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Bodies of Force:

The Social Organization of Force, Suffering, and Honor in Policing

By

Brian Jacob Lande

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Satisfaction of the Requirement for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Sociology

in the

Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Loic Wacquant
Professor Neil Fligstein
Professor Marion Fourcade
Professor Jonathan Simon

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Abstract

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By

Brian Jacob Lande

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Loic Wacquant, Chair

This dissertation is an ethnographic description of how police recruits learn to use force. I became a police recruit at two academies in order to examine the process whereby police recruits learn to deploy calibrated physical force as a body technique (Mauss 1979) central to policing. Body techniques are traditional, technical and efficacious ways of using the body that are embedded in contexts of social value and symbolic significance. Police force, as calibrated body technique, is social: they pre-exist and outlive individual recruits; have to be learned and passed on from staff to recruits; they are to a degree constraining as recruits encounter social pressures to use their bodies in institutionally appropriate ways (as their bodily practices are praised, rewarded, evaluated, made fun of, and stigmatized). A police officer's forceful bodily techniques are also social in the sense that they differ from how groups like boxers, soldiers, or gang members use their bodies forcefully. In other words, groups create forceful body techniques that inculcate and give meaning to the technique as well as delimit the boundaries of the group.

I challenge the prevalent view of police force as deriving from attitudes and values by focusing on force as an embodied action. Police force—pursuing, command presence, searching & seizing, handcuffing, shooting, swinging a baton—is an intensely corporeal activity; and in tensely unfolding social encounters, new police officers are expected to react with skilled use of their bodies to the dangers and conflicts that they face. A police officer's embodied forceful acts are not the result of conscious deliberation but follow from practical reasons only to later be translated into articulate, verbal accounts after the fact, e.g. during report writing or the demand from supervisors to justify past actions. For police recruits learning to understand force isn't an act of "comprehension" so much as of "apprehension" by apprehending hands. "Knowing" how to be forceful is just being able to do it.

Theoretically approaching police force as a calibrated bodily technique allows us to bring together the subjective life of the recruit's body with its objective social situation. Body techniques are subjective in the sense that they are forms of knowledge and understanding. But these same techniques are also objective in that they are social facts characterized by a social distribution and origin and they are encountered as external constraints, meaning that recruits feel compelled to use their bodies in certain ways.

I also don't treat the forceful skills as only technical. Recruits do invest themselves in forceful practices as preparation for often-inflated perceived dangers. But I show that more importantly, recruits embrace police force because, in the daily experience of the academy, having a forceful body — a body imbued with fighting potential, strength, speed, and physical skill— confers recognition and respect from the academy staff and from peers. To be overweight, poor with a firearm, bad at driving, unable to keep up on a run, or seemingly incapable of tolerating pain, is to be relegated to a stigmatized status by staff and peers.

By attending to how body techniques are learned I discovered a central conflict in the academies use of force training: the perceived need to overcome recruits' own "normal" and therefore pacific dispositions. Since most recruits are new-comers to using their bodies forcefully, there was persistent talk and training regarding how to make seemingly pacified recruits forceful but not too forceful. This was because recruits were initially incompetent in using force and academy staff had to make force "explicit" so recruits would "get it." In attempting to balance the need to make pacified recruits forceful and at the same time temper the use-of-force, I show how recruits sensibilities toward the use of force are honed, affect economies cultivated, and calibrated force is routinized as a skillful response to social encounters.

The introduction, chapter one, defines the problem of learning to be forceful. It shows how being forceful is a central concern of the academy and central to the very definition of competence. Chapter two reviews the literature on police academies, police socialization, and police culture to reveal large gaps in the literature. The research on academies has neglected the question of how recruits learn force and has been preoccupied with how police recruits learn to see themselves as members of a professional group. The literature on police socialization and has favored ruminations over how police officers talk and think about force, often long after it has occurred. I respond to the literature by outlining how Mauss's notion of bodily technique and Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* can fill in the gap and give a more complete picture of police culture and how it is learned. I also examine how other social groups provide objective social contexts in which subjective bodily knowledge is collectively shaped.

Chapter three outlines the methods and procedures I used to conduct this study. It also describes the recruit classes and the training staff of the two academies I studied. In chapters four and five I examine how academy staff try to teach recruits use their bodies forcefully. In chapter four I begin by examining how recruits learn their hand to "search and seize." Recruits use their hands more than any other part of their body, other than their mouths, to be forceful. Because forceful use of the hands is routine, it is an ideal place to begin examining how recruits learn to use their bodies to exert situational dominance over another using their body. Academy staff refer to this colloquially as "control." In chapter five I describe in detail how police recruits learn to use deadly force with their firearms. Unlike skilled use of hands firearms are rarely used by police but intense value is placed on mastering shootings skills. I examine how a particular technique of shooting, "double tapping" is learned as a bodily technique. Once this bodily technique is mastered as a system of postures and coordinated movements it is normalized and made familiar as a skillful bodily response to perceived "threats." I argue that lethal force becomes "normal force" when it is grasped by recruits in a practical mode like any skill. In chapters three and four I also examine how staff teach recruits learn what is a "threat."

While chapters four and five are about how recruits learn to deploy force, in chapters six and seven I look at how recruits are "hardened" in preparation for potentially violent and uncertain encounters on "the street." In chapter six I focus on daily negative rites like physical training that imbue recruits with a valued social body. This body is cultivated within a symbolic

economy based on recognition and respect on the one hand and shame and insult on the other. The suffering of physical training also serves as a daily ordeal for recruits to overcome and that helps mark the police world as a separate sacred and heroic world that stands above the profane world recruits came from. In chapter seven I focus on an episodic negative rite, “Chemical Agents Day.” During this rite recruits are expected to overcome the intense pain of exposure to chemical agents, with poise, in order to demonstrate their character. But in addition to be a test of moral self worthy by way of bodily self-control, the rite functions as a way of building a deep visceral bonding of the recruits to one another through a shared sense of pain and humiliation. Recruits also are bonded to their trainers as they overcome their suffering with the help of the very trainers who exposed them to physical pain and vulnerability.

In the final empirical chapter, chapter eight, I provide one in depth interview with a recruit. This interview is important because it provides a sense of how a fairly typical recruit experienced the discipline, shame, as well as pride in bodily and emotional self-mastery. In particular we get to hear how a recruit thought and felt about the stressful and uncertain environment created by the academy staff in order to toughen up recruits.

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This dissertation would not have been possible had it not been for Loic Wacquant. His passion for ethnography, and particularly his articulation of the possibilities and merits of “carnal ethnography,” was infectious. He also provided the intellectual model and inspiration for studying police “force” from the vantage point of embodied action.

I also owe an enormous debt of gratitude to many people who helped me with my dissertation. I owe Nicholas Wilson, my friend and colleague, many thanks for reading and helping to edit many early drafts of the dissertation. He also had to tolerate me when I was exhausted from long days in the police academy. I similarly owe Jeremy Schultz my thanks for helping me revise, reorder, and conceptualize much of my dissertation. Paul Hathazy requires special gratitude not only for many excellent discussions of the police and society over a mate gourd, but for letting me sleep on his couch for six months while I attended the police academy. I doubt I can repay his hospitality.

Marion Fourcade also deserves my gratitude. As my graduate advisor she was an exemplary model of a professional sociologist and good academic citizen. While I conducted my dissertation research she was a constant check on the common-sense that the police world began taking on for me. Her constant vigilance helped me tack back and forth between the practical logic of working the streets and the logical articulation needed to write an academic work.

While I had much academic assistance on this project, I could not have been a successful deputy sheriff without the assistance of my recruit training officers and peers at the academy. I made life long friends with several recruits. But I especially owe Susan Lee my thanks. From the time we were assigned seating next to each other at the academy till the time I left law enforcement, Susan has always been gracious in answering my questions and more importantly being an excellent friend. I also want to thank Francisco Rivero, my mentor and friend, who taught me the tricks of the trade. Francisco refined my officer safety skills and took the time to teach me how to build solid cases that would be prosecuted and gain convictions. He also is the peace officer who taught me “not to sweat the small stuff,” and focus on building quality cases rather than numbers. More importantly, he has provided me with an enormous amount of advice and wisdom about how to live an ethical life. I also have to thank John Habermehl for mentoring me at the Santa Cruz County Sheriff’s Office. We were beat partners for nearly nine months and he helped me to greatly advance my police skills. He also made an excellent barbecued meal.

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Chapter 1: The Paradox of Police Force

Ethnographic Prelude

After three weeks as a recruit in the police academy I had a routine meeting with a member of my department's faculty. I went to my professor's home where we shared tea the back terrace, perched up on the side of a hill that overlooks the Bay — a far cry from the being shouted at by a red-in-the-face recruit training officer on a hot parade ground as I had been the day before. We sat and talked about my progress as a fledgling police officer and soon we began discussing the use of force. By this time the recruits at my academy had been issued firearms and we were now well into the routine of wearing our body armor, everyday, to the academy. We had also begun our use of force classes. I described to my advisor how we had been learning to shoot. "We learn what they call 'double tapping.'¹ We are supposed to shoot twice, center mass, in order to create single 'wound channel.'" At the time, I didn't really know what a "wound channel" was. Only that it meant that shooting a person twice in the chest was more effective at stopping "the threat" than shooting once. I said this to my advisor in a matter of fact way, the same technical way I had been taught during a too long and too boring 8 hours of lecturing. Of course, at the time I could barely tell you when someone was a "threat" or not, but that would soon change.

My professor sat across from me with a stunned look in her face. "But Brian! Why don't they tell you to shoot a person in their hands or their knees? This is terrible!" A little shocked by how taken-aback my advisor was, I said, "But you have to understand how *hard* it is to shoot someone. Our instructors have explained to us that when you are nervous your shooting becomes very inaccurate. In order to hit anything at all we are supposed to aim for the biggest portion of the person...their torso." I explained to her that we were told from the start "police work isn't like on TV. Just because Mel Gibson can shoot the knife of gun out of the bad guys hand doesn't mean that any *real* police officer can."

I tell her the stories related to us by instructors in the classroom about police shootouts where whole magazines full of bullets have been emptied in the heat of combat, at distances between 7 and 14 feet, and where nothing but walls and ground were hit. Having recently had to shoot at the firearms range at distances up to 25 yards I say, "Its naïve to think that you can train cops to shoot people in the knees. If we have to go to our gun its already a bad situation. It's a matter of survival not taking your time to be as nice as possible. Its already gone past that point."

My professor, stops me again. "Listen to yourself. You have totally taken on their [the police's] common sense! You are using their justifications and reasons. You are basically saying that you are being trained to kill people!" I finish sipping my tea and chuckle, "You know, they even have a saying about that. 'We shoot to stop not to kill.' If a guy dies, we didn't mean to do

¹ Double tapping is a combat technique especially designed for pistol shooting. It was 'invented' by Colonel Charles Beckwith, the original commander and founder of the U.S. Army's Delta Forces. This military combat technique has been adopted throughout California law enforcement, and I imagine the rest of the U.S. The point of the 'double tap' in military combat theory is to maximize damage done while maintaining maximum controllability of a semi-automatic weapon. Each time a person fires, the weapon moves off target. After several rounds a firer is no longer on target. Thus after the first round is fired, the trigger is pulled again quickly while maintaining, ideally, the same point of aim. If all goes well, both rounds strike the within two or three inches of each other. Follow up shots are held for one second to give their shooter enough time to reassess the situation. It has been shown that the ballistics of the double tap creates a single temporary wound channel that geometrically increases the probability of an incapacitating wound.

it. But of course, we all know that if you double tap a guy you shouldn't be at all surprised if they do." My advisor asks, "but what do the recruits think about it?" I think for a moment about the discussions we have had in class, and then to the live fire drills at the firing range, and the conversations I have had with other recruits during the drills and during our "simulations" training. "The interesting thing is, I have no sense that anyone feels like they are being trained to kill. I think most of us, including myself, when out on the range or the shoot house, really feel like we are training just to react. To make something threatening go away. That is the attitude many of us have. Except when we talk like this, you just don't think to yourself 'hey I am learning to kill someone.' You think, 'Man, I hope this stops the other guy!' or after hearing about guys on PCP who don't go down after being shot you think, 'shit I hope this works!'" I also explain the reality of training, "most of the time you are just trying to focus on 'double tapping' to get the damned instructors off your back. They keep yelling at you that they are going to fail you out for not shooting better and everyone gets nervous and tries harder. They always say they [instructors] are looking to wash out the people who don't belong." "I'm like the guy to my right and to my left" I say, "I want to be here!" I try to explain that most of the recruits I know and have spoken to, simply don't seem to have thought all that much about the kind of force we learn. They don't formulate justifications or rationales. Rather, it remains unspoken, tacit, and above all, common-sense."

The question this professor insisted upon asking, and indeed what this dissertation is about, is "how could 'double tapping' become common sense?" How is it that members of the police world could end up possessing a set of taken for granted categories for understanding "double tapping" that diverged so greatly from how people this professor saw it? Understanding how force becomes routinized sheds light on the nature of police use-of-force as well as how cultural conflict between

When I have told this story to friends and colleagues, what everyone finds so surprising is that it only took three weeks of intense "observant participation" in police training before it became very easy to think "use of force" using the police academy's common sense. In part, the transition was so easy because "double tapping" became just one more way of coping with a potentially dangerous world and of navigating the life of constant evaluations, recognition from the training staff (or cadre) and threats of reprimands at the academy. I was taught to recognize threats and taught how to respond. I learned to "double tap" in the midst of a world organized around action and risk. I learned about force first from the stories of *survival* I was told in the academy by officers who had been involved in shootings. I then learned about "double tapping" in firearms classes when being instructed in the appropriate "course of fire" for when us recruits were preparing to go to the firing range. I then saw and began doing it on the firing range and shoot houses where I, like my peers, were trying to adhere to the demanding instructions and evaluations of our instructors.

"Double tapping" "well" brought me success during testing at the range; others recognized me for possessing a masculine virtue, in spite of my academic background, because I could handle a weapon very well; and it promised me a psychological reward— a future of safety and, above all, control over my social world when I graduated and started working my beat. In other words, while double tapping can kill, for me as well as for many recruits, "double tapping" was not *about* killing. Rather, it was one more way of making my new social world tractable and of gaining recognition as a worthy member of a sacred community.

Learning to be Forceful

This dissertation examines how police recruits learn to be *forceful*: How and why do police recruits become acclimated to the use of force and to the dangers of being on the receiving end of force? How are police recruits socialized to use force by police academies? I begin from Bandura's (1973: 61) finding that "People are not born with preformed repertoire of aggressive behavior; they must learn them in one way or another. Some of the elementary forms of physical aggression can be perfected with minimal guidance, but most aggressive activities —dueling with switchblade knives, sparring with opponents, engaging in military combat, or indulging in vengeful ridicule—entail intricate skills that require extensive social learning." Therefore, I investigate the rewards, constraints, and structures that predispose all those who enter the police academies—regardless of background—to become skilled in police force.

The use of force is central to the definition of policing as an occupation (Bittner 1970). Following Weber, Sherman (1980: 2) wrote, The essence of government is a monopoly on non-punishable [legitimate] use of force. ... The police hold a subcontract under which we authorize and license them to kill, hurt, and capture non-police officers who would cause harm to others." Manning (1980: 137) goes so far as to say, "[T]he central question is not whether the police should be violent, because indeed everyone, including the police, seem seems unwilling to conceive of the alternative. The question is to whom, when, and to what degree the police should be violent." Yet, despite studies of police use of force going back to Westly's classic 1953 study, or the observation that police kill people 6 to 30 times more than they are killed (Manning 1980), or that there are, as of 2004, nearly 675,734² armed city, county and state law enforcement officers out on the streets, we know very little about how new police recruits first encounter police force and learn to use it. Even in spite of multiple studies of police academy training (Van Maanen 1973; Harris 1973; Hooper 1977, Fielding 1988; and Chan 2004) no one has singled out for description or explanation those parts of the academy focally concerned with the use of force. In fact, everything but force is typically examined. It is troublesome that so little research has been conducted on how nearly two-thirds of a million people form a relationship to forceful conduct as varied as those described by a National Institute of Justice study (Adams et al. 1999): grabbing, pushing, pulling, shouting, threatening, chasing, kicking, punching, wrist locks, twist locks, arm bars, pressure points, wrestling, take-downs, handcuffing, use of chemical agents, use of Taser, use of baton, and use of a firearm.

Force is an issue encountered first at the very fringes of the police organization. Often the first question asked during a recruitment interview is, "If you had to, could you use deadly force?" Police recruiters like to joke about recruits who hesitate or say no. Or take the following mundane phone call I made to an administrator of a police academy. The field note below exposes the centrality to which preparing to forceful is given in police training, even at the periphery of the academy. Skill with force is the "selling point" the administrator gives for picking her academy out of the 32 police academies in the State of California.

While investigating field sites for this study, I call the North Bay Police Academy (NBPA, a pseudonym). A female academy administrator and employee of the Sheriff's Department answers. She applauds me for calling: "Well, it's good you are calling around. Despite what people will tell you, it does matter where you go. I have been here for two decades and watched

² http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius_04/law_enforcement_personnel/index.html, accessed on 8/2/10.

new recruits come out of the academies around here. It has been terrible! We have so many recruits that come out of academies run by community colleges and they just aren't prepared for the job."

I ask her what she means and she says, "The community colleges, they run the programs. They aren't run by law enforcement. The cadets at these [academies], well, they aren't disciplined. You can't be rough and demanding with people at those places because they are at a junior college. But police work is tough and you have to do things right and, without discipline, how can you do that? The North Bay Sheriff's Department got so fed up with all the bad recruits we were getting... you know they would come here and after five years we would have 50% attrition. They weren't fit and hadn't done much self-defense training and they were always getting hurt... So, about 15 years ago, we started our own program."

"So there is a difference, huh?" I ask. The woman says, "Definitely. Our academy is real tough. We have much more exacting passing requirements than the other academies... We want you in shape, so we put a lot of emphasis on fitness training and there is lots of disciplining (just pushups) and we work a lot like military training. There is lots of 'sir, yes, sir' and 'yes, mam!' It helps if you have already been in the military. We really look for that. If you think you can do it, I recommend coming here. I'm not just saying that because I work here. I have seen it for myself. They make good officers here."

As this quote suggests, being forceful— dishing it out and being toughened to receive it— are hallmarks of the police academy and central to very definition of the competence the academy is supposed to instill in recruits. From the time I made this phone call, in the Winter of 2006, I embarked on the year-long process of becoming a sworn peace officer in California. On a brisk February day, I arrived at the North Bay Police Academy for orientation, wearing a suit and tie as instructed in the letter I had received. That day, I eagerly began a training process that would continue for months. Every morning, I woke early and trained into the evening, mastering criminal and vehicle codes and learning how to detect dangerous criminals, to identify suspicious activities, and to use my hands and weapons to fight. Above all, I learned *how to be forceful*: how to use my body as an instrument of control and command.

During academy training, I arrived at the "school house" every morning with the other recruits. Each of us wore the same blue police uniform and carried the same gear (gun belt, plastic gun, handcuffs, radio holder, pepper spray holster, baton, etc.). For three months at one academy and for six months at another, the recruits and I sat in lectures together, did physical training together, were disciplined together, were exhausted together, teased each other, and often laughed together. Everyday I carried a small notebook in my left uniform shirt pocket and recorded my observations, conversations, and other interactions whenever I could. I frequently kept a camera in my pants pocket and, when the Recruit Training Officers (RTOs) allowed it, I took hundreds of pictures and the occasional video.

Following my graduation, I spent three years as a deputy sheriff working patrol in two different counties. The people I worked with—including RTOs, field training officers (FTOs), the "dinosaurs" (as veteran cops are often known), and, later, my mentor and partner Francisco— each emphasized the importance of being *forceful* on the job. As my partner and mentor Francisco put it: "If you have to say it, say it forcefully; if you have to put your hands on 'em, you do it forcefully. No one should have any mistake of what your intent is... that you *mean business*." This was not a matter of being "bad ass" or "bullying people;" instead, it was a lesson

about comportment—the practical need for a street presence that projects calm confidence in my abilities, a comportment that can get me home safe at the end of every shift.

In the academy, I learned to see forcefulness as an attitude and ability that might save my life. Not long before I began the academy, an officer from a nearby police department had been ambushed during a foot pursuit. He had been chasing two burglary suspects and located one in a bush. The officer drew his service weapon and ordered the suspect out of the bushes. As the officer gave his orders, he was shot twice by the suspect and died of his wounds. One of my Recruit Training Officers (RTOs) was a friend and colleague of the fallen officer, and the tale of the officers's death reverberated throughout our daily life in the academy. Many of the recruits even attended the fallen officer's memorial. We could not forget that death was a possibility when doing police work, and the recruits in my class spent many hours rehashing the "what if's" around the recent tragedy: What we would do in a similar life-threatening situation? What if we simply didn't know when and where danger would strike? Several months into training, some recruits had resigned themselves to the constant threat of death: "When your card is up, it's up. It doesn't matter how competent you are or how hard you train. If they [suspects] get the drop on you, GAME OVER." Even then, a fatalistic attitude had begun to develop.

The screening of a video from the in-car camera of a patrol deputy in Georgia became a particularly salient moment at the academy. The widely distributed recording shows a deputy pulling over a suspect after a lengthy pursuit in an isolated part of the county. A male driver immediately exits the car and walks toward the deputy. The deputy also exits his car and begins giving orders to the suspect. The suspect refuses to obey any of the deputy's commands. Soon, the deputy's voice becomes higher pitched and strained. He does not put hands on the suspect or do anything to force compliance with his orders. The suspect then walks back to his car and reaches for something—later revealed as a hunting rifle. The officer shouts at the suspect to get away from the car and put down the rifle. The suspect loads the rifle while the deputy, now screaming, orders him to stop. The suspect ignores the deputy and proceeds to shoot during a brief fire-fight. The deputy, out-gunned by a more powerful and easier to aim rifle, is unable to fend off the subject and dies.

Watching the video was one of the few times I heard my recruit class—a gregarious group—go utterly silent. This was, in part, out of deference to the deceased, but it was also a moment of self-reckoning. Most of the people I trained and worked with identified with the deputy. They knew how precarious a peace officer's control of a situation can be and how quickly the officer's decisions can prove, to use Goffman's (1967) phrase, "fateful and consequential." My RTO summed up the video's lesson:

"The point of showing this to you isn't to Monday-morning-quarter-back the deputy. It isn't to blame him. It is to teach you a lesson that might save your life. In this situation, someone is going back to reach into their car after a pursuit. What do you do? I hope you would have shot before the suspect *loaded* his rifle to kill you. But the deputy in the video had received several complaints for pulling his gun too soon. So what happened here is that he was in a situation where he needed his gun but was *afraid* to use it. He died because he hesitated to use force, because he was scared, not of dying, but of losing his job. I don't want any of you to die because you were too scared of losing your job. If you need to use force, *use it*. He could have gone hands on with him or used any of his other tools *way* earlier to gain control. He didn't have to die."

Videos of encounters gone bad, apocryphal stories, and recounting of personal losses set the background against which recruit training officers (RTOs) created a training world that, to outsiders can appear as harsh, capricious, and full of seemingly arbitrary disciplining. What it belies, however, is that the RTOs were profoundly worried and anxious about how “their” recruits would do out on “the street.” Twenty six weeks, is little time to prepare neophytes for a complex job that involves walking into frequently tense emotional conflicts. The RTOs word did not want “their” recruits, as an academy director put it, “to get dead” and so they focused on what they felt was distinctive and dangerous about policing: force. There was also always the possibility that they or others might attribute an officer’s fatal demise to the poor training they received at the hands of recruit training officers. However, my project is *not* to study how peace officers assign blame and understand deadly force; I do not mull over how and why a particular officer used force. Rather, this dissertation examines how police recruits learn a relationship to being *forceful*, in other words how forcefulness becomes “second nature.” How does an organization motivate its members to undertake labor that involves not only putting the self at risk, but also risking harming or even killing others? As I will show throughout this study, the police officer’s “use of force” is not easily learned: only a long, institutionally-controlled, process of work on the self permits its mastery.³

I focus on “use of force” as a collection of practices such as techniques of shooting, swinging a baton, or ways of using the hands, rather than referring generically to “police violence.” I do so because “use of force” is the colloquial term used by all the police academies I studied as well as every police department I worked for or encountered. I do not focus on the legitimacy of these varied modes of conduct but simply on *how* recruits learn to do them. Police training does not only involve preparing for the violent streets; there is also report writing, learning to calm situations, testifying in court, collecting evidence, traffic control, victim counseling, etc. But, because of the unique risks of police work, preparing to use force is perhaps the most challenging and important training that a recruit will receive in the academy. Even in the earliest studies of police violence, Westly (1953) observed “In the United States violence by the police is both an occupational prerogative and a necessity” (ibid: 53). The police officer’s sense of risk may be inflated (Bayley and Garofalo 1989; Cullen, Link, Travis, and Lemming 1983)⁴, but there are many real risks associated with the job. In 2008, 41 police officers were murdered and 58,792 were assaulted (with approximately a quarter of those assaults resulting in injury).⁵ Police recruits must learn to accept danger as a given, and force must become a taken-for-granted, second-nature, and acceptable strategy of intervention and self defense rather than avoidance or retreat. Being forceful matters to recruits for reasons of survival but more routinely

³ Although I present the kind of competence that RTOs and instructors would ideally like all recruits to master, the ability of RTOs and recruits to realize forceful competence across all 50 recruits is limited. Recruits varied greatly in their abilities and were ranked according to their performance on the following evaluations: physical fitness, shooting, and academic tests. An award was given out to the recruit that made that was the highest achiever and also to the recruit who improved the most. In the case of my class this was a recruit who had to struggle in overcoming being overweight. Some recruits passed the academy much to the chagrin of the other recruits.

⁴ Reiner remarks, “The ‘danger’ in the police milieu is not adequately represented by quantitative estimates of the risk of physical injury, although these are not small. People in other occupations — say, stepplejacks, miners, deep-sea divers, anyone working with asbestos— may be exposed to higher risks of job related disease or death. But the police role is uniquein that its core tasks require officers to face situations where the risk lies in the unpredictable outcome of encounters with other people” (Reiner 2000: 88)

⁵ See <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/killed/2008/>. Southwick (1998) also shows that police officers are about 15 times more likely to be assaulted than the average person with about 15% of all officers likely to be assaulted at some time during a given year.

because it allows them to assert situational dominance over face-to-face interactions, what cadre call “control” or “command presence.” My dissertation is centrally preoccupied with how this comes to be. I do not simply study what police recruits and their instructors *say* about force. I also examine, in detail, how police recruits are *taught* to be *forceful*. But this does mean locating police talk of force within its setting. Throughout the dissertation I attend carefully not only to *what* is said, but *who* says it and to *whom*, *how* its said, in what *setting* it is said, and what does saying it *do*? I also attend to the symbolic economy of honor, pride, worthiness, stigma, shame, and insult in the transactions between recruits and cadre. These relationships are defined by a cadre demanding forcefulness and recruits who are eager consumers of the cadre’s *know-how* as recruits struggled to become like the cadre they so often respected and emulated.

As the dissertation unfolds, a core tension of police work—and, specifically, of the mandate to be forceful—will come into view. Police departments demand forceful officers who can, when need be, kill on demand, but they also seek “nice” recruits who are from non-violent backgrounds and who are, by all measures, pacified, mild-mannered, and unaggressive. These recruits are not cut from the same mold as what Tilly (2003) calls “violence specialists.” Nonetheless, they are expected to become competent in the deployment and distribution of violence over the course of their training. This tension sets the tone for life in the academy.

The tension is practically resolved by trying to teach recruits a kind of calibrated use of force that is highly sensitive and responsive to constantly changing situational demands. Thus recruits hear stories from officers involved in shootings who, the moment they had shot a suspect, had to shift from the occupational demand to use non-negotiable force to accomplish the mission, to providing first aid and care, ensuring the welfare and rights of the suspect they just shot! Recruits learn to be decisive in using force to capture suspects and then changing course as soon as their goal is accomplished so as to avoid lawsuits, internal affairs investigations, or the ire of their peers and supervisors. These organizational imperatives—to be decisive and effective versus guaranteeing rights and protecting the department from liability— finds itself replicated as a felt tension in the body—frustration. Its resolve is found through teaching recruits a highly disciplined and calibrated sense of force within-limits that is at times quite opaque.

Transforming Pacified Bodies

Force as an anomaly

Violence is central to the very idea of the police function or role (Bittner 1995). Police officers are state-sanctioned bureaucrats who are expected to overcome resistance through reasoned and measured use of force. Such force is mandated by law and expected by the public. Most citizens associate the police with the use of violence and sometimes with excessive force.

But all of this belies a statistical reality of police work: police violence is rare. In the three years I have spent working as a deputy sheriff, I have never had to strike anyone with a baton, fire my weapon, or use a level of force that would cause great bodily injury. (I have, however, been in situations where the use of substantial force was likely justifiable and or legitimate in the eyes of the law and of the general public only to be adverted at the last second.) For the vast population of law enforcement officers, use of force is a statistical anomaly, not a norm (Adams 1999; Fredrichs 1980; Bayley & Gaofalo 1989). Only one percent of police encounters with citizens result in the application of some kind of force such as threatening, grabbing, handcuffing, threatening, pushing, and pulling (Langan, Greenfeld, Smith, Durose, & Levin,

2001). In a study of use of force in 7,512 arrests across six jurisdictions, only chemical agents had been used greater than one percent of the time (1.2%) with firearms used during .01% of arrests and by batons .02% of the time (Garner and Maxwell 1999). Other studies suggests that of the force that is used by police, only about a third can loosely be called “excessive” force (Adams 1995), i.e. force that is greater than what is needed to overcome a subject’s resistance (Crank and Caldero 2000), which does not mean it was illegal. The consistent finding is that the force police do use is typically low-level force such as commanding, grabbing or holding (Bayley and Garofalo 1989; Garner, Buchanan, Shade, & Hepburn 1996; Pate and Fridell 1993). Nonetheless, law enforcement agents and agencies must be *prepared* to respond to situations with a preponderance of force.

Overcoming Conflictual Tension/Fear

The use of force is rare, in part, because doing violence is so difficult and not all that common (Grossman 1996, 2007; Collins 2008). Grossman has argued that the fear of actual physical violence is so great that it is a near “universal human phobia” (Grossman 2007:2). Collins (2008) describes violence itself as “a set of pathways around confrontational tension and fear” (ibid: 8). He argues that violence is difficult because it requires individuals to “go against the grain of normal interaction rituals. The tendency to become entrained in each other’s rhythms and emotions means that when the interaction is at cross purposes—an antagonistic interaction—people experience a pervasive feeling of tension... For this reason, violence is difficult to carry out, not easy” (Collins 2008: 20). The well-known arguments that human beings posses near-innate “aggressive” drives (Freud 1922; Lorenz 1966) are tautological, inferring an aggressive “instinct” from the aggressive behavior itself. To the contrary Grossman and Collins marshal considerable evidence that a wide variety of phenomenological, interactional, and institutional contexts must be present in order for human beings to engage in combat. Even then, combat is highly conditioned by the immediate social arena (also see Elias and Dunning 1986; Bandura 1973).⁶ An internal motivator can’t be the explanation because of the enormous variation of who, how, and when aggression occurs across individuals, roles, groups, occupations, and history. As Bandura’s seminal studies in the social psychology of aggression support Grossman and Collins in so far as he concludes that knowledge of social context, targets, role of aggressor, among other cues, better predict and explain the complexity of aggression than a less complex inner cause.

Grossman (2007) and Rubenstein (1973) have both noted that police officers do something very strange: they enter into situations of violent conflict that most people flee from. As an instructor at my police academy put it: “When others run away from danger, our job is to run into it. When an active shooter is shooting up a school, and everyone is running out, your job is to throw yourself in. You don’t wait for back up. You won’t have the right equipment. But you go in. That is your job... *to be the sacrificial lamb.*” Police cope with aggression differently than most civilians. Some in distress seek help and support, others withdraw or retreat. Police use force—heightened somatic activity to respond to their environment. The problem, then, is how to get police officers, who are no more inclined to violence than anyone else and who probably will not use violence often in their careers, to become at least minimally capable of state mandated force and facing imminent danger to their lives.

⁶ For example, Bandura (1973: 38) argues that “Obviously, people are not innately equipped with military combat repertoires or with proficient means of insulting others. A complete theory of aggression must therefore explain how intricate behaviors that are potentially injurious and destructive are learned in the first place.

Grossman argues that we rely on modern military and police institutions to achieve the forms of combat we now take for granted, to create willing warriors. Individuals require some way “to circumvent confrontational tension/fear” in order to overcome deeply ingrained habits of interaction and manners for entraining with others (Collins 2008: 20). Collins (2008), Grossman (1997; 2007), and Katz (1988) describe some of the situational and emotional factors that allow an individual to overcome the emotional experience of confrontation. My research builds on their work by describing the role of institutions like the police academy in targeting and reshaping socialized sensibilities, affects, perceptions, and embodied skills to “circumvent” confrontational tension and take a “forceful” stand in a situation.

Elias and the Civilizing Process

Norbet Elias helps orient us to analyze “confrontational fear/tension” with a historical, not simply situational, approach. Like Collins, Elias believes that the ability to be aggressive and violent has to do with our “second-nature” habits for interacting with others, especially what Elias calls “affect economies.” For Elias, whatever the situational forces that draw people towards violent encounters, every era and society has a *habitus* that reflects widely held predispositions, comportments, and affective economies that regulate how individuals do and feel about aggression and violence. Elias argues that aggression and violence, while certainly universal human potentials, are highly stylized, in terms of frequency and form, by social relationships.

In his masterpiece, the *Civilizing Process* (1994[1939]), Elias demonstrates that aggression and violence are shaped by changing relations of interdependence in which social control over the body is gradually internalized as habits and social emotions. Critically, Elias describes changes in the objective social relationships in which violence occurs: changes in the forms and techniques that violence takes; changes in the sensual experience of violence (e.g., pleasure versus shame); and changes in the meaning of violence. The structure and ease with which “confrontational fear and tension” (Collins’s phrase) can be overcome is thus not ahistorical but fluctuates with the level of social interdependence, with the frequency of violent encounters, and, consequently, with the degree of shame or guilt individuals feel when they must harm others. In Elias’s final work, *The Germans* (1990: 176), he frames the contemporary situation in the following manner: “The pacification of the state has been transformed into a self-restraint. Only when one becomes aware of this far-reaching self-activated taming of the spontaneous violent impulses in relatively civilized state-societies is the problem of deliberate and premeditated acts of violence placed in the proper light.” Police are part of this process, “The police came into existence to minimize the use of force by civilians against one another or their rulers” (Sykes and Brent 1983: 12)

Thus, in *The Civilizing Process*, Elias describes how a transformation in interpersonal relations, tastes, emotions, and behavior (subjective structures) has accompanied the formation of a state capable of monopolizing violence within its territory and thereby pacifying society (objective structures). The peoples of Western Europe, Elias argues, became less tolerant of outright violence, aggression, and emotion as society became increasingly interdependent. In societies that develop markets and states and create personal dependence on complex relations with others, those ways of acting, thinking, and feeling that are impulsive, based on brute strength, and/or confined to the temporal present become less virtuous and efficacious. Elias also shows that a profound change in the emotional sensibilities of Europeans was attendant upon the

monopolization of violence by the state (especially see *The Court Society* [Elias 1989]). These changes in the *habitus*—socially constituted non-conscious habits and schemata for feeling and acting—have tended toward increasing rationalization of conduct. This means that, as chains of interdependence became more complex, stable, and predictable, citizens are expected to exercise increasing self-restraint in regards to their emotions and their behavior.

Wherever the civilizing process occurred, external social restraints were increasingly replaced by self-constraint in the form of shame, embarrassment, and abhorrence toward displays of emotion and violence (i.e., conscious restraint was replaced with a system of unconscious sensibilities and dispositions). The result was a relative pacification of society whilst the state's means of violence increased in their capacity and their destructive potential (also see Bauman 1989; Fletcher 1996). Elias describes the contemporary situation of violence and aggression:

“Nowadays cruelty, delight in the killing and torture of others, like the social use of brute force, is placed increasingly under strong social control vested in the organization of the State. All these forms of pleasure, restricted by punitive threats, are gradually "refined" and express themselves only indirectly. And it is only in times of social upheaval and war or, for that matter, in colonial territories where social control is looser, that they break through in a more direct and overt form, less subdued by feelings of shame and revulsion” (1978: 230)

Europeans became less willing to use violence or to accept violence from their fellow citizens at the same time that the state was centralizing, becoming bureaucratic, and monopolizing the means and use of violence.

Sociogenesis (changes in objective structures) and psychogenesis (subjective structures) are analytically separable in Elias's analysis, but ontologically the two co-occur: affect economies change with the structure of society (Elias 1978). Like Bourdieu (1990), Elias describes processes in which there is no clear demarcation between the internal and private worlds of individuals and the public world that is “out there.” The long-term macro processes of state or market formation (whether pacification of everyday life or the rise of the court) are inseparable from more micro processes like the situational emotions and behaviors that have been so elegantly described by Elias and others (e.g. Collins 2007, Katz 1988, Athens 1997). While physical strength, belligerent impulses, and letting emotions run free may have been empowering in Medieval Europe, their *restraint and control, the ability to modulate one's emotions*, is a source of empowerment in modern society (Wouters 1992).⁷ The rise of the state requires this change in affect economies, and thus conditions the *habitus* of the people subjected to it. Of course, this transformation in the *habitus* is also a necessary condition for the modern bureaucratic state.

Evidence of the Civilizing Process in Contemporary Police Use of Force

Indeed, many studies have confirmed that, in the course of its history, the United States has

⁷ Wouters argues that the rise of emotion management has spread predominately in Western society where increasing numbers of people have experienced rising degrees of physical safety and material security. In this type of society, “one's *individual* style of emotion management has gained importance in the struggle for status and power, as a criterion in the process of ranking,” along with ranking criteria like “*individual* merit and achievement,” and as opposed to status criteria like “birth and wealth” (Wouters 1992: 230).

become relatively more pacified (Spierenburg 1984; Gurr 1981). Public mutilations and executions, once common in Western societies, have nearly disappeared (Spierenburg 1984; Garland 1990). Forms of violence such as corporal punishment in schools (Taylor 1987; Raichle 1974); corporal punishment against prison inmates (Simon 1985); homicide rates (Gurr 1981, Eisner 2001); and executions (Zimmiring and Hawkins 1986) have all diminished in the West. Even the use of physical violence by the police to exert control has changed form in the U.S. For instance, confessions are no longer extracted through force but through complex confidence games (Leo 1994, 1992; Marx 1992). Deadly force by U.S. police has also declined precipitously since the 1960s (Fyfe 1979), especially in municipalities where the police are highly centralized and there are effective techniques of holding police officers accountable (Chevigny 1995). In fact, Chevigny (1995) argues that the pacification of the U.S. police is part and parcel of the civilizing process in the United States, where new forms of social control and interdependencies (courts, minority organization, civil rights, etc.) have co-evolved. In light of this, brute forms of control have become intolerable to the sensibilities of the U.S. population and to members of the police force (especially compared to countries like Brazil and Argentina).⁸

In historical terms, contemporary police forces in the United States, especially in Northern California, tend to recruit from a population that is relatively “pacified,” where unrestricted belligerence is relatively circumscribed, and where violence is not a part of everyday life. Recruits do not come from the urban ghetto where violence is frequently a part of everyday life (Wacquant 2004; Anderson 1999). In fact, on the West Coast, young Hispanic applicants are vetted for membership or association in any of the various Hispanic gangs. The thorough vetting process for police recruitment means that those with a history of violence, such as convictions for violent misdemeanor and felony offenses like domestic violence charges or weapons charges, are forbidden from becoming police officers. A major task of the police academy is to take “civilized” subjects who have grown up in sectors of society that are largely “pacified” and to transform their relationship to themselves and their world.⁹

To get a full sense of what it means to bring a civilized habitus into policing, it is fruitful to contrast the medieval European knight’s experience of violence with that of the contemporary police recruit or officer. Elias argues that, in medieval European societies, emotions such as aggression and acts of violence were spontaneous and openly enjoyed. He suggests that the Middle Ages were:

“a society in which people gave way to drives and feelings incomparably more easily, quickly, spontaneously, and openly than today, in which emotions were less restrained and, as a consequence, less evenly regulated and more liable to oscillate more violently between extremes (1994: 175-176).

⁸ While it makes sense to compare New York and Los Angeles to each other in terms of police abuse, the comparison is strained when these two cities are compared to the police in states like Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. In the American cases, even with important differences between cities, violence is quite rare and exceptional. In South America and the Caribbean, police violence is much more routinized and regular.

⁹ Thus, at the academy, a new officer’s or deputy’s opponent is often symbolized as a hyper-violent and uncivilized “street” (on “the street” see Anderson 1989; on symbolic assailants see Skolnick 1967; also Wacquant 2004 on the de-civilizing process). In the urban ghetto, where the institutions of the State have largely retreated along with economic opportunities (Wacquant 2004), we find a resurgence in the “expressive” violence (Elias & Dunning 1986) where sudden and violent behavior is performed for both its instrumental use in controlling other but also because of the pleasures and enjoyment of the “rush” that such outbursts bring (Paulle 2005: 2; Katz 1988; Athens 1997).

Elias is not saying that individuals in the Middle Ages were without self-restraint or emotional management; he is simply arguing that social life in contemporary Western societies depends much more on emotional management. With the consolidation of violence within a centralized bureaucracy, increasing interdependency, and ossified social hierarchies, emotions and violence can no longer be mobilized in-the-moment; they must be increasingly shaped by a regard for future consequences. If violent volatility characterized the behavior of knights, the opposition is true for the law enforcement officers who now wield the state's means of violence. Explosive and brutal force may have been normal and even a basis of legitimacy and prestige in the Middle Ages, but this is certainly not the case today. Excessive police force is discrediting to an officer and a department (Wouters 1992; also see Flanagan and Vaughn's [1996] treatment of shifting opinions of police force). The legalization of social life, especially the use of law suits as a form of resolving conflicts, has hugely impacted police use of force. The historical and objective institutional changes have, over a generation or so, become deeply internalized. Use of Force instructors frequently refer back to the legal controls and public sentiments that recruits must be wary of and refer this wariness back to Rodney King. A use of force instructor, for example, warns recruits to "watch their "Ps and Qs,"

"These days when you wrestle you got to watch your Ps and Qs. These days it seems like criminals got more rights than you. My two cents off the record. If you fear for your life, and you have to shoot them or take their life, there is life after law enforcement. Better to be tried by 12 than carried by 6. ... Even back in the 80s you could always use a little extra 'authority' [force]. But now, after Rodney King that's all different."

Another instructor said,

"The Rodney King incident set us back 20 years. The public doesn't know about how he was Tasered twice, and what he did before he was on tape. They don't realize that he didn't feel any pain. When that happens, then man, you need force, you need as many people as possible to hop on the guy and hog-tie him... It wasn't the first strikes that were the problem, it was the last two once he had been safely detained and the guys [officers] couldn't shut it [emotions] off. That's where you get in trouble."

These instructors, both in their 50s, belong to a generation of cop that experiences new legal oversights and demands for accountability as an external constraint. Younger officers and deputies are aware that their authorization to use force is a limited one and this shapes their everyday experience in a different way. The emphasis on limits, knowing when to stop using force is one of the most frequently elaborated lessons of the academy.

Learning the Limits of Force

I saw regular evidence of the internalization of the civilizing process at work when I worked the streets. New officers frequently expressed anxiety about the appropriateness of their use of force as opposed to the older instructors who tended to decry what they saw as imposed external constraints. For example, one female recruit, after taking down a larger recruit with a

swift kick, during defensive tactics training, cried after thinking she had hurt the recruit and apologized profusely. Or, consider the following deputy's account of a tense encounter where force may or may not have been justified:

T.H. and I are changing into our uniforms in the locker room. He tells me that he had a confrontation with my stabbing victim from the night before, just a day prior to his being stabbed in a bar. He says, "That guy is an asshole. He had this coming! Last night he was at this other bar and wouldn't leave. So I get called out there for a trespass. I am just asking him to leave but he keeps squaring off at me and pacing back and forth. He is big too. He keeps going to his car and acts like he is going to reach into one of the doors. I kept telling him, 'Get back from the door!' He wouldn't so I began un-clicking my Taser from the holster and said, 'If you don't get back, I'm going to Taser you!' because, you know, the way he is acting, I think he might be getting a weapon. He sees the Taser rock forward in the holster and just stops. I go over and put my meat pads [hands] on his hands and put him in a rear wrist lock and call for help. When I called for code 3 cover, I had to take a deep breath and just tried to whisper it calmly into the mic. I didn't want everyone to know how freaked out I was. But man, I just kept thinking, 'I am on probation and don't want to get in trouble for Tasing this guy. But you know, I should have since he was squaring off with me and not listening. You know what I mean, sometimes I just don't know when we have reached that point [when someone has become a threat].'"

T.H. is characteristic of many of the new deputies I have worked with. Even when a confrontation is present and it is likely to become physical, they are very restrained in their use of force and extremely anxious about the future consequences of their actions. Of course, that does not mean T.H. didn't enjoy of the confrontation: T.H. was excited about the potential for a fight and seems morally satisfied that the victim received situational satisfaction of justice. However, T.H. places less emphasis on his enjoyment of anger or aggression and more on the anxiety that might accompany his use of force.¹⁰ T.H.'s use of force is tempered and rationalized by reference to rules for proper conduct and is saturated with emotional management (for example trying to whisper in the mic so as to present a calm front over the radio the deputies and officer working the county). This is precisely the kind of restraint and shame that Elias sees as characteristic of violence in modern Western society. It also reflects the tensions between being decisive in combat and regulated in the use of force.¹¹

¹⁰ Miller (1997: 134-135) notes that pre-modern honor societies experienced violence more in terms of honor and shame, whereas modern Western societies experience violence more frequently in terms of guilt. Shame is characteristic of moments where the "public self dwarfs the private self." Shame is done to a person where as guilt is self-blame. This distinction mimics that between failure and transgression. Guilt is "the emotion of instituted authority... which can punish transgression and sin." This roughly correlates to Elias's argument that pre-modern society exercises external control (e.g. brute force) whereas modern society is characterized by internal self-control.

¹¹ This hesitation towards violence applies across the lines of species. Three deputies discuss having to "dispatch a deer" (Field Notes, 9/22/09) at a substation:

Dep 1: That was terrible! CHP called and told us that they had a baby deer "down" [struck by a car] in the roadway. So Cathy and I go out there and sure enough there is this badly injured baby deer, only yeah high, laying on the side of the road. Cathy says, 'I don't want to take care of it,' so I say, 'fine, I'll shoot it.'

Dep 2: Oh, I can't do that, it makes me feel bad. You should have seen Craig, all shaking!

The “accomplishment” of anxiety about the use of force is met with mixed feelings because using force is rarely clear cut. A field training sergeant speaking to four trainees fresh from the academy explained:

“The number one problem we are having with you new guys is that you are afraid! Trainees are scared to get out of their cars and contact people. It used to be that report writing is where a lot of our trainees stumbled, but the past few years it seems to be getting recruits out of the car and talking to people. Trainees are hesitant, they don’t want to upset people or create conflict. Or they are so scared of being sued or violating someone’s rights that they aren’t doing their job and their job is to get out of the car and talk to people and take risks. The only way for you to succeed here, to know your community, and to make good arrests is not to be afraid of getting out of the car and doing things. You guys are better educated than cops used to be and come from good homes. But you have to overcome your upbringing, in a few months, if you want to pass field training.”

Unlike the prisons or jails, police officers perform their force publicly, and they do so in a society that generally is unfamiliar with violence and frowns upon it (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Chevigny 1995, Flanagan & Vaughn 1996). Because of the very public stage on which police violence occurs, the police academy must teach its recruits to be competent practitioners of violence but to do so in a highly rationalized and regulated way that will be acceptable to a violence-averse community. The police experience of force is thus shaped not only by the exigencies of violent encounters themselves but the modern historical moment—a time when violence, sex, bodily functions, illness, suffering, eating, sleeping, etc. are sanitized, disguised, found shameful and hidden from view.

Teaching Calibrated Force

As Fyfe has remarked, “The development of successful boxers, diplomats, combat soldiers, and trial lawyers demonstrates that maintaining one’s temper under stressful and confrontational conditions is a skill that can be taught” (Fyfe 1996: 165). Force is an intricate response to a complex social world. It is socially learned in the experience of academy training and the banalities of vicarious experiences like observation of force and its consequences for practitioners. Elias identifies an implicit pedagogy in everyday life that influences our emotions and sensibilities. In the details of informal and routine socialization we, like Elias, can become

Dep 1: I don’t get it, I have no problem sticking a gun in the face of certain people, but then I have to go shoot Bambi, you know, to end its suffering, and I am all shaking and nervous. You know, I am wondering, ‘is the blood going to spatter on me?’ cause I am only like an arms distance away. I check my backdrop and make sure my rounds aren’t going into any people or homes. Then I shot this poor suffering baby deer in the head, I think its over, but the deer starts moving again and breathing! Then I shoot it again, and it is still moving. That was fucking disturbing man! But now I am starting to get mad because this baby deer won’t die. So I shoot it again and it finally dies. I felt so guilty! I called my wife to tell her...

Sgt. W.G.: Dude, there are certain things you don’t tell your wife. Some parts of the job stay on the job!

Dep 1: Well stupid me, I tell her and she hangs up on me! I felt even worse. Here I am, supposed to be able to make the tough call and shoot people and I can barely shoot a deer!

attuned to the non-conscious learning processes that shape the sensibilities, habits, and emotions of police recruits. What I describe in detail in this study is the training that occurred everyday to influence the habits, emotions, and sensibilities of police recruits.

The Social Learning Model

The transformation was not so much ideological and value-based as it is deeply existential and involved in shaping a recruit's very mode of being. Following Bandura (1973; and similar to Lave and Wegner 1991 theory of "situated learning") I found that training worked by providing recruits with: 1.) visible models (cadre, instructors, visiting officers) who were considered prestigious and credible and whose patterns of behavior were readily imitated. Observation of models strengthens predispositions to deploy patterns of behavior by showing the positive and negative consequences of patterns of action in the context of specific situational projects; 2.) Training hones retention of patterns of behavior through drilling, exercises, scenarios, and internalization, i.e. as embodied dispositions and habits and as a symbolic form (e.g. stories, metaphors, non-representational mental models, etc.); 3.) *the motor reproduction process* is the process by which observation and symbolic forms are instantiated as action patterns. The *motor reproduction process* refers to the various ways that cadre *engage* recruits, in situated practice, in increasingly refined performance of motor actions to develop skills. Here recruits are "doing" something and receiving feedback (in verbal form of injunction, ostensive definition, pointing, criticism or elaboration and often by visual feedback and sometimes direct body to body contact; 4.) finally *symbolic economies*, the manner in which motor skills and bodily techniques are rewarded or punished, incentives to perform are induced or regulated by the social order, especially in the form of positive recognition (honor, respect, status) and negative recognition (stigma, insult, shame) that give immediate salience of conduct to recruits.

Together these processes—all social—cultivate a recruit's forceful use of the body by shaping a demeanor or manner of moving about in the world. RTOs and instructors spent months working against deeply ingrained dispositions to train recruits to be physically aggressive, control space and, when necessary, become frenzied, albeit in a self-controlled, disciplined, and ideally dispassionate manner. To overcome the "pacified" *habitus* of the largely middle class recruits I studied, Recruit Training Officers and instructors exposed recruits to physical drills (martial arts, firearms training, and variegated scenarios), ascetic rules (strict grooming, social manners, uniform requirements, use of time, control of emotions), rituals (especially rites of passage and institutions such as exposure to chemical agents and tasers) and social games (especially those that institute masculine competition for competence and self-mastery), that are organized according to an economy of shame, pride, and honor, all geared to instill in recruits new abilities, categories, and sensibilities. The specific form this training takes is manifested in everything from recruits leaning forward toward a dangerous suspect when preparing to shoot, to the way officers bend their knees and raise their hands when interviewing people so as to be always in ready-stance for a fight.

Cadre also maintain a *symbolic economy* of shame and honor that recognizes or stigmatizes institutionally inappropriate demeanors and bodily conduct. This economy encourages teaching recruits to strike hard whenever they are confronted with the possibility of violent conflict; to demonstrate immediately and unmistakably their physical control of the situation. Any recruits or police officers who displayed weakness, indecisiveness, or lack of physical ability to control others were "counted for nullity" (Elias 1989: 144), a lesson taught time and time again in the

academy and on patrol.¹² At the same time, recruits are taught that their displays of forcefulness, while necessary for the job, are likely to be met with moral indignation by those unfamiliar with the inner workings of police work or, worse yet, by civil litigation that could last years.

Structure of the Dissertation

In chapter two I review the literature on police academies, police socialization, and police culture to reveal large gaps in the literature. The research on academies has neglected the question of how recruits learn force and has been preoccupied with how police recruits learn to see themselves as members of a professional group. The literature on police socialization and culture has neglected how force is learned and used in favor of ruminations over how police officers talk and think about force, often long after it has occurred. I respond to the literature by outlining how Mauss's notion of bodily technique and Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* can fill in the gap and give a more complete picture of police culture and how it is learned. I also examine how other social groups provide objective social contexts in which subjective bodily knowledge is collectively shaped. Chapter three outlines the ethnographic methods and procedures I used to conduct this study. It also describes the academy schedule, recruit classes, and the training staff of the two academies I studied.

I break the remaining chapters into two parts. Part I, "Techniques of the Body," includes chapter four and five and these chapters focus on how recruits learn to use their bodies in socially efficacious ways. Here I examine how academy staff try to teach recruits use their bodies forcefully. In chapter four I focus on how recruits learn their hand to "search and seize" thereby disclosing "threats" and "suspicions" while at the same time exerting situational dominance over another by way of "laying hands." In chapter five I describe in detail how police recruits learn bodily techniques associated with the deadly use of their firearms. I examine how a particular technique of shooting, "double tapping" is learned as a bodily technique. Once this bodily technique is mastered as a system of postures and coordinated movements it is normalized and made familiar as a skillful bodily response to perceived "threats." I argue that lethal force becomes "normal force" when it is grasped by recruits in a practical mode like any skill. In chapters three and four I also examine how "threats" are constituted by the academy staff.

While the first two chapters are about how recruits learn to deploy force, Part II, Honor and Ritual: Sensation and Emotion in Policing, I focus on the *symbolic economies* that solicit bodily action. In chapters six and seven I look at how recruits learn to toughen up to survive the suffering and risk of a world perceived as pervaded by possible violence. In chapter six I focus on daily negative rites like physical training that imbue recruits with a valued social body. This body is cultivated within a symbolic economy based on recognition and respect for physical prowess on the one hand and shame and insult for bodily inadequacy. The suffering of physical training also serves as a daily ordeal for recruits to overcome and that helps mark the police world as a separate sacred and heroic world that stands above the profane world recruits came from. In chapter seven I focus on an episodic negative rite, "Chemical Agents Day." During this

¹² Van Maanen briefly captures this in his observations of how police recruits must prove themselves, "Less dramatic, but nonetheless as important, recruits are appraised as to their speed in getting out of the patrol car, their lack of hesitation when approaching a suspicious person, or their willingness to lead the way up a darkened stairwell. The required behaviors vary from event to event; however, contingent upon the ex post facto evaluation" (1973: 414).

rite recruits are also expected to overcome the intense pain of exposure to chemical agents, with poise, in order to demonstrate their character. But in addition to be a test of moral self worthy by way of bodily self-control, the rite functions as a way of building a deep visceral bonding of the recruits to one another through a shared sense of pain and humiliation. Recruits also are bonded to their trainers as they overcome their suffering with the help of the very trainers who exposed them to physical pain and vulnerability.

In the final chapter, chapter eight, I provide one in depth interview with a recruit. This interview is important because it provides a sense of how a fairly typical recruit experienced the discipline, shame, as well as pride in bodily and emotional self-mastery. In particular we get to hear how a recruit thought and felt about the stressful and uncertain environment created by the academy staff in order to toughen up and harden recruits to what was portrayed as an unpredictable and dangerous “street.”

In the final analysis of Part II, I argue that what vies *symbolic economies* their force is that they expose recruits social emotions. To be recognized as an honorable member of a community or a stigmatized member has an affective dimension. A sociology of a world like policing will not be complete until we have re-injected everything from pain, to shame, to pride back into the analysis of social life.

In conclusion I address give a programmatic overview of how and why recruits do and do not succeed in becoming forceful. I elaborate on Bandura’s (1977) Social Learning Theory by focusing on the symbolic economy of the *motor reproduction process* and how it rewards and reinforces forceful bodily conduct. In describing how recruits fail to fully embody the “ideal typical” forceful body, I give examples of how recruits fail once they hit the streets and either adapt or are forced to resign from the police force. I also give a detailed analysis of the *symbolic economy* of the police academy and the symbolic and cognitive schemas that dominate life in the academy. I conclude by returning to the notion of “normal force” as crucial to understanding how police officers come to take force for granted.

Chapter 2: Applying Bourdieu to the Study of Police Culture and Socialization

In this chapter I review the sociological literatures relevant to understanding how police recruits learn to be forceful. I also lay out how this dissertation redresses several large gaps in the literature on policing. I address the absent examination of training practices in the few studies that there are of the police academies and socialization (Harris 1973; Van Maanen 1973, 1975; Hooper 1977; Fielding 1988, Chan 2003). I address the reduction of police culture to “the norms, beliefs, and value systems” of the police (Henry 2004: 11; and also Pauline 2003; Black 1980; Manning and Van Maanen 1978; Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Reiner 2000; Manning 1997; Chan 2003; Oberweis and Musheno 1999) that dominates the Chicago School style ethnographies of occupations.¹³ I also address literature on cultural aspects of police force. These literatures have in common that they turn police recruits and officers into minds surrounded by meat, minds that are disincarnated, when there are few occupations as lively, physical, and sensual, as being a cop.

I contribute to the literature on police academies by introducing data how cadre and recruits go about learning police force. I add to the notion of police culture by using Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* to focus attention on the embodied aspects of police culture. I also examine how social worlds, in addition to policing, come to shape forceful bodies by rendering the possession of physical fitness, strength, endurance, fighting potential and shooting skills as valuable commodities or resources. These properties of the body tend to function as a kind of *bodily capital* that shapes police recruits strategies for negotiating life in the academy. In doing so I try to describe the objective social forces that demand police recruits transform their bodies in ways that reflect the peculiar institutional demands of policing. Finally, I reconceptualize “normal force” in terms of how police force comes to be taken-for-granted as a *practical sense* or bodily orientation for responding to social situations.

The Police Academy

Sociological studies of the police academy have primarily investigated the extent to which the formal instruction of the academies are successful in passing on the occupations traditional values, attitudes, beliefs, and rules. The particular interest of these studies is how police recruits learn, backstage, to perform their “frontstage” roles on the street. The police academy is construed as a kind rehearsal for the streets, that may or may not succeed.

This is particularly salient in Harris’s (1973) study of how recruits learn presentational strategies for doing “professionalism” (Harris 1973). Harris follows Hughes (1965) in arguing that “professions” matter not as a definition of an occupation but as a subjective evaluation of a jobs prestige. Hence Harris focuses on how “professional” education builds an esprit de corps in opposition to other social worlds. Teaching “professionalism at the academy was thus largely

¹³ A typical example is, “Occupational cultures contain accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs” (Manning 1995: 472).

about demonstrating how presenting a “professional image” at once physical, moral and courteous, distinguished police from the public, lawyers, doctors, and other groups. For Harris, the “professional” training of the academy ultimately teaches recruits solidarity, in-group/out-group tensions, and often a tounge-in-cheek acceptance of the official “professional” story.

Van Maanen (1973) also looks at how recruits prepare for the streets by listening attentively to war stories and rehashing them amongst themselves outside of the classroom. Van Maanen’s study focuses strongly on the formation of collective identities and the building of social cohesion in a very Durkhemian fashion. Hence, he describes how the discipline, use of uniforms to separate recruits from full fledged cops, and creating an environment of misery, bonds recruits to each other and prepares them to see police administrators as adversaries and the public as a separate and distinct group.¹⁴ Similarly, Hooper tracks the moral career of recruits as they pass through various rites of initiation and learn to play the role of cops (Hooper 1977). Hooper shows how recruits long-term view of what policing is (excitement, service work, a good job with benefits, etc.) changes throughout the recruits time in the academy and in part based on the recruits own prior familiarity with policing. Her focus is more on how variation in recruit’s background affects how roles taught by the academy are accepted.

Fielding (1988) takes an extended look at how tensions between formal and informal training at the academy are received by British police recruits. Fielding pays particular attention to the attitudes of recruits toward the training (for example the rejection of “book work”) as well as the justifications that recruits learn to apply to police work, especially to their understanding and performance of “competence.” For Fielding, the academy is full of tension and conflict over dominant definitions of competence. He also shows that recruits constantly evaluate what they learn in terms of how valuable they believe it will be on the streets. Yet in spite of rich interviews and some observation, we learn very little about what actually occurs during training.

Chan’s (2004) study of Australian police recruits show how “attitudes and values” (2004: 35) have changed as a result of recruits with particular backgrounds having encounters with the academy’s training. She shows that recruit’s lofty ideals to more cynical and pragmatic expectations about police work. Chan briefly touches on issues of danger, arguing that it is axiomatic and that most recruits simply assume that their job is different than others because of danger and the use of coercive force. She found that most recruits wished that the academy spent more time on “officer safety.” Nonetheless, Chan’s focus is primarily on showing that there is no unified “police culture” Chan, like Fielding, shows how recruits reject the formal pedagogy of the academy in favor of an often informal beliefs that the academy is “not real.” She uncovers that recruits *think* they have changed, but she does not provide any description of behavioral changes or how the academy facilitates them. Her main finding is just that recruits tend to loose respect for the academy and believe it incapable of teaching recruits to become real police.

Not one of these studies has examined how police recruits first encounter and start learning the use of force. In fact, the heavy emphasis on interview material means that there is almost no description of training and how it might or might not have an effect on recruits. If force is the defining feature of policing, how is it that studies of the police academy neglect what would seem to be the most important part of the socializing processes: learning force? Indeed,

¹⁴ “The main result of such stress training is that the recruit soon learns it is his peer group rather than the “brass” which will support him and which he, in turn, must support. For example, the newcomers adopt covering tactics to shield the tardy colleague, develop cribbing techniques to pass exams, and become proficient at constructing consensual ad hoc explanations of a fellow-recruit’s mistake” (Van Maanen 1973: 411).

these studies are full of fascinating sayings, stories, and interviews with recruits and training staff, but for the most part there is no embedding of it in the description of the training itself!

I address this gap in the literature by examining the techniques that recruits must learn to perform police force appropriately. I also examine the social context in which force is learned: the evaluations, the moral expectations, and the forms of recognition that make fighting potential seem worthwhile to recruits. Moreover, I look at how recruits learn to overcome the suffering that comes with transforming the body as well as with the risk that accompanies using force — being exposed to receiving force. I will also talk about how recruits learn to see persons and situations as dangerous and threatening, since it is the perception of immanent danger that solicits recruits skillful forceful response.

Cognitive Views of Police Culture, Danger, and Force

Questions about how police are *socialized* to use force have focused on how recruits acquire shared beliefs about the use of violence (Hunt 1984; Waegel 1985), including how they learn to recognize danger (Henry 2003; Barker 1999) and how they classify others as threatening or dangerous (Oberweis & Musheno 1999; Skolnick and Fyfe 1993) often in terms of how individuals are were contextually perceived against a background of appearance, time, place, non-verbal behavior, and information received prior to arriving “on scene” from a dispatcher or fellow officer (Dunham, Alpert, Stroshine, and Bennett 2005). These views are cognitive in nature because they emphasize mental models, beliefs, symbolic systems, stock knowledges, and recipes that act as kind of rosey collared lens, coloring the police officers perspective on the world.

Central to theories of police socialization is the idea of a *police culture*—the assumption that there is a relatively coherent, decontextualized and abstract set of rules, understandings, definitions, attitudes and values that must be *internalized* by the neophyte officer. Conventionally, the study of *police culture* emphasizes the cognitive aspects of becoming a police officer: new values (van Maanen 1973; Ford 2003); rules (Manning 1977; Bayley & Bittner 1984); identity formation, self-presentation, and appearances (Harris 1978); justificatory repertoires (Hunt 1984, Fielding 1984); discourses (Shearing & Ericson 1991); systems of classification (Oberweis and Musheno 1999; Armstrong 1990) and even the “cops codes” extracted as maxims and injunctions (Reuss-Ianni 1993).¹⁵

For example, in Peter Manning’s thorough *Police Work* (1997), he reduces police work to the “drama of police work” and examines how individual police and police organizations construct “fronts” as part of the labor of social control. Manning writes, “A dramaturgical analysis of the police can usefully draw on structuralist principles, that (1) contrast code (rules, norms and values) and the encoded speech (and other actions) and language (forms) and (2) the role of uncertainty and redundancy in communication processes.”

Similarly, Oberweis and Musheno (1999: 898) argue that “Police decision making is about policing identities” and that the main job of police is to “engage in raw forms of division, marking some as others to be feared (e.g. urban youth gang members)” and to put themselves forward as protectors. Or in Reus-Iannia (1983) influential study of how patrol cops and

¹⁵ “This code describes a charter for action, a set of shared understandings which, while not written down or formalized, are understood by all members of the precinct and limit the degrees of variability of behavior permissible for individuals” (Reuss-Ianni 1993: 12).

management cops differ in their culture, she treats culture as a “cop code” built on maxims and injunctions that prescribe what cops should do and that guide action. Again, these authors, whether talking of rules, norms, stories, codes, or classificatory schemes come to the conclusion that what guides or generates action is something discovered after the fact and that is mental and symbolic in nature. Ultimately they conclude that police work is primarily a kind of communicative processes of raw classifying or rule/code following by disembodied minds.

Even the most theoretically well-developed cultural analyses of policing (e.g., Shearing and Ericson 1991) that follow Bittner’s (1967) focus on “practical skill”¹⁶ tend to move away from exploring the haecceity of police work to focus on police talk and language. They emphasize social processes like telling police stories¹⁷ (Fletcher 1996; Manning 1980; Ford 2003; McNulty 1994) that are thought to “constitute a sensibility out of which action flows” (Shearing and Ericson 1991). According to these researchers, the important parts of police culture are transmitted from one generation to another through the stories, myths, and anecdotes that senior officers tell to novices (Shearing & Ericson 1991; Oberweis and Musheno 1999; Fletcher 1996; van Maanen 1980).¹⁸ These authors are focally concerned with *styles* of reasoning and how they are created; how an officer become competent in “deploying” rules, codes, and justifications. However, they are relatively unconcerned with other aspects of the police officer’s conduct, abilities, and skills. Police socialization, in their view, is the introduction of “a novice to the craft of policing by showing her, via the poetic logic of tropes, how to see her new world, and then pointing out to her the features that have been highlighted for her” (Shearing and Ericson 1991: 494). This is an important processes to study but only half the story. We must ask, “How about what police learn to *do*? Is conduct itself not cultural in form prior to its being poetically read as a text? Is conduct an effect of stories and metaphors? Is the behavior of police officers simply given for interpretation or something that emanates from rule like programs that output behavior? Certainly these views of police socialization, where attitudes and values are somehow “transmitted” from person to person, are contrary to leading theories of learning (e.g. Bandura 1973; Lave and Wenger 1991; Hutchins 1996; Ingold 2000) that require cognitive processes to be embedded in contexts of situated action for skilled behaviors to be learned.

¹⁶ For Bittner, practical skill is “used to refer to those methods of doing certain things, and to the information that underlies the use of the methods, that *practitioners themselves* view as proper and efficient. Skill is therefore, a stable orientation to work tasks that is relatively independent of the personal feelings and judgment of those who employ it” (Bittner 1980: 445-446).

¹⁷ “War stories” are popular objects of study. According to Ford (2003): “War stories are defined as a recounting of idealized events, entertaining humor, or police-related social commentary. They carry a message celebrating police values or techniques. They are aptly named war stories because they often deal with the physical side of policing. War stories deal with the heroic, the extreme, and the cynically humorous. They paint a picture of policing that is often at odds with daily tedium and frequently contradict official ways” (86).

¹⁸ This is particularly true when it comes to studying the routine everyday force used by the police. When cultural analysis is applied to police violence, the emphasis is on how recruits learn about “brutality” and “excessive force”—the use of which is, by all accounts, empirically rare (Rahtz 2003; Alpert and Dunham 2004). In particular the interest has been on how violence is prospectively and retroactively justified and accounted for (Hunt 1985; Waegel 1985; Van Maanen 1980). For the vast population of law enforcement officers, “use of force” is a statistical anomaly, not a norm (Adams 1999; Fredrichs 1980) and typical force-use scenarios involve only low-level force such as commanding, grabbing, or holding (Bayley and Garofalo 1989; Garner, Buchanan, Shade, & Hepburn 1996; Pate and Fridell 1993). Only one percent of police encounters with citizens result in the application of some kind of force (Langan, Greenfeld, Smith, Durose, & Levin, 2001). Of those, only about 1/3 can loosely be called excessive force (Adams 1995), i.e. force that is greater than what is needed to overcome a subject’s resistance (Crank and Caldero 2000). Nonetheless, law enforcement agents and agencies are still expected to be *prepared* to respond to situations with a reserve of force.

Police force is similarly treated as something justified, accounted for, and rationalized rather than as something done (Manning 1980; Waegel 1984; Hunt 1985). Hunt's descriptions of "normal force" (which I will examine in more detail later) focuses on "how police themselves classify and evaluate acts of force as either legal, normal, or excessive" (Hunt 1985: 316). Similarly, Waegel writes, "At another level, the occupational subculture of the police involves a set of understandings, beliefs, practices, and a language for talking about all problematic aspects of their work, including the shooting and killing of citizens" and he goes on to argue that "Any explanation of police violence must take into account how the police themselves account for and explain their use of weapons" (Waegel 1984: 145). Even in Van Maanen's seminal piece on the experience of police force, he almost immediately leaves behind the highly visceral meaning of forceful encounters to describe how mortal combat events are constructed, after the fact, at the official, collegial and individual levels of interpretation.

Something is very wrong here methodologically and theoretically. As Waddington (1999) has observed, most studies of police culture are really studies of police "talk." They attempt to explain the social behavior of police officers by referring to talk that occurs in separate arenas of action (e.g., officers recounting a violent episode as they talk to their colleagues days later). These studies, often based on interviews, conflate the content of the interview with the interview as a unique kind of speech event (Briggs 1986), with its own goals, participants (researcher and interviewee) with their own communicative norms, and definitions of the situation. These studies frequently tear the "stories," "rules," and "codes" out of their original context and are uncritical in asking why the officers are telling the stories or "telling the code" (Weider 1978) to the researcher or in the particular instances the strip of talk is observed being spoken. Moreover, when sociologists look at the "tellings" of cops in naturalistic settings they do not often examine to whom cops are speaking, in what situation, and to what ends. Using the *post hoc* explanation, justification, or classification, often from an artificial interview situation, makes little sense in explaining the actional antecedent and it conflates talk as an action in a specific speech context with actions geared to a different set of tasks, demands, and people in an encounter.

These mentalistic approaches to the study of police work also ignores that there are "heaps of things... we understand only with our bodies, outside conscious awareness, without being able to put our understandings into words" (Bourdieu 1990b: 166).¹⁹ Close scrutiny of the mundane practices that make up day-to-day life in the Academy, the constitutive *how-to* moments, is largely absent.²⁰

A contribution of this study is to simply go beyond analyzing data about talk and to look at what recruits are *actually* taught to do. We want to know how police officers learn to perceived dangers and threats and the techniques that are linked to these perceptions as skillful

¹⁹ As Chan (2003) notes, the emphasis of research has been on examining how the lofty ideals that recruits bring with them to the academy are degraded and replaced with cynical attitudes and "deviant practices" as recruits are more integrated into the occupation by experienced officers. Chan and others (e.g. Fielding 1988) also argue that the acquisition of a police world view is not a mechanical process where recruits are over-socialized dupes. Recruits are not passive recipients of police culture. Rather, they more or less actively seek out and internalize these stories depending on their eagerness to "learn the ropes" (Henry 2004). For example the deadly force "war stories" that are told by senior officers and instructors are often actively sought out or attentively listened to by recruits because recruits believe that they provide practical information, tips, or strategies that they can use when they "hit" the street (Henry 2004; van Maanen 1980; Shearing and Ericson 1991).

²⁰ Bandura summarizes the relationship between symbolic models of behavior and embodied enactment: "[S]ymbolic learning remains in abeyance until prerequisite skills are developed through further observation or practice" (1973: 71).

responses to perceived threats. After all, police recruits and police officers do not stand around all day practically reasoning about their world in a kind of scholastic contemplation. They are *in* their situation, constantly doing and responding to the practical demands of the training world or the world of the street. The recruit training officers make sure that recruits have little time out to think and that there is a steady pressure of demand for non-stop action. This oversight in the literature may be one reason why talk-rooted theories of police force consistently defy empirical validation.²¹

Embodying Police Culture

One contribution of this study is to demonstrate that the Police Academy does not function primarily by facilitating the acquisition of propositional or declarative knowledge, stories, mental models or metaphors. Recruits don't only learn discrete cognitive structures that they simply transport with them and apply in other contexts.²² A second contribution of this dissertation is to try to describe the pedagogical practices and context that the RTOs and instructors of the academy rely on to get recruits to a *novice* level of forceful ability. The Academy works, as Lave and Wenger (1991) would suggest, by creating contexts of *situated learning*. These are situations in which observable models, co-participation and active engagement in are significant and occur in social context that replicates attenuated features of domain where the activity will be used (e.g. the stress and discipline of the academy is meant to create an environment of tension, conflict, and difficulty that is supposed to replicate the difficulties of police work environments). Recruits learn to *perform* in a situated context of things to do, within a social structure, and an external and constraining system of rewards and recognitions. This approach emphasizes the *motor learning process* described by Bandura (1973), but drawing out the social structures of the learning environment. Through this process, recruits acquire and incorporate a set of skills and abilities by actually engaging in prescribed processes. These processes, in turn, take place under the attenuated conditions established by Recruit Training Officers (RTO's), instructors, deputies and police officers visiting the academy, and other recruits. The Academy is a zone of *social engagement* that teaches “double tapping,” “search and seizure,” “command presence,” and the “will to survive” through collective activity. By participating in social engagements—what Lave and Wenger (1991) refer to as “communities of practice”—the recruits' *habitus* is formed in and through *practice*.²³ If we want to understand how and why police officers swing their batons, use control holds, and sweep the feet out from under their fellow citizens, we should return to core communities of practice—the social settings where practices are incorporated and where recruits are introduced to new ways of

²¹ Donald Black's (1971) study of racial talk by cops and the discrepancy between negative racial attitudes and arrest behavior is typical of studies that have not been able to strongly correlate talk, attitudes, and beliefs to actual behavior.

²² See: Brown, J.S., Collins, A. & Duguid, S. (1989), “Situated cognition and the culture of learning,” published in *Educational Researcher*, 18(1), 32-42; and Lave's *Cognition in Practice* (1988).

²³ The idea of a *police habitus* is not entirely absent from research on the police (Chan 2003, 2004), but nonetheless tends to focus on taken-for-granted cognitive categories and does not look at the social structures of participation that enroll recruits in increasingly competent practice.

using the body.²⁴ This means scrutinizing *all* the settings of police training—the gym, the firearms range, the parade grounds—not just classroom, locker room, and office talk.

My third contribution is to inject into our understanding of police culture additional cultural forms other than the symbolic and racio-centric forms thus far favored. I introduce Mauss's (1979) notion of "body techniques" as an important cultural form. Mauss's (1979) description of the "body techniques" that constitute a *habitus* (a matrix of bodily techniques) is particularly useful in illustrating the social conditions of police officers' bodily conduct. Mauss conceptualizes *habitus* as the collective schema of techniques that generate a person's or a group's acquired ability to use the body. He suggests that the *habitus* provides the "practical reason" for action, e.g., we do not have to think about digging in order to dig in a socially distinct manner. The reason for the action lies in the habit itself (Crossley 2001; Ostrow 1990).²⁵ Mauss focuses on body techniques after observing that certain bodily practices (e.g., ways of walking, marching, or even digging) "vary between societies, educations, proprieties and fashions, prestiges" (Mauss, 1979: 101). Based on these observations, Mauss defines body techniques as "ways in which from society to society men [sic] know how to use their bodies" (1979: 97). Mauss argues that body techniques are traditional, technical, and efficacious. To say that body techniques are traditional is to say that they are social and passed on from generation to generation. They are also *technical* because they assume particular forms that are not obvious to the untrained. Through body techniques, people develop a new efficacy; they are able to act with and through their embodied skills.

Elaborating on Mauss's notion of *habitus*, Bourdieu (1990) argues that the embodied, durable, and transposable dispositions of the *habitus* give individual conduct a "cohesion without concept" (Merleau-Ponty 1968: 152) and a "regulation without rules." For Bourdieu, the *habitus* affords social beings a "feel for the game" or a "practical sense;" this is not so much a state of mind as a state of the body. The body is the repository of ingrained dispositions, in the form of habits of movement, postures, bearings, and certain ways of behaving that make some actions seem altogether natural. Bourdieu refers to this as the "bodily hexis" or "bodily schema": "Bodily hexis is political mythology realized, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (Bourdieu 1990a:120). Bourdieu argues that the dispositions of the *habitus* are a product of social experience: they are structured by a myriad of mundane processes (of training and learning). The dispositions and competences of the *habitus* are acquired in structured social contexts (like police academies, the family, the school) whose patterns, purpose and underlying principles are incorporated both as a *proclivity* and a *modus operandi*. Once acquired, the *habitus* is generative, durable, and transposable.

²⁴ While bodily knowledge is central to Bourdieu's notion of the *habitus*, it plays a relatively small role for Chan (2004). For Chan, the *habitus* is primarily about axiomatic knowledge (what goes without saying), dictionary knowledge (the various categories and typifications that police apply to their world), directory knowledge (the "how-to" rules of patrol), and police values. When it comes to the "bodily hexis," Chan refers more to the values placed on physical training and a masculine comportment derived from the masculine *doxa* of policing (e.g., the belief that policing is inherently about crime fighting). While certainly a step forward, Chan fails to fully engage with the idea of a police *habitus* where the bodily hexis is not a dependent variable of various cognitive cultural forms but rather the "existential ground" (Cordas) of police culture.

²⁵ That a technique is pre-thetic or unthought does not mean that it is unintelligent. Skilled and inventive action like boxing (Wacquant 2003; 1995) requires well developed body techniques that allow for near infinite variation in the boxing ring.

Building on these insights, Crossley has argued that, “By way of a focus upon body techniques[,] we can explore the embodiment of the doing of a wide range of practice and processes” (2007: 87). In what follows, I examine the myriad mundane processes whereby recruits learn “search and seizure” as body techniques. Moving beyond police officers’ talk about violence, I explain *how they act*, focusing on the participative frameworks of bodily learning that make possible socially shared bodies. I try to account for the “conditioning experiences” through which recruits acquire their habitus, and I show how their bodily transformation occurs through their participation in activities, rather than the internalization of decontextualized knowledges. This means attending to *the point of production* of the habitus—the Police Academy.

Bodily Knowledge

Ethnography is excellent at providing descriptions of patterns of conduct as collective phenomena. Jack Katz (2002; 1999) suggests that all action and perception “is created by *corporeal processes* that are themselves beyond the actor’s direct awareness, but that are visible to the researcher” (Katz 2002: 259, my italics).²⁶ I attend to these processes not just as a theoretical choice but because my observations showed that being forceful is a collective accomplishment. Something as seemingly private, personal, and visceral as how a recruit to breathes when shooting or running, how a recruit experiences pain, and even the impulse to “Stand their ground” has its origins in a highly collective pedagogy. This observation means highlighting the bodily nature of presence in social situations and the embodied nature of social action.

“Bringing the body back in” has come in vogue over the past two decades (Grosz 1994; O’Neill 1985; Turner 1984; Schepher-Hughes and Lock 1987) and it is important to clarify where this study fits into the general trends in studying “social body.” The commodified body (Turner 1984), the political body (Weiss 2003), the gendered and sexed body (Bordo 2003; Butler 1993), and the symbolic body (Douglas 2003 [1970]) all address the “epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic technologies which variously discipline, adorn, punish, celebrate, etc. ‘the body’” (Crossley 1995: 43). Most often, the body is examined in terms of what is *done to it*. Butler and Foucault are paradigmatic in this respect. They treat the body as socially constructed and shaped by texts, objects, and discourses; here, relations of power can be inscribed upon the body (much like in Kafka’s *The Penal Colony*). Treating the body as a surface, site, text, symbol or an effect of body image (Grosz 1994), discipline (Foucault 1977) or linguistic convention (Butler 1993) encourages us to acknowledge the part that historical and social relations of domination and knowledge play in making ‘volatile bodies.’²⁷

²⁶ Katz notes that these “three dimensions” of social life are analytically separate but are not ontologically distinct. “We do not ‘present a self’ by some means or in some time and place that is separate from ‘the embodiment of our conduct,’ in turn separate from developing our ‘construction of the meanings’ of the situation... Any given action is the result of a person’s integration of three simultaneously sustained processes. A moment’s doing in social life entails maneuvering in detailed ways to make recognizable sense of one’s situated behavior, even while one senses how the current situation fits into one’s ongoing life, and even as the metaphoric vehicle of one’s conduct is being transformed, often seemingly beyond one’s control” (Katz 1999: 7).

²⁷ Foucault, for example, writes in ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy and History’ that, “We believe, in any event, that the body obeys the exclusive laws of physiology and that it escapes the influence of history, but this too is false. The body is broken down by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest and holidays; it is poisoned by foods or values, through eating habits or moral laws; it constructs resistances” (Foucault, 1977: 153). He claims that the body is “totally imprinted by history” (ibid). The body, in his view, must not be considered as

These approaches to the body are not particularly helpful in explaining how recruits come to be forceful because they don't provide a framework for recruits to be active participants in their own bodily self-making. If the mentalism of symbolic interactionism tends to ignore that recruits have socially structured bodies, the approaches of those like Butler or Foucault tend, to fall into a kind of social physics in which things are done to bodies but bodies do not have the ability to become part of the agents construction of a sensible world of meaning and action. That is, Butler, Foucault, Douglas (for whom the body is just another sign), etc. lose the active dimension of embodiment. But habits, skills, and dispositions function as forms of bodily understanding and knowledge and if we are to understand how police officers construct their worlds in practice we must appreciate the types of cognitive *and* bodily structure that agents use to make their worlds.

Habitus

The notion of *habitus*, whose basic structure I have already outlined, is a useful antedote to both the idealism of symbolic interactionism and studies of occupational socialization and the quasi-social physics of studies of the body that treat the body as an effect of linguistic structures as opposed to living, breathing, acting, hurting, thinking organisms.

The notion of habitus suggests that every group has its own practical and embodied logic. The principle point is that behavioral dispositions are collectively attuned to one another as bodily habits, not rules, norms, and values. The habitus is the generative basis of “an individual agent’s practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be nonetheless ‘sensible’ and ‘reasonable’” (Bourdieu 1977: 79). Thus Different groups not only come to adorn and use their bodies in particular ways because of the demands of their social world, but agents in those worlds tend to *feel*, perceive, and inhabit their worlds quite differently because they have bodily structures that emerged out of different conditioning experiences, even if the coherence of their practices is non-conceptual.

The *habitus* is not a substantial thing as much as a “sensitizing concept” (Blumer 1969) that emphasizes the need for a conception of human action and practice that can account for its regularity, coherence, and order without ignoring that social agents also act strategically and have a perception and knowledge of their social world that impacts how they maneuver through that perceived world. *Habitus* simply points out that even when agents are acting creatively and strategically to negotiate their social worlds, they do so with habits, dispositions, perceptual and cognitive schemata that they inherit. But because *habitus* also focus researchers on how the socialized body— “durable way[s] of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking” (Bourdieu 1990: 69-70)— is socially efficacious, i.e. given recognition, stigmatized, rewarded and punished, it points us to how people become viscerally attached to the “social body that has made it and with which it is bound up” (Bourdieu 2000: 105). Subjective structures are thus understood as emerging from and re-constituting the objective situations they came from.

Social agents are thus like athletes on playing on the field, actively pursuing the movement of a ball into a goal with their skill and competence, but always doing so within the bounds of the game and with skills only appropriate to the game. In this sense the structures of the habitus function like an underlying generative grammar (in Chomsky’s sense) allowing for infinite innovation in forms of expression.

pre-given but in terms of its conduct and behavior. Moreover, Foucault, while not disavowing the body as active in the social world, does tend to focus on the pole where things are ‘done to’ the body (Crossely 1996).

As a brief example, take the difference in forceful practices between boxers (Wacquant 1995) and police officers. Both use their bodies to inflict damage on others in order to achieve definite ends in social encounters. But boxers and officers enter into qualitatively different types of forceful situations and whilst the boxer may be more effective in how they negotiate the ring with their fists, police officers must negotiate their social encounters using a much broader repertoire of techniques. Even when officers use their fists, they do not use them like a boxer. Officers are taught to use their palms since they don't have gloves and need to avoid breaking their hands. Boxers on the other hand don't have to employ the "interview stance" as a kind of pre-loaded bodily posture to move from communicative encounters like an interview to having arms always positioned to strike. In each case, boxers and police officers generate an objectively observable pattern of practices (e.g. the punches landed and scored in a boxing match versus the force encounters of a cop) and they do so using a bodily schema informed by their encounters with either the structured social world of the gym or of the police academy.

In another way, the notion of habitus helps us to escape from seeing some kinds of "training" as social and other forms of training as asocial. The dominant view in the police literature is expressed by James Fyfe. Fyfe argues that "The goals of training, however, go beyond the transmission of skills and techniques and the suppression of a few officer's hostile impulses. Police training has an attitudinal component: it socializes officers into their departments and teaches them their employers' philosophies, values and expectations" (Fyfe 1996: 166). As Bourdieu points out, especially in works like *Distinction* (1984), the seemingly technical uses of the body and skill are eminently social and express the position one occupies in the social world. Bourdieu often describes the process in terms of how "political mythology" is "embodied." This is just as important a mode of socialization (not just technical training) as acquiring attitudes.

There is at least one study of the police that suggests how the notion of habitus points us to fruitful areas of inquiry. Rubenstein (1973), in *City Police* hints at the practical and embodied logic of policing in his keen descriptions of how a police officer uses his body in social encounters:

"The policeman's principal tool is his body. He shares with many persons the use of their bodies as a piece of equipment essential to the performance of their trades. He is similar to a mountain climber; to athletes whose success is rooted in physical prowess rather than the skillful use of equipment; to runners, circus acrobats, sexual performers, laborers, and peasants. He also has, in common with people in many trades, a set of skills that are needed for effective use of tools expressly provided to expand the effectiveness of his body. For him a gun and a night stick are not simply weapons that terrify some and intrigue others but extensions of himself whose use (and non-use) is linked to his notions about how he uses his body to do his work. *But unlike anyone else whose body is the tool of his trade, the policeman uses his to control other people*" (1973: 267-8, italics mine).

Rubenstein's insight is that police officers are principally in their social encounters through the vector of their body. The need to control isn't expressed as an attitude or expectation but as a way of accomplishing control through the body. Moreover, for Rubenstein, *how* police officers incorporate their tools as extensions of the body, and how they use those incorporated tools along with the rest of their body, is constitutive of the order of the encounter. It is never enough just to ask whether or not a police officer shares the institutions "philosophy" if they

can't also express the philosophy by deploying it. What Rubenstein's study suggests, when informed by the notion of *habitus*, is that it would be fruitful to study the point of production of "the policeman's principal tool." By examining the pedagogical practice of the academy we get a genetic look at the objective conditions that make possible how future police officers use their body in a socially structured way. The Chicago School ethnographies of policing miss the fundamental fact that police officers use their bodies daily to control others and similarly studies of police socialization are so obsessed with values, norms, metaphors, and stories that this simple fact of police work has been lost.

The Structure of Body-Centric Social Worlds

In this section I review what we know about how social worlds are preoccupied by the body as an object and how that shapes the bodily structures of social agents.. The police are not the only group that puts a premium on the body. Soldiers (Lande 2007), firefighters (Desmond 2007), surgeons (Miller 2008; Cassel 1991), musicians (Sudnow 2001), just to name a few, have relatively well bounded worlds with their own specific ways of valuing the body and with their own widely shared patterns of bodily form. In this section I explore what other researches can tell us about the objective social structures required for a forceful body to emerge with all its attendant sensibilities and its tolerance for suffering.

Particularly useful to understanding the genesis of forceful bodies is the research on how men learn to act in the realms of sport and violent crime as well as how firefighters come to think and act toward danger. Studies of the emergence of forceful bodies include ethnographies of: (1) sports, such as boxing (Wacquant 1995, 2003), rugby (Howe 2001), and football (Messner and Sabo 1994); (2) male youth (Divine 1996; Messerschmidt 1999; Gard and Meyenn 2000; Paulle 2005); (3) criminal violence (Katz 1988); and (4) occupational violence like that encountered by bouncers in the nighttime economy (Winlow 2001, Monaghan 2002). These studies provide a general framework for researching the normalization of physical force and the acquisition of forceful aptitudes in the rationalized institutional setting of the police academy.²⁸

These studies focus variously on: (1) changes in bodily structures; (2) the body's mundane and constant presence in social interaction; (3) the body as a form of capital or social efficacy; and (4) the moral and symbolic organization of the body. In most of these studies, violent bodily potential is recognized as a marketable asset and the body is clearly foregrounded as the primary tool of social actors. Shame, honor, respect, recognition, humiliation, and pride act as virtual force fields that propel athletes, young men, and violent criminals to cultivate and use their bodies in forceful ways. Because the masculine body is prized as one imbued with skill,

²⁸ The connection between sports violence and state violence is not so strange. Norbert Elias's work reveals parallel developments in sport and state violence. Elias (1986, 2001) argues that sports become one of the primary places in which violence becomes compartmentalized in the civilizing process. Similarly, the state monopolizes violence, taking it out of ordinary life and concentrating it among specialists such as police officers and soldiers who, like boxers, wrestlers, or rugby players, engage in a highly civilized, regulated, and routinised violence. In any case, the development of highly interdependent social relations coincides with changing sensibilities toward the use of force such that, for boxers and police officers alike, violence is an affair regulated to certain times and place by certain socially sanctioned individuals who must typically follow rules and norms within rationalized formal institutions. Thus, although not identical to each other, sports and the police academy have a lot in common.

force, agility, endurance, and speed, it tends to stand out as the raw material for achieving a valued self.²⁹

Gendered Bodies

A number of studies have found that men and women hold and move their bodies differently (Birdwhistell 1970; Henley 1977; Martin 1998; Bourdieu 2001; Young 2005). These studies show that men and women in the United States learn gender-specific ways to sit, stand, gesture, walk, talk, and throw. Women's bodies tend to be confined and their movements are more tentative and restricted.³⁰ These differences are consequential within a variety of social worlds, including the world of police work.³¹ In professional, college, and school sports, for instance, the violent body provides a context for social relationships centered on honor and shame—a theme of great importance in the police academy. To the extent that women have been taught from an early age to be restrictive in their movements, they are at a disadvantage in these worlds. This is equally true of the police academy where women often are disadvantaged because they lack a forceful comportment and, for example, take up postures that make for poor shooting.

Physical Force and Suffering in Sports Worlds

How are these collective behavior learned and naturalized as a practical sense rather than a kind of rational individual calculation? We have a bounty of examples from studies of force and suffering in sports worlds. Physical force is especially normalized in the realms of sports. In social worlds like these, Sabo (1994) identifies a “pain principle,” where the ability to tolerate pain is more prized than the desire for pleasure. The “pain principle” is used to reform the emotions and sensations of athletes to conform with the values and visions of their coaches.³² The body in sports is not a given object but something to be cultivated. Athletes learn to “take it” and earn the rewards of “athletic camaraderie, prestige, scholarships, pro contracts, and community recognition” (Sabo 1994: 87). That is, suffering is learned as a practical activity in a structured social world where pain and its social consequences are confronted as social facts.

²⁹ Connell (1995) notes that “True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies— to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body.” The masculine body as defined by force and skill, Connell says, has its roots in the particular world that men occupy. True masculinity matters most in worlds that demand the performance of forceful movements such as in industrial labor. Sports create worlds where running, throwing and jumping matter. In these structured worlds, certain bodily performances are called into existence that symbolically value the body in certain ways and, at the same time, change its kinetic structures. Thus, according to Connell, the performance of an action is both symbolic and kinetic. Breakdowns in the body mean that the performance of masculinity can't be sustained. Given the demand on men to use their bodies in forceful and violent ways, they are in a kind of perpetual crisis where damage to the body threatens the sustainability of masculine virtues.

³⁰ For example, women tend to take smaller steps than men, sit in closed positions with arms and legs crossed, and do not step, twist, or throw from the shoulder when throwing a ball as men tend to do.

³¹ Indeed, when we get to chapter 3, we will see how the habitus that many women bring into the academy shapes how they are able to enact lethal force on the firearms range.

³² Howe (2001) also examines how the embodiment of pain changes as rugby clubs commercialize and treat athletes as professionals who are expected to train more and exert more effort on the field. See also White, Young and McTeer (1994).

The RTOs I encountered in the police academy played a role similar to the coaches that Sabo describes. Just as coaches tell athletes that toughness is a prerequisite for playing contact sports, so the RTOs, instructors, and veteran cops of the police world tell recruits that the denial of pain, “pushing limits,” and “sucking it up” are necessary to becoming a good cop. Through a concoction of public recognition, shaming, incantations, and rituals of suffering, RTOs get recruits to tolerate more and more pain and to cultivate bodily self-control. Real cops, just like “real men,” endure pain. Cops who fight through pain are glorified as are athletes who perform while in pain or while injured. It should be no surprise that many police officers have extensive histories of participation in contact and combat sports.

Messner (1994) illustrates the social labor involved in cultivating the body to be used in a forceful way.³³ School sports teams (Gard and Meyenn 2000) are one of the institutions that help perpetuate and reproduce a specifically masculine relationship to force and pain.³⁴ Gard and Meyenn argue that the experience of pain becomes doable and desirable as boys become sensitized to the profits of pain; pain is established as a masculine self-performance. Dishing out force is normalized through athletic training regimes and an infrastructure of role models and rewards that valorize forceful uses of the body. Sports provide one arena where boys learn to experience their bodies as gendered and themselves as skilled, weak, clumsy, active or passive. As Bourdieu (2001) and Connell (1995; also see Prian 1998) have argued, gender can be understood *bodily* and is linked to pleasures, postures, and skills.

The normalization of physical force in occupations like police work is embossed in the body *and* is linked to specific moralities. Wacquant (1995, 1998) has shown that the violence of boxing, for instance, is normalized within an ethical system obsessed with the logic of sacrifice. Boxers don’t like being hit. Accepting the hit, however, is a prerequisite for commitment to a craft that prizes fighting potential. By practicing sacrifice, boxers refine their bodily armor and fighting skill, learning to take pain and to suffer well. The “body work” of boxers within the economy of the gym (including trainees and coaches) serves practical and ritual functions. On the one hand, the body’s senses are recalibrated to the logic of the boxing gym and, on the other hand, pleasures are created by transcending moral and ascetic challenges and participating in a quasi-monastic order. Boxers don’t just fight for the sake of fighting; they do it for the moral profits that come with triumph over bodily limitations such as fear and pain.

My own ethnographic work on the training of army officers (Lande 2007) emphasizes a how moral demands of military leadership encourage recruits to refine their endurance, dexterity, and fighting ability. Cadets invest themselves in projects of carnal self-making as they work to achieve virtuous *disciplined* selves as well as masculine and heroic selves. Here, the pursuit of martial competence becomes a part of the larger project of transcending the body’s everyday

³³ Iris Marion Young (2005) suggests the opposite. She shows how women acquire a bodily schema organized around being looked at rather than projecting the self outward in space. She focuses primarily on how women, as opposed to the men studied by people like Messner, acquire relatively immobile, closed, uncoordinated, and unforceful bodies. She argues that much of the reality of being a woman is at the existential level of bodily comportment. Differences in bodily structures definitively shape lived experience as masculine or feminine by instituting symbolic differences in the body. Moreover, the structures of the body determine the different styles by which men and women are able to perceive and act in different situations. Bodily comportment, she argues, is a product of differences in living conditions, treatment by others, and surroundings.

³⁴ This is, in part, because physical education in schools has become dominated by a sports model that privileges skills and fitness for the sake of competition. This helps institutionalize a gender regime within schools, where some forms of physical play like gymnastics and dance are marginalized and where only certain kinds of valued bodies are produced.

limits. Especially important to army officers is cultivation of the ability to lead subordinates and to be a near unlimited fount of support for them. The pressure to be an “exemplar” soldier who “leads from the front” demands constant engagement in bodily labor. A cadet or novice lieutenant must demonstrate his leadership capabilities publicly by staying ahead of his troops during Army Physical Fitness Tests (to fall behind would be humiliating).

The hidden curriculum of sports (Giroux and Purpel 1983) is the gendering of bodies: it trains and *embodies* a masculine sense of confidence, endurance and tolerance. This sense stems from an ability to take over space and to use it to its fullest extent. This is linked in obvious ways to the normalization of force: “The embodiment of culturally dominant forms of masculinity entails the embedding of force and skill in the body” (Messner 1994: 96). Through practice, forceful dispositions come to be taken for granted, especially by men for whom using the body as a “weapon” or “taking it” seems like a natural part of manhood.

Danger and Risk

Danger has long been seen as an essential aspect of police work. Police work is unique in that its core tasks require officers to enter into social encounters with other people that may result in sudden attack from a human being as opposed to the calculable risk of physical or environmental hazards (Reiner 2000). Almost inevitably the question arises as to why anyone would risk their lives or bodily integrity to an occupation that regularly confronts the reality of firearms or at least furious fists as part of every encounters?

A popular explanation of danger and risk taking that has come into vogue recently is the idea of “edgework.” Lyng (1990) argues that “What draws people to ‘extreme’ sports, dangerous occupations, and other edgework activities is the intensely seductive character of the experience itself” (Lyng 2005: 5). Overcoming the limits between life and death and sanity and insanity through skillful practice and coping offers a powerful sensation of transcending the limits of a situation by doing the impossible. Officers, like rock climbers, skiers, and participants of other risky activities dependent on bodily skill, frequently describe the experience of overcoming challenges through skillful coping as a seductive experience. As I will show in Chapter three’s discussion of police recruits backgrounds, the risks, dangers, and uncertainty of police work make the job appealing because it offers to challenge their limits and add variety to experience. But to define most recruits as adrenaline junkies is inaccurate.

If it makes sense for a police recruit or officer to walk toward an “active shooter” at a school whilst the sane run in the other direction, it is not because of the “quest for excitement” (Elias and Dunning 1986). Desmond (2007) offers up a more empirically satisfying answer in his investigation of firefighters. Firefighters, like police officers, do not “fully recognize the dangers they face and charge toward them.” Risk taking does not occur in a vacuum with a “time out” to calculate the odds but in particular situations where individuals are absorbed in particular tasks and responding to “calls to order” as practical problems.

For example, in my own patrol work, when I responded to a domestic violence call where no one came to the door and the situation evolved, within minutes, to require a “high risk entry” in order to investigate the screaming and loud thuds I heard, I was not confronted by a kind of risk, like a Russian roulette gambler. Rather I saw the situation the way most of my peers did, n in terms of: *do I have a partner with me; should I notify my sergeant before going in; what are the lighting conditions (day, night; lights on in the house); what is the history of this house; what is the house made of and am I safe from gunfire in front of this wall?; how confident am I with*

my weapons and hands? Will this be a difficult house to enter and search safely; do I have ballistic shield available; Can my partner deploy a less lethal mode of force (such as a Taser) to support my entry?

Desmond argues that to the firefighters he studied, like police officers, respond to dangerous situations in similar terms of a practical sense, such as “*Is that smoke or steam? Should I keep digging, or should I fall back?*” (Desmond 2007: 10). Desmond’s response to how and why people respond risks in certain ways in specific institutions requires that “analysts must investigate how institutions make people deployable by concentrating on the ways they train, educate, motivate, and discipline workers to ensure that they will place their lives on the line when ‘duty calls’ (Desmond 2007: 10). In Desmond’s study, it was the attempt to demonstrate a country masculinity that invested firefighters in their techniques. My study of forcefulness follows Desmond’s injunction that we understand how people become deployable to use force within an organizational context by looking at the collective forms of behavior that police officers must minimally learn to graduate from the academy.

Young Men and Criminal Violence

Studies of youth and adult criminal violence suggest that martial bodies are not just the “effects” of masculine ideals; they are also constitutive of the meaning of social interactions. In other words, the body is not just a target or object of social interaction; it also plays a constructive, if hidden, role in shaping the flow of interactions (see Katz 1988; 1999). Messerschmidt (1999) shows how working-class boys use their bodies as physical resources for controlling others, acquiring esteem, and drawing boundaries around gang membership.³⁵ Importantly, he argues that cultivated violent dispositions are important forms of social agency that allow boys to construct themselves as masculine and valued selves.³⁶ Effort is invested by boys to create bodies that have “presence” or the potential for forceful and vigorous physicality (which Paille 2005 observed in the hallways and classrooms of the school he studied in the Bronx). Messerschmidt shows that the sustainment of “presence” or even being a “cool guy” in school is accomplished through bodily relations to others.

³⁵ Willis (1977), Devine (1996), and Paille (2005) (among others) have noted the positive moral and sensual attractions of violence to the masculine hubris of adolescent boys. Willis (1977: 34), for example, writes, “Violence and the judgment of violence is the most basic axis of ‘the lads’ ascendance over the conformists, almost in the way that knowledge is for teachers.” Violence is seductive because it is profoundly existential. It has the power to change the meaning of situations and allow for a powerful moral ascendance over the profane. Willis shows that violence among working-class lads “opposes [the rule of teachers and authority] with machismo. It is the ultimate way of breaking a flow of meanings which are unsatisfactory, imposed from above, or limited by circumstances. It is a way to make the mundane suddenly matter... boredom and petty detail disappear. *It really does matter how the next seconds pass....* [Fights] become permanent possibilities for the alleviation of boredom, and pervasive elements of masculine style and presence” (Willis 1977: 34, my italics).

³⁶ Messerschmidt also shows that different kinds of masculinities are constructed and sustained through different kinds of bodily resources. The composition of bodily shape, size, strengths, etc., constitutes the bodily capital that boys have to work with in the making of their selves. The relationship between boys and their bodily resources constitutes something like a social space defined in terms of bodily capital. How a boy relates to others is shaped by their specific position within this system as determined by the kind of body that they have. Messerschmidt argues that the boys he studied “experience their everyday world from specific bodily positions and their bodies, in turn, entered negotiated social interaction and shaped future social practices” (1999: 218).

Katz (1988) shows that “badasses” on the street engage in similar projects of bodily interaction. They work to cultivate a street “presence” by consistently inviting interactions that threaten to explode into violence. Like the boys that Messerschmidt studied, or the working-class lads studied by Willis (1977), “badasses” use the body—its postures, skills, and to a lesser extent bodily dressings—to define the self. Here, the body is profoundly implicated in relationships of deference and esteem, and it is a means through which people understand and define a given situation. To realize a “transcendent superiority” over others, the badass must use his body in ways that emphasize his physical presence: “To complete the project of becoming a badass, it is necessary to impress on others the apprehension that, however carefully they may maintain a respectful comportment, you might suddenly thrust the forces of chaos into their world” (Katz 1988: 99). It is the body that is the primary medium of this chaos. Studies like Katz’s suggest that the body is “always already there” (Katz 2000) in social life and that the violent body matters because of how it shapes and sustains social worlds.³⁷

Bodily Capital and the Field of Policing

Whether we are examining police, soldiers, school sports, firefighters, or criminal violence, the body appears as a resource that determines how individuals are distributed vis-à-vis one another. Policing is a field of social relationships defined by relations of hierarchy and difference. This field defines the objective social conditions under which forceful body techniques are embodied as a practical orientations and strategies for responding to the social world. Because policing demands a constant readiness to intervene in situations with the forceful body, it puts a premium on bodily abilities like fighting potential, bodily size, speed, endurance, and especially bodily and emotional self control (e.g. keeping your cool, projecting “command presence,” not letting anger get the better of you, not being afraid or not showing your fear, a willingness to leap unhesitatingly into action). The kind of body an officer has will make all the difference in terms of their life chances in policing. It determines their assignment to prestigious assignments, as a sign of social worth it determines who wants to have you on a shift with them, and most importantly, it is the dominant form of recognition of competence. A cop who is overweight, loses their temper, is easily scared or nervous, who can’t shoot or fight, counts for little and is not taken seriously. Being a “mope” is a stigmatizing category and a reason for others to avoid association with the “mope” officer.

Of course other forms of capital contribute to the field of policing. Cultural capital in the form of writing abilities for generating police reports can make or break an officer’s career. After all an officer who can’t master the principles of generating reports for courts is an officer who can’t make cases and therefore one who has no future. Being articulate in court and understanding the linguistic conventions of the justice system can make for recognition of potential in the detective’s bureau and in the administrative levels. Linguistic capital, here the ability to speak well to many kinds of people, makes an officer able to “flip” a suspect into an informant, to get information from citizens, all skills necessary to become a top-notch detective or member of a gang, narcotics, or vice unit. But of all the forms of capital that structure the police world and that are shaped by the demands of police work, bodily capital is the most

³⁷ Also see Athens (1997) for an amazing theory of the conduct and moral career of violent criminals. Although not focused on the body, this is one of the few studies that looks at the social learning and making of violent persons.

recognized and prestigious. The detectives and administrators with the most credibility are the ones everyone knows can “handle themselves” on “the street.”

The body’s social value in mediating relationships has been referred to as bodily or physical capital (Shilling 1993, Wacquant 1995). Bodily capital is, in part, the exchange value placed upon the size, shape, appearance, etc., of the flesh and viscera in a given social world. The salience of bodily capital in a given social world is contingent on the extent to which its actors must rely on their bodies to have an effect on their life chances. The notion of “capital” is a metaphor. Valued dispositions often are achieved only with investments of time and labor. On the other hand bodily structures like size can’t literally be spent in the same way as money (you don’t lose size because it gives you social efficacy). The point is that certain bodily forms can procure desired or be used strategically on account of its perceived value.

Wacquant (1995, 1998, 2003) has been a chief investigator of bodily economies. Of boxers, Wacquant (1995) writes: “their organism is indeed the template and epicenter of their life, at once the site, the instrument and the object of their daily work, the medium and the outcome of their occupational exertion” (Wacquant 1995: 66). Something similar is at work in the labor of bouncers in England (Winlow 2001; Monaghan 2002). They are heavily invested in a sense of masculinity that defines the body in terms of its potential force. Body building and fighting techniques constitute the bodily capital valued in the world of bouncers, a world that is structured around controlling the drunken hedonisms of others.³⁸ The concept of body capital is just a way to elucidate one of the dimensions that structure a social world for members.

In some social worlds, like boxing and policing, the valued body is a principal if not *the* principal organizing resource of the social world. Academics, on the other hand, puts very little value on body size, strength, and skill. Take how an academy instructor describes the perceived value of physical fitness as a bodily capital. An instructor from NBPA tells recruits why the Life Time Fitness Program matters for their success in policing especially when it comes to force:

“Instructor D. “Why is lifetime fitness so important? Remember when you're gonna be fighting, its young guys, 17-24 years old. That group is going to continue to exist but even you guys who are in your early twenties, five years from now you are going to be out of that age range, but you will still be fighting with them. I am not saying that you go and become a walking hulk of muscles. You can look at me and see that I am not that. I am saying that you need to keep up a level of fitness that is going to keep you safe against a younger more energetic aggressor. But fitness is the easy part. What we do on the mats [for combatives] that isn't. You try going at it with a guy for two or three minutes and you will

³⁸ Bourdieu (1984), Connell (1995), Charlesworth (2000), and Shilling (2004) are among those who have argued that different classes possess different bodies. Bourdieu argues that the working class tend to have an instrumental relation to their bodies marked by the need to “make do” in a world where there is little time to craft an aesthetic body. Charlesworth also shows that the working class value the disciplined and forceful body. Bourdieu argues that the dominant classes are able to treat the body as a project “with variants according to whether the emphasis is on the intrinsic functioning of the body as an organism... or on the appearance as a perceptible configuration, the ‘physique,’ i.e. the body for others” (Bourdieu 1978: 838; also 1984: 212-213). Differences in the class body do several things. For instance, they create inequalities of symbolic value. The working-class body may be valued among manual laborers but it is not generally valued throughout society. The dominant classes are more able to produce valued bodily forms because they have the spare time and the spare cash to go to the gym, jog, diet, etc. On the other hand, Willis (1977) and Winlow (2001) show that fighting potential as a bodily capital can readily be transformed into social capital, i.e. gaining access to valued peer group and even economic capital in the form of jobs.

see. Now most of you have never been in a real fight before. By the time you graduate from the academy you will have been in a fight. And you *will* lose. The point isn't to win it's to see how you try to cope with failing... Under stress the body is going to do what it's trained to do. We are going to give you the training you need so that even when you're burned you can do the right thing."

The type of body demanded by policing is defined by how the academy cadre imagines the nature of forceful encounters. Cadre assume that recruits will always be encountering the worst case scenario, someone who is physically fit and with a high level of fighting ability. This "symbolic assailant" is often imagined to be a *parole* who has spent "twenty-four seven with nothing to do but work out and think about how to kill you." With that in mind the physical fitness and defensive tactics program are geared to "surviving" these hypothetical assailants. Recruits are prepared to invest themselves in a career of body work aimed at maintaining their ability to endure and fight. Among younger cops, at the Sheriff's Offices where I was employed, the most frequent form of socialization outside of work was going to the gym, running, or cross-fit training. Getting beers and barbecuing came second and third respectively.

Not all members achieve or maintain equally valued bodies. Unlike the cops that sociologists studied in the 1960's and 1970's, the recruits and cadre I encountered placed an enormous emphasis on fitness and martial arts as a permanent feature of their lifestyle. Cops who are overweight and out of shape are seen as having effectively "dropped out" of the game of policing by letting their bodies go. These cops weren't taken very seriously by young officers or by police departments administrators who preferred to relegate those with stigmatized bodies to places like court security or the jails. Thus, in policing there is observable social stratification linked to perceived bodily resources. Just as boxers can be ranked according to their fighting prowess, elite units like SWAT are heavily body-centric and tend to only pick those who are physically fit, have demonstrated fighting ability, and skills with firearms. Other units, such as the detective bureau tend to value cultural competencies. SWAT teams also create barriers to entry that are different from those in investigative units. For instance, SWAT requires applicants to pass a rigorous physical agility test prior to membership; there is no such requirement for the detective bureau.

In the academy bodily capital is institutionalized as a social fact by a number of formal evaluations that guarantee that only those with certain minimally valued bodies will graduate. As such, evaluations like the physical fitness test (the final physical test includes push-ups, sit-ups, pull ups, a timed 1.5 mile run, and a timed obstacle course, with a solid fence climb, a chain link fence climb, a body drag, and a 500 yard sprint), firearms qualifications (recruits must be able to shoot accurately as far back as 25 yards), use-of-force evaluations, and the "red-man" test (where recruits must fight for up to 9 minutes against a padded opponent) create boundaries of entry into the world of policing based on bodily value. Recruits also compete against each other for a physical skills achievement award. Although it is only one of four awards given, it is the one most fiercely fought for since it maps onto the skills seen as most relevant to the crime fighting *doxa*. This award is given to the student who demonstrates physical ability and skill by achieving the highest overall score in defensive tactics, firearms training, emergency vehicle operations, and physical fitness testing. The award confers not just status to a recruit, but to the unaffiliated

recruits (one not yet hired) it greatly increases their chance of getting hired by a law enforcement agency.³⁹

On a more daily basis, bodily capital is objectified in bodies because recruits are surrounded by instructors and peers who *believe* that the finely trained and empowered body is what defines worthiness and competence. It is the recruit training officers who validate certain people as “studs” and stigmatize others as “quitters” and “mopes” and therefore create system of value based on honor and shame. The RTOs do not similarly praise and insult recruits for their report writing ability or their written test scores. The nearly sole preoccupation is with physical skills: shooting, driving, fighting, tolerating pain, controlling emotions, and physical fitness. It is only within this structured system of formal evaluations and informal economies of honor and shame that the forceful habitus comes into being. To “win” in the game of the academy is to embody its imperatives to be forceful by using the diaphragm and mouth right to give forceful command or to master the ways of “laying hands” on others.

The notion of bodily capital is important for making sense of the various ways that police recruits, and members of any social world, come to invest themselves in transforming their bodies shape, strength, appearances, and dispositions. Such scrutiny reveals that the “skills” of police training are never merely technical but highly social in nature. This is the apparent “hidden curriculum” of the police academy that is so absent in any of the studies of academies I described earlier. The academy demands practices of bodily control in congruence with institutional goals; recruits in turn transform their bodies in accordance with their perception of the academies demand for bodily change. The bodily knowledge recruits have of force and which allows them to construct a world of force, is only fully meaningful when we grasp the social genesis of these bodily and cognitive structures. Ultimately, whether or not recruits achieve forceful bodies hinges on whether the cadre make it known to recruits that they must have forceful bodies and the extent to which the cadre are able to engage recruits the bodily labor necessary to have a forceful body that can take and hold space.

Excessive Force or Normal Force?

Most studies of police violence focus on exceptional cases of police brutality and excessive force. They are preoccupied with gun-fire (Binder and Fridell 1984; Blumberg 1981, Fyfe 1988) and with excessive, brutal or illegal force (Westly 1953, Skolnick & Fyfe 1993, Chevigny 1995, Gellar and Toch 1995). These, as mentioned, are rarely a part of police work and do not shed light on how officers become acclimated to force “in general.” What is most statistically normal is use of voice commands, a firm grip, application of hand restraints, pushing, pulling, pain compliance holds, punching, kicking, pepper spray, Tasers and, on rarer occasions, baton strikes or choke holds (Klinger 1995). These “less lethal” practices make up a wide space of available actions that police recruits are taught to take up in their encounters.

³⁹ Recruits are also awarded prizes for the following: 1.) ACADEMIC SKILLS AWARD — Given to the student who achieves the highest overall score on the 27 P.O.S.T. written examinations and 15 academy specific written tests; 2.) SELF IMPROVEMENT AWARD — Given to the student who achieves the highest overall score in the academys ethics oral board, attendance during the academy, and in participation during physical training. In addition, strong consideration is given to how the student demonstrates self-awareness and self-improvement during the academy; 3.) CLASS VALEDICTORIAN — Given to the student who achieves the highest overall score in the core dimensions included in the police academy. This award is the highest honor presented by the academy during the graduation ceremony.

I also showed that when “normal force” is addressed in police work, sociologists tend to emphasize how it is normalized and legitimated through a repertoire of routine accountings. Hunt (1984; 1985), for instance, focuses on “the active role of consciousness” (1985: 316) in police work and identifies two types of accounting used by police officers: excuses and justifications. Hunt argues that “normal force involves coercive acts that specific ‘cops’ on specific occasions formulate as necessary, appropriate, reasonable, or understandable” (Hunt 1985: 317). This research shows that rendering acts of force justifiable, sensible, orderly, or legitimate is a crucial part of an officer’s training.

My contribution to the study of force is both to show how force is learned but also to further think about how dangerous and risky work, like using force, is made doable. Routine forceful techniques, movements, and gestures are equally important to normalizing the use of force. I argue that “normal force” must be studied in terms of the techniques, dispositions, and capacities that are made routinely available to new police officers and that give them a “maximal grip” on their world. Police recruits acquire a practical sense of force as they are taught specific bodily movements and gestures for inflicting injury upon others. They learn to swing a baton while using a specific grip and a specific form of swing. They learn to apply specific forms of joint manipulation in order to inflict pain and to control another’s body. They acquire highly disciplined styles of shooting such as “double taps” or “body armor drills.”

When a cadet knows how to respond to a situation by deploying the appropriate commands and grips—without hesitation and without having to think about it—the cadet has acquired a sense of normal force.⁴⁰ These dispositions make up the practical logic of use of force. We don’t need to refer to justifications, norms, or values, because recruits just learn how to respond to situations more and more forcefully in ways defined as appropriate by their RTOs and later by their field training officers, sergeants, and peers.

These practices and techniques may later become the referent for *post hoc* accountings in which an action needs to be justified.⁴¹ But the techniques themselves have a history and mode of cultural transmission that is different from the accountings that recruits also learn. Here I am suggesting that normal force is primarily about optimal gestalts rather than proper justifications. To assert this is to depart from traditional understandings of motive and action. The latter locate motivation in the desire to achieve goals (e.g., the Parsonian view of norms and values). In this view, goals are worth achieving because they are associated with the satisfaction of needs or wants. *Dispositional theories of action*, by contrast, stress the importance of habit and provide an alternative understanding of motive. The latter theories, exemplified in the work of Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu, are central to this dissertation and focus on how recruits come to see forceful ways of using the body as practical solutions to social encounters.

A sense of “I-can” do this is what leads social agents into action: "Whether a system of

⁴⁰ Like *doxa*, the *intentional arc* is achieved when the skills, dispositions, and habits we have encountered from trial and error, drilling, rehearsals, simulations, mimicry, etc., are reflected back to us in the solicitations of situations correlative with our dispositions to respond to them. This parallels Bourdieu’s description of the *doxic* fit between *habitus* and *field*.

⁴¹ For example, Larry Bird explains that in his everyday skillful coping on the court, “[A lot of the] things I do on the court are just reactions to situations ... A lot of times, I’ve passed the basketball and not realized I’ve passed it until a moment or so later. (Quoted in Levine 1988). Compare to Merleau-Ponty’s description of bodily understanding, “A movement is learned when the body has understood it, that is, when it has incorporated it into its ‘world’, and to move one’s body is to aim at things through it; it is to allow oneself to respond to their call, which is made upon it independently of any representation. (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 139)

motor or perceptual powers, our body is not an object for an 'I think', it is a grouping of lived-through meanings which moves towards its equilibrium" (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 153).

What this means for the study of police force is clear: When a police officer has acquired a set of embodied abilities and skills, like joint manipulation, a commanding presence, or the ability to shoot well, he or she is more likely to respond to conflict and confrontation using those habits. The ability to manipulate joints makes joints look like they can be manipulated. Thus, when a suspect gets “squirrely,” it does not seem unreasonable to “go hands on;” the officer has a sense that he *can* control the suspect’s unruly body with his own hands. In the moment, the police officer’s “activity is completely geared into the demands of the situation” (Dreyfus 1979: 266).

Chapter 3: Methods and Field Site

Carnal Ethnography

Bodies of Force is an ethnography, a systematic study of an institution and its cultural forms made through consistent and repeated participant observation. It is an insider's view into *how* recruits and cadre confront the problem of becoming forceful in an institutionally appropriate way. I choose to conduct an ethnography because if I used survey methods such as questionnaires or conducted interviews, I would be imposing an a priori framework upon the recruits. I did not feel knowledgeable enough about how police use and think about force to ask the relevant questions. Ethnography allowed me to approach my field sites with the intention to first describe the phenomena that I wished to understand.

I was interested in how police officers learn to use and think about force. I felt that the police academy, as the primary point of contact of a new member to the police world, was the ideal place to observe the process of learning to be forceful. Instead of just observing police academies I entered into the police academy as a police recruit to observe and participate fully in the shared social practices of police training. By way of my participation I not only aimed at gaining access to the common forms of talk, rules, and commitments that the academy attempted to establish but also to get a sense of what any recruit must do to successfully meet the expectations of the police academy's cadre. These shared social practices include, but are not limited to, being able to stand like a cop (the "interview stance"), talk like a cop ("command presence"), tell stories like a cop (to skillfully regale others with stories of exploits, dangers, and warnings), shoot, fight, use one's hands like a cop to reveal hidden contraband and dangers, and even to run like a cop so as to be able to stop and detain people like a cop, and so on and so forth. When participants of the academy appropriate a groups strategies and habits of interaction, etiquette, language, ritual, and punishment they both become part of the group and cultivate the group's legacy. In this sense, by observing by being a recruit I witnessed and participated in interactions through which members practice inclusion and exclusion that demarcate the bounds of policing.

Like becoming a boxer (Wacquant 2003), a firefighter (Desmond 2007), a soldier (Lande 2007), a swimmer (Chambliss 1989), or a surgeon (Miller 2008; Cassell 1991) police recruits are in an occupation that foregrounds the body as a criteria of membership. That the body is socially valued and a principle of stratification and difference is not unique to policing (Shilling 1993). It matters in many sports and even in occupations like being a bouncer (Monaghan 2002). The specific ways that the body as forceful is valued —i.e. the particular techniques of the body or even the global organization of the body so that the whole body is put to use— is what differentiates being a cop from being a surgeon whose embodied skill is socially recognized primarily for its fine grained movements such as a "steady hand" or the ability to tie surgical knots with one hand. My interest in the body was not arbitrary or distinct from my interest in how recruits learned force. Police use of force is a bodily activity. But an emphasis on how the academy trains bodies deploy force and even receive force requires a set of methods tuned to the problem, not simply methods that focus on what is said or how activities are spoken about.

Participant observation seemed to be the only appropriate method to get an “insiders” perspective on how members come to use their bodies in an institutionally appropriate way.

Ethnographic observation and participation is one way to get at the logic of bodily use and recognition that is endogenous to policing. By properly attending to how bodies are moved, are used, described, recognized, and spoken ethnographic descriptions should be able to reveal a community of strategies, beliefs, categories, habits, etc. that make sense of the police world. The fieldworker’s primary commitment to enter members’ daily lives and ongoing worlds via firsthand observation and participation (Emerson 1983). In order for the fieldworker to interpret the social world to reflect members’ meanings and practices, *immersion* in the field is crucial to achieve a unique understanding that is often considered the essential characteristic of the ethnography. Observation is thus defined as:

...participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1989: 1).

Ethnographic immersion has a particular quality to it. As Goffman (1989) noted, the power of participant observation is that by having the ethnographer's own body "tuned up" and with the "ecological right to be close to them [group members]... you're in a position to note their gestural, visual, bodily responses to what's going on around them and your empathetic enough— because you've taken the same crap they've been taking— to sense what is they are responding to" (Goffman 1989: 126-127). In many of my observations and descriptions I was not merely a participant observer but also a principal interactant, albeit one who was also a sociologist from a middle class, rural, European-American background.

Wacquant (2003) has demonstrated the fruits of a method that uses the researcher’s own body as an *additional* instrument inquiry in his study of how boxers learn their craft. Wacquant also formalized a description of carnal ethnography, the process whereby the investigator undergoes an "initiatory immersion and even moral and sensual conversion to the cosmos under investigation construed as a technique of observation and analysis that, on the express condition that it be theoretically armed, makes it possible for the sociologist to appropriate in and through practice the cognitive, aesthetic, ethical, and conative schemata that those who inhabit that cosmos engage in their everyday deeds" (Wacquant 2003: vii-viii). Wacquant goes on to argue that to the extent that members of any social group, as Bourdieu says "learn by the body" (Bourdieu 2000: 141 in Wacquant 2003: viii) then the ethnographer must also immerse themselves in the situated action of the world under study to truly grasp the types of "appetites and competences" active in the world under study. The defining marker of carnal ethnography is that the habitus of the researcher becomes a tool. Wacquant means by this that to truly understand something like boxing means being able to do it, to have a practical comprehension of how to work his way through they gym with its equipment and routines, sparring and fighting in the ring, and the social relationships that make up life in the gym. With a practical apprehension of the practice under questions, Wacquant shows that otherwise unspoken features of the boxing world can be articulated by the ethnographer.

I have tried to use carnal ethnography to do the same, to get at a practical understanding of what force means to police officers by having to become a minimally competent in using it myself. By engaging in long-term ethnographic observation and participation, by undergoing the

same socializing processes, rites of initiation, classroom work, drills, and physical training, I was able to identify the process by which various dimensions of the body (its skills, strength, endurance, and size) were made to matter in the daily lives of police recruits and their cadre.

This is precisely what I did. I not only took note of my own experiences, which merely gave some traction on how recruits responded to and confronted the cadre and each other, but I took notes on lectures, reviewed training manuals, acquired emails from the recruits, and conducted interviews. By conducting participant observation, I was able to elicit members' meanings and practices to understand the field from the point of view of the recruits, recruit training officers, instructors, and administrators. Observation also allowed me to identify insiders and outsiders to learn implicit, perhaps unspoken, practice that illuminate hierarchies understood only by members.

Entering the Field

Gaining access to my first field site was difficult. I had no contacts with the police departments in the state and so I had no intermediaries to ease my entrée into the field. My initial approach was to contact police departments and academy's directly about my interest in attending an academy and conducting a study of how civilians became police officers. I was universally rejected by every department and academy I contacted. Eventually I found an academy that reluctantly accepted me, the NBPA, on the contingent basis that I not give any specifics about the academy, and that I maintain anonymity and confidentiality of the cadre and the recruits. I entered as a non-affiliated recruit and had to pay nearly \$3500 in tuition fees up front. From the start, however, the academy cadre questioned whether or not I was committed and serious about being in the academy. While I was on occasion questioned about whether or not I was a "mole" the main concern of the cadre seemed to be that they were suspicious that an academic could do police work. Another concern was whether, if I became a cop, my academic "observing" would interfere with my ability to do police work safely. One RTOs said, "Let me ask you this, Lande... If you are so busy taking notes on the job, how're yu going to be maintaining your situational awarness. That's your job as a cover officer, to be keeping you and your partner safe, not thinking 'This should go in my book.'" Not surprisingly, after about three months of training and field work at NBPA, and despite performing very well in the academy, I was told to leave on the basis of technicality during testing. They could not tell me to leave because of the fact of doing research (after all I had paid my tuition) so "washing out" was the only way to be removed.

At first I was devastated. I formed long lasting friendships with the recruits and I found being asked to leave to be a humiliating defeat. But the situation was much more advantageous than I had thought. During my time in the academy I had begun interviewing with police departments for a job. I had gotten to know quite a few police officers who were instructors at the academy and who liked me. After I was forced out of the NBPA I found that I now had networks that allowed me to try a new approach to gaining access. I now had some status as having been a well liked recruit and I had references that meant something to other cops. Through contacts I made with instructors and my recruit friends I finally found a department with a sympathetic captain that was willing to sponsor me as a reserve police officer (an un-paid position with the full rights and powers of a paid officer). This captain, from an affluent city, who was also highly educated, liked me and agreed to sponsor me so long as I volunteer my time to the department as a peace officer.

With a letter of sponsorship from this department I re-entered another police academy. This time, and with the permission of the internal review board at my university, I did not foreground my intention to conduct research with recruits or cadre. We agreed that the only way to successfully participate as an insider was to slowly reveal that I would use my observations and experiences to conduct research. This method was highly effective. I had the insider status of being a recruit and already hired by a department. As time went on I also ranked at the top of my class. From the start, because everyone knew that I was a graduate student at UC Berkeley, most of the recruits and the cadre would ask me if I planned on writing about my experiences in the academy. I never lied. I always answered in the affirmative but did not volunteer information. Not one recruit or RTO, under these conditions, thought my scribbling or note taking was negative. In fact, several others suggested that they too would write “memoirs” of their exploits in policing, though only one ever did try keeping a diary or memoir. The RTOs at SBPA found this more an amusement than anything and during my mid-term evaluation, the only criticism I received was that they thought I wasn’t taking on enough of a “leadership role” in the class.

Soon I was hired for a full time paid position by another Sheriff’s Office. As graduation neared I began debriefing my fellow recruits and cadre about my intention to use my time in the academy to write my dissertation. No one refused to participate but all asked for strict anonymity and confidentiality and I was happy to oblige.

I formed largely positive relationships with the recruits at both academies. I made many friendships that persist to this day. By forming real friendships with the recruits that I trained with, in part because of the bonding experience of suffering together at the academy, I had access to parts of their lives that would otherwise have been unavailable to me. I hung out in bars with recruits, barbecued at their homes with their families, got together for study groups, and otherwise was able to be with the recruits outside of the strictures of the police academy itself. As an example of the benefits of becoming a trusted insider, I don’t know that it would have been possible to get frank and in detail description from a recruit of his experience of being “toughened” by being yelled at. I also doubt that his SWAT team member friend would have shared his exploits at SWAT school with me.

Fieldwork Procedures

My dissertation is based on a multi-sited ethnography of police academies in California. I spent 3 months from February 2006 till May 2006 in a regional law enforcement basic academy operated by a county sheriff’s office. This academy I called the North Bay Police Academy. During that period I was in the field for an approximate total of 500 hours. I then entered another police academy from February 2007 till I graduated as the valedictorian of my academy class in August of 2007. This period consisted of slightly more than 1060 hours of observation and took place in an academy, in most ways identical to the NBPA except that this academy was a regional training center operated out of a community college by a consortium of law enforcement departments. I referred to this academy as the South Bay Police Academy. Both academy’s had similar layouts: two primary classrooms, a gym/mat training area, parade ground (usually just an area of parking lot that no one was allowed to park in), a reception area, trophy chest, and administrative offices. Both departments used firearms ranges that were located at correctional facilities and both conducted emergency vehicle operations training at closed off portions of airports. Both academy’s provided nearly 200 hours more training than the standard 880 hours provided by most academies and nearly 400 hours more than the approximately minimum 680

hours required by the California Peace Officers Standards and Training Commission.

To attend the academies recruits had to pass an a writing, reading, and math assessment, initial physical fitness test, background investigation, and interview with a recruit training officer. The physical agility test involved dragging a 165lb dummy 32 feet, a 99 yard obstacle course, sprinting to and climbing over a six foot wall twice, a climb over a six foot chain link fences, a 500 meter sprint, and a timed 1.5 mile run that had to be completed in under 14 minutes. The background check was preliminary and washed out possible recruits who may have had any violent or narcotics background. The interview was only about 20 minutes long and largely assessed whether or not the recruit was willing to use deadly force if necessary and to determine why a potential recruit wanted to become a police officer. I was unable to attain data on how many potential recruits were screened out prior to entry into the academy.

During my 9 months of field work, I collected nearly 450 pages of single spaced field notes; recorded close to 20 hours of class room instruction, hands-on training, in-service training, and patrol briefings; I recorded close to 8 hours of video of academy training; and conducted approximately 5 in depth interviews with recruits. I also collected the training manuals, guides, and instructional material that abounded in the academy; along with emails, websites, magazines, and frequently read books, that were the chief documents circulating through the police academies I studied. Based on my multiple data points I believe that the practices and utterances relating to force that I observed and involved myself in are fairly common outside of the academies I studied and would likely be found in *any* of the Northern California police academies. That said, some of the recruits demographics and the anxiety about how the "public" would see the academy and policing in general was likely the result of the peculiarities of becoming a cop in Northern California.

Field Notes

To create field notes I typically only scribbled short notes during training, usually on the notepad I used for our course work. When possible I would take notes in the bathroom or when I had a private moment in my pocket sized note book. I was able to frequently take notes like this but I usually only had time to write down keywords or phrases that I would use a mnemonic devices later. I took photographs whenever I could and occasionally was able to record parts of our training using a camcorder. I often recorded the lecture portions of our training using a digital recorder. However, because our seating was assigned the quality of the recordings was not great and depended on the ability of RTOs, instructors, and recruits to speak loudly and clearly. Nonetheless I still had a substantial amount of usable recordings, even if I had to listen to the recording multiple times to make out what was being said. I also took extensive field notes, at home, after training. I often spent two hours a night writing notes. However, because the police academy often demanded an enormous amount of personal time (e.g. pressing uniforms, polishing boots, gun belt, and studying for exams) I often had to wait till the weekend to elaborate and extend the parts of my field notes most pertinent to the study of forcefulness.

The Academies

The academies I attended were similar in most respects: they were both regional training academies, both were para-military and high stress in their day to day practices, and both tended to use nearly identical discourses and training practices in as part of the pedagogy. Further both

academies had only been around since the early 1990's. While the NBPA had two RTOs, an RTO sergeant, and the director, Lt. Sutton, at the SBPA only two RTOs were regularly involved in the day to day life of the academy and the director (a police captain nearing retirement) only made intermittent appearances to deal with administrative matters. Lt. Sutton was something of a legend at the academy. He and the RTO sergeant, Ramos, were both on the SWAT team, both were on the street suppression unit, and had worked narcotics and gangs. In other words, the recruits thought that Lt. Sutton as well as the other cadre were "real cops." RTO Martinson was a former Marine and so he typically conducted uniform inspections in the morning and taught drill and ceremony. Because Martinson was a deputy he also had experience working in the jails. He tended to be the authority on how to deal with felons and he was fairly involved in working on the communicative aspects of "street sense." RTO O'Brien had more times on the street and he tended to work on the scenarios with the class the most, with the help of Sgt. Ramos when she was available.

The RTOs at SBPA also had 15 and 20 years experience, respectively, as opposed to the three and five years of the RTOs at NBPA. Jared Chiramanti, the RTO at SBPA with 15 years experience had a variety of assignments in his police department before becoming a recruit training officer, including being a "motor cop" (i.e. a motorcycle cop which is a prestigious position to hold). Ron Sacks, the other RTO at SBPA, was in his fifties and had been a beat cop most of his career. But he also had an extensive history in the military and was still actively involved in conducting tactical training military units in the Army and Navy. The RTOs at SBPA were older, more mature, and more experienced. Although they typically were not "in your face" as much as the RTOs at NBPA they tended to cut directly to shame, biting sarcasm, or skip directly to physical discipline when they saw conduct that they didn't like. RTO Chiramanti had a nuanced sense of group dynamics and he often would talk to me about what was going on with the recruits and importantly, how I fit into the academy and policing as a recruit, a future officer, and as a researcher. I benefited greatly from his advice on how to negotiate life as a rookie in my new agency.

At both academies, the RTOs were noticeably dedicated. As much time as the recruits had to give to the greedy institution of the academy, the RTOs gave as much or more. The RTOs were always at the academy at least half an hour before the recruits showed up. They also did not leave until after the last recruit had gone home. The RTOs also made time to meet with recruits outside of the academy to assist with studying, defensive tactics, counseling on personal issues, and even improving driving skills. The RTOs were not the cops who were no longer cut out to work the streets. The RTOs were selected because they risen to the top of their profession. They were asked to dedicate a year or more of their time, out of their careers, to try to pass on their experience to the recruits. Nearly all the RTOs were promoted or assigned to prestigious special assignments within a year of my leaving either academy.

The attrition rate at NBPA was only about 10% (5 recruits out of 50) as opposed to nearly 25% at the SBPA (10 of the 39 that started). The primary difference in attrition rate between the academies was a higher rate of failure during physical fitness assessments at SBPA and failure to use force or conduct searches appropriately during scenario evaluations at the end of the academy. SBPA did not have as rigorous a physical training regime as NBPA. They did however, have a more rigorous firearms training program and placed much more emphasis on scenario training which meant there was less time for physical fitness training. I believe both academies focused most of their informal efforts on being "forceful" though SBPA tended to do so by trying to teach "command presence" and aggressive shooting tactics as opposed to focusing

more exclusively on physical strength and speed as at NBPA.

One instructor at SBPA, made the difference between the two academies very clear when he commented that not every cop could be "super man" and stated importance of mastering the tools of the trade. "We carried wooden baton and then changed to collapsible baton, PR-24. I was so confident with the PR-24 that it was like my side arm didn't exist. Because I was so well trained that anyone wanted to fight me, well...lets just say that we trained on axe handles and broke them. Be good at the tools that they give you because then you can be like me and take on guys way bigger than you." Statements like these, that emphasized the importance of mastering tools rather than body build were more common at SBPA.

The aforementioned differences aside, training practices were nearly identical. We watched the same training videos, used the same manuals, heard some of the same stories (though there were local variations in some stories and obviously personal stories were different in content but generally emphasized danger, uncertainty, and how to identify threats). Physical training occurred for one to two hours about four times a week and sometimes five if time allowed (though somewhat less time was spent at SBPA: about 3 days a week and for about an hour). If recruits were away from the academy at the range, the drive course, chemical agents training, etc., then physical training might not occur or would be shortened to a brief run to break up the training. One notable difference was that at the SBPA there was no ritual reading of the Officer's Survival Creed and although the "will to survive" was regularly mentioned it was not nearly as central to the discourse of training as at NBPA. During firearms training RTO Sacks spent much more time conducting demonstrations and providing direct body-to-body contact than at NBPA and consequently I observed slightly better marksmanship at SBPA than at NBPA. While both used stress at the range by making recruits PT before shooting and throwing objects at recruits to distract them during training, Sacks and the other firearms instructors (one of which was an instructor from the prestigious and very expensive tactical shooting training center Front Sight) tended to provide more positive reward and encouragement while the staff at the NBPA tended to tell people that they were failing and wouldn't pass their pistol qualifications. It should be no surprise that morale was higher during the range days at the SBPA than at the NBPA.

Academy Schedule

The schedules at NBPA and SBPA were near identical. Recruits were expected to be at the academy by 6:00am in the morning and in formation by 6:30am. In reality, the RTOs expected recruits to be at the academy by 5:30 am to prepare uniforms for inspection, do any cleaning or chores left over from the previous day, or to prepare for the days training. Though there was some chit chat as final shaves were finished in the locker room, boots touched up with shoe shine, etc. there wasn't much time for socializing in the morning.

Approximately five minutes before 6:30, the platoon leader would shout "*Fall in!*" and the squads would fall into formation. A hasty attendance and final inspection was conducted by the squad leaders and the platoon leader. If a recruit was absent it was reported during inspection and if the RTOs had not already been informed of the absence by the recruit, they would call. If the RTOs still could not get a response, they would request and outside agency assist and have a local police unit to check on the recruit. This was done to make sure the recruit had not been in an accident, was not ill, or had not met some other more nefarious circumstance as a result of his law enforcement affiliation.

After roll call came uniform inspections which typically lasted 15 minutes to 30 minutes.

If the inspection ended on the early side we would drill in the gym. At 7:00 am training began and we would march to the classrooms. In the class room the seats were assigned. Recruits had to have identical water bottle, name plate, academy binder with policy in it and a note book. Each recruits seat at the row of tables was identical.

Classroom instruction was organized as blocks of instruction. Typically the morning would contain block of instruction, say preliminary investigations, and the afternoon block would be a separate class, perhaps on cultural diversity. Recruits had five to ten minute breaks every hour until lunch. The five minute breaks did not give the recruits enough time to all use the bathrooms and in the men's locker room there was often a long line of recruits waiting to use the facilities. Lunch was typically at 12:00, lasted 45 minutes, and had to be taken on campus.

At 12:45 recruits had to head to the lockers and change from their formal uniforms (the class B) to their physical training uniforms. From there they had to be in formation by 1:00pm. At 1pm recruits were dismissed from formation back to the class room for an additional two to three hours of training. Upon the completion of the classroom training recruits fell back into formation in the gym for one to two hours of physical training. Typically around 4:30 recruits had final formation and were dismissed for the day. This meant conducting a thorough cleaning of the academy and its grounds. In reality, recruits did not leave the academy to their homes until 5:00pm till 5:30pm. Many recruits had hour long drives to their homes.

During defensive tactics training in the gym/mat room, firearms training on the range, or driving training, recruits typically were not held to the same schedules.

On their own time recruits were expected to study for tests, study penal, vehicle codes and radio codes, and do physical exercises, practice defensive tactics, keep boots and gun belt spit shined, practice dry-firing their pistols, and go to the gym. Everyone complained of having no personal time, of not watching television, of diminished sexual activity, and often for those with family, not enough time with the kids.

There was plenty of boredom at the academy. Lectures during classes were often dull, read directly from a book, or simply not challenging. As a rule, recruits who were falling asleep during class had to stand up in the back of the room. This was either due to inadequate sleep from too much to do and too little time, or the dullness of many of the classes. In part the reason instructors who could tell good stories and often were appreciated was that they broke up the drabness of lecture based classes. Even during shooting and driving, there was a lot of time standing around watching others perform while recruits stood by idly.

Toward the end of the academy, more time was set aside for recruits to practice scenarios, role playing, etc. Recruits also began worrying more about their readiness for patrol after graduation. On the one hand they questioned some of the relevance of the instruction and on the other they often wanted more of what they thought they would need (use of force training, cuffing techniques, high risk vehicle stop training, building searches, etc.) that they thought would be critical to surviving their rookie year. The final week after scenario testing (the final performance evaluation at the academy) had been completed, there was a tangible sense of relief. The RTOs began treating the recruits as fellow officers in anticipation of graduation. Much of the time was spent preparing for and planning the graduation ceremony.

Recruit Profile

The majority of the recruits I studied came from middle-class European-American and Hispanic homes where forceful use of the body was infrequent and, if developed at all, was a

product of participation in high-school sports or military service. At NPBA 38 of the 50 recruits were affiliated with local agencies and 12 were non-affiliates. At SBPA, of the 39 recruits only 15 were affiliated with a local agency.

I began training with an NBPA class. During the first day of instruction the recruits were asked to go around the room and introduce themselves by describing where they were from, what their parents did, what they did prior to becoming a police recruit, and what kind of education they had. There was no such introduction at the SBPA so my data was incomplete and partial. The NBPA class composed of diverse backgrounds. Of the 50 recruits that started in the class, 45 were men (21 white, 18 Hispanic, 3 black, 2 Asian, 1 of Afghan descent) and 5 were women (2 white, 1 Hispanic, and 1 Korean, and 1 Pacific Islander). Twelve (24%) of the recruits had prior military experience, the most common being in the Marines (though all the branches were represented).⁴² Four recruits had been employed as a Community Safety Officers/Police Aid (an unsworn position involving taking basic reports, writing citations, abandoned vehicle abatement, etc.) or as Correctional Officers (meaning worked in the county jail) prior to the academy. Another four had done some kind of retail sales (e.g. one worked Home Depot and another was in high tech sales). There were two high school teachers, a county prosecutor, five came from white-collar management, five had recently completed college with little prior work experience, two had driven delivery trucks, two were bankers, one played football in the NFL, one was an accountant, one was a farmer and the remaining 10 had miscellaneous unskilled jobs predominately in the service sector (e.g. janitor). The recruit class was fairly well educated with twenty-three (46%) recruits having some college education (most had completed a four year degree) and of those 5 had a master's degree (10% of the class). The youngest recruits were 21 years old and the oldest recruit was 47 years old. The average age of the class was 28 years old. None of the recruits had any significant criminal past other than marijuana use, underage drinking, and driving violations. Outside of military combat, experience with physical confrontation was rare, with only two recruits, both Hispanic, who were self-described "scrapers" as teens.

While Burbeck and Furnham (1985) suggests that police recruits are roughly similar to their working class peers, I found that overall the recruits I encountered came more from somewhere in middle strata of society, and in particular represented the demographics of the county where the training took place, predominately middle class, with European and Hispanic Americans making up the bulk of the population. Most recruits came from homes with two working parents (often with at least one parent having a college degree)-who owned the homes they grew up in. Few described their hometowns as "rough" and most came from suburban towns adjacent to major metropolitan centers. The most oft used explanation for why a recruit had joined the police force was that it was a job that offered excitement, variation in work tasks, wasn't a desk job, was a high status job with good pay and excellent benefits. An interesting response that I frequently heard from recruits who had prior contacts with other police officers (either in the form of family or friends) was that they were attracted to the camaraderie that comes from having shared experiences of difficult, unusual, and hilarious situations. This parallels what others have found in the literature and so I have not emphasized "why?" recruits have joined the force. For example, Sherman (1999: 302) writes of reasons for joining,

⁴² In Fielding's study of police recruitment and socialization, he comments that "Military experience provides a conventional route to the police" and he describes how apparently "the enforcement segments of the military particularly feed and are fed by civil police" (1988: 27).

“Police applicants tend to see police work as an adventure, as a chance to work-out doors without being cooped up in an office, as a chance to do work that is important for the good of society, and *not as a chance to be the toughest guy on the block*” (my italics).

It is important to note that research has consistently failed to find significant police recruit characteristics that differ from the general population prior to hiring (Carpenter & Raza 1987; Kennedy and Homant 1981; Sayles and Albritton 1999). Given that the recruits of the NBPA (and this was largely true of the SBPA class too) tended to come from “good” homes, had extensive work experience or college experience, it should not be surprising that recruits tended to be largely unfamiliar with everyday up-close personal conflict.

The recruits at both academies were organized into a single platoon. At NBPA this platoon consisted of five squads with one squad leader and nine squad members. At SBPA the platoon consisted of five squads with a squad leader and seven squad members. A platoon leader was chosen for a period of one month and squad leaders were changed every week for 26 weeks to ensure everyone was put into a position of leadership and responsibility at some time or another.

One significant difference between the two academies was that two recruits attended NBPA because they were trying to become sworn forensics officers. Neither of them was particularly interested in becoming forceful since, according to them, they weren’t going to be out on the streets anyway but in a lab conducting forensic investigations. Everyone else’s immediate career aspirations were to become sworn peace officers. Many of the deputies were expecting to spend the next year after graduation working in the jails before hitting the streets. Those about to become police officers expected and looked forward to becoming patrol officers. More than anything else, recruits mentioned that at some time in their career they would like to be members of a Special Weapons and Tactics Team (SWAT) or obtain a position in a narcotics or gang squad. SWAT and these other specialized units were perceived as the most exciting and affording the most prestige. Some military personnel, especially the military policemen, often did not pay much attention to the training because they felt they already knew how to do the job (which arguably was in part true). The various future aspirations that recruits had for their careers or the agency they were working for dictated, to a large degree how involved and interested they were in engaging with the RTOs and instructors and in learning to be forceful. The recruits who were heading off to the most dangerous urban department tended to be the most proactive in seeking out forceful skills since they “felt” danger more immediately and wanted to be prepared for it.

Recruitment

Although I did not intend to study recruitment, I did speak to several recruiters about how they thought about recruitment, especially in regards to police use of force. One recruiter that I met was an instructor at SBPA, a sergeant named Markesan. Sgt. Markesan described recruitment process from his point of view as well as some of the new recruiting technology that he believed was useful.

“I don’t think any departments really do it [recruitment] that different. You do your t-score test [a basic reading and math aptitude test which is the first screening device] and if you pass that you go to the oral boards [usually consists of two officers, a sergeant and typically a lieutenant or a detective]. The oral boards are worthless. We have twenty

minutes to see if you will make a better cop than the next guy and we ask questions that don't tell us that. The B-PAD is great. It is a video simulation of an encounter. It shows you walking up on a situation and then you have to respond. It isn't perfect but it allows us to see how you will *actually behave* rather than just listen to you talk about yourself. Personally I think it would be better to use real people, because, if you have ever tried talking to a T.V. screen, it's a little awkward and makes you self-conscious. But we can tell almost immediately whether or not a guy is going to be too aggressive by how he responds. You see it too. Someone will immediately start making threats. A good example is a scenario where you stop an older man for a speeding infraction. He won't roll down his window. What do you do? If you start making threats to break the window we probably aren't going to hire you. An infraction isn't worth smashing someone's window. Just get the plate and mail 'em a citation. *Especially after Rodney King, departments aren't going to hire people who are too aggressive to control themselves.*"

Sgt. Markesan expresses a frequent sentiment about the interviews being more ritual than particularly good predictor of performance. Another recruiter told me, "The interviews. We have to do them, but really all you get is people telling you what they think you want to here about why they want to become a cop. It's a game. Those that tell us what we want to here get passed. But it has nothing to do with what we think they will do. Probably the only thing we get out of it is how you respond to scenarios we throw at you. Do you hesitate, or do you try something, even if it is totally wrong. As long as you don't seem to quick to jump to pulling a gun, but you show you are willing to take risks and try, then you probably will do ok."

The reoccurring themes expressed by recruiters was that they needed recruits who would neither be fearful of conflict or the vagaries of street encounters nor overly aggressive but able to assert themselves forcefully into situations and use force but within limits. Markesan summed up the view well, yet again:

"Docile men make poor soldiers, the saying goes. You are expected to have controlled aggression. You can't be blowing up every time someone challenges you. On the other hand you have to step up and fight when the situation demands it. That is what you are being paid for. But the challenge is to both be aggressive and constrained at the same time. It is something that each and everyone of us has to deal with. Our job requires that we control our emotions. I had a gal once, on my team, when we had a jumper. He jumped, and lived but had broken his leg bad, it was sticking out. The officer, she just stood there and couldn't do anything. I told her, 'go back to the car and I will come over and talk to you.' I had her removed from my team because I need my officers to be able to operate. You can be scared. That's no problem. If you do this job and aren't afraid there is something wrong with you and I won't want you on my team. But you have to control your fear. As police we are allowed only to have one emotion. Anger. We can be angry and irritated but we aren't given the luxury of being happy or sad. Why? Because they help us survive."

This further elaboration suggests that what recruiters are looking for is the ability for a recruit to exercise what they recognize as emotional self-control or "controlled aggression."

The categories used by recruiters to judge potential recruits typically involve

determining whether or not someone will use force, whether someone will use too much, and whether or not the person is too “academic” to acquire the urgent sense of police temporality to respond to situations decisively. One officer who sat on oral boards at a Sheriff’s department and conducted recruit interviews related the following story,

“Back, a hundred years ago, I was on the orals board. Back when we could ask individual questions. Had a University of California-Berkeley Masters in criminology come in. We gave him a scenario. You stop a kid fitting the description of an 18 year old who had been involved in a fight. He spits on you when you stop him. What do you do? They guy says, “Well, you know if have to consider how he got here and what kinds of problems he has. We don’t want to make his problems worse.” Well, I say, while you’re thinking about this he spits on you again. A nice big green loogey that is dripping down your nose. What do you do now? “Well, we have to consider his problem and whether or not you are making it worse by confronting him.” Great, while your considering it, he takes out his Johnson and pisses on you. You need more time? “In that case I would charge him with indecent exposure.” You dummy you charge him with a battery. That stupid dumb shit. Masters degree. Spent his entire time thinking. I would have had the kid cuffed for 242 [penal code for battery] like that [snaps his fingers]!”

While the educated are often classified in stories by recruiters as incapable of acting, I unfortunately I was never able to see the “background packets,” i.e. the reports generated by the recruiters to classify potential candidates as eligible for the academy or employment so I can’t be sure that the classifications presented by the recruiters I spoke to correspond to how they actually made decisions about who to hire. I also was not allowed to sit in and observe oral boards or the scenario testing.

The Cadre: Recruit Training Officers and Instructors

It is easy to talk about the police as if they are a part of and reflect a unitary “State.”⁴³ When trying to see how the academy reproduces the monopoly on legitimate state force we have to be sensitive to the fact that the “state” here is a number of independnt police and sheriff’s offices, operating in widely different political and local social contexts. The Academy itself “reproduces” force only to the extent that the individuals (RTOs, the director, administrators, instructors, visiting peace officers, and the recruits), who make up the academies cadre, daily engage in a laborious work of struggle to engage recruits in the practices they feel are relevant. This also includes a struggle to impose their vision of the police world (what is a good or bad cop; what does a threat look like; what does proper use of force look like) and centrally a definition of police competence — a category that seems to define many of the stakes and struggles of policing (Fielding 1988). For example, at the NBPA, the academy’s director, Lt. Sutton, defined what counted as a “good” cop, and that did not include bike cops who wore “silly” short shorts. To other instructors, however, being a bike cop was articulated as a great way to stay in shape and to be able to get around covertly, i.e. not a position to be ashamed of

⁴³ “[P]olicing is basically a socio-political tool of the state and government. It is sustained by an intimate knowledge of its ‘enemy’ — the underclass of society” (Young 1991: 4; but also See Reiner 2000).

occupying. Thus when we talk about recruits learning “state-sanctioned force”, this means a more or less intense engagement of the recruit with force as it is defined and enacted by the RTOs and use-of-force instructors.

Cadre also reflect broader social forces in their training. For example, the need to impose limits on the use of force by recruits comes from how cadre understand what they see as “the public” (an ill-defined term that the cadre use to speak of non-police) tolerating. They also focus on limits on force because they fear and want their recruits to fear civil litigation. Cadre also worry about media representations of the police and not only do they coach recruits on how to behave in public they tailor their training to try and ensure that recruits don’t end up being video tapped for inappropriate behavior on the evening news.

Day-to-day life at the NBPA revolved around interactions with the three fully time Recruit Training Officers: A female sergeant, a male police officer, and a male deputy sheriff all from near by agencies. The Academy’s director, Lt. Sutton, was less involved in the day- to -day activities of the academy except for physical training, which he regularly participated in, lead, or was present at to conduct evaluations. Lt. Sutton also attended any major ritual event, gave the “pep talks” and the longest and most revered tales of death, danger, and street skill. In spite of Sutton’s often abrasive style of interaction (he demanded nothing less than total perfection and deference from the recruits), through his demonstration of physical fitness during PT and skill during firearms training and defensive tactics, he was quickly given recognition by *most* (but not all) recruits as a kind of ideal-type of cop.⁴⁴

The RTOs at both academies created a high discipline and high stress environment. Their behavior was often purposefully arbitrary and harsh. For example, during my second day at the academy, while the RTOs were conducting a uniform inspection at the beginning of the day, I was chastised because my name plate had a white backing. The plate had been manufactured that way and despite my attempt to explain this to the RTO Martinson, he responded by leaning into me, about an inch separating our faces and shouting “*WHY? FIX IT!*” As I attempted to break of the backing with my knife, and slicing open my finger, a drop of blood fell onto the lapel of my uniform, to which RTO Sullivan made me drop and do 20 pushups. Such arbitrary and capricious discipline occurred mostly at the start of the academy and appeared to function mostly to create an unsettled environment that kept all the recruits “on their toes” and develop “attention to detail.”

The RTOs weren’t just harsh discipliners they were also role models, living demonstrations of what was expected from recruits. When we ran, they ran. When we did physical training, they were there too, participating, criticizing, shaming, and importantly telling stories and giving admonishments immediately after training was over.

In fact, when RTOs weren’t conducting some form of hands on training or running scenarios they were telling “war stories,” aptly named since they often dealt with the physical dangers and feats of policing.⁴⁵ Stories about street skills permeated verbal dialogue between RTOs and recruits. These stories provided descriptions of techniques and strategies to physically,

⁴⁴ At the SBPA the equivalent to Lt. Sutton was Officer Ron Sacks. Officer Sacks was the senior RTO at SBPA. He had a ruddy face, beaten hands, and was a gritty 20 year veteran cop who, now in his fifties was not as physically agile as Lt. Sutton but who possessed a tactical competence that garnered him enormous respect from the recruits.

⁴⁵ I did not keep track of the number of stories told or there themes, but reviewing my field notes, the stories I recorded are similarly distributed to those analyzed by Ford (2003) who found that nearly three quarters of all “war stories” dealt with teaching street skills, danger/uncertainty, and use of force.

verbally and socially control situations. While such stories provide concrete examples of how specific techniques could be used and summarized common sense solutions to problems that recruits were told to expect (Ford 2003; McNulty 1994) such stories could not convey the *how* of the physical techniques they described. This dissertation provides thick descriptions of the physical techniques (the drills, demonstrations, person-to-person contact, scenarios, simulations etc.) that RTOs and instructors stories index and make meaningful.

During the 1,060 hours of training, the recruits at the SBPA had approximately 30 different instructors —mostly active duty and retired peace officers, assistant district attorney's, and occasionally a social worker or someone not directly involved in law enforcement.

Of the 30 or so instructors, only some stood out as memorable to the recruits. Whereas the recruits have no choice but to confront RTOs who were literally “in your face,” the instructors who mattered most were the ones recruits interacted with formally in classes and informally during breaks or at the end of the day. Typically the instructors who mattered were the instructors who told the best stories and who told them frequently or who directed recruits through in-depth scenarios (imagined and simulated in the class room or on the parade ground). Of note were the instructors who taught patrol techniques, use of force, preliminary investigations, and vehicle operations. Some instructors were discounted by the RTOs even before they arrived. Thus the instructor for “victimology” was discounted by the RTOs who said, “Listen to this bull shit because you have to take the test, but I don't by this B.S. about everyone being a victim and needing their handheld. There are no true victims.”⁴⁶ There was an implicit hierarchy of topics/relations between the police and “the public” passed along to the recruits. Encounters based on criminal violations or violence mattered but interpersonal conflicts, civil matters, citizen counseling, etc. didn't. RTOs and recruits often reinforced the idea that certain topics were more important or more “real” than others. Recruits thus spent much more time asking questions and talking use-of-force instructors as opposed to the community policing, victimology, or interpersonal skills instructors. These topics were treated as “not real cop work.” Statements such as these said a lot about how cadre and recruits came to understand their place in the social order.

The academy does not impart a body or a world view “into” recruits in any kind of mechanical way. For every time the RTOs tried to push recruits to train harder, there were recruits who slacked, who collaborated with other recruits to get out of training and work, who produced “just so” stories to justify unacceptable work, errors, lost guidons (the flag with the class number on it that was the classes “totem”), and equipment, etc.

Recruits' reaction to RTOs

The primary relationship at both academies was the relationship between the recruits and the RTOs. As I suggested earlier, instructors frequently came and went. I also suggested that recruits don't just blindly accept what the RTOs say and do. Yet the environment is such that recruits are not in a position to confront RTOs about the training. The one time a recruit "talked

⁴⁶ “No true victims” is a common idiom and refers to the notion that no person is guilt free. “Today's victim is tomorrows suspect,” the RTOs would often say and then they would tell a story about a domestic violence case where a female victim was arrested the day after the RTO had arrested the husband for domestic battery because she had been caught committing a narcotics offense.

back" to an RTO, during physical training in the gym, the recruit was very publicly kicked out of the academy and the RTOs framed the recruits exit as a matter of insubordination. Fieldings (1988) and Chan (2004) both show that recruits don't accept "values" will nilly. But that is a qualitatively different kind of thing to reject out right than public participation in physical training or search techniques. You can do the technique while not believing it is appropriate because the RTOs can't read minds. But there is no way to publically reject the skill set or proper participation and deference without immediately finding yourself thrown out of the academy. I also never saw a recruit "quit" because they disagreed with the training. The simple fact was that to pass the academy you had to meet the minimum demands of the RTOs and instructors.

Recruits griped and complained, *in private*. I include, in chapter 8 in part because it shows in detail how at least one recruit, Luke, responds to the high stress and high discipline environment created by the RTOs. Luke's response, like most recruits was complex. But rather than confronting the RTOs, sabotaging their efforts, etc., the typical response was to form a blasé or "whatever dude" attitude. I suspect that this was a desired outcome of the high stress and high discipline environment: to "toughen" and "harden" recruits emotionally as well as physically.

Harris (1973) confronted a similar problem in trying to identify how recruits reacted to the teaching of "professionalism" as a series of presentational strategies. He wrote, "Nevertheless, I have been to offer relatively little data on recruit's perspectives toward professionalism outside of his notion of the man of action" (1973: 93). Harris explained that he thought this was because the academy staff had already articulated a view already held by recruits and secondarily that recruits felt they had little control over the matter.

The lack of manifest conflict between RTOs and recruits followed a similar pattern. Recruits often didn't think there was any choice in the matter. Though the academy was not a democratic process that doesn't mean it was a truly mortifying process like a Total Institution. Manning and Van Maanen (1978) have noted, most of the recruits at the academies are looking to acquire the kind of self that the RTOs at the academy promise to give the recruits.⁴⁷

This also points to another key aspect of academy organization: it is a market like institution. Recruits are not compelled to be at the academy. They come to the academy aspiring to a career or a status that they believe the recruit training officers can give them. Recruits create a demand for skill, knowledge, stories, and heuristics that they hope will give them an edge when they hit the streets. RTOs have considerable authority, not just because of their formal position, but because like Lt. Sutton or Officer Sacks, they possess widely recognized skills and experience. When the recruits were in the locker room or at lunch it was a near daily occurrence to here some recruit recount with awe the exploits or adventures of one of the RTOs, e.g. "Did 'ya here that Sgt. Ramos was on the street suppression team *and* SWAT. She's badass!" Or with Officer Sacks, "I cant wait till range training. Sacks *still* trains military guys, teaches 'em tactics for taking boats." Recruits only learn well when they attend to the cadre. The RTOs are efficacious models to the extent that recruits see their behavior as efficacious in producing status-conferring practices that signify competence and success.

The RTOs, in addition to their formal authority possessed recognized occupational skills that the recruits generally believe they themselves do not have. Further the RTOs also possess the symbolic capital of having been "on the streets." It should not be underestimated how powerful a taken-for-granted category "street-sense" or being "street-wise" is to recruits and the

⁴⁷ "Consequently, the stripping away of an individual's character upon entering the police world does not leave the recruit demoralized and alone. Rather, the occupation offers up a very seductive and appealing alternative identity to the recruit to replae the one he has left behind" (Manning and Van Maanen1978: 270)

belief such a “sense” (which recruits define as a skill in maneuvering the streets) only comes from time on the street. For the recruits, the streets were a scary, unknown, uncertain, world that they were in no position to speak with authority about. Most knew that they did not know the “code of the street” as Anderson (1999) might call it and even if they did, they were not sure that they could enact it with skill. To that end, the RTOs were seen as something like a priesthood with a monopoly on the goods of salvation on the streets. Fielding and Chan confirm that cadre are attended to when their behaviors are seen as having functional significance, i.e. winsome qualities, to be actively sought in surviving the street. Learning is no passive act by recruits.

Recruits entered the academy believing that police work involved danger and uncertainty. They believed that they needed to be prepared for these circumstances of the job. Contrary to seeing danger and uncertainty as negative qualities of the job, the perceived satisfaction of doing police work was seen in being able to “handle” such risks with skill. Danger and uncertainty were perceived to make police work a challenging, constantly changing, and therefore an absorbing form of work. Simply attending to cadre as models is insufficient for learning force. There must be a *motor reproduction process*. The RTOs and instructors were expected to and were seen as creating a simulated world of danger and uncertainty inside the academy. This is, in fact, how the RTOs often described their PT regiment, drills, scenarios, chemical agents and taser training, and daily discipline. They enrolled recruits in motor action. So while the recruits might not like the seeming arbitrary discipline that came with uniform inspections, they typically still saw such exercises as being about “attention to detail” and therefore as having a moral and explainable quality that justified it and prevented it from being openly questioned despite its momentary discomforts while also learning motor skills. Even when the RTOs conduct was perceived as abusive, recruits still tended to treat it as a *ordeal* to overcome.

Analyzing the Data

Generally I treated processes like how cadre taught a recruit to “double tap” or how recruits actually did or did not “double tap” as first-order constructs. First order constructs are, as Van Maanen (1979) puts it, the “facts” of the matter. I also treated the utterances, justifications, criticisms, praise, descriptions, etc. made by recruits and cadre as first order constructs, as much in need of further explication and explanation as the behaviors I was interested in. In each case I treated the behaviors and sayings of members of the academy in terms of their specific contexts (more on this later). My job as an ethnographer was to organize these first order constructs as second order constructs, i.e. to see a two mile run and the utterances of the cadre (e.g. “Pick it [the pace] up! Your partner could be in trouble!”) in terms of what these actions were “about.” This could be the RTO’s trying to teach recruits the value of being fit for being a moral member of the group or even a simple technical demand that recruits have the physical capacity in their legs and lungs to “catch bad guys.” Second order constructs are about linking discrete patterns to larger wholes. Thus when a recruit calls another a “sandbagger” or “mope” it is the ethnographers job to see how these statements reflect a recruits sense of social structure (that some recruits are perceived and treated differently because of having devalued bodies or because they don’t do their share of the academy chores). As a second order construct such statements are seen in terms of “discovering” that there exist 1.) differential relationships between recruits; 2.) there is some kind of status or even physical competition between recruits and; 3.) the centrality of being able to work “hard” (either through physical effort or simply completing tasks in a timely and effective manner) to the police academy world.

Treating observed behavior in this manner allowed me reveal what was often the unarticulated meaning or significance of an action because I had access to what Cicourel (1967) called "background expectancies." These are the deeply common-sensical understandings that go without saying and that make individual acts meaningful to members. The ethnographers job is to infer these meanings using the same techniques and procedures as members and to articulate them as second order constructs. For example, I often "knew" that the RTOs weren't trying to teach rules or transmit cultural information as much as employ injunctions to modify behavior. I knew this because I was often on the receiving end and could literally feel the bite of their words rather than confronting their utterances as something to be interpreted.

I also collected data on police training that has been ignored. I took notes on the training practices themselves as well as what was said before, during, and after the training. Unlike other studies of police training (e.g. Harris 1973; Van Maanen 1973; Chan 2003) which have focused on what rules, norms, and values were articulated and whether or not recruits accepted these cultural forms, I actually show how the cadre organized the training and enticed recruits to participate. Analytically the data I collected on police training can be divided into what Van Maanen calls "operational" and "presentational data." Operational data is the descriptive material I have on how recruits and cadre "accomplish" "forcefulness." Presentational data is the descriptive material I collected on how recruits and cadre presented, described, and justified their conduct to each others or to outsiders. Much of the police literature on use of force as a cultural phenomena (e.g. Manning 1980; Hunt 1985; Waegel 1984) has used only the presentational data collected without giving equal time to the operational data. I try to do both in my study but, as noted previously, also treat presentational data as part of the "how-to" of force, not as description but as an action. As Van Maanen writes, "The lines separating these two strains of data is not always distinct. Verbal depictions are invariably recorded along with concrete activities observed to be taking lace. What the researcher is told cannot always be observed or assessed with any confidence as to its accuracy" (Van Maanen 1979: 542).

Most of my analytical focus was based on the kinds of behavior that seemed to repeatedly cause conflict between recruits and cadre, and what recruits and cadre were saying about these behaviors. Eventually I saw patterns in the break down in bodily coordination during physical training, chemical agents training, firearms training, search and seizure training, etc. that were not attached to any specific individual. These patterns lead me to believe that the points of view being expressed by these behaviors were social and cultural rather than individual. For example, when recruits had to practice searching each others "groin" area during search techniques classes, the same problems of rushing through the search were enacted by most recruits and the RTOs and instructors had to frequently intervene through criticism or other techniques. Of course, my account is only partial. I wish I had more detailed information about the backgrounds of the recruits I was training with.

Presentation of Data

Ethnography is a descriptive as well as an explanatory method. I have tried several ways of presenting my field notes. My primary method of description is to use quotes from my field notes. These are quotes that describe conduct or cite the situated utterances of police academy members. Most of the quotes I use are only few sentences to a paragraph in length. Others are a page or so long. The longer quotes typically involve long strips of action where it was necessary to fully describe a pattern of practice or interaction.

At times I also use boxed texts. These are supplementary field notes that are connected to the sections discussion but provide a more fully contextualized incident that parallels the data being cited. The point in using these texts is to throw the quotes and vignettes into fuller relief by providing a thicker description of the actions, utterances, and meanings of the set of conduct under investigation. In some of these boxed texts, especially the longer ones, I annotated sections with bolded notes to highlight features of the text that connect back to the quoted field notes and that are, in a sense, the documentary instances of the phenomena I am trying to describe and explain. The goal is to give the reader a text that will draw them into the sights, sounds, smells, and feel of being in the academy.

Part I — Techniques of the Body

Chapter 4: “Laying Hands”: Learning to Touch and Grab in the Police Academy

Embodying “Search and Seizure”

5/25/08: I am driving my patrol car southbound on HWY XXX in the town of C.O., a small town with only about 2,000 inhabitants and with no services except a grocery store, a bar, and a gas station. At about 3am, I see a man riding his bike down the highway. The bike rider has a white grocery bag hanging from his bike, and the bag contains a red gas canister and a rubber piece of tubing. I immediately recall that there has been a rash of gas theft from residents’ cars over the past few nights. I also notice that the bike rider has no lights on the bike.

I drive by him, then turn around and stop him, activating my ambers and my spot light. He gets off his bike and starts walking over to me. I get out of the car, still on my radio with Dispatch calling out the stop. I tell the guy, “Hey, go stand by my car...” As an afterthought I say, “I don’t want you to get whacked by a car, safer in front of my car.” Something didn’t feel right and I want distance between myself and the bike rider.

The guy doesn’t look like our typical local. He is white, has red hair, a beard, about 5’10”, 190 lbs. He looks kind of like a hipster, wearing a blue Dickies jacket and nice black construction jeans. His speech is refined. This is not the kind of guy I have encountered, night after night, in this poor, rural, geographically isolated town. Yet he has a gas canister and siphon hose in his plastic grocery bag. He also keeps reaching into his blue jacket. I say to him, “Hey, you mind keeping your hands out of your pocket?” He says “Sure. Whatever you like.” I start talking to him:

BL: “What’s the gas can for?”

Guy: “My car broke down and I was trying to get to a gas station for gas. All I got is \$5.”

BL: “Ok. So what kind of car do you have?”

Guy: “Toyota Camry.”

BL: “What year?”

[He pauses to think.]

Guy: “1989.”

BL: “So where was the bike?”

Guy: “I had it strapped into the trunk.”

[Reaches into pockets again, like he is checking to see if something is still there. This gets my attention since I had already clearly told him not to.]

BL: Hey. I told you not to put your hands in your pockets. You mind if I search you for weapons?

Guy: Ok.

BL: You have any weapons on you?

Guy: No.

BL: Ok, turn around, put your hands on your head, and interlock your fingers.

I grab onto the man's hands, firmly gripping several of his fingers, effectively locking his hands together. I start patting him down. I briskly feel around his waist band. Nothing. I run my hand up and down his shirt, and all I feel is flesh. I move to the jacket. I pat, feeling for anything hard and then I make a grabbing motion with my hands, making sure I don't miss anything. I get to the outer pockets. I pat and feel something hard in the right. From the pat alone I can't tell what it is. I know it isn't good. I grab the man's hands more firmly, pull him back, widen my legs and bend my knees slightly to get a better center of balance. I then sweep his right leg out to leave him off balance. I make a grabbing motion that bunches the cloth together and reveals something hard, heavy, and metallic, about the size of my hand. My heart rate climbs and I know that it is a weapon. I plan on pulling it out but first I ask, "What's in your pocket?" in order to gauge any changes in the man's reaction. He says, "Uh, brass knuckles." I pull the brass knuckles out and set them on the hood of my car. Still holding his hands with my left hand, I take out a pair of cuffs and snap them on his wrists. I tell him to sit on the push bars of my patrol car. I ask him, "You planning on using those things on me?" He says, "No, no, they aren't mine. I just found them outside on the side of the street by that bar..."

This moment from the field captures the corporeal and sensuous nature of police work. The body of a police officer is "always already there" in the face-to-face interactions of policework (Katz 2001; Merleau-Ponty 1962). Within these interactions, police bodies begin to function even before an officer can interpret the situation at hand.⁴⁸ Police work has been called "dirty work" (Van Maanen 1973) because officers have to deal with the stigmatized sectors of society. But this can also be a sensual reality for police officers who have to touch sweet and odiferous bodies. What is unmistakably true is that a police officers world is a world not only of words and

⁴⁸ In the fieldnote that I use to begin this paper, there is a close fit between what I learned in the academy and how I performed on the job, I am quite aware, however, that the acquisition of tactile and forceful skills does not guarantee that such skills will be performed in contexts other than those in which they were originally learned. For those interested in what it takes to reduce discrepancies between learning and performance, I suggest Albert Bandura's *Aggression* (1973:65-68), which includes a discussion of the contexts required to activate acquired skills in non-learning contexts.

ideas, but of sights, sounds, touches, and smells that are rich in meaning and potential for action to the policeman in ways quite different from other groups. But rarely does sociology attend to how things, surfaces, or people feel at the hands of different group members nor does sociology ask why might it matter that these objects feel a certain way to certain people. Cops live in a world of touch. Hard objects under clothes, pointed objects, baggies, pockets, skin, pulses— all of these things are part of the sensual tactile world of a cop. And for a cop such sensations are a daily occurrence and part of his sensible and meaningful world. In this chapter I upon up the area of tactile sensibility to sociological inquiry.

What the law calls “search and seizure” has its carnal embodiment in body-to-body contact, in hands on flesh and clothing. *Seizing* is a particular way of grasping a body and it is a socially instituted somatic knowledge—a knowledge embedded in the way officers grab fingers, the way they hold bodies and body parts with their hands, the placement of those hands on pressure points, the ability to feel a tensing opponent, and engagement in a strike or a kick of a foot to unbalance someone. *Searching* is also a bodily affair: a sensual tactile exploration of another’s body, where that body is encountered as an indeterminate and textured field of exploration, full of warm and sometimes sweaty flesh, tense limbs, parts to be manipulated, moved, and revealed. “Search and seizure” is a series of actions, reactions, and embodied responses that officers can adapt and align to ever-changing circumstances and conditions (no body and no situation encountered by an officer is ever exactly the same).

To understand *search and seizure*⁴⁹ requires much more than grasping formal constitutional law, statutes of penal codes, and ever-changing case laws. It requires an attunement to the social logic of bodily co-presence between officer and suspect, especially the way the police officer learns to use his or her body to control and sense the bodies of other people.⁵⁰ In other words, to be a cop is to *touch like a cop*.

This formulation borrows from Iris Marion Young’s (1991) “Throwing Like A Girl,” an essay on the embodiment of gendered postures. Young argues that gendered differences are realized in the form of learned and stylized bodily compartments, such as postures, movements in lateral space, ways of walking, throwing balls, and engaging in other gross motor movements. In Western society, part of being a girl or woman is learning *not* to use the body forcefully. Part of becoming a cop, by contrast, is learning to use one’s hands in forceful and exploratory ways.⁵¹

The Police Academy is the social setting in which new police recruits learn to use their body as an instrument of perception and control. Hands achieve perceptual clarity through search techniques and control is exercised with precise manipulation of another persons joints by the officers hands. Similarly officers learn ways of striking a person that are organizational

⁴⁹ The Fourth Amendment guarantees that: “The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”

⁵⁰ Albert Bandura (1973: 38) emphasizes the need to include socially variable *styles* of aggression when explaining violence or aggression. He criticizes instinctual theories, drive theories, frustration theories, and catharsis theories of (i.e. all theories of that paint aggression as impelled by inner forces) for failing to do this. He writes, “Obviously, people are not innately equipped with military combat repertoires or with proficient means of insulting others. A complete theory of aggression must therefore explain how intricate behaviors that are potentially injurious and destructive are *learned* in the first place” (*my emphasis*). In this article, I do not speculate about the motives or intentions of actors but simply look at how recruits *learn* “intricate” and highly stylized techniques of the body that may be injurious or destructive.

⁵¹ See Sudnow (2001) on learning to use hands to play improvisational jazz.

prescribed. The Academy exposes recruits to techniques for exploring the bodies of others, through the vehicle of their hands. The Police Academy is a social setting defined by a system of pedagogical relations that provides a set of conditioning experiences or *incorporating practices*⁵² (Connerton 1989).

This chapter describes the formation of one aspect of this habitus: how recruits are socialized to *search and seize*. Focusing on police officers' use of their hands, I will show how the "political mythologies" undergirding policework are literally embodied as a set of *haptic*⁵³ abilities (Bourdieu 1990). Learned bodily comportments, movement habits, and skills are, I argue, definitive for membership in policing and for the structure and meaning of the profession.

Overcoming the Taboo's of the Civilizing Process

Before discussing the formation of police bodies in the academy, it is important to point out the unique position of police officers in a civilized society—a position that gives them the right and the responsibility to use their bodies to control and coerce others. Policing is a fraught occupation in a "civilized" and "pacified" society—a state that is unified and capable of monopolizing the means of violence (Elias 1978). The civilized state, Elias argues, is made possible through a long-term transformation of citizens' tastes, affects, manners, behavior, and knowledge, and requires the repression and management of bodily functions and conduct. In such a society, there is pressure to contain aggression through internalized forms of social control (e.g., learned manners) and through cultivated emotional responses (e.g., learning to feel awkward or ashamed at touching in public). The civilized state demands a cautious approach to the bodies of others and carefully regulates bodily contact, generally proscribing violent and coercive touching. Yet, in this "civilized" society, police have the *right* and indeed the *obligation* to touch others in ways that are otherwise prohibited.⁵⁴ Indeed, police are called upon to touch even taboo areas of the body, such as "the crotch," in public and without the consent of those being touched.

In what follows I describe the formation of a police habitus that is geared toward solving the recurrent problem of face-to-face interaction in a "civilized" society. This entails overcoming the "conflictual tension" (Collins 2008) that arises from breaking with routine, habituated practices of interactional synchronicity (Hall 1966, 1973), entrainment (Collins 2008, 2004), or "mutual-attuning-in" (Schutz 1964). Grabbing, searching, and striking violate the interactional rules and expectations that people use to facilitate smooth interaction. A police recruit must learn

⁵² Incorporating practices are those movements of the body through which new gestures, tools, or habits extend the capabilities of that body (Polanyi 2009: 16).

⁵³ It is worth saying something about touch or haptics. Despite the massive role that touch plays in everyday life, little has been written or said about it in sociology. This is perhaps because touch is so basic to our sense of being in the world that we are unaware of its importance. Paterson (2007: 4) writes that touch implies "a spatial awareness that derives from interoceptive (inward-oriented) senses of bodily position, movement and balance... Walking through a building, for example, involves not simply a correlation between vision and touch but also combined somatic senses, the modalities of *proprioception* (the body's position felt as muscular tension), *kinaesthesia* (the sense of the movement of body and limbs) and the *vestibular sense* (a sense of balance derived from information in the inner ear). Howe (2006), Jackson (1983), and Stouler (1988) have also written comprehensively on the social dimensions of the senses.

⁵⁴ Alpert and Dunham discuss what I call the *paradox of policing*: "We live in a world that increasingly displays distaste for the use of physical force to direct or control the behavior of others" and yet "There is one profession in Western society... that has not only retained the right to use physical force against its citizens, but has its member trained and encouraged to do so" (2004: 1).

to reject the imperative to “be nice” under certain circumstances. Recruits learn to selectively overcome specific habits of manner that are characteristic of a “civilized” state and that are second nature in regular social interactions.

Cultivating a Willingness to “Lay Hands” & “Go Hands On”

The Police Academy is a quasi-total institution that transports recruits to the center of a community of specialized practice. Once there, a recruit’s *habitus* changes as a result of “increasing participation”—a participation that “concerns the whole person acting in the world” (Lave and Wegner 1991:49). In this section, I explore an Academy pedagogy aimed at teaching recruits new powers of tactile and visual perception. I attend to how stories, metaphors, and axioms; demonstrations, observations, and imitations; and verbal, visual and corporeal feedback work to engage recruits in the skillful performance of search and seizure practices. Specifically, I focus on how recruits learn to *touch*: the Academy invests substantial time honing, refining, and sensitizing tactile sensibilities so recruits can learn to *search* another person’s body. Examining how police recruits learn this mode of tactile perception reveals the significance of the body for police officers’ experience of culture.⁵⁵ Training at the Academy engenders the body with habits and skills specific to the recruits’ new “location” in the social space.⁵⁶

Instructors and RTOs refer to searching as “laying hands,” a term borrowed from priestly Catholic and Charismatic healing rites (Csordas 1994). The laying on of hands is a sacred power of the priesthood that allows the priest to commune with the laity. When police “lay hands” on their laity, the public, they are exercising their “sacred” power to cross thresholds between bodies (Douglas 1966; Lyman & Scott 1967). In this way, police are similar to doctors, who derive their unique occupational competence and authority from laying hands as they palpitate the body for signs of hidden disease (see Bruhn [1978] on the history of “laying hands” and the “doctor’s touch”). The power of touch that belongs to priests, doctors, and police officers is occupationally-specific and situationally-circumscribed, reinforcing its sacred character.

But searching is also a pragmatic answer to the everyday problem of concealment in social encounters. With techniques of searching, police recruits are taught how to explore bodies in order to identify and remove potential threats to safety and order. From the first day of academy training, recruits are taught that the world of “normal appearances” (Goffman 1971) conceals illicit and dangerous activities. During their training, recruits must develop a capacity to recognize the dangers lurking behind normal appearances. RTOs and instructors imbue recruits with a sense that their social encounters are more indeterminate than they might seem *prima facie*. Searching techniques—a form of perceptual learning—are about *disclosing* and *revealing* hidden aspects of social encounters.

Indeterminacy and Suspicion

⁵⁵ In examining touch as a *mode* of perception, I will be taking a different tact than most sociologists and anthropologists, who tend to focus on *objects* of perception.

⁵⁶ Bandura’s (1973) Social Learning Theory is an excellent example of this paradigm: “Most of the intricate responses people display are learned, either deliberately or inadvertently, through the influence of example. Indeed, virtually all learning phenomena resulting from direct experience can occur on a vicarious basis through observation of other people’s behavior and its consequences for them” (Bandura 1973: 44). While it is certainly true that many behaviors can be learned through vicarious observation of conduct (and of the rewards and punishments associated with that behavior), such analysis also needs to include the much more interactive dimensions of demonstration, observation, and imitation.

When sociologists talk about how police classify persons (e.g. Oberweis and Musheno 1999; Dunham, Alpert, Stroshine, and Bennet 2005) they often assume that the people and behavior encountered are already perceived as determinate and only in need of logical classification.⁵⁷ In police work, as in most areas of social life, this is not in fact the case. People and relationships are rarely “given” to perception as already determinate. This simply means that when a police officer encounters a person, a car, or a house as part of their duties, they only see aspects of it at a time. Until a police officer makes an approach, conducts a search with his or her hands, or engages in any number of perceptual activities, they often don’t know what they are dealing with. Even small movements, like the repositioning of hands or a turn of the body that indicates possible flight, can dramatically change how a person is seen.

Recruits are trained to elicit signs of danger and risk through their search techniques. Specifically, recruits are taught to attend to aspects of the social environment that are normally obscured. This process generates a new awareness and illustrates the relevance of the training.⁵⁸ One instructor put it this way:

“Just because you stop a minivan that looks like soccer mom is driving it doesn’t mean you can take your officer safety for granted. You still need to be looking, looking, looking. Checking the windows, looking for who is in the vehicle, is there a weapon under a seat, etc. Things aren’t always what they appear. You have to stay vigilant, always have your head on a swivel and always checking people for bulges, fidgets, anything that might tip you off that someone might be planning to get you dead.”

Bulges and fidgets may be seen by other observers but for police officers these cues can attain the significance of life and death. Another instructor tells a story to illustrate the consequences of an inadequate search:

“There was a gal who was arrested on a dope charge not too long ago. The officer who arrested her figured that she was petite and compliant, and felt no need to search her thoroughly. Officer cuffs her up, puts her in the back of the patrol car and starts driving to the jail. Course, the gal slides her cuffs to the front, reaches into her bra, and pulls out a two shot derringer-like pistol and fires through the cage at the officer. The point is, *don’t take people for granted. Just because someone looks nice or compliant doesn’t mean they can’t or won’t kill you. Be thorough in your search. Don’t be complacent.*”

The lesson conveyed in the last vignette is that dangers don’t reveal themselves without the required tactile work that any *diligent* officer should perform. If an officer is injured or killed because of their lax search techniques, other officers generally regard this as a moral failing on the part of the officer. These notes also evoke a sense of paranoia and suspiciousness that others have noted as trademarks of police culture (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993).⁵⁹ What we see being taught

⁵⁷ This may be called “logical indeterminacy” and it is the basis of the transposition of different classificatory schemes into different practical domains for which the system may not have been originally intended (Csordas 1994).

⁵⁸ Bandura writes: “A person cannot learn much by observation if he does not attend to, or recognize, the important features of the model’s behavior” (1973: 69). Stories, such as the ones above, function as an aspect of apprenticeship by vicariously telescoping a practice into its social context. For more on apprenticeship, see Collins, Brown, & Newman (1989), “Cognitive Apprenticeship: Teaching the Craft of Reading, Writing, and Mathematics” in *Knowing, learning, and instruction: essays in honor of Robert Glaser*, ed. by Lauren B. Resnick.

⁵⁹ Suspicion and skepticism are especially congruent with the capacity to use force and enforce the laws. We all make distinctions between the normal and the abnormal, the safe and the unsafe, the appropriate and the

at the academy is the point of production of suspicion as a style of dealing with the world. Suspicion entails that recruits constantly do more work, like bodily searches to reveal the hidden. Thus unlike Oberweis and Musheno (1999) it is not just that police are classifying machines. Prior to classification officers have to learn and do the work of making objects perceptually available for classification. As recruits learn to perceive indeterminacy in social encounters, recruits learn practices of tactile exploration that disclose hidden dangers; they learn to perceive the dangers of social encounters *with their hands* in the same way a doctor learns to detect hidden illness through the art of moving his hands across the surface of a body.

Relating to the Hands of Others

Similarly, the gradual refinement of the recruit classes' tactile skill was apparent in officers' interests and behaviors. For example, police often have a fascination with hands—where they are, what is in them, and what they are doing. Ways of approaching hands are imparted through ongoing pedagogical labor, starting at the academy and involving peers, visiting officers/deputies, RTOs, and defensive tactics instructors. Like learning to see the world as indeterminate, recruits apply similar categories of perception to the hands. Recruits are taught that hands reveal intentions that often are at variance with what a suspect is saying or otherwise doing. One recruit received an e-mail from an officer with the following advice:

Develop a “Hand Fetish.”

MAKE YOURSELF watch the hands before you even look at the face. They can only hurt you with their hands. If you don't see two empty PALMS then assume they have something in it [sic]. I can't over emphasize this—if I have someone run from a car stop, I STILL look at his or her hands before the overall appearance for the description. If I get out at a domestic, when the people come out of the house, I've seen every hand there before I've seen their face[s]. Many experienced officers can tell you that they've approached a violator's vehicle, made the “Hi, I need to see your license please” spiel, and (maybe unconsciously) watched their hands so closely, they then drop the gaze to the OL and it's someone they know. I have done this countless times. Develop a “hand fetish”! If you have trouble getting in this habit, watch “Surviving Edged Weapons” once, and think about that butcher knife penetrating and deflating your lung, and as you hit the barn floor, you've lost 50% of your strength.

A defensive tactics instructors demonstrated and articulated how hands and “leak” intentions. “If I am speaking to you compliantly, telling you I am going with the program, lots of ‘yes sirs,’ but you see my hands balling up, knuckles white, or I keep bring my hands up toward my head, where my arms are now loaded for a strike, you might want to start getting worried and maybe think about getting me in restraints. Probably what I am doing is trying to soothe you with words, to get your guard down, so I can strike you with your guard down.”

Throughout training process, instructors and RTOs reinforced this lesson, emphasizing the need to watch the hands of others. Thus just as it is important for recruits to acquire the proper bodily techniques for using their hands, they also have to acquire a refined perceptual schemata capable of constituting certain behaviors as suspicious and threatening.

inappropriate. Police are however, specially trained and required to make these interpretations” (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993: 97).

The Legal Danger of Going Hands On

In the lecture room, recruits learn about the more abstract dangers of searching. Hands are not the only danger that comes with hands on contact. Cadre also like to remind recruits of the legal ramifications of using their hands incompetently or illegally. RTO Sacks lectured the class about the threat of criminal and civil liabilities associated with improper searches:

“There are *huge* ramifications for violating a person’s civil rights. It’s not like screwing up and getting fired from Walmart. The consequences are real. Maybe some of you haven’t seen what a real lawsuit is like, but it is terrible. It can tear up your family and the anxiety can destroy you. You need to make sure that, when you are searching someone or if you are going to *lay hands*, that you are acting with the appropriate authority and within the bounds of case law.” He goes on to say that when we act, “we are putting it all on the line... your families house, your car, your boat, everything, maybe even your freedom. And if you get too close to stepping into Federal Title 242, you will watch the people closest to you step away, the people you work with and depend on. You might even be putting them at risk. It is not unprecedented for an entire team or shift to be liable for the actions of one of its members. So don’t fuck around out there.” (5/6/07)

Lectures such as these are meant to convey the weightiness and gravity of recruits sacred powers of touch.

Overcoming Taboo

Before recruits can “lay hands” properly they must overcome their visceral distaste for getting close to people and violating spatial norms for interaction. In the U.S. the sense of space or proximity makes being close to unfamiliar persons viscerally uncomfortable (Hall 1966). Early in training, Sergeant Markesan articulates what the recruits already know:

People don’t like hands being laid on them. It’s not like in the old days where your parent might’ve slapped you around or you might get pounded on the school yard. Few citizens have experiences in the military or the police so they don’t understand why we lay hands. So people aren’t used to it and no matter what you do people think you are just going too far when you touch them.

What “people aren’t used to” are violations of routine ways of coordinating doing social interaction. Like other citizens, police officers experience (internal and external) pressure to maintain entrainment. However, for police officers, there is also an imperative to break that entrainment through touching and physical or verbal aggression in certain situations. Rubenstein formulates the problem as follows:

“Signs of danger and trouble suggest withdrawal and flight to most people, but for the policemen they are signals of obligation and opportunity. He must be prepared to advance when others withdraw and to advance quickly to limit the risks which he takes. The only

way a policeman [sic] can neutralize a potential threat is to *take the person physically in hand*, to unman him [sic] in some sense.” (Rubenstein 1973: 290, *my emphasis*).

Learning to “take the person physically in hand” takes time. During training, the experience of learning to “lay hands” is saturated with embarrassment, stuttering, blushing, and mumbled apologies to those being searched. For example, a male recruit having his waist area searched by a female recruit, shouted, “Hey now! We don’t know each other *that way!*” Another cadet reacted similarly as I checked his legs and groin area during training. As I patted him down with the back of my hand, he shouted, “Wow, Lande, what you trying to go? *Lande just molested me!*” Recruits must overcome “civilized” sensibilities that place strict limits on how, whom, and when it is appropriate to touch others. Those limits are internalized, according to Elias, as feelings of shame and embarrassment.

A.L., a white female police recruit in her mid-twenties (now with a small city police department) describes how she learned to move past the embarrassment associated with taboos on searching another’s body:

“It is real awkward at first. You just don’t go around touching people everyday and you aren’t used to touching people’s crotches! I remember when we first started practicing searches that I just wanted it to be over with, and I would speed through the search and miss stuff, because it made me feel so uncomfortable. What made it get better was being given some *order* in which to do the searches. Then, I was so much less focused on the fact that I am touching someone and more focused on ‘am I searching them in the right sequence.’ Like during the academy, we learned this “S” style of searching where you swept down the front of a person in an “S” shape. [We also learned] to break the body down into quadrants to search. What mattered was having some way of doing the search and that made it much easier for me.”

To overcome the awkwardness and displeasure of searching taboo areas of the body, A.L., like many recruits, focused on the search technique rather than on the person being searched.

Moral Injunctions Lay Hands

When defensive tactics instructors teach recruits *how* to search, they have to retool recruits’ sensibilities about proximity and closeness to others. One way this is done is by suggesting the practical, moral, and social consequences of not using the hands well.

Instructor Franks, from M. Police Department and Instructor Story from the S. County Sheriff’s Office teach us how to do full searches. Franks tells us to be aggressive in our searching: “*You can’t be afraid to touch people. Don’t just glide your hands over them.*” Franks demonstrates on Story; he pats and grabs at Story’s clothes, bunching it up and manipulating it until he is satisfied that there are no objects. He does this all over his body including the groin area. Franks says, “If you have done your search properly you should know if your suspect is hanging to the left or right.” [There is masked laughter from the class.] He continues: “That is how thorough you need to be. If you’re not, you will have some pissed-off deputies at the jail when they find that you didn’t find all the weapons. But if you are out working West county, and you have no backup or cover and

you have no jail nearby, you are going to have the suspect in your car for half an hour or more. For your own safety you need to make sure that he is clear.”

What Franks and Story try to convey is the need to overcome the visceral discomfort most recruits for touching a stranger’s body. Knowing “if your suspect is hanging to the left or right” is a sign of competence and something that recruits eventually begin to acclimate to with frequent practice. The instructors imply that continuing lack of competence, especially if it derives from personal distaste, will have social consequences for officers’ professional relationships with correctional staff and sheriff’s deputies at jails. It will also have consequences “for your own safety.”⁶⁰

Gender Relations and Search and Seizure

Ways of touching are imbricated with gender relations. How it feels to touch someone of the opposite sex conditions how recruits initially search other. The search-and-seize training process is almost always awkward when male recruits have to search women. Routine strategies for managing proximity between men and women create special problems to overcome, requiring gender-specific bodily techniques for searching. Instructors frequently express concern that male officers will be too afraid to search women out of fear of lawsuits for sexual harassment or misconduct. So even though at times cadre warn recruits of the legal liability of law suits, they are still expected to bracket that worry when other concerns take prominence.

Instructor Story begins the segment on searching women by saying “It’s important that, while we are practicing today, you do everything right. When you are doing searches you are going to be going places that you find uncomfortable. To do this job, you are going to have to get over that. If you give me a guy that you say you have searched but you didn’t feel around his crotch because you don’t want to, and I get shot because you missed a gun, guess who’s responsible? You are! Same for women. *When you practice with women, don’t do it half assed.* I am not saying you grab their breasts or touch their groin, but bring your hand in between their cleavage, that’s where weapons are likely to be. You should be able to tell what kind of bra they are wearing. There are also techniques for checking women’s breasts without violating them. Have them pinch their shirt and bra so that any objects fall free. To check their crotch area slide your hand around the belt area, check for guns. You don’t have to pat them down the same way as a male. In fact your department may have policies that prohibit you [from doing so]. But the fact is, you aren’t always going to have a woman officer around and you have to guard yourself, and that means conducting a thorough search. When you do a search I don’t just want you brushing your hand over the person’s clothes. You need to pat and then grab. You pat to

⁶⁰ Within Social Learning Theory, stories like these are vicarious symbolic models that strengthen or weaken inhibitions of behavior by articulating the rewards and sanctions of future behavior. Such a story does not teach the “how-to” but elaborates on the temporal consequences of acting. The instructor is describing the rewarding and punishing consequences accompanying the conduct he describes. Thus the story is a social prompt of sorts (see Bandura 1973:69). Stories, like these are *not* meant to be internalized and carried around as part of some cultural “tool-kit” (Swidler 1986). The story is an utterance meant to *do something* (a speech act *a la* Austin) by shaping the temporal and affective dimensions of the conduct being spoken about.

feel for hardness or sharp objects and then, if safe, you grab the clothes and manipulate the clothing to feel for missed objects like small knives, screw drivers, etc.”

Recruits learn from their instructors that visceral discomfort with intimate searches of the opposite gender is not an excuse for an inadequate search. Recruits also learn that if they try do a search “half assed” that they may be chastised and corrected. But recruits aren’t just left to adjust their sensibilities, they are given an “out” by being provided with ways of using their hands that are considered less offensive. These practices are repeated until it becomes routinized and thorough searches simply seem necessary.⁶¹

Instructor Ty describes and demonstrates how recruits should embody a gendered relation to searches in the very way that cadre teach recruits to use their hand.

“Use the back of the hand. When you get to the breast, swipe underneath, but don’t touch or grab. If you want to know what is under their bra have them pull it forward and shake hard. You don’t really need to feel under their breast because, what can they really hide there? They might have a dime bag or something like that, but they won’t have a gun.” He demonstrates with a female recruit. When he gets to the head area he says, “You can check their earrings, but you look at these [big loop like earrings] and see that they aren’t going to do anything. What can they do? Try to poke your eyes out! What you have to be more concerned with, especially when doing a weapons search, is things in a female’s hair, like hair pins, or sometimes you see those big chopstick things, those can definitely be used as a weapon so you will want to take that out of their hair.”

During training, instructors advise women in particular to modify their postures, comportment, and perceptual habits, and to adopt a more masculine comportment less focused on attuning to the expressiveness of others faces than the sizing up of potential opponents. This means less examination of the face and eyes so that female recruits can watch hands more effectively. An RTO explained at the start of training:

“Women usually are better at making eye contact and listening. But we teach you to watch hands and behavior, to see if a person is going to start fighting with you. So husbands always start complaining that when they come home with problems, that their police wives no longer look like they care! Trust me ladies, you are going to leave here being more like men than you want. But it is necessary for the job. You have to be suspicious, watch hands, and stand your ground to be a good cop.”

The gendered corporeal schemata that this RTO advocates are imbued with a moral dimension, for they define what it means to be a “good cop” and a good member of the police community (never mind a “good wife”).

⁶¹ Justifications centered on “officer safety” are used to excuse ways of touching women that would normally be a basis of outrage. Instructor Franks interjected, “When I go out there. I put officer safety first. I know that what I am doing is right. And, if the suspect feels like complaining, then so what. I did what needed to be done to be safe. If she has a complaint, doesn’t like how I’m touching her, well she shouldn’t be out there doing illegal things that make me have to arrest her and search her for weapons.”

The broader problem of cultivating a willingness to enter into physical engagement with others—especially violent conflict—is addressed similar ways. The most regular, if still sporadic, is the “war story.” Often, the popular stories told by instructors describe rookie officers, fresh from the academy, who are fired or resign after their first violent encounters. For example, one police officer, during defensive tactics training, told the academy class,

“I had a new trainee. Did great in defensive tactics at the academy, was a black belt in judo. But when I got into a fight while he was in the third phase of his field training program, he just stood there, frozen, while I wrestled with this suspect. The other officers on scene jumped in immediately but not my trainee. It’s one thing to fight in a safe place like the do-jo but it doesn’t mean you are ready to jump into a street fight. The trainee resigned after I explained that his conduct was completely unacceptable for a police officer. If he hadn’t, he would have been failed out of field training by me!”

Stories like this one make clear what is expected of recruits and suggest standards of action in dangerous situations. They perform the triple job of forecasting what recruits can expect during field training, informing them of the consequences associated with unwillingness to fight, and prescribing a proper protocol of action. A visiting officer from a Sheriff’s Office related the following story:

“When I have a trainee and we get into a fight, I like to stand back, hide in the trees, and watch them. I don’t care if they win the fight or not. I will jump in before anything goes really wrong. But I want to see that they are willing to fight, that they aren’t scared. I want to see that if I get into trouble that they will be there for me, ready to jump in without hesitation. I don’t care if you are good or not [at fighting], just that you will try, take your knocks, dust yourself off afterwards and do everything you can to win.”

Stories such as these suggest to recruits that they should focus on training themselves to unhesitatingly go “hands on.” For instance, in the aftermath of several poorly performed scenarios, an RTO delivered a lecture to illustrate the consequences of failure to engage in combat:

RTO Sacks lectures us after several recruits performed poorly while doing the Red Man scenario. The Red Man involves doing role playing scenario mixed with sparing against officers from nearby departments. The officers wear a red suit made of pads and sparing gear so that they can fight with recruits without risk of significant injury.

After several recruits failed to go “hands on” when the RTO A.S. and the visiting evaluators felt they should have, he had the class fall into formation. RTO A.S. addressed us, standing in front of the formation, saying, “Some of you aren’t so good at making decisions. Maybe a metaphor will help. If you are going to eat a chicken, you don’t get an ax and waltz with the chicken. If you start dancing about with the chicken, the chicken is going to figure you out and kick your ass. If you decide you are going to eat chicken you just got to grab that chicken and cut its head off. Kill the son of a bitch, put him in a pot and eat him. Don’t procrastinate and start waltzing with it. Cause in real life, if you start waltzing with your perps, they are going to figure out that they are more committed than

you are and they are going to kick your ass. Don't waltz with the son of a bitch. No hesitating once you know what you have to do. Get down to business and cut his fuckin head off. I don't want to hear about any of you getting your ass handed to you by a chicken"

Here, the RTO's extended metaphor is a pedagogical device that complements and reinforces the lessons of physical training. What is conveyed are not attitudes, values, or expectations, but a particular tempo of action. Recruits are to act unhesitatingly when a danger presents itself, not wait until the situation has escalated.

Normal People versus The Street

Physical training requires both hands-on action and the cultivated ability to identify and redefine the target of the officer's physical control. "Third strikers", "paroles," and "g-types" [gang members] are constantly referred to during lecture and mat room training. These are the "symbolic assailants" that recruits are taught to manage. The way these assailants are hailed in training conversation teaches recruits to *expect* encounters with them. Just as recruits learned to fear "hands" as unruly body parts during searches, here recruits learn to fear the *unruly body* of the "street." Indeed, instructors define the normal "middle class" recruit in opposition to those from the "street."

What is important is not just that recruits learn to categorize dangerous others, they learn to categorize themselves as "normal." But while "normal" is often presented in sociology as the taken for granted "ideal", being "normal" is not necessarily an asset for a recruit. For instance, instructors try to account for the recruits' fear by contrasting the recruits' "normal" experiences and expectations with the conflictual and combative world that "suspects" reportedly come from.

When we return from lunch we work on doing take-downs in the mat room. When J., one of the female recruits, takes her turn, she walks up to the recruit in front of her hits him hard on the shoulder but then yanks him hard onto his back. She then gasps and jumps back, saying, "I'm so sorry, I'm so sorry, I didn't mean to hurt you!" She crouches down on the floor, head buried deep in her knees. Instructor B. goes up to her and says, "come on, you have to do it again." J. says, "But I don't want to hurt him!" Instructor Story says, "Don't worry, you are going to do it to Lande this time."

Instructor Ty then says to everyone, "*You're all normal people. You have learned not to hurt people. But you have to learn to inflict pain on your suspects and to hurt them. Because they aren't normal. They know how to fight and they have no problem with hurting you.* When you are doing your defensive tactics or any kind of training for that matter, you need to practice like it's the real thing, unless we tell you not to. For these take downs, do them full speed and at full strength. You need to train your muscle memory now because you will be doing this soon and you need it to be routine and fast."

While J.'s reaction may be exaggerated, it demonstrates an important feature of recruits— they often were incompetent in the use of force. Being "normal" was one way of saying that a recruit hadn't yet mastered the physical skills and propensities to be forceful. Being "normal" was thus something to be overcome. In many ways, recruits are asked to become like their symbolic counterparts. When a recruit "freezes" during a scenario or seems unwilling to go

“hands on,” the instructors will typically have the recruit redo the scenario until it is done properly. Instructors liken physical training to a hardening or toughening of the body *and* a cultivation of the *will* to fight. Thus in addition to “war stories” and metaphors for action, there are normative injunctions followed by promises that recruits will be toughened and prepared for life on “the street”:

During the second day of the Academy, Deputy Martinsson chides people for not doing well on their pushups. "There is a reason we have you doing these. You're gonna be in a shit load of fights, especially those of you going to the jails. I guarantee you, 110%, that all of you are going to be going hands-on. And I don't know how many of you have been in a fight before, but 10 seconds feels like 10 minutes. So think about that next time you're whining on the floor thinking, 'this is too many pushups.' It may seem small now but we are trying to give you the will to survive."

Later, while we are in closing formation in the gym, Martinsson asks: "How many of you have been in a fight before?" Dillon raises his hand and Martinsson tells him (not asks), “explain!” Dillon says, "I was playing high school football and I got into a fight with a guy on my team." Martinsson asks if he feared for his life. Dillon says "No, we just tussled." Martinsson says, "Well, that's no real fight. You all had better get used to the idea that you might one day fear for your life or have some guy trying to smash in your face. You're going to have to be able to handle that situation. Not be afraid but respond and fight back. We aren't telling you not to be afraid. We will give you the tools so that when you do get in that fight for your life, you don't just feel defeated and give up and let the bad guy get your service weapon. We will prepare you for these scenarios."

Here, recruits learn that physical engagement and fighting aren't just about practical efficacy; they are also a kind of Goffmanian (1957) performance of self that will have implications for their reputation. Collins's insights about impression management in violent encounters are applicable here: “it is not necessary to win the fight; all one has to show is that one is willing to fight, to inflict and, if necessary, take some physical damage.”

“Laying Hands” & “Going Hands On” as Bodily Techniques

Engaging Recruits in Practice

Exhortations to engage suspects fully and without reluctance take place in the midst of continuous bodily training. In this context, engagement entails demonstrations (by instructors), imitation (by recruits), and continuous physical and verbal feedback (provided by instructors and recruits):

After Instructors Franks and Story explain the importance of treating the training *as if* it were real, they demonstrate how to approach someone to conduct a search. They begin with a high-risk stop scenario:

Instructor Franks points his “dummy” blue plastic gun at Instructor Story (who is playing the role of a suspect). Authoritatively, Franks shouts: “Put your hands in the air! Now

grab the top of your shirt and raise it until your waistband is exposed. Turn around. Stop!” With Story now facing away from him he says, “Put your hands on your head, and interlock your fingers. *Don’t move.*” Franks holsters his gun, positions himself in a fighting stance then shuffles forward quickly, maintaining a low center of gravity. He stretches out his left hand and quickly touches Story’s hands and then jumps back.

Franks stops the demonstration and says, “What I just did there was to check the suspect’s disposition. A lot of these guys, especially if they are parolees, don’t want to go back to jail. They also know what you are going to do and will fight back. I am touching him just to see if he is loaded and ready to go. If I touch him and he is tightly wound and responds, I am already out of the way. If not I can be more confident and begin hooking him up.”

Franks then shows us how to control the suspect’s hands with only one hand. “See what I am doing, I am grabbing just a couple of fingers on one of the hands and pinching them together. Story, try pulling your hands apart.” Story struggles for several seconds to release his hands from Franks’s grip, without success. “You see, he can’t do it. It also hurts if you try to pull your fingers apart.” Franks lifts his arm up, like an uppercut, around the front of Story’s right arm: “Now shake his hand. Your hand and his should be palm to palm. Grab onto his hand, tell him not to move his other hand, *which you should still be holding onto*, and put him in a twist lock. Once you have him in the twist lock, cuff the hand on his head, grab the link of the cuffs and bring the hand down to the back and cuff the hand you have in the twist lock.”

Franks demonstrates these actions and movements while explaining and giving reasons for each. When Franks has Story interlace his fingers, he does so to demonstrate how an officer can control another’s body and to show the efficacy of the technique. When it comes to searches, specific ways of shaping the hand and positioning the body are taught.

Instructor Ty blades his hand with the thumb facing toward the recruit’s chest. He takes a firm frontal stance behind the recruit. Ty widens the stance of the recruit and then rocks him back so that the recruit is off balance. One of Ty’s arms is wrapped upwards under the recruit’s arm. Ty’s free, bladed hand is then swept in a “T” pattern. Down the center of the chest, under the breast area and then down to the belt area. Ty checks the upper right, then upper left, then middle right, middle left and so on. Everything is broken down into symmetrical segments. Ty also sweeps the neck area saying, “I am feeling for string or rope, something that could be holding a knife or weapon down her shirt.”

Instructors often teach by directly manipulating the bodies of recruits. Instructor Story, for example, observed two recruits searching each other. Frustrated by what he saw, Story charged over with a scowl on his face and said, “your hands are all over the place!” He walked over behind one recruit, manipulated his posture, and then, with his hand over the recruit’s hand, proceeded to guide his hands in a “T” shape, making the hands pat and “scrunch.” Story finally releases the recruit, steps back, and growls, “Get it? Do you *feel* what I am doing? That is how it should *feel* to do a search properly.” These engagements, spread throughout training, lead to a

gradual refinement of the recruits' movements and a linkage of their social perceptions and social actions.

Embodying Conceptions of Control

Despite the common belief that police officers become cops because they are controlling, close scrutiny of the practices of search and seizure reveal that control is “folk” concept used by the cadre to make sense of and order patterns of behavior. Control was thus a topic and concern at the academies. At both NBPA and SBPA “control” was a collective achievement that has less to do with personality traits than a set of perceptual and behavioral procedures for “maintaining an edge” or “keeping a position of advantage.” Muir wrote that “a critical incident occurs whenever a citizen enjoyed, or could have enjoyed, an initial advantage of the policemen in controlling the course of events” (1977: 59). According to Sykes and Brent, because of who police are, the authority that they represent, and the situations they enter, officers “may present [themselves] as disposed, detached, nasty, and irrational precisely so others will be deterred from using coercion against [them]” (Syke and Brent 1983: 17). This was how “control” was taught at NBPA and SBPA, as was of ordering social interactions through positioning bodies so that, e.g., only the officer was in a position to strike if necessary. Recruits are even taught to always face people with their gun side away from their interactional counterparts (keeping the firearm out of range), to stand *at least* an arm and half lengths back from people, and to stand at a 45 degree angle from people, preferably to the persons left or “weak side” so that if it become necessary to fight, the officer is already positioned to take advantage of his opponents weaknesses. Rubenstein points out that “A policeman’s principal concern is to physically control the people he is policing” (1973: 301) and his intention is not hurting people but often hurting people is necessary to assert control. Moreover, Rubenstein found, the police officer entered situations first and foremost with the intention of placing himself in “a position that will allow him to control the person ... or hopefully discourage any inclinations to resist him or his orders” (Rubenstein 1973: 302). Control then is about establishing a kind of situational or interactional dominance and it is in this context the police officers “laying on of hands” must be understood.

The way the cadre use the term, to be “controlling” is often synonymous with being forceful as it involved the coordination of both ways of using the hands and ways of speaking and posturing the whole body in a social interaction to impose a dominate presence. The accomplishment of “control” is thus similar to the kind of work that Katz (1988) describes “badasses” doing in order to assert their situational dominance through bodily work.

To enact control recruits must not appear unsure or nervous in their encounters; they must hold people with a firm *grip* simply to demonstrate that they “mean it;” they must not let being “nice” get in the way of maintaining order; they must watch hands and not eyes, they must be acutely aware of possible dangers and; recruits must have the techniques necessary to control another’s body. While RTO Sacks was teaching a squad of recruits how to initiate pedestrian stops, he notices that the recruits are often mumbling orders and when ‘laying hands’ do so in an uncertain manner with little force to key parts of the arm like the wrist or elbow. In speaking to the group to correct their behavior he articulates a fairly common conception of control. He stops the group and says

“I notice that, in particular some of you have difficulty with control. You always must be in control. If you say stand, and the person is still sitting, then you have a problem. Say it with *force!* To do our job safely we need as much control over others as possible. So if

people aren't responding to you, they are sitting when they are supposed to be standing or they are walking away when you are talking to them, then the situation is out of control and you need to do something as quickly as possible to get it back under control. To do this you might have to resort to the use of force. That doesn't mean that if someone isn't listening to you that you shoot them or wack 'em on the head. It means that you might use your command voice or lay hands with a firm grip on their wrist."

Demonstrating control through body work, such as proper enunciation of a command or laying on of hands, is meant to show that the recruit is willing to go "further" than his interactional counterpart in asserting his vision of the situation. Other times control is treated as a kind of impression management, or "front," to be achieved through "command presence." Although command presence is often treated as character trait by patrol officers and the public, in the academy the cadre articulate command presence as something anyone can do with practice.

"What is command presence? It is about control and looking like you are in control. You have enormous power as a police officer, more than most people. If you tell someone that they are in trouble, they are in trouble because your authority makes it so. Command presence is powerful. You can de-escalate situations with it, just by your mere presence and projecting your authority and control through your voice and stance. You make people feel confident that you are confident. Something I see to often with new cadets, and this bothers me greatly, is that new cadets think command presence means yelling louder than everyone else. But if you are in a domestic dispute and you are only able to out-yell people, do you really think that is going to give them a sense that you are in control of the situation? No, command presence is about the impression you give other people. If the citizens you encounter believe that you are in control then you are in control. But you have to give them that sense of control. Even if you are scared shitless and totally confused, it is important to stand there, not waiver, and make decisions, even if they are the wrong ones, because the most important thing for your safety is to give the *impression* of control.

"Projecting authority" is about a performance that gives the impression to other members of the encounter that there "no other choice" but to comply with orders. Exercising control requires that recruits learn not to be afraid to assert their presence, not just with their hands but often just with the proper intonation of the voice and the proper bodily posture.⁶² The emphasis on command presence as a form of presentational strategy also means that recruits have to break with forms of etiquette that they are quite used to. Often, this means learning how *not* to "be nice." After a practice scenario requiring the use of moderate force (control holds), RTO

⁶² Instructor Ty made this clear when he confronted problematic ways recruits used their voice in issuing commands. In the mat room, Instructor Ty tried to get the students to give the proper intonation when telling people to raise their hands up and turn around. "if you say it like a question, do you think that they are going to think your serious. You can't be saying, if you don't do it then I am going to do this and this to them. Because if you say it, then you had better do it. But if you use your voice inflection right, then that won't be an issue. People can tell if you *mean* it by saying it like you *mean it*." He then demonstrates by shouting "stop, get on the ground" in a high pitched stressed voice. He asks if people found it convincing. They say no. Then he uses his "command voice." He repeats the utterance but this time it is strong, unwaivering, and deep.

Chiramanti told the recruits that they were too nice and that their niceness could compromise their control of the situation:

“One thing I noticed is that you are being too nice. Don’t be nice to people. That’s not your job. Be professional, be courteous and compassionate, but we aren’t nice people and we don’t do nice things to people. It’s hard, I know. Society has taught us that we need to be nice to people and watch out for their feelings. But when you need to search someone or control someone you can’t be nice. You need to control them. And isn’t that what I am always telling you? Control is the most important thing. You can be nice with that old lady up until the point she isn’t complying with you. Then you use the reasonable amount of force you need to get control of that situation. When you use that control hold, or you place a hand on someone you do hard enough to let them know you mean business. Don’t use a limp hand. Remember, *ask ‘em, tell ‘em, make ‘em.*”

We have already seen that police tend to fetishize hands. Recruits learn how to use their hands and their commands to manage the potentially unruly bodies of citizens. Recognizing when hands are threatening and learning to control hands, using the recruits commands and own hands, are hallmarks of good police work. Recruits are told never to let anyone hold anything in their hands when they are speaking to them. “Almost anything can be used as a weapon” an instructor says, “make sure they aren’t holding pens, mugs, or anything that might get turned into a weapon.” An instructor teaching patrol techniques both articulates the hands as dangerous and then demonstrates the *procedures* recruits should deploy to “control” the potentially dangerous and hidden aspects of a suspect’s unruly body. The instructor uses demonstration to try and elaborate his point.

“What do you do when someone has their hands in their pocket?” One of the students, I think Mike, says, “You have to ask them to show you their hands. Otherwise you don’t know if they have a weapon.” Dan says, definitively. “No!” If they have their hands in their pockets, leave them. You don’t know if they have a weapon and the *last* thing you want them to do is to pull their hands out and with their hands they got a gun. And *you* told them to bring it out. Brian, come here.” I stand up and stand in front of him. “Put your hands in your pockets.” I put my hands in my pockets. Dan then proceeds to demonstrate making a pedestrian stop. He says to me, “Sir, may I talk to you for a moment.” I say “yes.” I still have my hands in my pockets. Dan then says, “Sir, keep your hands in your pocket and turn and face away from me.” I turn around keeping my hands in my pocket. From behind, *Dan firmly places his hands over my pockets and says, “slowly take your hands out of your pocket.” I take them out and his hands feel for anything in mine.* “Alright, thank you sir.” Then he says to the class “okay, now you can continue your stop. But I hate hands that I can’t see. It really bothers me. And if I can’t see them, you bet I am going to try to control them somehow because I don’t know what you have in your hands and I am not fond of surprises.” I then ask if we have to justify this kind of maneuver like a cursory search. Dan says, “Well, I don’t know. Its just something I was taught and have always done. You aren’t really trying to do a search, you are just trying to control the hands so I imagine that it is more like your right as a police officer to tell someone to stay in their car or to get out when doing a traffic stop. On the other hand, even if it isn’t legal, and say you find that the person you are talking

to has a gun, I would rather have the gun than my job. Like I say, its better to ask for forgiveness than permission and in the last 27 years that has worked *very well* for me.”

The instructor, Dan, both uses his hands to *sense* danger and to “control” the movements of another persons body. Learning to “lay hands” and “go hands on” are instrumental techniques that recruits must learn if they are to convince their cadres, their peers, and eventually citizens and other cops that they can “control” others. As I have argued, control is a set of procedures for using the hands, along with other bodily compotments and bodily arrangements of space, to create situational advantage for the officer and disadvantage for others, e.g. the officer stands and the suspicious person sits. While certainly such a ordering of bodies can be seen as a demonstration of hierarchical compotments, that would miss that for the police officer, this is less about deference than a strategic ability to dominate a larger person.

Learning the Consequences of Searching

While we have seen instructors intervening in search and seizure exercises, instructors often use *scenarios* and *games* as a more sophisticated form of engagement that also convey the fatal and consequential nature of the training. Learning the procedures of searching is of little value unless recruits also grasp the urgency of searching “well.” Scenarios are used to sensitize recruits to hidden dangers by showing recruits how their existing perceptual procedures for detecting bulges, bumps, hardness, pointiness, etc. that do or do not reveal hidden dangers. These training forms offer recruits the opportunity to link together newly acquired schemes of action and perception in contexts that capture salient features of “real life” practice.⁶³ As Bandura (1973) found, social reinforcement of action patterns are necessary if a skill is to be learned and applied outside of the learning domain.

For example, instructors often devise scenarios that let recruits play the role of suspect hiding weapons that of an officers who must conduct a successful search. This scenario allows recruits to practice exploring bodies in search of hidden objects. Some objects can only be felt with the proper gestures of the hand: a squeeze or a pat, for example. These exercises helps refine the tactile sensibilities of recruits by giving them an opportunity to try out different movements that make things *feel* a certain way and to make mistakes in a safe setting. In these game-like scenarios, recruits can win or lose and thus suffer some consequence for mistakes; they can have the emotional experience of failure without endangering their lives in actual street situations.

First Instructor Ty demonstrates the proper feeling technique, using Instructor Story as his suspect. When I was standing and waiting, I saw Story hiding all kinds of knives and small guns on his body. Ty is now trying to find them. He demonstrates his feeling technique by exaggerating his movements. He goes to the pockets, palm down, thumb at the top edge of the pocket. He then grabs upwards on the pocket, bunching it up and

⁶³ For a variety of perspectives on the importance of play, simulations, and scenarios to learning a way of life see, Hoffman (2006), “How to Punch Someone and Stay Friends: An Inductive Theory of Simulation” In *Sociological Theory*, 24(2): 170-193; see also Briggs (1991) “Expecting the Unexpected: Canadian Inuit Training for an Experimental Lifestyle,” in *Ethos*, 19(3): 259-287; and Jerome Bruner’s essays, “The Act of Discovery” and “On Learning Mathematics,” in *On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

using the whole palm to feel. He then says, “The wrong way to do it is like this.” He then puts his hand sideways and makes a scrunching movement where he only feels with his fingers and touches a much smaller surface area. “But this is the way that most people grab.”

To teach us the importance of conducting a thorough search, Franks has us break up into officers and suspects. Officers are taken outside while Story and Franks stay with the suspects. Story pulls out a bag of “goodies” as he calls it. It is a bag full of prohibited weapons. There are all kinds of knives, including knives concealed as pens, combs, and belts. We hide all of these objects on our bodies, including small knives in our shoes, socks, and underwear. There are dangling knives that are tied to the inside of the pants and hang down by the crotch area where officers are less likely to be thorough. Adrienne is also given a knife sheath to wear on his arm, under a long sleeve shirt. The officers are then called in and told to conduct their search.

Story explains some rules. He says, “Just so you understand that this is deadly serious business, there will be consequences for mistakes and for being sloppy. I am going to PT you [i.e., order you to do physical training] every time you make a mistake. So if you miss one object you I will have you do grass drills to punish you. If you miss more, I am going to PT you till you really do hurt.

Daniel does my search. He is fairly thorough, but I am wearing the knife belt. He checks around my belt but does not take it off to discover a knife built into the belt buckle. When Instructor B. comes and evaluates us, he remarks to Daniel, “You have to remember that anything can be used as a weapon or contain a weapon. You missed this belt right here. *You could be dead right now! Check everything.*”

Story has everyone who missed an object go outside and PT for about five minutes. Sweaty and tired, we come back in and do the scenario over and over again until the entire class is more or less aggressively searching and almost no items are missed. (10/8/06).

In addition to the technical lesson of doing scenarios like this, recruits also are impressed by how quickly the cadre are able to stop and search a person, finding all the hidden weapons and contraband that the recruits miss. This becomes a public way of “proving” the trustworthiness and competence of the RTOs and instructors.

Recruits’ Engagements with Peers

Thus far I have emphasized the work of the cadre in teaching recruits how to search and seize. But during training recruits also work with each other to perfect their techniques. Through playful “bouts” recruits can learn to fight without being hurt. Fighting skills are developed and reinforced through repeated victories or at least gains against the victor. Recruits’ physical interchanges—when they engage in “horseplay”, try to put each other in control holds, or try to take each other down—provide a practical and instantaneous assessment of their performance: action and its outcomes are immediately present. Horseplay is not an irrational or disruptive affair; rather, it is a ludic activity (Huzinga 1950s) that helps recruits overcome their aversion to confrontation and to develop their skills through friendly competition. For this reason, RTOs seem to tolerate the persistence of horseplay. Recruits need to practice on each other and inflict pain.

This process entails becoming sensitive to how much pain you are inflicting on your partner. Recruits quickly learn that if they apply too much force they will likely be on the receiving end of equally painful control holds and joint manipulations. Similarly, recruits with the physical advantage of strength or size typically do not take advantage of small partners. Rather, recruits try to challenge their opponents within reasonable limits. They also submit themselves to pain so their peers can learn to successfully apply the correct techniques to generate pain and compliance. Regulated reciprocal exchanges of pain between recruits helps inculcate the skills of “going hands on.”

We spend the remaining three hours practicing control holds and cuffing. We do control holds during while transitioning to cuffing and to other control holds. These transitions require delicate, rapid, and controlled movements of the hands for successful manipulation of the others’ body.

Glee demonstrates on D.G. first. As he does, he talks us through each step, breaking the holds down into their constituent movements. “Grab the inside of the elbow quickly and firmly. This will surprise the suspect. As you slap them, grab their right hand with your right hand. Then pull the elbow snugly into the crook between your shoulder and chest. Bring your right hand so that your knuckles are covering the blade of his hand and your thumb is behind the wrist. You also need to reposition by stepping over to the side. But stay behind! Reposition your left hand from the elbow so that your left hand is coming from below, with your left thumb also behind the wrist. Then just pull the hand back to cause pain.”

For each exercise, he has us form a circle of 10 pairs standing side by side. Each person moves to the person in front of them on their right and practices the technique with *no infliction of pain* 9 times. Then, upon returning to their partner on for the tenth time, they apply the full technique. We practice the same movements for about an hour, rotating through the human circle about 5 times each.

As we move through persons of different statures and body builds, we become sensitive to when others are and are not in pain. Winces, gasps, bodies on tip-toes, are signs that the technique is working as it supposed to and causing pain. There are mistakes at first because everyone has different bodies.

I try to put D.G. in a rear wrist lock. I walk up to him quickly from behind. I slap the inside of his elbow sharply and tug it into my body. At the same time I have grabbed the outside of his hand. I quickly reposition my body and make room to bring his arm behind his back. I am used to D.G. having a high tolerance to pain. But he is very tight in his joints. I put a little pressure on him and suddenly he winces and jumps away screaming “*Fuck man! No pain, no pain, what the fuck?!*” I release my grip and he immediately runs several steps away from me.

Many of the recruits use too much force during their first nine practices. Quickly, it escalates as recruits “get back” at each other. As we do the drills, faces wince and small gasps can be heard. But the recruits also help each other. For example, when I get to G.S. who is significantly taller than me, he corrects me. “Brian, I am taller then you. When you put me in the hold you need to pull down on my elbow to bring me down to your level so you can get better control of me.”

Instructor Glee recommends that we continue practicing our control holds at home on our wives, husbands, or significant others. We are implored to continue fine-

tuning our skills because, “it has to be muscle memory. When you need it you can’t be thinking about it.”

Learning to Strike

Recruits learn to use their hands to search, to seize through control holds and cuffing, but also to strike. But they learn to strike in a manner distinctly different than boxers or most civilians. Rather than making a fist, they use their palms.

Sacks is pretty adamant that he doesn’t want us punching. “Most people never learn how to punch. How many of you here have learned to punch, I mean really?” Only Diaz raises his hand. He has boxed for ten years. Sacks continues, “Most people think a punch is with the front of your hand. That is a recipe for a broken hand.” Instead he shows us a palm strike. “Since you aren’t boxers, use the meaty portion of the palm to strike. Curl up your fingers, and rotate your hand back. Now you have your arm and wrist directly behind your strike. Aim for the nose, throat and chin. You hit the nerve in the chin with this strike and you will knock your opponent out and not worry about breaking your hand. Breaking your hand is going to be a problem if you have to deliver multiple strikes.”

Striking is more than just use the hand correctly, recruits must also put their entire body into their strike. Sacks has us partner up and take a fighting stance. One person puts a hand out and we practice moving forward and striking with our palms. Sacks yells, “come on, move and strike together, get that momentum from your entire body behind that strike. Give me *“huh!”* with that; come on, put on that warrior face!” RTO Sacks observes and gives sporadic advice and critiques: “Strike like you are trying to go through the pad!” To another: “Your hands are all over the place. Imagine you are reaching and grabbing for him.” Such utterances guide the recruit into a proper posture, one not obvious from just observing, so that a strike is forceful.

First we work with left hand jabs. Then jab crosses. RTO Sacks walks in a circle around the mat room guiding and choreographing the entire class. His command—“Strike!” —is followed by the simultaneous shout of *“huh!”* and the dual pop-pop of palms striking pads. RTO Sacks keeps shouting out combinations. Each person strikes near continuously for several minutes. RTO A.S. says, “Not so easy is it. Tired? Arms, shoulders hurting? See why we work you at PT [physical training]? You run out of gas quick during a fight. You have only been at this three minutes! We still have the rest of the day!” An oft-heard phrase in the mat room is “Slow is smooth. Smooth is fast.” While the RTOs and instructors conduct the movement of recruits’ bodies, they offer verbal reprimands and teasing as a form of discipline:

K.S. has a very serious and focused look on his face and his movements are too stiff. C.T. sees this, laughs and shouts as K.S. does combinations of kicks and strikes, “*Come on killer, you got it, come on killer.*” Another recruit, C.C., has poor balance and his limbs fly through the air in an uncoordinated fashion. RTO A.S. says to C.C., “What the fuck are you? A ballet dancer?” C.T. chuckles from the side and adds, “Hey C.C., if this doesn’t work out for you, you could always become a rockette in Vegas!”

Police officers not only are learning to strike in an appropriately police manner, and not only do they encounter the discipline of teasing and criticisms to push them towards correct form,

but they are also learning an important lesson about preserving their bodily capital. A cop is no good if his hands are broken and so recruits learn to strike in a way to preserve their bodily assets.

Laying Hands as Bodily Capital

Recruits practice their fighting skills not simply because they believe they need it for their survival but also because their ability to search and fight is judged as part of their formal evaluations. About a quarter of recruits, for example, had to remediate a scenario evaluation that involved stopping and searching someone because the recruits had not adequately searched the person and found a small firearm. Just like recruits must pass a firearms qualification with an 80% grade, so too must they pass evaluations of their ability to search, seize, and overcome “sustained resistance.” There is even a special evaluation called “sustained resistance” in which recruits must fight with a heavily padded opponent using the skills that they have acquired. Their form and application must be correct in order to pass what is colloquially known as “the red man test,” named so in reference to the red pads worn by the opponent.

One academy described in their training manual the basis of their defensive tactics evaluation.

“The culmination of weaponless defense and impact weapons training is the ‘sustained resistance’ exercise. This exercise is done twice during the academy, once with hands only and again with the straight baton. Recruits move through a 9 minute exercise designed to simulate a fight with multiple suspects. Instructors, wearing padded suits, engage cadets in such a way that the cadet is required to demonstrate proper use of the baton, effective power, and balance under stress.

This exercise challenges cadets physically and mentally. It develops self-confidence in the use of batons and weaponless defense, but more importantly it develops a survival mentality. This exercise simulates a dangerous and potentially life threatening encounter for a law enforcement officer. It allows a cadet to feel what it is like to be in just such a situation and provides a powerful experience that could never be taught in the classroom. Cadets often say that this exercise is one of the most fun and most important parts of their academy experience.”

During this test, recruits are expected to strike with palms, not fists, to use proper control holds, and to use enough force to overcome the resistance of the “red man.” Typically there are two evaluators and an RTO observing and scoring the recruit throughout the evaluation.

It was not uncommon, after the sustained resistance test, to hear recruits joke, “oh man, next time I am settling that with a ‘failure to stop’ [a drill taught to recruits involving a single head shot]. As the academy manual suggests, this exercise not only shows evaluators how well a recruit has mastered his or her skill set, it demonstrates a sense of limitations, of what a recruit can and cannot do in the midst of lengthy physical struggle, often against someone much larger and better trained than themselves. Generally this test changed how recruits saw “threats.” Knowing how far a recruit could go with their hands began attuning them to the physical size, strength, and presentation of fighting skills of their perceived opponents, i.e. “sizing up” the people they encounter. Recruits learned to always “size up” the people they contact because as RTO Chiramanti liked to remind the class, “you never know when the nice person you are contacting is going to flip. You had already better know whether your contact is a threat and

what kind.” This also meant becoming attuned to when they should use their other weapons (chemical agent, Taser, baton, and even firearms) other than hands.⁶⁴

For example, one female was quickly overpowered by the “red man” during a domestic violence response. The “Red man” says, “get out!” When the recruit stands her ground the “red man” says, “I’m going to fucking kill you!” He runs toward the recruit, throws her to the ground, traps her and starts pummeling her with his fists. The recruit tried grabbing her baton, only to have it pulled away and turned against her. Finally the evaluator ended the scenario. RTO Chiramanti chided the recruit, “What were you doing? He’s twice your size, overpowered you, and demonstrated he knows how to fight. What should you have done?” The recruit shrugs saying that she had tried using a baton. RTO Chiramanti responded, “Don’t you think that might have been a lethal force situation? Don’t you think that when you are being overpowered like that, just getting beat down, that you ought to stop it? If you know that you are outsized and being taken on by some guy who looks like he fights in the octagon [the ring for Ultimate Fighting], and he *tells you* he is going to kill you, you should be thinking lethal force. Especially since you are too close to get away. But you shouldn’t have gotten yourself into a situation like that where you are cornered and are forced to use your firearm.” In other words, although “red man” is a scenario tool, an instrument of evaluation, it is also performative in the sense that it enacts a sense of limits and of threat that would be difficult to convey by language alone. In a sense it is a “high bandwidth” way to communicate what constitutes a threat given the kind of bodily capital a recruit possesses.

Similarly, recruits are expected to be able to assess their own limits. Instructor Bliss explained to us, “Don’t try bringing these control holds to a fight. If a guy has his hands fistled and is in a fighting stance and you try to put him in a control hold or to use pressure points, you are going to get your ass kicked.” He also tells us, “You have to know your limits. If you can’t put a hold on someone or you don’t know it well enough or the person is a better fighter, don’t get your ass kicked.”

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Conclusions

Being able to coordinate action and perception through the hands is what it takes to be a worthy member of the police world. Mauss has observed that, “[i]n group life as a whole[,] there is a kind of *education of movements* in close order” (Mauss 1979: 120). In other words, to become a member of any group, individuals must establish a minimum corporeal consensus, not only a “minimum logical consensus” (Durkheim 1995[1912]: 16). This chapter has described the social reorganization and education of police recruits’ bodies as they master techniques of searching and seizing. When recruits enter the Police Academy, they are expected to learn how to touch, grab, and strike (i.e. *search and seize*). Search and seizure is thus enacted, not as a set of juridical principles or rules to be followed, but as dispositions to act, feel, and perceive. These dispositions are acquired through an “education of movements” under the tutelage of the cadre who show recruits how engage in “pre-prepared movements” (Mauss 1979: 122).⁶⁵ Further, I showed how action and perception are linked as recruits learn to use their hands to resolve a felt tension of perceptual indeterminacy through their hands. Hands become practical responses to the indeterminate danger of normal appearances, i.e. suspiciousness.

Forceful learning occurs primarily through three social modes: vicarious learning through observation and oral folklore (stories and metaphors, “waltzing with the chicken,” and maxims, “slow is smooth, smooth is fast”) and recruits are engaged in the *process of motor*

⁶⁵ I have not had the opportunity to delve into all aspects of the Academy’s training. For example, I have not discussed, in detail, the role of scenario evaluations in establishing a bodily barrier of entry into the field of policing. Scenario evaluations require that recruits perform embodied skills adeptly as defined by RTOs and state certified evaluators. Those who fail to search “correctly” fail the Academy and are not able to become police officers. By the end of the academy, most recruits are able to pass scenario evaluations, where they must perform their somatic skills in a half-dozen or so scenarios.

reproduction.⁶⁶ In contrast to the symbolic interactionist emphasis on learning rules and attitudes, *motor reproduction processes* embody principles of search and seizure through a collective labor. The techniques recruits learn are not simply technical. They are social in part because they are techniques for managing social relationships (imposing order on the unruly or determining who is a threat) and because how well recruits conduct their searches or apply force with their hands has meaning for the RTOs and the other recruits. This highlights a final social process; that force is *rewarded*, being pacified is *punished*, and role models show the emotional and functional benefits of force for the recruit.

⁶⁶ Of course, a recruit's education has only just begun in the Academy. Most recruits will be exposed to another 4-to-6 months of intensive apprenticeship in a field training program. There, probationers are paired up with experienced officers called field training officers (FTOs). Police departments provide additional "in-service training" throughout their officers' careers. Most importantly, recruits will refine and adapt their embodied skills by *doing* police work. Police officers learn that certain "tricks" work for them and others don't. Thus, although many police skills have a common origin (academy training), there is nothing at this "point of production" that prevents the further differentiation and distribution of skills throughout an officer's career.

Chapter 5: “Skinning the Smoke Wagon”: Normal Force and the Economy of Bodily Practice among Police Cadets

Introduction

I begin this meditation on police officers’ relationship to violence with an unlikely analogy: swimmers’ relationship to their strokes. Our everyday understanding of swimming is embodied, not scientific, discursive, or rational. While physicists can explain buoyancy and propulsion, we don’t learn to swim by studying a physicist’s formulas (Polanyi 1962; Leder 1990). Nor do we learn by asking expert swimmers for a description of the process. Swimming, after all, is a practical activity that can be understood only in the context of its practice (Crossely 2007; Lave 1991; Bourdieu 1990; Polanyi 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Ryle 1949). To understand swimming is simply to do it. Recognizing this is simple when it comes to swimming or riding a bike, but not so when it comes to other forms of bodily action. For instance, the immediacy of practice is largely invisible in scholarship on violence⁶⁷ (Bourdieu 1998). Ignoring immediate, embodied activity, I will argue, makes no more sense in relation to violence than in relation to swimming: Why would we study violence primarily in terms of rules, ideologies, and justifications, when violent actions are among the most carnal of human experiences?

In this paper, I explore police officers’ embodied understanding of and relationship to deadly force. I root these observations in my experiences of police academy training, and I focus on my own relationship to deadly force:

During a training scenario, my partner and I make contact with role players in a mock drug deal at a school park. My partner talks to one individual while I act as the cover officer. My job is to observe our surroundings and be ready to respond to changes in our environment so that my partner can immerse himself in his investigation without worrying about our safety.

I am looking around the park when, suddenly, a boy in blue jeans and a green army jacket who has been sitting on a park bench pulls a gun out of his pocket and starts playing with it. I shout, “GUN, GUN, GUN!” In a split second I have drawn my weapon and taken aim. I rapidly move so that I am squared off against the boy. My arms are thrust out, elbows locked, in the shape of an isosceles triangle. My hands smother my gun. My shoulders are pulled up and my head tucked down. My gun is directly in front of my eyes and my sights are aligned. In a second I have shifted from the relaxed posture of one gazing at his surroundings to a rigid posture where my entire body and senses are aimed down the barrel of a gun. Now the boy and his gun form the totality of my visual field. He is close enough that he might be able to shoot me. I sense that he is within my

⁶⁷ This distinction is derived from J.L. Austin in *Sense and Sensibilia* (1962). Bourdieu contrasts language as used in practice with language as understood by linguists. “The particular use of language where, instead of grasping and mobilizing the meaning of a word that is immediately compatible with the situation, we mobilize and examine all the possible meanings of that word, outside of any reference to the situation.” (Bourdieu 1998: 127).

range. I shout: “*Put down the gun, put down the gun!*” As I say this, the boy points the gun in the air several times. “*Kid, put the gun down now!*” He turns, gun in the air, laughs, and then the gun is pointed directly at me. As he points it toward me I give one final warning, and I shoot twice, aimed at his center mass—a standard “double tap.” My shots land, and the boy is hit with two paint projectiles. The first hits dead center in the chest, the other near the left shoulder. The scenario is over. “You just shot my son! Why did you shoot my son!?” I turn my head around, gun still pointed ahead. I think, “Oh shit, I just shot some kid with a toy.”

How can we make sense of this extreme act, even in the context of scenario? What reason could I have for shooting a youth? What could I have been thinking?

This paper brackets external background causes of “double tapping” to give a “thick description” of what it means for someone to use lethal force as a police officer. Imagine yourself in a training world that teaches you how to survive through a set of postures and movements like the ones I’ve described. Place yourself in an ambiguous situation that lasts only seconds, where you must respond competently and where your actions have fatal consequences. You won’t know for sure how the situation is going to unfold. Small gestures redefine your perception of the situation, and each gesture calls forth a new gesture, like an improvised musical note calling forth another improvisation. These improvisations are not thought-out or rational; they are a product of immersion in and preoccupation with an ongoing activity. As agents of the state, police officers are authoritative bodily choreographers who must use their stylized bodies to impose order in often-chaotic scenarios. Time and again, they must act definitively to organize and take control of situations that are chronically ambiguous.

I became a police recruit (and eventually a deputy sheriff) to unearth the practices that forge links between violent organizations and individuals.⁶⁸ I asked: *How do police academies shape the ability of cadets to engage in forceful social actions?* In responding to these questions, I treat the police academy as a field of action or a space of “play” in which there are stakes and rewards. To understand the fatal logic of double tapping, we must understand the social field of cadets. In order to participate in the social “game” of policing, cadets must learn to use deadly force in a highly disciplined way and must be prepared to take action at any time. The scenario presented above shows the end product of months of training. By then, I, like other recruits, had tacitly learned the “rules of the game” and knew how to play it.

In the academy, the use of the body to control others through intimate contact and force—an attribute often associated with working class bodies and masculinities—has been turned into a valuable commodity that not only guarantees successful passage through the academy but also secures respect and possibly a job. For example recruits have to pass multiple

⁶⁸ Following my work with Loïc Wacquant, I call my method “carnal ethnography.” It is research that takes into account the socially constituted role of the body and the socially informed body’s role in constituting social reality. It also uses the body of the researcher as an instrument of research. This is not an autoethnography. The point is not to deliver an account of my experiences but to use my body as one more data point, a living field note, if you will. By fully immersing myself in the world under study, where going native (to a point) is a means (not a bias), I am able to apprehend some of the more unsayable and textured experiences of being a member of the police world. In effect, by *becoming* what I study I have access to what goes without saying because it is bodily, tacit, and unarticulated. I am also able to begin adding to my observations of interactions, social relations, utterances, etc. something of the “taste and ache” of action. For social worlds to be meaningful to their members, they must be sensed in certain ways. I use my method to illuminate the creation of *forms of being* through which fundamental patterns are inscribed and realized.

firearms qualifications in order to graduate the academy. Instructors also have recruits engage in informal shooting matches to see who is the best shot. Failure to perform well in scenario evaluations involving deadly force is a basis for disqualification in the academy. Thus one female recruit who had a evaluation scenario involving a building search for a suspect was washed out just weeks before graduation because when she confronted the armed suspect she closed her eyes and began shooting her simmunitions equipped firearm and a round struck her evaluator in the foot. By the end of their training, cadets will have embodied the rules and practices of a game with life-and-death stakes.⁶⁹ Competence as a police officer means more than just being able to mobilize “justificatory vocabularies” (Bittner 1965)⁷⁰; it requires being able to properly orient the body in diverse situations, as well as a readiness and an ability to use force when appropriate.⁷¹ Incorporating a firearm into a recruits bodily schema changes how the world appears. Suddenly persons are functionally assimilated into recruits perceptual and actional gestalts as “shootable.”

Previous Research

When sociologists describe the use of force by police, they emphasize *accountings* (Hunt 1984; Van Maanen 1980, Manning 1980) or “vocabularies of motives” (Mills 1940, Brewer 1990) and justifications given to legitimate police actions (Waegel 1984). As one researcher put it, “any explanation of police violence must take into account how the police themselves account for and explain their use of weapons” (Waegel 1984). This almost always means focusing on “informal beliefs” and how officers put them to use in interpreting and accounting for violent incidents. In these studies the primary objects of analysis are officers’ prospective or retrospective accountings of violent incidents (e.g., “better to be tried by 12 than carried by 6” [c.f. Waegel 1984]). (For examples, see Shearing and Ericsson [1991] & Oberweis and Musheno [1999], who use *post hoc* stories to explain police decision-making.)

This is a valuable approach: to understand the organization of forceful practices we must contextualize them within a rich symbolic space. Police engage in considerable meaning-making when it comes to the use of force. Police violence, after all, is the subject of countless stories and discussions among officers, and it is a trigger that activates the reflexive bureaucratic and public machinery of scrutiny. Various spheres of police discussion and action have been important to sociologists; sociologists are aware that the law and its constraints are not the sole basis of a police officer’s actions, especially given the enormous discretion officers have on the job. Rubenstein, for example, suggests that informal “cop rules” (Rubenstein 1973) control police behavior and/or script it (Shearing & Ericsson 1990).⁷²

⁶⁹ In the real-world, this deadly game is rarely played. Sociologists, activists and the media emphasize “brutal,” “excessive” and extraordinary force (Chevigny 1995, Skolnick and Fyfe 1993, etc.). However, research on police use of force shows that situations like the Rodney King beating are in fact the exception rather than the rule. Only a fraction of a percent of police-citizen encounters involve actual force (Bayley and Garofalo 1989; Klinger 1995; Terrill 1995; Worden 1995 Garner, Maxwell and Heraux 2002)⁶⁹. Given the amount of conflict and confusion that armed officers encounter daily, it is striking that most of them never use their firearms.

⁷⁰ Bittner, Egon. 1965. “The Concept of the organization,” *Social Research*, 32: 239-255.

⁷¹ This is what Bourdieu terms an *illusio or libido*, the inclination to play social games that comes with *ability* and *skill*.

⁷² Reiner expresses this view paradigmatically when he says, “An understanding of how police officers see the social world and their role in it—‘cop culture’—is crucial to an analysis of what they *do and* their broad political function (Reiner 1985: 85, emphasis added, in Waddington 1999: 288). Again, the problematic is that this kind of analysis, tries to bridge what police officers say in one context with actions in another context—in encounters with people.

Of course, what police officers say—their oral culture—is only a part of the police world. Other dynamics may be neglected in scholars’ over-emphasis on various forms of cop talk during ride-a-longs, in the canteen, over drinks, etc.—spaces of discussion and action that are quite distinct from those in which force actually occurs (Waddington 1999).⁷³ Rubenstein’s (1973) ethnography of policing suggests a different direction for the study of police violence: “The policeman’s principal tool is his body. He shares with many persons the use of their bodies as a piece of equipment essential to the performance of their trades. He is similar to a mountain climber; to athletes whose success is rooted in physical prowess rather than the skillful use of equipment” (267).⁷⁴

While Rubenstein emphasizes the use of the body as a matter of individual style, I treat “bodily techniques” (Mauss 1979) as integral to the formation of a collective police *habitus* (Bourdieu 2000). Here, “bodily techniques” refers to embodied practices that are specific to particular societies and vary considerably among groups (Mauss 1979). Bodily techniques are “ways in which from society to society men [sic] know how to use their bodies” (Ibid: 97). These techniques are technical, traditional and efficacious. That is, “they are constituted by a specific set of movements or form; they are acquired by means of training or education; and they serve a definite purpose of function” (Crossely 1995: 134). Mauss demonstrates that even the most mundane and routine of our everyday activities are based on inherited bodily techniques. Together they constitute a *habitus* or, as Bourdieu defines it, a “socialized body” consisting of durable and transposable dispositions (Bourdieu 2000: 136). These dispositions are inculcated or acquired through exposure to a system of practices and “durable modification[s] of the body” (ibid: 139). If cadets share a more or less similar relationship to the world through their bodies, it is because they have been regularly exposed to similar expectations and taught common tactics of perception and action in the police academy.

Routinizing Force: Oral Folklore and Accountings

Within the first two weeks of the academy, cadets begin their use-of-force training.⁷⁵ Instructors from county departments visit to explain the police officer’s legal authority to use force within prescribed bounds. We learn this in part through a set of stories, scenarios, and maxims. Even before cadets know *how* to act appropriately in a situation, this oral folklore

⁷³ Oberweis and Musheno make a methodological point of putting their behavioral observations second to stories about identities and decisions. “We spent six months in the field... riding in patrol cars, attending briefings, interviewing, and generally hanging out.... We asked these officers to tell us work-related stories about their interactions with people on the street and in the hallways of their department.” Oberweis and Musheno explicitly state that “our focus is on describing how identity shapes action” (ibid: 906 f10). No mechanism is specified for explaining how *post hoc* story telling links identity to action nor is any attempt made to correlate the figurative action of stories with observed behaviors.

⁷⁴ “He also has, in common with people in many trades, a set of skills that are needed for the effective use of tools expressly provided to expand the effectiveness of his body. For him a gun and nightstick are not simply weapons that terrify some and intrigue others but extensions of himself whose use (and non-use) is linked to his notions about how he uses his body to do his work. But unlike anyone else whose body is the tool of his trade, the policeman uses his to control other people” (Rubenstein 1973: 268).

⁷⁵ Use-of-force studies have become increasingly complex. “Force” has ceased to be a reified category and is now investigated in terms of patterns of practices such as verbal commands, touching, physically restraining, pain compliance holds, impact with “personal weapons” (i.e. hands, feet, etc.), impact weapons, chemical weapons, and firearms. Across nearly all studies the only force used is verbal command, pat down searches, and grabbing (Garner *et al* 2002). According to Worden (1995), force of any kind is used in police encounters only about 3.5% of the time.

provides a set of “sensitizing concepts” (Blumer 1969); it directs cadets to those features of a situation that are deemed important by the institution and it serves as a forms of situated pedagogical action.

For instance, one of our use-of-force instructors (from a local PD in a small upscale town) offered us imaginary scenarios and asked us to envision our response. One of the first scenarios he gave us involved a police officer being beaten with a broom handle during physical combat with a suspect: “What will you do? *Hurry!* I want to see hands—if this were real you’d better make a decision quick. Your partner is getting his ass kicked!”

Hands go up quickly among the 55 cadets. A few in the class say they would draw their gun. The others say taser or pepper spray. The instructor says, “What you would do, what is appropriate, is to draw your weapon and shoot the guy. He is committing assault with a deadly weapon, especially if there is a struggle for the officer’s weapon. That means you need to respond with a one-up over their force. If they are in a struggle for a gun, that means only one thing: The suspect intends to kill. In this situation, what I would do is walk up behind him and shoot him point blank in the back of the head so as to immediately disable him. In these kinds of situations you don't joke around. An impact weapon may or may not work in this case. You don't want to chance that the taser doesn't work, and pepper spray is probably not adequate either. You shoot him point blank to stop him fast and to make sure your hit is good. You don't want to accidentally shoot your partner. If you have time or it is reasonable, *maybe* you give a warning. But, when you come upon a life and death struggle like this, you don't play. You get to work.” Several cadets in the class look clearly uncomfortable with this and begin asking questions. The instructor responds, saying, “If you like sausage or law enforcement, then you also don't want to know how either are made.” He also says, “We shoot to stop. If someone dies, that is a side effect, not our intent. People will have lots of philosophical discussions about guns and force. Just remember, we are trying to protect our lives” (3/15/06).

Mental scenarios such as these convey the “god” discourse of policing (Burke 1945): “officer safety.” Cadets are taught how to classify persons as threats to their safety. Once classified as such, violent forms of action are conceivable and perhaps necessary: “If a kid pulls a gun on you, what do you do? You shoot! A twelve year old can kill you as well as a thirty year old,” said one instructor.

Instructors frequently tell their “war stories” during lectures. These war stories are part of a hidden curriculum distinct from formal instructional material: they help create a matrix of classifications that cadets will use to make sense of their scenario training and, eventually, of their real-life encounters. Our use of force instructor describes his own experience of a shooting:

“I got dispatched to a call a few years ago. Dispatch got a call that an armed man had entered a house during the day. We had reports that a hostage may have been held. I was first on the scene and few moments later a couple other squad cars pull up. We set up a perimeter. So we got our guns drawn and we began moving in. In the door way we see a hand with a gun. So what do you do? Do you shoot? [Half the class says yes.] You *don't*, and here is my reasoning on this. We don't see who is holding the gun. We don't know if there is a hostage that is being used as a human shield. We don't see who might be behind the wall. In other words, we have no target. And because we aren't movie cops—at least I am not—I can't shoot the gun out of his hand. So I am standing behind a tree, just off

center from the door. Finally a guy comes out with a gun saying 'kill me, just kill me' and he points the gun in my direction. Now you shoot. I know this is a suicide by cop. But if this guy is going to point a gun at me, then, well, I am going to help him out. It is just one of the many services that the police provide! So I have a split second to make a decision. There is no time to stand around and figure out if this guy is serious, if the gun is real or fake. So I fire off a couple of rounds and they land high and to the left. He is standing in front of the garage so I see the rounds hit. Like I said, when you are nervous or stressed you don't shoot very well. Well the guy runs into the house. The resident, inside, told us later that, after I shot at him, the man reconsidered whether or not he wanted to go through with his suicide by cop. It's funny because the other officers at the scene talk about the 'gun battle,' but only a few rounds were fired. The man, he decides, yes, he wants to die, and he comes out again. This time I correct my aim and I shoot, and the other cops shoot. He gets hit twice and goes down. We don't kill him. I go to clear his weapon and the other guys they clear the house. But as soon as I get there I see he's been hit in the leg and torso. Not too bad. So I begin administering first aid and trying to calm him down. This was the best publicity you could get because all the neighbors are out now and they see me nursing this guy that I just shot twice. But that is also part of the stress of this job. You shoot to stop, not to kill so you have to go from shooting someone to being their doctor like that [snaps his fingers] and it's hard to change emotions so fast. Now it turns out that the guy was only holding a toy gun. But was this a clean shoot? Yeah. We had reason to believe that he was armed and threatening people. Do I wish I it could have gone down different? Yeah. A situation like that changes you."

Stories and scenarios like this one aren't meant to provide descriptions of internal states or explanations for behavior. Instead, they convey a routine set of schemas about when persons are "shootable." On the one hand, boundaries on the acceptable use of police force are traced (when it is appropriate to shoot and when it is not). On the other hand, cadets learn early on that they will be judged harshly for the use of unrestrained force. Thus, after shots are fired, an officer is supposed to metamorphose from a combatant to a medical first responder or even an investigator. Through these stories, the cadets' civilian sense of what can be done (e.g., what they've learned from movie cops) is deconstructed and replaced with an increasingly "insider" understanding of what can and cannot be done with a firearm.

Instructors emphasize that there is "no time" to think or decide. In doing so, they convey a socialized temporality. Cadets are taught that they are always entering potentially violent situations in which physical combat is a possibility. They may not recognize this possibility until moments before; the definition of the situation can be transformed instantaneously through a subtle gesture, like a person reaching for their waistline or making a sudden movement. The temporal structure of the narratives shared during training helps orient cadets toward their surroundings and teaches that they must respond quickly and decisively. Socializing this temporal orientation is one of the more important, if informal, pedagogical functions of academy training. Hesitation is unacceptable. As one instructor put it, "Right or wrong, make a decision! It's better to be tried by 12 than carried by 6."⁷⁶ It is in the context of this kind of diminished temporal subjectivity that recruits prepare to deploy deadly force.

⁷⁶ Ethnomethodologists, drawing on Wittgenstein and J.L. Austin, have been critical of approaches to culture that try to forge a link between what people say and what people do. To do so presupposes that culture takes the form of some kind of attitude that causes an action. Ethnomethodologists (especially, Weider [1974], but one could also go

The oral folklore of policing is aimed less at conveying a shared set of values, norms, and beliefs for motivating action than at providing a general orientation toward policework: namely, the sense that cadets can behave as officers in manner that is sensible, normal, justified, and, above all, meaningful (Hunt 1985). Police work is actually quite mundane and boring, involving lots of report-writing and involvement in civil matters such as helping parents get their children to bed. These dull routines stand in contrast to dramatic narratives of (often glorified) police shootings. The ritualization of such story-telling is a motivational rhetoric that is used to socialize policing, to mark its sacred practices, and to symbolically differentiate the group from others. These stories help cadets cultivate a shared sense of self-esteem and specialness.⁷⁷ In this sense, “war stories” do what they do in any occupation: celebrate what in-group members see as the “real job.” Officers sometimes recognize this, and sometimes exploit it:

“Barry, he’s a great guy. Good cop. But he always exaggerates his stories. He makes everything seem extreme or adds elements that never happened. Like recently, he was telling a story about how he and another officer had to fight and subdue a suspect as he fled. I was standing there, *I was the other officer*. And I said, ‘Barry, I was there, that never happened. I caught up to him and told him to turn around and cuffed him up. That was it. Why do you have to exaggerate everything?’ But you’ll find that is pretty common. People boast a lot to make the job seem more exciting than it really is.”

Taking officers’ descriptions of force at face value is like naively believing a teenage boy’s tale of his sexual exploits. We should also keep in mind that such “talk of violence” is confined to different settings than the actual practice of violence (for similar discussions see Weider 1974; Brewer 1990). Stories are told during down time at the station, in the classroom, and after training to provide some closure (i.e., to provide some explanation about why the scenario unfolded as it did). How well and how accurately those explanations translate across contexts is unclear.

Learning to See and Feel “Threats”

“Threats” that require responses with firearms are not taken-for-granted in the academy. A sociological understanding of “threats” includes grasping how “threats” are anticipated,

back to Mead [1934]) have shown that talk is itself a form of situated and embodied action. Black (1971), Black and Reiss (1970), and Waddington (1999) have argued that what police officers say rarely correlates with what police officers do. Thus the racist canteen talk among cops studied by Black and Reiss does not seem to correlate with the empirical fact that these same officers did not show discriminatory patterns of conduct. In other words stories told rarely correspond with the reality they are purported to describe. Rather the telling of stories, especially evident in the exaggeration of story details and even of values, belongs to a specific realm of action quite divorced from the situations or selves claimed to be described.

⁷⁷ It is perhaps not a mystery that women (Heidensohn 1992) and African Americans tend to share the same culture as their white male peers. Macho stories of danger and survival, of trials and successes, work equally well for rendering police work sacred. This may explain why forms of police talk are so tenacious (Brogden 1991; Weinberger 1995) across time and across groups. Importantly both male and female police officers value courage, taking a stand, and toughness—traditionally masculine properties—because fighting seems to require these qualities. The “cult of masculinity” helps to rationalize those qualities most salient for combat and thus works equally well for men and women in making sense of their position as figures of coercive authority. The cult of masculinity celebrates core features of a police officers’ occupational world.

actively constructed as stimuli, and how responses to them are seen in terms of their consequences. In this section I examine how natural behaviors acquire force evoking potential.

The emotional power of “threats” is learned vicariously by observation in training, war stories, demonstrations and videos from patrol cars. The cognitive, connotative, and physical capacities of recruits invest the “threat” with emotional consequence and with the right skills, transform the threat into a “target.” Recruits aren’t just taught that certain kinds of people are dangerous — paroles, gang members, etc. Recruits learn to see certain behaviors, like reaching for waistbands or inside of coats, as threatening regardless of the social properties of the person doing it. Rather a broad pattern of situational cues matter. A recruit’s first encounter with a situation that defies their expectations for when a situation is threatening is often one having to do with knives. Recruits are taught the “twenty-one foot rule.” This rule states that someone holding a knife, within 21 feet of a person, can close the distance and cause lethal injury before an officer can draw and fire their firearm. The “rule of thumb” is that when someone is approaching that 21 foot marker and officer should automatically be unholstering and setting up to use lethal force.

The instructor gave us a scenario in which an officer is confronted outside of an elderly mans home. The man, in his eighties, comes out of the house, seems disheveled and possibly suffering from dementia. “Say he starts coming towards you. He’s an old man. What tool do you use?” Some recruits suggest a baton or a pepper spray. But the instructor says, “Yeah, he’s old, but you don’t me the threat of force with less force. If he has a knife and he starts closing the distance and you can’t retreat for whatever reason, you better be ready to break leather [unholster] and shoot.” The instructor goes on to demonstrate that different ways of holding a knife mean different things. “If the guys is holding a butcher knife like it’s a kitchen knife, that isn’t the same thing, the same threat, as if he is holding the blade ‘upside down’ alongside his forearm. That’s how knife fighters hold a knife and you better get scared and be ready to draw down, *fast*.” Recruits thus learn a tempo of urgency in knife encounters as well as physical, verbal and social cues to attend to.

Early in the academy one of the use of force instructors demonstrated to the class that they would not be able to draw and shoot an opponent with a knife who was 21 feet or closer in distance. He had a recruit with a “dummy” gun holstered stand 21 feet from him. The instructor pulled out a blue plastic “dummy” knife use for defensive tactics training. He tells the recruit to try and stop him from closing the distance and stabbing him. Suddenly the instructor charges forward and in a matter of seconds has closed the distance and is standing right in front of the recruit who now has his firearm drawn. But then it is to late because, the instructor explains, “even if he shoots me now, I am next to him, I can still do major injury before I feel my wounds.” Training situations like these allow for recruits to model the behavior (observed or verbally described) in terms of the rewarding outcomes of use-of-force. When recruits participate in the scenario, the rewards of using force in certain ways is made directly available. By structuring, the perception of threats in terms of urgent temps, cadre intentionally or unintentionally short circuit higher order cognitive work like reflection that might regulate behavior in terms of a longer duree of anticipation of the consequences of prospective actions.

Scenarios, verbal and demonstrated, like these define threats in terms of figuraitons of verbal and physical cues and then make them *viscerally* real to recruits by changing how recruits perceive the bodies and movements of others in a functional space defined by how fast they can “break leather” and stop someone with their firearm. That is, the “threat” is defined by how a person is perceived as suitable for action and that in turn is defined by the bodily schema of the

recruit—his specific skills for being able to manipulate his physical and social world. Recruits learn to feel certain people as threatening when they are part of a situation that solicits a trained bodily response. Thus a person holding a knife in a certain manner and at a certain distance is felt to be dangerous in a way that it would not be to the untrained. This is simply because for the recruit he has had to try to act in regard to the closing of distance by a knife wielding opponent and thus the “threat” has a motor significance to the recruit rather than just a conceptual significance. In the construction of the perception of the “threat” action and perception are indissolubly linked.⁷⁸ Every officer I have spoken to who has been exposed to the twenty-one foot scenario and was unable to draw fast enough has indicated that the experience profoundly changed their sense of what made a person dangerous and what made a space a “safe space.” This subjective experience, it should be recalled is social and therefore shouldn’t be taken-for-granted as natural or inevitable since but the discursive framing of the action and the bodily schemata for giving significance to a “threat” its genesis in the situations and stories external to the recruit and that are passed on by the recruit training officers and instructors.

Violence as Bodily Technique

To understand fully how a person can appear in perception as a “threat: or as “shootable” we also have to look at the social genesis of the bodily techniques or skills that structure a recruits response to their perceived world. Recruits learn to respond forcefully to “threats” with a specific set of fighting potentials that they acquire from the cadre. These structures function as action patterns that recruits use to manage their social environment. In particular they learn a technique of the body called “double tapping” which is one among many bodily techniques (e.g., pressure points, control holds, punching, kicking, swings of the baton) that recruits can use to regulate perceived threats, unruly bodies, and out-of-control situations where life and limb seem to be on the line.

Double tapping is a technique that involves pulling the trigger of a firearm twice in quick succession to deliver rounds quickly to the same target area—the center of the threat’s bodily mass. It is primarily a technique for close quarters combat, believed to have its origins in the U.S. Special Forces and possibly the British SOE during World War II.⁷⁹ Learning to “double tap” is a necessary disciplinary mechanism for police officers who have a limited amount of ammunition and who may lose their aim after multiple shots. Double-tapping is a critical resource when “there is no time.” Cadets are taught to shoot two shots in quick succession at the center mass of the target’s body (where a vital organ will be “found”); to hold position after the last shot for a second; and then to scan and reassess. The two closely-placed rounds produced by the double-tapping technique are believed to create a single “wound channel” that maximizes the “stopping power” of the first round. This creates a devastating wound or weakens any body armor the target is wearing. After the double tap, cadets have a moment to reposition their bodies, re-grip their weapons, and reassess their situation visually and cognitively. The process

⁷⁸ “When, for example, a child learns to use a stick for drawing some object towards himself, there arises a new schema, that is a new mode of acting and perceiving out of pre-existing schemata by way of differentiation, coordination, and mutual assimilation of the later.... *At the same time and by the same token, the perceived object undergoes re-organization and reconstruction in that, in conformity with the newly arising schema, it acquires instrumentality in a new specific sense* (Gurwitsch 1967: 49)

⁷⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double_tap

takes only a couple of seconds to complete. If the threat is not stopped, they deliver a single deliberate and aimed shot to the head.

Unlike the “spray and pray” of the untrained, police cadets learn a highly regulated, disciplined—and, one might add, civilized (Elias 1939)—technique. They must be calm, collected, and focused and must use no more force than is necessary. This requires that an enormous amount of bodily work—involving the coordinated movement of the hand, the back, the fingers, the eyes and the respiratory system—be done in fractions of a second. Before I can double tap, I must know what a gun is and how to use it. My hands, fingers, eyes and lungs must work together instantaneously. In a potentially violent situation, I don’t have time to consciously tell myself to do each movement. I become aware of what I am doing only after I hear a directive shouted and begin to comply. My hands, fingers, and eyes know what to do and where to go before I can consciously isolate and describe my movements. My knowledge is practical and pre-reflexive. The boy draws a gun and I move into place. Sanctioned and appropriate action “just happens.”

While many would find this bodily technique disturbing, it is a taken-for-granted practice for police—analogous to an academics’ ability to type a paper. Among police, struggles over whether or not double tapping is appropriate are typically not about whether the force used is excessive. Rather, they are about the efficacy of the practice in “stopping threats”⁸⁰: “The use of force is not a philosophical issue for a policeman. It is not a question of should or whether, but when and how much” (Rubenstein 1973: 321). One leader in the field (who has trained many of the instructors at police academies) writes:

“By the way, since you can’t know in advance how many hits will be required to stop a given threat, training to shoot in ‘double taps,’ ‘controlled pairs,’ or ‘hammers’ can create a potentially dangerous habit: pausing after two rounds have been fired, regardless of the results. Instead, continue shooting as fast as you can hit until the threat goes away, whether this takes one shot, an entire magazine, or every cartridge you carry. In the words of one former lawman, ‘shoot `em down to the ground,’ or until they clearly cease trying to kill or maim you.”⁸¹

The Gymnastics of “Double Tapping”

⁸⁰ Shooting styles used to be passed down within police departments as local custom. However, the practice of police shooting now occurs within a growing organizational field. A variety of private and non-profit provide training to police departments as well as the military. These organizations engage in struggles over the legitimacy of techniques. Different shooting styles have been developed by organizations such as Front Sight, Options for Personal Security, the Defense Department, as well as the trainers and instructors at a wide range of police departments. Many customs for shootings are defused through organizations like Front Sight where officers from dozens of police departments around the country come to be trained as instructors or to learn specialized tactics. Trained instructors are then sent back to local departments where they train local officers and deputies. Other officers spend time training and teaching at organizations like Front Sight. These private organizations also have developed research programs to find the most “efficient” and effective styles of shooting, including close assessment of actual police shootings.

⁸¹ Stanford, Andy. 2001. *Surgical Speed Shooting: How To Achieve High-Speed Marksmanship in a Gunfight*.



A martial choreography. Cadets move rhythmically in time as they rehearse together the steps and tempo of double tapping. An RTO directs this chorus of gestures.

When experts teach novice cadets how to double tap, the centrality of the body to action and the imperative to train that body are thrown into relief. Cadets rarely “get it” the first time. Appropriately performed bodily techniques, which are constitutive of the forceful and occupationally competent body, are acquired through rigorous training at the firearms range. Competency is comprised of the ability to control people, things, and space through the skillful use of the body, whether through shooting or through the appearance of confidence. Double tapping is mastered through a collective choreography in which cadets move together in space and in time.

Before entering my first deadly force scenario, I had seen double tapping demonstrated, had been instructed in how to do it and had practiced with range targets many times. My initiation into double tapping began by the third week of academy training and lasted for several weeks. On an isolated range in a rural area owned by the Sheriff’s office, 25 cadets at a time lined up on the firing range under the watchful gaze of 4-5 instructors. We shot at black silhouettes of life-sized humans from 1, 3, 5, 7, 15, and 25 yards, aiming for the highest point values in the target range (i.e., center mass and head). Our first week of intensive firearms training (approximately 8 hours of training a day for five days) focused on learning the minute constituent elements of the technique. Double tapping is made up of dozens of movements and postures:

We spend four hours on our first day of firearms training just drawing from our holsters and getting into our “tactical” firing stance. Our instructors, from the Sheriff’s department as well as a couple local PD’s, stand in front of us and demonstrate the appropriate footing. “Keep your feet about shoulder’s width apart and your knees bent. Lean into your stance. This will absorb the recoil from your weapon.... Keeping this stance gives you the isometric grip to control the firearm and it takes the stress off your muscles and puts them on your bones.” Instructors also have to deal with members of the military who have learned to shoot in a different style known as the “modified weaver stance.” “I know that a lot of you, especially some of you military guys, have been trained to stand with your strong side leg back, but think about it, that’s where your body armor is the weakest. The hardest parts of your body are the front. You also have to move when you shoot. If you are facing sideways how are you going to move naturally?”



We spend hours firing a single round. Gradually, we move to firing controlled pairs. As we become capable of consistently grouping our shots, our instructors begin to discipline our timing: “You have four seconds to draw and shoot two rounds.” By this time, we are expected to aim only our first shot and to rely on our bodily posture to provide a “natural point of aim” so our pistol will rapidly go back on target. Only a fraction of a second should elapse between the first and second shot. After a week of this training, it becomes a perfectly natural and very accurate way to shoot.

Not all groups do equally well in the course of this exercise. Different individuals bring different kinds of bodily comportment with them to the academy. Men and women, as Young (2005) notes, are socialized to perform gross motor movements differently. Men engage their bodies, pushing forward, while women, especially in sports, are trained to withdraw their bodies. In shooting, this is a visible difference early in training. Women tend to lean away from their firearm while men thrust themselves toward it. “Shooting like a girl” in the police setting is

disempowering because those who do it cannot conform to protocol as quickly as others and they do not always maximize their bodily potential during evaluations.



Wrong versus correct bodily posture.



The Author taking up a proper posture and grip.

Although cadets generally consider shooting to be an exciting activity, the training is grueling and repetitive. It is meant to turn policy and procedure into muscular memory:

For our first manipulation trial squads A and B line up on the 7yrd line. The chief instructor, retired commander in the SO, stands to the rear, and one or two firearms instructors stand to the right and left of the middle of the line. They stand behind the recruits. The Comm. says, "Ok, let's begin with a review of yesterday's manipulation training. First, the five point combat pistol stance. On my count: on one, unholster your weapon and turn off the safety. On two, bring your arm up to your breast. On three, *slide, grip and push out*. On four, align your sights and place your finger on the trigger. On five, pull the trigger and follow through. On the command, return your pistol to the immediate ready position, look left, look right, and holster, *keeping your eyes down range*."

The Comm. calls out each command. I reach down and grab the butt of my pistol. I fumble the snaps and then swipe at the safety. I accidentally draw the pistol, having become so used to doing so yesterday. An instructor behind me steps up and says, "Hey, is that part of the first count? Re-holster and try again." I do as he says. Then the command for count two is given. I snap my pistol up to about where my breast is. I look down to check on the direction of the muzzle. It is not straight enough. The instructor steps up again, grabs my elbow firmly and growls, "See how that feels. Remember that. You also don't need to tilt your wrist to get the muzzle to point the way you want it to. Raise your elbow up and back like you were trying to elbow someone. You should be able to feel your way to the right place."

The third count is the grip. I slide my left "support hand" over to my right hand and wrap it around. I then bring both hands to the center of my chest and thrust them forward. I get into trouble immediately here. I get my hands out but my elbows aren't locked and it hurts to bring them in, as if I were trying to squeeze a ball in front of my chest with my upper arms. The rain is no help. Because we are all wearing raincoats my movements are constrained. I try to roll my right arm in but there is constant tension pulling away from it. An instructor, actually a police officer from my town, comes over and tries to help me with my position. I explain the problem with my jacket and he sharply retorts, "You have to get used to being uncomfortable when you shoot. It's just how the game is played. If your back doesn't hurt when you shoot like this, then there is something wrong. Suck it up, guy."

In addition to constant drilling, cadets are exposed to verbal and physical feedback in the form of criticism, praise, and touch. Instructors also serve as models for cadets, who constantly check their movements against those of their instructors:

Instructors flock around us, critiquing us on everything. Cadets race with each other to see who can get their pistol out first. The instructors chastise us saying, "Stop trying to be John Wayne! You do it fast now and you will make a habit of doing it wrong. Be smooth. With smoothness comes speed!" (1/27/07).

After loading up with magazines of 10, 10 and 10 we go back to the 7 and 15-yard line and begin doing more performance shooting. When I go into my holster I typically have my index finger in the side of the gun. I use it to point my gun into the holster so that I don't miss my holster and end up throwing a "hot" gun onto the ground. Jeff, an instructor, doesn't like this. "Brian, see what happens when you do that, your finger gets shoved into the trigger well. I don't think you want to shoot your foot off, do you?" He tells me to maintain a full pistol grip as I am putting my gun into the holster. He then

criticizes me for breaking my grip. “When you break your pistol grip while shoving your gun into the holster, you are losing control of your gun. What if you need to come out of your holster again because the threat you thought you had under control is going for another gun on his leg? Remember: *Out fast, in slow*. So from now on I want you pausing once you have your gun in the holster, with *full grip*.” I work on this all day. Jeff and the instructors love it! I am out fast, often first to fire, and accurately at that. But then I am last in the holster. I take my time. When I am returning to high retention, I pause, look left, look right, look back at the threat. Then I holster, pistol grip engaged, and I pause, still scanning. I wait, then I snap the holster closed. Another says, “Be out first but back in last. You want to beat the other guy out of the holster in a gun fight, but once you’re out, take your time putting it away.” (1/28/07).

An instructor stands behind a cadet as we practice firing a single round at a time, “Make your body look like a triangle.” From behind the cadet, the instructor clasps the elbows of the cadet, and presses until the cadet’s arms are perfectly straight. “Lock those elbows and wrists; you got to be steady. Let your bones do the work, not your muscles.” An instructor comments to another cadet who is shaking while holding his gun out in front of him, “Loosen your grip a little. You’re not trying to strangle the gun! Relax and you’ll stop shaking” (3/29/06).

Instructors consider the firearms range to be a kind of safe zone: “This is a sterile and controlled environment. You can make mistakes here and there aren’t consequences. But real life isn’t that way. You won’t have time to make a mistake or to take your time. So we introduce stressors to get you prepared.” Thus, this safe zone is also a high-pressure zone:

The instructors manage to create an enormous amount of stress. They yell at us as we put our movements together. Even when we shoot, some of them yell at us: “You shoot like that and you aren’t ever going to graduate from the academy!” Randomly, other instructors go around screaming into cadet’s ears “*why?!*” so that cadets stutter and scramble for responses. Others throw the brass casings from spent cartridges at us to distract us while we shoot. They shout: “What’s wrong with you? Do it right!” (March 28, 2006).

The constant barrage of screams, thrown objects, insults, and criticisms turn “double tapping” from something done for technical reasons into a way of abating the unwanted attention of the range instructors.

Our instructors also imposed physical hardships in order to demonstrate what it was like to have to shoot with precision under bodily duress. It was not unusually for the range instructors to send the recruit class running for a mile under a hot sun before the class had to shoot. Out of breath and with hearts pounding, we learned how much our breathing and heart rate affect our shooting. In response, the instructors also taught us “tactical breathing” to control our bodies. An instructor tells us: “When you’re huffing, your body is all over the place. So what I want you to do when you get back from your run is breathe in for four counts and exhale for four counts until you feel your breathing and feel calm, then shoot.



Cadets running four loops around the backstop at the shooting range in 100 degree heat.

Learning bodily discipline is an ongoing, internally- and externally-imposed practice. Cadets must own responsibility for their own bodily transformation. Our instructors recommended that we walk around at home in our gun belts and practice drawing our weapons properly in front of a mirror. We are also told to place an empty shell casing on top of our pistols and to “dry fire” them at home until we can pull the trigger 10 times in a row without the piece of brass falling off. Doing this requires a perfectly steady body. The Recruit Training Officers at the academy have us bring racket balls with us every day, are we are told to squeeze them constantly, building strength in our trigger fingers:

The RTO stands in front of the class. He explains to us right after our LD 7 review that "next week I expect you all to have blue balls." The class erupts into laughter. "This weekend you will all go out and get a racket ball. Not a green one or a red one. A BLUE RACKET BALL. You will keep your racket ball under your name card. When you're tired, when you're in class, you had better be squeezing your balls." Again the class erupts into now uncontrolled laughter. "Yeah, ya'll think it's hilarious. But when half of you who have never fired a gun before can't squeeze a trigger, then it won't be so funny. That's gonna be 12 or 8 lbs of pull depending on your gun. So get your blue balls and start getting your finger strength."

We are reminded that such bodily discipline is crucial: “If it isn’t muscle memory” an instructor warns, “then you will be too late in the fight.” We learn that, “when you are in the fight for your life, you are going to fall back upon instinct, *your training*. So prepare yourself.”

Scenario and Body Space

As cadets become more confident in their mastery of double-tapping, their relationship to the space around them changes. As their bodies develop, as their skills build, and as their perception of the space around them changes, so does their common sense. Cadets come to recognize, for instance, that police officers can't just shoot knives and guns out of a suspect's hand. They learn the very limited range (e.g., 25 yards or less) within which they can effectively deploy their firearms:

Over the past two days, I have noticed changes in how I experience distance and space. Once I have a pistol in hand and am trying to do accurate and fast combat shooting, space becomes distorted. To a neophyte, shooting at 25 yards seems like it should be a piece of cake. After I fire the first 12 rounds or so and realize I am shooting dirt rather than the target, 25 yards suddenly seems a long way off. From 7 yards, the target still seems in reach. I focus on my front sight and it does not obscure the 10 rings. Most of my shots land center mass. But 15 yards suddenly seems far away in a way it didn't before. As we practice shooting, and my groups come in tighter and tighter, the target looks different too. After awhile, it appears within reach. I experience myself as able to shoot it. As we go further back—now to 25 yards—I have the same experience all over again. The target seems impossibly small, the center now almost wholly obscured. How will I aim my weapon?

Daniel, a friend of mine at the academy, says aloud on the firing line, “shit I can't hit that.” Earlier he had been among those joking about how 25 yards isn't far at all. The following day, Daniel says, “man when we started yesterday, I thought, no sweat, I can do that. Then once we got to 15 yards and my shots weren't landing, I was like, ‘fuck, 25 yards, that's far!’ I've got to practice more on my own, but I am at least landing most of my shots in the black!”

Our instructor says, “25 yards seems like it's not that much. But now you have shot, what, 24 rounds from there? Would you feel comfortable shooting at that distance in a populated area? I know I wouldn't. Remember what we told you: when you are deciding whether or not to take that shot, you always have to be sure of what's behind the target. At this distance, are you sure that you can hit the target every time? Or might one of those rounds head down Main Street?”

At the end of the day, one instructor asks, “So, how many of you still think you are going to be shooting guns out of hands? Now, you all know better than that. You have seen how hard it is to hit the fuckin target from 25 yards. Soon you will be stress firing and you'll see what it's like to shoot under pressure with your nerves tested.... Two center mass and hope you hit something.” Scenario evaluations also help cadets to learn an appropriate distance for handling people. Scenarios are a pedagogical technology that directs cadets to use abstract bodily techniques with sensitivity to the peculiarities and specifics of different situations. Scenarios, like simulations, are a bounded and regulated ludic activity that, though not “real”, are real enough in practice and in consequences to be taken seriously (Hoffman 2006; also see Huzinga 1950, Caillois 1961, Bateson 1973, Goffman 1986).⁸² In scenarios, things happen in time. A cadet

⁸² Performance in these scenarios can be consequential for a cadet's career. One cadet was expelled from the academy after an ambush scenario. When an assailant began attacking her with simulated gun fire, she closed her eyes, turned away, and blindly shot her firearm, hitting one of the observing recruit training officers in the leg with a

must respond to situations with the utmost urgency. There is often little time for a cadet to stop, think, deliberate or carefully decide what to do next. Cadets begin practically linking skill and perception in new ways based on their successes or failures in the scenario situations (e.g., getting shot for not drawing down their weapon on a child). They also learn from subsequent critiques and praise of their scenario performance.⁸³

An example comes during my “5150” scenario (police vernacular in CA for cases involving mentally disturbed persons). During the scenario, a despondent man takes out a knife and puts it to his throat, threatening to kill himself if I don’t leave. My evaluator criticizes my failure to maintain appropriate distance: “What’s the rule when dealing with a knife? Twenty-one feet! You didn’t make more than fifteen! What about cover? You could have put space between you and the 5150 by going behind the fence or standing behind the car. You can have a conversation from back there and still control the situation with your weapon if you need to” (6/24/07). Three cadets failed the 5150 scenario because they did not draw their weapons at all. One explained why he didn’t: “He was just standing there talking about killing *himself* if I got closer. He wasn’t threatening me or making threatening gestures at me. So I just stood behind the fence and figured I had time to draw and shoot if he changed his mind!” A cadet with a “feel for the game” who successfully passed the scenario recounted, “When he drew that knife *I skinned my smoke wagon!* [unholstered his pistol]. If he had moved toward me I would have shot. Bang! No question, it would be a clean shoot.” (6/24/07).⁸⁴

simmunition round. The cadet’s inability to turn double-tapping into second nature—indeed into a general bodily orientation—meant an early end to her career.

⁸³ Caillois (1961) argues that games are not individual but social activities full of rivalry, competition, recognition and glory that channel and make worthwhile seemingly individual skilled performances. Following Caillois’s (1961: 62) analysis of games we can say that the special property of scenarios is that they are more regulated, more separated from “real life,” and more circumscribed than actual combat. An officer can be killed in combat but one is not killed in the combat of scenarios (though it may occur by accident). Rather, cadets may be hurt physically by simmunitions or, as a consequence of their actions, they may find themselves in the socially “fatal” situation of being expelled from the academy. Scenarios, although a simulation of sorts, are not a simulacrum. Cadets know the difference between the scenario and real life, yet the scenarios are consequential enough and similar enough in form of action and interaction to prepare cadets to assume real responsibilities and form real habits useful in the working world.

⁸⁴ This scenario is similar to a real life situation that recently occurred. In Eureka, CA, an officer shot and a killed a 16 year old on the side of a road. The 16 year old was “5150” and drew a knife and threatened the officer. The boy and the deputy were within 4-4 1/2 feet of each other. When the boy closed distance, from 6 feet to 4 feet, while pointing the knife at the officer and making threatening statements, the officer, as he explained it, automatically drew his weapon and shot the boy twice in rapid succession (i.e. “double tapping) because of the perception of immanent threat. The following is a portion of a letter from the Humboldt County DA’s office describing the shooting: “Officer Liles yelled for Burgess to drop the knife. Those orders were heard by (a probation officer) and (an off-duty Humboldt County sheriff’s deputy). Christopher Burgess then said to Officer Liles, “I don’t want to go” and then, with the knife elevated and pointing toward Officer Liles, took a half step toward him. This reduced the distance between the officer and Christopher Burgess to approximately 4 to 4 1/2 feet.... At this point, Officer Liles was holding his Glock .40-caliber firearm out in front of him, in a two-handed grip, about waist level, pointed at Christopher Burgess. Officer Liles stated he feared that Burgess was too close to him and he was in danger of being seriously injured or killed. Officer Liles fired three rounds at Christopher Burgess. He believed all three of his rounds struck Christopher Burgess in the chest.... Christopher Burgess fell backwards, onto his left side into a hole. As he was lying on the ground, he stated, ‘I don’t want to die.’ Officer Liles radioed that shots had been fired. Within moments (an off-duty Humboldt County sheriff’s deputy) joined Officer Liles in the depression. When Officer Liles moved Christopher Burgess from the location where he fell, (the off-duty sheriff’s deputy) saw the knife on the ground where he had fallen. (The off-duty sheriff’s deputy) assisted the officer in handcuffing Burgess and helped carry Burgess to the top of the gully.”

In another demonstration during defensive tactics, the lesson is reinforced:

The instructor says, “You will have to learn when your personal space has been violated and you are in danger. I guarantee that most of you will respond like civilians. I can’t tell you how many guns I have taken away from people.” He then walks to the cadet with a fake knife. The cadet draws his replica airsoft pistol and says, “get back or I’ll shoot!” The instructor starts cussing and threatening the cadet while walking towards him. The cadet keeps backing away until he backs into a wall. The instructor walks right up the cadet before the cadet fires, but the instructor is so close that he has already begun to take the gun away, and the plastic pellet misses the instructor. Our instructor says, “Even when I just tell you what I am going to do, it is not our instinct to stand our ground and shoot. We back away. You will learn, based on your skill, when that imaginary line around your body has been crossed and you know you will have to shoot. But that line had better not be a hundred feet away! And it had better not be two feet away. You have to have a reasonable belief that your life is in jeopardy and on the other hand you don’t want to be stupid.”

The perception of space, i.e., of safe distances “from here-to-there,” is shaped not by objective measurement but by embodied habit, by cadets’ incorporation of their firearm into their body space and their evolving sense of their own arms, hands, and reach. This sense of space informs cadets and officers as they enact skillful bodily movements. Taking up a position of advantage, blading, or drawing down on a person with a weapon require this embodied knowledge of space and body. They are *not* cognitive or reflective acts; rather, a cadet understands his spatial relationship to others when a cadet *feels* that he or she has attained a safe distance.

In Merleau-Ponty’s terms, space is the “the means whereby the position of things becomes possible” (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 243).⁸⁵ If cadets feel uneasy when they are less than four feet from another person, their sense of compromised spatial integrity is a product of collective action and practice. It is a shared form of bodily engagement derived from a stock of cultural skills and techniques that the cadet’s body must take up and use. Cadets are put into situations where mortal threats are simulated. They are shot at using simmunitions (plastic bullets filled with paint and projected by gunpowder from a real gun) and they must shoot back. These experiences provide a background of experience through which a sense of nearness and farness is acquired. The resulting bodily dispositions constitute cadets’ *motor intentionality* (Merleau-Ponty 1962): The cadets’ orientation toward any given object is dependent upon their bodily sensitivity to spatial features of the situation, and is manifest in the body’s ability to react to specific situations and objects in a tailored fashion.⁸⁶

(<http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2007/03/22/18381763.php>; also see <http://policereview.blogspot.com/>, http://humboldt-herald.blogspot.com/2006_10_01_archive.html, <http://www.participate.net/node/2122>).

⁸⁵ Merleau-Ponty critiques intellectualist and objectivist analysis of the perception of space. He argues that our sense of space is an embodied sense. “Besides the physical and geometrical distance which stands between myself and all things, a ‘lived’ distance binds me to things which count and exist for me, and links them to each other. This distance measures the ‘scope’ of my life at every moment” (1962: 286).

⁸⁶ The most popular example of motor intention as unreflexive bodily skill is the behavior of grasping and pointing. For more see Sean Kelly’s (2001, unpublished) “Merleau-Ponty on the Body: the logic of motor intentional activity.”

For police officers, shooting means incorporating the weapon into the body's ongoing practices. The "side-arm" or "firearm" literally extends the cadets' reach and increases their power to project themselves outward to a distal point. The firearm allows them to make parts of the world that are normally distant, into a field that is perceptually "ready-at-hand." People can be stopped, the self preserved, and situations dramatically transformed through skilled use of a pistol. My experience of space has been honed by the academy; it has shaped my perception of what is "near" or "far", "reachable" or "beyond my grasp."⁸⁷ My grasp of space feels correct only when my sighting and pointing align, and I can effectively shape my environment.⁸⁸

Understanding Shooting

According to Merleau-Ponty (1962), understanding is the ability to *do* certain things. To truly understand shooting like a police officer means being able to skillfully respond to the solicitations of the world in the style of a cop. As I have tried to illustrate, shooting is not only or even primarily an intellectual act but rather a practical and embodied one. When cadets describe how they learn to aim, stop flinching, or pull the trigger, they report that "something just clicked." Somehow, as a result of repetition and drilling, they finally "got it"— their pistol finally acquired a "motor significance" for them. Now they can act upon the world efficaciously through the medium of their "side arm."

Polanyi (1962) has discussed the process whereby a person's attention shifts from treating an instrument as an end to treating it as a means. He argues that instruments recede from consciousness and become extensions of our own body: "Tools... can never lie in the field of... operations; they remain necessarily on our side of it, forming part of ourselves, the operating persons. We pour ourselves out into them and assimilate them as parts of our own existence. We accept them existentially by dwelling in them" (Polanyi 1962: 59). By the time that I had reached my deadly force scenario I had developed a *subsidiary awareness* of my weapon by incorporating it into the very motions and rhythms of my body. Through my training I had learned to dwell in my world through my pistol—it had motor significance for me because it allowed me to act appropriately.

Cadets who have never handled firearms before tend to treat them delicately, especially when walking around with "hot" or "charged" weapons. They are afraid that their weapon may accidentally "discharge." This anxiety fades as cadets learn more about how firearms function, primarily by handling them, carrying them, and shooting them. Through experience they learn exactly what it takes to make a gun fire and they stop treating it like fragile crystal or volatile nitro-glycerin. They approach it as a piece of durable machinery that is difficult to break and difficult to set off. A competent cadet must be able to focus on a target through the medium of a

⁸⁷ Merleau-Ponty would contend that my consciousness, indeed my whole understanding, in its immediacy, of double tapping is "being-towards-the-thing through the intermediary of the body" (ibid: 139). I understand "double tapping" when I have incorporated it as a habit. 'A movement is learned when the body has understood it, that is, when it has incorporated it into its 'world,' and to move one's body is to aim at things through it; it is to allow oneself to respond to their call, which is made upon it independently of any representation" (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 139). In order for the child to exist for me as a thing to be shot, my body must first be able to move towards it and to respond to it as a target, as a pre-existing, always ready preparedness. My whole body understands "double tapping."

⁸⁸ This is no different than the kind of tacit bodily understanding we have of car, road, and fellow travelers as we cruise down the highway. Our body responds to our on going projects (like driving to the grocery store) through bodily movements that incorporate the vehicle (movements of hand, clutch, brakes and throttle) and anticipations of where we soon will be in space (See Katz 1999).

body *and* gun that have become continuous with one another. Thus the side arm is both an end in of itself (a focus of attention) and eventually a means of projecting oneself outward (a means of attending to the world).

Attaining this union of gun and arm takes time and practice. One cadet who stood near me on the firing line had a recurring but common problem: he kept watching the hammer of the pistol as he tried to control his trigger pull. Because of this, he anticipated the recoil and noise from squeezing the trigger and he would jerk his body in anticipation. Instructors had to use a variety of techniques, like putting “dummy” rounds in the cadet’s gun, to draw his attention to his anticipatory movements so he could practice controlling his attention and motion. On the one hand, cadets like this one are implored to attend to their bodies and to their weapons instead of just shooting. On the other hand, they are warned: “Don’t think, do!”; “It’s muscle memory.”; “It should be second nature, like an instinct.” A proficient cadet, after all, has no awareness of the fact that he or she holds the gun in a particular way and does not consciously pay attention to the location of the pistol’s hammer. Proficient cadets are focused on the world beyond their gun. Indeed, when they finally pull the trigger, it can come as a total surprise. Body and aim become harmonious and any direct experience of the body “dys-appears” (Leder 1990).

Normal Force: Unreflective Skillful Coping

Hunt (1985) argues from the symbolic interactionist perspective that “normal force involves coercive acts that specific ‘cops’ on specific occasions formulate as necessary, appropriate, reasonable, or understandable” (Hunt 1985: 317). Hunt focuses on “the active role of consciousness” (Hunt 1985: 316) when she describes two ways that police account for their behavior: excuses and justifications. As I already argued, this is a partial and limited view. It relies on the dubious assumption that *post hoc* discursive rationalizations accurately recall and explain violent acts themselves. In fact, violent actions are much less reflexive and much more immediate and embodied.

Scenarios, drills, observation, demonstrations, and mimicry are, among other things, key aspects of the social practice of training that constitute double tapping as normal. These pedagogical practices act directly on cadets’ bodies. Double tapping becomes normal for them and “feels” like the right thing to do in certain situations because the practice is buried in their carefully cultivated bodily *dispositions*. Indeed, one of the many functions of the police academy is to inculcate corporeal dispositions that can be awoken by *calls to order* (Bourdieu 2000: 176). The cadet may be called to draw a firearm and to double tap when someone draws a knife. This call to order will work only for those who have been *predisposed* to heed the call. Otherwise, it would arrive like a dead letter.

“Maximal grip”⁸⁹ is Merleau-Ponty’s term for an agent’s bodily ability to respond to situational solicitations in a way that brings the current situation closer to their sense of an optimal gestalt, i.e., what they can handle. In our everyday skillful perception of the world, we try to get a “maximum grip” on what we look at. When we look at paintings in a museum we try to find the optimum viewing distance.⁹⁰ Similarly, cadets undergo training that endows them with

⁸⁹ See Hubert L. Dreyfus’s “A Phenomenology of Skill Acquisition as the basis for a Merleau-Pontian Non-representationalist Cognitive Science.”

⁹⁰ “For each object, as for each picture in an art gallery, there is a privileged distance from which it requires to be seen, an orientation viewed from which it vouchsafes most of itself: a shorter or greater distance we have merely a

a sense of safe, controlled space (e.g., a sense of where other people ought to be in relation to them). When that sense of safe space has been breached, cadets know to draw. Merleau-Ponty writes:

“my body is geared into the world when my perception presents me with a spectacle as varied and as clearly articulated as possible, and when my motor intentions, as they unfold, receive the responses they expect from the world. The maximum sharpness of perception and action points clearly to a perceptual *ground*, a basis of my life, a general setting in which my body can coexist with the world” (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 250)

This is just another way of saying that the skills we have developed determine how objects and situations “show up” for us and what response they demand. In turn, how we learn to deal with situations and things, our experiences, continuously shape the skills we have. The police academy creates situations and then cultivates certain responses to them. It functions to create an “intentional arc.”⁹¹ When cadets confront situations for which they have pre-adapted bodily techniques, their response seems obvious and, for them, goes without saying.

To see double tapping as “normal force,” however, is not necessarily to see it as readily typified, justified, accounted for, or legitimated. It is, instead, to experience it as a disposition, inculcated through regimented conditioning experiences that cultivate specific responses to the objective conditions of specific situations. Bourdieu terms this relationship *doxa*. It is the “coincidence between dispositions and position, between the ‘sense of the game’ and the game.” As a relationship between *habitus* and field (or body and world), *doxa* explains why “the agent does what he or she ‘has to do’ without posing it explicitly as a goal, below the level of calculation and even consciousness, beneath discourse and representation” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 128). Double tapping is a practice that goes without saying because the academy has produced a bodily schema that applies to situations like those experienced in the academy. Recruits “know” what to do when a gun is drawn or pointed at them: they “skin the smoke wagon.”

This embodied sense of necessary action goes far deeper than the conscious legitimization of a practice. Its legitimacy “is rooted in the immediate agreement between the incorporated structures, turned into practical schemes such as those which organize temporal rhythms... [and] objective structures” (Bourdieu 2000: 177). Thus, to explain the regularities and normalization of a practice as violent as double tapping, we have to put aside standard sociological perspectives that make cognitive work central to action—whether the presumed cognitive work is rooted in “false consciousness” and ideology (Marxist theory), legitimacy (Weberian theory), or accounts (ethnomethodology). Instead, we should locate “belief” in the legitimacy of double tapping at the deepest level of bodily dispositions. The fact that cadets have the know-how to respond to situations with a double-tap constitutes the most radical acceptance of the practice. It indicates a deep conversion to the social order of policing. This also helps

perception blurred through excess or deficiency. We therefore tend towards the maximum of visibility, and see a better focus as with a microscope” (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 302).

⁹¹ “The *intentional arc* names the tight connection between the agent and the world, viz. that, as the agent acquires skills, these skills are ‘stored,’ not as representations in the mind, but as more and more refined dispositions that respond to the solicitations of more and more refined perceptions of the current situation.” (Dreyfus, “A Phenomenology of Skill Acquisition as the basis for a Merleau-Pontian Non-representationalist Cognitive Science”: 1).

explain why the practice seems so revolting to those socialized under other conditions: they do not and perhaps cannot grasp the practice in terms of its “motor significance.”

Conclusion

It is time to answer my initial question. How is it that I, a doctoral candidate in sociology, could find myself in the position of drawing down and shooting a twelve year old in a simulated scenario?

Certainly the police academy propagates mythologies that tend to legitimate, justify, and account for police use of force. As Van Maanen articulated it, “Th[e] symbolic presence of guns is related to the idealized and almost ritualized sense of risk clung to by most officers. To the police, occupational risk involves something physical, violent, and ultimate... There is a psychology of the extreme at work in police agencies, and the philosophy that underlies it is inescapably existential” (Van Maanen 1980:148). However, the existential nature of this mythology does not center *only* on the necessity of police force to the officer’s very survival; it is manifest also in the *habitus* of the cadet—in the very *form of being* diffused by the academy and embodied by each cadet.

Habitus, in this figuration, is political mythology turned body. The police academy diffuses an oral folklore that more or less gives cadets a shared set of stories about who they are and what they do. It also provides simulations, scenarios, and representations that create a rich world of people and objects that becomes the cadet’s own world. Cadets come to know this world through bodily understandings rooted in cultivated skills and discriminations. Almost unknowingly, they assimilate the community’s standards of comportment to their surroundings. When cadets are put in a scenario involving the use of knives or guns, they will use techniques that they have acquired through hours of drilling: in this moment, mythology takes on a corporeal reality.

In describing the process through which cadets learn to double tap, I have tried to reveal the social dimensions of “force.” The violent act of double tapping is not simply a personal act. It is a bodily technique that is instituted through participation in the social setting of the police academy. When and how we inflict harm on one another is something we do as members of particular groups. Police officers double-tap; other groups do not. For a police officer, double-tapping is a natural response to a drawn knife. To others, it seems a crude and uncivilized practice. Depending on one’s location in the social universe, the same practice can mean different things. Thus, trigger pulls, shrugs of the shoulder, the clasping of the firearm are clearly not just personal. While a cadet (later an officer) may use the technique in ways specific to self and situation, the style itself is shared by an entire group.

Indeed, “skinning the smoke wagon” and double-tapping are necessary to becoming a member of the group; they are markers that reveal whether a cadet has acquired the motor skills and perceptual sensitivities that belong to the group. Embedded in the body of cadets, double-tapping becomes a collective second nature—a practice that is learned *in* practice and is shared as an embodied common sense.

Part II — Honor and Ritual: Sensation and Emotion in Policing

Chapter 6 : “The Will To Survive”: The Social Organization of Pain and Time

Introduction: The Suffering Body

I am standing on the front lawn of the Sheriff’s Office. The Taser instructor tells me, “Well, it’s time to ride the lightning! Everyone has to get tasered before they can carry. You have to know how it feels so you can articulate, in court, why you tasered a suspect and how you knew its effects. Plus, if you chicken out now, when everyone else has taken the ‘five second ride,’ then you might as well take your reputation out back behind the shed and shoot it, cause everyone’s gonna think your kinda’v a pussy. Hey, it’s five seconds, then it’s over. It will hurt like a bitch, but just remember, five seconds and it’s over; nothing you can’t recover from.” Reluctantly, I agree. A deputy and a correctional officer grab my arms. The instructor walks back about 10 feet. I look behind my right shoulder and see my Field Training Officer taking a lean on the front of his car, a huge grin on his face. He shouts, “Try not scream like a little girl!” and laughs. The instructor asks me, “Ya ready?” “Yup,” I reply. A moment later I am stiff as a board and I feel pain shooting through parts of my body that I had never felt before. It feels like I accidentally stuck my finger into an electrical outlet. My teeth clench up and I hear myself uttering, “uuuggggghhhhhhhhh!” Fifty thousand volts of electricity pass through me and I collapse to the ground like a falling plank of wood. It seems like eternity but it is only five seconds. I notice only the supreme discomfort of my body. I don’t see what is around me and I am not paying any attention to the people around me. Then, suddenly, the pain is gone, the “click-click-click” of the Taser cycling is silent and I am instantly able to move again. Now all I feel is relief and I hear the loud laughing of bystander deputies. I take notice of where I am and where the other deputies are. The instructor tells me to stay on the ground. He walks up puts his hand on my back and says, “You got one probe in the ass! I’m a good shot!” as he yanks the barbed probes out. I am so relieved that the five seconds of pain is over I don’t feel anything when the instructor pulls out the probe. (Field notes, September 2007)

Tasering police officers in training serves several simultaneous functions. It is part of a technical education meant to teach police recruits or trainees how the Taser works. It is meant to expose recruits to the experience of being Tasered so that they are able to justify their use of the Taser in reports and in court. Finally, it serves a ritual function for teaching recruits how to comport themselves toward pain; it provides ritualized scenarios and settings where recruits can practice suffering. Tasering is only one of many rituals—from physical training to chemical agents training—crafted to adjust newcomers to the world of policing and to a police-appropriate conduct during pain. In this chapter, I focus on the unique role of ritualized *physical fitness training* practices in shaping the police officer’s subjective experience of pain.

Pain is integral to policework. Police use their bodies as weapons and instruments of control and they must work in comportment with one another to accomplish the projects and tasks of the job (e.g., providing cover for a contacting officer, assisting in the capture of a fleeing

suspect, or rendering aid during combat). Police officers are often threatened by violence, and their work exposes them to tragedy, exhaustion, stress, and pain on a near-daily basis. For this reason, police officers must learn how to keep the body going when it's in pain. The Police Academy teaches practical strategies for doing so against a social context that demands poise in the face of suffering on pain of shame and humiliation by the cadre. At the Academy, pain and suffering become highly social experiences that recruits learn to manage in several ways:

1. They can acquire new physical capacities (endurance and strength) that allow them to engage in activities that formerly caused pain.
2. They can learn a different way to interpret pain, so that pain is no longer equated with physical injury even if it is still unpleasant.
3. They can acquire postures, comportments, and other techniques of bodily and emotional composure that allow them to behave differently while in pain and to live through their pain with “dignity.”

I will show that many ritualized training practices—including shaming, modeling composure, and generating a shared temporality—foster the development of these strategies for living and working with pain.

Recruits are motivated to engage pain in new ways, i.e. develop new subjective bodily structures, in the context of an objective symbolic economy that rewards certain comportments toward pain with a shared sense of honor and pride with the concomitant desire to avoid the discipline of shame that accompanies a loss of composure. Being able to endure suffering is a virtue, indeed a form of bodily capital, in the Police Academy—a circumscribed world that puts a premium on physical abilities (such as strength, dexterity, and skilled movement) and sensibilities (the power to adeptly perceive and experience the world in an institutionally-appropriate manner). For police, exposure to pain is both technical and social in its functioning. Painful social situations become opportunities for virtuous social action, creating grounds for recruits to demonstrate their moral worth and their physical capacities. Here, ritualized experiences of pain serve as “negative rites” that set the police world apart from the mundane world of work, family, and play, and constitute it as a special, heroic, or sacred occupation (Durkheim 1995 [1912]). Experiences like getting Tasered or enduring long runs test the “mettle” and “fortitude” of recruits and, in so doing, prove their worthiness to become a member of the police world.

There is a definite pragmatism to this ethos. Policing is a martial occupation that requires agonistic body-to-body contact between police officers and citizens. As such, police recruits are expected to be able to dish out pain as well as to receive it. This means physically preparing the body for hand-to-hand combat through defensive tactics training and regular physical training meant to imbue force, strength, and endurance in the body. On my first day of academy training at NBPA, the director, Lt. Sutton, a towering figure with the body of a football player, addressed the classroom room of fifty recruits:

"The cops we make here are not like the 300-pound Krispy Kreme cops you have all seen. Those are jokes, not cops. If you think that you can be a recruit here and be 300 lbs and stuff your cake-hole with Twinkies, you got another thing coming. I have only 6

months, 26 short weeks, to break you of a lifetime of bad habits. But I won't have any disgusting fat here. You show up, you PT and you give it your all. I don't want you finding little things like injuries as reasons for not going and running 5 miles. You show up and you give me your hearts. If you do this, I promise you that I will do you right. A bunch of you, and I can see from looking around this room, are going to be on probation right away, 'cause you haven't had the discipline to be keep yourself fit and to not stuff your mouths with deep fried foods. If you can't meet the challenge, leave now, *I don't want you here.*" (LTB during first day of academy.)

As this quote suggests, “pushing your selves hard” is a sign of virtue at the academy in addition to a technical necessity. Halfway through the academy, Recruit Training Officers (RTOs) still threaten to banish recruits for not pushing their limits and engaging in bodily self-discipline. RTOs emphasize the need to submit to physical training in order to rise above the profane self. “Good police” have good police bodies. An RTO and twenty-year police veteran, Officer Chiramanti, issues this warning at the end of a physical fitness test:

“We will now begin doing PT in a whole new way. Some of you have been slacking. You have decided to do only the minimum. You, and you know who you are, will not be here to graduate unless you make some dramatic changes. 'Cause, at this point, *we aren't fucking around.* If you are going to be *good* police then you will shape up or get the hell out! So over the next week, until we come and meet again, I want you to do some soul searching. Are you really good enough for this job? Because it will test you and, based on some of the high school antics many of you have been involved in, you will not pass the test. You don't have the integrity and the self-discipline. Think about it, because if you can't step up, then I don't want you here anymore.” (RTO J.F.)

As this quote suggests, the specific honor of policing consists of refusing to give up in the face of physical adversity, “sucking it up” to continue fighting or chasing, doing what it takes to win the fight and make the arrest. To fail to appropriate a valued body means expulsion or social death in the policing world.

What Weber called the “hero ethic” (Weber 1975) captures the essence of the symbolic economy that pervades life in the academy.⁹² Ascetic practices and negative rites of grueling physical training constitute the police officer's “extraordinary deeds, virtuosity, courage, endurance, and the capacity to attain distinction” (Featherstone 1992: 160). They thus help make the process of *becoming* a police officer appealing and desirable, even if it is also painful and difficult. Daily rituals like physical training show recruits that they are no longer steeped in the taken-for-granted, commonsense routines of “everyday life.” The daily trials and tribulations of surviving and conquering various bodily challenges constitute a field of moral action where ethical performances can be publicly achieved and recognized.

⁹² Weber states, “One can divide all ‘ethics,’ regardless of their material content, into two major groups according to whether they make basic demands on a person to which he can generally *not* live up except for the great high points of his life, which point the way as guideposts in his *striving* in infinity (‘hero ethics’), or whether they are modest enough to accept his everyday ‘nature’ as a maximal requirement (‘average ethics’). It seems to me that only the first category, the ‘hero ethic’, can be called ‘idealism’...” (in Marianne Weber 1975: 378).

The Physical Fitness Cadre

In this tentative and partial sketch of the painful trials of the police academy, I focus primarily on my *in situ* observations of the actions and utterances of recruits and Recruit Training Officers (RTOs) as they worked to manage and adjust to a painful world. My observations are complemented by documentary notes and interviews. The central characters of this chapter are the RTOs—Sgt. Ramos (a Hispanic female in her early forties), Deputy Martinsson (a white male in his mid twenties), and Officer O’Brien (also a white male in his early thirties)—and the academy’s imposing director, Lt. Sutton (a white male in his early forties). Prior to working at the academy, Lt. Sutton and Sgt. Ramos had worked together at an elite county-wide gang suppression unit. Both were still members of the county SWAT team and had been in law enforcement for over 15 years. Deputy Martinsson had been a deputy for three years and Officer O’Brien had been a police officer at a nearby (poor and blighted) city for five years. Lt. Sutton and Sgt. Ramos made it clear that being a good officer involved being a formidable physical presence on the street.

The field notes that follow are sampled primarily from the first month of academy training. It was during this time that the value of pain, endurance, and physical training was mostly vividly articulated in speech. Soon, physical training, a daily negative rite, became highly routinized and largely took the place of verbal articulations. Little discourse—short of motivating statements, injunctions, and critical judgments—continued after the first month of training. It was also during the first month of training that recruits had the most difficulty adjusting to the new rhythms of Academy life and to the strict demands placed on their physical powers.

The chapter is organized as follows: First, I explore various approaches to pain in the sociological literature, and I emphasize the importance of comporting the body toward pain. Next, I examine the role of shame and pride in engaging recruits in physical activity and teaching them how to comport themselves “well” while in pain. I then discuss the temporalizing practices that help make this possible. Finally, I investigate the semantic re-coding of pain and its disassociation from injury.

Pain and Social Life

My description of pain in the Academy differs substantially from those anthropological and sociological approaches that look strictly at the linguistic, symbolic, or mythological experience of pain (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1963; and Victor Turner 1967). An example of the latter, Kleinmann (1988) looks primarily at how the body expresses the social and symbolic order:

Whether suffering is cast as the ritual enactment of despair, as paradigmatic moral exemplars of how pain should be borne (as in the book of Job), or as the ultimately existential human dilemma of being alone in a meaningless world, local cultural systems provide both the theoretical framework of myth and the established script for ritual behaviour that transform an individual's affliction into a sanctioned symbolic form for the group (Kleinmann 1988:26).

Many sociologists and anthropologists, like Douglas (1966), see the body fundamentally as a natural metaphor for the social or as a vehicle for symbolic meanings.

In contrast, I take a phenomenological perspective and focus on the body as lived (*Lieb*) rather than as object (*Korper*); in my view, the body constitutes the “perspective” from which the world is perceived and acted upon. Like many emotions or sensations, pain can be experienced as something done to us *and* as something we *do* (Katz 1999). As Talal Assad notes: “Although the living body is the object of sensations (and in that sense passive), its ability to suffer, to respond perceptually and emotionally to external and internal causes, to use its own pain in unique ways in particular social relationships, makes it active” (Asad 2003: 89).

Leder's (1990) work is particularly salient for understanding this phenomenological view of pain. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty, Leder treats pain as a form of bodily dys-appearance. He draws attention to how our bodies are normally obscured from our view even though we are never, in a sense, without them. As Leder explains:

“Whilst in one sense the body is the most abiding and inescapable presence in our lives, it is also characterized by absence. That is, one's own body is rarely the thematic object of experience... the body, as a ground of experience... tends to recede from direct experience” (Leder 1990:1).

Leder also points out that our normal experience of bodily disappearance tends to be profoundly disrupted in the context of factors such as pain or injury. When the body is injured or painful, it is suddenly thrust to the foreground of experience. If 'disappearance' characterizes ordinary bodily functioning and experience, then the body in the context of pain and injury “*dys-appears*” instead:

“The body appears as a thematic focus of attention, but precisely in a *dys* state—*dys* is from the Greek prefix signifying 'bad', 'hard' or 'ill', and is found in English words such as 'dysfunctional’” (Leder 1990:84).

Leder illustrates this with a phenomenological approach to pain as a lived and embodied experience. Here he draws attention to the *sensory intensification*⁹³ that pain brings into play, to its *episodic temporality*⁹⁴ and to the *affective call*,⁹⁵ which it establishes. He shows that, together, these factors explain the peculiar hold that pain has over our attention. Leder also notes that pain, like any other experiential mode, cannot simply be reduced to these immediate sensory qualities; rather, it is a matter of *being-in-the-world*.

When pain is taken in the context of the entire bodily schema, we can see that pain reorganizes our normative sense of lived space and time, our relations with others and with

⁹³ “A region of the body that may have previously given forth little in the way of sensory stimuli suddenly speaks up” (Leder 1990:71). For example, when I was Tasered, I felt the tips of my toes and my tendons, which I normally never notice, pulsating rapidly and full of pain.

⁹⁴ “We usually notice in the ongoing stream of sensation that which stands out as episodic and discrete. This is frequently the case with pain. It is not a constant accompaniment of normal bodily activity but tends to arise at times of unusual stress or trauma.... Pain, as a symptom of the problematic, frequently is” (Leder 1990: 72).

⁹⁵ “Pain is the very concretization of the unpleasant, the aversive. It places upon the sufferer what I call an *affective call*. One’s attention is summoned by the gnawing, distasteful quality of pain in a way that it would not be by a more neutral stimulus.... The affective call has a quality of compulsion. I am seized by the pain in a way I am not by other experiences of the body” (Leder 1990: 73).

ourselves. In this respect, pain effects what Leder terms an *intentional disruption*⁹⁶. Thus, as we will see in the ethnographic sections of this chapter, police recruits find that practices such as running, chasing, fighting, or engaging in armed combat are disrupted by pain's intensity. Pain's intensity can also lead to a spatiotemporal constriction where a person literally drops out of social relations or withdraws from the setting in which action is occurring. Pain also has an important temporal dimension. Pain draws the sufferer into the *here and now*. Leder describes this by way of an example: "Prior to injury, the tennis player roamed the future, already preparing for the next shot and seeking a desired victory. Pain seizes him back to the present. Its intensity and affectivity demand his attention right now" (Leder 1990:75-76). Although pain management is not an explicit part of the Academy's curricula, it is perhaps the most common topic of spontaneous utterances and daily practice. RTOs are concerned, daily, with the problem of teaching recruits to transcend the "here and now" of painful experience.

I add a sociological perspective to Leder's vision of the body in pain by placing it in conversation with Durkheim's and Mauss's visions of ritualized practice. I draw on this literature to show how police recruits learn styles of *being-in-the-world* specific to dealing with pain. Pain does not cease to be narrated or symbolized in my descriptive analysis. Indeed, as Leder and many others have noted, pain seems to demand the cognitive moment of interpretation as individuals try to understand, probe, and palpate in search of the cause and cure of pain (Leder 1990; Bendalow and Williams 1995). As Kleinman, Turner, and Levi-Strauss have argued, narratives of pain interpretation are themselves social. However, in my analysis, the interpretive moment takes an analytical back seat to practices meant to *expose* the body to pain and to teach recruits *how to suffer and endure* in a group-appropriate manner.

This approach differs from Elaine Scarry's in her paradigmatic work, *The Body in Pain*. Scarry sees pain as extremely private and destructive of language; in her words, pain is "world destroying." For Scarry, pain's "resistance to language is not simply one of its incidental or accidental attributes but is essential to what it is" (Scarry 1985:5). Pain is thus an inherently private and thought-destroying phenomenon as it dissolves a human's very ability to communicate and associate with others. While this may be true of the torture that Scarry describes in detail, it is not a particularly adept characterization of the social functions of pain and suffering in other arenas of social life. Indeed, if pain were such a private affair, it would be difficult to understand why the infliction of pain is deemed necessary in torture, cruelty, combat, and numerous social rituals that rely on shared experiences of pain to construct social relationships. As I will demonstrate, Scarry is wrong to treat pain *solely* as something destructive of language and social relationships. My research shows that painful rites are, in fact, a basis of solidarity and help foster a shared sense of capabilities and limits.

In discussing the social dimensions of pain, I draw on Wittgenstein's⁹⁷ contention that we know the pain of others because we share conventions of doing and expressing pain rather than a

⁹⁶ If we normally act *from* the body *to* the world then when the body is in pain the from-to relationship in which the body is in our *subsidiary awareness*, is disrupted. Instead we attend *to* the body instead of *from* it ecstatically into the world.

⁹⁷ "In what sense are my sensations *private*?—Well, only I can know whether I am really in pain; another person can only surmise it.— In one way this is wrong, and in another nonsense. If we are using the word "to know" as it is normally used (and how else are we to use it?), then other people very often know when I am in pain.—Yes, but all the same not with the certainty with which I know it myself!— It can't be said of me at all (except as a joke) that I *know* I am in pain. What is it supposed to mean—except that I *am* in pain? *Other people cannot be said to learn of my sensation only from my behavior—for I cannot be said to learn of them. I have them*" (1956, section 246, italics added).

certainty in our knowledge of another person's pain (an idea also taken up by Vena Daas [1997]⁹⁸ and Talal Asad [2003]⁹⁹). Pain-related words belong to specific language games in which painful behaviors and utterances are brought together. According to Wittgenstein, pain refers to "patterns in the weave of our life." Thus, painful expressions and words are not meant to be descriptively accurate; rather, these words carry interlocutory force because they index painful behavior and engage the responses of others (e.g., rendering of first aid or perhaps of sympathy).

In other words, we live pain according to our *habitus*: a quasi coherent, durable, and transposable system of habits, bodily skills (or *technique de corps*), dispositions, postures, movements, and categories of perception/apperception that operate below the threshold of consciousness (Bourdieu 1990).¹⁰⁰ How pain is lived is dictated by the kind of *habitus* or bodily schema that a social being possesses (e.g., in the police academy, does one stand upright in the face of being peppered sprayed or does he/she cower and cry?). As Talal Asad framed it: "My point is that one can live one's pain sanely or insanely" (2003: 85). What constitutes sane pain management is, I contend, defined by membership in a collectivity.

Asad notes that many rituals purposely create shared experiences of pain as part of rites of passage—rites that solidify new relationships and prove or demonstrate moral worth. These very rites shape the *habitus* of social beings and are a principle of *sociation*. Shared *habitus* provides an antepredicative basis of mutual intelligibility and collective orchestration of behavior. Pain is also a source of social efficacy when it is "regarded as an essential means for cultivating what such traditions define as virtuous conduct and for discouraging what they consider as vice. The role of fear and hope, of felicity and pain, is central to such practices."

Hirschkind (2006) and Mahmood (2005), in their separate works on Islamic piety, argue that learning to live through discomfort, fear, and pain is treated as a kind of ethical exercise that makes ethical conduct increasingly easier to perform, i.e., the *habitus* is refined according to the demands on a person to suffer. The induction of pain by various ascetic religious, warrior, and athletic traditions demonstrates how pain is used to create a field of moral action. The Police Academy is permeated by practices that are meant to teach police recruits to endure or increase their tolerance of pain. Such practices and tolerances are variable within a society and between societies (Asad 2003: Ch. 3).

Rites that imbue pain and test an individual's tolerance to pain belong to a category of rite that Durkheim called "negative rites." In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1995[1912]),

⁹⁸ Das (1997: 88) draws on Wittgenstein in her discussion of women's suffering during the partitioning of India in 1949: "Following Wittgenstein, this manner of conceptualizing the puzzle of pain frees us from thinking that statements about pain are in the nature of questions about certainty or doubt over our own pain or that of others. Instead, we begin to think of pain as asking for acknowledgment and recognition; denial of the other's pain is not about the failings of the intellect but the failings of the spirit. In the register of the imaginary, the pain of the other not only asks for a home in language but also seeks a home in the body." "Language and Body: Transactions in the Construction of Pain," in A. Kleinman, V. Das, and M. Lock, eds., *Social Suffering*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁹⁹ Wittgenstein points out that it is ludicrous to speak of "knowing" pain, even my own pain, since it is not an object of knowledge. Rather, he says, *we have* pain. I can no more know another's pain than I can know my own pain. To Wittgenstein, *knowing* pain is grammatically incorrect and is not how we use pain terms in ordinary language (e.g. crying "ouch!").

¹⁰⁰ "As the product of history, *habitus* produces individual and collective practices, and thus history, in accordance with the schemata engendered by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemata of thought and action, tend, more surely than all formal rules and all explicit norms, to guarantee the conformity of practices and their constancy across time" (Bourdieu 1990: 91).

Durkheim argues that people develop shared categories of understanding through collective participation in religious rites and practices. Key to Durkheim's epistemology is the role that rites play in creating intersubjective emotional experiences. These shared practices are the basis of mutual intelligibility. Durkheim focuses especially on those enacted practices that generate emotional experiences corresponding to the social constitution of rational beings.¹⁰¹ Pain plays a central role in Durkheim's analysis of practices and emotions, for it is through painful "negative rites" that we learn to separate our profane selves from sacred time and space. Durkheim shows that negative rites are necessary for creating the lived reality of sacred and profane¹⁰² because it is through negative rites that emotions opposing the sacred are generated. Negative rites keep out profane practices such as work, everyday clothing, and even everyday time so that they cannot exist in the same places and times as practices that demarcate and create the sacred. Religious life consists of different practices and emotions than everyday life; hence, strict practices are necessary to keep everyday practices and religious practices from bleeding into one another. Asceticism is thus a necessary set of practices for creating the sacred, and it can function as a daily activity that maintains the distinction between the sacred and profane.¹⁰³ As Durkheim explains, asceticism is "a means to an end; it is the precondition of access to the positive cult" (1995: 313). Durkheim argues that it is through the experience of pain that we learn what is profane. "We cannot detach ourselves from [the profane world] without doing violence to our nature and without painfully clashing with our instincts. In other words, the negative cult cannot develop unless it causes suffering. Pain is its necessary condition. By this route, people came to regard pain as a sort of rite itself" (1995: 317).

The most fully developed set of practices for creating the experience of the sacred are those that take the body as their object. Abstention from everyday food, habits, clothes and the like tears us out of our normal routines of social life and therefore causes suffering (Durkheim 1995: 317). Bodily ordeals come to matter because they create practical experiences of the profanity of the flesh. Ordeals of pain are experienced as "generative of exceptional forces" (1995: 320). Of ritually-caused pain, Durkheim writes:

"Never does he rise above himself more spectacularly than when he subdues his nature to the point of making it follow a path contrary to the one it would take on its own.... In that way, he takes a special place in the world. *Pain is the sign that certain of the ties that bind him to the profane world are broken.* Because pain attests that he is partially emancipated from that world, it is rightly considered the tool of his deliverance, so he who is delivered in this way is not the victim of mere illusion when he believes he is endowed with a kind of

¹⁰¹ For example, we learn about contradiction and opposition because negative rites create "relations of disparity." Negative rites do not create the feeling of the sacred but consist of rites directly related to the sacred (1995: 306).

¹⁰² "By definition sacred beings are beings set apart. What distinguishes them is a discontinuity between them and profane beings. Normally, the two sorts of beings are separate from one another. A whole complex of rites seeks to bring about that separation, which is essential" (1995: 303).

¹⁰³ Durkheim and Weber are routinely contrasted in terms of their approaches to religious life. Durkheim is taken to argue that practices create beliefs, whereas Weber is often, and wrongly, construed to see ideas as causing beliefs. But in Weber's *Protestant Work Ethic*, he takes a line nearly identical to Durkheim. Asceticism and religious discipline matter, according to Weber, because they make capitalism possible. It is through the experience of self imposed privation that protestants are able to learn the forms of life that have an elective affinity with capitalist economic modes of production. That is, work itself becomes a kind of ascetic practice that turns everyday life into a religious test. According to Anne Rawls, "What seems to happen is that work becomes an activity oriented towards money, which becomes a sacred totem or symbol, and consequently should not be spent to support the flesh which is profane" (2004:198 n1).

mastery over things” (1995: 320).

Through pain, and through the ability to endure and conquer it, a person learns to recognize and to realize the separation of the sacred and profane.¹⁰⁴

Thus, for Durkheim, pain is not merely the result of ritual; it also helps to create a mutually intelligible sacred and profane. Durkheim’s analysis of pain is invaluable, in part because it treats the experience of pain as a social fact rather than a psychological one and it gives pain a constitutive role to play in the shaping of social life. In this framework, there is no clear line separating the individual and his body from the social world that creates it: the organization of society hinges upon the body’s experience of pain as central to the understanding of that world.¹⁰⁵

Everyday Negative Rites: Physical Training

The Officer Survival Creed

The “Officer Survival Creed” is read at the final formation of the day, standing in a semi-circle around a recruit who is selected to read by the Academy staff. The key concepts are action without “hesitation,” “decisiveness,” the need to “retaliate instantly,” “sudden” and “quick” action, and above all the affirmation that “*I won’t give up.*” The lesson is that a good police officer does not cease his action or withdraw even when in pain or injured. Instead, he or she ecstatically responds with greater force.

Sgt. Ramos, a female sergeant and SWAT team member, gives us a lecture about sheep and sheep dogs prior to our first reading of the Officer Survival Creed. She explains that we are supposed to be sheep dogs who protect the flock from the wolves. To do this, we must have the “will to survive.” She reads aloud a creed that emphasizes our *obligation* to struggle to survive (3/9/06):

“The will to survive, to survive the attack, must be uppermost in my mind. For the one who lives through a fight is better off than one who does not. Therefore, preparation, and not paranoia, is the key to my survival. To survive I must be aware, be alert, be confident, be deceptive, be decisive, and be ready. I must expect the unexpected, and do the unexpected.

“When faced with violent physical assault, my life depends upon reaction without hesitation. There is no time to ponder, because to ponder is to possibly perish. My response, if attacked, must not be fear, but aggressiveness. I must block out all thoughts of my own peril and think only of stopping my assailant.

“My prize in personal defense is my life. The perfect fight is one that is over before the

¹⁰⁴ “In an adventure there is, in the place of the involuntary routinization of *time*, a voluntary departure from the mundane world. *Space* is reorganized and reconstructed in an adventure so that its essence is experienced in the open territories, interstices, or reconstituted areas of the ordinary world. Finally, the *manner* (or ‘self’) is inverted or perverted: the adventure permits people to assume new identities, adopt different styles, improvise on untried themes, and in general, to prove untested mettle” (Lyman and Scott 1989: 53, *A Sociology of the Absurd*).

¹⁰⁵ Below, I show that pain, as delivered by negative rites, constitutes a field of moral action for recruits and creates an experience of *adventure* (Simmel 1972, “the most general form of adventure is its dropping out of the continuity of life.”), *heroism* (Featherstone), and *elevation* (Durkheim) over and against the banality of the ordinary world.

loser realizes what is happening. The perfect defense is a counter attack that succeeds before the enemy can attack again. Therefore, if I am assaulted, I will retaliate instantly. I will be sudden and quick. I will be fast, not fair. Speed is my salvation.

“If my attacker knocks me down, I will fight back against the odds and get up off the ground. I will seize the initiative and take away every advantage. My concern is to stay alive. I won't hold back.

“If I find myself under lethal attack, I won't be kind. I will be harsh and tough. If I must shoot, I will shoot with precision and shoot to stop. If I must use my hands, I will use them with all the strength I possess and more. When I strike, I will strike hard; I will kick, punch, and do what must be done to survive. I will strike no more after my attacker is incapable of further action, but I will see that he is stopped.

“Above all, I won't give up and I will make it. I will not die in the streets, or in an alley, or in any other part of the concrete jungle. I will survive, not just by good luck and fortune, but by my skills.

“If I adhere to these basic principles of survival and adhere to the attitude that is suggested in them, as a police officer I will greatly enhance and perfect my skills in utilizing good and safe practices, tactics and techniques.”

At the end of the reading, we are instructed to give a loud collective “Hooah!”



A female recruit reads the Officer's Survival Creed.

Why do physical toughness and the ability to perform in the face of pain come to mean so much to recruits? How do they learn to value bodily capacities that they may not have cared about before joining the academy? What makes physical training and physical toughness imperative for recruits after they've spent most of their lives unaware of these capacities? In this section, I argue that recruits who do not initially place much importance on their physical condition, toughness, or capacity to endure pain learn during their training to take these embodied capacities seriously. Training teaches recruits to appreciate the critical value of physical performance in the face of pain and bodily discomfort. During training, recruits learn this because they fear the public shame and humiliation that will follow if they fail to perform in the face of pain and bodily discomfort. Shame, as we know from the work of Elias, Scheff, Katz, Miller and others, functions as a "moral gyroscope" and a key component of the moral self.¹⁰⁶

Shame creates a crucial disruption in the social bonds that bind us to one another in chains of interdependence (e.g. attunement, entrainment, synchronicity of bodily movements, etc.) and allow people to "keep together in time" (McNeill: 1995).¹⁰⁷ In shame and pride we find a constant ebb and flow of attraction and repulsion to group life in the form of viscerally felt social emotions.¹⁰⁸ It is through negative and positive emotions that recruits come to experience and literally *feel* that engaging in bodily discipline and overcoming pain are externally mandated.

A well-honed body is so central to life in policing that failure to perform well on physical fitness tests, defensive tactics, fence jumps, etc. become reasons for dismissal from the academy. There are symbolic risks to prestige and reputation as well. A recruit or officer who "gives up" is referred to by the stigmatizing label of "mope" or "sandbagger" and is marked as someone who does not have the fortitude to be a police officer or to be trusted or counted upon in a fight. Thus the greatest asset a police recruit has in the academy is his body. Being fit, lean, strong,

¹⁰⁶ According to Katz, shame is the "(1) eerie revelation to self that (2) isolates one (3) in the face of a sacred community. What is revealed is a (4) moral inferiority that makes one (5) vulnerable to (6) irresistible forces. As a state of feeling, shame is (7) fearful, (8) chaotic, (9) holistic and (10) humbling" (1999: 147). Further, emotions constitute a kind of reflexive bodily self-monitoring that is continuous and below the threshold of conscious awareness (Katz 1999, Scheff 1990, and for a neurological account, see Damasio 1999).

¹⁰⁷ Scheff argues, correctly, that "Shame might be considered the master [social] emotion because it has more functions than other emotions. First, shame is a key component of conscience, the moral sense: it signals moral transgression even without thoughts or words. Shame is our moral gyroscope." Scheff also argues that shame affectively points out that there is a threat to the social bond. Shame thus derives from the form of interdependencies that bind people together, a point made by Elias (1978 [1939]). Shame is also a meta-emotion in that it often includes a response to awareness of our own emotional processes in their social setting (e.g., we feel shame after a socially inappropriate bout of rage or sadness).

¹⁰⁸ Conformity or consensus, which Durkheim was so fascinated by, occurs daily without obvious, formal or deliberate sanctions. As Scheff, Collins and Goffman demonstrate, social sanctions and rewards are ubiquitous *emotional* features of ritual interactions. Goffman demonstrates how actual and anticipated embarrassment and other painful emotions shape how individuals perceive and respond to such banal activities as missed beats in the rhythm of conversation. An RTO's rejection of a recruit's performance can generate shame, humiliation or anger on the part of the recruit. The anger a recruit feels at his perceived shameful failure is precisely what RTOs count on to motivate a recruit to "dig themselves out" of the "whole" of shame by aggressively re-asserting themselves in their task (say, a run) to reconstitute the bodily basis of their social self (also see Katz 1999 for his discussion of anger and Miller 1993 for his discussion of humiliation, anger and violence in repairing relations of equality and hierarchy: "shame maintains the ethic of courage and face" by viscerally compelling face-saving ripostes.).

aggressive and skilled with one's hands and feet constitutes a recruit's *bodily capital* (Wacquant 1995: 66; Shilling 1991: 654). Here, bodily capital is defined as "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form), which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu 1986: 241). That is, the management of the body is itself a form of social efficacy, much like economic capital or status and honor.¹⁰⁹

RTOs and academy administrators frequently describe the goal of the academy as toughening and callusing recruits to the physical, moral, and emotional dangers that they will soon encounter on the "street." Lt. Sutton puts PT in direct relation to survival on the street against "symbolic assailants" (Skolnick 1967)¹¹⁰ like parolees and third strikers:

"We do PT not just to train the body—fitness does matter—but to toughen the mind. *We will PT you hard so that you learn that, even though you are suffering and you're hurt and you want to stop, that you can make it.* We will make you stronger and faster. But we use PT to give the will to survive. 'Cause when you are wrestling a 250 lb parole violator, you need to know and they need to know that you will do whatever it takes to control the situation. You need the will to survive if you want to go home to your loved ones, alive, every night."¹¹¹

Failure to take on appropriate bodily labor leads to a demand that recruits "*leave!*" The body and its powers thus form a principle of stratification¹¹² in the academy and in the most law enforcement agencies.¹¹³

Physical training creates the potential for public failures of bodily performance and breakdowns of embodied social cohesion. The academy is a high-stress environment in which the smallest errors are met with yelling RTOs who readily dish out pushups, runs, and other physical forms of punishment. Hurt feelings and sensitivities to foul language don't serve one

¹⁰⁹ Police officers get respect only when it is conferred by others, often publicly. This is why shame is always a near-present emotion. Shame is associated with a loss of honor or the inability to measure up to group expectations (Miller 1993). Moreover, shame can be felt in the absence of others because officers are quite capable of taking the "role" or perspective of others on their own conduct.

¹¹⁰ Symbolic assailants are perceptual shorthand for the prototypical human configuration of gestures, language, and attire that are recognized by police as preludes to violence or unruly behavior. G-types, bangers, parolees, three-strikers, etc. are all terms that refer to social types identified by police as threatening.

¹¹¹ Lt. Burton articulates that part of what is being taught isn't just being faster and stronger, but is a new relationship to time. As I will discuss below, this new relation to time ensures *protension*, where a sense of the forthcoming persists through pain and suffering. For Lt. Burton, P.T. teaches recruits that, "even though you are suffering and you're hurt and you want to stop, that you can make it." In practical terms, this means that recruits learn not to cease activity simply because they are suffering. The pain will end and the recruit will survive. PT provides recruits with daily lessons in how to *persevere* in the midst of suffering and thus entrenches a protension appropriate to policing.

¹¹² Other principles of differentiation and ranking include academic test scores, driving ability, shooting ability, and writing competence.

¹¹³ For example, an officer cannot get into elite units like SWAT without passing physical agility tests. The SWAT schools create barriers of entry by requiring rigorous physical fitness testing which must be passed if a SWAT trainee is to be certified by the SWAT school and the CA Peace Officer Standards and Training Commission. The young officers invited to test for SWAT or to join special units like street and gang suppression units are typically chosen by supervisors and incumbents based on the degree to which their bodily presence will be imposing and intimidating.

well in the police academy. On the first day of training, LT Sutton explained the importance of the harsh treatment that recruits are exposed to:

"I and the whole staff here are responsible for whether you live or die. If you get dead, it is our fault. I won't have that on me. I can't live with waking up every morning knowing that I didn't train you well enough to go home to your family. That is why I do this, because I want you to survive and be safe. We all are only here because we care about all of you. This is life and death, kids. *If your little feelers are hurt, that's too bad.* We have a reason for it and it because we want you to be tough, to have the will to survive."

With comments like these, RTOs frame painful physical training as a basic necessity for budding police officers.

This training is not simply an external form of bodily discipline. Instead, it is a technology of self discipline that recruits *ought* to take up in order to become better *ethical* subjects. The ability to engage in bodily discipline and exercises, as well as the skills that they generate, constitute a kind of ethical know-how that Aristotle termed *phronesis* (distinguished from moral reasoning). As Lt. Sutton put it:

"Your successes and your failures are your responsibility. If you fail, don't blame us. If you are having a problem, we will help you. But if you don't put in the effort, if you don't show up, if you don't study or do PT on your own, then it's your problem if you aren't squared away." (LTB first day of academy)

In other words, while the RTOs impose an ascetic environment, recruits are also expected to engage in bodily self-discipline on their own time and by their own initiative.

As the RTOs describe what they expect of recruits, they introduce them to the categories of moral judgment active in the world of policing. Lt. Sutton and Sgt. Ramos also are providing a readily available "vocabulary of motives" (Mills 1940). They offer recruits a shared set of justifications and explanations that delineate appropriate motivations and characterize failure or success in certain situations.¹¹⁴ Recruits are expected, as LT. Sutton suggests, to "show up and give me your hearts." Being "squared away" requires that recruits submit themselves to the rigor and suffering of bodily discipline. Bodily discipline not only builds physical prowess; it also demonstrates moral worth and creates a practical language of motive.

What Levi-Strauss would call the "fundamental principle of division" within the academy is the oppositional pair of "squared away" and "mope" (just as the principal division between recruits and the public is between officers and the violent street). The designation of "squared

¹¹⁴ According to Mills, "vocabularies of motives" are utterances that index situated actions. They are language games or verbal acts that correspond to and are demanded in certain kinds of social settings. Such utterances impute answers to questions about breakdowns in situations by specifying the "situational consequence of questioned conduct" (Mills 1940: 906). Here, "motives are names for consequential situations, and surrogates for actions leading to them" (Mills 1940: 906). Motives like "good," "bad," or "greedy," are accountings that do not describe internal states of a person but rather bring a final stop to questioning about an occurrence. That is, they have an illocutionary force. Mills offers this example: When a mother tells a child "Don't do that, that's greedy!" a child learns both not to engage in a behavior (e.g., taking too many cookies from the cookie plate) and a set of verbal behaviors, or motives, which promote prescribed behavior or dissuade proscribed behaviors. Mills writes: "Motives are of no value apart from the delimited societal situations for which they are the appropriate vocabularies. They must be situated" (1940: 913).

away” is an affirmation of both acquired physical capacity or bodily capital and the ethic of bodily labor and self-discipline that generates this capital. The ethic of being squared away requires participation in training, even when one is injured (“You show up, you PT and you give it your all. I don't want you finding little things like injuries as reasons for not going and running 5 miles”). During physical training (PT), recruits are *exposed* to pain and therefore come to be *disposed* to certain ways of conducting themselves while in pain.¹¹⁵

PT is a dramatic stage in which RTOs can show that their words, injunctions, and prescriptions align with their own deeds and performances. RTOs derive legitimacy and authority in part by doing PT with the recruits and showing the recruits that they are in better physical condition. While at the start of the academy the RTOs have a significant “competitive advantage” in their public performances, after two or three months of intensive physical training, recruits are often better placed to keep up with or exceed the performances of their trainers, a fact not lost the recruits and a source of self-esteem.

K. Dillon was an earnest recruit who came to the academy out of shape but hungry to become a police officer. Despite his eagerness to become a police officer and his fine performance in the academic aspects of policing (such as mastering criminal statutes and communication skills), the RTOs frequently made an example of Dillon’s inadequate physique and poor physical performance. For example, during a particularly grueling bout of abdominal exercise, Deputy Martinsson made an example of Dillon for “giving up.”

We were all lying on the gym floor and were instructed to pick our heads up off the floor. We have our hands under our rears, and feet stretched out. We were told to hold this position while taking a 60 second break from doing leg raises. I was lying next to Dillon and could see the sweat pouring off his head onto a giant pool on the mat beneath him. Dillon gives a grunt, contorts his face and lays his head down on the mat for several seconds. Deputy Martinsson, who is standing and observing all fifty of us on the gym floor sees Dillon’s head resting on the floor. Deputy Martinsson suddenly moves from where he was standing (in the center of the gym) and bolts toward Dillon. He screams on the approach "DILLON, LOOK AT YOU. ON THE FLOOR ALREADY. GIVING UP. THAT’S WHAT YOU DO? GET YOUR FREAKIN’ HEAD OFF THE FLOOR." (PT, 3/14/06)

Dillon, who perhaps attracted the greatest rancor from the RTOs despite being an otherwise great recruit, provided a body to illustrate the categories of judgment and recognition operative in police training. His failures—what he did incorrectly or failed to do—illustrated the police sense of honor. Dillon underwent an amazing metamorphosis during his time at the academy, losing weight and even becoming an average performer on the physical fitness tests. During an interview a little over halfway through the academy, Dillon explained his situation thusly:

When I failed PT [referring to the physical fitness test] the first and second time, the RTOs

¹¹⁵ Bourdieu uses this Heideggerian play on words to indicate how and why subjects become invested in and preoccupied by their social worlds: “It is because the body is (to unequal degrees) exposed and endangered in the world, faced with the risk of emotion, lesion, suffering, sometimes death, and therefore obliged to take the world seriously (and nothing is more serious than emotion, which touches depths of our organic being) that it is able to acquire dispositions that are themselves an openness to the world, that is, to the very structures of the social world of which they are the incorporated form” (Bourdieu 2000: 140-141).

called Inland City Police Department [a pseudonym for the agency that hired Dillon]. The RTOs told them I had no heart. That was embarrassing. It's hard enough getting ridiculed every day during PT. I don't know. They have nothing but good things to say about Souza [a recruit generally disliked by his peers]. All this because I failed bear crawls? I have a perfect score on firearms. I even lost 30 lbs. I am perfect on everything else. It's been crazy, only problem is the fucking bear crawl. They love Souza because they say, even though he is a mope and dumb, that he has a ton of heart, always is trying harder and harder. But he blows everyone, kisses their ass. I'm the one who had to struggle, though. I'm the one who has to get in shape. The RTOs keep sayin' "The big thing is 'do you have heart?'" Everyone keeps saying academics don't mean shit on the street. But at least I know the law. But Souza played football for years and is great at that [physical] stuff. Their standards are weird. But I am getting there. I am still losing weight. I am going to the gym with a trainer on the weekend. I am graduating!

Dillon's struggle is to show, through his temporal activities and bodily labor, that he possesses "heart," that his actions are accountable to the police sense of honor.¹¹⁶

As Dillon's words illustrate, recruits learn that their participation in "PT" signifies their moral aptitude to the RTOs. Recruits who fail to keep tempo or appear to be taking it easy are identified as "sandbaggers," or "mopes" who lack "heart." One of my field notes reads:

PT is grueling again. For the first half of PT we do cycles of pushups, 'gut busters' as Sgt. Ramos calls them, and close-hand pushups. When we form up outside, in two groups (squads 1,2,3 and squads 4,5,6) we do an exercise that Officer O'Brien calls "10 hours." He says, "I call 'em that because these exercise are based on the 10-12 hour shifts that most departments are on. We will see who is *sandbaggin'* and who is giving it all." This exercise consists of jogging for 1.5 minutes, then sprinting for 1.5 minutes and then doing frog squats or walking lunges for another 1.5 minutes. This exercise is grueling. An hour consists of one complete cycle of exercise.

The RTOs are hard on the recruits. Martinsson says to a female recruit: "Reyes, unless you start moving and stop being last, I am going to go inside, right now, and sign your departure papers. You are going to be like Scharmer [a recruit kicked out for "slacking" during PT], packing your things into your box and never coming back." Moments later, Deputy Martinsson accuses an older recruit, Hynes, of sandbagging. "Hynes, why aren't you sprinting? Trying to pace yourself, huh? That's not how we play it here. Stop sandbagging and run." Deputy Martinsson turns back to Reyes and says, "Reyes, I hope that you never respond to a call I am on. If I were in a fight, I'd be screwed. I'd be having my face pounded while I waited for you."

¹¹⁶ Bourdieu writes, "The sense of honour is enacted in front of other people. ... The 'man of worth' (*argaz el'ali*) must constantly be on his guard; he must watch his words, which 'like bullets fired from the rifle, don't come back'; the more so because his every act and his every word commit the whole group" (1979: 111). Specifically, what has to be enacted is self-control, self-mastery, and skillful performance: "The point of honour is the basis of the ethic appropriate to an individual who always sees himself through the eyes of others, who has need of others in order to exist, because his self-image is inseparable from the image of himself that he receives back from others" (1979: 113). Or, "The system of honor values is enacted rather than thought, and the grammar of honour can inform actions without having to be formulated" (Bourdieu 1979: 128). The recruit who has "heart" is the recruit who publicly demonstrates his bodily self-discipline by not quitting or appearing to give up in the face of adversity.

Coupled with stigmatizing labels for those who go too slow is recognition for those who “push through the pain”:

Deputy Martinsson gives me some small praise as I sprint by Hynes. Martinsson says, "you're going, Lande" and then mocks Hynes saying, "There goes Lande! Hynes, Lande is passing you... *again!*" Even as I sprint, I feel terrible. My calves are cramping and my mouth are parched. My tongue sticks to the roof of my mouth and my lips are cracked and dry. I want to stop running more than anything. The walking lunges are torture for me. Every step is pure exhaustion and pain. I keep going because I don't want the RTOs to think I am *sandbagging*. (PT 3/15/10).

Approximately one week after a recruit was “washed out” of the academy for talking back to an RTO during physical training, Lt. Sutton reminds the class that physical training is a condition of entry into law enforcement. He targets those who aren't keeping pace:

"Some of you are weak. You don't try hard. You don't even sweat. But you come up with excuses for not pushing yourselves hard. You have to challenge yourself. Reyes, it took you 16 minutes to complete the run yesterday. 16 minutes after the last person of the formation finished. That is unacceptable. You had better start running *because we are cutting the fat*. And if you don't want to be here then we will know. (3/9/06)

RTOs often created PT exercises meant to “out” potential sandbaggers in front of their peers. For instance, they developed games that forced recruits to rely on one another's physical fitness, so poor performers would be noticed by their teammates.

Recruits are encouraged to push past their normal sense of limits through both cooperation and competitiveness. During the second week of training, the RTOs assigned recruits “beat partners.” We are told to know our partner's date of birth, hobby, place of birth, current residence and favorite television show, and we are regularly quizzed by the RTOs about the specifics of our beat partner's biography. Recruits also PT with “beat partners” to learn the importance of having the necessary physical resources:

After doing our warm-up run, we form back up in platoon formation in the gym. Deputy Martinsson says, " Each beat team, each one, should have ONE, ONE, 25 lb plate. You are going to take turns running with the plate. When you get tired, pass it to your beat partner. The point of this exercise is so that you understand why it's important for you and your partner to be fit. See how much you will appreciate your beat partner when you are carrying the weight a mile by yourself. For you who think that you can run already so you can start sandbagging, your leather gear is going to weigh about 35 lbs. Get used to running with the extra weight. Before we go, one last thing. These are LT Sutton's weights. They are his babies. There is nothing in the world that LT Sutton likes more than these weights. If you drop them or break them, I can't tell you how much damage he is going to do to you. All I can say is that you will be here a long time before he's finished with you."

Another popular physical training exercise at the academy was a game called “cops and robbers.” This game involved one recruit plying the role of the robber and another recruit plying

the role of cop. The robber was to run $\frac{1}{4}$ mile without getting caught by the cop. If the robber is caught, the robber has to do pushups. If the cop fails to catch the robber, the cop does pushups. The game is played while all of the recruits are standing around a running track cheering and the RTOs watch and offer criticism. Even in routine PT, being “last” is punished through public shaming:

Lt. Sutton has us do combinations of sprints. He has us do wind sprints at different levels of effort, bear crawls, and then crab walks. By the time we get to doing crab walks across the athletic field, everyone is already spent. Lt. Sutton shouts, “Crab walk to me!” and fifty recruits begin awkwardly crab walking across the athletic field. The entire time the RTOs are shouting, “Don't be the last, don't be the last!” But Dillon takes a while to get across and he collapses a few times. Lt Sutton became infuriated, turned red, and stormed from the far edge of the field to the center where Dillon had collapsed. Lt. Sutton began screaming at him, “That’s it? So you give up, you gonna die. *You don't have the will to survive*. I should send you back now to get a box to pack up all your shit. You’re going to hurt for this later” [meaning he was probably going to get extra PT].

Such training practices turn perseverance during suffering into a moral issue of trustworthiness and reliability in times of crisis.

Temporalizing Practices

Social theorists as varied as Durkheim (1995), Merton and Sorkin (1937), Elias (1993), Schutz (1932), Hall (1984), Zerubavel (1981) and Bourdieu (1979, 1977, 1990, 2000) have argued that the social ordering of time is crucial to understanding social life. No one, however, has examined the sociotemporal order of policing, and sociologists have rarely treated pain and time together (for exceptions, see Collinson 2003 and Wacquant 1995, 2004: 94). Social time has been understood primarily as an objective social fact or as an accomplishment of the activity of social subjects.

Drawing on Leder, I argue that pain and time are linked. The presence of pain seems to draw individuals out of their future *protensions*,¹¹⁷ shrinking their temporal horizon and centrifugally bringing them back into the immediate “nowness” of their own bodies, literally halting the unfolding of an action or project.¹¹⁸ *Protension* is a critical concept in phenomenology and

¹¹⁷ According to Schutz, “every action is a spontaneous activity oriented toward the future” (1932: 57). Husserl puts it this way: “Every primordially constitutive process is animated by protentions, which... constitute and intercept what is coming as such, in order to bring it to fulfillment” (Husserl’s *Zeitbewusstsein* in Schutz 1932: *ibid*). Schutz also distinguishes anticipation, as a representation of the future, or foreseeing expectation, from pre-reflexive protensions which are future-oriented intentions immanent in the action itself. In terms of motor activity, a protension could be bending the knees to prepare to jump, a tennis player bringing back their arm in preparation to swing, or even a police officer depressing a trigger on a firearm. That action is future-oriented and occurs in the present and, in fact, links present and future together.

¹¹⁸ For Schutz, nowness, is about the “world within actual reach” (Schutz and Luckman 1973: 36). “The sector of the world which is accessible to my immediate experience, we will term the *world within actual reach*. Future orientation, in the here and now of action is about *the world within my attainable reach*” (*ibid*). “The fundamental expectation that I can bring whatever sectors of the world I please into my reach is empirically arranged not only according to *subjective degrees of probability but also according to grades of ability that are physical, technical, etc*” (Schutz and Luckman 1973: 39).

denotes a “pre-perceptive anticipation, a relationship to a future that is not a future, to a future that is almost present” (Bourdieu 1998: 80), “like that of a jumper preparing to jump.” In this regard, pretension is a “constructive bodily tension towards the imminent forthcoming” (Bourdieu 2000: 144).¹¹⁹ *Protension* captures is how people orient themselves, *with their bodies*, to the future.

For Leder, pain and injury disrupt a subject’s “bodily [pro]tension towards the imminent forthcoming,” and thus pain is a phenomenological problem of individual subjects. In policing, this reduction of the temporal structures of consciousness is also a social problem and a problem of collective action. Specifically, it is a problem of temporal succession and duration: “Will the pain pass?” “Will I recover?” “I need to stop!” The police academy is littered with words for describing the problem: “endurance,” “not quitting,” “stick-to-it-ive-ness,” “will,” and “surviving,” are all terms that denote the need to perpetuate action, to keep engaged in temporally unfolding projects. For the RTOs, the problem is how to teach recruits that pain does not mean a cessation of future-oriented actions. Policing requires readiness for physical combat, vigorous physical activity, physical training, and many other exposures of the vulnerable body to the social and physical world.

Because the world of the cop is saturated with risk and danger, a good or competent officer must be able to engage bodily danger, to be affected by it, and still to continue:

During the second day of the Academy, Deputy Martinsson chides people for not doing well on their pushups. "There is a reason we have you doing these. You're gonna be in a shit load of fights, especially those of you going to the jails. I guarantee you, 110%, that all of you here going to be going hands-on. And I don't know how many of you have been in a fight before, but 10 seconds feels like 10 minutes. So think about that next time you're whining on the floor thinking this is too many pushups. It may seem small now but we are trying to give you the will to survive." Later Martinsson asks, "How many of you have been in a fight before?" Dillon raises his hand and Martinsson tells him (not asks), "explain!" Dillon says, "I was plying high school football and I got into a fight with a guy on my team." Martinsson asks if he feared for his life. Dillon says "No, we just tustled." Martinssons says, "Well, that's no real fight. You all had better get used to the idea that you might one day fear for your life or have some guy trying to smash in your face. You're going to have to be able to handle that situation. Not be afraid but respond and fight back. We aren't telling you not to be afraid. We will give you the tools so that when you do get in that fight for your life, you don't just feel defeated and give up and let the bad guy get your service weapon. We will prepare you for these scenarios."

In other words, recruits must learn *not to stop* simply because they are in pain. To learn this lesson, “to keep on going,” requires exposure to new social rhythms. These rhythms, in turn, transform recruits’ temporal relationship to their bodies in pain.

The hero ethic which surrounds police practice is also centrally concerned with time. Cops don’t wait. They act *decisively*, which means quickly, forcefully and correctly—especially in the

¹¹⁹ As a binary, protension can be opposed to retension (the presence of the fleeting past in the present) as well as to *projects* which “pose the future as future, that is as a possible constituted as such, thus as possibly happening or not” (Bourdieu 1998: 80). In this sense the opposition is between a future experienced as a “feel for the game” and a future reflexively or deliberately posited.

face of grave risks and dangers (a kind of Aristotelian virtue ethic). An instructor, Sgt. Davidson explains the nuances of waiting,

“When can you go into a house? When there are exigent circumstances. So if you are on a call for a 911 hang up and you don’t hear anything in the house, you just go in. Knock and announce but kick that door down. If it was a mistake all it cost was the price of a door. Same for a D.V. [domestic violence]. You get there and you hear some ruckus, you just kick that door in. All it costs is the door. Now, because of the Columbine incident, we don’t wait for backup when we have active shooters. What happened at Columbine was that the beat cops just stood around and waited to act until SWAT got there. *But we aren’t paid to wait*. When we have active shooters, especially in a school setting, you go in, alone or with back up. Loss of life is imminent and this is one of those times that you just have to put your life on the line and be a hero. Citizens expect us to walk into that kind of situation while they run away. Don’t wait; our job is to save lives.”

Here, time is framed as something one *has*, a resource that is scarce and must not be wasted. The academy teaches recruits that time is compressed and that they can’t “afford” to wait to take action. Police live in a world made up of bounded moments, where a field of action arises and closes within seconds—a fact that is even recognized by the courts and enshrined as case law (*Graham vs Conner*, 490 U.S. 386, 1989).¹²⁰ Decisions have to be made decisively *now*; there is no “time out” to freeze a situation and determine whether the suspect is reaching for a gun or for a wallet. Decisive action must be taken: shoot or don’t shoot?

The Academy is itself a sociotemporal order that has its own rhythms, durations, and modes of temporal regulation. When it comes to time, the Academy is a “greedy institution” (Coser 1974) that places demands on recruits both at the academy and in the home. After 10-12 hour training days, recruits must go home to press uniforms, shine boots, polish leather gear, and study for the 41 different exams they will take over 26 weeks. For most recruits, this means getting up at 0430 hours; being at the academy by 0530 hours to change into uniforms and prepare for the day; first formation at 0600, 30-60 minute lunch break at 1200; and frequently, not leaving the academy until it is cleaned between 1630-1730 hours. Caring for uniforms and equipment at home takes an additional hour of time and studying takes another hour. In total there is little or no time left for work, family, and play until the weekend.

¹²⁰ Philosophically, *Graham vs Conner* is a fascinating case because it shows a near-Heideggerian understanding of time and action by the courts. The Supreme Courts ruled that a police officer’s decision to use force has to take into account the time constraints on perception and action. The Supreme Court framed police action as occurring in “circumstances which are tense, uncertain and rapidly evolving” and therefore require evaluation in terms of practical action. In another test of *Graham vs Conner*—*McLenagan v. Karnes* (4th District Court of Appeals, 27 F.3d 1002)—the court argued as follows in the case of an officer who shot an unarmed man: “To ascertain whether probable cause existed for [the police officer] to fire his weapon, we consider the particular circumstances confronting the official at the time of the questioned action... if a reasonable officer possessing the same particularized information as [the police officer] could have... believed that his conduct was lawful, then [the actions of the police officer were reasonable].” With respect to the two additional rounds fired after the plaintiff was shot, the court noted that “...such conduct might be indicative of an officer’s propensity for ill-considered actions... [h]owever, in this case, [the officer] had no time to consider anything at all—except his and the public’s immediate safety. At the moment of truth, [the officer] acted well within the range of behavior expected of a police officer. What happened after the critical time had passed is simply irrelevant.” For further, see Thomas D. Petrowski, Oct 2002. “Use-of-force policies and training: a reasoned approach - Legal Digest - first of two-parts,” in *The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*.



The academy moves at a fast-forward pace. Recruits run everywhere. All tasks, whether cleaning the classroom or moving the class from one area to another, are done in “double time,” with a constant sense of urgency and RTOs shouting, “Hurry up! Hurry up! Move with a purpose! Double time it!” Penalties for moving too slow include pushups, crunches, and running. This tempo, as one RTO explained, is meant to give recruits a sense of working a patrol shift where “You got to go call to call. You can’t stop and take your time. Take care of business and go to the next. Next day you get up and do it all over again.” “Conforming to the social order,” Bourdieu writes, “is primarily a matter of respecting rhythms, keeping pace, not getting out of step. Belonging to the group means behaving in the same way at the same time of the day and the year as the other members of the group” (1979: 28). The academy schedule exemplifies this order.

The perception of time as an objective social fact, as something external to the individual, is often theorized in terms of the rise and fall of symbols and instruments for creating and communicating simultaneity (the standard sociological understanding of time). Time is a social thing.¹²¹ In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim (1995: 10) contends that “The division [of time] into days, weeks, months, years, etc., corresponds to the recurrence of rites, festivals, and public ceremonies at regular intervals. A calendar expresses the rhythm of collective activity while ensuring that regularity.” As every profession has its system of moral discipline, so too does every social group have its own temporality. Thus, Durkheim (1995) and

¹²¹ “The category of time” Durkheim writes, “has the rhythm of social life as its basis” (1995: 441).

his disciples, Mauss (1979) and Hubert (1999),¹²² point out that the world has sociotemporal orders that reflect the shape of the society and regulate the lives of social entities such as families, schools, churches, industries, and nations (Zerubavel 1981: xii).¹²³

Police recruits are introduced to objective systems of temporal ordering, rhythms and *durée* by way of training and scenarios. In physical training, for example, runs are timed and individual running performance over a two-mile run is measured. Improvements in running time are made public and are the basis of praise, recognition, and even formal evaluations that rank recruits vis-à-vis each other. Recruits learn to be physically speedy through the imposition of running times. At the same time, the rhythms of a daily patrol shift are introduced through scenarios. Role-playing scenarios emphasize that the tempo of police conduct is dictated by “call volume,” or the need to manage dispatched calls for service. Calls for service, as opposed to production schedules, calendars, and clocks, set the rhythm of objective time for cops on a day-to-day basis. For example,

In one scenario, Sgt. Davidson has two people role play as brothers who have been fighting. Neither will press charges and neither will leave their residence. Another recruit role plays as a responding officer. Sgt. Davidson then asks the entire class what we would do if we are concerned that the dispute is not resolved. Sgt. Davidson goes around the room asking every cadet how to handle the matter. The cadets answer with a lot of “I don’t know’s” and “probably’s.” One cadet takes almost five minutes to answer saying, “I don’t know, I guess I would stay.” Another offers, “Probably I would stay until things were solved.” Sgt. Davidson says the entire time, “*Come on, make a decision. Make a decision! Make a decision!* You got calls building up. You got a domestic disturbance to go to. *Make a decision!* What are you going to do?” After several other cadets waffle for several minutes in giving their answers, Sgt. Davidson says, “You need to make a decision. Don’t waffle. If you are going to make a mistake, just make it. If you arrest one

¹²² Henri Hubert’s (2001) analysis of time has been seriously neglected in sociology even though it prefigures the analysis of social time offered by Durkheim and Elias. Hubert draws on Bergson’s notion of qualitative time as inner *durée* or unsegmented temporal movement, but challenges the irreducible subjectivity of time consciousness. Rather, the qualitative nature of time is shaped by the religious and magical practices that segment time both objectively and subjectively. In his view, calendars constitute time as much as they measure time by giving a regular and ritual rhythm to social life. Like Durkheim, Hubert derives a unity of objectivity and subjectivity that few have given credit to (see Rawls 2004).

¹²³ In this paper I do not want to delve to deeply into philosophical debates about time and its relationship to consciousness as Husserl or Heidegger construe it. Instead, I want to focus on the more modest sociological task of looking at how collective life informs the experience of what we call time and the norms, symbols, and practices of time invented to regulate social life and integrate group members. Time as an objective social fact consists of the rhythms, orders, and durations of social activity. Increasingly, it takes shape as the symbols and instruments for creating and communicating simultaneity, and it becomes increasingly important in highly differentiated industrial and post industrial societies for integrating and coordinating individual conduct (Landes 2000, Thompson 1993, Elias 1993). Schedules, clocks, and calendars both create and mark off segments of simultaneity that we use every day to coordinate social life, whether it be coordinating the meeting of teacher and students for a lecture, setting our VCRs to record television programming, or the coordination of people, movements, and things in the complex choreography of the factory floor. In the objectivist view, we find an emphasis on *time reckoning* and *sequential ordering*. Thus, we find that the monastery introduces the schedule to organize the ascetic discipline (Zerubavel 1981); capitalism uses the abstract time of the clock (Landes 2000; Postone 1991) to constitute the commodity and discipline labor (Thompson 1993); and the pre-capitalistic world of the Kabyle is organized according to a set of quasi-coherent ritual and agricultural practices and rhythms that, nonetheless, create a structured social world (Bourdieu 1990, 1977).

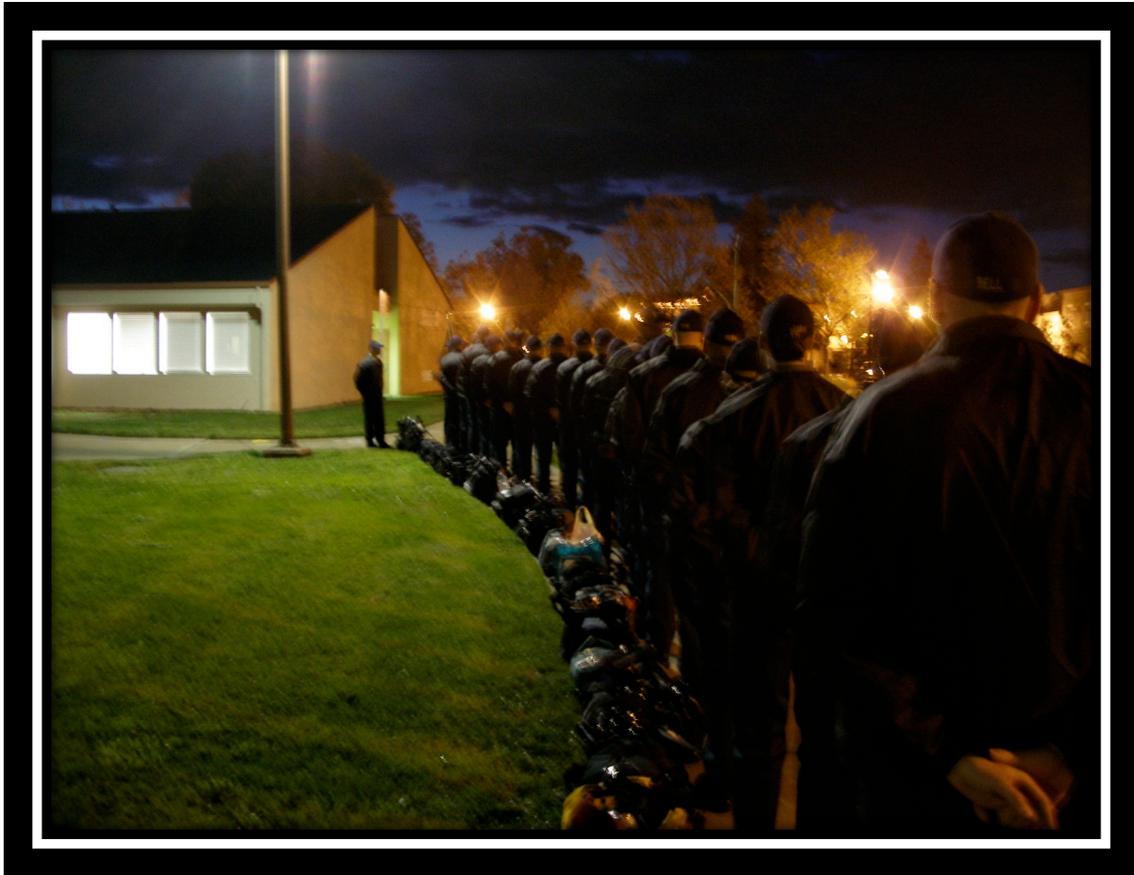
of them 'cause you think it's a good idea but it's a mistake, just 849'em [a process for releasing a prisoner if there is not probable cause for an arrest]. Brush them off, take off the handcuffs and says sorry. But you have to make a decision, wrong or right."

In inculcating a sense of urgency, Davidson is fostering a shared sense of time among recruits.

Sociologists have emphasized this subjective side of time and its relationship to expectations, inclinations, durations, and orientations (Shutz 1964, Bourdieu 2000, Zerubavel 1981). We expect events and conduct to happen in a certain sequence and for certain durations. If we are late to class we literally *feel* late. Time seems to run too slow, and we feel an urgency and frustration in our viscera. Our mood and world take on qualitatively different textures. For example, an ethnographic study of distance running (Collinson 2003) shows that painful injuries to knees create the experience of slowing and having to endure "time outs" that interrupt "normal running time." Time is elongated, Collinson argues, as she and other runners focus on the eternity of painful moments and the waiting for pain to pass so that they can, through rehabilitation, return to normal running times. In running, Collinson says, your time is your success. Knee injuries upset an entire corporeal schema of rhythmic movements as well as scheduled trainings that disrupt the experiential world of the runner. In the police academy, RTOs use bodily discipline to get recruits to "feel" lateness in their muscles:

I make good time today and I arrive at the school house at 0532. There are no RTOs at all. The cadets fall in and stand at ease in alphabetical order. Around 0540 the RTOs come out of the school house. The class sergeant, a recruit, has already started taking roll. He is calling out the names of people who haven't yet arrived ("Finely, Finely, Finely") as he walks down the line. Suddenly Dep. Martinsson shouts at us: "Well your teammates decided that they didn't want to show up with you, huh? Well you are all going to push until they arrive. Maybe if I make you hurt you can help encourage them to be on time! Drop and keep pushing until I tell you!" So after standing in the cold dark morning air we are dropped onto the pavement. My palm hurts on the pavement. My hands are cold and the pavement feels like sharp glass on my palms. We push and push until no one is left up, including me. As soon as our muscles have recovered enough to move again we start pushing. Some late recruits begin to show up. Lee is one of the missing. We are told by Dep. Martinsson to turn over and start doing flutter kicks. This goes on for several minutes until all of us have dropped our feet. Then we are on to crunches. Everyone is gasping and hurting and sweating. Jenson, next to me, has his eyes shut and a grimace on his face. His feet finally collapse to the ground. Finally Lee and I think Nobel shows up. Martinsson tells us to get ourselves "in gear" and to get inside.

The RTOs' words and actions alert us to the fact that, in order to act together in objectively orchestrated time, we must have subjective cognitive structures that "mutually attune" to one another. An exercise like the one above directs recruits to tune into each other, mentally and physically, to ensure shared rhythms. Never again were three recruits late to the schoolhouse. In this view, we learn about time by being immersed in social activity and acquiring a sense of rhythm, like learning to dance or play music.



Bourdieu attempts to overcome the bifurcation of time into an objective social physics and a subjective phenomenology of time with his concept of *habitus*. In Bourdieu's view, the dispositions of the habitus are structured by external rhythms that confront the individual and, at the same time, contribute to the subjective objectification of these rhythms in the individual's daily practice. As Bourdieu has argued: "To control the moment, and especially the tempo, of practices, is to inscribe durably in the body, in the form of the rhythm of actions or words, a *whole relationship to time*, which is experienced as part of the person" (Bourdieu 1990: 76, my italics). Bourdieu argues that "practice is not *in* time but *makes* time" (2000: 206). He writes:

"The experience of time is engendered in the relationship between habitus and the social world, between the dispositions to be and to do and the regularities of a natural and social cosmos (or a field). It arises, more precisely, in the relationship between practical expectations or hopes which are constitutive of an *illusio* as investment in a social game, and the tendencies immanent to this game, the probabilities of fulfillment that they offer to these expectations, or more precisely, the structure of the mathematical probabilities, *lusiones*, that is characteristic of the game in question" (Bourdieu 2000: 208).

Or

"Far from being a condition a priori and transcendent to historicity, time is what practical activity produces in the very act whereby it produces itself. Because practice is the

product of a habitus that is itself the product of the embodiment of the immanent regularities and tendencies of the world, it contains within itself an anticipation of these tendencies and regularities, that is, a nonthetic reference to a future inscribed in the immediacy of the present. Time is engendered in the actualization of the act, or the thought, which is by definition presentification and de-presentification, that is, the ‘passing’ of time according to common sense” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 138)

As I have already hinted, the academy presents a system of objective regularities, *lusiones*, while the RTOs try to imbue recruits with a set of expectations adjusted to regularities of the academy and of “the job” itself. This is a system of *protensions* or a shared sense of the forthcoming. According to Bourdieu, this sense is acquired through experience.

“The capacity to anticipate and to see in advance that is acquired in and through practice and familiarization with a field is nothing like a knowledge that can be mobilized at will by means of an act of memory. It is only manifested in concrete situations and is linked as if by a relation of *mutual prompting* to the occasion which calls it forth” (Bourdieu 2000: 211).

The police academy, like a monastery for monks, is the social space where recruits practice suffering and familiarize themselves with it on a daily basis. They learn the rhythms of having a painful body, of how far they can push themselves, how much they can endure, what means injury and what is simply pain. These familiarizations shape how recruits will practically and immediately respond to the risks and dangers of the police world.

The attendance policy further reinforces this and imposes temporal expectations. Recruits are not to miss training. Pain and illness are not sanctioned reasons for deviance. Whereas the customary rights and customs of “being sick” typically entitle a sick person to remove themselves from their normative productive roles (Parsons 1975), that is not the case in the academy. RTOs are quite clear that having a cough, a headache, nausea, being hungry or even having to urinate do not alleviate a police officer of the responsibility to maintain his post or show up to work and support his shift mates. Showing up and staying is an ethical obligation, a scheduled expectation that pain is not allowed to disrupt.¹²⁴ As Lt. Sutton growls:

"As for attendance, it is mandatory. Injuries are NOT an excuse. Illness is *not an excuse*. You show up on time every time. You do this that tells me that you want to be here. You want to be a cop. You want to be trained. You do this and I will be very good to you. You show up every time, then when you are having a problem in the gym, I will go and I will work out with you everyday. We are all PT-certified trainers. We will go work with you until you are squared away. But you don't show up, that means we shouldn't be invested in you. Injury and illness are not excuses to miss training. You will find procedures for being sick in your manual."

¹²⁴ This is reinforced even when recruits graduate and go to work patrol. Recruits learn that “sick time” use is considered during their annual evaluations. Moreover, other police officers regularly remind rookies that being sick and not showing up to work a shift creates hardship on shift-mates who have to cover the sick officer’s shift. Administrators encourage rookies to show up when sick for economic reasons—so that the department does not have to expend money from its overtime budget on calling in a replacement officer.

Even though pain and suffering create the experience of time slowing down or becoming more expansive, RTOs expect recruits to form new temporal expectations about pain.

Sutton has us do a variety of mat exercises. We do step-ups on folded gym mats interspersed with pushups. We then spend five minutes running in place with both hands outstretched in front of us. After about a minute, recruits start moaning and their arms begin sagging. Solomon, running in place next to me sweats profusely. His shirt is drenched. He pants, "I... I... can't keep my hands up anymore." His face is writhen. He looks as if he might cry. Not a good look for a 6'4 300lb NFL football player. Soon my shoulders begin to feel pinched. Soon a burning sensation begins to move from my shoulder down towards my elbow. I bend my arms. Deputy Martinsson shouts at me "LANDE! Keep your arms straight!" Before long, arms begin to drop or get folded. Aguilar, jogging a few recruits to the right raises his arms up at an angle, I speculate that he does this to put the fatigue on a different set of muscles. Sutton shouts, "Imagine you're holding a six pound pistol. You think if shots are coming down range at you that you are going to put your weapon down because your arms are tired? Well, get used to it because in a few weeks your arms are going to be outstretched like this for hours. I am going to teach you about muscles you didn't even know you had."

The emphasis here is on experiencing pain in its full duration.

The most routine tactic used to change recruits' temporal orientation toward pain is the imposition of a new sense of limits. Most often RTOs accomplished this by creating a PT regiment where there was tremendous uncertainty as to how long an exercise or run would last.

"We are coming back from a two-mile formation run where we did calisthenics in the athletic field before running back to the "school house." Everyone is a wreck, tired, red, sunburned and sweaty. As we get back to the academy, the formation begins to slow down and head into the academy parking lot. Sgt. Ramos shouts, "Where do you think we're going? I didn't say we were done yet. *Never expect to stop.*" As we begin to run away from the Academy again, Dillon, Reyes, and several other recruits immediately begin lagging behind the group. Deputy Martinsson runs with them shouting, "*What! What! That's all you got?* You think just because you're tired you stop? Just because you hurt you quit? What if it's the end of your shift and you have an active shooter? You stop and go home? You get shot: 'Oh no I hurt I better give up and die?'" Several recruits, including myself, fall out of the formation, and go literally push the recruits who have given up. I go and grab Davis by his shirt and tell him "you're a beast, man." Another recruit, Rector, tells Dillon, "Come on, dude, if you don't keep running, we're all going to pay for it. We'll all be pushing." We run an additional mile total before coming back to the Academy, completely burned out. Deputy Martinsson has us fall into our platoon formation to stretch. While we are stretching, he says, "What happened today was unacceptable. You don't *ever* quit. Just because you are expecting to stop doesn't mean you get to stop. You take that attitude into a fight and you're dead. There are plenty of times in this job where your shift is over or you're not feeling good but you have to push through it. Doesn't matter if it's a report you have to finish writing or you're shot and need to keep on fighting. You dig deep, find the will to survive, and you keep going."

During a mile formation run back to the “school house,” *after* doing “grass drills,” I run up beside Davis (I am in an orange road guard vest). Davis is having a tough time, but he is still running, head down, hyperventilating. I run beside him and whisper, “come on man, you’re a beast!” Sgt Ramos sees me running beside Davis and says, “Lande keep it movin’, he needs to learn to do this on his own.” Once again, even though we all expect the run to end, our hopes are once again shattered as we approach the “school house.” We run another mile total before ending PT for the day. After we are let out for the day I am talking with the members of my squad, 4th squad. We meet up by the squad leader’s car. Before we get to taking care of some squad logistics, Lujan says, “man that run was tough! I really thought we were coming back. I wasn’t prepared to have to keep going.” The squad leader agrees, “Yeah, I had my expectations broken. I was ready to stop but we kept going. That sucked! (3/8/06)

With no certainty as to when the exercise will be over and when the pain will stop, recruits must learn to function in the present, even while suffering.

A Closer Look at Physical Training

The following extended field note encapsulates nearly two hours of physical training. I include it because it demonstrates several ways that PT function to temporalize the experience of recruits. RTOs use PT to teach a sense of urgency as well as to try and push recruits to endure and to fulfill their moral obligation to one another. RTOs commonly devise team exercises where the suffering of some recruits hinges on the endurance of others. Being able to endure, when tired or in pain, is often the final “lesson” of any training because it is only after having trained hard that recruits are fatigued and in pain. It is in these final moments that the RTOs bring home lessons about the need to push limits, to endure, and to exceed expectations:

Field Notes: A Closer Look at Physical Training

PT is intense today. LT Sutton joins us. We line up in PT formation. LT Sutton says to us, "Get with your beat partner." When we are all partnered up, he says, "I want you all to grab *at least 30 pounds between the two of you*. Then I want you to form up in two columns in the parking lot facing East on Marina Blvd." When told to fall out, half of the beat partners go and grab at least 35lbs of weight. Solomon and Aguilera grab 35 pounds each! [1] Outside it is sunny and mild out, maybe in the mid sixties. We start running in two columns. I am a road guard and am not carrying weight but sprinting up and down the formation from one intersection to the next to block traffic.

It doesn't take long before the recruits begin to fall out of formation. Quichocho and Songco are both struggling at the rear. Quichocho is carrying a 45lb plate on his back while Songco has a 5lb weight. They take turns holding it together. Then Quichocho takes it and runs with it on his shoulder, then switches shoulders, and then they hold it together again. [2] Both look like they are struggling as they have their heads down, heavy breathing, lots of sweat. Instead of being able to run with feet wide apart they are only able to get a fast shuffle. This is true for a lot of these recruits. Few shuffle as much as Jiminez, however. Sgt. Ramos says to Jiminez, "Pick your feet off the ground!"

Lt. Sutton says to the group, "if you and your beat partner can't carry your weight anymore, then you can call for 'cover,' but don't expect them to come to your rescue; they have their own problems to deal with." [3]

We run up the park. When we arrive we are told to stack our weights by a tree and get in a single-file line facing Sutton and the other RTOs. Sutton tells us to bear crawl to him in under 14 seconds. He is about 20 meters from us. He looks at a stop watch and says, "Come *to me*" We go. I drop to my hands and put my back parallel to the ground I start wobbling my way over to Sutton. My wrists hurt from the impact on the ground. Lujan, who is to my left, ambles over fast. He actually moves like a bear. He keeps most of his weight on his legs and moves both arms between his legs. He is over in just a

[1] Physical tasks that require team work are used to emphasize the collective bodily aspects of policing. Recruits are expected to learn to “be there” for their partners, which entails having the right physical capacities and skills.

[2] Success is dependent on bodies working “in tune.”

[3] Recruits tried hard not to call for “cover.” To do so was an embarrassment. On the other hand, many other recruits did rush to the aid of recruits who called for “cover.” Shame and pride are always in play during physical training.

moment. We do this several times. I burn out quickly on this exercise. Dillon, however, is doing terribly. Deputy Martinsson says, "Come on, Dillon. If you can't do this, I'll personally pack your shit so you can leave." [4] Dillon lumbers over, more crawling than doing a bear crawl. Next we do the crab walk back and forth a couple of times.

Sutton then enjoins us to fall back into two columns with the weights. We run across the field and each column lines up in front of a different section of fence. The fences are part of a baseball field, the batter's cage. To the left and right of the batter's cage are 8-foot-tall (or so) fences with padding at the top, covering over the sharp metal edges of the linked fencing.

Sutton tells us to go, and Lujan and I run over and climb the fence. My road guard vest gets caught on the fence and I get stuck. Martinsson yells at me for being too slow. When I flip over the other side, my vest gets caught again and Martinsson says, "Lande, what good are you if you choke to death on the fence. Fix yourself!" [5] When I am over, Lujan and I begin spotting the other recruits as they climb up to the fence, have weights passed up to them, which they then pass down to us. Soon more people are sent over us. It is a cluster. At one point, six people are on the fence and the fence begins to bend over. Sutton comes over and says, "Don't you think you can do this more efficiently?!"

Once we have all the weights over and all the recruits are over the fence we line back up in two columns. Sutton says, "Who here listened to my instructions?" Some hands go up. "Then WHY *didn't* anyone follow my instructions? Did I ever tell any of you that you all needed to go over the fence. No. I gave you freakin' simple instructions. I told you to get the *weights* over the fence. So *why* didn't you do this? I'll tell you why. Because you're all tired and hurting. What do you do? You look to the guy next to you to see what to do. But when you're out there one day working, you're not going to have someone to look to when you're tired and hurt. I don't want sheep. I want sheep-dogs. If you're going to make mistakes, I would much rather you make aggressive mistakes than make a mistake because you're just following." [6]

[4] Shaming language is used to draw attention to failure as well as try to give Dillon a reason to try harder. The RTO's belief is that Dillon simply doesn't "want" to be at the academy enough. Shame is deployed as a "stick" to try and push Dillon to work harder.

[5] Poise comes into play when my clothes get hung up on the fence. "Fix yourself" is a reminder that bodily movements should be smooth and have the appearance of grace and effortlessness.

[6] RTOs frequently put recruits in situations where they have to follow complex orders or perform feats of agility and dexterity while exhausted. The task is both to make recruits aware of deficits in attention and coordination that come with exhaustion and also to try and show them that, with training, such deficits can be overcome.

Sgt. Ramos then explains why we are carrying the weights,

"When you are on the job, you will be carrying a belt that weighs about 30lbs. You are going to have to be able to do foot pursuits with that kind of weight. You are all going to be depending on each other. If you are in a fight and you need help, you had better hope that the officer coming to your rescue can run with that weight. Those of you with beat partners who can't carry their weight probably know that better now. Those of you who weren't carrying the weight, I would suggest you get your ass in gear, go running and go to the gym. Because you are going to let down your partners if you can't get your ass to a call for cover." [7]

On the way back we run with the weights again. When we get 500 yards from the Academy Sgt. Ramos says, *"Ok, you're at the end of the fight and you hear the sirens of your buddies on the way. You got thirty seconds left. Give it your all."* The formation breaks up as people try to sprint as fast as possible with their weights. Buck and Aronsen are at the back. I am running near them as a road guard. Ramos says to them, *"Come on, Buck, give me the weight. You can go home. Pick up your feet and move if you want to be here."* Aronsen says to Buck, *"Come on, just give it a little more, we're almost there!"* [8]

When we "form up" back in the gym after PT, Lt. Sutton comes and talks to us. [9]

"Today was about following instructions even when you're down. You may think when I am yelling at you that I am being mean to you, that Officer O'Brien and Deputy Martinsson are being mean too. So what? 'Why are they picking on me? Hey, honey, they were riding me. Mah, they're mean to me.' You know what? Life isn't fair. That's what we are trying to teach you here. Nothing about a cop's job is fair. It's not fair that we got a job that we have to put our lives on the line protecting some guy that we never met before. It's not fair that going out to do your job one day you might get dead. I hope that each day you kiss your children good bye, tell your wife or your honey that you love them, kick the dog, kick the neighbor's cat, 'cause, you know what, you might not come home."

[7] To carry "your own weight" is both a literal and metaphorical saying at the academy. Like many occupations, policing is concerned with problems of "collective action." This creates anxiety that not everyone is contributing to the collective good. Sgt. Ramos teaches recruits that their inability to carry "your weight" is a moral issue: not being able to run effortlessly with 30lbs of gear could cost someone their life. Interdependency in policing is, in part, a physical interdependency.

[8] Temporalizing practices have their moment as well. Recruits are pushed to keep moving when tired, especially at the end of training.

[9] The day's conduct is accounted for and made sensible, most often at a time and place other than where the action occurs. As we have already seen, the conduct of PT is already socially organized even before it is accounted for. However, PT is routinely indexed at later times to draw attention to what RTOs feel are the salient features of training.

In particular, Lt. Burton's discussion of fairness and risk points to a new set of expectations that recruits are supposed to internalize: acceptance that risk, pain, danger, and death are what "the job" is about.

“This is a war. We are out there, everyday, in the trenches. And, you know what, you had better be prepared. You hurt. So what? Keep fighting; your life depends on it. Today, you were tired, you were hurting, but you still had instructions to follow. But what did you do? You’re sheep, you look to the guy next to you to see what they are doing. But it’s like I said yesterday, I’d rather you make aggressive mistakes than just follow. Ladies and gentlemen, I have 26 short weeks to turn you into warriors. Some of you, from what I have seen, couldn’t be helped if I tried for 26 years. Some of you want to go work as a school resource officer or as a DARE officer so that you have a badge and can say you belong to my ranks. But you don’t. What we are doing here is making you into individual decision makers. You have to be able to make judgments and follow directions on your own. You have to be your own leaders because no one else is going to be there to tell you what to do. This is a dangerous job, I am not going to kid you, and when those bullets start coming down range at you, you had better know what to do. If you come here, give me your hearts, I will teach you. If you are going to be fat, injured, and lazy, then leave. I don’t want you responding to my call for assistance because you can’t suck it up ’cause you’re tired or hurt. I don’t want you because I don’t want you responding to a call my children might make.

“Some of you have been hurt. It is important for you to learn the difference between pain and injury. These are just two facts about being in law enforcement that you are going to have to deal with. You’re gonna hurt and you’re gonna get injured. Most of you now are sore. DEAL WITH IT. I have no sympathy for you. Your leg hurts, bandage it up, take some pills, and show up to work and give 110%. I don’t want to hear about it. You break a bone. Too bad. I understand. I don’t have time for it. [10]

“Two weeks from tomorrow is going to be an important day. Chemical weapons. It will be the worst day of your life and perhaps the worst single day you will ever have. If you are up to the challenge, if you think you can be a hero or warrior, then by all means, show up. If not, quit. If you have any doubt, if you’re a little scared, quit. I don’t want you here. But if you show up and you make it, then I will be proud. Deputy Martinsson and Officer O’Brien will be proud. You will

[9 con’t] Being tired, hurt, or exposed to death is not a reason to stop or avoid virtuous police conduct. Thus, Lt. Burton explains that the training he supervised on that day was about exhausting the recruits and then showing them that their civilian sense of limits can be superseded.

[10] Pain and injury are not synonymous at the academy. RTO’s take the lead in sensitizing recruits to what their subjective experiences mean. There are strong parallels to Howard Becker’s studies of experienced marijuana smokers and how they teach novice smokers to notice that they are high.

*have shown that you have the discipline it takes.
Nothing will be as hard as that. So think about it..." [11]*

[11] Physical training is ritualized (Bell).



The body, I argue, temporalizes. RTOs and recruits create temporal action through coordinated embodied action and by participating in institutional rhythms. Through this participation, the body's structures—dispositions, expectations, and categories—are shaped by the very social rhythms that the body's gesticulations and movements objectify (e.g., in a formation run with cadence being called, a literal collective choreography with a rhythm and duration). For recruits to grasp pain in a “police-appropriate” way, they have to be exposed to painful stimuli regularly and for significant durations. They also have to be imbued with a temporal sense that that they can endure the pain—*that they will be okay and it will all end soon*; recovery is in the imminent future. Following Bourdieu, we can say that recruits

“can ‘make’ time only in so far as they are endowed with habitus adjusted to the field, that is, to the sense of the game (or of investment), understood as a capacity to anticipate, in the practical mode, forthcoming [des a venir] that present themselves in the very structure of the game; or in other words, in so far as they have been constituted in such a way that they are disposed to see objective potentialities in the present structures which force themselves upon them as things to be done.”

To grasp the social organization of pain in the police academy, it is imperative to examine this *temporal habitus*.

Recoding Pain

Recruits are taught not simply to endure pain, but also to comport themselves appropriately when they are in pain. For example, RTOs forbid “grunting” because it is a sign “that you want to give up.” Sgt. Ramos emphasizes the need to maintain composure while suffering:

The class is lying on the ground doing three sets of abdominal exercises: crunches, leg raises, and bridges. After completing each set we have thirty seconds to recover and begin all over again, but with some variation: crunches, bicycles, and leg lifts. By our third set, recruits are moaning and groaning on the ground. Sgt. Ramos shouts over the pain: “Just because no one is looking doesn’t mean you don’t try. Integrity is about doing your best when you have no audience. *None of you would be making a sound if I weren’t here*, so act like I am not. You are only cheating yourself if you don’t push yourself.”

Here, Ramos interprets grunting as a gratuitous vocal expression that signifies lack of effort, a display that is meant to persuade her to halt the training. Lt. Sutton expresses the same sentiment when he tells us during step exercises: “Look, if I hear you grunting, that means that you are telling me that you want to give up!” Both Ramos and Sutton are reinforcing the importance of physical training as an exercise in self-discipline (“Just because no one is looking doesn’t mean you don’t try”). Ramos also refers to the importance of integrity, using the term in a Goffman-like sense as “the propensity to resist temptation in situations where there would be much profit and some impunity in departing momentarily from moral standards” (1967: 219).¹²⁵ Composure,

¹²⁵ Integrity emerges repeatedly as a theme in my field notes. Bodily self discipline is seen as a way of cultivating an ethical habitus, one that will do the right thing, such as exercising restraint and deferring of immediate gratifications in the face of great temptations or obstacles. This is no small matter since police officers are presented with ample

not simply endurance, is key to integrity.

Recruits learn that pain can be “lived well” through proper comportment and through a re-temporalization of their world according to principles of endurance and urgency; they also learn to attach comportment and re-temporalization to their sense of competence, adequacy and membership in an elite group. In order to do this, the very meaning of pain must change for recruits. Pain can no longer be perceived as synonymous with injury. Thus RTOs repeat the incantation that experiencing pain is not equivalent to being injured and they suggest that pain may not be real at all. This marks a significant re-coding of the meaning of pain and a departure from its commonsense meaning.

Levi-Strauss speculated in “The Sorcerer and his Magic” and “The Effectiveness of Symbols” (1963) that Shamanism could work as a therapeutic answer to illness because it allowed individuals to draw upon a socially available conceptual schema through which to integrate alien experiences. Pain, as Leder and Scarry point out, is experienced as something alien, i.e., as something being-done-to-me-now. Pain is a state of being. If I twist my ankle, I am in-pain or my ankle *is* painful. During these moments, parts of our body that are normally in the experiential background of actions become the focus of sensory experience. During these moments, we feel that our painful limbs or joints are alien: they are not going along with our ongoing projects but are instead drawing us out of them. Narrating or classifying pain may not make the pain go away, but it can change how we think of pain as significant for our ongoing projects.

Csordas (1994) makes a similar point in his study of charismatic healers in modern Christian sects. For Csordas, the Charismatic Healers utterances serve as calls to order that activate deeply buried techniques of the churchgoer’s body. Csordas makes a bold attempt to show how the phenomenological and the semiotic, the embodied and the cognitive, are false binaries that can be resolved through close scrutiny of ritual healing practices. When a charismatic priest lays hands on an ill member of the laity, deeply embodied dispositions are activated. Moreover, Csordas shows that Charismatic healers are able to use utterances to draw attention to embodied experiences in new ways that change the overall meaning and sensory experience of illness.

Csordas, building on the work of Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu, shows that modes of attention are always already *somatic*; they are preobjective and grounded in perceptual habits.¹²⁶ The process of *attending* is always a bodily process as we have already seen in examining how police recruits learn to attend to bodies through a socially sensitized sense of touch. Words, as gestures or speech, also exist on the same plane of preobjective experience and are thus able to influence modes of attention; they work as another set of habits running alongside perceptual habits. Csordas writes, the “processes in which we attend to and objectify our bodies are the processes to which we allude with the term *somatic modes of attention*. Somatic modes of attention are culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one’s body in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others” (1993: 138; italics added). He further argues that

access to narcotics, weapons, and frequently sex in the form of “badge bunnies” and “beat wives” who make themselves sexually available to those who wear the uniform.

¹²⁶ “To pay attention is not merely further to elucidate pre-existing data, it is to bring about a new articulation of them by taking them as figures. They are performed only as horizons, they constitute in reality new regions in the total world.... Thus attention is neither an association of images, nor the return to itself of thought already in control of its objects, but the active constitution of a new object which makes explicit and articulates what was until then presented as no more than an indeterminate horizon” [1962:30].

somatic modes of attention don't simply attend to the body as a discrete object but also relationally and reflexively—in terms of the body's own concern for its relationship to the world. When RTOs tell recruits that “pain is only in the mind” or “it's only pain, not injury,” the RTOs are using “revelatory” language to engage recruits' somatic modes of attention, drawing them to features of bodily sensation and self-observation that they might not otherwise engage in. The body objectifies through words as much as words are objectified through the gesticulations of the tongue, lips, vocal chords, and diaphragm.

RTOs also try to illustrate dramatically that pain is not “real” but exists only in the minds of recruits. To prove this, they create PT exercises that compel recruits to continue exercising despite pain. Shame, humiliation, and blistering criticism are deployed alongside recoding utterances to motivate recruits to exceed their sense of limits.

PT is extra grueling today. We do [RTO-created exercises] with no breaks for almost 20 minutes. We do incline pushups. At first it starts with a lot of people going at their own pace counting out loud. The cacophony is too extreme and, sure enough, Martinsson tells us to shut up and count in cadence. But it doesn't take more than a minute before I am burning out and most others are on the floor unable to lift themselves up. The sound is mostly that of grunting, spitting, and heavy breathing. Martinsson shouts, “On your back! No! Too slow. On your feet. On your back. What, Bell? You can't move with the rest of us? It took you 5 fucking seconds to get up. *I could time it.*” We do this over and over again and then stay on the ground doing flutter kicks and holding our legs six inches off the ground. Castenada is next to me and soon he mumbles, “Shit, shit, shit. I can't hold it up any more.” A second later his legs collapse the floor. I spit out, “Man, in the air,” and he puts his legs back in the air. O'Brien and Martinsson patrol the formation yelling at Dillon, Bell, and others for putting their legs down and shouting, “*Find a place, a good place inside and use that to keep your legs up. This is not about your muscles, it's about your mind. It's just pain! Leave everything here, give it all to us.*” When we go running we get lectured again by O'Brien. He tells us that we can't start being complacent and that we need to have our shit together since we are now in the third week. It is raining as we run. We get to a park after running a couple miles and there we stop and jog in place. O'Brien says, “*Who here wants to quit? Who wants a box to pack their things into? You need to give 110%. Leave it all here and finish strong.*” (3/21/06)

Here we observe how RTOs try to sensitize recruits to the difference between “pain” and “injury.” RTOs expect recruits to be able to endure through pain. Recruits learn to distinguish between the mechanical breaking of the body (injury) and a construct of the mind (pain). When understood as fundamentally a mental phenomenon, pain is no longer considered an acceptable barrier to performance. According to the logic of the cadre, if suffering is a mental phenomena, then it is something recruits have control over and therefore responsibility. If an suffering is truly the result of an injury, for example a fractured shin, then the recruit is obviated of moral culpability for not being able to perform. On the other hand, recruits are still expected to be able to perform under conditions of physical damage since being shot, for example, is not supposed to impede a police officer from continuing to engage in forceful return fire.

During PT, recruits learn to change the significance of pain by engaging in painful activity and by listening to utterances that constantly redirect recruits' attention to their bodily activity. Lt. Sutton's words during PT exercises illustrate this well:

"Look, if I hear you grunting, that means that you are telling me that you want to give up.

This is all mental. Pain is not the same thing as hurt. Suck it up, because one day when you are fightin' a 250lb parolee, and you're grunting, I am not going to be there to stop the exercises."

In the aftermath of a timed run during a physical fitness assessment, a group of recruits stood around in the academy parking lot. Nobel, a former army MP and a running enthusiast, complained to the group about the performance of Jiminez, a female recruit on the run:

"She doesn't understand that her problem is mental. There is just no excuse for her being 6 minutes behind us for the run. It's all mental. She needs to push through the pain." Another recruit agrees, "It's like with her pushups. For the last 7 days she couldn't do any. I knew she could, though, because I would hold her belt only gently and all of a sudden she can do 5, then ten. It's not like she got stronger all of a sudden. And then today with Martinsson she knocks out 23!" Nobel says, "Sometimes you just got to realize that pain is not the same as being damaged. Like with running. I have been running for 19 years while I played soccer or was in the Army. I hate running, it's miserable. But I do it anyway. It hurts, but I push through it because I have to" (3/16/06).

For Levi-Strauss, symbols are almost magically efficacious. PT shows us, however, that utterances are demonstrative and are one part of a situation that entails the active reshaping of recruits' bodies through movement and technique.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to explain how recruits can come to willfully participate in a world that demands that not only they be forceful but that they be willing to suffer the dangers and risks of combat. To do so, recruits are required to practice being in pain and to comport themselves appropriately to pain. They are also required to enhance their bodily powers so that pain and injury are less likely to occur. Through physical training, as a negative rite, recruits acquire a bodily schema that transforms the experience, conduct, and significance of pain.

All of this, I have shown, is accomplished within the context of a symbolic economy that gives a practical reason or motive for participating in the rigors of physical training. There are non-material profits and costs associated with being able to suffer well. Recruits that can "push through" and bear themselves well during physical training are rewarded symbolically by being labeled, publically, as having "heart" by the cadre and often by their peers. Those recruits that struggle to "keep going" during runs or physical training, or that don't seem to be throwing themselves into the training with "all their heart" are labeled as "mopes" and treated as stigmatized members of the academy world. This symbolic economy is what tends to push recruits to be more or less "torn from a state of in-difference" and motivated to respond to the stimuli of the training world. Thus part of the work of physical training is to sensitize recruits to the future outcomes of physical training by putting them into an encounter with immediate profits and losses of using their bodies according to the standards set by the cadre. In focusing on the role of shame and honor, pride and humiliation, etc. I have also shown that the symbolic economy of policing depends heavily for its efficacy on the fact that it targets the emotional and visceral sense of self and connectedness that recruits have as they attempt to become members of a social world.



















Chapter 7: Chemical Agents Training Day as Rite of Institution

The police academy's function is not only to impart technical skills and forceful compartments to police recruits. Its job is to make a social group. As a group making machine, the academy relies on negative rites to create separation between police the society they police and to bond recruits to one another and to their cadre through a shared experience of suffering. Chemical Agents Day is a recruit's ultimate test of composure, dignity and coolness. More importantly, this is an important day for the visceral bonding of recruits to one another by way of a negative ritual that is meant to elevate them out of the mundane existence of the civilian world and into the sacred world of policing. On this day, recruits are exposed to noxious levels of chemical irritants that cause tremendous pain and loss of voluntary bodily control. The chemical agents used on recruits effect a whole range of involuntary and unseemly bodily functions (especially excretions and swelling) that interfere with a recruit's bodily background of habits and tendencies for action. To maintain poise and the appearance of affective detachment in the face of pepper spray, 2-chlorobenzalmalononitrile (CS gas, also known as "tear gas") or Phenacyl chloride (CN, a nerve agent) is the recruit's primary social challenge during Chemical Agents Day. Yes, recruits gain a sense that they "can" survive chemical exposure and therefore that they are worthy members of policing. But they also gain a shared experience of suffering together, with each others help as well as the guidance of the cadre. Chemical agents day demonstrates the trustworthiness of recruits' peers and superiors.

In this chapter I will add to Van Maanen's observations how cadre try to build cohesion among recruits. Van Maanen wrote,

"The training staff actively promotes solidarity through the use of group rewards and punishments, identifying garments for each recruit class, interclass competition, and cajoling the newcomers-at every conceivable opportunity-to show some unity. Predictably, such tactics work-partial evidence is suggested by the well-attended academy class reunions held year after year in the department. ... It is no exaggeration to state that the "in-the-same-boat" collective consciousness which arises when groups are processed serially through a harsh set of experiences was as refined in the Union City Police Department as in other institutions such as military academies, fraternities, or medical school" (Van Maanen 1973: 410).

I go beyond Van Maanen's discussion by exploring the many dimensions of Chemical Agents Day, construed as both symbolic ritual and technical training.¹²⁷ It is a negative rite, in Durkheim's sense, that demonstrates transcendence of mundane bodily limits; it is a powerful instrument of recruit bonding, providing a shared experience of suffering; and it teaches a specific form of comportment, a way of living through pain that is shared. In other words, the experience of negative rites goes far beyond an "in-the-same-boat" experience to enjoin shared

¹²⁷ Chemical Agents Day is the crucial day of bonding for recruits. It is difficult to put into words how much this day transformed recruits' relationships to one another. When you are pepper sprayed and can't see and can't breathe and all you have is the recruit to your right and to your left to help you, you end the day with a powerful sense of attachment to your peers. It is no surprise that this is also the day that the guidon, the symbol of the unit, is unfurled. The ensuing days and weekends are spent reminiscing and telling stories about Chemical Agents Day. Even years later, during reunions, Chemical Agents Day is talked about ("remember when...").

ways of suffering and a powerful demonstration of the academies ability to “toughen” recruits and thus make good on its promise to heorize recruits. This is powerful basis of institutional loyalty.

Bourdieu argues, in his analysis of the production of elites, that suffering is a “rite of initiation” and is commonly part of an “education” that “leads to durable dispositions, habits and usages”:

“The universally adopted strategy for effectively denouncing the temptation to demean oneself is to naturalize difference, to turn it into second nature through inculcation and incorporation in the form of the habitus. This explains the role given to ascetic practices, even physical suffering, in all negative rites which are destined, as Durkheim said, to produce people who are out of the ordinary, in a word distinguished. It also explains the role of the training which is universally imposed on the future members of the elite’ (the learning of dead languages, the experience of prolonged isolation, etc.). All groups entrust the body, treated like a kind of memory, with their most precious possessions, and the use of suffering inflicted on the body by rites of initiation in all societies is understandable if one realizes, as numerous psychological studies have shown, that people’s adherence to an institution is directly proportional to the severity and painfulness of the rites of initiation” (Bourdieu 1991: 123).

Indeed, recruits pass through Chemical Agents Day as a rite that doesn’t just mark a before and after as much as a symbolic difference, now experienced as a visceral struggle for transcendence, of the police officer over the profane world that he will soon be entrusted to patrol, surveill, order, and control through force. Indeed, what I tried to show in the last chapter is that physical fitness training exams are also “trials” and the acesis of physical training, much like the “pain principal,” itself cultivates certain moral selves, and the possession of physical fitness is a kind of “charismatic qualification.” Passing or failing the physical fitness test serves a social function separating those who can “cut it” from those who don’t and consecrating the “crime fighting doxa” which puts a premium on the possession off physical force. By passing through events like Chemical Agents Day, the “ordeal” par excellence, recruits, RTOs, and even outsiders can point to something that tangibly demonstrates that the recruits are now something different and worthy of elevated status.

Ultimately, this difference is instituted not just as recognition of a difference but it also is part of cultivating a visible and deeply bodily difference. What Chemical Agents Training is about is inculcating “the will to survive” and thereby furthering recruits’ transformation from civilians to heroic crime fighters. The “will to survive” *qua* “will” is taken as a natural category or virtue of great importance. It is a product of training and drilling that is meant to turn them into heroes and warriors. “The will to survive” refers to the ensemble of practices and rules that aim at restructuring a recruits’ conduct and sensory-motor powers with a view towards turning civilians into hardened cops who are inured to the discomforts, pains, and sufferings of police work. The work of the ritual toughening of the recruits’ bodily senses and emotional responses is the creation of a self empowered with the ability to struggle and that is ready for the unexpected attack and will unhesitatingly respond. It is also a set of practices that decouples the recruit from the civilian world and grounds him squarely at the center of the police universe. As a set of bodily practices, postures, and powers, it is easy for the academy to treat these acquire abilities and forms as a “natural” feature of the recruit that makes them “naturally” better or different than civilians.

Thus, Chemical Agents Day is about demonstrating competence in suffering, i.e. doing pain *well*, and therefore a social *qualification*, as much as it is about learning the technical aspects of chemical agents in law enforcement. What Chemical Agents Day different that the ascetic rites of physical training, is that this day is not one of selection as much as it is of election. Recruits are not evaluated on Chemical Agents Day, except informally, and they aren't washed out. But they given a public demonstration of their election to the world of policing.





The “will to survive” is a concept that works much like that of “character.” But Desmond (2007: 15), rightly points out that caution is required when using terms like “character” as “one-word clichés” to explain the motivations of those who expose themselves to danger and suffering. When RTOs attribute motives to recruits or discuss their dignity, they speak of what Goffman calls “character.” Tests of composure and dignity are meant to reveal the character of recruits.

“These capacities (or lack of them for standing correct and steady in the face of sudden pressures are crucial; they do not specify the activity of the individual, but how he will manage himself in this activity. I will refer to these maintenance properties as an aspect of the individual’s *character*. Evidence of incapacity to behave effectively and correctly under stress of fatefulness is a sign of *weak character*” (Goffman 1967: 217).

Thus, RTOs stage tests of composure and poise at the academy because recruits can’t yet be tested “in the field.” Chemical Agents Day tests the moral “mettle” of recruits by creating the illusion and experience of risk. The body is exposed to pain and suffering but the real threat of death or injury is attenuated. The day presents the risk of excruciating pain and humiliation

where terms like “will,” “mettle,” “toughness,” and “composure” can be used to describe competent painful conduct that is also socially rather than only technically defined.

Drawing attention to the function of Chemical Agents Day, Lt. Sutton argues that it is not a perverse form of hazing or torture meant for the pleasure and entertainment of the Academy:

“I do it [chemical agents training] this way, not to torture you guys but for two reasons: to expose you to the agent and to make you tough. Do you all understand why we did this, that this wasn’t some perversity on our part?” (Lt. Sutton).

Lt. Sutton uses a carnal pedagogy to teach lessons by targeting the body. To learn to be tough, it isn’t enough for recruits to simply be exposed to injunctions that they must be tough or have the will to survive, they must *show* that they can be tough and *prove* that they have increased their “mettle” in a public setting. Hence the cadre create rites that purportedly mirror some aspects of the workday world of policing — that the streets expose recruits to bodily harm, emotion, pain, and risk. In this sense, Chemical Agents Day is both a rite and a simulation, in that it is a rite constructed around perceived attenuated features of the “real world” outside the academy. In this attenuated world, recruits are expected to “carry on” in their duties even while suffering, just as they would on the streets. Lt. Sutton also reminds recruits of the need to discriminate between pain and injury.

At the start of Chemical Agents Day, he affirms this:

“Part of the purpose of chemical agents training is to demonstrate that we can function while exposed to chemical agents that cause excruciating pain.”

On the Monday after Friday’s Chemical Agents Day, Lt. Sutton reiterates the message:

“Friday's training was intended to make you understand exactly what you are capable of when contaminated. It shows you that you are capable of functioning even in the face of extraordinary pain. Friday caused you lots of pain but, as you saw, you weren’t really hurt. Being able to separate pain, which is mental, from physical injury is crucial in police work because that day when you get shot or stabbed and you realize that it is only pain, you will find that extra energy to keep on fighting until you win and the threat is ended” (LT. Sutton, Chemical Agents Debriefing)

Here, suffering is not simply as a cause of action or a stimulus to action, but a kind of action itself.

In what follows, I describe Chemical Agents Day using a narrative, photos, and transcribed audio from a video that I and an RTO took of the training.



“It [CN/Asphyxiant] will hurt like a bitch. It’s terrible. The main thing to remember is that it’s all mental. You aren’t dying and you just gotta remember that even though it doesn’t feel like it, the pain will go away.” (MR Male 21, 4 years Marine Corp)



“This is all mental; it’s a test to see if we have learned the will to survive. We have spent five weeks now pushing and running and learning to keep our heads up... to keep our bearing even when we are in pain. Just keep that in mind today. I have never been in the military like some of you have, but that doesn’t matter... We are all gonna hurt the same. Just remember, whatever happens, maintain your composure.” (D.R., white male, age 33, Corporate Accountant)

“I thought I was going to die. It felt like someone was in my chest dumping acid. I know they said that you could breathe, but I went black and if it weren’t for Ty I would have gone down.” (J.L., white male, age 24, recent college graduate)





Chemical Agents Day—4/7/06

Before Exposure

In the weeks prior to Chemical Agents day, lunch outside the “Schoolhouse” was a time for recruits to speculate about and anticipate the coming challenge. Recruits probe those who have experienced chemical agents during their time in the military; they seek hints of what to expect. “On a scale of 1-10, how would ya rate it? I mean, how much pain is it?” “What’s it most like?” “How long will I hurt for?” “Can it really hurt you or is it just a lot of pain?” Recruits actively try to reduce the indeterminacy of a day that appears rich in peril and menace.¹²⁸ They do so by turning to each other to anticipate and control the unknown risks of Chemical Agents Day.

Chemical Agents Day takes place at the Sheriff’s Office firearms range, which is adjacent to the “jail farm,” a minimum security correctional facility. The range is tucked away in the valley of a coastal mountain range. It is surrounded by trees, hills, and a stream. The firearms facility has multiple firing ranges as well as an indoor facility with classrooms, bathrooms, a few offices, and some storage rooms. The “classroom” façade is made of wood logs and looks like a summer camp facility.

Our day begins with classroom instruction. We view a series of PowerPoints about the technical workings of different chemical agents. But the majority of the time is taken up by stories about the use of chemical agents. In class, Lt. Sutton tells a story about when chemical agents saved him.

"I will be honest, I have probably used pepper spray 3 or 4 time during my life on patrol in the last 15 years, a lot more in the detention facilities. That's not a whole lot. And when we take you out and do some practical exercises with the chemical agents, you will see why it is not a very effective tool and why lots of departments are turning to Tasers instead. But this one time we responded to a call, during my FTO period on patrol, and we are responding to a D.V. at the home of this guy who is a retired NFL linebacker. So, he's like Solomon but bigger. We get there and my FTO who is in the twilight of his career knocks on the door. The door opens and just as my FTO is about to speak, he gets socked in the face and just goes down. So I am immediately at it with this guy and we end up in his house, in the hallway at the entrance of his home, and it's like a freakin' movie: we're wrestling all over the place, banging into walls, breaking shit. This guy is definitely doped up; he just doesn't feel anything. So eventually I get him back to end of the hallway and I take out my baton because hands-on isn't working. I tell him 'stop, you're under arrest.' The guy reaches for my baton, so I whack him on the hand. It does nothing! So now this guy is trying for my baton and I am slamming down on his hand and forearm and he just keeps on going. By now, you can guess, I am beginning to freak out. This guy has taken out my FTO and I can't control him. So I'm thinking, shit shit shit, am I gonna lose my baton and have to retreat or go to my gun? All of a sudden, behind me, my beat supervisor appears and across my left shoulder comes this stream of liquid, and [it] nails the guy in the eyes. All of sudden the guy is down, so I grab and cuff him. My FTO had come to just after I started fighting with the guy and called for assistance. As we stood the guy up, he said, 'Yo, why'd you do that? If

¹²⁸ At the bar, on the day after Chemical Agents Day, a recruit named Erin says, “I didn’t know what to expect. I was really anxious. But at a certain point I just wanted to stop hearing about what it was going to be like. I didn’t have any experiences like it so I just wanted to get it over with. I knew I would survive it, so I thought, let’s just do this. Enough talking about it!”

you had just said you would were gonna do that I would've stopped.' So I don't know what to tell you. Sometimes OC works pretty well. But sometimes, especially if the guy has been in jail or prison a lot, they have probably been exposed to CN, CS, and OC repeatedly. They know what it's like and so the anxiety and fear that comes from exposure won't be there. That is partly why we are exposing you today. So when you are working in the jails and you get blow back or you're on your beat wrestling a guy you have sprayed and he is smearing it back in your face, you won't feel the fear or nervousness that comes from not knowing what is happening. Some of this stuff is great, and, for you deputies, the next year or so that you spend working the jails, you will become familiar with exactly what works and how to use it."

Lt. Sutton never misses a chance to warn recruits of the dangers of not staying fit. Chemical Agents Day is no exception and so he tells us about a "fat deputy" who worked in the jails:

"This guy was large enough that one day while sitting in his chair and moving around, he managed to undo the safety on his OC and empty the entire unit. So I have to go into this enclosed room to help the guy and get a dose of dispersed OC. I laughed so freakin' hard because this guy was hopping around screaming 'my ass is burning, my ass is burning!' I didn't care that I was breathing in OC. The point is that you will be in situations like this all the time in the jail. It's not like out on patrol where you are outside using it. You are always going to be exposed to the agents you use in the detention facilities."

And of course Lt. Sutton also makes fun of the photos in the PowerPoint presentations that depict a male police bicycle officer conducting demonstrations of how to use OC. The officer depicted rides a mountain bike and wears a bike helmet, white short-sleeved polo shirt, and short biking shorts. Sutton says,

"This is fuckin' ridiculous, look at this guy. They picked a real super cop. If I were making this slide, I would use a guy that looks like he means business—a real cop, not some jokester on a bike who looks like he patrols fuckin' teenagers in Blackhawk. I'll tell you what, if I ever see any of my recruits looking like this, I promise you I will physically and mentally break you. No sissy cops on while I am running this."

After finishing the first couple hours of classroom instruction, the RTOs have the class fall into formation in between the building and the firing ranges. We stand and wait in formation for nearly 20 minutes. We are all wearing our PT clothing: tan t-shirts and blue shorts or sweat pants. To fill in the dead time, former soldiers tell recruits with non-military experience what being exposed to chemical agents is like. One recruit says, "if you have ever broken your arm or your nose, this pain is like that. This will be one of the worst, if not *the* worst day of your life" (T. Nobel, white male, age 33, 13 years Army). Speaking from formation, another recruit states "It will hurt like a bitch. It's terrible. The main thing to remember is that it's all mental. You aren't dying and you just gotta remember that, even though it doesn't feel like it, the pain will go away. That said, When I took a shower the next day, I didn't know it but I got OC in my eyes again and the water reactivated it. I was like a little girl lying in the shower all fetal, crying" (M. Rector, white male, age 21, 4 years Marine Corp, combat veteran of the second Gulf War). Another recruit says, "With the CN you are going to feel like you can't breathe. You *can*. So don't freak out. If you do start to freak out and have a panic attack, don't freak out about that." Finally, expressing the anxiety of many in the group, a female recruit, E. Bai speaks up, "*Enough*

with the war stories. Some of us have been through this and some of us haven't. But you are making a lot of us a whole lot more nervous when we are already anxious. So *stop* with the war stories. We don't need to be more freaked out" (E. Bai, white female, age 30, corporate manager, M.S. Forensic Science). Another recruit standing beside me mumbles sarcastically, "If you're gonna get hit by a mac truck, don't freak out. If you're dead, don't freak out. It's all mental" (S. Nobel, African American male, age 43, 20 years Air Force).

Our Class Sergeant for the month, Ryan, attempts to give a motivational speech while we are standing in formation. "This is all mental, it's a test to see if we have learned the will to survive. We have spent three months now pushing [push-ups] and running and learning to keep our bearing even when we are in pain. Just keep that in mind today. I have never been in the military like some of you have, but that doesn't matter. Here none of that matters, we are all the same, just recruits. We all have the same uniform and the same hair cut and to Lt. Sutton, none of us is any better or any worse. We are all gonna hurt the same. Just remember, whatever happens, maintain your bearing. Stand up straight. Don't curse. I know that is gonna be hard. But there are going to be a lot of officers and staff around today, so try to be professional. Remember, this is a *challenge* so that we can learn what we are capable of and so that we can show that we can do our jobs under the worst circumstances. We'll get through this, but not as individuals, as a team. From here on out we are a big family. We have to help each other through this" (D. Ryan, white male, age 35, corporate accounts manager at Pepsi).

Exposure

Finally it is time to begin the chemical-agents exposures. We are brought to a flat asphalt parking lot. Toward the entrance of the parking lot is the "gas chamber," a blue tent large enough for all fifty recruits to fit into.

Lt. Sutton begins by having us line up single file. He marches us into the "gas chamber." He shuts the flaps of the tent. At the center of the tent is a large oil drum with no top. Lt. Sutton says, "Here is the way that this is going to go, starting with the lowest level. Can someone tell me what the lowest level, level three, exposure is?" The recruits say, "Area contamination." Lt. Sutton continues, "Area contamination, right. So you go into an area that has already been exposed. There has been a deployment of a chemical agent. What is level one?" Several voices from the line say, "Direct contamination." Lt. Sutton then gives us instructions. "Okay, here is what I want you to do. I want everyone to turn around and face the wall. He raises a can of pepper spray in his right hand and starts spraying. Several seconds later I notice my throat beginning to tingle and my eyes burn. Nothing terrible. I begin to sneeze uncontrollably and I chuckle. Coughing and wheezing ensue from the recruits all around. "I want you to start walking in a circle, try to kick this stuff up and get a good exposure," Lt Sutton says. We walk in a circle for about another minute, breathing, coughing, wheezing and sneezing. Finally, Lt. Sutton says, "Everyone out, single file." As we exit the tent, some begin running. Deputy Martinsson shouts, "Fall out! Walk, no one said run!"

As soon as we are all outside, Lt. Sutton says, "Come on in. Hurry up. It's a lot like hot sauce. A little like getting hot sauce up your snout. A little peppery. Nice and hot, nothing too bad. That's what you are going to get if you go into a module [at the jail] where there has been an inmate fight or in the field if you are responding to where your partner has deployed pepper spray. That is what you are going to feel. A little tinge inside the tent. Not a big deal, right? Not much of an effect on your eyes, maybe some itching and stinging around your eyes. You have

been directly exposed to pepper spray, but because it wasn't put directly in your face it doesn't really affect your eyes. You got some sinus stuff bubbling up, probably, I promise you we will clear that right out later."

Lt. Sutton tells us to "Line back up." He grabs a 40mm less lethal gun from an observing officer and walks in front of the tent. Lt. Sutton shoots in a round of CS gas, which makes a thud. He cracks open the 40mm and loads another round and then shoots it into the tent. He stands in front of the tent and says, "Go!" The class marches into tent in single file and starts walking in circles.

The CS isn't too bad either. My eyes itch a little and my throat tingles. I feel like I want to cough. Deputy Martinsson walks into the gas chamber and shouts "Start walking around!" As the recruits walk in circles, I feel the recruit behind me strengthen his grip. Suddenly, when some recruits begin coughing, Deputy Martinsson shouts, "You got to be kidding me! *Why are you coughing! Walk, stay together!*" My eyes are tearing up but I can still see. I follow the recruit in front of me and we walk outside. As we exit the tent, Sgt. Ramos says, "Don't spit on the equipment! Don't run, walk!"

We again form a group around Lt. Sutton. Lt. Sutton advises, over the sporadic coughs of the class, "Those of you with glasses, they might get in the way. I don't recommend that you leave them on. 'Cause what is going to happen is that you are going to have to be cleaning your glasses because you are just going to keep recontaminating yourself with the particulates on the glasses. That was just 3 grams in those ferrets. I told you [when we were in the classroom] that we would start a tactical operation with two of those through each window. Now when you think about it, it isn't that bad. Kinda uncomfortable, but, aaahh, no big deal. Ok, let's get ready for the next."

Lt. Sutton has us form into a single file line and explains, "I want you all to place your right hand on the right shoulder of the person in front of you. Under no circumstances are you to let go of the person in front of you. Maintain the integrity of the line."

Lt. Sutton puts on his gas mask and walks over to the formation "You will not break ranks! Do you understand? I have special treats for those who break ranks. Maintain your discipline. This is not easy, this is not fun. If it were easy, everyone in the world would be out here right now... We are doing CN now!" The class responds with a loud and enthusiastic, "Sir, yes, sir!" The last two exposures were not too bad and the Class 157 is becoming confident that the day will not be as hard as they thought.

"Right hand to right shoulder. Make a chain. Break the chain and the whole chain pays," Lt. Sutton warns. Meanwhile, multiple voices from the line repeat Lt. Sutton's instructions, shouting out, "Right hand, right shoulder, right hand, right shoulder!" I hear recruit Souza say, "Everyone is going to be blind on this one. No one is going to be able to see." T. Nobel says, "Line it up," and the recruits of Class 157 fall into line, right hand to right shoulder. Deputy Sullivan shouts, "Let's go, let's go!" and the class starts a slow march into the gas chamber. Officer O'Brien, who is standing by the entrance of the gas chamber holding a digital camera teases one recruit, "Castenada, you aren't even in there yet. Get your head up!" As I approach the gas chamber I can see clouds of white smoke coming from the chamber in plumes. As I enter the gas chamber, I see Lt. Sutton standing by a smoking oil drum. He grumbles through his gas mask, "Let's do a lap, let's go!"

Now the voices of the recruits become repetitive, "Let's go! Move! Let's go! Move, move, move. Keep moving. The faster we move, the faster we get out." The mantra of "move" is quickly replaced by grunts, coughing, wheezing, and sneezing.

Some offer advice: “Just keep cool when you are there. Just realize nothing really bad is going to happen to you.” Bai, in the gas chamber, says “Breathe in through your nose! Keep it shallow. If you breathe through your nose it will keep some of the particulates out.” (At the bar the next day she says, “I heard from some people that shallow breaths keep the gas from activating your esophagus.” T. Nobel responds, “Yeah, as soon as you get that first cough, it’s all over, then you start getting those involuntary spasms. You have to go to work to keep those shallow breaths. I made it till we got around once before I lost it. That cough started and then, oh man, it was over!”)

After we walk around the gas chamber for about a minute, Lt Sutton has us exit the tent. “Keep your hands off your face” says Deputy Martinsson. Another recruit shouts, “Relax, relax, relax! Keep walking, keep walking, keep moving, get the air on your face. Make sure your eyes are open, get that crap to dry out.” My friend, Castaneda advises, “Look into the wind, look into the wind!” Another recruit, Billa, reiterates “Relax, relax.”

After everyone is out of the tent, Lt. Sutton has us regroup around him. He asks, “How’d you like that?” The class answers, in unison, “Good sir.” Lt. Sutton says, “Tell me what you felt.” A voice from the group answers, “It burns!” Lt. Sutton inquires, “Did it burn in our arm pits?” He is answered by a collective “Sir, yes, sir!” Lt. Sutton wonders, “Did anyone shave their heads this morning? Usually I have someone who shaved their head before this and by the end of their day their head is like a giant basketball. You notice that you recover very quickly once you get into the wind, do you agree?” Again, a collective “sir, yes, sir” from the class.

Lt. Sutton gives us a break after several more exposures to CN and CS gas in the chamber, each more intense than the last. During our final break, I turn to Castaneda and ask him what he thinks so far about the chamber and he says, “not bad.” Bai, standing with me, also says, “not so bad,” but she is squinting and has an unpleasant look on her face. Billa, who is also standing by me says, jokingly, “I can’t wait to the next phase baby!”

Lt. Sutton saves the worst for last. He has us start lining back up for our final exposures. Martinsson walks by and says, “I got a picture of Jiminez and Aronson here.” Then he says, “Kneller shook it off like it was nothing ’cause he is from the movie Alien Nation.” [laughter from class]

Lt. Sutton walks into the gas chamber. I hear the loud popping of the CN rounds being set off in the drum. Lt. Sutton walks out of the gas chamber, waves us toward the entrance and yells through his mask, “Get in there!” Officer O’Brien says, as I walk by, “That’s them going in, they are going to look a little different coming out!”

Recruits go running into the gas chamber only to have Deputy Martinsson chastise them, “*Why are you running? Don’t run!*” Lt. Sutton shouts, “If you run, you have to do it again!”

This time, there is no joking or laughing in the tent. Almost immediately upon taking my first breath in the gas chamber, my throat feels like it is closing and as if my lungs are filling with acid. My eyes shut and I start coughing. I try to breath but each breath only increases the amount of pain I feel in my chest. For the first time, I feel like something terrible is happening to me.

Finally, Lt. Sutton lets us out of the chamber only to tell us that we have to go right back in. As we regroup into a single line I hear more CN rounds being set off inside the chamber and I see even more smoke exiting the chamber, this time billowing out. There is no time to stop or to discuss the last exposure. Martinsson commands, “Hurry up and get in. He’s just going to throw another one in there!” It is difficult to see into the chamber as I approach. All that is visible is thick, white, peppery-smelling smoke. I hear a cacophony of, “Walk! Walk! Get in a chain!” The

RTOs are almost inaudible over the sounds of coughing, sneezing, gasping, wheezing, and now vomiting.

As I breathe my first lungfuls of CN, I again feel my lungs burning. I can no longer keep my eyes open. Even closed, they feel like they are being scorched. I alternately cough and gasp. I feel like I am not breathing, even as I gasp for air. I begin to worry that I might stop breathing. Suddenly Deputy Martinsson shouts, "Oh no! Souza hit the deck!" I can't see but I later find out that Souza and several other recruits blacked out from hyperventilating in the chamber. I am holding onto the right shoulder of an Afghan recruit, Neuman. Lt. Sutton finally says, "Everyone out! Walk!" I feel Neuman tear away from me and I hear running as everyone pushes and shoves to get out. I give in and run with the rest of the recruits out of the chamber.

As I exit the chamber, I hear Sgt Ramos say, "Get your heads up in the air, get your heads up in the air. Better hold on, Aronson, because you are going to go again!" I still have a lung full of CN and, as I take my first steps out of the chamber, I cough so hard that I bend over and dry heave. Almost immediately I am able to open my eyes. Nervously I take a breath of air and within a few breaths, my lungs feel clear of the noxious gas and I can breathe. I am still breathing heavily, gasping for air, but at least the burning sensation, deep in my chest, is dissipating rapidly. I breathe a heavy sigh of relief. I notice that my eyes are streaming tears and that my mouth and nose have streams of sticky mucous dripping from them. I look around me and notice that just about everyone else is in a similar situation. Recruits are vomiting, wiping away mucus, flinging it to the ground, and wiping hands on their clothes.

Just as I and the rest of my peers catch our first few breaths, Lt. Sutton shouts, "Form another line!" The recruits lag this time. I shout to Souza, who is still bent over, "Souza, come on, Souza, come on!" Deputy Martinsson goes over to Smith, a recruit recently out of the Air Force who had been cocky earlier in the day. Martinsson says, "Still want to get some?!" Deputy Martinsson takes a photo of Smith with mucous coming out of his nose and mouth.

Lt. Sutton demands, "Who broke ranks, raise your hand?" Several recruits raise their hand. "Ok, separate line over here." Lt. Sutton points to the left of our single file line, creating a second line with approximately 15 recruits. Lt. Sutton starts marching the shorter line into the gas chamber.

The recruits still standing in the larger line are tense. T. Noble whisper, "Don't even look that way. Nobody say a word," as if by being still and silent Lt. Sutton will forget we are there.

But no sooner do the words leave T. Nobel's mouth than Lt. Sutton shouts from the front of the chamber, "Who wants to join them?" No one answers. Officer O'Brien angrily asks, "*Who wants to join them, he asked!*" Deputy Martinsson joins the chorus, "*You aren't going to join them!?*" Sgt. Ramos asks, "You are going to let them go in there by themselves!?" "Go, get in there!" shouts Deputy Martinsson.

The entire class charges into the chamber after our compatriots. "Come on! Get in that room!" shouts Lt. Sutton. We enter the chamber again. There is even more smoke emitting from the oil drum than before. But now we are met with a new and intense combination of CS and CN. As I walk in a circle around the chamber, I feel every pore on my skin on fire. My lungs are again filled with the sensation of burning and I feel that I am choking. We spend another terrible minute in the chamber, walking in circles. I can only describe what I feel as an intense, all-consuming pain. The feeling of choking takes over and I begin to feel myself panicking, even though I know to expect the sensation and I know that I am able to breathe.

Finally, Lt. Sutton orders us out of the chamber. Again, there is a near stampede for the door. I feel myself and others getting pushed out of the way as everyone loses their bearing and

makes for the exit. Martinsson, who is standing by the door videotaping us, shouts, “Walk, walk! Castenada is clenching his gut! Congratulations we have a gut buster!”

Lt. Sutton takes off his mask as we stand, isolated from each other, gasping for air and bent over clutching our knees. As heads finally begin to rise up and recruits begin to open up their eyes, Lt. Sutton says, “Come in, come in, come in,” as he gestures with both hands for us to gather around him. “Look up at me, let me see eyeballs. Get in the wind, get yourselves recovered. Get some water. The more air with CN/CS the better. Do the karate kid stand, get some wind in your face and some water and I want you at the berm at 1420. I walk over to my water bottle with my friend Susan. Susan turns to me, grabs my arm and says, “I thought I was going to suffocate!” Quchocho seems totally unaffected and says, “That was great!”

We regroup in front of the firearms range. As recruits stand around, recover, and talk about their encounters with the gas chamber, the RTOs ridicule us. Martinsson makes fun of a female recruit, Jiminez, and turns to another recruit, Price, and says, “Jiminez, she was clenched on you like this [balls his fists] ‘*Don’t leave me! Don’t leave me!*’ Jiminez, I could see the *fear* in your eyes. You weren’t going to let Price get away from you. You were cinched on like he was Rudolph the red nose reindeer.” Deputy Martinsson then turns to another recruit, “I have a *great* picture of you Waters.... Who was Ty trying to pull down? It looked like he was trying to take someone down... Solomon, [a hulking former NFL football player] I didn’t think you could scream that loud!” Sgt. Ramos, snickered, “You [Solomon] sounded like a little girl.”

Officer O’Brien, changes the tone from ridicule to serious. “Everyone is still standing, everyone still has a pulse. The next... element of this day [pepper spray] is going to be more challenging than what you just did, I can promise you that. Keep this in mind. Keep this in mind. Have some dignity. Have some dignity.”

Deputy Martinsson follows up on Officer O’Brien’s admonishment that we maintain dignity in the face of being pepper sprayed. “For you deputies, your reputation precedes you [at the Sheriff’s Office]. So if you are doing some crazy funky chicken from pepper spray, I will tell *every single deputy* at the jail and they will all know it. That will follow you around everywhere you go.”

We move over to one of the pistol ranges. Lt. Sutton splits us into two groups of twenty five recruits and has us stand facing each other in two lines. Lt. Sutton explains that he is going to walk down in between the recruits and spray one line at a time. The person sprayed in the face with pepper spray was instructed to grab the recruit in front of them, place them in a control hold, and hand cuff them.

“This simulates cuffing. Partner, don’t help. Don’t resist but don’t help. Make them give the order and touch your hands. Once you have cuffed, only then can you decontaminate. There is water and there are fans here. It’s windy. This is an ideal day to do this. Partners, you will stay with your partner, no matter what!” Lt. Sutton walks to the front of the line and stops at a tall lanky recruit named Finely. He asks Finely, “Finely, how are you?” Finely responds, “Sir, going to be doing better in a little here.” Lt. Sutton laughs and says, “*Yes, you will.*” As soon as Lt. Sutton says that, he starts walking down the line blasting recruits in the eyes and face with pepper spray. As each person is sprayed, they shout, “Get down on the ground, get down on the ground” to their partners and go ahead and cuff them.

Finally, Lt. Sutton gets to me and before I notice it, I am blasted in the face with pepper spray. I shout to my partner, Rector, “*Get down on the ground, get down on the ground!*” I run a short distance to him, still able to see and not feeling the effects of the pepper spray. I grab Rector’s wrist and twist it behind his back. I put him into a rear wrist lock and bring him to the

ground. The task completed, I stand up. It has only been seconds since I was sprayed and now I begin feeling it. My eyes swell shut. My face, mouth, nose, and throat begin to burn intensely. I don't feel the same intensity of pain as the last two exposures to CN and CS in the gas chamber, but the pain here persists (and will ultimately go on for hours). I begin to hyperventilate and gasp for air as I accidentally inhale some of the pepper spray that is dripping off of my face. I take several steps backwards, face contorted in pain. Officer O'Brien shouts, "Composure, Lande, composure!" Rector places his hand on my back and I stand upright and walk toward the fans. I spend the next hour or so, standing over the fan trying to dry the pepper spray and cleanse my eyes of the burning irritant. Nothing I do mitigates the pain. It is as if someone is applying intense heat to my face, eyeballs, mouth and throat. It is unlike any pain I have endured in my life and the pain keeps coming in waves over the next hour. Rector walks me around the firearms range and orients me to the wind. The wind is a mild relief. But soon some small droplets of rain fall. Each tiny drop reactivates the pepper spray that has dried on my flesh and ignites a new bout of burning sensation. I ask Rector to guide me back to the fans and out of the rain. I can only open my eyes by prying my eyes open with my hands. I force myself to do this, despite the intense pain of opening my eyes, so I can dry my eyes out with the fans.

After Exposure: Reconstituting the Group

About an hour after we have been pepper sprayed, LT Sutton calls us all in to the classroom. Lt. Sutton shuts down the fans that about 9 of us, including myself, are still hovering over, our hands prying our eyes open, snot still dripping. "Today was a challenge" he says, "and the RTOs and I are proud of you. You have begun acquiring the will to survive. Today you have demonstrated that you can meet the challenges that you will face in this career, and there will be many. There were no real babies today. No wriggling on the ground sucking your thumb in the fetal position. You kept your professional bearing. This class was real brave. You have more courage than a lot of the classes that have preceded you. I am very proud of what went on here. I want all of you to feel proud of what you have accomplished. It isn't easy. But pain is all mental. Because you met this challenge as a group we are going to unroll your guidon. And, as you see, it is now on a pike. From here on out, this is your symbol. You must protect it. If I see it lying around, it will be taken. You guys did good today." He continues, as he unrolls the guidon, revealing a black flag with the Academy logo on it and our class number, 157, "I know some of you think that guidon is plain silly. But I take it seriously. I believe in the guidon. You don't? Oh well, but keep in mind that this is the banner under which you will be representing yourself. I would try to take it seriously because it can be the heart of the pride you have in your class."

I only really hear what Lt. Sutton has been saying because I am standing in front of the door, trying to catch the breeze from the rain outside so as to cool my eyes and face. I am shivering without control. The wind soothes the burning on my face and in my eyes.

Lt. Sutton abruptly turns and leaves. Officer O'Brien who was standing behind him, makes a few comments: "I wanna second what the lieutenant just said. Deputy Martinsson and I really are proud of what you guys did here today. I know it sucked. But you will remember this day for a long time. You guys did really well. *It really is a challenge* to stand there and get a blast of OC to the face. That *shit*, pardon my French, will make for a bad day. Like Lt. Sutton said, you maintained your bearing. I didn't see anyone completely lose it. You pushed through, took good care of each other. Just what we were looking for. And don't feel bad about this. I have to do this every two years for SWAT. But now you know what you have to be able to handle if you want to

be SWAT or a chemical agents instructor. I will also tell you that you need to know that you will be exposed to these chemicals again. It may not be direct, but, especially you guys who will be working the jails, get used to it 'cause this stuff is going to be everywhere. So now you know how to handle yourself. That should give you lots of confidence. That's what this job requires. You have to be confident that, even when you have OC all over you, or CS, that you can be a good operator."

Officer O'Brien says afterwards, "I never use O.C. I would rather go hands on than use it. You have to think about it this way, think how close you have to be to someone to use it. If you use it, it's because the person is probably violent. So if you pepper spray them, they got 5-10 seconds to close that distance on you and now they are really pissed that you peppered sprayed them. Worse part is, with my luck what will happen is what happened today, you'll get some blow back and you won't be able to see either." Someone asks if he were to get into a fight and the suspect were to get his pepper spray, what would he do. "It's simple, I go to my gun. Now that is not something I can tell you to do. I don't know if a court will say that it is reasonable force. But I know how I react and I can tell you that it is bad. So if I got OCed, I would go right to gun because, for me, I am incapacitated now, and, as we taught you, we don't fight fair, you escalate up. This is definitely a situation of force escalation for me."

Bonding in the Aftermath of Chemical Agents Day — 4/8/06

The next day we meet at the Cue & Brew, a bar in a city located centrally to our homes. Songco, a recruit, also works as a bartender there and we go to support her. Almost all of the conversations, over beer, whisky, Malibu's and games of pool, are about Chemical Agents Day. The recruits who show up—Bai, Young, Waters, Fitzgerald, Nobel, Quichocho, Songco, Lee, and myself—rehash our experiences in the gas chamber with the different chemicals and with the OC spray. The focus is mostly on what we felt, how we reacted, and how others reacted: who kept their eyes open?, who went to water?, who to the fans?, when did the pain stop?, how did the showering go?, who recovered fast?, who acted like babies?.

Waters and I, for example, have an extended talk about why we took so long to recover. Waters says, "If you think about it, it was Rice, Dillon, and I, the three whitest guys there that took forever, but I guess Lee was still hurting even longer... I don't know... You know what? You and I didn't use water and I bet they didn't either. We just used wind and air and didn't rinse our eyes. I wonder if that was part of the problem?" T. Nobel says, "Yeah, dude, you have to flush that shit out of your eyes and off your face. You don't want to do what some of them were doin', trying to freakin' swim in the hose, but you just quickly flush the OC off and then go and dry yourself out." Waters continues, "I, immediately after going home, went swimming in a pool with chlorine. It was awesome. It felt so good just swimming around with my eyes open, clearing out my eyes. When I got out, I felt great." Fitzgerald says, "I used to do a lot of swimming on the team in high school and we were always told to try drops of milk."

In addition to talking about their ways of dealing with the pain, everyone gives extended accounts of what they felt when being gassed. Bai, for example says, "for the second to last time, I was in there taking shallow breathes. I had my eyes closed when they began to sting but I would crack them open periodically to see what was happening. The breathing worked for a while. But then I started to feel like I was choking. I just couldn't breathe. I felt people running away from me and breaking ranks. I told people to not break ranks. Then I started to black out

and I remember going down, blacking out, then coming back and two people were holding me up and then people were running out. You can see on the video that I got left behind and I realize that I am the only one there so I run out.”

We look at the still photos and video that T. Nobel, Sgt. Ramos, and I took. The photos, in particular, emphasize the snot and twisted faces. With the OC spray, they show the inflamed faces, snot, crying, and gasping of recruits. The images were taken, in part, for their shock value and for their humor. T. Nobel explains, “I was going around with my camera taking pictures. Like, with Lande, I’d go up to them and say, ‘Look here, I’m taken a picture. Trust me, it will be hilarious later. Lande, you were like, ‘Fuck, hurry up and take it; I got to get to the fan!’ Aren’t you glad now that I made you stop? This shit cracks me up.” He passes around the still shots of the recruits, including me, for everyone to look and laugh at. I respond, “Dude, why do you think I stopped and told you to take it? Even then, I felt like shit but knew I wanted to take a good picture. But man, it looks even worse because I my hand slipped over one of my eyes so one is open and the other looks all fucked up.”

4-10-06 Post Chemical Agents Day Debriefing

On our first day back to the Academy after our weekend recovery, Lt. Sutton has us fall into the “instructional” formation in the gym. Some recruits stand, others take a knee in a semi-circle surrounding him. “Relax. Listen,” he says, “I want to tie up any loose ends that we might have from Friday. First off, let me ask, does anyone have any funny stories for me about any chemical agents moving north to south... anything hilarious from the showers?” No stories, but Lujan raises his hand and asks, “Sir, are there any good ways to remove OC once it’s on you?” Lt. Sutton answers, “Nah, I don’t really know any good tricks. I think I have tried most of them. You just got to get it off as quick as possible. I heard milk works, but I have never tried it.” Waters and a few other recruits give their explanations. Recruits ask a few more questions. I ask, “Sir, do the other Academies do this kind of training?” Sutton says, “I don’t really pay attention to what the other Academies do. I do it this way—not to torture you guys, but for two reasons: to expose you to the agent and to make you tough. Do you all understand why we did this, that this wasn’t some perversity on our part?”

Standing before us, he continues to describe the purpose of the training: “How do you think you would have reacted in a live situation if you had been contaminated accidentally but had no experience? How do you think that would have impacted your decision-making? Without knowing what your capabilities are, don’t you think you might have escalated the situation to a use of deadly force situation? Of course, it would be hard to argue how that is warranted.”

He turns, takes a deep breath and continues: “Friday’s training was intended to make you understand exactly what you are capable of when contaminated. It shows you that you are capable of functioning even in the face of extraordinary pain. It is important for your confidence in the field that you know your capabilities and I hope that, for most of you, that the training had this effect. Friday caused you a lot of pain but, as you saw, you weren’t really hurt. Being able to separate pain, which is mental, from physical injury is crucial in police work because that day when you get shot or stabbed and you realize that it is only pain, you will find that extra energy to keep on fighting until you win and the threat is ended. This training isn’t passed on in POST books. It’s not written down anywhere. It is based on our experiences as cops. I have seen plenty

of guys in SWAT, out on a perimeter or holding a line, who accidentally have gotten gassed and either held their ground or didn't because they had trained for it by being exposed and they *knew* what they were capable of. The training is also more than just about preparing you for the real life situations. It is to make you tough. Friday was a challenge—for many of you, probably one of the bigger challenges you have faced. You experienced pure pain. But all of you toughed it out and you are all a little tougher and a little better now because of that. *I can't tell you how important this is on **the street**. You each personally experienced this as you fought to stay in the gas chamber so that you would not be the first to break ranks. That goal, to stick it out, no matter what the cost, is something you have to learn. And if it takes worrying about not being the first out, and if you have to hold onto the guy in front of you to keep him in there, then you have done well.*"

Conclusions

The RTOs and recruits at the police academy create the social contours of painful experience through a variety of strategies and tactics. Recruits learn temporal lessons; they learn that the pain they encounter in training will end and that they can continue engaging in activity while in pain. The significance of pain is transformed when recruits have grasped that they can keep their bodies moving, that they "can go on," that the experience of pain does not foreclose their future-oriented actions (e.g. fighting, running, staying awake during a long graveyard shift). Above all, the meaning of pain is transformed when recruits are able to anticipate, without reflection, that the pain will be over and that they will recover. Learning that injury and pain are not identical, training the body to continue acting while experiencing pain, and learning that there are proper ways to comport oneself even while in pain render pain meaningful in a different way. Pain is, in a sense, demystified through exposure to painful practices.

The management of pain in the police academy is thus more than just a form of impression or emotional management (Hochschild 1983). Theories of emotional management imply that recruits are "playing" at not being in pain. Instead, the outcome of police training is an altogether different kind of being: a being imbued with new bodily powers, habits, and skills. These are new capacities that transform the very organism itself and change the kinds of actions and stimuli that are experienced as painful. When RTOs say that they are trying to teach recruits to "endure" or "survive," they are referring to an actual expansion in what the body can accommodate and assimilate before and while it experiences pain. This does not mean that recruits no longer experience pain or that they come to perversely enjoy it. It means that how pain appears, feels, and is publicly enacted is transformed according to the police academy.

I have also shown that there is a powerful *symbolic economy*, driven by recognition, and stigma; shame, pride, and honor, that regulates how recruits conduct themselves while in pain. What recruits often fear more than physical pain is the injury of negative social judgment. However much recruits know that bodily discipline will mitigate the sensation of pain, the greatest constraint on pain experience is social pain. As we have seen time and again, recruits' physical prowess is often seen as inseparable from their ethical preparedness for the job and is thus closely bound up with concepts of heroism and honor.

Terms like "heart," "squared away" or "dignity" are used by RTOs and other recruits to ratify competent bodily performances (e.g., a recruit who is tired and sweaty but keeps running). Other terms like "sandbaggers," "mopes" and "goobers" do the opposite and stigmatize those

who fail to express the police-specific bodily logic of action in the academy. Together, these terms amount to a vocabulary of motive and distinction that lets others know what kinds of conduct are acceptable and unacceptable in certain situational contexts (even if it does not necessarily render an accurate description of recruits' "interior" motives). This vocabulary of motives articulates symbolic and moral constraints on how to "do" pain—constraints that are then embodied as temporal and postural schemata. Words are also used as an illocutionary push to get recruits to spend more time cultivating their bodies in the gym; to increase their bodily capacities so that activities that once exhausted the body are now assimilated as a part of the body's cardio-vascular potential and muscular strength. Shouting words like "composure!" is thus a practical action, part of a setting in which bodily labor is engaged. These utterances are used as tools in the organization of a social setting concerned with coordinating bodies together in time (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970). They help make certain bodily movements and rhythms more visible and assessable (Mill 1940).

These terms, however, are not adequate sociological explanations of the bodily labor we have witnessed in the academy; they are terms that require explanation. (We have to be careful of the "spontaneous sociology" [Bourdieu, Chamboredon, and Passeron (1991b)] that Goffman at times appears to be trapped by when he explains "character" and manliness.) When an RTO shouts, "Composure, Lande, composure!," he is not describing an interior moral failing so much as issuing a "call to order," a command to correct the body into an upright posture. The ridicule that RTOs and recruits expose each other to is a similar form of disciplinary verbal conduct meant to encourage recruits to always perform their best (Desmond 2007; Pascoe 2007). It shames and humiliates those who lose bodily control, who quit, or who otherwise appear inadequately invested in their labor. Verbal rebuke, shit talk, and shaming result in large part from a concern for the safety of the recruits, a fact that Lt. Sutton and other RTOs are explicit about. Police officers can ill afford to walk into a tense, chaotic and rapidly unfolding setting like a domestic violence call with an incompetent partner. Recruits learn this first and foremost because the academy trains them to think and feel that way, i.e., to make sense of and account for conduct according a justificatory vocabulary based on competence and incompetence.¹²⁹

This training occurs within a relationship of domination and subordination. The RTOs took every opportunity, especially in the opening months of the academy, to remind recruits who was in charge. Deference was expected not only by recruits submitting themselves to the drudgery and suffering of physical training or the extraordinary events of Chemical Agents Day, but every day, and every minute with small rituals of deference like saying, "Sir, by your leave, sir?" whenever passing an RTO in the hallway.

In other words, the physical training and chemical agents training I described were not necessarily ready made projects for the class to complete, rather the RTOs were quite skilled in recognizing opportunities for putting recruits in their place while at the same time making the put down into a moral lesson about needing to "toughen up." In fact, that the RTOs claimed that they saw the need to, *yet again*, give the class the moral lesson to "toughen" up, was often itself a

¹²⁹ However, we should be cautious in assuming that the RTOs always "know," in advance, what it is that they do. For example, recall when Lt. Sutton had the recruits go over the fence and then chastised them for bringing the weights over when not told to. It was my impression then, and after talking to other recruits, that only after the fact did Lt. Sutton realize that an error had been made. He had not *deliberately planned* the exercise in order to create a learning opportunity. Rather, the his rebuke of the class's performance was as much about him and the RTOs always being "right" no matter what the outcome, as it was a lesson about how to "strive on" while suffering.

form of put down or shaming! But for the RTOs, often the point was simply to “prove” their inherent moral and professional superiority. This does not mean that the RTOs did not teach recruits to toughen up. Most recruits either threw themselves into bodily labor or else inured themselves emotionally and psychologically to the RTOs with a “whatever” mentality (itself an accomplishment praised by RTOs since it showed a recruit was “not affected” by being “mother fucked.”). The point, is that most social and ritual settings like PT or Chemical Agents are ambiguous and indeterminate because practice, as Bourdieu so often points out, does not follow the logic of logic and only has a practical coherence.

When recruits have acquired the “will to survive,” it no longer appears insane to new police officers to run into a fight, take gun fire, or engage in the other risky behaviors that police organizations demand of their members. Recruits do not come to think of themselves as invincible or bulletproof, as some researchers have suggested; rather, recruits acquire a well-founded “sense of limits” that is not about “what I think” but about “what I can do” (Merleau Ponty 1962; Todes 2001). The “I-can” of the “the will to survive” can’t be learned simply by reciting the Officer Safety Creed or chanting “it’s only pain, not injury” under their breaths. Recruits have to learn the creed of the “will to survive” by practicing a form of life: by being decisive, by training to endure pain and discomfort, by righting themselves while in pain, and by constantly exceeding their physical limits through bodily exercise and training.

Chapter 8: BBQ, Bud Lite, “Tactical Snakes” and One Recruit’s Account of Life in the Police Academy

Introduction: Meet Luke

This chapter is different than the others. It is an extensive interview and then analysis of one recruit’s ruminations on the training environment of the academy. I include this chapter to give readers a stronger sense of how a typical recruit reacted to the recruit training officers as well as the other recruits. Luke, the recruit I interviewed, articulates his own sense of investment in the “game” of academy life, i.e. proving he can overcome the tough and strenuous environment of the academy, and articulates complex emotions regarding how he feels he is judged and seen by the academy cadre. Even when Luke sees himself in conflict with the cadre, we see that he still takes for granted and *colludes* with the cadre, by taking-for-granted the need to be “tough” and “hard”

The following interview took place on a hot summer day outside of Sacramento. I went to visit my friend Luke, a recruit at the police academy who would later become a police officer in a large suburban city. We talked shop as we relaxed on his back patio with a BBQ fired up and a fridge of cold Bud Lite in the nearby garage. Luke introduced me to his wife, Rose, and told me that he had also invited his best friend, a police officer named Aaron. Luke was excited to introduce me to Aaron, who had just completed SWAT training.

Luke, in most respects, was a typical recruit. He was in his early thirties, came from a middle-class background, was married, and had a different career before he became a police officer. Most of the recruits I encountered were not “young pups” in their early twenties, but were more mature and had career experience. Like Luke, many of them were searching for an escape from banal middle-management or supervisory desk jobs. Policing was seen as a job that was respectable, paid well, had excellent benefits, and, most importantly, offered variation in daily tasks and the potential for excitement.

Luke’s description of life in the academy touches on many of the themes discussed in this dissertation. He speaks readily about being “squared away,” “tough,” “hardcore,” and physically fit. Luke uses these terms to describe himself in relation to his peers; they are markers of distinction, and they reflect how he feels the academy has and has not changed him. As he discusses the academy, Luke emphasizes the caustic yelling and high stress situations created by the RTOs. He questions whether they helped him develop the thick skin necessary to be a cop. Lance’s ambivalence in discussing his time in the academy illustrates the salience of shame and pride for an officer-in-training.

Luke’s emphasis on toughness, stoicism, and performance also illustrates the type of masculinity fostered in the police academy. The need to perform physical feats, and to do so publicly, is at the core of masculine comportment and honor (Gilmore 1990; Herzfeld 1985 & 1980; Bourdieu 1979). When Luke discusses the single female RTO and the female recruits, we learn that he judges women based on their ability to “handle business.”¹³⁰ The greatest danger to a male or a female recruit is to be perceived as effete and therefore as someone incapable of aggressive activity and decisive action.

¹³⁰ Luke takes care not to impute sexual orientation to women who “handle business.” Concern about a fellow officer’s sexual orientation pales in comparison to concern for competent performance in the academy.

In policing, masculinity is not something that adheres to an individual as an accident of anatomy. Masculinity is instead an achievement that is hard fought and won; it is proven through trials, ordeals, and various rites that demand a dramatic illustration of toughness and decisive action. This form of masculinity requires public recognition and is easily challenged by a breakdown in composure or a show of incompetence (Bourdieu 2001). I hypothesize that adherence to masculine bodies and reputations helps in preparing future police officers for a world that, much like warrior societies, demands that members engage in violent conflict and use their bodies as tools and weapons.

When Luke’s friend Aaron arrives, his virility is on display. Aaron represents something of the ideal-typical masculine *Bildungsroman* found in the academy; he embodies “ascension to the exalted status of manhood under the tutelage of knowledgeable elders” (Gilmore 1990: 19). Aaron has completed his ascent into an elite unit under the direction of experienced elders and is now playing the role of knowledgeable elder for Luke. Aaron ties his drive to perform excellently on the job with his need to perform sexually. He speaks of sexual exploits and pranks in vulgar terms that would be familiar to any officer. These tales of sexual conquests and tests of virility abound in the academy and in police and sheriff’s departments. The acts that officers’ flaunt are inevitably *feats*—they are hard to accomplish and thus proof of some sort of mettle.

What follows is a partial transcript of my conversation with Luke and Aaron.

Luke Speaks

[Luke speaks candidly and at length about his experience of the academy:]

I am thirty years old, married, on the brink of my wife and I having kids. So why would I change [my career goals]? For one, I have two friends who are in law enforcement. From their experience of it, they love it. One is a cop in Pittsburg (he lateralled to Tracy) and the other is a cop in Antioch. So I have been doing ride-a-longs in [Suburban City] especially. Great department, great people. The thing that turned me on the most is... in my business, I was an operations manager at Cisco, and it was a team effort in management, but not as much as in police work where you are pushed to the limit. Because [as a cop] you are dealing with people who want to hurt you, injure you and kill you and end other people’s lives. The teamwork that I saw them doing during ride-a-longs was a huge thing. Those guys were good friends, good people working together. They were going from call to call together helping each other out. That’s what turned me on the most to it [police work].[1]

Now, why would I go through the academy to do that, especially as a student, not as a hire? Well that was more of a strategic decision. Because I knew—well, I kind of figured out

[1]Luke, like many recruits, is attracted to policing because of the

that the [hiring] process would take too long. And because I was a manager and in a leadership position, I thought it would be kind of wrong of me, a discredit to my company and myself, to be kinda of on-the-side looking for jobs while I am still working there, while I am still in a position where I have to hold myself to a higher standard than other people that I manage. That's not right. So I told my employer what I was going to do, gave them two months to find a replacement, and signed up for the academy. [I did it] because I knew that I was going to get picked up. Departments were getting down on people. Getting a lot of retirements. Couldn't get as many new people as they thought. So I thought that—as a student, I knew that I would have all that more advantage in getting hired on if I went into the academy as a student.

Why did I go to specifically [North Bay County]? My two friends went there and they said it was one of the hardest and one of the top five academies in California. It was also closest to my house, which was a good deal too! Sacramento is also about 45 minutes away. But here, I knew how things would be. I knew it was a good academy. I could have gone to an easier one, such as the junior college in Stockton, which is 25 minutes away, and worked and done that at nighttime. But the problem was... I heard... that the program wasn't looked upon as highly as the [North Bay County] one.

But the other part of that is, do I think I would be any different if I went to another academy? I mean, no! At this academy [Stockton] I think I could just go to the classes and get as much. If I were given the requirements, here are how many pushups you need to do, here are how many sit ups, same stuff, but I had to do it on my own, I would have no problem doing it. Just because I am that dedicated in my employment.... So, do I think that this academy [NBPA] trained me any harder than the other academies? No. But it looks good on my job application. That's it. And I think everyone takes out of it the kind of person that you are. [2]

We have recruits that maybe don't take it as seriously as I do because maybe they aren't in the same position that I am. This is do or die for me; I have to do it. I have bills to pay. So I—I don't really think that I get out of this academy maybe as much as someone else younger. Because the stuff they are teaching me here I think I know. I know how important it is when you are in a leadership position to be squared away. You know having your uniform and equipment looking better than everyone

solidarity that develops in the face of perceived dangers.

[2] Luke suggests that what the academy itself does to recruits is not as important as bodily self-discipline. The latter determines one's success in becoming and being a police officer.

[3] Being “squared away” is an important category of moral judgment at the academy. Not looking like a “bag of shit” is something to take pride in; it marks recruits as moral members

else's. People don't follow leaders that just look like they are a bag of shit. [3] You know. You have to be better than the people you manage. Same thing on the street. If you are an officer and you look like a turd and then you go to a house where someone is just more squared away than you, then they aren't going to listen to you. That's why I understand the importance of that. But I understood that before I even got here. So does the academy really help me learn that? No. Um, does the discipline, getting yelled at everyday help me? No. I dealt with that at my old job. I had to remain calm while my employees, junior managers, were yelling at me and I had to lean and know how to not use profanity towards them or use vulgar language or use the wrong thing that could get me in a law suit, a union grievance or a wrongful termination lawsuit. So is that really any different? No. It's really all the same thing. All the stuff they are teaching us is the same stuff [I already learned at work]. [4]

So, for me, the academy has enlightened me to some new level but I am no different than when I first started. Just physically I am in different shape. [5] I have more knowledge from taking the different tests. So, maybe me, at this stage of my life and the stuff that I have had to deal with in my younger days and in my job, this academy hasn't really shown me anything I didn't already really know, except the law aspect and how to apply the law. Of course I didn't know that but I could just read the book and that is pretty much the same instruction that I get everyday! That's all I do every weekend, just read the book. In class I am mostly thinking about some test that's coming up or something else, you know. I am not thinking about that [the instruction].

In my opinion, the academy is great. But what I would do if I could change the training, is, maybe after week 16, do a ride along, maybe with your agency or any agency in the area. That's what you should do. But maybe there is something where the people who are hired on can't do it because they are getting paid, but even if they did it during class time, like every Friday... you pick a day during the week or the weekend where you have to do a ride-a-long. You know, that's what I think should be done.

They should have us on a 4/10 schedule [four days, ten hours], Monday through Thursday. Because it's more... what you learn [the] week [that] you go and learn how to apply it, every single week. Well you will be that much better when you come to your FTO [Field Training Officer]. Some of the stuff is great [class

of their new social universe.

[4]Being disciplined is in part about bodily self-control. Remaining "calm" while in a stressful situation is a hallmark of a good recruit and officer.

[5]Most but not all recruits undergo a kind of physical metamorphosis in the academy. Most lose fat and gain muscle. Many of the deputies and officers I worked with remarked that, short of high school athletics or the military, the academy was the time in their lives that they were most physically fit.

instruction], but you have to know how to apply it....

On paper this academy helps me the best. In reality, probably does me no good. I am not going to be any better than if I had gone to any other academy... unless they don't teach you the laws of arrest or something at the other places. But POST sets its standards so... But do I think I would be that much more mentally or physically strong. No. I don't think that stuff would be helped at any other academy. It depends on the person and how you apply the academy to your life.

I will be honest with you. The first month was very difficult for me because I took this the wrong way. I took it as a job. And when I was getting yelled at... I took it very personally. I am not performing at the level that my superior wants me at. [6] Well that was not the way it was intended [by the RTOs] to be taken. It was meant to see how you responded to high stress situations. Well, I didn't look at it that way. I didn't see it as a high stress situation. I saw it as: my employer is yelling at me. I am not doing my job. I took it personal. Now looking at it, um, the first day it's like, who gives a shit, they are yelling some stupid shit. No matter what you do they are going to yell at you. The first day, or maybe the second day, my uniform was perfect but it still wasn't good enough. Well my boots aren't any shinier than they were the first day. They were probably more shiny the first day than they are now! It's all stupid shit, mental games that they play with you to see how you will react. And that training I didn't take it the way I was supposed to. I took it, my boss is yelling at me, I am not performing right. I didn't see it as this is some shit head on the street yelling at me and I got to take it in a professional manner. Cause I didn't look at them as people yelling at me, I saw them as employers. Even though I am paying them to yell at me!

And now I get yelled at... just this Friday I got yelled at for something cause they asked me some question about cleaning the other classroom and, as they are yelling at me, in the back of my head I was just like "dude, you are being freakin' stupid. You have no idea. I am older than you, I have just as much and probably more life experience than you have. Yes, you have more experience in law enforcement of course but, dude, this is a freakin' joke. I understood that you were going to yell at me when I told you [about the classroom] but I did that because I had to cover my ass just in case," so... [7]

The first day for me, I had a hard time, I was very stressed out,

[6]The shouting and yelling by RTOs can seem unnecessary to the uninitiated. But, as Luke indicates, the shouting and yelling create daily stress that recruits have to adapt to. The RTOs believe that, if you can't take being yelled at in a controlled setting, then you probably can't take life out on the streets where people will verbally and physically assault you. (Note that Luke's concern with being yelled at is tied to his fear that he is not "performing at the level" he imagines the RTOs want him to perform at.)

[7] An RTO's authority and respect are not guaranteed. RTOs gain respect and legitimacy by proving to recruits that they "walk the walk." Inequalities in age and experience between

I was thinking, “oh, they don’t like me. I am not doing something right.” I thought I was going to have a hard time communicating with them. But now it’s kinda like, “whatever.”

I knew what the first day was going to be like because of my buddies. [8] They told me exactly what it would be like. But I knew how I was going to take it. Because I know the kind of person that I am. Look at it this way, I don’t look at the academy like it’s training. I look at it like it is a job. I don’t look at it at all like I am learning some greater higher power knowledge. I look at it like this is my position, this is my job, this is what I am going to do. So when I am yelled at or disciplined, I used to look at it like I was doing something wrong, but now, you know, forget that—“I am right”—they just want an excuse to yell. I don’t give a shit. They just make shit up to yell at you. They make stuff up. But I am such a type A personality that it didn’t compute for me. “I didn’t do it right. I am not perfect. I must improve.” Now, I think “I am doing my shit right, just get out of my face.” So now it’s a joke. I don’t even take it seriously anymore. Just pass my tests. That’s it. All that other bullshit, getting yelled at is stuff that is good for other people who are mentally weak, not physically weak, cause I am not physically all that strong, but I am pretty fit... It is good for people that maybe... have never dealt with that kind of stuff.

A lot of this stuff, some of the younger kids, they don’t give a shit, they don’t even care about “are you yelling at me?”... I don’t think that they really understand that... yelling is great... but this generation, it doesn’t matter to them anymore. [9] Know what I mean? They don’t care if they are getting yelled at anymore for not doing their job. Who gives a shit? Some people take it seriously, some people don’t. Um... I guess it is good for certain people. But I don’t know... I just don’t see the... benefit. I know I don’t benefit from getting yelled at. Because I know that when you are an officer out on the street and you’re getting yelled at, you are going to have to know how to deal with that. Standing at attention saying “sir” to someone who is yelling at you, you aren’t going to do that on the street so why implement that here? That’s the part I don’t understand. [10] You have to know how to fire back at that person in a calm professional manner and how to get their attention. But they don’t teach you how to do that, you know? They don’t teach you how to communicate with people who are violent and are mean and disrespectful. I don’t understand it—you’re [RTO] telling me to be respectful, well, would you do the same thing to someone on

recruits and RTOs influence how recruits feel about the RTOs (and vice versa).

[8] Friends and family in law enforcement are powerful anticipatory socializers (a la Merton). Friends and family in law enforcement provide a ready vocabulary for new recruits as well as a sense of what to expect in the academy and on the job.

[9] Again, the RTOs’ harsh treatment of recruits is seen as inoculating recruits and toughening them up. Luke also emphasizes that he is unaffected. He brings this up over and over again, showing unease with the situation and actively grappling with the perception that his work has been negatively evaluated by the RTOs.

[10] It should be apparent that recruits don’t always accept what the RTOs say or do hook, line, and sinker. Even as Luke

the street who is yelling at you? No. You would handle them in a different way. So it doesn't relate. It doesn't make any sense. I understand that you want me to be able to handle a high stress situation but you are not letting me react in the way that you [the RTO] would react in that situation. You want me to act by these guidelines. Don't look me in the eyes, say "sir, by your leave, sir." The "sirs" I understand because you want to be respectful in public. Asking people "by your leave"—that makes no sense to me. How does that train me to be a police officer? That is the part I just don't understand. When these people get on the street and they haven't been in that environment, they are going to be like, "whoa," a total mind opening. This "sir" stuff, it blows me away.

That's why I think if they put ride-a-longs in there too it would make everything come together a little bit more. The scenarios, those are perfect, those are helpful. [11] But I think that doing those everyday is great because those are things that you have to deal with on a regular basis. And then take that to the street and watch the words that they use and the sentences. The posture, the way they look at them, how they hold their hands. All that kind of stuff is huge for all levels of the community. Saying "sir" and all that other bull shit, I don't know what that is about.

It has everyone all tensed up all the time. Well how do you learn in that environment? [12]... If your ass is so tight [from being yelled at] how do you learn from that? Are you going to be like that on the street? Yeah, but in a different way. You aren't going to be standing there at attention while some guy is 'mother fucking' [you]. Well, how are you going to react to that, you know? Not just stand there at attention. That's freakin' stupid. It makes no sense. I understand that they want people squared away but you can still be squared away without that stuff. They just need to teach you how to keep your cool under pressure, you know, maintain that professional demeanor.

And the other part is that you are treated like a lower class [by the RTOs]... second class citizen. And I am like "whatever dude, give me a freakin' break. You put on your pants the same way that I do, don't give me that shit. When I come home I go to bed the same way you do. I pay my taxes the same way you do...."

The academy was tough on my home life for the first month. But

acknowledges the importance of harsh treatment for some people, he suggests that it is often out of conjunction with life on the street. In real life, you don't stand at attention saying "sir." In fact, Luke hints that he would like to see the RTOs teach recruits how to respond to caustic verbal lashings with verbal force, not a "sir, yes sir."

[11] As I have shown elsewhere, scenarios are a vital part of the learning process. In scenarios and demonstrations, recruits attain a "visual and corporeal mastery" of themselves and their world (Wacquant 2004).

[12]The harsh discipline of the academy is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, recruits and RTOs see it as critical to the toughening up process. On the other hand, some recruits find that the indiscriminate application of verbal criticism and harsh discipline detracts from other lessons that need to be learned.

now it doesn't affect me at all. I see my wife every night. She has a job were she works at home and is a sales person. She works for a company that sells contracts for janitorial services for cleaning. She goes in, measures things, and tells you how much it's going to cost to get the place cleaned. So she is home and I see her a lot. It's kind of unfair, my situation, to other people because she [my wife] does 99% of my stuff that I need to do. So I do my boots but that's about it. She takes my clothes to get dry cleaned. She washes my clothes, irons my pants, irons my shirt, puts my name on my shirts... all that shit. So... yeah, I am a little bit of a cheat.

Sex, man, that's tough! I am so tired half the time when I get home I am just struggling to stay awake long enough to get everything done and go to bed. We've all talked about this, how the academy has been kind of a libido killer. [13]

I polish my stuff in the evening and my boots in the morning. Besides that, that is pretty much the only thing that I do for the academy at night. I just come home, eat, talk to my wife, clean out my bag and go to sleep, between 7-8. That's bullshit... I know!

I get up at around 3:30. I used to get up at 2:30 to get ready. Cause, I always wanted to be early. If you're early, you're on time. If you're late, you had better not even show up.

I have nothing against women cops, it's about what you do... [14] Take Sgt. Zaragoza, no disrespect to women... comparing her to Aronson, apples and oranges. That is a prime example. I would take Sgt. Zaragoza on my team. Because if I had to throw down with somebody and shit was going down, I would want her behind me. I wouldn't worry if she was my backup officer. Because she looks like she could handle business, not like she is miss tough, you know, butch or something, but she would be there for you. Um, Jiminez has that fire in her too, like she wants to punch someone in the face. You know what I mean... I can see her beat[ing] up her husband or boyfriend or whatever the hell. Um, but she doesn't always have that command presence, more just like she might fly off the hook. Aaronson, well, she will probably make it through [the academy] but I wouldn't want her with me. She is going to be forensics anyway...

[13] The academy is a “greedy institution.” Many recruits reported a loss of leisure and social time. Most recruits in romantic relationships also said that they noticed a marked decline in their sexual activity. They were simply too tired to have sex as regularly as before the academy.

14] Nothing better illustrates the role of police masculinity and gender classifications than how males talk about females in the academy. Women can be as different as “apples and oranges”—not because of their anatomy, but because of their mastery of masculine skills. Toughness and “handling business” will gain a woman credibility. Similarly, a man who lacks masculine virtues is considered effete. What recruits want to know is that, in combat,

At the academy, you kinda want to be a fly on the wall, no one sees you... You have some guys like Waters that aren't like that. He reminds me of Tackleberry [from the Police Academy movies]. He seems too serious all the time. He's just too... too freakin' "always on." "Dude, just relax, have a little fun in life." He is too much!

I love Lt. Sutton. He's what I want to be like after 10, maybe 15 years... So my buddy, who is friends with Officer O'Brien, was at Laceter's memorial [a fallen officer from a police department near the academy]. And apparently there was this guy, a doctor, talking on his cell phone at the memorial. Well Lt. Sutton comes over and says to the guy, "you had better turn that shit off or I am going to kick your fuckin' ass right now. I am going to knock you the fuck out." So Lt. Sutton talks to the recruits just like he talks to everyone else! That guy is fucking hardcore, like Aaron, who will be here soon. Aaron, but bigger.

Aaron, has that 'I don't give a shit' attitude. He's like... "I don't polish my boots or any of that bullshit." None of my friends [who are cops] do that. [15]

Aaron

[Aaron is an Antioch cop and long-time friend of Luke. Luke considers Aaron to be one of his best friends. When I come over for the interview and BBQ, Luke is very excited to have me meet his good friend.

Aaron is about six feet tall, wears a black hoodie that says "OP" on it and has flames going down the side. He has a goatee that has some white hairs in it. Aaron is white, about thirty, and unmarried. Luke asks him how long he has worked as a cop, "I don't know, I guess almost 4 years now. Huh." Aaron speaks with a monotone voice, as well as a kind of lazy drawl. He is a country boy.

Roselyn, Luke's wife, goes and gets Aaron a cold beer from the refrigerator in the garage. Aaron, Luke and I sit around the table, out back, talking. Luke says "So, how you doing man? You're lookin tired." Aaron says, "Oh man, I'm tired. SWAT school kicked my ass."

they have a reliable partner.¹³¹ Luke points to a critical aspect of masculinity that is often overlooked: competent action. As Desmond (2007) has argued, risk taking as a part of masculine sensibility is given too much explanatory power in sociology. Rather, what Herzfeld calls "performing excellently"—that is, skillful action—needs to be foregrounded. The women who are identified as possessing masculine qualities are not simply the "tough" women, but the ones who do their jobs very well (whether report writing, command presence, or using talk to de-escalate conflict).

[15] Part of "keeping your cool" is not being "always on." For Luke, being a good cop is being "hardcore" or unflappable in the face of others and even indifferent to others.

¹³¹ Herzfeld's summary of Cretan concepts of manhood bears a resemblance to those found in Luke's statement: "In Glendoit idiom, there is less focus on "being a good man" than on "being good at being a man"—a stance that stresses *performative excellence*, the ability to foreground manhood by means of deeds that strikingly "speak for themselves" (Herzfeld 1985).

Aaron continues:]

Shit, last days was [sic] fun though. All thirty of us were out on the range. We had all this extra ammo left, and flash bangs. So we just stood there and unloaded and threw our flash bangs. It's pretty fuckin awesome to hear all that. But uughh. The first two days were rough. 'Cause all we did was dry fire till you could barely move your hands. Then we were just doin' all these small movements, like how to walk, how to hold your hands, how to look when going to clear rooms. And it's hot. You know, we're wearing 80lbs of gear. [16]

[Aaron explains to Luke that the SWAT academy is very different than the basic academy:]

It's two weeks. It's pretty intense, but you don't have any of the bullshit that you have at basic. Like this goatee. I didn't have to shave the entire time I was there. No one gives a shit about polishing boots or the crap you are doing at the academy. I'll have to shave before I show up on Monday. We also went out every night to drink with the instructors. You had to. If you didn't go drink with the instructors, everyone thought you were really into it [the training]. But that's why I felt so shitty all the time. I was comin' to training with a hangover or still drunk for 14 days, and these instructors aren't pussies. They drink! You had to out drink them if you wanted their respect. [17]

On one of our last days, we had drank hard the night before, I felt terrible. We were doing building clearings and, course, as luck would have it, I am the second man. That means that I got to go in first and clear the room. So as were about to go in, I vomit all over the floor, then go in and unload two full mags. All this happened in under 10 seconds. So the instructors come over and say 'hey, Aaron. Why'd you do that? You only need to fire a couple shots!' So I told him, 'Fuck it, I'm still drunk!' He just laughed. [18]

[Aaron pulls out some pictures from the training. He shows us pictures of practicing entering rooms, clearing buildings, and so on. One picture is of an old instructor.]

People just took turns taking 'em. I don't really remember who... This guy [the old instructor in the photo] is the one who pretty much invented modern SWAT tactics. He retired awhile back from the FBI. But he teaches all the SEALS, Special Ops,

[16] SWAT training is even more physically demanding than the basic academy. The two-week SWAT course has to pack in an enormous amount of repetitive physical drills in order to create the possibility of the tight formations of bodies that SWAT teams typically deploy.

[17] Again, the rituals of SWAT school are different than those of the basic academy. While the drills and ceremonies of the academy are rituals meant to elevate and separate recruits from the civilian world, the rites of SWAT training are used to demarcate the elite SWAT members from the normal patrol world.

[18] The ability to handle liquor and still perform well is another sign of masculine performative excellence.

and guys like that. This guy has like three trophies that every SWAT academy someone is supposed to take. My favorite is the “tactical snake.” It’s just this cobra sculpture. But people take it and do all these crazy things with it and take photos of it. He’s had the “tactical snake” for a while now so he has like three photo albums full of pictures of it. Most off the pictures are guys who took the snake and have it inserted in someone’s pussy.”

[Luke asks “Like who, strippers?”]

No, mostly like the wives and girlfriends of instructors or the trainees. But all these women are like dildoing with it, going down on it, or they got-it up their ass. Shit like that, condom of course! It’s pretty fuckin funny and the pictures go way back. So me and my buddy are like, ok, we gotta do something crazy that people will remember. My buddy and I were the craziest. We went out and drank every night. And we had to always drink more than the instructors and show we could handle it. There is this crazy Asian instructor who would take us out, like every night. Well we decided that we would go jack him up and take photos with the snake. [19]

[Luke asks, “Did he know this was gonna happen?”]

Oh yeah! The instructors all know that they are gonna get fucked with. That’s why they never tell us where they are staying. Cause they know we’ll break in or do something crazy. So needless to say there is a fuckin’ hilarious photo of this guy [the instructor] passed out with the snake!

[Finally the meat on the BBQ is done. I put away my note pad, polish off my Bud Lite and grab a plate...]

[19] The need to be “the craziest,” to be the most daring and outrageous, fuels many of the pranks and sexual exploits that police officers brag about.

Confronting Unannounced Shame

This rich interview affords diverse opportunities for further analysis.¹³² In this short chapter I will focus only on the themes that captivate Luke the most—those that dominate the conversation and have the strongest emotional resonance for Luke. Luke, I will argue, is responding to the *symbolic economy* of policing. Because policing, especially in the academy, offers profits primarily in the form of recognition for being tough, fit, and hard—i.e. status, honor, respect—it tends to have an emotional side. Symbolic economies, that is, are just

¹³² The methods of conversation analysis would undoubtedly allow for a far deeper and richer analysis of the above text than what I can offer here.

cognitive (known and recognized) they are felt in the form pride and shame. What makes the stakes of the police academy matter so much is that recruits are emotionally exposed to the vicissitudes of being known and recognized as worth or unworthy.

If Luke lingers on one topic longer than any other, that topic is his distaste for being “yelled at” by the RTOs. Luke is obviously bothered by the RTOs’ verbal lashing and their accusations that he is inept. He knows, however, that he can’t let his discomfort show in the presence of the RTOs. As he tries to sort out his cognitive and emotional response to the situation, Luke becomes stuck in a kind of logical loop. He argues that he is a responsible, serious, and competent recruit. He also argues that his commitment, responsibility, and competence make him take the yelling very seriously—more seriously than he should. Note that, in Luke’s opinion, his competence (precisely what is at issue) make it unnecessary for the RTOs to yell at him in the first place. Of course, what bothers Luke about the yelling is precisely the RTOs’ accusation that he is incompetent. In asserting his competence, Luke works to distinguish himself from younger and less competent recruits: sometimes, Luke suggests that the latter would benefit from verbal accosting because of their inexperience and incompetence; other times, he suggests that they would be unaffected by the yelling at all, again because of their inexperience and incompetence. He circles over and over the matter of competence and its relationship (or lack thereof) to adequate performance. He struggles to locate himself and his experience in relation to his peers and to sort out his status in relation to the RTOs.

Why does Luke, an average-performing recruit, dissect his experiences of RTO criticism in the way that he does? To respond to this question, I turn first to Luke’s repetitive and highly recursive discussion of being “yelled at.” I argue that this repetition may be a symptom or an expression of Luke’s struggle with unannounced shame (Scheff 1990, Lewis 1971). Research on shame behavior has shown that, even when feelings of shame are not explicitly articulated, there are often behavioral indicators of shame in speech itself (Scheff 1990).¹³³ Excessive repetition and the use of statements like “stressed out,” “I took it very personally,” “I used to look at it like I was doing something wrong,” “I am not performing at the level that my superior wants me at” or “[they] don’t like me” are indicative of what Cooley called negative “self-regarding statements.” Shame is, in part, the emotional experience of a change in one’s relationships to others. Luke’s comments reflect a preoccupation with possible changes in how others, who are superior to him, perceive him as worthy or unworthy.

This kind of shame is the other side of honor. As Miller puts it, “The honorable person is socialized to entertain the sentiment and sensibility of honor; one judges oneself harshly as one would judge others, even perhaps more harshly.... Shame is, in one sense, nothing more than the loss of honor. Shame depends on the failure to measure up to the external standard imposed by the honor group” (Miller 1993: 118). Luke’s utterances demonstrate a taken-for-granted “sense of honor” and a recognition that he must earn respect from others on the basis of his performance in using and adorning his body. The tight connection between shame and performance is, in part, the result of shame’s phenomenally derivation from “a sense of incapacity for action and a

¹³³ Shame is peculiar as an emotion. Unlike anger or embarrassment, which is tied to involuntary bodily movements that correspond to and constitute the emotion, shame does not have fixed behavioral patterns (Katz 1999). As a social emotion, the coherent behavior praxis that constitutes shames activity is often highly contextual and contingent and is met with varied practices (from the righteous indignation and violence of duels to acting completely blasé and unaffected by shameful statements or behaviors). Unlike anger, where observers “know” a person is angry (as John Dewey once put it, a mug is being thrown at you), it may not be possible for a person to detect shame except, possibly, in terms of the diverted, down-looking, gaze of the ashamed person.

confession to self of moral incompetence in some regard” (Katz 1999: 144). Often, Katz argues, shame is felt as “a vividly sensed inability to respond,” especially regarding a “prolonged loss for socially expressive conduct” (ibid: 145). Shame, for Katz (and similarly for Goffman 1967; and Max Scheler 1987¹³⁴), is a quintessentially body-based process of social interaction. In shame, hidden aspects of the body that sustain social interactions (especially competent yet tacit skills), are highlighted as *incompetent*. Thus shame is likely to arise when the body’s performance lapses—when, for instance, we lose sphincter control or experience incontinence.¹³⁵

By listening to Luke we get a sense of the micro dimension of *symbolic economies*. When RTOs target their comments at recruits, they do so in public settings, with an audience present. Moreover, they tend to shout loudly and to use gestures like pointing to make their target visible. In doing so, they literally expose the recruit and his/her alleged ineptness for all to see; this is a public humiliation that makes the recruit “stand out like a sore thumb.” Being made to stand out in this way is, in itself, enough to cause experiences of embarrassment if not shame (and this is true regardless of one’s real competence or lack thereof). That Luke is affected by this, and experiences some degree of shame, is indicated when he says, “*At the academy, you kinda want to be a fly on the wall,*” betraying a desire to be invisible.

¹³⁴ For Scheler, shame arises in the “disharmony” between the embodied acts that people live “in” and the interpersonal plane of persona in which an individual is recognized, i.e., the disjunction of spirit and flesh.

¹³⁵ During toilet training, children build habits of bodily control that, when they break down (e.g., when a child wets his bed during a sleep over), undermine the child’s public face and lead to shame. This is even more so when adults, due to illness or fear, become incontinent.



Even positive recognition involves embarrassment, such as this “birthday” outfit.

Luke knows that his performance at his “job” is adequate: he shows up on time, polishes his boots, is in decent physical shape, and is by all accounts “serious.” Yet Luke is yelled at anyway and has not found a way to escape the verbal lashings. Luke feels shame because, despite his perception of personal adequacy, he regards his own bodily conduct from the point of view of the RTOs, and their loud, public evaluations of his performance are intensely critical. Here, he experiences his embodied enactments as “impotent”: no matter how well he polishes his boots or how hard he runs, he is unable to realize the performance he aims at—a performance that earns praise rather than rebuke and humiliation.

That Luke struggles to grapple with and understand this experience suggests that shame is thus more than a negative self-regard from the perspective of another; it also includes “negative practical possibilities” (Katz 1999). The yelling that Luke is exposed to corrodes his sense of pride in his performance (and prompts him to defend it repeatedly during our interview). Luke describes feeling both shame and anger upon his first exposures to the irrational criticism of the

RTOs. As he narrates these feelings, he reports a gradual shift in his perspective. He says that, over the course of training, he stopped interpreting the yelling as a real critique of his performance and instead began to understand it as of a test of his ability to withstand stress.

But, in our conversation, Luke wanders from this perspective as well. Indeed, he suggests that the stress created by the RTOs is itself dysfunctional rather than practical, since, as Luke sees it, cops don't stand around letting themselves get "mother fucked" by suspects in real life. Moreover, Luke already believes he knows how to "stay cool under pressure" and "maintain a professional demeanor." Luke ends by discrediting the harsh words of the RTOs, suggesting that yelling doesn't do much for him and might not do much for other recruits. Of course, as Luke makes this criticism, he also acknowledges that "taking it" from the RTOs is a requisite act of deference. It is not just pragmatic training, even if the RTOs claim that their words and actions are merely an inoculation against the harsh realities of the street.

None of the resolutions that Luke proposes seems to release him from his discomfort with being yelled at. If Luke had been able to transcend his feelings of shame, the interview might have unfolded much differently. Luke might, for instance, have engaged in less of the laborious work of justification and explanation during our conversation. If shame were not in play, the matter of Luke's self-worth would perhaps be taken-for-granted, and his experience with the RTOs would not require so much attention and reparative work. Luke's repetitive utterances illustrate how the RTOs manage to "strike a nerve" or to get under the recruits' skin during training. I argue that what recruits are sensitive too, what irks them most, is the use of shameful speech to assault the corporeal foundations of the social self.

It is possible that, despite his protests, Luke might agree with the RTOs; he might feel self-pity or self-directed anger. Luke did develop a quasi-coherent practical response to the trappings of shame—a response that, he hoped, would be the basis for transcending shame. Despite his righteous indignation, Luke responded to the RTOs by working to perform "better"; he tried to show the RTOs that they were wrong by engaging in superior bodily performance, thus bypassing shame. This behavioral adjustment is, perhaps, exactly how RTOs want recruits to respond to their public shamings; the RTOs want the recruits to transform themselves into a less shame-able and more capable being. Luke literally feels what's at stake in bodily performance and competence. Indeed, the "spiral of shame" (Scheff 1990; and also Katz 1988, 1999) usually generates emotions and actions that reconstitute the social self. Luke does this by changing his performance based on his understanding of what RTOs expect of him. This is precisely what Bourdieu means by *illusio* or a practical and taken-for-granted sense of the social world, its stakes and rewards. Luke not only *feels* the stakes of bodily performance as flux of social emotion, he responds emotionally and bodily to transform his relationship to his social environment. As Luke's repetitive talk seems to indicate, he is taken up and preoccupied with the symbolic rewards of the police academy.

Of, course, Luke also discredits what the RTOs do (he says "whatever" under his breath, yet maintains his "serious" commitment to performance). Ironically, Luke's dismissive "whatever" shows the extent to which the recruits have accomplished one of their major aims. "Whatever" comes from a place of "toughness" or "callousness"—exactly what RTOs hope to cultivate in recruits. This is one way that the contest of shame and pride between RTO and recruits—the symbolic economy—engenders a "professional demeanor" (Katz 1999: 174). In the academy, shame is not simply a psychological state of affairs; shame is tied to the perception of what is necessary for policework; shame is a tool for making people *act together* smoothly. By helping to cultivate a shared police demeanor, shame "provides a basis for others to take for

granted that there exists a collective ground, independent of the participants' machinations, for the conduct on which they collaborate" (Katz 1999: 174).

As Goffman and Elias have both shown, the manner, style, ease, and grace with which people interact is crucial to sustaining the social order. This is especially true in policing where coordinated bodily discipline, attention to details, and perceptual vigilance are necessary to sustaining police modes of life. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, the hidden curriculum of the academy is an education of sensibilities, especially a toughening achieved by habituation to pain and injurious statements. RTOs enact shaming practices to cultivate toughness. At the start of the academy, this shaming is indiscriminate and all-encompassing because RTOs want *all* recruits to *feel* the importance of police-specific forms of embodiment.

Luke recognizes that this is function of the RTOs' incessant yelling and criticism. But he believes that this is sometimes at odds with effective preparation for real policework. Thus, Luke suggests that officers should be taught how to respond decisively to verbal abuse and shaming rhetoric instead of taking it passively. Significantly, Luke's proposed training is also a proposed way to escape shame—to learn to reject and overcome a potentially shaming experience through another kind of competent performance (e.g., a witty but professional retort). But the possibility of ripostes to the self-mortifying comments of the RTOs is not an option in the Academy. Social convention and the rules of hierarchy simply would not allow it. As I noted in "The Will to Survive," one recruit was removed from the academy for "talking back" after an RTO questioned his physical performance.

That recruits are not afforded this means of rebuilding the social self may be one reason why Luke is still grappling with the shaming experiences of academy life. A witty retort is not available to him, but, after hours, he can work to process and interpret those experiences in ways that fight off negative self-feelings. His recursive logic, repetition, and other cognitive-emotional work during our interview (e.g., discrediting the RTOs or taking the stance of "whatever") are, in some sense, strategies for processing and escaping shame while also expressing a deeply internalized commitment to playing the game of the police academy and valuing its rewards and stakes.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

I have divided this conclusion into three parts. First I ask how well was the North Bay Police Academy and South Bay Police Academy able to produce valued bodies? In answering this question I outline some of the general social processes that were necessary to explain both success and failure of the cadre's efforts to teach recruits how to use their bodies forcefully. Second, I summarize the principles of bodily classification that we have seen, across the chapters, cultivated in the Academy and that help structure a symbolic economy of the body. Here, I argue that, it is only when the bodies of recruits become socially valued and recognized in consequential ways that recruits have an incentive to invest themselves in cultivating their bodily prowess and fighting potential. Finally, in the third section I describe how techniques of the body are incorporated into a bodily schema or principles of bodily action that give use-of-force a normative, taken-for-granted, feel for recruits. Explaining how force comes to be taken-for-granted as a way of using the body is the major contribution of this study.

How successful is the Academy in making forceful bodies?

I started this dissertation by asking, “*how* it was that newcomers to a violent institution became able to *do* violence and to receive pain and injury?” I bracketed the question of “*why*?” in favor of trying to uncover the field of forces that any recruit was likely encounter upon entering the doors of the police academy. Unlike the firefighters studied by Desmond (2007), there was no equivalent tight fit between a “country-masculinity” and a “firefighters habitus.” Rather, I found the opposite. Most recruits do not have a *forceful habitus* prior to entry into policing. Those who tended to do well in the academy had participated in high school and college athletics or had prior military experience. Many also had family who had served in law enforcement. For the great majority of police recruits, however, their experiences in the police academy, as well as early experiences patrolling the streets, were fraught with unfamiliarity and difficulty. My findings are more akin to Wacquant's (2004) study of boxers. Like a new boxer, recruits had to master a whole new system of motor and perceptual skills to the point where they could become proficient in new ways of moving and seeing. The successful recruit will be able to operate according to a new sense of rhythm and a sense of space that were redefined by the very skills they acquired in training. For the recruits in my study, becoming a police officer was a “sensual and moral conversion,” rather than something to be eased into as if a *fait accompli*.

Principals of Learning Force

Body techniques, as Mauss (1979) defines them, are learned socially and used socially. I have argued throughout this dissertation that, if the body is to become a vehicle of force, it must be trained through practice and cannot be realized solely through a deliberate conscious transfer of information. Rather, the development of the forceful *habitus* occurs gradually and often imperceptibly through the transmission of nonconscious postures and movements. Only by engaging in a wide range of structured bodily activities, can recruits assimilate new bodily techniques, as habits, into their bodily schema, thereby enlarging and modifying their whole

bodily structure. In attending to this process, the focus must be on the ways in which social engagements and involvements are mobilized in the service of learning new bodily techniques on the part of recruits and teaching new bodily techniques on the part of the cadre. Here, I briefly distil from the previous chapters the generic social processes necessary for forceful body techniques to be learned in the police academy.

The major processes involved are observation (model and attention), imitation, verbal/visual/physical feedback/correction, and direct involvement in the practice (drills, rehearsals, horseplay, scenarios, simulations, etc.). Wacquant refers to this process as the “dialectic of corporeal mastery and visual mastery” (2004: 118). In order to act in properly forceful ways, recruits have to learn how to move. Learning a skill like moving requires models to imitate. A new recruit won’t really understand what it is they are seeing until they observe it and imitate it with their own bodies. Further, whether recruits emulate these movements well or badly, their efforts solicit reactions (criticisms, praise, comments, direct physical contact) from the cadre. But for this social engagement to be effective, there has to be enough cadre in proportion to recruits so that everyone’s movements are supervised. Otherwise, there has to be enough supervision and competence among the recruits to help pass on proper movements.

Recruits, thus, observe other, more skilled cadre engaging in these physical behaviors even as they experiment with their own patterns of forceful bodily conduct. They often imitate the cadre’s demonstrations (sometimes during the demonstration and often afterwards). Even if there are only a few instructors or recruit training officers, recruits practice as members of groups which offer many such models for them to observe and emulate. At times, a recruit only learns a “feel” for a movement when a member of the cadre directly manipulates the body of the recruit through body-to-body contact. When we examine the process of social engagement as a stimulus to such learning, we can see recruits as consumers of a set of bodily skills and the cadre as the producers. In order for skillful transactions to occur, both recruits and cadre must participate in the training “market.”

The recruits can be treated as the consumers of bodily techniques that are rooted in longstanding traditions, socially efficacious, and technically productive in the sense that they accomplish important goals. In order to master such forceful bodily techniques any recruit must: 1.) *attend* to the cadre (who are the model); 2.) find the conduct of cadre relevant to or consequential for their anticipated situations; 3.) retain what they have seen or experienced; 4.) engage in situated practice that expands and refines their bodily schema (e.g. doing the drills and also “squeezing blue balls”, dry firing weapons, practicing the interview stance in every social encounter, etc.). When recruits do not practice, they fail. (For example recruits that do not invest in squeezing the “blue ball” to strengthen their hands or who do not refine their hands dexterity and “trigger pull” by practicing “dry firing” their pistol outside of the academy, are less likely to have the habits of movement to shoot well. Similarly, recruits that don’t “horseplay” with one another do not acquire the same comfort and familiarity with their fighting potential as those who do) and; 5.) Finally, recruits must recognize and respond to the profits and sanctions of the training world. Recruits that do not care to prove that they have “heart” have little incentive, outside of a functional need to regulate their environment, to take seriously the bodily techniques of the academy. Such recruits do not invest themselves in the social game of the academy or deploy the strategies needed to compete in the game.

Cadre, on the other hand, are producers, pitchmen, purveyors, and choreographers of skills. Cadre must supervise, walking amongst or on the periphery of the recruits as they shoot or do defensive tactics, constantly giving commands to start a movement, give verbal feedback, and

occasionally touch and manually maneuver a recruit's motions. At the same time, they have to convince recruits that they are worthy of being attended to, i.e. be recognized, as competent, if recruits are going to invest their bodies and emotions to the cadre.

Cadre must: 1.) create a social milieu that is full of *visible* models of efficacious conduct by way of force; 2.) provide visible and salient models, for recruits, with information (vicarious and direct) about the probable consequences of their forceful behavior (war stories, videos, and scenario training are particularly good at conveying either vicariously or directly the consequences of forceful behavior); 3.) deploy scenarios that create an attenuated environment that demonstrates, *in practice*, the efficaciousness of uses of the body to functionally modify the social and physical environment; 4.) Cadre also create an emotional world that makes certain "stimuli" stand out as requiring forceful responses (e.g. the "21 foot rule"), i.e. they create an impetus to *see* certain cues in the social environments as having a "dangerous" significance for recruits; 5.) Cadre then show recruits that they *can* respond to the "stimuli" with force and nullify "threats" (that is perceptual schema and bodily schema are linked); 6.) Cadre then must shape the repertoire of possible responses a recruit has at his or her disposal through the *motor reproduction process* (how the bodily schema of the cadre is passed on to the new generation of police recruit through a choreographed movement of bodies in space and time). That is, it is not enough to model cadre because observation alone rarely provides enough information for recruits to expertly perform.

Finally, 7.) the cadre are responsible for creating a *symbolic economy* based on recognition, honor, prides, and other forms of positive symbolic reinforcement as well as formal evaluations that reward the mastering of force. On the flip side, cadre create a negative system of inducements (avoidances and punishments) such as stigma, shame, humiliation, insult, and criticism which recruits can only avoid by fully investing themselves in a bodily labor to become forceful. The way cadre respond to, evaluate, name, classify, judge, humiliate, and praise recruits constitute the non-material rewards and costs of the police academies *symbolic economy* and therefore also the will and motive to enter into a world of force. If recruits are to form an *illusio*, or form of investment and interest particular to the world of policing, cadre have to create a world that imposes itself upon recruits in a way that exposes them to rewards and risks particular to policing. Thus for a recruit to invest himself in maintaining his bearing after being pepper sprayed, the cadre have to create a system of recognition and reward that is literally *felt* by recruits as an external constraint. Here, I have argued, the social emotions such as shame and pride imposed by cadre creates the symbolic economy for recruits to become invested in because they are exposed to it emotionally and therefore viscerally.

Bourdieu refers to this tacit sense of being invested in a social world— it's stakes, profits, strategies, of participating at all— as *illusio* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 117). This last point is critical since it suggests that recruits learn to use their bodies forcefully only when they see the rewards of being forceful (e.g. survival or being recognized by cadre as a "stud") as "worth it" or as simply preoccupying their time and activity (e.g. by spending an extra hour in the gym lifting weights after the end of academy training). Recruits who are indifferent to the consequences of using their bodies in a forceful manner tend not to invest themselves in the bodily labor necessary for becoming forceful. Similarly, entering the academy with a forceful body is, in some sense, to already have invested in the kind of work necessary to play the game of the academy. At a minimal level, nearly all recruits are invested in the specific *interest* of policing, simply by being at the academy. To be in the academy and to try and graduate is to accept the need to minimally master basic levels of forceful use of the body (e.g. shooting,

defensive tactics, etc.). As Bourdieu says, “Players agree by, by mere fact of playing, and not by way of ‘contract,’ that the game is worth playing” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 98).

Of course, cadre are only as successful as their legitimacy and credibility allow. If recruits do not see the recruits as skilled or intelligent in their practices, there is little reason for recruits to attend to the cadre. War stories, demonstrations, and skillful participation in the training alongside of the recruits helps cadre maintain their credibility as authorities on force. In an odd way, the cadre are only able to impose their manner of using the body to the extent that recruits recognize the competence and efficacy of the cadre’s practices! Consequently, whether or not training works is never fully up to the recruit or the cadre but is an achievement of transactions between both groups. Rather *collusion* seems to be necessary

The fact that to graduate from the academy recruits must have some *minimal* competence does not mean that the police academy is able to manufacture recruits with a uniform competence and comfort with force. To the contrary, recruits leave the academy with an uneven set of *novice* abilities. Recruits can take their training more or less seriously and become more or less engrossed in their training. In fact, their ability to embody the living models and verbal accounts is a function of how recruits *attend* to their training environment. Similarly, the RTOs favor some recruits more than others. In many cases, the highly motivated recruits who are flailing often receive more attention from cadre than the less highly motivated recruits who are excelling.

How cadres enroll recruits in the *motor reproduction process* also determines the likelihood of mastery of forceful skill. Some recruits come to the academy graced with a “competitive advantage” already in peak physical condition and with a set of martial and forceful skill at their disposal. Some recruits enter the academy in poor shape, weak, and overweight with no ability to use their bodies in a forceful manner. Most recruits are somewhere in between the massively competent and the inept. But the physical resources that recruits bring to the academy effects the *ease* by which they can participate in the *motor reproduction process*. Another factor is simply the investment of recruits in the rewards, stakes, and struggles of the police world. The recruits going into forensics, e.g., had little reason to be as tuned into the forms of recognition specific to valorizing the body. Fighting wasn’t their future and modeling forceful behavior did not appear as giving them a prowess or intelligence that they needed. Between the variation in recruit and RTO participation in the training processes, it is easy to understand how the processes I have described can be unevenly applied to a class of recruits. Nonetheless, what all recruits have in common, assuming they make it to graduation and have passed their numerous tests and evaluations, is a minimal consensus in bodily forms and sensibilities.

Moreover, I have argued that policing is a somato-centric field in which bodily capital (having a valued body in terms of its composition and the ability to use it properly) is the primary principle of stratification in the academy. Recruits are ranked according to their performance on physical fitness tests, their ability to shoot, to use defensive tactics during the “red man” scenario, to search during scenario testing, and most importantly, their status in the eyes of peers and the RTOs is tested and retested during nearly daily physical training sessions. In other words, although bodily capital may not be the only principle of difference and hierarchy in the Academy, it is certainly the one that pervades nearly every aspect of a recruits training and is most salient. The very notion of bodily capital should also remind us that it is necessarily distributed unevenly; not everyone possesses it and this makes it a constant basis of tension in the field.

Regardless of a recruits' degree competence or ineptness in being forceful what is clear is that all recruits' bodies are effected by entry into the localized field of the NBPA and SBPA. Some are more affected by the field of forces they encounter; some recruits are better able to participate in the field as a field of practitioners to be engaged with; some recruits have bodies that are already set to incorporate the practices encountered; some recruits, like Dillon or W.D. will have to expend far more energy than others in trying to realize a set of competencies and bodily power that gain them social recognition and practical efficacy in their daily labors.

Force after the Academy

The process of bodily selection and learning does not end at graduation from the academy. Recruits leave the academy novices, in many senses, still “dumb.” Recruits go onto become “trainees” in departments where they are partnered up with between three and four different Field Training Officers who engage trainees in a hands on apprenticeship over a period of between three-to-six months. During that time recruits are given the opportunity to take the basic skills and common sense they acquired in the academy and to try applying it in the much more complex world of patrol. If only about 15% of recruits fail the academy (Reaves 2009)¹³⁶, in my observations, often more than half of trainees fail their field training programs.

For example, when I began work at the Central Coast Sheriff's Office, I began my training with four other trainees fresh from the academy. Of the five of us only two completed the Field Training Program. One recruit had worked at the jail as a correctional officer. He quit the program because he found the paper work (i.e. report writing) and responsibility to be overwhelming and asked to rotate back to the jail. Another recruit quit because he could not overcome his distaste for being forceful with people, which according to his field training officer, was a failure to have the proper affective dispositions. As one of his FTOs who evaluated him told me,

“He just never got comfortable being firm with people. You can't always be nice and he was a nice guy. Some times you got to tell Grandma to shut up so you can get the job done. When it was obvious that he wasn't going to make it through the program, because he just wasn't getting out of the car and talking to people... you know he was scared, not of a fight, I think, but of confronting and upsetting people! But this is a job where you have to take control and you can't always be nice... so he told me that he just didn't want to be in situations where you had to do that and so he told me he was going to quit.”

Another recruit who quit soon after, quit because he, according to other deputies and his field training officer, “froze” during multiple fights— he failed at having a forceful comportment. The FTO told me,

“Here is another guy, another kung-fu judo guy with a black belt, who when it comes to a *real* fight, on the street, where there is no one there to control it, just locks up and stands there. The first time I can overlook but this happened every time it seemed we needed to go hands on with someone. My expectation with a trainee is that *they* go hands on before I do, so I can see that they are willing to get their hands dirty. I step back and

¹³⁶ <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/slleta06.pdf>

watch until I think they really need help, even if it means they have to take a lump or two first. That is a lesson they have to learn because I won't always be there for them. But if I end up having to be the one to go hands on because my trainee is froze up and isn't taking care of business, that is unacceptable."

Time after time I have been on calls with novice officers, either on probation or recently off probation that still struggled with use of force. I had one female partner of mine stand still, to the side, while I wrestled with an intoxicated subject. When I asked her why she didn't help me she said, "I grabbed my Taser but I couldn't figure out what to do [because the suspect and I were covering each other on the ground]. I just kind'a froze. I wasn't scared, it was like I couldn't see where I should be." Frustrated I asked, "Why didn't you just put it [the taser] away and jump in?" My partner said, "I don't know." Failures are instructive, however, because when severe and leading to expulsion they reveal the limits of the field. These brief examples from field training reiterate a theme of the Academy—to be a good cop, to participate fully in the field of policing, has as a bodily prerequisite with a certain minimum of skill, self-control, and tolerances. Within the field there are forceful elites (officers who fight often and win, SWAT, street response units, etc) and the corporeally stigmatized "mopes" (who may have rank, special assignments, or be ranking administrators, but who are not seen as "real" police capable of engaging in physical combat on the street. Elites often speak with visceral disgust about the "mopes"). A common refrain is "You're SWAT or your're not!"

The recruits that tended to do the best in the academy and in later in field training and patrol were the recruits that took advantage of every opportunity to engage in the training available, not just the use of force training. These same recruits volunteered to participate in every scenario or demonstration that they could, including defensive tactics, the shoot house, and informal scenarios among the recruits. Often these recruits would also come in on their time off to volunteer at the academy as role players for another class's scenarios, thereby getting more and more practice. These same recruits, as trainees or rookies at their respective departments also tended to be the ones that proactively sought out as many citizen contacts as they could and consequently tended to find themselves in more use of force situations. Certain rookies, because of their large physical build and strength were actively enrolled in high risk warrant services, calls for service, and proactively initiated activities because they were seen as a good resource to have. My FTO described one of his former trainees accordingly,

"T.H. is practically 'chosen' he is going to be a golden boy here because he has a good attitude, works hard, and is *huge*. When we would go to cover on a call where someone was being an asshole, they didn't notice when I got out of the car, but when T.H. showed up, they shut right the fuck up! ... When we had to do a high risk warrant service, you know, we usually keep the rookie at the back. But we couldn't get past the door. We are trying to kick it in so eventually I think, 'enough, time to get T.H. up front.' Breaching, that's the most dangerous position, but he's big. He blew that door in! You should have seen the look on his face, it said, '*that's police work,*' big ol' shit eating grin."

Time has born out this early observation and T.H. has been sought after by SWAT, by the bomb squad, the county gang unit, and any other special unit that had room and prized bodily size, strength, and fighting skill. This does not mitigate that T.H. also was very personable,

humorous, diligent, responsive to feedback from peers and supervisors, and above all, hard working, all of which made him an excellent teammate.

The importance of *involvement*, as I suggested in “Laying Hands” is crucial to absorbing practices as part of a *habitus*. This is similar to a finding that was noted by Bayley and Garofalo (1989) in their study of perception of police competence among the NYPD. They remarked in their findings regarding “skilled” officers, “Specifically, they handled more jobs per shift, were more proactive, and were more likely to become involved in serious law enforcement situations. They were more inclined to take charge, and they exhibited greater versatility in their tactical behaviors” (1989: 15). It was not a matter of forceful officers being troublemakers, it was that their seeking out of challenging and risky situations regularly lead them to troubling situations. The important point is that, as Fielding (1988b) observed in his study of police training in England, there is considerable freedom for police recruits to be more or less involved in the training, to attend to certain aspects of training and not others, meaning that recruits are no mere passive participants to training or victims of RTOs seemingly capricious actions.

From Principles of Classification to Symbolic Economies

If the recruits I studied did not all perform according to highest standards imposed by RTOs, instructors, and indeed even by many recruits themselves, didn't the recruits find this problematic? Didn't this make for the experience of an incoherent or fragile social world? The answer is no. Recruits acquired a set of sense making procedures and classifications that made a wide range of variable events and persons understandable according to a core set of classifications. I have spent considerable time in this study looking not only at competent bodily action but incompetent bodily action. At this point I want to synthesize my observations from across all the chapters regarding how the competent or incompetent form and use of the body was made sensible.

The bodies and practices of police recruits and police officers are readily classifiable according to a classificatory schema that nearly all recruits imbibe (Bourdieu 1984) in part because classificatory practices are easier to learn than the deeply embodied habits and skills that are the generative principle of bodily actions. A *forceful* body is a body recognized as having the propensity and capacity to appropriate and control space, perpetuates itself through rigorous activity into the future, that is decisive in action, adept and dexterous in the manipulation of other bodies, has emotional and bodily self-control, and easily enters into conflictual situations. Throughout this dissertation I have focused primarily on the sorts of bodily activities that relate to the comportment or orientation of the body as a whole in gross motor movement and that enlist strength and the confrontation of the body's capacities and possibilities to overcome the resistance of things and persons. Forceful bodies summon the full possibilities of muscular coordination, position, poise, and bearing when, for example, taking up an aggressive pistol shooting stance or getting in close, wide stance, bent knees with lowered center of gravity, firm grip on the hands, and aggressive grasping of the clothing and limbs with the hand when conducting a search of a suspects bodies

Physical training, scenarios, Chemical Agents Day, the firing range, the gym mat, are all places where recruits use their bodies in ways that make visible whether or not they have the bodily capital valorized by the RTOs and instructors. These are the settings of a symbolic

economy, a market of sorts, concerned with valuing the body. Bodies that fit with expectations, that are recognized by cadre and peers alike, have status, respect, and prestige conferred upon them by others. These recruits are seen to have “heart” or to be “tough” and thus the basic raw ingredients needed to one day become good cops. Recruits learn through a piecemeal “documentary analysis”¹³⁷ that certain modes of comportment is what it means to have “heart” or “the will to survive” and they learn through repeated, situated, ostensive definitions that “huffing it” during a run is what it means to be a mope; because, after all, the RTOs pointed at the exhausted recruit, laughed, and said, ‘you a quitter? Want me to get a box for you [to put your belongings in]?’¹³⁸ Each instance further elaborates, refines, and indexes not only the recruit whose suffering we attend to now but to the prior instances of recruits being ‘mope like.’

Recruits classified (and therefore recognized) as possessing the qualities of “heart” or “toughness” are entitled to *feel* pride and satisfaction with their performance. Recruits whose use of their bodies is slow, disorganized, uncoordinated, and ineffectual are classified as *mopes*, *turds*, and *sandbaggers* and as we have forcefully seen, are publically shamed, denigrated, and belittled and these recruits viscerally feel the pain of lack of social success. They feel it because they often are often embarrassed or ashamed of their performance (because they know it is not what is expected) and because they are physical disciplined through more pushups, pullups or, worse, the collective punishment of a group run, for their lack of physical progress. Hence being *forceful* is like “taste”, “the basis of the mutual adjustment of all features associated with a person” (Bourdieu 1984: 174) and is expressed in the entire comportment of the body— a comportment that is visible and readily classifiable by others because it is how the body takes up space or uses the whole of the body instead of using a limb in relative isolation.

Bourdieu goes so far as to say “The legitimate use of the body is spontaneously perceived as an index of moral uprightness, so that its opposite, a ‘natural’ body, is seen as an index of *laisser-aller* (‘letting oneself go’), a culpable surrender to facility” (Bourdieu 1984: 193). Indeed, I have repeatedly shown how the inability to keep running or maintain composure while in pain is understood and classified as a morally culpable failing of the recruit, especially as recruits become better grasping and using a uniquely police vocabulary of motives (Mill 1941). Within the *lebenswelt* of recruits, I showed how RTOs made bodily failure into moral failure by putting recruits into situations in which their immediate success hinged on the integration of everyone’s collective physical activities.

Mary Douglas (1966) in a more Durkheimian fashion, has described, in depth, the link between the physical body and its use as a marker of social boundaries and differences, especially how irregular bodies come to be seen as a kind of social impurity and danger. When it comes to the use of bodily force the divisions of sacred/profane are complex, as one instructor describes

¹³⁷ “The method consists of treating an actual appearance as ‘the document of,’ as ‘pointing to,’ as ‘standing on behalf of’ a presupposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual documentary evidence, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of ‘what is known’ about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other” (Garfinkel 1967: 78) The ‘etcetera’ clause refers to the fact that a novel and unforeseen event now before us, even if not specified under the rubric of “mope” or sandbagger” by some prior formulation or agreement, is still readily assimilated into the classification. Garfinkel also calls this *ad hocing* similar to the addition of *ad hoc* hypothesis to a theory to save it from being falsified. Human beings are excellent at *ad hocing* and it may be a key strategy to what psychologists call the “confirmation bias.”

¹³⁸ Wieder notes, as I did, that these types of classifications were “told ‘piecemeal,’ came from many sources, and was not necessarily temporally juxtaposed with the objects that it was purportedly about” (Wieder 1974b: 159).

“The big key is being able to articulate what you did. If it doesn’t get written down, it didn’t happen. That’s why, when we do reports, when we go out to investigate... use of force you got to say why you did what you did. You know I’ve seen some guys on patrol who are biggest in the world, or 7 times martial arts champions, then these are things we need to know. Don’t bullshit because we will hammer you in internal affairs. When it comes to use of force, you are on your own. *We will separate you.*”

What I have done is show how recruits learn *how* to apply classifications through situated actions, sometimes skillfully and sometimes by *ad hocing*. Recruits learn the meaning of pain, suffering, shooting straight, etc. not abstractly, but in situations where the RTOs can literally point at a recruit and index their performance against a moral or social classification. These acts of recognition and classification form the basis of the *symbolic economy* of the academy. The classification schema recruits cultivate and use is conditioned by an occupation world in which bodily contact with others is not only to be expected, it is in fact a near daily feature of working the job.

Malcom Young puts succinctly,

“Polises necessarily have to touch, handle, grope, or finger these ‘bodies,’ which are then best classified as ‘inhuman.’ For in the street contests, where contact is always charged with tension or involves the use of actual force, it is easier and more suitable if your culture has set up a semantic view of these antagonists which allows you to deal with them as ‘meat’ or ‘animals’ and to avoid attributing them with human qualities” (Young 1991: 110).

One instructor who was trying to teach the recruits of smaller physical stature how to handle physical opponents, classifies opponents as animals and at the same time, through example or parable explains “trick of the trade” for handling them,

“There are some animals out there, and the only thing they understand is force. Best you can do is try to talk and then catch them off guard with force. Like with bad drunks. We know from the past that these guys are mean when drunk and that as soon as you tell them to turn around put your arms behind the back they will fight you. In a case like that trick them. Tell them they are doing real well, have them do a last test —interlace your hands and look up—they are too drunk or too stupid to catch on. It works...There are many times I could have fought guys I was arresting, but you got to get them that false sense of security, then drop the bomb on them.”

“Good cops” (and recruits) were largely symbolized by *appropriate* use of the body in time and space as well as judgments of physical form and capacity.¹³⁹ The RTOs have made no bones about this and have repeatedly told recruits that an undisciplined, unfit, fat, unskilled, scared, hesitating body will lead to the death of the recruit or worse to other officers as a result of bodily incompetence. Recall, that Lt. Sutton warned that his recruits don’t stuff “their holes”

¹³⁹ I am not the first to make this observation. Young’s (1991) study of British policing found a similar classification schema at work. “His ‘real work’ always lies in the bodily activity of physically capturing the ‘prig,’ often to have his dangerous business transformed by a detective who then negotiates justice with the adversary.”

with Twinkies and they show up and give him their “heart” in order to become fit and to transform their bodies into fighting machines.

This system of classifications is only somewhat coherent and is more a system of situated correspondences of utterances and bodily activity, brought together in and through situated practices, than it is a formal symbolic system with clear rules of transformation and addition. As we have observed throughout the dissertation recruits, officers, RTOs, instructors, etc. use reoccurring categories that are *typically* organized into oppositional pairs and they do so practically, strategically using and mixing categories in hybridized ways.

Principles of Difference	
Positive/Sacred	Negative/Profane
Tough; fit; strong	Soft; unfit; weak
Survivors; winners	The Dead; Losers
Disciplined	Undisciplined
Squared Away; High Speed; motivated; proactive	Mope; Sandbagger; shit-bag; lazy; reactive
Team player; good guy	Out for his own; selfish; buddy fucker
SWAT; door kickers, name takers	Detectives, forensics, paper pushers
Real cops; SWAT; gang task force; Street Response Teams; Uniformed Patrol; Narcotics	Bike cops; community policing; school resource officer; public relations officer
Ripped; cut; jacked; hard	Fat; soft; disgusting
Pushing it; sticking it out; enduring; tenacious; heart	Quitters; mopes; ate up; dog meat;
Cops (+) 	 g-types; shit heads; mopes; dirt bags; joe dirt; assholes; suspects; victims (-)
	(-) Civilians; assholes; idiots, lawyers, rich fucks (+)
Normal people; civilians, true victims, middle class	Street; unruly; unpredictable, poor, ghetto,
Action; Decisiveness; Hands-on ; real world	Deliberation; Book learning; hesitating; academic , intellectual

To the extent that recruits possessed something of the above system of corresponding binary classifications they are able, as an institution, to deflect aberrant or unruly bodies and bodily practices by other members. It should be pointed out that unruly bodies like that of K.

Dillon or the poor performance of S.W. in Basin County is not only judged by peers and superiors according to the principles I articulated above, but they apply these categories to themselves, albeit, in a defensive manner (e.g. recall Luke's painful engagement with and application of the very categories that the RTOs applied to him and others)! But this is demonstrates another point that I raised in the introduction: the police academy is a field of force and positions. The recruits who had the least bodily capital typically used the same classificatory scheme but deployed it from a different point of view than those for whom the use of their body came with ease.

The RTOs use the concept of the disciplined body (and its attendant categories) to *describe* successful action (whether it be an arrest, a fight, or some other daring feat) against either physical equals (such as in a test of skill) or "mopes" who don't stand a chance. Similarly, forceful bodies are used to describe success in violent situations of force on force and failure is understood often as either a lack of having the right forceful comportment or else fatalistically as "your time is up." Such categories were also used by the RTOs to classify recruits. Thus Dillon was accused of lacking "heart" and his public shaming was in part an attempt to convey, orally, an ostensive definition of what inappropriate conduct and bodily form looks like. Dillon's body was a classifiable body, i.e. it was physically aberrant in nuance and bodily style and therefore deemed by the RTOs to be socially incorrect. Although Dillon was able to turn himself around it would be incorrect to assume that the Police Academy worked as a well honed disciplining machine (Foucault 1977) that dispositioned the body according to "an institutional ideal of the social distribution of individual in spatial purity" (M. Young 1991: 74).

In the manner of Goode's (1967) study of the social uses of the inept, we can go so far as to say that many recruits counted on their being an unequal distribution of bodily capital and bodily labor among recruits in order to stand out in a positive light or even just to avoid the attention of the RTOs. If recruits like K. Dillon attract most of the RTOs attention then other recruits are given momentary respite. Other times, even those who are classified as "mopes" and "sandbaggers" received protection because it protected the entire group, even if it meant not engaging the "mopes" in a rigorous discipline that would have increased the bodily capital. Thus, when trying to formalize the classificatory system produced on an individual and collective basis by recruits, we should refrain from giving these categories of difference too much coherence. Recruits regularly shift which classifications work, for them, in a particular situation according to a "practical reason" (Bourdieu 1998). Moreover, people become classifiable in different ways depending not only on their immediate identity, but in terms of their classifiable practices taken against the background of the situation their practice occurs in. Within such a system, the inept may be defined, recognized, and even protected (Goode 1967).

Bellow is an attempt to map the correspondence between classificatory adjectives, positions, and possession of bodily capital. I have included not only the adjectives of the academy but the adjectives of life on. For the sake of simplicity I did not try to represent how the oppositions of the classificatory schema are applied from different positions in the field of policing. Rather I displayed the orthodox vision of the police world, that shared by those nominally treated as elite officers or performers.

The RTOs and Lt. Sutton, i.e. the cadre, fell into the right hand of the space defined "real cops" with a positive quantity of symbolic and bodily capital. I never heard recruits question that

the cadre had valuable “street-sense” that demanded respect and an attentive ear.¹⁴⁰ No matter how irritated the recruits became over the seemingly arbitrary and capricious utterances and actions of the cadre, their “street creds” always set limits as to how far members of the class could go in criticizing or questioning the cadre. After all, Sgt. Ramos and Lt. Sutton had the authority of coming from elite SWAT and street suppression units. The other RTOs had backgrounds in “tough” or “rock ‘n roll” jurisdictions. The cadre had an authoritative position, not only as “real cops” (their symbolic capital) but a position buttressed by their organizational legitimacy as gate keepers controlling who graduates. The cadre had all the makings of symbolic power: the efficacy to set expectations, define situations, classify recruits or other officers as falling somewhere within the symbolic space defined below, and importantly, consecrating recruits at graduation as “cops.”¹⁴¹

Recruits, on the other hand, did not willy-nilly apply the classifications available in a completely unstructured manner but with a sense of what is appropriate and in part because cadre structured the use of classifications by embedding it in the setting of ongoing trainings, punishments, and praises. A subordinate groups (recruits) application of the dominant groups (cadre) categories to their social world is what Bourdieu calls “symbolic violence” and the power to impose that vision by the cadre is “symbolic power.”

¹⁴⁰ “The power to impose upon other minds a vision, old or new, of social divisions depends on the social authority acquired in previous struggles. Symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition” (Bourdieu 1990: 137-138).

¹⁴¹ “Symbolic power, whose form *par excellence* is the power to make groups (groups that are already established and have to be consecrated or groups that have to be constituted such as the Marxian proletariat...)” (Bourdieu 1990, “Social Space and Symbolic Power”: 137).

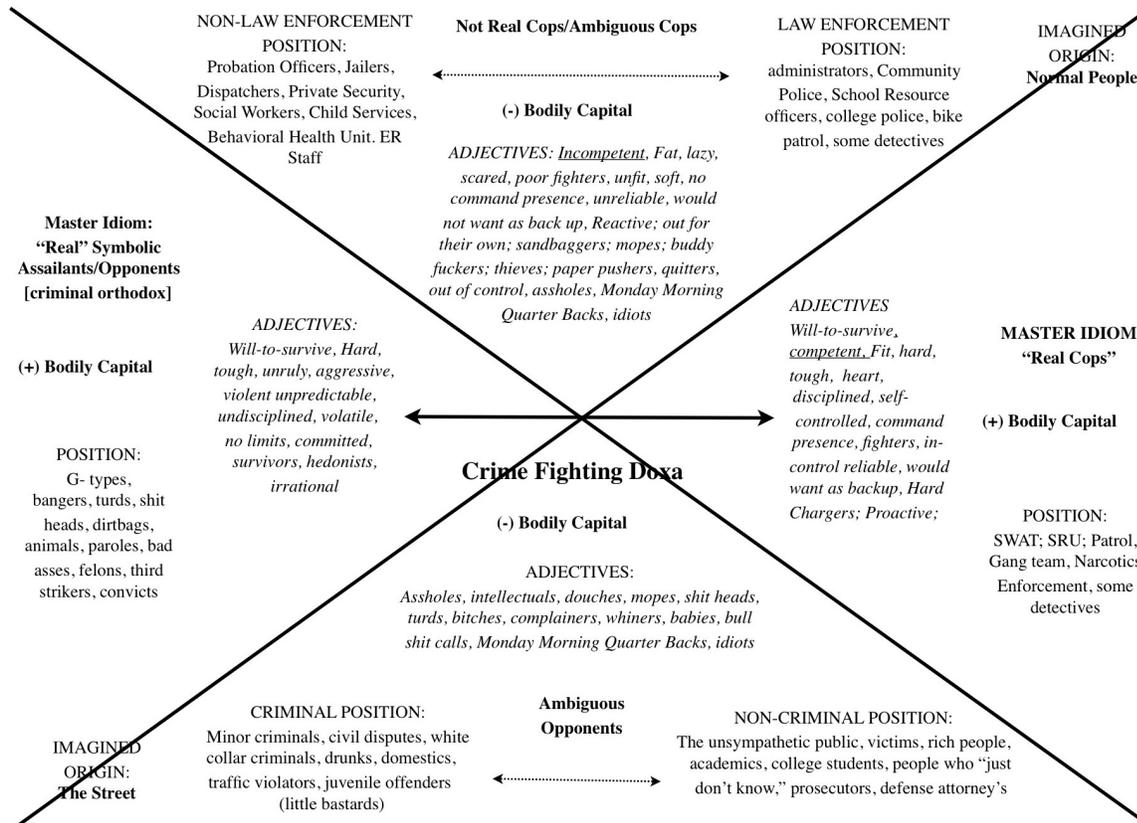


Figure 1. Taxonomy of Positions and Classification of Positions. Principles of difference are **bolded**. *Italicized* terms represent classificatory adjectives that index positions (persons, events, groups).

Principles of Forceful Action: Normal Force as Bodily Technique

An older, Asian use-of-force instructor explains that using force is a product of ‘common sense,’¹⁴² confidence in bodily skill, and knowing limits:

“If you use common sense, you should be ok. The main thing about use of force is to restrain and control. Its not like back in the old days where you could choke ‘em [suspects and citizens] out, kick them a bit. You didn’t have all the policy and guidelines back then or the laws that protect the suspect... and the officer to. Tasers are great, but we didn’t have tem back when I was working. All I had was my OC, baton, and firearm. But the firearm is the last thing you use, when you are going to get killed. But you have to be confident with your tools. If you aren’t good with your baton or your mouth then you will get scared and go to your firearm. ...Most bad guys want you to shoot them because they can get money out of you. But if I am pulling out my gun, you’re a goner. There is none of that winging the knife out someone’s hand! You all know better than

¹⁴² “‘Common sense’ refers to knowledge that competent individuals consider obvious — ‘what anyone clothed and in his right mind knows’” (Geertz 1983: 75).

that. You have seen how hard it is to hit the friequin target when you're stressed and hearts pumping or you just finished physical exerting yourself. Nope... two center mass. "

Certainly we can approach the preceding field note as revealing that "police recruits are taught to the *value* of common sense and its strategic implications (McNulty 1994: 291, *my italics*).¹⁴³ But there is the kernel of something even deeper and more hidden at work—as Officer Wong insinuates, being skilled and how things appear are intimately connected. Not to know how to talk well or to use the baton well makes certain situations look and feel *scarier*. In large measure the meat of this dissertation is getting at the peculiar kind of "common sense" that Officer Wong describes, even if he can't analytically articulate the nature of his common sense. I have made what should be an unsurprisingly 'radical' claim that we can understand police violence — force — the way we understand *any* activity that is eminently corporeal in nature, as a *technique of the body*.

Learning to be forceful should be appreciated and understood in the same manner as learning to ride a bike, to swim, how a blind man learns to "see" with a cane, etc. All these activities modify and enlarge a person's bodily schema or *habitus*. To ride a bike a child need not be able to follow rules, understand physics or render justifications, he just needs to *know-how*.

I have argued that forceful bodily techniques have a specific form of intentionality, just like reaching for objects, that Merleau-Ponty calls a *motor intention*. Motor intentions are phenomenologically described as a kind of "knowledge in the hands"¹⁴⁴ rather than as a conscious representation of a goal, norm, or values.

Competent forceful action includes using the body in traditional and efficacious ways (Mauss 1979) that embodies a sense of the limits of one's abilities, and a feeling of confidence coming from a set of skills adept at meeting regularly confronted challenges. A forceful body is a body that can be trusted to carry out police aims (stopping, grabbing, preventing, hurting, searching, killing, chasing, commanding, controlling etc.). A forceful recruit experiences their body not as "a fragile encumbrance" but as "the medium for the enactment of our aims" (Iris Young 2005: 34). The ordinary purposive orientation of the body as a whole— through its schemes of habits, dispositions, and skills (i.e. a *habitus*)— towards things, people, and its environment, is the situation that defines the relation of a police officer to his or her world.

I have contrasted the *forceful body* to that of a *pacified* or *civilized* body of middle class recruits in middle class counties, and argued that most of the recruits who enter the academy, with the exception of some with military or athletic experiences, have not been given the opportunity to use their full bodily capabilities in a forceful and open engagement with the people and things in their world. Recruits learn not to hamper their movement; it is okay to feel pain, to hurt others, climb fences, to touch other persons aggressively and all over, to get dirty, tear uniforms, and that the things a cop does are dangerous but that it is "all right." Police recruits learn how to walk, talk, touch, see, hit, shoot, and even to stand like cops (a wide stance, bladed toward the front of another, slightly offset at a 45 degree angle for tactical advantage,

¹⁴³ This is to assert that recruits have to learn what "common sense" sayings and behaviors look like and to appreciate them.

¹⁴⁴ "To recapitulate briefly, practical coping is 'intentional in two crucial respects. First, it is directed toward a situation under an aspect, which is constituted by the interrelations between how one comports oneself toward it, and what that comportment is for. How one reaches for, grasps, lifts, and tilts a cup gets its coherence from the cup's being for-sipping-from, and from the ways coffee-drinking belongs to a larger field of activity. Second, its directedness is normative: it can succeed or fail" Rouse (2007: 14)

with arms always raised somewhat up front in case a block or strike suddenly becomes necessary). It seems almost an irony that academy instructors have to begin warning recruits that they shouldn't mindlessly stand their ground in confrontations as because bodily timidity increasingly gives way to bodily tenacity as second nature. But such is the contrasting demands of society for recruits to be both forceful and controlled and "smart" in the application of their force.

For a cop this second nature is manifested in a bodily knowing of *how* and when to draw a weapon or "lay hands" and *how* to restrain and control the application of a forceful body. The descriptions Wong gives of knowing how hard it is to shoot under pressure is based on the fact that recruits had to train to shoot under pressure. It is derived from a shared sense of space that recruits and cadre project around themselves based on how the world appears as actionable. It is not a "knowing that" but a sense of "I Can", a felt bodily tension toward a threat or target. Importantly, I have argued that what gets an officer to "shoot first" and "ask questions later" is not the 'accounting' the officer learned in the academy or on patrol but the fact that the officer has drilled, for hours on end, and then taking basic motor habits into scenarios where the recruit learns that threats from hands reaching for the waist band are neutralized with a "double tap," else the recruit receives a painful blast of simunitions (those gun powder propelled cartridges that fire paint filled plastic bullets at recruits).

A suspect's hand movement toward his waist band, especially in a situation defined by a temporally prior event like a vehicle pursuit, a high risk traffic stop for a stolen car, or contacting a subject known or believed to be carrying weapons, acts as a "call to order" that immediately solicits a police officer's bodily form into a weapons platform. The officer squares the body toward the target, simultaneously presenting his pistol, gliding it up his side, to his chest, across the chest where it meets his supporting hand, thrusting the pistol forward, body leaning far forward, arms locked into place in the shape of an isosceles triangle, hands smothering the pistol, front sight clearly in view, rear site and target fuzzy. That is a properly police apprehension (as opposed to comprehension) of the hand to the waistband as a "call to order." To say that police recruits learn to respond to calls to order is to say that "The social world is full calls to order which function only as such for individuals who are predisposed to notice them" (Bourdieu 2000: 176).

In fact Merleau-Ponty and later Bourdieu reject the dualism of radical freedom and the determinism found in behaviorism (to which Merleau-Ponty was primarily responding whilst Bourdieu was primarily engaged in a similar movement against Marxism and Structuralism). Merleau-Ponty notes that "There are two classical views... one treats man as the result of the physical, physiological, and sociological influences which shape him from outside and make him one thing among many; the other consists of recognizing an a-cosmic freedom in him, insofar as he is spirit and represents to himself the very causes which supposedly act upon him"¹⁴⁵ For Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu, alike, any account of action (or behavior in Merleau-Ponty's language) can neither be causal nor rational; nor see the content of human states as physiological or logical. The "third term" that is irreducible to either of the two — instead of mind and matter, the lived body or *habitus*; instead of causes and reasons, "motives" and motor significances. Such a phenomenological argument insists that not all of human experience is mental — that is, not conceptually articulated or constituted. This is not to deny that recruits or anyone else goes through life without entertaining thoughts and beliefs, but such states are only one mode of

¹⁴⁵ "The Battle over Existentialism," in *Sense and Nonsense*, trans. Hubert Dreyfus and Patricia Dreyfus (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), pp. 71-72.

human comportment and in the span of human life are relatively rare in comparison to all the other human states that are running in the “background” and that sustain thought and reflection.¹⁴⁶

The *forceful habitus* is a set of bodily repertoires for coping with surroundings that is "produced by a specific technology of manipulation and formation"¹⁴⁷ in the police academy.

The bodily disciplines, as described by Foucault (1977), is not a social physics causally molding recruits bodies. It is conceivable that a Foucauldian argument could be made about life in the Academy that, therein, is a kind of Foucauldian discipline shaping the practical coping capacities of recruits. Such a view might mistakenly suggest that the body as meaningful practical repertoire could be assembled from meaningless motions. After all, Foucault described techniques for the analysis and reconstruction of movements, "a breakdown of the total gesture into two parallel series: that of the parts of the body to be used and that of the parts of the object manipulated, then the two sets of parts are correlated together according to a number of simple gestures [in] canonical succession." (1977: 153). I have tried to show that recruits and cadre collaborate in making a sensible and meaningful world in which engagement with bodily discipline is made sensible. Recruits only fully expose themselves and jump into bodily labor when it comes to be significant for their ongoing lines of activity and meaning making.

Dreyfus has also repeatedly emphasized in his interpretations of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Bourdieu, that such piecemeal reconstructions of movement cannot take full effect until the reconstructed sequence has been assimilated into a smooth bodily flow that revises and continues to adapt the initially practiced routines (a *habitus*). I have elaborated, in describing how recruits learn to shoot, search a body, “lay hands” during physical confrontation, how recruits learn to move the body and to apply their movements to the world, not mechanistically, but in the manner of an incarnate intelligence. The body that proceeds step by step in specified movements is the incompetent, inflexible body that we see at the beginning of learning to shoot or search. The steps from learning to mastery shed the initially specified cues and patterns in favor of a fluid, adaptive responsiveness to meaningfully configured circumstances.

Foucault’s bodily disciplines are in fact organizationally instantiated as a set of disciplinary practices, *enacted* collaboratively, achieved more or less strenuously, by members of the NBPA (cadre, recruits, veterans, etc.), such that the training world is *able* to expose recruits to surroundings pregnant with potential for ever more elaborated bodily participation. Forceful habits and skills are not produced by habitual repetition of movements but by constraining and redirecting a body's active exploratory coping with its surroundings (bodies to be searched or stopped), which is the difficult task of the RTOs and instructors. Shame and honor is just *one* salient way that RTOs try to organize participation by building a tense field of social emotion around bodily engagement.

This process of moving from discrete movements to fluid adaptive responses gives us a new and deeper appreciation for the idea of *doxa* and *habitus*. *Doxa* is the social world as it is “perceived as evident” as it is perceived as “natural” because “the dispositions of agents, their habitus, that is, the mental structures through which they apprehend the social world, are

¹⁴⁶ For example, Merleau-Ponty notes “just as we do not see the eyes of a familiar face, but simply its look and its expression, so we perceive hardly any object.” (1962: 281). Merleau-Ponty explains: “in the natural attitude, I do not have *perceptions*, I do not posit this object as beside that one, along with their objective relationships, I have a flow of experiences which imply and explain each other both simultaneously and successively.”

¹⁴⁷ Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) p. 166.

essentially the product of the internalization of the structures of that world” (Bourdieu 1990: 130).

I have described *doxa* process in terms of the notion of *maximal grip*, *intentional arc*, and *motor intentionality*. Such concepts sensitize us to how, in the course of our everyday skillful coping with our physical and social environment we encounter meaning and significance in non-linguistic form. According to Merleau-Ponty, in perceiving things, we sense that they could be more clearly perceived and that, through our movements, gestures, utterances, touches, etc. they could be more clearly perceived. This sense draws our bodies to get a firmer grip on them.¹⁴⁸

For example, when we are walking in the woods, Merleau-Ponty notes that if I encounter in my visual field something that looks like “a broad flat stone on the ground,” then “my whole perceptual and motor field endows the bright spot with the significance ‘stone on the path.’ And already I prepare to feel under my foot this smooth, firm surface” (1962: 296-97). So too we encounter other social beings as affording certain types of actions and that are apprehended through our motor significance—that is they arouse in an agent a bodily expectation. That expectation is intimately tied to habit/skill.

Importantly, the phenomenon of motor significance highlights that the world of objects speaks to the body in a myriad of ways, drawing us into actions, while often remaining only tacitly present in our experience of things. Hence, in Merleau-Ponty’s example of the stepping stone, the stone is only in the periphery of our awareness as the walker may be lost in thought, engaged in conversation, or bird watching. What motivates an action may thus be “an ambiguous presence” that is “anterior to any express evocation... . It must exist for us even though we may not be thinking of it” (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 364).

As such we may never be totally clear about what moved us to act in a particular case. It precisely because of the inherent indeterminacy of perception that Garfinkel emphasized that accountings were not themselves a type of causation (that is answers to “why”). Perceptual indeterminacy often has to be rendered sensible and orderly for the sake of “going on.”

A complementary view is to treat sensibility as a product of habits—of getting “a grip”. Police recruits become increasingly at home in their worlds when they can use their acquired habits skillfully to organize a stable spatiotemporal order of things and of people *prior* to implementing ethno-procedures for sense-making. The skills initially acquired in the police academy feed back onto into the recruits world as persons that would otherwise be indeterminately grab-able become more determinate. A recruit (soon a novice officer) refines his skills by manipulating people with his hands; people then become are more grab-able.

Similar to Goffman, we can call the fit between non-conceptual, ongoing coping *poise* (Todes 2000).¹⁴⁹ This *poise* is found not only in grabbing and shooting, be we observed the same link between ever more fine grained discriminations of pain (pain that is injurious and pain that

¹⁴⁸ “My body is geared to the world when my perception offers me a spectacle as varied and as clearly articulated as possible, and when my motor intentions, as they unfold, receive from the world the responses they anticipate. This maximum distinctness in perception and action defines a perceptual ground, a basis of my life, a general milieu for the coexistence of my body and the world” (Merleau-Ponty 1962) .

¹⁴⁹ An offshoot of this is the observation by Bayley and Bittner that those officers that are recognized as most competent in the use of force (i.e. those who use it with *poise* and only when needed) are those who actively seek difficult and challenging encounters. In engaging with varied experiences, these officers find themselves in more confrontational situations where force may have to be used and consequently have more opportunity to refine their discriminatory powers as well as their ability to respond to finer discriminations of the situations they encounter. As in the introduction this is why the FTOs I interviewed and who trained me were so insistent that trainees “get out of the car.” I have no doubt that this is sound advice.

is “in the mind” only) during physical training. Recruits more often than not enter the academy with a body that is set to respond to pain by withdrawing, stopping, and turning reflexively back on itself (like any number of times I saw a recruit grab their stomach or bend over in pain while out of breath after a run). Through repetition of running, recruits not only enlarge their ability to run, but they learn that the pain of being out of breath is different than the pain of a shin fracture. They also learn new ways of “living” pain by experimenting with a socially available repertoire of movements for doing pain behavior. The body in pain no longer automatically means that the body opens itself to a bodily-closing-in. Recruits stand upright, in public, and keep up the chase. Even in the case of shin fractures, recruits may more and more run while injured than before, a phenomenon noted by (Collinson 2003). What Asad (2003) referred to as “living pain well” is simply another example of motor intentionality and maximum grip only know the skill is comporting the body well, while in pain, towards itself (a reflexive bodily relation).

Another way of saying this is that police officers do not need to specify a criteria of “success” (a norm, a value, a rule, a belief, a justification) in advance of an action. Thus when I watched a suspect reach for his waistband while taking him into custody on a warrant, I did not need to anticipate what a successful arrest might look like, that arrests are “good things,” or what my shooting or not shooting might accomplish. Rather, in absorbed skillful action the body of the performer (in this case me) is solicited by the situation to perform a set of movements that *feel* appropriate. It would not make sense to talk about a successful un-holstering of a firearm or the movements of pistol presentation in the way we might speak of a successful shooting since pistol presentation is, as we saw in chapter 3, a technique of the body not a goal or an end and in a officers ordinary experience of pistol presentation, it is not experienced as goal, norm, value or end, but as a reduction of bodily tension to the command “threat” on the firing range or to a perceived danger on the street. Unlike the accountings provided by Weigel, Hunt, Van Maanen and others, “reasons” most likely have little to do with absorbed and skillful forceful action.

In Merleau-Ponty’s account of motive, the fundamental work of motivation is found in the way that the environment and body work together to dispose a person to experience and act in particular ways (for Bourdieu this is the relationship of *habitus* and field). Returning to the example of walking on the path, the stone motivates my walking on it only in light of the fact that I am a being who can walk and the stone only makes sense as walkable because I can perceive it as part a whole visual field, including a path, that gives the stone meaning as something walkable.¹⁵⁰ This phenomenological explication is necessary if we are to fully understand the police *doxa*. It is only by understanding how the mutual fit of body and world acts a kind of motive that we can understand the connative structures and actional gestalts that make it sensible for a recruit to draw a firearm and fire at a someone.

¹⁵⁰ To emphasize a point made by Polanyi, we are not “focally” aware of grasping of the doorknob because it is a motor activity that subtends our focusing on getting to our late appointment. Polanyi describes this aspect of perception as the “from-to relation.” That is, we focus from our skillful bodily activity toward what we aim at through our actions. When I sit at the table and read the New York Times in the morning, I continue reading the paper while I unreflectively grasp for my mug, clasp it in my hand, and bring it to my mouth. In no sense do I “know” or posit the mugs relation vis-à-vis myself in a kind of Cartesian space. In this case I understand the mugs location in space as a function of my motor intention, i.e. it is within reach and graspable. Kelly argues, in describing the grasping of a mug, “When I grab for my coffee mug in the morning I direct my activity toward it, not simply toward some independent location that it occupies” (2002). Similarly, as I described in my own work on military marksmanship (Lande 2007) the shooter does not focus on the rifle, his breathing, his positioning of his limbs, but through his skillful handling of the rifle, of having learned how to acquire a site picture by focusing the eyes on the front sight, the shooter is able to aim at the target and shot well.

Recruits are at the earliest phases of learning how to respond to situations and the people in them in a full bodied manner. Barker's (1999) research on the LAPD shows that often take a full five to ten years to master "danger" and "duty." This is the case because the logic that guides grasping a grasping a suspect's wrist is, in principle no different than the logic of grasping a coffee mug, it is a much more complex and risky activity. Recruits grab not just a wrist but also a wrist defined in part by the entire demeanor of the person being grabbed. The target body might be tense, sweaty, engaged, with the other hand, in striking at the officer, all of which change how an officer grabs. Further, other features of the immediate social and physical environment go into constructing the wrist, e.g. the presence of other officers or bystanders change how an officer grabs (imagine pepper spray or a taser being presented!). An officer's bodily activity with respect to a person is just their way of understanding or "grasping" the person.

Merleau-Ponty gives the example of a typist's bodily understanding of the keyboard:

"To know how to type is not, then, to know the place of each letter among the keys, nor even to have acquired a conditioned reflex for each one, which is set in motion by the letter as it comes before our eye. If habit is neither a form of knowledge nor an involuntary action, what then is it? *It is knowledge in the hands*, which is forthcoming only when bodily effort is made, and cannot be formulated in detachment form that effort" (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 144, my emphasis).

To speak of bodily activity as a kind of understanding or apprehending is a strange thing indeed, and I don't claim to have been able to articulate the logical form that this peculiar form of intention, motivation, and understanding takes, other than to try and describe how such activity is experienced in police work. Such description is necessary if we are to take the notion of *habitus* as that specifically socially acquired "knowledge in the hands" that defines membership in a collective.

The purpose of this phenomenological elaboration is to try and emphasize that the kind of socialization that occurs in the academy, the kind that speaks to the body, is much deeper than most sociologist describe it—it is existential to the extent that it has to do with how recruits come to inhabit a new way of being-in-the-world from bone and muscle, through the flesh. Until we begin seeing the use of force as something more akin to the skillful, unreflective bodily activity of "grasping the door knob in order to go through the door; or skillfully typing at the keyboard" (Kelly 2002: 377) sociology will never be able to fully account for forceful social action. The answer to the question, "*How is use-of-force and suffering made sensible and doable?*" is "through cultivating new forms of bodily understanding."

If we don't take seriously the existential grounds of forceful conduct we will forever be lost in a sea of explanations based on talk or abstracted background variables like race, poverty, inadequate schooling, gang membership, etc. none of which, as Katz and Collins have soundly demonstrated, explain what happens in moments of violent action. Even I can't claim to have explained why violent situations unfold the way that they do. I hope to have laid the ground for understanding the phenomenological moment of the situational unfolding of violent acts by showing how the form of forceful habits can dictate when and how situations appear as needing force and are rendered perceptibly as forceful situations.

For those who are seeking to understand how force can come to be second nature I hope to have also deepened the notion of *doxa*. The doxic relation between recruits and their new occupation occurs when there is a coincidence between the occupations demands and myths and

the bodily knowledge of recruits. “The body is in the social world but the social world is in the body,” Bourdieu says (2000: 152) and I have tried to expose the reader to how the social world gets “into” the body, not through some mystery of cultural transmission, but through and by a concerted effort of recruit, RTO, and instructors in creating participative social world in which recruits get deeper and deeper into forceful practices. When recruits are able to apprehend the objective world they confront (i.e. the obstacles and demands of RTOs in the form of firearms and defensive tactics tests, physical fitness tests, games of physical endurance and skill, and the daily shame and honor of encounters with staff) using their bodily and cognitive schemes, they are in a doxic relationship and their world becomes increasingly taken-for-granted, transparent, and familiar. “The doxic relation to the native world is a relationship of belonging and possession in which the body possessed by history appropriates immediately the things inhabited by the same history” (Bourdieu 2000: 152). Police force is thus the product of the encounter of “two histories... between history in bodies and history in things...between the history objectified in the form of structures and mechanisms... and the history incarnated in bodies in the form of habitus, a complicity which is the basis of a relation of quasi-magical participation between these two realizations of history” (Bourdieu 2000: 151).

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