced in police training, as well as the routines that police were taught in order to contend with them, showed that the enforcement framework tended to teach candidates to focus on social order, rather than on individual rights. This is understandable, given the work of police, but one can imagine a police force that might center its attentions on protecting individual rights. For example, during a protest, the police might be deployed to protect protesters from harm, rather than to quell them. This is to say the tension between individual rights and social order is a real one, and the training I observed privileged social control over individual rights.

Good Guys and Bad Guys

The signature problems of police work created a "good guys versus bad guys" mentality at the academy. This was both the language they used and a mentality that pervaded the academy. This mentality positioned the police as the "good guys" and everyone else as potential "bad guys," and it set the police up to enforce order, rather than individual rights, because they saw their work as protecting themselves from individuals, rather than as protecting individuals. The signature problems of uncertainty, stress, and the high cost of error served to distance police from the public, emphasizing the enforcement of order on potentially bad and dangerous people, rather than emphasizing the enforcement of their rights.

Uncertainty, for example, meant that everyone was potentially dangerous. The dean explained that recruits were trained that anyone "could be a person of threat," which underlined the good-guys-versus-bad-guys frame. And beyond the fear that any one person could be dangerous, instructors often explained how suspects might do the most unexpected of things. In one scenario, the instructor admonished recruits that "suspects practice this in jail" when he was describing to them how to stand so that a suspect could not grab their gun during the arrest. This underscored that suspects were not only unpredictable, but that they were, in essence, the enemy, waiting for an opportunity to harm the police.

Stress and the high cost of error also played into the notion that the police were the good guys and all members of the public were potential bad guys. The problem of stress was communicated to recruits as connected to uncertainty – at any time a bad guy might appear and do something dangerous. But stress and the high cost of error were also communicated as a problem of liability. An instructor explained, "officers are people they worry about, you know, am I going to lose my job over this, am I going to lose my house, what's the grand jury going to say, am I in department policy... the guidelines, am I covering all that and still function in the next two or three seconds, to be able to do something, right?" The worry that officers might make an error under stress and lose everything underscored the feeling that the public was not on their side. In interviews and in scenarios, instructors explained the concern that officers or the police department would be held unfairly accountable by the public for mistakes.

Routines that privilege social control

Police recruits were taught to contend with signature problems by developing routines. These routines had both ostensive and performative aspects (Feldman & Pentland, 2003).(Feldman and Pentland, 2003). Ostensive aspects were the ideal form of the routine, which was broad enough to apply in a wide variety of situations, whereas the performative aspects of routines were how they were actually enacted in the moment. Thinking about the routines in this way allowed me to see how the routines were both consistent and adaptable, and how the scenario training at the academy attended to each of those aspects.

Routines, as strategies for contending with the signature problems, also emphasized enforcement of social order, rather than of individual rights. This was clear in two ways. First, routines encouraged recruits to prepare for the uncertainty that could be lurking about them. Analytic routines that included awareness protocols, for example, presupposed that anyone could be dangerous, and anyone could be doing something unexpected. In one scenario, the instructor reminded the recruits to look into the trees to see if suspects were hiding there. Another analytic routine, identifying situations, required recruits to sort people into suspects and victims, and to determine whether or not a person was dangerous. Both of these routines had the effect of positioning the officer as the good guy in opposition to a dangerous, bad world.

The second way it was clear that routines were focused on the enforcement of social order, rather than of individual rights, was in the way that student officers floundered when faced with a situation that required either the attention to individual rights, or care for a victim. In the Domestic Violence scenario, for example, the officers did not know how to approach the victim in order to give him information about victim's assistance. In the Crimes in Progress scenario, the students did not know what to do when they had to call EMS for an injured man. In both of these situations, there was no routine upon which the recruits could call to demonstrate care for the individuals, or to protect their rights to assistance and medical care.

In fact, in the Hate Crime Scenario, when a student officer attempted to enforce the individual rights of suspects who had used racial slurs against a storeowner, the instructor intervened and said that they had committed a hate crime. He insisted that it was not the individual rights of those who had used the slurs that should be protected, but, instead, the storeowner had a "right to an arrest." Here we see that though the language rights was invoked, it was not classic rights, such as freedom of speech and assembly, of which he spoke. Instead, he repurposed the language of rights to teach the candidates a routine of enforcement that favored social order. In the absence of clear routines for the enforcement of individual rights, and in the presence of an orientation toward uncertainty, stress and the high cost of error, police training privileged social order over individual rights.

Seeing and automation in the service of social control

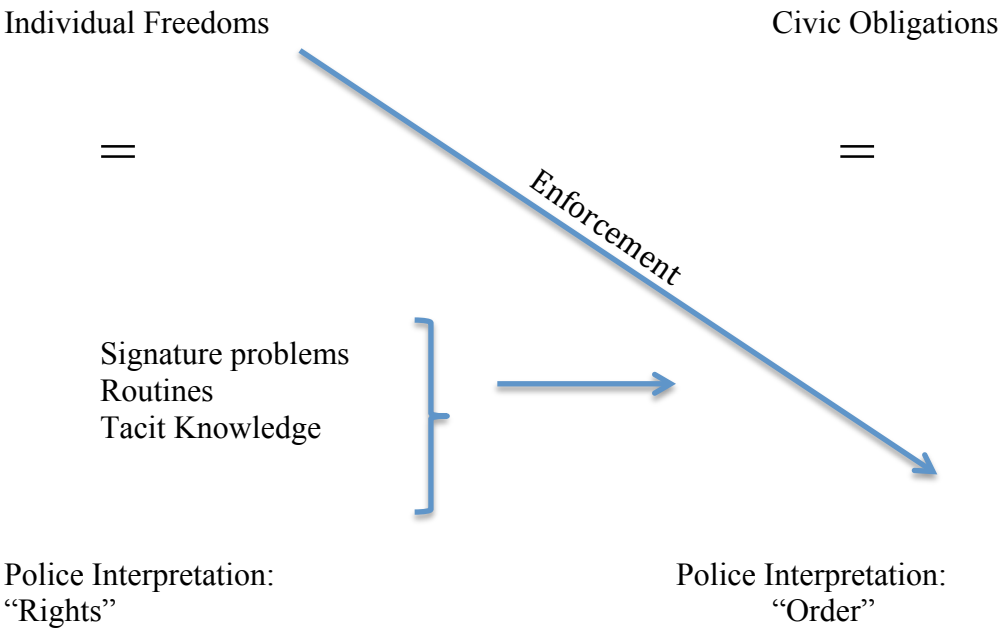
The type of individual and group tacit knowledge that recruits were given the opportunity to learn at the academy also demonstrated that police preparation privileged the

enforcement of social order over individual rights. Recruits were given opportunities to learn to "automate" and to "see." Automation was the skill of making procedures "mindless." These procedures were parts of larger routines meant to contend with the signature problems of uncertainty, stress and the high cost of error. Police instructors explained that officers might experience hearing and visual loss under stress that would cause them to need to react without thinking, or that it was important to make sure that recruits practiced procedures correctly, so they wouldn't make a mistake.

"Seeing" was the ability to sort out what or who was dangerous in a situation, and what the appropriate response should be. Seeing was a type of group tacit knowledge that was linked to the identity of being a police officer. As student officers were able to "see" more like practicing officers, they became more identified with the police (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In the Hate Crime scenario, the instructor clearly "saw" the actions of the suspects as criminal and told the students that they had "two good arrests." Both the way the instructor interpreted the situation, as well as how he believed the students should proceed rested on his tacit knowledge of what consisted of a "good arrest."

Tacit knowledge, then, became essential to the performance of routines, and further caused the framework of enforcement to drift toward social order and away from individual rights. The tacit knowledge of "seeing" exhibited by the instructor in this scenario emphasized interpreting the actions of the men who used racial slurs as criminal and proceeding with arrests. "Seeing" became the way that officers distinguished between good guys and bad guys, and this depended on group knowledge of what and who was "good" and "bad." Automated procedures were then employed within the context of these determinations. Figure 6.1 shows the signature problems that police training presented, in concert with the routines recruits were taught to contend with them and the tacit knowledge that was needed to employ them, culminated in a training experience that favored the enforcement of social order over the enforcement of individual rights.

Figure 6.1 How the framework of "Enforcement" is pushed toward "Order"



Significance for Police Work and Training

This study shows that the way that police training conceptualizes police work and structures the technical aspects of training for that work are inseparable. The signature problems of police work were connected to the routines that were developed for officers to use in the field, and officers also had to acquire tacit knowledge in order to implement these routines. However, in public rhetoric about police work, the work that police are expected to do, and the technical routines that they employ to do it are often presented as separate issues. One example of this can be found in the media accounts of a tragic case in Oakland, where a police officer shot an unarmed man.

In the early hours of New Year's morning, 2009, Oscar Grant, a 22-year-old African American male was shot in the back by a police officer while lying face down on the platform of the Fruitvale BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) station in Oakland, California. The shooting sparked an outcry from many Oakland residents who considered the officer's actions blatantly racist, and part of an ongoing pattern of police brutality and oppression of and insensitivity to the black community. This was reflected in media representations, such as in the New York Times' article, "In California, Protests After a Man Dies at Hands of Transit Police" (McKinley, 2009). In the following excerpt, it is clear that role of the police, and their relationship with the community, are at issue:

The shooting is just the latest incident in a historically tense relationship between Oakland's black community and law enforcement, including a corruption case known as the Riders case in which a group of Oakland police officers were accused of abusing and falsely accusing suspects. Three of the officers were acquitted but the incident nevertheless damaged the department's reputation.

On Thursday morning, several downtown merchants were shoveling shards of glass outside their damaged storefronts and juggling mixed emotions. Thuyen Tran, 24, whose family runs a small nail salon whose front window had been shattered, said he was upset that his family's business had been damaged but also understood the anger of the protesters.

"It doesn't make sense, using brutal force," said Mr. Tran, who is of Vietnamese descent. "It doesn't feel good, because No. 1, I'm a minority, and No. 2, I'm a young kid."

Several civic leaders said on Thursday that the violence reflected anger among young people — and particularly young black men — who feel that they are unfair targets of the police.

"The murder of Oscar Grant III was a tragedy and not the first tragedy suffered on the streets of Oakland," said Jakada Imani, executive director of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, who called the protests a tipping point "for a community that has been struggling and suffering for decades."

On Wednesday, several protesters lay prone in front of police, hands behind their backs, saying, "I am Oscar Grant." Mr. Grant's name has already begun to be graffitied along highways.

On Thursday, Mr. Grant's family and friends spoke publicly to condemn the violence.

"I am begging the citizens not to use violent tactics, not to be angry," said Wanda Johnson, Mr. Grant's mother. "You're hurting people that have nothing to do with the situation. Please stop it, just please stop."

Here we see the tense relationship between the police and public represented. It is clear from this excerpt that many in the community see this as an ongoing pattern of unnecessary force, and feel threatened by the police. This article focuses on the killing as part of this tension, and calls forward the signature problems of police work. The line, "Several civic leaders said on Thursday that the violence reflected anger among young people – and particularly young black men – who feel that they are unfair targets of the police," indicts the good-guys-versus-bad-guys frame that the signature problems I witnessed in police training construct. Young black men feel unfairly characterized as "bad guys" by the police, and see the Oscar Grant killing as yet one more example of an imbalanced and unjust relationship with the police.

The killing of Oscar Grant also raised issues about police training and the deployment of technical skills, but it was presented as entirely distinct from the discussion of the relationship between the community and police highlighted in the New York Times. The officer that shot Oscar Grant, Johannes Mehserle, was carrying both a taser and a gun when he shot Oscar Grant. Later, he would claim to have accidentally pulled his gun instead of his taser. Though almost immediately after the shooting, the media began asking questions about whether Mehserle had received proper training to use his taser, most media accounts covered the story as either another incident in a long line of problems between the police and Oakland residents, or as a procedural issue. A few days after the shooting, the Oakland district attorney was quoted as saying, "Our position is not to critique police procedures or training....Our function is to determine whether or not a criminal offense has been committed by the officer that should be pursued."[14] This statement succinctly represented the division in the public discourse between the public's expectations of police officers, and the training they receive to implement police procedures.

This division showed up in other media coverage. In one article, published by the Oakland Tribune a day after the shooting, "Many Questions Remain Unanswered in Fatal BART Shooting," the tense relationship between young black males and police was not directly addressed at all. Instead, the article quoted the Grant family's civil rights attorney as saying, "'If the witness statements are accurate, that Oscar Grant was shot while lying unarmed and on his stomach, shot by a police officer standing over him, that raises the possibility of criminal conduct,' Burris said. 'You shouldn't shoot an unarmed person who is not posing a threat.'" This statement highlights the procedural aspects of the event – whether or not it was appropriate to shoot – rather than framing the incident in the context of longstanding racial tensions between the police and the community.

Yet, my study points conversation exactly in the opposite direction. The signature problems of police work represented, decomposed in scenario training, and the routines that required recruits to call upon tacit knowledge as they approximated practice were linked. They could not be seen as separate issues, because procedures that recruits automated as parts of routines depended on the problems to which they believed they must respond, and the way they "saw" situations, determining who was "good" and who was "bad." In other words, routines of police work are not implemented in a vacuum. Routines are imbued with meaning and are influenced by a particular orientation to police work that privileges enforcement of social order. In the case of Oscar Grant, calls for better or longer taser training for police were misguided because they failed to take into account the problems police officers are trained to confront by using procedures, and that tacit group knowledge that police draw upon that positions them as "good guys" against the "bad guys" whose behavior ought to be controlled for the purpose of social order.

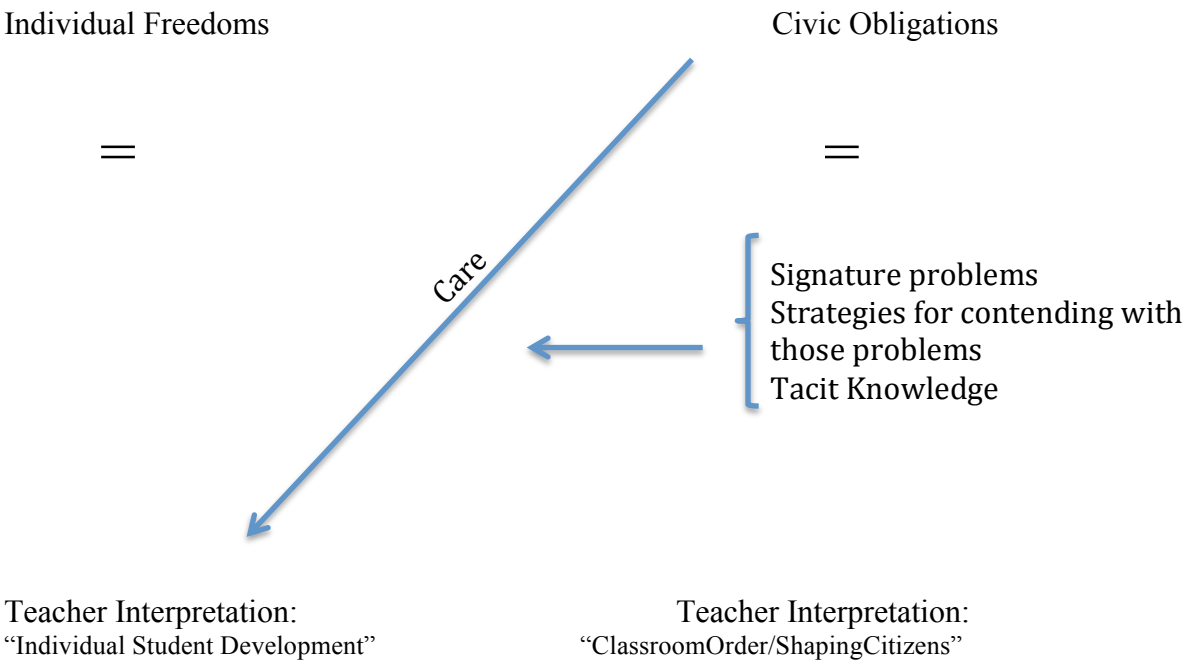
[14] This statement was published in the Oakland Tribune on January 5, 2013.

The Significance for Teacher Education

Teacher education can take two important points away from this study. The first is that conversations about the teachers' technical skill and expertise may be more fruitful when accompanied by a conversation about teachers' role in negotiating individual freedoms and civic obligations. As with police, teachers are charged by the public to mediate this tension, and the way they employ technical knowledge in the classroom is connected to the way they frame their problems of practice. In an era of heightened accountability tied to student test scores, it is tempting to discuss teachers' technical knowledge and facility in relaying content to students as a separate problem from the larger philosophical questions about how teachers ought to mediate individual freedoms and civic obligations, yet these philosophical questions are what frame the entire enterprise and drive the technical decisions that teachers make in the classroom.

The second takeaway is that teacher education might look closely at the framework teacher education programs give candidates to mediate individual freedoms and civic obligations, and how that framework is sufficient or insufficient for coping with the classroom environment and public demands. I hypothesize that the care framework that is used in rhetoric about teachers' work is employed in teacher education programs, and that that rhetoric tends to favor individual freedoms by attending to individual student development over civic obligations to mold citizens and teach the whole class at once. Whereas police training employed a framework of enforcement that privileged social order, I believe teacher education may privilege a framework of care that favors individual student development. Figure 6.2 illustrates my hypothesis. This hypothesis might be investigated by studying the signature pedagogies of teacher education to surface the signature problems, strategies for contending with those problems, and the opportunities candidates have to acquire tacit knowledge.

Figure 6.2 How the framework of "Care" may push toward "Individual Student Development"



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