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Hidden in White(ness)?: Using Racial Logics to Interrogate the Instructional Arc of a
Crisis Intervention Team Training

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Morgridge College of Education

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Tara N. Meister

June 2018

Advisor: Bruce B. Uhrmacher

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Abstract

Some scholars argue that communities of color have been historically considered criminal by law enforcement (Fanon, 1963/2004; Gordon, 1996; Sharpley-Whiting, 1999), and Parenti (2003) and Kendi (2016) traced the history of modern policing to slave patrols. Wynter (2003) illuminated the racial logics undergirding our society—including policing—to the overlay of monotheism and its fixity with racial constructions of human as historically rooted in slavery and colonization. Thus, policing, too, carries a racialized dimension (Gamal, 2016) that creates or amplifies trauma and mental illness (Westcott, 2015). To address mental health, an undergirding feature of use of force and racialized policing, many cities have adopted Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training for police personnel, a 40-hour training in partnership with health community resources and mental health experts (Watson, Morabito, Draine, & Ottati, 2008) intended to promote de-escalation and communication between police and communities. For this Educational Criticism (Eisner, 1998), I first utilized interviews to consider how the officers leading the training think about CIT's purposes and content. I then observed the training to examine the relationship between trainer's intentions and what occurs. Last, I explored what the police officers learned, connecting to how individual police officers make sense of the training to consider to what extent the training evinces or contests the racial logics of violence and whiteness tied into constructions of human. I found CIT training to use

colorblind and universal language to describe communication between police and various populations while also coding racialized perception of neighborhoods and criminals. This coding relates to officers' perception of danger and, thus, whether they utilize CIT strategies or other tactics in working with populations. Therefore, racial coding without explicit address in the training contributes to a lack of awareness and reflection of the role of race in interactions, potentially impacting discretion and use of force. Address of the role of institutional and individual racism as it relates to CIT ought to be incorporated in trainings to enhance officer efficacy.

Keywords: hidden curriculum, racist logics, Crisis Intervention Team Training, whiteness, instructional arc, police

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Chapter One: Introduction

A handful of officers cluster around an open light brown door to a bedroom. They were called to this location for a wellness check on an adult man who had a case manager and utilized mental health services. A bed with a striped black and white bedspread with a single pillow at the top centers the room, a light brown night-stand poking behind the open door. A gallon-jug of water sits at in front of the night stand on the floor, and a window on the far wall opposite the open door has a covering over the left side down to a window air conditioner. Tree leaves are visible through the right windowpane. The single square-shaped overhead light is off, and the central beam of a flashlight creates a 10-inch diameter circle on the wall just right of the man to avoid putting the most concentrated beam directly on him. He is in a short-sleeved top with brown hair and stands flush in the corner of the room, his right arm behind his back and his left arm wielding a knife. The muffled light emanating from the central beam of the flashlight illuminates most of the room, casting shadows on the section of the room behind the door.

“My name is Officer Jones.” The officer at front speaks in a calm tone to the man, standing tense, fingers clench around the knife. “What’s your name?” The officer stands protected by the doorframe. Cover officers hold the flashlight

up and protect the scene, guns out because of the imminent threat of the visible knife and uncertain right hand.

The man does not respond. He stands there, all muscle, hands pulsing in and out, ready to fight. Puffed up. Angry. Tense. His eyes shrouded by sunglasses.

“I want to help you and find out what has you here in the corner today. Can you tell me your name?”

The man continues to glare through his sunglasses, moving only his hands.

“Look, man, I want to get you support, maybe to connect you to some resources. I don’t want to hurt you. My name is Samuel. What’s yours?” The officer is careful to rephrase the question to avoid habituation, which would cognitively block the man from hearing.

The man hesitates, then mutters, “Victor.” He barely shifts his weight.

“Thanks, Victor. I just want to talk to you a little bit. What’s going on, Victor? Why are you in the corner of your room?”

“I can’t do this anymore.”

The officer weighs continuing the conversation and the real threat of Victor’s hands. “I want to hear more about what you’re talking about, but it will help me if I know what’s in your right hand. Can you bring it from behind your back so we can chat?”

Victor slowly shifts his right hand, revealing the gray of a gun. The cover officers tense, and they all check their positions behind the door frame.

“Thank you, Victor. It will help us talk if you set your gun right there.” The officer gestures to the bed. “I’m not moving. You don’t move. Just set it down.”

Victor complies, still holding the knife in his left hand. “Okay, tell me what’s going on. Why are we here today? What’s happened?”

“I can’t keep my job, and I might lose my apartment.”

“That sucks. Do you have a case manager?”

“Yea, but he’s not doing anything.” Victor’s hand clenched the knife harder.

“Well, maybe we can get in touch with the Job Line.” Victor was so puffed up and angry, but when he found out that this officer cared enough, respected him, wasn’t looking to just get into mix, into a fight with him, but actually was trying to help him problem solve, all the sudden his hands unclenched. His shoulders dropped, and all the tension, it just floated out. “Are you on any medications?”

“Yes, but I don’t always take them. I don’t like the side-effects. They make me tired and eat too much.”

“What are you on medication for?” The officers continue to engage with the man, building rapport and finding out information to determine next steps. “I can’t make promises we can find you a job or fix your medications, but we will get you in touch with the right people to help you see if you can get in some place and get the support you need.”

“Okay.”

The officer said, “Go ahead and put down what’s in your hands.”

Victor set the knife down on the corner of the bed. The officers handcuffed Victor peacefully after telling him they needed to put him on a hold for his threat to himself. Because of the officers’ skillset in verbal de-escalation, they avoided a fight.¹

...Except, that doesn’t always happen.

In 48-minutes of Body Cam footage taken at the scene of an officer killing of a man in the Bronx, released for review, we hear officers talk to a man, Miguel Antonio Richards, with little regard and immense repetition (Taylor & Perez, 2017):

“What’s in your right hand? What’s in your right hand? Let me see your hand... Let me see your hand.”

The second officer adds, “Put your hands up!”

Officer one calls, “Put your hands up, dude, and drop the knife.”

Officer two: “Put your hands up.”

Officer one: “Put your hand up. Drop that knife. I don’t want to shoot you. Put your hand up and drop that knife. Put that knife on the floor, dude, do you hear me? I don’t want to shoot you today, but I will if you come back with that knife, do you hear me?”

Officer two: “Now. Put it down and come out here.”

Officer three: “Put your hands up, dude.”

¹ This incident utilizes description of the room and person from the incident that follows in the introduction (from Taylor & Perez, 2017), but the dialogue represents a call exemplifying de-escalation using Crisis Intervention Training (CIT) strategies that a participant shared with me in an interview.

Officer one: “Let me see your other hand. Let me see your right hand.

What’s in your right hand? What’s in your right hand?”

Officer two: “Dude, I’m begging you, put your hands up, dude.”

Officer four: “He’s got a knife and a gun. He has a gun.”

Together the officers yell, “Drop it.” A popping sound fires twice, from a Taser, immediately followed by the harsher, louder sound of gunshots. Police officers killed Miguel Antonio Richards.

Introduction to Crisis Intervention Team Training and Study

To address criticisms of negative police interactions with the mental health community, many cities have adopted Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training for police personnel. CIT training emerged formally in 1988 in Memphis after a police officer shot a man with a serious mental illness in 1987. Officers and mental health experts designed this specialized training for officers to help them identify mental illnesses and factors that amplify crisis, such as drugs and alcohol, as well as de-escalate crisis situations verbally (Chopko, 2011; Compton et al., 2008; Ellis, 2014; Watson, 2010). Known as the “Memphis Model,” this version of CIT expanded to cities nationwide and include a 40-hour training over the course of a week, taught primarily by mental health experts (Watson et al., 2008) with little police officer input.

The City’s² Police Department (CPD) adopted the Memphis Model of CIT in 2002, training two classes of 20 officers in the Memphis Model of CIT. The CIT program

² Throughout the paper, I refer to the location of the study as the City and its police department as CPD to protect the confidentiality of the participants. Identifying features in stories and citations have likewise been omitted.

expanded in 2004, after a CPD Officer shot and killed a 15-year-old Black male teenager with mental illnesses in 2003, 99 seconds after arriving on scene (_____, 2003). He had threatened his mom and sister with a kitchen knife. By 2008, about half of the CPD was trained in CIT, and the department initiated a Co-Responder Model for CIT where officers connected to mental health staff and helped deploy CIT resources and problem solve calls. In 2012, CIT's focus shifted from clinician to officer-focused, reorienting the training to prioritize officer safety and officers' perspectives. The primary alterations in the training surrounded the scenarios for officer role-plays to enact the training's content; they used actual CIT calls with professional actors and centered police protocols and procedures.

Therefore, I studied the CPD CIT training, a context-specific version of CIT, through Educational Criticism and Connoisseurship (Eisner, 1998), a method designed to describe the program's nuances. Within my interviews, my observations, and my analysis, I sought to appraise the intentions, operations, and receptions of the curriculum by trainers and police officers as well as unearth the hidden curriculum, or often unseen values within it (Uhrmacher, McConnell Moroye, & Flinders, 2017). Because societal criticism argues that police attention concentrates on communities of color, I interrogated the racial logics evinced in the training that shroud the hierarchies around race historically embedded within policing (Weheliye, 2014). Racial logics include racially constituted thinking, what Kendi (2016) would call "racist ideas," such as neutrality, colorblindness, cultural racism, individual versus structural thinking, and the over-representation of white men in constituting normativity. Therefore, I analyzed the extent

to which the training aligns with or contests theorized logics of race (discussed in more depth in Chapter 2) and provided space for critical reflection toward action.

Zoom Out: Introduction to the Societal Milieu

The past few years, violence by police officers towards Black civilians in particular—Eric Garner, Tanisha Anderson, Tamir Rice, Yvette Smith, Michael Brown, Darnisha Harris, Eric Harris, Malissa Williams, Freddie Gray, Rekia Boyd, Alton Sterling, Aiyana Stanley-Jones, Philando Castille, Tarika Wilson, Terence Crutcher, Korryn Gaines, and Stephon Clark, to name just a portion—has incited community engagement and protests, led in part by Black Lives Matter (Harris, 2015). Organizations and communities of color strive to pressure police departments to improve training and increase accountability to serve all communities justly (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016; Harris, 2015). Research has long indicated that Black and Brown people “are disproportionately stopped for questioning and arrested compared to whites” (White, 2015, p. 993). Disproportionate stops and arrests connect to the approximately 6.6 million Americans living within the criminal justice system, many whom are “poor and dark-skinned” (Parenti, 2003, p. 170). Additionally, between 2010 and 2012, police killed Black males aged 15 to 19 at twenty-one times the rate of white males of the same age (Gabriela, Grochowski Jones, & Sagara, 2014). In 2017, police killed six white and twelve Black males under 18 (Fatal force, 2017), numbers that do not account for the differences in overall population. Based on 2017 Census estimates, the overall white population was 76.9% and the overall Black population was 13.3% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

While the dynamics between the Black community and the police are not new, the mainstream media attention, facilitated by social media, has heightened in recent years. Because of the influx of exposure to police violence via cellular phones and social media, recent research investigates the argument that police officers utilize force too readily, particularly on Black and Brown bodies, centering police attitudes and bias in their investigations (Ariel, 2016; Conti & Doreian, 2014; Hadden, Tolliver, Snowden, & Brown-Manning, 2016; James, James, & Vila, 2016; Kahn & Martin, 2016, Smiley & Fakunle, 2016; Tolliver, Hadden, Snowden, & Brown-Manning, 2016; White, 2015). Additionally, police departments have been using interventions to increase accountability and mitigate public dissatisfaction with use of force. For example, research on Body-Worn Cameras (BWCs), devices worn on police officers' uniforms during shifts that provide video footage that could hold police officers culpable to excessive uses of force, includes efficacy (Ariel, 2016; Ariel et al., 2016; Morrow, Katz, & Choate, 2016; White, 2014), officer support (Gaub, Choate, Katz, & White, 2016), privacy concerns (White, 2014), and footage perception (Boivin, Gendron, Faubert, & Poulin, 2016). Work has been done to investigate the connections between the use of force and other crime prevention strategies, such as police-led interventions to reduce violence (Koper, Woods, & Isom, 2016), hot-spot policing in areas considered high-crime (Ariel, Weinborn, & Sherman, 2016; Hoover, Wells, Zhang, Ren, & Zhao, 2016; Santos & Santos, 2016), and community or broken windows policing, which includes policing tactics designed to minimize fear of police, increase quality of life, create neighborhood plans for policing, and address smaller crimes (Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014; Jenkins,

2016). Such efforts from police departments represent the police's understanding that certain neighborhoods require specialized policing, often in the form of increased presence or targeted interventions.

Jenkins (2015) conducted a synthesis of 88 articles from top police and criminal justice journals with data from police personnel, and he found studies of police organization and strategy to predominate with 62 articles; 12 articles depicted police attitude and behavior and 11 articles included accountability and misconduct. Interventions center research, and, while many interventions have been tried, consensus does not exist around the efficacy of strategies. Policing involves immense complexity, including the sociopolitical climate locally, nationally, and even globally; the beliefs and attitudes of officers; the role of racism and bias; the nature of the gear; and community and police relationships. However, Jenkins' (2015) synthesis also noted a distinct bias toward quantitative studies in police work, with 11 qualitative, 15 mixed, and 62 quantitative. In biasing quantitative work, police research avoids grappling with the nuance required for understanding the complex dynamics and logics inherent in policing. When a racial dimension emerges within policies such as stop-and-frisk (Stoudt et al., 2015), imprisonment (Alexander, 2012), and, despite similar usage rates, drug arrests (Alexander, 2012; Cross, 2003), qualitative research can help illuminate the nuance that the broad strokes of quantitative data miss.

Within this broader milieu, intervention, police brutality, and mass incarceration disproportionately target people of color, creating a historical and cumulative trauma for people of color that heightens trauma responses (Westcott, 2015) and fear (Cross, 2016).

Thus, race, the criminal justice system, and mental health interrelate and mutually reinforce each other to create a cyclical reality of trauma and incarceration, over-representing people of color (Brown, Ashkenazy, & Giwa Onaiwu, 2017).

The militarization of police, evinced in the riot gear, weaponry, and armor deployed in numerous incidents, including peaceful protests (Bolduc, 2016; Eick, 2016; Gamal, 2016), amplifies the trauma experienced by those historically considered criminal by law enforcement (Brown, Ashkenazy, & Onaiwu, 2017; Browne, 2015; Fanon, 1963/2004; Gordon, 1996; Sharpley-Whiting, 1999). The Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 forbids the involvement of military personnel in the enforcement of domestic laws (Eick, 2016). However, militarized forms of policing emerged during the Watts Rebellion of 1965, and Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams developed following Watts to handle “domestic terror and hostage” situations (p. 3). When the role of the Department of Defense expanded to include the “war on drugs” in 1989, the National Defense Authorization Act of 1991 passed to provide “excess” military grade equipment to police departments (Bolduc, 2016; Eick, 2016). Gamal (2016) argued that there is a racialized dimension to police militarization: militarized maneuvers serve as protection for groups “advantaged by their access to state protection” but further marginalizes populations of color through increased “surveillance and control” (p. 982). Likewise, Browne (2015) unpacked “racializing surveillance,” the way surveillance “practices, policies, and performances concern the production of norms” as racially constituted, defining what—or who—belongs in certain times and spaces (Browne, 2015, p. 16). Aligned with Westcott (2015), racialized militarization couples with racialized surveillance by police to

reinforce accumulated traumas and exacerbate mental health issues within communities of color.

To address criticisms of negative interactions with the mental health community, many cities have adopted Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training for police personnel. Watson et al. (2008) conceptualized these 40-hour trainings as intended to “respond to mental illness in a manner that is more clinical, or therapeutic” (p. 359) rather than through traditional policing methods of arrest and incarceration. They train police officers to identify mental illness and equip them with de-escalation tactics to diffuse potentially violent situations. Because most people involved in police altercations “are under the influence of drugs or alcohol and/or have a psychiatric disorder” (p. 360), crisis intervention may influence police use of force beyond mental illness. Westcott (2015) described incarceration’s effects as deleterious for whole communities, eroding relationships and labor skills and increasing “institutional discrimination, unemployment, and unaddressed trauma” (p. 274). Thus, mental illness, use of force, race, and mass incarceration interweave to destabilize communities and reinforce trauma—a contestation to the frequent blame placed on communities of color for their supposed pathologies (Cross, 2016).

The literature on CIT includes conceptual studies (Watson et al., 2008; Westcott, 2015), perceptions by police officers (Johnsen, Espevik, Saus, Sanden, & Olsen, 2016), effects on knowledge and attitudes (Compton et al., 2014), and the connection between use of force and mental illness (Kestic, Thomas, & Ogloff, 2013; Westcott, 2015). Watson et al. (2008) stated that the literature on CIT training is “limited in scope and

conceptualization,” focusing on “the effects of training and on officer ability to identify persons with mental illness” (p. 359). Since by 2008 around 400 police departments include CIT training, research needs to be done on how particular departments adopt and adapt the program for their community and its needs, including the partnerships developed with the mental health community and the reorganization of police departments for large-scale change (Watson et al., 2008). Looking at community context and systemic changes involved in the program’s incorporation with “new levels of specificity” (p. 366) will support understanding of the programs and how to enhance their efficacy. Thus, my Educational Criticism of CPD’s version of CIT fits the call for a more nuanced study.

My project contains three primary objectives: first, to map my experiences with the educational theories of curriculum and pedagogy onto the design and operation of CIT training; second, to capture how the police officers experienced the training; and, third, to determine whether to goals and objectives of the training were fulfilled. Within the focused study of the training’s instructional arc, I attended to the hidden curriculum, or unacknowledged—and often unseen—values and lessons that permeate institutions and often serve to reinforce normative structures and discourses (Uhrmacher, McConnell Moroye, & Flinders, 2017) within the kinetic (McAfee, 2014; Mignolo, 2009) ideologies and historied dynamics of violence and racial logics.

How I Enter

A white woman and educator, I grew up in a diverse suburb of a major city. While my neighborhood endured numerous shootings during my childhood, including at a

nearby pizza place, at the end of my block in a drive-by, and a triangle of three one summer within four miles of my house, I lived parallel. Beyond a brief blip I caught on the news as I waited for a favorite show to start, I remained insulated from violence. My 50-student K-8 parochial school at the church I grew up with served as a bubble for my existence. I looked out into the world from the windows of our family car, traversing a single pathway daily for my entire childhood and rarely venturing elsewhere, as though I lived within an aquarium with thick walls separating me from the activity outside my tank.

At my diverse public high school, my social interactions often involved people of color, perhaps because I played basketball and ran track, sports that included a high percentage of Black athletes at my school. Or, perhaps, it was because, when I entered my high school as a freshman, I knew two people: my brother and a girl from my church. My first memories at the school included the warmth and acceptance of Black people who first befriended the overwhelmed me. Perhaps this only occurred because the football players knew and respected my oldest brother, who graduated the previous spring. Or, perhaps it revolves around the openness that I have experienced as characteristic of communities of color where relationality centers values.

During my college orientation, all the freshmen marched to the top of the academic hill behind upper-class members who carried a torch as initiation for us into the community—a practice halted after Charlottesville because of its resonances of the KKK. As the 727 of us encircled the academic quad, I remember little of what we did or what people said. I do remember noticing the predominately white circle, largely clothed in

khakis and light blue button-ups or J. Crew sundresses. A few months prior, I attended a diverse public high school of 2,000 students with a large immigrant population and somewhere in the realm of 100 spoken languages. About one-third of the students in my high school were Black, one-quarter Latino/a, one-third white, and the rest had Asian or Middle Eastern descent. My college's upper-class and white demeanor stood starkly against the neighborhood of my childhood and my high school, albeit a school that largely adopted a colorblind mentality of not discussing race openly. Standing around the quad and witnessing who comprised my college classmates, white privilege and educational inequity pressed against my stomach, pooling into organs. In my gut, I felt racism and discrimination connected to race and power, illustrated by the white-dominant student body, professors, and curricular content of my elite college.

The summer after my freshman year of college, I worked with Upward Bound, a college-preparation program in Boulder for Native American students from reservations around the county. There, I witnessed deep relationality within this community and their profound sense of humor. I spent each meal with a group of students, learning about their lives and dreams—and unlearning the instilled beliefs about Native Americans as inferior I breathed in as a child. It was an immense gift to be a part of such a strong and proud community.

Before my senior year of college, I lived in Boston and assisted in a preschool classroom for homeless children funded by a nonprofit. James, a three-year-old bilingual child, spoke minimally when I began work that summer. Termed as “failure to thrive,” he struggled to sleep and eat and was losing weight. I spent hours each day with him,

talking, playing, reading, laughing. One day, James cursed me out, with full-on fucks. Nothing in particular preceded the outburst, but I built nascent understandings of the connection between voice and violence: when someone either cannot speak, or is not heard by the situation surrounding them, violence can become voice, resistance, and self-determination. Fanon (1963/2004) described this as cleansing violence (p. 51), acting against the forces of material and symbolic violence from the state. At the time, I connected it to Ellison's (1995) *Invisible Man*, where the protagonist beats up a white man who did not see him, asserting his humanity.

I became an English teacher, mediated largely by the desire to foster students' voices through reading and writing. I thought that if they could read to connect themselves to others and communicate more effectively, their lives would be profoundly affected. Since, I continue unlearning my white savior mentality that situated solutions within a white paradigm, led by white people, and within the educational system. Under the logic of exclusion (Silva, 2001), the idea that inclusion of voices of color redresses inequity, I thought that including more voices of color would substantially alter power relationships and racism. Now, I am relearning the deep and complex nature of racial positioning in society—and that inclusion is not enough to change the dynamics of our inequitable, and violent, society; we must change the terms (Mignolo, 2009).

While examining racial logics and their connection to violence and outcomes in educational settings will be a central feature of my career, I focused on a police training here for various reasons. First, I feel a moral imperative connected to the high-profile incidents recently and the possibility for political impact: a gubernatorial candidate asked

to use pieces of my dissertation to inform policy. Second, aligned with Fanon (1963/2004), I argue that the institutions of education and police run parallel and mutually reinforce, incorporating the same logics of racial construction through violence with material impact on who benefits from the system. Therefore, delving into a police training allowed me to develop the intersection between police and education more fully. The proliferation of research on the school-to-prison pipeline (Khalifa & Briscoe, 2015; Cross, 2016; Stovall, 2016; Wun, 2015) necessitates my understanding of aspects of the prison-industrial complex that pervade schools, with policing as an entry point. Stovall (2016) argued that schools and prisons represent a “nexus... where both institutions operate as one in the same under the same set of rules” (p. 2). Consequently, studying the logics within crisis intervention in police contexts serves to ground further research in schools. Third, the deconstruction of systems to uncover racial logics rooted in violence requires damage to the self in decolonizing individual mentalities (Fanon, 1963/2004). Because of my deep inculcation and socialization into education as a teacher and a doctoral student *in education*, my proximity and positionality may obscure the racial logics and the hidden curriculum within a school. Beginning in a more distant context provides a fresh eye (Eisner, 1998), lessons, and builds my capacity to address and perceive the operation of racial logics and violence in educational contexts, such as through considering discipline structures, what is included or excluded from the curriculum, pedagogical methods, and student and community relationships.

Introduction to Methods

Theoretical Frameworks

From the “shallowness of whiteness” (Leonardo & Porter, 2010, p. 154), I humbly enter work to describe the entangled relationships between police officers, a Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training, and the historical construction of white supremacy and violence toward people of color. Aligned with Mignolo’s (2009) theorizations of epistemologies, I recognize that many aspects of my project have been written, experienced, or researched through various times, locations, and lenses—many outside the purview of academia. Here, I use my educator’s tools as a microscope to elucidate some of the “epistemic silences” (p. 4) within conversations about policing.

Within my project’s three primary objectives, revolving around the intentions, operation, and reception of CIT training, I include the explicit and implicit features of curriculum to explicate intersections between the CIT training and societal dynamics. Therefore, my theoretical framework moves beyond individual deficiency to the structural, institutional, and social dynamics that influence the training (Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012). For the purposes of my study, I focus on the racial logics of whiteness (Fanon, 1963/2004; Fanon, 1952/2008, Harris, 1995; Jones, 2000; Silva, 2001; Wynter, 2003) to ground my analysis of the CIT training’s instructional arc, situating it within the way racial logics move through institutions, histories, and ideologies—leading to and from them.

Introduction to Educational Criticism and Connoisseurship

While I do not come from the perspective that I know everything, or even a lot, about policing and police history, my limitations in knowledge serve the purposes of Educational Criticism (Eisner, 1998), which strives to perceive through one's location and perspective to bring something different to the conversation. Using Educational Criticism, I observed a week-long CIT training and conducted interviews with officers leading, coaching, and attending the training. My sources of depth come from my understandings of whiteness and curriculum rather than policing or mental health. Despite my limitations, connoisseurship requires intentionally garnering experiences to enhance perception of qualities. In this vein, I continue my commitment to learning and unlearning (Freire, 2011).

Yet, my lack of exposure and existence on almost a parallel plane from the police designed to protect me provides a decidedly different set of descriptions and analysis from someone connected to police with negative or positive experiential perception. I seek complexity as mediated by my slice of perspective, providing descriptions that are “critical *and* generous, allowing subjects to reveal their many dimensions and strengths, but also attempting to pierce through the smooth and correct veneers” (Lawrence Lightfoot, 1983, p. 14). The focus must be on the systems and ideologies underneath veneers that mask the ways racialized logics undergird the police.

Eisner (1998) described knowledge as accumulative, an action that connects components to create a composed—yet incomplete—piece. Issues, like racism and police interactions with communities of color, “are more complex than putting the pieces of a

puzzle together to create a single, unified picture” (p. 211). For this reason, my aims in studying a CIT training extend beyond certainty and truth, using research to “widen and deepen our vision, to become wide awake, to notice what is subtle but significant” (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. 160)—to tune into different frequencies (Ellison, 1995) that open sight. To transform systems toward humanness,³ new modes and frequencies must be utilized that “appreciate the complexity of a complex problem” rather than utilizing “simplistic remedies that cannot work” (Eisner, 1998, p. 115). Therefore, my connoisseurship adds value and richness to the texture of understanding, what Eisner (1998) described as “being intellectually versatile or theoretically eclectic” (p. 49). Through analyzing a CIT training with racial logics and police and curricular literature, I intend to open my thinking and use a specific location to conceive of the world in novel ways. Projects such as tackling the deep roots of state-sanctioned violence emerging in policing and in schools requires transdisciplinary thinking and analysis of local situations to illuminate: problems “all interact and are interconnected and thus, together, are constitutive of our species’ ‘global problems’” (Wynter & McKittrick, 2015, p. 44). Resisting the urge to separate selves and systems into separate issues and disciplines, I use Educational Criticism to analyze how the racial logic of whiteness folds into the institution of policing to ground further studies in the operation of whiteness in school systems.

³ I use humanness rather than justice in line with Coulthard (2014), Fanon (1963/2004 & 1952/2008), and Lowe (2015), who argue that justice through the law comes from a logic of recognition, an impossibility within a societal milieu that constructs people of color in zones of non-being based on the violence of white supremacy. Fanon (1963/2004) and Wynter (2003) push for inventing a New Man outside the scope of current dynamics, which construct people of color as less, effectually rendering white people *least* human. I expound upon these ideas in my Literature Review in Chapter 2.

Purpose and Questions

Within the deep, historical realities of our current police context and a humility that pulls me from claims to questions around the complexity of a problem that has lived in bodies with myriad attempts at solutions, this study has a dual-purpose. First, because of the systemic reduction of knowledge to objectivity and text, I attempt to vie for space in the academy for broadened conceptions of what knowledge is and how it is created. By juxtaposing the more formal, academic text and research studies with work of decolonial scholars (i.e., Fanon, 1967 & 1963/2004; Silva, 2001; Wynter, 2003) and by juxtaposing voices, I extend the literature and conceptualizations necessary to deconstruct policing. Relying on aesthetic dimensions of knowing, in part to elucidate power relationships, allows for transgressing boundaries between people and between brain and body. I unhinge at points from traditional academic discourse into spaces of perception and creation.

Secondly, I do not aim to solve any problems through my topic of study and disavow any mentalities of missionary or savior (Martin, 2007) because I am grounded in the enormity and complexity of relationships so historically-rooted and institutionally-embedded. Rather, I strive to describe a particular context in great detail, utilizing my perceptivity, criticality, and aesthetic orientations from my “culture-specific” (Wynter & McKittrick, 2015, p. 45) position as a white female educator to interpret observations of a CIT training and police interviews through the racial logic of whiteness. I illuminate nuance through descriptive renderings (Eisner, 1998). Then, I place these descriptions in

conversation with theoretical frameworks to offer interpretations, evaluations, and thematics that amplify the particular for perceptive openings.

To engage my dual-purpose, I used Educational Criticism (Eisner, 1998) to examine a CIT training for police officers in an urban police department through the interpretive framework of intended, enacted, and received curriculum (Eisner, 1998; Uhrmacher et al., 2017). I first utilized interviews to consider how the training officers think about its purposes and content. I then observed the training to examine the relationship between trainer's intentions and what occurs. Last, I explored what the police officers learn, connecting the training to how individual police officers make sense of it. My overarching research question that guided my observation is:

How does CIT Training evince or contest the hidden curriculum of violence, dehumanization, and whiteness surrounding police work?

My sub-research questions include the following:

1. What is the intent of the CIT training from the perspective of various stakeholders, including trainers and the curriculum itself? How does it orient to people and systems?
2. How does what happens in the training connect or disconnect from the intentions? How is the curriculum operationalized?
3. How do police officers receive the training? How do they make sense of it regarding their personal beliefs and their roles as police officers?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The current context of policing proliferates values and beliefs through its differential criminalization and use of force based in race. But, these are not acts of the moment; rather, they extend back into the racial logics undergirding our modern, global society. Thus, a cycling back into history to the logics underneath that imprint into systems contextualizes the analysis of a police CIT training. Such a background allows me to identify specific racial logics—such as neutrality, colorblindness, the levels of racism, and a universality based on the over-representation of white men—in the training and reveal how the training works with or contests the history and logics behind policing. Within this discussion, I consider how Fanon and his successors conceptualize the Man/human, and how that fuels society’s racial logics—recognizing that U.S. dynamics extend beyond its borders through imperialism—and, thus, engineers a racial-predicated violence that emerges within institutions. In this study, I consider the role of racial logics on violence in policing, with the goal of extending this work to the violence and racial logics within aspects of schooling, such as teacher training, educational curricula, and discipline structures. The institutional analysis of understanding the logics within police can ground and parallel work in schools.

Constructions of Man/Human

Fanon's Background

Gamal's (2016) argument that the police hold a dual purpose to protect certain (namely white) groups while further marginalizing and controlling others (people of color) aligns with the work of Frantz Fanon (1925-1961). Fanon, a Martinique-born and French-educated psychiatrist, wrote his theories of race, violence, colonization, and Man in conversation with the Algerian War for Independence from France. Serving as a psychiatrist in Algeria during the war, he witnessed the effects of colonization on both the colonizer and the colonized, realizing the reactionary nature of psychiatry for the colonized as a response to the psychic trauma of colonization as well as his complicity in treating the colonizer—perpetrators of violence—enabling them to sleep at night (Fanon, 1963/2004). Fanon left the hospital in Algeria to fight in the war to face the contradiction within treating both the cause and the effect of violence, thus cooperating with violence's continued cycle. In his resignation letter, he said, "What is happening [the violence related to de/colonization in Algeria] is the result neither of an accident nor of a breakdown in the mechanism" (Fanon, 1967). Throughout his work, Fanon exposes the intentionality behind acts of violence and colonization, arguing that they predicate on conceptualizations of man based in race; this same logic produces different material realities based on race in encounters with the police in the United States.

Recognition

In *Black Skins, White Masks*, Fanon (1952/2008) dismantled concepts of man within European philosophy, arguing that European philosophers do not consider people

of color within their theorizations. Preeminently, Fanon focuses on the work of Hegel, whose theorization of the self-other and master-bondsman rests on recognition. Recognition, though, requires mutual humanity and mutual recognition—what Hegel (1977) described as “possible only when each is for the other what the other is for it” (p. 113). The logics of colonization, slavery, and racism that form current relationships within individuals and institutions do not situate people of color in a mutual position; they are beyond Hegel’s thinking entirely, in what Fanon terms the “zone of nonbeing”—outside the realm of ontology. Within white supremacist constructions, people of color do not exist as human and/or subjects. Fanon (1952/2008) asserted that even when embodying the markers of European humanity through Western education and language, Black people cannot attain cultural adequacy or recognition for their humanity and civilization in the white conception. They retain the “dimension of being-for-others” (p. 1), and they have to “wear the livery the white man has fabricated for [them]” (p. 17) while also treated as children. In other words, Black people must assimilate to white norms for acceptability, but even when they do, they are pulled perpetually to a racial body schema (Wynter, 1999) founded on the “epidermalization of oppression” (Sharpley-Whiting, 1999, p. 64) and created through violence.

Wynter’s Charting of Man

For Wynter (2003), Man as Western European, heterosexual, bourgeois, and cisgender “overrepresents itself as if it were the human self” (p. 260). The construction of who is considered Man—“the only viable expression of humanness” (McKittrick, 2006, p. 124)—provides important contextualization for racial logics within institutions, such as

police. Wynter (2003) claimed that “any attempt to unsettle the coloniality of power [i.e., police] will call for the unsettling of this overrepresentation” (p. 260). Mendez’s (2015) discussions of gender elucidated the ways “colonial relations of power” historically racialize and reconstitute gender (p. 41), arguing that notions of “Man” and “Woman” in discourse “obscure the histories and bodies” rooted in slavery and colonization (p. 42), reducing gender to its white arrangement of power. The over-representation of Man allows the imposition of “his body and will with relative impunity, sexually or otherwise, on any Other”—white women included—“that is understood to be naturally inferior to him” (p. 45). This construction, Mendez argued, roots the acquittals of police officers in killings of women and people of color. Thus, within Fanon and Wynter’s lineage, over-represented Man constitutes the norming center to determine every other “genre” (Wynter, 1999 & 2003), or mode of being human. The focus on race over gender in this work is not to ignore the role of gender, but to emphasize the embeddedness of whiteness and masculinity in the over-represented Man that influences relations of humanity and subhumanity played out in institutions—and to unsettle the over-representation of Man by interrogating structures that produce white man as the ultimate subject.

Wynter (2003) argued that Europeans came to believe themselves to *be* human concurrent with the slave trade, a time and space abutment that carries ramifications for current racial logics. Wynter plotted her characterization of over-represented Man, over time, beginning with the idea that the “heavens” (p. 271) created governing and absolute, objective conditions for human existence inscribed into cross-cultural mythology and religion. The fixity of heavenly bodies and “divine” cosmos upheld a sense of perfection

and unchangeability in the relations and hierarchies of order. When astronomy and physics developed—such as Copernicus discovering that the Earth rotated around the Sun rather than the other way around, disrupting notions of a world designed for and revolving around Man—the invention of Man overlaid the Christian logic of fixed order. Within this ruptured world, where Man no longer sits at the center with knowledge fixed and knowable only by God, the dominant European beliefs shifted to the idea that God made the world “according to rational, nonarbitrary rules that could be knowable by the beings that He had made it for” (p. 278). Therefore, rather than considering Man within a religious framework of damned and saved (what Wynter terms Man₁), scientific discoveries reinvented Man as rational and irrational (Man₂). Because the acknowledged scientific discoveries occurred in Europe in the realm and reach of Christianity, Europeans became the rational beings that God made the world to discover; determination of rationality based in religious logic. And, since Copernicus’ work in the early 16th Century merged with the Age of Discovery, the logics of both Man₁ and Man₂ merged to justify slavery and colonization.

The existence of the New World “ruptured European understandings,” throwing “humanness into crisis” (McKittrick, 2006, p. 124). McKittrick (2006) mapped Wynter’s conceptualizations of both versions of Man into habitable and uninhabitable zones, as marked by the reach of Christianity through Europe and Northern Africa. Uninhabitable zones included Africa below the Sahara (too hot) and the New World (under water). Originally mapped by European cartographers and explorers as “‘peopleless’ voids” (p. 129), conceptions of uninhabitability allowed the logics of Man₁ and Man₂ to exclude

Africans and Native Americans as people because they were either/both damned outside of the fixed realm of Christianity and irrational as positioned outside the rationality of scientific discovery. Monotheism “could not conceive of an Other” as human or, likewise, rational (Wynter, 2003, p. 291). Consequently, Europeans reoriented their understandings of Man along the color line, as race marked the boundary between Europeans as saved (evangelizing)/rational (imperializing) and slaves and Native Americans as damned/irrational (McKittrick, 2006). Race justified the violence of slavery and colonization while also bolstering the European Man as superior through religious and intellectual bases as over-represented Man needed to render people of color as nonbeing to assert his being (ability to dominate).

Thus, white supremacy stems from violence, considered as neutral, natural, and necessary because of definitions of human within European frameworks (Silva, 2014; Wynter, 2003). In the 19th-century, Darwinian logic placed the failures or successes of groups within biological terms of naturally “selected or dysselected” (Wynter, 2003, p. 310), shifting blame for racism and the genocide of Native Americans from the individuals or systems responsible onto the “dysselected” groups. Moreover, adding biological normalization reified racialized and asymmetrical categorization of “rational and irrational, selected and dysselected, the haves and the have-nots” (Wynter & McKittrick, 2015). Color serves as the line between categories, connecting to Cheryl Harris’ (1995) theorization of whiteness as property, wherein whiteness conflates with exclusionary rights to freedom, privilege, and advantage (see also Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Aligned with Wynter’s argument that slavery pinned racial categorization to logic

system of power and control, Harris (1995) asserted that making whiteness a “shield from slavery” (p. 279), imprinted racial lines as critical. Whiteness, then, became property, an “‘object’ over which continued control was—and is—expected...” (p. 281) and reinforced the idea that the “degraded status” (p. 286) of people of color is natural and “commonsensical” (Cross, 2016, p. 4), what Castro-Gómez describes as the “*hubris of the zero point*” (as cited in Mignolo, 2009, p. 2). White people and Western structures vehemently defend their false sense of deserved power that enables them to maintain superiority of material and psychic space.

Connections to Roots of Policing

The overall logic of pointed violence toward “dysselected” communities extends from conceptions of Man centered on race into categories of being and non-being to condone the history of Native American genocide and slavery. This historical grounding—often erased—provides necessary context to understand current relationships and circumstances within policing. At a concrete level, the surveillance of and violence toward Black and Brown people roots in the history of slavery (Browne, 2015; Kendi, 2016; Wun, 2015), emerging out of the antebellum South through slave patrols, “a rudimentary form of policing” where white men stopped and questioned travelling slaves (Parenti qtd. in Sprinkle, 2005, p. 1377; see also Browne, 2015). The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1793 granted white slaveholders the right to recover fugitive slaves, implementing laws in the South that required white people “to enforce the pass system against all Blacks” (Parenti, 2003, p. 20) to reduce the escape of slaves. Within the slave pass system came an increase in foot patrols—largely poor and middle class whites—and

increasing levels of formality, organization, and weaponry. Slave passes delineated slave purposes for traveling and destinations, or they risked punishment, as the ability for slaves to mobilize and network increased the likelihood of resistance and rebellion (Parenti, 2003). Thus, race-centered conceptions of Man birthed slavery which birthed the U.S. police system. Since “the function of a social structure is to set up institutions to serve man’s needs” (Fanon, 1967, p. 53) and since Man is “overrepresented” as white male (Coulthard, 2014; Wynter, 2003), the police system is designed, as Gamal (2016) attested, to surveil and control Black and Brown people, while providing “security” to white supremacy (Daulatzai, 2016, p. xviii) within the logic of whiteness as a property right.

Racial Frameworks

Contextualization of police within frameworks of whiteness and the racial logics, such as claims of neutrality and colorblindness, within it are missing in studies of police in general, with race often used only as a variable in studies (Henne & Shah, 2015). Instead studies focus on police interventions (Ariel, 2016; Compton et al., 2014; Ellis, 2011; Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014; Morrow, Katz, & Choate, 2016) and police attitudes or socialization (Bonfine, Ritter, & Munetz, 2014; Canada, Angell, & Watson, 2012; Conti & Doreian, 2014; Ellis, 2014; Smiley & Fakunle, 2016)—rather than the structures of whiteness informing policing. Thus, Henne and Shah (2015) encouraged investigation of the white logic and structures informing police and criminological research. The present study fits the gap of exploring the racial logics of whiteness within a police training’s instructional arc. Historically, race has been used as a

differentiator to justify domination of groups as well as inequity; therefore, I distinguish between white, whiteness, and white supremacy and explain how each operates within a racial society. I then situate these terms into the racial logics described by Silva (2001) to contextualize my study.

White and Whiteness

White refers to phenotype, or skin color—the optic of a body. However, in a racialized society, it signifies supremacy and rationality, rooted historically through religion, politics, and science (Wynter, 2003). As McAfee (2014) argued, race is “a verb rather than a noun,” its significations fluctuating to maintain “patterns and hierarchies” via the seemingly minute and ordinary (p. 468). Whiteness, on the other hand, “is not a race” but an ideology “and a system of assumptions and practices” (Gillborn, 2014, p. 32), and it is structured off black racism (Silva, 2001). Ideologies, like race, are not static, but “the mental frameworks” of language, symbols, and imagery deployed by social group to “make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works” (Leonardo, 2010, p. 26). Justifications of whiteness include narrow conceptions of meritocracy and the American Dream (West, 1989), where success is pinned on hard work—valuing white collar work over labor—and failure on pathological views of people of color and their cultures (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Tuck, 2009b). Whiteness defends privileged access to resources like education, goods, services, and property (Chakravartty & Silva, 2012; Cross, 2016; Harris, 1995; Weis & Fine, 2012), resulting in gentrification and inequity in schools, housing—and police treatment.

Whiteness can be upheld by people of any race and by institutions or structures. It involves marking groups as “other” with white remaining “unmarked” as the norm (Potter, 2015, p. 1438), thus framing white norms as neutral and objective without recognizing the hierarchy of power that influences material distribution (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Harris, 1995; Kendi, 2016; Ledesma & Calderón, 2015; Nelson, 2015). The education system reproduces whiteness through its curricula, its modes of learning, and its perceptions of knowledge (Mignolo, 2009; Thompson Dorsey & Venzant Chambers, 2014; Weis & Fine, 2012; West-Olatunji et al., 2008). Identifying the extent to which and how the CIT training reproduces or contests whiteness as normative and unmarked is a central feature of my study.

White Supremacy and Racism

Coalesced, ideologies of whiteness knit into systems, institutions, beliefs, and collective beliefs to sustain white supremacy—white superiority and dominance (Leonardo, 2004). White supremacy materializes both individually and systemically through racism, or the belief in white superiority—whether conscious or not—and, consequently, the “right to dominance” (Lorde, 2007, p. 45). The beliefs of individuals and systems transform racism from personally-mediated prejudicial actions held within individual and institutional discrimination (Jones, 2000) to white supremacy: a hegemonic force developed through the global inscription of religious, ideological, and scientific beliefs through processes of slavery and colonization (Chakravartty & Silva, 2012; Wynter, 2003). A key distinction exists between hegemony and domination: “hegemony requires consent and domination requires coercion” (Leonardo, 2010, p. 7);

hegemony exists throughout society, upheld by the operations of the dominant group (Gramsci). When groups or individuals seek institutional recognition through acts such as accreditation or licensure, they consent to the system, lending more stability to the system than “brute force” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 31). Whiteness—and, connected, white supremacy—moves beyond hegemony to “autonomy” (Leonardo, 2010, p. 12) because whiteness is woven so deeply into the U.S. that it no longer requires consent to perpetuate; it is the *modus operandi*, aligned with Gramsci’s (1994) definition of hegemony. Whiteness “props up [Audre Lorde’s] mythical norm and erases or obscures the daily struggles of particular communities” (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, p. 4). Complicity, the automatic participation in dominant societal structures, supersedes consent in maintaining hegemonic institutions.

Institutionalized racism. Institutionalized racism includes the “differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society by race” that permeates “custom, practice, and law” (Jones, 2000, p. 8). Because of its structural nature, institutionalized racism cannot be located or blamed easily, often occurring through inaction and/or becoming unseen under the guise of normalcy or tradition.

Personally-mediated racism. Personally-mediated racism, encompassing the outright bigotry that people often consider as definitional of racism, includes individual beliefs and “assumptions about the abilities, motives, and intentions of others” (p. 8). Like institutionalized racism, it emerges both in action and inaction and can be either intentional or unintentional. Kendi (2016) described helpful categories to connect with personally-mediated racism, though they can also operate institutionally: segregationist or

assimilationist racist ideas. Segregationist ideas posit a difference between races that is permanent and justifies differential treatment, whereas assimilationist ideas argue that, given the right environment and conditions, people of all races can achieve success. Assimilationist thinking is both pervasive and subtle because it can look like attempts to achieve equity. However, the rub to assimilationist thinking is that success is defined through a white normative lens.

Interiorized racism. Internalized racism is the belief of “members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth” (Jones, 2000, p. 9). It manifests in numerous ways, including the devaluation of self or members of one’s community, of limiting dreams, or of hopelessness. Importantly, Fanon (1952/2008) terms internalized racism as the interiorization of inferiority, shifting the locus of responsibility from the person of color internalizing negative messages to the systems and structures that construct people of color as inferior. I use Fanon’s structural understanding in my interrogation of whiteness.

Racism terminology. Because of the over-representation of white authors, histories, and researchers (Wynter, 2003), U.S. society promotes the myth of neutrality and white normality (Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004). Neutrality, or normative centering of consciousness via education, popular discourse, and media, reinscribes racism into individual mentalities and institutions to maintain whiteness in unseen or even ordinary forms (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Harris, 1995; Ledesma & Calderón, 2015). Some of the forms of racism include colorblind racism, or the avoidance of seeing race (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Gillborn, 2005; Martin, 2007; Weis &

Fine, 2012); meritocracy, or the belief that individual merit and hard work leads to “an equal chance” of success without considering other factors (Au, 2013, p. 13; see also Cerezo, McWhirter, Peña, Valdez, & Bustos, 2013); and white fragility, or deployment of defensiveness through “anger, fear, guilt, . . . argumentation, silence, and [avoidance]” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 54), what Matias (2016) considered the “emotionalities” associated with whiteness. The racial logics constructing whiteness involve complex and myriad strands, some of which emerged in my observations and interviews. While many people may consider the dehumanization within police brutality as personally-mediated racism, I focus on the ideological and institutionalized nature of police-community dynamics, arguing that they are not about individual police officers or departments, but rather a systemic articulation of the white superiority and supremacy woven into global, historical constructions of imperial society.

Epistemological Ignorance

Because of white people’s aligned position with white supremacist structures and norms, Alcoff (2007) argued that they come from an “epistemologically disadvantaged” (p. 46) position, hindering them from seeing erased or buried knowledges (Mills, 2007; Torre & Fine, 2011). Mills (2007) posited that power and the privileges that accompany it maintain “white ignorance” (p. 15) by allowing both white individuals and systems to ignore the role of race. In other words, education and society writ large through media, normative discourse, and politics reinforce ideas of white superiority through who and what is taught and spoken about, how, and for what ends. This “complex process of the production and maintenance of ignorance” (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007, p. 2) at best

obscures “genuine knowledge” (Mills, 2007, p. 16) or renders it as dissenting, biased, or “aggressive” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 14) perspectives rather than historicized accounts.

However, the conceptions of epistemological ignorance come from a logic of recognition: merely seeing or uncovering knowledges will alter conditions. In other words, including knowledge and information from locations and bodies of color will change societal understanding and dynamics of power. Within Coulthard (2014), Fanon (1952/2008), and Wynter’s (2003) analysis of the relationship of white people to people of color, such recognition is both not possible nor a condition for alterity. In fact, recognition serves as “*the field of power through which colonial relations are produced and maintained*” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 17) because the process of seeking recognition legitimizes the dominance of the social system.

Moreover, Mignolo (2009) pressed the importance of “epistemic de-linking” to consider the structural formulation of the “who, when, why” of knowledge... “Why eurocentered epistemology carefully hidden” (p. 2) in the “generative structures” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 35) of schools, businesses, governing bodies, and academic disciplines. People outside of what dominant society considers human, then, ought not seek recognition and inclusion of their knowledges within the structures that simultaneously delegitimize and subordinate them (Davies & M’Bow, 2007). Rather, they can either consider frames outside of western rules (de-westernization) or can focus on regenerating life instead of production (de-colonial) (Mignolo, 2009)—constructing a new human (Fanon, 1963/2004; Wynter 2003). Likewise, Coulthard (2014) asserted that the way to redress the deeply embedded systems of capitalism, white supremacy, and

patriarchy constructing our behaviors is by attending to the “colonial frame” (p. 14). Thus, within the historically-situated notions of racial and knowledge formulation, asserting white people as epistemologically ignorant fails to consider the “epistemic privileges of the *zero point*” (Mignolo, 2009, p. 3), reproducing racial logics through ideological and repressive structures that shroud racial hierarchies embedded within institutions.

Racial Logics

Logic of Exclusion

As Wynter’s (2003) analysis of historical constructions of Man demonstrates, ideas of Man developed through religious and scientific logic systems promote over-represented Man as a Universal idea, attainable by all, without considering the connected racial logics that prohibit Universality. Within the framework of supposed Universality and Universal Justice, “*analytics of raciality*” treats race as “a *supplement* to the hegemonic narrative of modernity” (Silva, 2001, p. 423). In other words, race serves only a part of conditions and not inextricably linked to systems of democracy and capitalism. Consequently, dominant racial logics consider racism through the framework of racial justice: because laws are universal, neutral, and oppositional to racism, racial discrimination cannot exist as part of the law. Fixing laws, then, will necessarily diminish racism. This *logic of exclusion* exists in moves to alter use of force policies or criminalization policies, as well as inclusion of more women or people of color in the police force. Within the logic of exclusion, including marginalized people in physical presence or through law will change the racist conditions; it, thus, relies on addressing

race at the personal and institutional level rather than the logics and systems underneath. Like Hegel's (1977) theorizations of self/other that rest on Black people as nonbeing, the universality of the law ignores how "*whiteness signifies universality*" (Silva, 2001, p. 447).

Moreover, the socio-biological construction of over-represented Man considers the subaltern societal position of Black people as natural (Fanon, 1963/2004; Kendi, 2016; McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007; Silva, 2001; Wynter, 2003). Mere inclusion does not alter the logic system or the role of whiteness within white supremacy. For example, including more women, who are viewed as more empathetic and less violent, as police officers does not consider the racial control and violence inscribed into policing itself or the embedded notion of black as both signifier of and existence *as* criminal (Jackson, 2011; Sharpley-Whiting, 1999; Silva, 2001). Nor does inclusion consider the way that white supremacy generates crime and influences the psychology of people of color (Fanon, 1963/2004). Silva (2001) argued that raciality constructs ideas of universality that renders people of color as "outside...its *spatial* limits," in a "moral and legal *no man's land*" (p. 422), thus "fixing" certain bodies within "pre-historical conditions" based on "*race difference*" (p. 433)—what McKittrick and Woods (2007) described as "uneven geographies" (p. 2). Moreover, Silva posited that two racially-mediated realms exist: "the zone of illegality" and "the *domain of justice*" (p. 440). She claimed that because of these parallel domains, residents of the zone of illegality are considered the "rightful victims of police terror" (p. 441), veiling the line separating necessary police action from terror. The presence of terror is not fluid for some; it is part

of “the everyday” (McKittrick & Woods, 2007) and natural (McKittrick, 2014; Silva, 2014). The way race produces fixed hierarchies and realms of justice, then, must be addressed.

Politics of Obliteration

Therefore, rather than viewing racism through the lens of exclusion wherein society truly is egalitarian, Silva (2001) theorized racism through the politics of obliteration. In other words, constructions of race as a modern category of being or non-being for people of color allowed people of color to be—and continue to be—obliterated through slavery, genocide, colonization, and police terror. Rather than viewing systems as neutral and people as racist within them, racism structures systems. Integration into the systems does not alter the conditions. Concepts of universality ignore the exclusion of people of color as human, but rely on people of color for its existence: the white subject exists—and is universal—because of the violence enacted on communities of color to create it. And, as McKittrick (2006) described, geography influences what counts as habitable and uninhabitable, rational and irrational, worth security or surveillance. Lowe (2015) considered this division of humanity as impetus to denigrate the lives within the communities or areas outside of realm of human as determined by whiteness—including the racial coding of areas as “‘urban,’ ‘inner city,’ and ‘disadvantaged’” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 55). Therefore, examining the operation of whiteness and the logics of raciality within CIT training deepened understandings of white supremacy to ground show the police breaks or parallels the politics of obliteration.

Violence within Racial Logics

The over-representation of man as white, cisgender, heterosexual male (Wynter, 2003) permits violence toward women and people of color. Both the Atlantic Slave Trade and the colonization of the Americas established “categories of inferiorization” around race and geography that justified “dehumanization and exploitation” (Mendez, p. 43). Thus, within the framework of colonization and domination that marks U.S. history, violence creates racialization of bodies. Such violence, however, is not contained within past dynamics associated with arrival and initial contact of people that is now legislated out of practice (Kendi, 2016). The violence is “epistemic, ontological, cosmological” and is “reasserted each day of occupation” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). This section foregrounds various forms of violence with the understanding that violence intimately connects to the formation of whiteness and the naturalization of violence toward communities of color (Cross, 2003).

Physical Violence

Physical violence involves the overt forms of violence that include bloodshed, physical altercation, and observable repression and the “hot violence of immediate connectivity to material exploitation” (McLaren et al., 1999, p. 142). Fanon (1963/2004) described the sum force of violence as “totaling and national” (p. 51), and physical violence includes arrests, police brutality, militarization of police, bloodshed, and occupation of territory for repression. Thus, physical violence extends beyond police killings to include the intensified gaze of police on communities of color (Wun, 2015).

Symbolic Violence

Symbolic violence involves the signification of certain races, or the ways that ideation builds ideological perception with systematic, institutional, and material effect (McKittrick & Woods, 2007). Leonardo and Porter (2010) discussed symbolic violence as “euphemized” and “cool” discursive violence that constructs relationships of power and justifies inequitable policies (p. 140). Privileging language and label obscures lived experiences, attempting—but failing—to “represent phenomena” yet allowing the label to supersede (Adams & Jones, 2008, p. 381). Symbolic violence includes the language used to “[reconfigure/disfigure]” people of color as dangerous (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 6) and shift the blame for systemic violence and racism onto the victims, thus bolstering and subtly maintaining the same dynamics of power (McLaren, Leonardo, & Allen, 1999).

Aligned with Fanon’s (1952/2008) conceptions of recognition, symbolic violence denies the humanity of people of color through discourse and functions as a daily practice. It connects to the division of the world in two, with race marking people’s place along the border represented by “police stations” (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 3). It emerges as the physical limitation of space people of color can occupy, done presently via de facto policies of school zoning and funding, mortgage structures (Chakravartty & Silva, 2001), and surveillance of schools, neighborhoods, and behavior. For example, backlash to Colin Kaepernick’s protest of sitting through the National Anthem in protest of police brutality during the 2016-2017 NFL season—and the NFL’s subsequent blacklisting of Kaepernick—represents a symbolic violence, surveilling acceptable behaviors for people of color. In fact, the UN indicted the U.S. in 2008 for its “two-tiered” nature regarding its

racial divisions around “education, health, land and housing, and criminal justice” (Tuck, 2009b, p. 411), differential conditions that are “state-sanctioned” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 94).

Epistemological Violence

Fox and Fine (2013) defined epistemological violence as the systematic “research and [writing] about [people] without their consent, wisdom, outrage or their right to represent” (p. 321). Within the research tradition, epistemological violence emerges from research orientations that center the inquiry and analysis of the researcher rather than or over the community (Fox & Fine, 2013) or characterize inferiority of an “Other” even alongside alternative explanations (Teo, 2010). When researchers make claims that conceptualize experiences of other people through their lenses or for their purpose rather than the community’s purposes (Tuck & Yang, 2014) or to construct an “Other” (Teo, 2010), they operate from epistemological violence. Additionally, notions of the transcendence of text over oral tradition (Conquergood, 2013) or the supremacy of science as objective and neutral rather than the sociogeny of lived and embodied experience (Wynter, 1999) enact violence in how and what constitutes knowledge and who can create it. Epistemological violence begins as symbolic and discursive, but it informs policies and practices that perpetrate more overt violence. In relation to the CIT training, I attend to the orientation to knowledge and who creates it for the training. Is it a top-down process, or how did—and what—community partners influence its development?

Ontological Violence

The creation of over-represented Man, where white people exist at the expense of people of color, places people of color outside of ontology in the “zone of nonbeing” (Fanon, 1952/2008; Wynter, 1999; Wynter, 2003). Therefore, ontological violence encompasses the policies and practices maintaining a white supremacist system that do not recognize or treat people of color as subject and human. Ontological violence evinces in militarization towards protestors of color and the categorization of protest as riot. It emerges through discourse around affirmative action, universal health care, and welfare, programs constructed as bailing out undeserving people of color at the expense of white privilege. Cross (2003) described the racialization of language used to describe white and Black economic hardship in the early 1990s. To describe the effects of a factory closing on its predominantly white workers, *USA Today* connected their hardships with “employment, individual agency, taxpayer participation, safe and affordable housing, and community vitality”—not the tendency to be “lazy, unmotivated, and addicted to welfare” (p. 68). On the other hand, in a *New York Times* article about welfare reform from the same period pointed to Black communities and urban centers as “[positioning] themselves to be on welfare, independent of economic forces” (p. 68). Discourses of essentialism that often describe communities of color fail to address the systemic nature of policy discrimination writ onto bodies as deserved or waste (Harris, 1995; Tuck & Yang, 2014).

Cosmological Violence

Cosmological violence relates to Wynter's (2003) inscription of early theocentric notions of the heavens and universe as fixed, revolving around earth and humans, creating conceptions of absolute truths and modes of human. As the geographies of the known world categorized into Christianized and Eurocentric notions of habitable and inhabitable (McKittrick, 2006), fixed cosmologies transcribed onto expanded notions of the universe through constructions of rational and irrational (Wynter, 2003).

Consequently, perceptions of human connected to location and race under the guise of fixed cosmology. Epistemologies that value a Western genre of human reify cosmologies (Wynter & McKittrick, 2015). Wilson (2008) articulated the nuance of this violence, where in an Indigenous paradigm, knowledge belongs "to the cosmos" (p. 38) and not researchers. Speaking with Wynter and McKittrick, Wilson's orientation troubles the monotheistic concept of certain humans—along racial lines—chosen to interpret the absolutes of the cosmos.

Material Violence

All forms of violence carry material and concrete conditions, a crucial component in analysis of any violence. Violence based in race generates differential psychic (Fanon, 1963/2004; Westcott, 2015), material (Chakravartty & Silva, 2012; Weis & Fine, 2012; White, 2015), and educational (Gillborn, 2014; Wun, 2015) consequences. The observable gaps in pay, mental health, wages, housing, educational achievement and access, and life expectancy testify to the consuming and totalizing nature of violence (Davies & M'Bow, 2007; Fanon, 1963/2004) across institutional spheres and

geographies. Newton (2002) and Zedong (1987) argued for the necessity of dialectical materialism, or interrogation of concrete conditions. By grounding violence in its material effect, the oft-unseen aspects surface. However, the need to illuminate violence for its recognition by pinpointing material conditions demonstrates the white supremacy's construction of people of color in the ontological position of nonbeing.

Cleansing and Humanizing Violence

In a situation of oppression, when the oppressed exert violence equal to that of the oppressors, it can establish humanization and love (Freire, 2011). Fanon (1963/2004), too, characterized violence of the subjugated as a “cleansing force” (p. 52) that asserts humanity against the figuration of people of color as less human and less deserving. Ralph Ellison (1995) illustrated humanizing violence in the prologue to *Invisible Man* when the narrator beats up the white man who refuses to see him because of his blackness. The narrator's violence affirms his humanity in his own mind, building confidence and sense of self. The violence of the oppressors stunts the humanness of the oppressed, but it also dehumanizes the oppressor, making the oppressor least human (Freire, 2011). Leonardo and Porter (2010) defined violence as a “pedagogy and politics of disruption” (p. 140), functioning to shift racial dynamics and logics of power. They characterize the violence that serves to humanize people of color and destruct racial domination as “violently anti-violence” (p. 140), serving the project of liberation, establishing their rightful place as human against white supremacist constructions, and taking away “the oppressors' power to dominate and suppress” (Freire, 2011, p. 56). As such, not only do the oppressed become human in asserting their humanity, they also

suspend the oppressor's dehumanization, moving both into a new relationship as a new human (Fanon, 1963/2004; Wynter, 2003). Within the milieu of white supremacy and colonization, cleansing and humanizing violence comes from people of color; it must be against a repressive system of domination.

Violence to the Self

Deconstructing the mentalities and ideologies of white supremacy coursing through each of us involves damage inflicted inward to disrupt racist ideas rather than toward communities. Tuck (2009b) described the propensity to conduct damage-centered research—exploring “historical exploitation, domination, and colonization to explain contemporary brokenness, such as poverty” (p. 413)—on communities with the intention of political gain. Instead, such stances reinforce settler colonial mentalities (Coulthard, 2014) and logics of “civilized versus savage” (Calderón, 2016, p. 13) that uphold power relationships and white supremacy. Fanon (1963/2004) elucidated the process and impact of facing the damage of colonization and white supremacy on both the colonizer and the colonized, and he argues that “when colonization remains unchallenged... the colonized defenses collapse (p. 182). Fanon referred to resistance through violence against the colonizer and institutions of colonization to “reestablish [their] weight as a human being” (p. 221). Fanon’s articulations diverge from Tuck and Calderón’s damage-centered research because he challenges the racial logics that make our position rather than describing the influence of the logic on the community with no theory to change it (Tuck, 2009b).

Deconstructing racial logics involves investigation on a macro and structural level; however, perhaps just as importantly, Fanon (1963/2004) posited that unlearning knowledge that situates people of color as criminal, including through education and curriculum (p. 227), requires violence to the racial logics in the self. Dislodging notions of the perceived inferiority and criminality of certain groups requires constant attention, from both the side of constructed superiority and inferiority. Fanon said, “the insult to man which is in ourselves must be identified, demystified and hunted down at all times and in all places” (p. 229). Damage to the “untruths” within the self (p. 233) are requisite to ending domination whose *de facto* end may come by war, policy, community-engaged efforts, or revolution. Curriculum, too, influences what people learn, both through the explicit concepts taught, as well as the ideological aspects embedded in educational environments and wherein lies absences and silences.

Curriculum

The subsequent sections of my literature review shift from the theoretical constructions of human and violence hidden beneath lived, daily realities to the practical understanding of curriculum and its operation in police trainings. Certain concepts pervade discussions and enactments of curriculum, and they interact with each other: changing one consciously or inadvertently alters the others. First, curriculum is the content of teaching—the what. Pedagogy is the methods and processes used in teaching—the how. Structural features of the learning environment—the where and when or time and space—matter to both curriculum and pedagogy. Evaluation, either informal or formal, needs to fit the aim or objective of a lesson.

Orientations to Curriculum

Technical. Within the seemingly simple concepts of curriculum and pedagogy, much variation exists. Some curricular theorists argue for curriculum to serve a technical function. Tyler (2013) considered standards and objectives central to curricular and pedagogical determinations. Within his standpoint, education provides the technical acquisition of skills and knowledge. Eisner (1994) discussed education's role to some as providing a trained workforce—and enduring boredom. Willis' (1977) ethnographic study of the Lads, children of working class families who largely retain a working-class status in their careers, demonstrates the cultural and hegemonic reproductive tendencies or values of education. The proliferation of STEM-focused educational initiatives and rhetoric evinces the prominent tendency to view education through a capitalistic mindset of how it can serve societal business and technological needs.

Moral. Other people believe schools serve a moral function in their conceptions of curriculum and pedagogy. Some schools center theological values through their lessons (Eisner, 1994). Waldorf schools (Uhrmacher, 1993) establish a culture of care and relationships of thoughts and people through artistic activities and hands-on experiences. Within the same culture of care, Noddings (2005) believes schools exist to foster student growth as “healthy, competent, moral people” (p. 10). Other theorists center care in their constructions, such as through ecological mindedness (Moroye, 2009; Moroye & Ingman, 2013). Moroye (2009) considers the relationship between human beings and nature as fundamental to the intentions and actions of certain teachers, and these values promote relationships within a classroom. Also within the realm of care, Gay (2000) and Ladson-

Billings (2009) both present culturally responsive teaching methods as a moral imperative for equitable educational practice. According to Ladson-Billings (1995), culturally responsive pedagogy includes academic excellence, incorporation of the cultures of students as an end and means to learn, and a dedication to critical consciousness and action that transforms education. Care centers culturally responsive praxis as teachers must center relationships with students and their sociopolitical lives to teach them effectively (Aguirre, Mayfield-Ingram, & Martin, 2013; Gay, 2000; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Leonard, 2008; Martin, 2007).

Developmental. Still others view education as a means to develop human citizenry, inquiry, or cognition. Adler (1984), through Socratic questioning and a coaching orientation, believed that all students ought to receive the same level of quality education. Consequently, he did not believe in tracking or vocational education, but instead wanted to provide all students with a book-centered, close-reading curriculum intended to build life-long learners and an active, knowledgeable citizenry. Duckworth (2006) valued inquiry and exploration as necessary for learning and grappling. Her constructivist approach intended for students to go deeply with content and construct their own knowledge and insights, to let ideas flow. Eisner's (1994) approach more considered the ways people understand experiences, both in the learning and in the telling, and how different forms of representation of information and ideas influences knowledge and learning. Incorporating multiple forms of representation promotes cognitive processes and paying attention to the experience through myriad lenses enhances perceptivity (Dewey, 1934). An aesthetic perception allows people to move

beyond the status quo and normative discourse to “disturb” (Greene, 1978, p. 39) and conceive of alterity, what Greene would describe as wide-awakeness.

Critical. Another strand of curriculum comes from a critical lens, looking to consider the sociopolitical context impacting schools. Whereas culturally responsive pedagogy considers the community, the focus rests primarily on the students within the context and not the macro forces influencing how and why schools operate—although a critical lens is not mutually exclusive from culturally responsive pedagogy. Critical theorists consider how schools relate to power structures (Apple, 1995; Foucault, 1980; Willis, 1977), interrogating the violent recycle of segregation, the construction of the grand narrative, and power hierarchies within education. Under the broad category of critical pedagogy, theorists examine the operation of power along various dimensions, including heteronormativity (Corey, 1998; Faulkner, 2013; Fox, 2010), xenophobia (Calafell, 2008), ableism (Brown et al., 2017; Scott, 2013), and race (Cerezo et al., 2013; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Gillborn, 2014; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ledesma & Calderón, 2015; Thompson Dorsey & Venzant Chambers, 2014; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Within many critical paradigms exists a participatory and dialogic orientation to knowledge that centers lived experiences (Bacha et al., 2008; Conquergood, 2013; Fox & Fine, 2013; Tuck, 2009a; Wilson, 2008).

Instructional Arc

Orientations to curriculum include an instructional arc, or the intentions and goals, operation, and receipt of a curriculum (Uhrmacher, McConnell Moroye, & Flinders, 2017). The intended curriculum comes from Eisner (1998) and includes what

the person teaching and/or developing the curriculum intends to occur. It includes both explicit objectives and features that comprise values, but may not be explicitly articulated, such as ecological mindedness (Moroye, 2009). Often, intentions diverge from what actually happens, or the operational curriculum (Eisner, 1998), perhaps because the stated intentions do not align the curriculum or pedagogy, the teacher holds biases or beliefs that predominate the intentions, or classroom events or student intentions alter the teacher's intentions. Finally, the instructional arc includes the received curriculum, or what students learn from the experience (Uhrmacher et al., 2017).

Curriculum and Racial Logics Use in My Study

A broad framework of curriculum theories and terms provides spaces for analysis of the CIT training. As I learned about the nature of CIT training overall and my site specifically, certain features or types of curriculum emerged as prominent. As I observed the course, I looked for the stance of the curriculum developers towards curriculum, whether technical, moral, developmental, or critical. Thus, my study pre-figures on racial logics through analysis of the hidden curriculum; however, aspects of my study emerged in process, such as the curricular orientation and the most appropriate curricular term(s) for analysis (Eisner, 1998). Regardless, I interrogated racial logics with the understanding that I may find resistance or divergence rather than consonance with the above-articulated theories about the intersection between race, violence, and conceptions of human.

Subjectivity

Before considering some of the existing police trainings and how they orient within the instructional arc, I want to speak about my positionality within the study.

Informed by the Indigenous ethic of relational accountability (Wilson, 2008), I incorporate aspects of my viewpoints and histories within and throughout to represent my motives and emotions in the research.

Scheper-Hughes (1984) discussed the discrepancies—and controversy—regarding Margaret Mead’s and Derek Freeman’s anthropological conception of Samoan culture. As a 23-year-old female, Mead interviewed many young Samoan girls not long after their first sexual experiences. Freeman, an older gentleman, on the other hand, spoke to older men, such as “high ranking chiefs” (p. 90). Thus, each researcher garnered a different angle and perception of youth culture and sexuality in Samoa. Scheper-Hughes (1984) argued that both conceptions contain truth, but “a” truth, not “*the*” truth (p. 90).

According to Eisner (1998), our world views stem from prior experiences shaped by culture, language, genetic capacities, needs, ideas, and practices. Subjectivity, then, recognizes that our perspective comes from a subject space that localizes in our body’s position in location, history, and culture, including the extent with which individuals and systems operate congruent to our locus.

Our identities and contextual factors mediate our experiences, how we make meaning, and how others perceive and relate to us. Thus, in crafting credible research, disclosure of position and biases in terms of the topic provides necessary information to the reader to know the verity—or at least the stance—of the researcher’s claims. I am emotionally compelled (Wilson, 2008) to study the connection between violence and race in the police (and later in education) by anger for institutions that continue to harm communities materially and differentially based on race. I left teaching K-12 for graduate

school because I did not want to be a cog in the system; I wanted to interrogate and gain experiences to alter the system somehow. I think bravery also informs my work, connected to a desire to come out of hiding.

Last January, my mom and I sat at a table near the front of a French bistro, part of her annual birthday present of a dinner and a show. As we sipped wine, she remarked something like, “You would have better luck dating if you stopped talking on dates. You are too opinionated. Just ask questions.” I leaned forward in my chair, eyes ablaze, and said, “I will never stop talking. Either someone will like me for all of who I am, or I will be alone. I will never hide myself.”

In the religion of my childhood, I learned daily lessons of male superiority and leadership. With tacit acceptance, I strove to embody masculine characteristics in hopes I would be seen or achieve success. At the conclusion of my 8th-grade-graduation ceremony from my K-8 parochial school conducted in the sanctuary, I asked my pastor, “What if I have something to say in the world?” He replied, “You’ll have to say it through a man as God designed.”

I know that I need to speak my truths and step into the role of challenging those around me to question white supremacy and not relinquish my responsibility as human. Since the start of college, grappling with my racial identity and the racialized constructions of the world center my thinking and my coursework.

October 3rd, 2004, my life shifted. I sat in the hardwood pew, on the right of the middle aisle, halfway up the church. I remember the stained glass on the window to my left, iconography of Jesus’ brutalization on the cross. I remember

the bulletin, a gilded-Aspen variety that brought me to my Colorado home from the North Hollywood pew. I remember my boyfriend at the time's poetic etchings on the bulletin—I may still have it—stuffed into a lineless notebook or buried beneath important files, like birth certificates. I remember the sermon's tenor of fear and damnation, something about the fires of hell. That was the last day I ever attended my childhood church sect, except for weddings and funerals.

I attribute the unbelievable events of that October day to the feelings associated with experiencing the church through the eyes of my boyfriend at the time, a self-described semi-Catholic, semi-Quaker, semi-atheist Haitian.

What I never thought about, not in the sense of time-line, was the summer of 2004 right before. I worked with an Upward Bound program for students from reservations around the country. Since childhood, I struggled with concepts of Manifest Destiny and the settler colonial notion of the deserved right to occupy occupied land, as if it were empty. The summer of 2004, I bumped up with my colonized beliefs with my body. As I walked between our dorm and the parking lot, preparing for student arrivals, those interiorized beliefs coursed through my veins, pushing oxygen out of my blood, tightening my skin, clumping in my gut, emitting the knots as tears. These emotions became questions and quests to learn more, to orient within the world differently.

Water is humility.

My body could not create space both for my childhood religion and the now visceral reality of domination via colonization and imperialization. Rather

than struggle violently to retain association with my childhood religion, I released it, an act many years in the making, perhaps beginning with my voracious dive into books during childhood, especially those representing perspectives disparate from my own. Releasing rather than clinging onto belief and brain knowledge against embodied knowing made me... first undone, then actively undoing, drifting in space without a mooring.

Strangely, I felt unafraid and emboldened.

I fall back into my silence at times, my fear of leading, especially within the pressures of graduate school, the normal feelings of imposter syndrome. I slink to the back. I shift to the edge of rooms. I clamor to not be seen or noticed. My stomach clenches, and flecks trickle down the insides of my arms.

The blaze will not die in me—but sometimes, I reach from outside myself to touch it.

In my dissertation, I wanted to take a microscope to an institution of power—the police. My commitment to relationality both compelled me and deterred me. I know that individuals exist within the police who hold good intentions, and, while I desired to develop relationships with my participants, asking them to interrogate the hidden curriculum of their police training may be too close to them or threaten their career or sense of self within it. This is why I interrogated the racial logics in police curriculum from an etic stance rather than in education as an emic: I wanted to build my capacity to see and describe how racial logics operate in a space not so close to me. Compelled to my dissertation by relationships with humans of the world, I sought to nuance my

understanding of the operation of racial logics and dehumanization within institutions. I am accountable to communities impacted by violence, whether enacted by the police or educational systems. As I move forward in my career, I have an ethical imperative and responsibility to challenge, question, and learn. Situating my study as an interrogation of institutions rather than individuals allows my commitment to relationality to remain.

Throughout my life, I have committed myself to the arduous process of unlearning, a continuous process that comprises central features of my mindset. I am skeptical of knowledge because it seems distilled to transferable units rather than a fluid progression between ideas, histories, and perspectives. Ralph Ellison's (1994) concept of "frequencies" of identity informs my view of knowledge as invisible radio waves that we must tune into rather than concrete, obtainable objects. Knowledge is always there, but our ability to hear is not. I pursued a Master's degree through a program that centered multiple perspectives and culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Intentionally engaging unlearning and relearning through a targeted program, I sought more preparation for the critical work of teaching diverse learners effectively and enhanced abilities to tune into frequencies. After seven years teaching secondary English and Humanities in diverse, urban classrooms, a Master's program, and nearly all my Ph.D. coursework, I feel increasingly humbled by the enormity and utmost importance of the task, defying a linear rational model that we consistently progress. I learn, I attempt, I reflect, I unlearn, and I relearn in Freire's (2011) model of praxis; this process is never complete.

Throughout my career, I have worked with a variety of educational settings and curricula. I taught middle school language arts with a reading and writing remediation curriculum, taught middle school humanities in an expeditionary learning model where I wrote the curriculum, and taught high school English with colleague guidance but a lot of autonomy. I have worked with preschool teachers to help them implement a comprehensive curriculum, taught a special education literacy class for early elementary students, and observed and instructed Master's level Teacher-Candidates. The variety of ages, contexts, and populations I have worked with increase my sensitivity to the characteristics and distinctiveness of myriad educational settings. My subjective stance emerges purposely in this study.

CIT Training

Because I used the instructional arc as the interpretive framework for my study, I organized existing studies into intentions and reception of CIT trainings to clarify gaps in the literature. I found only one study (Hannig, 2015) that described the operationalized curriculum, but it was through officer focus group responses to the training. An Educational Criticism of the training itself—what actually happens—provides information and nuance for program improvements and understandings. Since the training comprises the central focus of my study, my study fills a gap in the literature.

Intentions

Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) models serve as a prominent police intervention strategy, existing in 2008 in over 39 states (Compton, Bahora, Watson, & Oliva, 2008) and in more than 2,700 police departments in the U.S. (Compton et al., 2014). The CIT

model began in Memphis, Tennessee after a police officer shot a man with a serious mental illness in 1988; grassroots efforts between mental health providers, law enforcement, and other advocates and community organizations led to a specialized training for officers (Chopko, 2011; Compton et al., 2008; Ellis, 2014; Watson, 2010). Memphis Police Department Major Sam Cochran and Dr. Randy DuPont helped develop the program, now considered a nationwide model for mental health training and crisis intervention (Franz & Borum, 2011).

CIT models also involve a shift in police policies and procedures (Watson, 2010). After the volunteered 40-hour classroom and experiential training conducted by a partnership between mental health personnel and police trainers, officers with CIT training receive calls evincing mental distress by dispatchers—trained to recognize it (Compton et al., 2008; Compton et al., 2014; Ellis, 2014; Hanafi, Bahora, Demir, & Compton, 2008; Watson, 2010). The training emphasizes the use of de-escalation and referrals by police officers for mental health support rather than arrests (Ellis, 2014; Watson, 2010), in contrast to mental health-centered approaches that hire mental health specialists to respond to crisis calls (Compton et al., 2008). Even when police departments rely more on mental health specialists for calls, police officers often respond first to a crisis (Compton et al., 2014; Morabito et al., 2012) and, consequently, serve as “de facto” psychiatrists, nurses, and social workers (Ellis, 2014, p. 15).

While only about 10% of police contacts occur with people with mental illness, a comparable percentage of people with mental illness are in U.S. jails, demonstrating that a substantial segment of encounters between police officers and people with mental

illness result in arrest (Watson, 2010). The high percentage of arrests may result because of officer perception of or inadequate training for how to respond appropriately and inefficient channels between police and mental health resources, leaving arrests as a reactionary necessity (Borum, 2000; Franz & Borum, 2011). The unpredictability of encounters between people with mental illness and officers may influence police discomfort, arrest, or even use of force (Morabito et al., 2012). Ellis (2014) noted that 100% of police officers in her study interacted with someone with a mental illness, and 80% arrested someone with mental illness. Therefore, CIT training and its model of policing intends to reduce arrests and divert those with mental illness away from the criminal justice system towards mental health services (Compton et al., 2008; Franz & Borum, 2011; Seattle Police Department, 2016; Watson, 2010; Watson et al., 2013). Chopko (2011) added a commitment to compassion as a goal of CIT models, in contrast to the more clinical approaches of other studies and intentions. Additionally, CIT programs strive to handle mental health crisis safely for both officers and the person involved, including decreasing injuries and SWAT involvement (Compton, Demir, Oliva, & Boyce, 2009) and mitigating police officer use of force (Morabito et al., 2012; Skeem & Bibeau, 2008; Watson, 2010). Correlated skills CIT Trainings intend to develop include accurate identification (Strauss et al., 2005) and improved attitudes and knowledge (Compton, Esterberg, McGee, Kotwicki, & Oliva, 2006) about mental illness.

Ellis (2014) provided a table depicting common teaching practices of a standard CIT 40-hour course, including:

- mental health disease processes
- signs and symptoms of mental illness
- de-escalation techniques
- situational role play scenarios
- film vignettes
- live testimonials from CIT officers and consumers/families
- field trips to local jails
- field trips to local psychiatric facilities (p. 11)

Along with curricular content and pedagogical techniques, the curriculum of the course includes the characteristics and signs of various mental illnesses from schizophrenia and bipolar to substance abuse and anxiety. Within the facets of illnesses, the training incorporates the influence of age, types of medications and treatments, community resources, communication strategies, strategies to minimize officer trauma and risks to self and community, and “cultural sensitivity” (p. 11). Such strategies “diametrically [oppose]” traditional training in law enforcement (p. 14) and alter traditional chain of command protocols (Morabito et al., 2012). After participating in a CIT training, the officers are certified onto the CIT unit for dispatch in mental disturbance calls (Morabito et al., 2012).

Reception and Results

The efficacy of CIT relies on a myriad of factors. First, police departments utilizing CIT models strive to have between 15% and 25% of their officers trained so officers with training are always on duty to handle mental health crises (Watson, 2010).

In a study by Teller, Munetz, Gil, and Ritter (2006), identification of mental disturbance calls increased following CIT training, likely because of officer ability to recognize mental illness; however, arrests remained stable. Additionally, officers with CIT training utilized mental health resources and transported people to mental health facilities more readily, with an increase in voluntary rather than forced transport (Teller et al., 2006). In Hanafi et al.'s (2008) focus groups, officers demonstrated increased recognition of mental illness and understanding of mental illnesses as treatable, leading to feelings of self-efficacy in how to respond, increased empathy and patience, reduced stereotyping and stigmatizing, and decreased arrests in favor of treatment options. The officers began to realize how many people they encounter who are affected by mental illness, consequently providing confidence to shift their approach to empathy, de-escalation, and treatment.

Second, efficacy relies on the strength of the relationship between CIT officers and the community mental health resources, including officer knowledge and attitudes of and ability to access resources (Compton et al., 2008; Hanafi et al., 2008; Watson, 2010). Compton et al. (2014) conducted a study to investigate perceptions, attitudes, and skills of officers with and without CIT training. For the study, officers watched one video, read two vignettes, and completed a survey that included their experiences with mental health, their empathy, and their perceptions of self-efficacy. The study demonstrated substantial and lasting improvements to most subcategories, with moderate effect sizes for self-efficacy and de-escalation skills. Morabito et al. (2012) conducted a study to explore the connection between CIT training and officer use of force, considering the five levels of force in the Chicago Police Department: 1) presence, 2) verbal warnings, 3) physical

control, 4) use of a weapon other than a firearm, and 5) use of a firearm. In the study, officers with CIT training used force marginally more than non-trained officers; however, officers used force less readily as the person exhibited more resistant behaviors, which typically increases force.

Third, community reception and organizational characteristics influence the effectiveness of CIT training, in that the community influences officer responses and workload demands (Morabito et al., 2012; Teller et al., 2006; Watson, 2010). Existing studies primarily focus on how CIT trainings and models influence officers (Compton et al., 2008) and officers' decisions in calls and situations (Teller et al., 2006). For example, Watson's (2010) study of officer response to calls indicated that CIT trained officers referred 18% more people to services. Morabito et al.'s (2012) study acknowledged the role of community demographic and crime characteristics on CIT efficacy and evidence of reduced use of force, as well as the system-level support and implementation of the CIT model as a hindrance to positive effect.

Study-Noted Gaps

Given the rapid proliferation of CIT models nationwide, studies are urgently needed (Compton et al., 2014) that investigate aspects of the partnership, training, and results. Since CIT involves numerous variables and stakeholders—including police departments, mental health practitioners, and community partnerships—and voluntary selection, randomized controlled trials prove challenging to conduct (Watson, 2010). Even while most studies on CIT training are quantitative, the noted gaps in literature seek additional quantitative studies (Watson, 2010). This demonstrates that there is a dearth of

literature in general on CIT training, and qualitative studies intended to describe the training itself are lacking. Current literature includes conceptual studies (Borum, 2000; Chopko, 2011; Hanafi et al., 2008; Watson et al., 2008; Westcott, 2015), the development and testing of a conceptual model for CIT trainings by social work researchers (Watson, 2010), officer identification of mental illness (Strauss et al., 2008), officer attitude and perception (Compton et al., 2014; Ellis, 2014; Johnsen et al., 2016), and the connection between use of force and mental illness (Hanafi et al., 2008; Kesic et al., 2013; Westcott, 2015).

Additional studies need to be conducted on how the saturation of police officers with CIT training in a district influences use of force and use of de-escalation techniques (Morabito et al., 2012; Watson, 2010). Compton et al. (2008) noted a variety of areas for continued study, including how CIT models influence communities and officer behaviors, long-term outcomes of the model, and the partnership between various stakeholders, as well as CIT's implementation in various jurisdictions—the focus of my study.

Additionally, studies from the perspective of affected communities (Compton et al., 2008), the efficacy of de-escalation techniques from the citizen's perspective (Hanafi et al., 2008), or consideration of community-based interventions (Morabito et al., 2012) would expand from officer-centered investigation. Studies could elucidate the role of race and other demographic information on the CIT trained officer or further description and analysis of the decisions officers make regarding arrest and referral (Hanafi et al., 2008).

Chopko's (2011) conceptual piece delineated the spiritual and compassion strand of CIT trainings and models, identifying opportunities to use examples of warrior codes

within a CIT training. Attention to spiritual work exists in relation to police work (Charles, 2009; Smith & Charles, 2010), including responses to the traumas of the profession (Chopko & Schwartz, 2009; Feemster, 2009) and police training (Smith, 2009). The intangible and emotional aspects of police work are largely absent from CIT literature, though some studies focus on officer empathy (Compton et al., 2014); therefore, additional work to describe CIT's complementary curriculum—whether clinical, spiritual, or compassionate—would provide insight into the intentions and operation of CIT trainings. The complementary curriculum is not addressed in a large part in this study because of its focus on broader institutions rather than individual perceptions.

Borum (2000) noted that the public's call for additional training for police in response to problems may provide important skills to de-escalate conflict, but training is “not a panacea, nor is it a sufficient solution for improving outcomes in high risk encounters” (p. 335). Because many stakeholders—including police officers—strive to improve encounters and reduce force, why does force keep happening? My study aims to fit within the gap of using a qualitative and behavioral study to investigate areas for program improvement (Hanafi et al., 2008) and to consider what underlying factors in the training itself “strengthen or impede the program's... potential effectiveness” (Compton et al., 2008). Consequently, my study's interrogation of the logics within the training help illuminate—and potentially expose—the hidden curriculum of the training and/or areas for consideration or alteration. My study fits the call for specificity (Watson et al., 2008).

Summary

The scope of literature in this section regards conceptualizations of human as over-representing white men—which could be expanded as white, heterosexual, cisgender, Christian, able-bodied—placing people of color and people with mental illness outside of being and recognition. Such mentalities knit into our institutions, including the police. Given the epistemological violence that comes from studying a phenomenon without stakeholder involvement, it is noteworthy that not one of the CIT training or model studies examined perceptions of people in the mental health community. Some articles, such as Morabito et al. (2012) in its discussion of “disadvantage level” (p. 72) that influences police use of force, use language that pathologizes communities, placing the blame for disadvantage and crime rate onto the community to justify increased force in certain communities. Consequently, attending to the language about communities and the role of various stakeholders in the CIT training helps elucidate the resistance or conformity to logics that deem certain people as less human.

Chapter Three: Methods

Approach

Because of the deep history of relationships between police and communities, rooted in power dynamics based in race, I utilized an interpretive mixed-methodological approach centered on Educational Criticism, to study the intended, enacted, and received curriculum of a CIT training. By using Educational Criticism, a research method and set of tools designed to think about education contexts, I expanded the applicability of the method and embraced its aesthetic, critical, and stance-centered qualities to illuminate dynamics within educative situations outside of schools. Within this section, I delineate my proposed methods and their importance, including discussion of the methods themselves and the features of my study design and analysis. My study blends participant observation and ethnographic interviews and textual analysis of policy documents to develop the texture of how history, policy, curriculum police training, and police officers interact to reproduce or contest logics of whiteness.

Educational Criticism and Connoisseurship

Aesthetic foundations. Educational Criticism and Connoisseurship seeks to “*make the familiar strange*” (Uhrmacher, McConnell Moroye, & Flinders, 2017, p. 5) via aesthetic ways of knowing as developed by Dewey (1934). As a method, it seeks to lift “the veils that keep the eyes from seeing” (Dewey, 1934, p. 324) to illuminate (Leavy,

2015) and expose the nuance within the everydayness of situations that create social patterns (Leonardo, 2004). Educational Criticism argues that “seeing is central to making” (Eisner, 1998, p. 1). Eisner distinguished between seeing and looking, arguing that seeing involves “perception of qualities” that “constitute complex social institutions” (p. 1), such as police departments.

Eisner leaned upon Dewey’s work to differentiate between recognition and perception, describing recognition as fitting information within “previously formed scheme[s]” (p. 52). In other words, recognition categorizes information by antecedent knowledge, treating information as object. On the other hand, Dewey described perception as “an act of reconstructive doing” (p. 53), where the observer connects with information with all his or her being to perceive nuance with a fresh lens or, as Eisner (1998) termed it, an “enlightened eye” (p. 1). In perception, information lives as a subject and alters in meaning depending on who is seeing and what and how s/he attends to the information. The shape, or form and content, of the work (Leavy, 2015) influences perception, what Eisner (1998) called the forms of representation, or the “expressive medium used to make a conception public” (Eisner, 1994, p. 45), such as music or story or essay.

Grounded in Dewey’s (1934) understanding of an experience as interactive, the aesthetic allows a “more unified, holistic, human understanding” (Girod, Rau, & Schepige, 2003, p. 575) that utilizes cognitive, discursive, and artistic ways of knowing to perceive. An enlightened eye, then, “disturb[s]” the status quo and normative discourse to promote wide-awakeness (Greene, 1978, p. 39). Wide-awakeness, heightened

consciousness that breaks the patterns of static discourse within individuals and institutions, allows for “intentional action[s]” (p. 153). For example, in moving from recognition to perception to action, I can look at an object and recognize it as fruit, an apple, and as red. If I perceive it, I attend to the type of apple, how and where it is grown, the smell, the size, the texture of the skin, the sound and feel the apple has when I cut into it, and the taste, among other features. With perception, I delve into the specificity of the apple to appreciate it with attention and call up lesser noticed features and social realities. This could inform intentional decisions about which apple to select for different recipes and how to grow apples more effectively or more environmentally. And, this is just an apple, a relatively straightforward object. When perceiving complex situations, the opportunities for sight expand. Small interactions and moments can elucidate qualities and aspects of the broader context or situation by exposing the micro and grounding intentional decisions by the transactive nature of experiences (Dewey, 1934; Girod & Wong, 2002; Leavy, 2015).

Connoisseurship. Connoisseurship, the “art of appreciation,” involves the “ability to make fine-grained discriminations among complex and subtle qualities” (Eisner, 1998, p. 63). It is the “means and ends of educational criticism” because connoisseurship grounds the perceptivity necessary for criticism and contributes to the knowledge growth that criticism discloses (Uhrmacher et al., 2017, p. 8). Connoisseurship requires an interest and “belief in the importance” of the topic or setting involved (Uhrmacher et al., 2017, p. 11). People can develop connoisseurship over a variety of settings and topics, including wine, basketball, or education, and it exists along

a continuum: connoisseurship develops as one accesses a setting or topic, hones awareness, and connects broadly (Eisner, 1998). For example, to develop connoisseurship in basketball, a person needs to play, coach, or watch and learn from others in the community. Merely watching for recognition of who wins, however, does not develop connoisseurship; the person must build awareness of the types of plays, moves, defenses, and their appropriate application. Then, the connoisseur can develop scouting reports that target opponent weaknesses and team strengths, understand how different players or teams impact the trajectory of the sport, and engage in debates about whether the 1996 Bulls or 2016 Warriors are a better team, relying on deep understandings of the qualities of the players and how they interact offensively and defensively as well as the nature of the game twenty years apart. Connoisseurs contribute to the development of knowledge and the appreciation of a discipline or context.

Connoisseurship involves three means to understand a topic or setting: discernment, appreciation, and valuing. Uhrmacher et al. (2017) described discernment as the “ability to notice and differentiate qualities” that are often unseen as a “glass pane” (p. 12). Eisner (1998) discussed the epistemic nature of seeing, the way that how we engage in the world with all our senses (seeing) develops our knowledge. Each body provides an “‘original source of perspective,’ the means by which subjectivity enters the world” (Greene, 1978, p. 215), and characteristics such as race, gender, ability, religion, and age mediate our body’s stance. Therefore, because of the way each person situates in the world and sees “through perspectives rooted in our own reality” (p. 217), we come to varying thoughts and understandings, fragments which together compose a tapestry. From

a specific stance, a connoisseur knows what to look for in a situation: zsir position provides the vocabulary or knowledge required to discern (Uhrmacher et al., 2017). Finally, within this subjective space, the connoisseur can determine what is going on in a situation and why that is important, placing information gleaned in conversation with theories and conceptual tools to help structure, connect, and illuminate information.

Criticism. Criticism, the “disclosure of what we learned through our connoisseurship” (Uhrmacher et al., 2017, p. 2), comes from the lineage of criticism connected to music, performance, and literature. According to Welleck (1981), criticism comes from the Greek word *krino* and means “to judge” (p. 298) and dates to the 4th century BC regarding dance, theater, and literature. Within the U.S., education first tied to criticism in 1934 in a journal, *Social Frontier: A Journal of Educational Criticism and Reconstruction*, edited by George Counts and including John Dewey on its board (Uhrmacher et al., 2017). Despite Dewey’s role in elucidating criticism in education, Leonardo (2016) argued that most took up Dewey’s work as philosophy rather than criticism because of criticism’s connotations of complaint.

While the term criticism carries the connotation of a “negative appraisal” (p. 214), Eisner (2002) argued that criticism fits within the Latin definition of *empirical*, or “open to experience” (p. 213). This “illumination” of qualities allows the critic to appraise value of a situation (p. 214) and discern between meaningful and irrelevant, placing qualities into an “intelligible context” (p. 217). It can lead to other modes and spaces of interpretation (Greene, 1978). Not only is perception itself subjective and situated in the critic’s values, but the critic also engages certain traditions, histories, and knowledges to

speak to and with the situation. Therefore, criticism grounds itself in subjective realities, acknowledging that the critic's connoisseurship, experiences, and life lens mediate their perception as a strength in elucidating complexities through the critic's rendering of a situation from experience to another modality (Eisner, 2002, p. 219). Often, from a mainstream perspective, criticism follows a political agenda that can seem aggressive because it problematizes "wider social relations" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 14). Whereas science focuses on specific processes to determine what is "general and common," the aesthetic within criticism "focuses on the unique characteristics of the particulars," giving what Eisner (2002) called "depth perception" (p. 221). Thus, scientific and artistic methods serve distinct purposes in creation of knowledge and meaning, and criticism registers the local level while speaking to broader patterns.

Though Educational Criticism connects to earlier criticism movements and aesthetic theories, two strands emerged: Elliot Eisner conceptualized it as an aesthetic method and Zeus Leonardo (2016) charted its lineage to Critical Social Theory (CST), including scholars like Kincheloe and Freire. My work situates between the aesthetic and the CST within Educational Criticism, utilizing aesthetic methods to expose and provide engagement—"the base of criticism" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 13)—and the CST of Freire and Fanon, for example, as lenses for my deep attention. In particular, Educational Criticism "aims at material or institutional changes" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 13) and strives to be open to ideas and debate in the realities of "an uneven and unjust world" (p. 14). It centers both problem and possibility (Leonardo, 2016), and, thus, embraces contradiction to conceive of living differently. Within its richness, Educational Criticism strives "to improve the

educational process” (Eisner, 2002, p. 231) and be useful for social justice; it breaks stasis, promoting dialogue, reflexion, and change (Leavy, 2015).

People often view Educational Criticism and other arts-based methods under the purview of qualitative research; however, they can be considered both method and epistemology, transdisciplinary methods that transgress and augment “disciplinary methodological and theoretical borders” (Leavy, 2015, p. 22). Leonardo’s (2016) rendering of Educational Criticism considers its contrapuntality, or the way it emphasizes “interdependency” and “juxtaposes worlds previously considered incommensurate” (p. 91). Therefore, a transdisciplinary approach fits a project that connects education, curriculum, police, training, sociopolitical context, and historically-rooted racial logics—and strives for a critique that results in action (Leonardo, 2016).

Design

Data Collection

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the instructional arc of a CIT training in an urban area, I included intensive interviews, ethnographic observations, journals, and contextual information from documents influencing the local police departments.

Population and sampling. I used purposeful sampling via gatekeepers to identify the following participants:

- two people involved in leading the CIT training, including one who also developed the training and one clinician;

- three people who previously took the training and served as coaches or instructors; and
- three police officers who participated in the training I observed.

Overall, my study included eight participants:

Table 1

Study Participants

Participant	Gender	Role
1. Lynn	Female	Trainer - Officer
2. Jess	Female	Trainer - Psychologist
3. Robert	Male	Coach
4. Earl	Male	Coach
5. Peter	Male	Coach
6. Brian	Male	Officer
7. Josh	Male	Officer
8. James	Male	Officer

In-depth interviewing. I conducted in-depth interviews utilizing Mears' (2009) guidelines for in-depth interviews. Her process involves a three-part interview. The first interview intended to hear about the participants' backgrounds leading up to the training, their experience with the training, and their relationship to the training. The second interview delved deeper into specific experiences, allowed the participants to expand their examples and responses and build upon or clarify information that emerged in the first interview. The third interview included reflection on the training as well as what it means for them and how it informs their/their department's work. It also provided an opportunity for the participants to offer information that they believe are important to share.

I interviewed the person who developed the training three times. For all the other participants, I solicited examples throughout both the first and second interview, but I compressed the features of the third interview into the second. (See Appendix A and B for interview protocols.) For the trainers, one to two interviews occurred prior to the training, and one followed the training. For the coaches and police officers, I interviewed each person twice following the training, within a month of the training (see Table A2 for Data Collection Schedule). I acknowledge that police culture does not always promote forthright and in-depth responses, particularly for people outside of their culture group. The questions for my study attempted to build rapport but also be straightforward to attend to cultural norms of policing. As an arts-based method, the process was inductive, and I altered questions in the moment to fit the project's "organic" (Leavy, 2015, p. 27) nature and the experiences of each participant.

Observation. CIT training is a week-long, 40-hour training for police officers to learn about effective strategies to de-escalate crisis situations and to identify various mental illnesses and disabilities. I audited the training as an observer-as-participant wherein the course participants knew my identity as a researcher, so I engaged in the training as a researcher (Angrosino, 2007). Given that I am not a police officer, it would not be authentic—nor believable to the group—to engage in the training as a participant. Thus, in the interest of honesty and my positionality, I took a detached and peripheral stance. I attended to the culture and interactions between participants and trainers, the dress, and the patterns of discourse. Through these features, I uncovered racial logics, various curricular features, and the operation of power.

Textual analysis. In line with Torre et al.'s (2012) conception of vertical analysis to analyze the policies that inform the conditions, I located documents related to local police policies and training history around CIT training or de-escalation, such as newspaper articles, magazine articles, laws, and court cases that informed CIT's adoption. These documents provided context and depth to understanding the instructional arc of the curriculum. I performed a close reading of documents. Following the work of Michel Foucault (1980), I sought to reveal the often-hidden dynamics of power within text, recognizing that meaning is not merely in the text itself but in the way power structures discourse. The attention to the relationships of power intended to inform insights into power dynamics, intentions, and aims of the CIT training and emerge—de-identified—within my data presentation.

Engaging Reflexivity

Ethical considerations. Aligned with Uhrmacher et al.'s (2017) ethical recommendations within Educational Criticism, I utilized an ecological framework of ethics to inform my decision-making. Within this framework, I attended to culture and social group with “sensitivity to taken-for-granted aspects of our professional and social lives and identities” (p. 28) and considered the interdependence between people and groups. Since I worked with a police department, an institution fraught with tension and politics, I questioned my assumptions to consider the impact my thoughts and actions could have, as well as “recognize individuals as part of a larger whole” (p. 28). Because I incorporated connections between individual and institutional, an ecological framework fits my purposes.

Though not an Indigenous researcher, Indigenous values and ethics for research informed my processes, including a commitment to relationality, care, resistance, the political nature of conditions, analysis of power, the connection between micro and macro forces, and the role of context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Foley, 2003; Leavy, 2015; Wilson, 2008). These ethical components require praxis, or the cycling between reflexion and action (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Freire, 2011; Swadener & Mutua, 2008). Though my research served an initial attempt at critical illumination, my praxis must ultimately connect to communities and movements (Swadener & Mutua, 2008) committed to equity, justice, and transformation through dialogue, performance, and radical participation. My inquiry connects historical, sociopolitical, and economic pieces, features common to Indigenous inquiries (Wilson, 2008).

In action, I informed my participants about the project's attention to CIT training's instructional arc and the illumination of the macro and micro forces influencing it to obtain their consent to participate. Given that my study is Educational Criticism, I was honest in informing participants about the study's purpose and design. However, I acknowledged, as Eisner (1998) described, that consent in qualitative research is limited by the fact that qualitative researchers do not espouse to anticipate what will happen during research or the training.

Per the ethical considerations of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), I incorporated measures to protect the confidentiality of individuals. For data management, I took notes during the training on paper to minimize participant discomfort and audio-recorded and transcribed interviews, but I was the only person to have access to the raw

data and will delete the audio-recordings within a year of data collection. I used pseudonyms for all participants in all documents. Still, I could not promise anonymity as the population of police officers is not immense, and the number of trainers is even smaller. I considered how to frame the study itself, particularly location and demographic information, to protect participants' information as much as possible.

In addition to the more practical features of ethics, I hold myself to many of the ethical standards of performative cultural studies connected to ethnography. I maintain a deep responsibility for the work I create and how I interpret it, recognizing that good intents do not determine the impact (Denzin, 2003). My observations, interpretations, and evaluations come through my subjective lens, and I cannot “understand what defines other individuals' worlds” (p. 54). Therefore, I held the tension of the differences between myself and my participants, part of dialogic criticism where dialogue occurs across differences (Conquergood, 2013). Silence is a mechanism of whiteness (Potter, 2015), but visibility carries “political implications” (Faulkner, 2013, p. 47). Leonardo (2010) argued that “truth is a function of deployments of power that invest in particular ways of seeing the world” (p. 24). Therefore, I speak to disrupt what is considered truth through my interviews, observations, analysis, and writing. An attempt to maintain neutrality or objectivity is not ethical (Madison, 2009).

Journaling. Throughout the process of delving into the topic of police training around whiteness, including the construction of the literature review, data collection, and data analysis, I engaged in reflexive journals, largely in the form of voice-memoing. Reflection centers critical work, with Freire (2011) arguing for praxis as a requirement

for engaging in work that dismantles oppressive structures and systems. Jones (2010) distinguished between self-reflection and self-reflexivity, arguing that self-reflection involves thinking about the self in a situation at the surface whereas self-reflexivity “cuts to the bone” and forces acknowledgement of complicity “in the perpetuation of oppression” (p. 124). It does not view the self in isolation or as an individual, as reflection can, but views the relationship between self-identity and positionality with others. It includes critical consideration of how actions or their lack reinforce or reinscribe oppressive power dynamics. As a white researcher, reflexivity requires that I continually deconstruct my identity, privilege, and power as my body and identity provide a subjective lens. Therefore, aligned with the intents of Educational Criticism, I cannot contend that I occupy objectivity and neutrality, but must critique myself as a perpetrator of the status quo to strive to break through the veneers of acceptability and convention. Jones (2010) argued that this is a space of messiness and risk, but a radical space creates space for others.

To engage with self-reflexivity, I asked myself questions such as: What is the status quo here? How do I situate in the reading/interview/observation? What other possibilities are there? What beliefs emerge? To what ideologies and institutions do my beliefs connect? How does whiteness inform my thinking and actions? How am I resisting whiteness? What norms am I upholding in my interactions with others? How do my privileges emerge in the reading/interview/observation? What is the role of silence? To what am I paying attention? How am I paying attention? How does my body situate?

Self-portraits. Throughout my life, I construct identity images in my mind: during a time of intense struggle with belief and self, I pictured myself naked and shackled in a cell, writhing to be free. Afterward, when I gained self-knowledge about who and how I wanted to be, I envisioned myself standing upright in the middle of a grassy field, arms outstretched and eyes to the sky, roaring with fight. Internal portraits connect me directly to my body's preferences, urgings, rhythms, and emotions. They comprise important aspects of my self-reflexivity and emotional connection to the work (Wilson, 2008). Spry (2006) calls this the "Performative-I," describing it as "a deep somatic connection to that fractured self and space" (p. 341). In research and life, we come to the work we do with varying levels of wholeness, fluctuating by day and circumstance in a process of constant healing.

Educational Criticism's artistry resists disassociations from the body. Spry's (2006) discussion of her subjectivity and embodiment helps me think about the process of research and how it necessarily shifts based upon who and where we are with ourselves. The subjective space of fragmentation must be acknowledged and reflected upon, and, rather than a weakness, it may allow "fragments of lived experience [to] collide and realign with one another, breaking and remaking histories" (p. 342). Therefore, subjective spaces can serve to disrupt reality as is to transform to something new. Denzin (2006) noted the importance of disrupting traditional discourse by "bringing the past into the autobiographical present" (p. 334). Rendering history as embodied and present allows for unlearning, reframing, and reconstructing, though the historical context must be

maintained. For this reason, I incorporated self-portraits as a part of my journaling, creating written self-portraits of myself in my mind's-eye.

Data Analysis

Annotation as coding. After majoring in English in college and teaching English for seven years at the secondary level, my approach to close reading of text and data tends toward annotation rather than coding. As Uhrmacher et al. (2017) delineated, coding comes from the sciences and represents a more technical nature in that it seeks specific phrases and their frequencies. Annotation, on the other hand, roots in the arts, and, instead of pulling out particular phrases, it seeks to identify relationships between phrases to compose a picture. Annotation attends to different features of text, including tone, syntax, rhythm, and interactions among participants. With its less structured nature, annotation requires presence and perceptivity to the data and text that the more mechanical coding may not. Thus, I annotated my data along the recommendations of Uhrmacher et al. (2017), first examining the data at-large for pieces that stand out and for the overall contours of the data. Then, I searched for patterns within the data to develop “configurations of meaning” (p. 57). Finally, I cross-checked my annotations by searching for information that does not fit within the themes and patterns I found in the first two stages to produce a more complete rendering.

Description and interpretation. In disclosing connoisseurship, Educational Criticism includes four dimensions: description, interpretation, evaluation, and thematics. Description and interpretation link together, grounding the evaluations and the creation of themes (Uhrmacher et al. 2017). Description provides an “account of” (Eisner, 1998, p.

89) an experience and allows the reader to “situate themselves” (p. 37) and to “participate vicariously” (Eisner, 1998, p. 89) in the experience. Description functions both to compile evidence for interpretations, incorporating both surprising and anticipated features to open the meaning, and to contextualize the results through a “visceral sense” of the experience (Uhrmacher et al., 2017). It helps construct a narrative for the data that lends coherence to the critic’s understanding and meaning-making.

Interpretation extends from description to “account *for*” (Eisner, 1998, p. 95) and sometimes follows closely from description. For example, describing an eye movement as a wink rather than a blink carries interpretive implications (Eisner, 1998).

Interpretation places the description “in context, to explain, to unwrap, to explicate” (p. 98); therefore, a conceptual structure places the description in conversations to develop meanings (Uhrmacher et al., 2017). In my study, I used an interpretive lens of whiteness to organize my literature review and ground my data analysis, and I used an interpretive framework to structure my analysis. Interpretive frames necessarily constrict information as they propose “questions, perspectives, and lessons to be learned” (p. 44). My interpretive frame is two-fold: I interpreted data through the instructional arc of intentions, operationalized, and received curriculum (Uhrmacher et al., 2017), and I used whiteness as an interpretive lens through my interpretive framework to maintain consistency.

Evaluation and thematics. Evaluation and thematics delineate the significance of the explored topic through appraisal and sense-making (Eisner, 1998; Uhrmacher et al., 2017). This relates to what Adams and Jones (2008) called hinges, or the interdisciplinary

and inter-form swinging from the central question, to illuminate “the push and pull between and among analysis and evocation, personal experience and large social, cultural, and political concerns” (p. 374). Because Educational Criticism explicitly intends “to improve educational process” (Eisner, 2002, p. 233), appraising the educative situation around some criteria centers it. The critic considers what value exists in the experience for stakeholders and the community at large (Uhrmacher et al., 2017). Following Eisner and Uhrmacher et al.’s examples, I incorporated Dewey’s (1938) educative experiences, including educative, mis-educative, and non-educative. In relation to growth around the experience, educative experiences promote growth, non-educative lend no impact on growth, and mis-educative hinders growth or leads in a harmful direction (Uhrmacher et al., 2017). With my evaluation of CIT training using the instructional arc, I paid close attention to the hidden curriculum, likely the aspect of the training that has received the least critical attention for adjustments to the training.

Thematics moves beyond the appraisal of the educative experience to the “patterns, big ideas, and anticipatory frameworks” to apply the study to other situations (Uhrmacher et al., 2017, p. 54). Thematics involves the “pervasive quality” that emerge as dominant in relation to my conceptual and interpretive frameworks (Eisner, 1998, p. 104). In the context of my study, thematics connected patterns across analysis within the milieu of racial logics of whiteness and the vertical power analysis with the data collected via interviews and observations to make sense of the micro within a macro context. Thematics allowed for connections to be made across contexts, such as possible connections between this police training and discipline rates in schools. In this way, it

incites critical thinking and springboards future studies as responses, resonances, or sequels.

Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability, central features of quantitative studies, occupy a different role in qualitative research and, specifically, Educational Criticism. Validity, though it comprises different sub-categories, involves the appropriateness of a measure in terms of whether it measures “the attribute it intends to measure” (Bobko, 2001, p. 74). Reliability involves the consistency of the study itself, such as whether an assessment provides reliable results across administrations (Bobko, 2001). Qualitative research tends to be concerned more with the verisimilitude of an account based on the quality of description because the specific and situated nature of qualitative research makes it inappropriate and ill-fitting to generalize across settings (Miles et al., 2014). Depending on the method, qualitative and arts-based researchers enact rigor through guidance about settings, coding, argument organization, triangulation, and sense-making, to name a few (pp. 312-14). Educational Criticism focuses more upon whether the work is useful and perceptively deals with complexity (Eisner, 2002) through structural corroboration and referential adequacy (Uhrmacher et al. 2017).

Structural corroboration. To Uhrmacher et al. (2017), structural corroboration deals with the existence of a “coherent, persuasive whole picture” (p. 59). In other words, the data collection and presentation mutually reinforce each other and make sense; therefore, the researcher needs to cycle between the data itself and the presentation to maintain consistency. The data presentation ought to hold together without major gaps,

consider discrepant data, and ask questions. To be considered persuasive, the criticism includes rich description, direct quotations and dialogue, and specific details. The critics lend their credibility to the reader by describing and presenting data with a specificity and complexity that indicates their perceptivity (Eisner, 1998; Uhrmacher et al., 2017).

Referential adequacy. Also important to the validity of Educational Criticism is referential adequacy, or the usefulness of the criticism (Eisner, 1998; Leavy, 2015; Uhrmacher et al., 2017). The criticism should not exist in an echo chamber, merely an intellectual exercise, but should provide its audience with new insights and understandings about the topic. To promote referential adequacy and the fit of the study to the situation, the critic member checks, includes interview questions to target the “significance of the topic,” and situates the work in “contemporary and historical trends” (p. 60). I ground my study in history, power relationships, and present realities to build referential adequacy. While Educational Criticism does not seek to uncover “the” truth about a situation, it does need to elucidate a significant aspect of the topic in question. I intend to share the results of my study with the CIT training trainers and the police department to inform adjustments to the training or enhance their understanding of it.

Writing Strategy

In addressing the U.S.’s fraught history with slavery, mass incarceration, and racism associated with policing, Denzin’s (2006) discussion of writing to learn “how to love, to forgive, to heal, and to move forward” (p. 334) seems appropriate. In a sense, by delving into histories and power, I strive to “write [my] way out this history” (p. 337) and envision space for reformation and transformation. To do this, I defy the over-

textualization of academia that pins truth into words on a page (Conquergood, 2013). Rather, I lean on Gingrich-Philbrook's (2005) articulation of registering the world's flow: "Shall we say to the moment: 'Hold still, everyone. Smile and say, 'Cheese'? Or do we feel the universe spinning and try to register that flow?" (p. 306). Writing, an act of etching thoughts into black words, a form of permanency—not determinancy—exists within the flow as rocks in the river. These words are not the only rocks by any stretch, and they still may move. Culture and race operate with a certain kinesis (Conquergood, 2013; McAfee, 2014).

To register the world's flow requires performative writing that leans on the aesthetic. As Pollock (1998) described, performative writing is "'nervous' writing that follows the body's model: it operates by synaptic relay" (p. 91), meaning it relies on the ongoing transactions between the body and the world/word. Each body is separate and subjective. Thus, Pelias (2005) asserted the value of multiple perspectives in equitable, power-conscious work with humans. Living with multiple perspectives, "[performative writers] do not believe that argument is an opportunity to win, to impose their logic on others, to colonize" (p. 419). Thus, my writing strives to harness my subjectivity while also honoring the myriad experiences and knowledges that exist, not at the expense of others, but to expand perception and create space, generating "encounter[s of] genuine renderings of human experience" (p. 421). The genuine aim of performative writing mitigates colonized perception when coupled with reflexivity. Madison (1999) said that it "illuminates like good theory... the theory knows and feels, and the performance feels and unlearns" (pp. 108-09). I utilized embodiment as a tool in observation, journaling,

and interviewing to capture knowledge that sits in bodies, not only brains and “meet the reader with both affect and affection” (Madison, 2010, p. 220); the relationship with the audience matters. Thus, I seek clarity and complexity (Leonardo, 2013; Madison, 2010) and embrace emotion in my description, using poetry or other artistic shapes and forms to capture the essence of experiences.

By coupling brain and body, performative writing exposes and opens.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation

First Arrival⁴

Black leather computer bag at my feet, I sit down on a couch in the entry hall of the police training center to await my first interview. My eyes skirt around the walls: thank you notes from children—“Thank you for helping us so much.”—and community members, a glass-enclosed case of badges from over the years and various police departments, and the words, “Only the finest serve.” A few officers mill in the halls, perhaps on break from a training classroom down the hall. I only recall men, as the male presence is more pronounced, but perhaps there was a female officer or two. They wear black utility pants and police polos—a stark contrast to my linen pencil skirt, silken top, and pointed heels. I pull my white, 1” interview binder from my bag to review my questions and make sure I everything I need is at the ready. I slip it back into my bag, folding and unfolding my hands in my lap.

A middle-age woman moves towards me from down the hall to my right, and I stand up to meet her. She says, “Good afternoon! It’s wonderful to finally meet you!” She

⁴ All names are pseudonyms, and narratives come from a composite of participants, unless attributed to a participant. Because of her distinct role, I highlighted narratives of the primary trainer. However, since this work focuses on the institution over the individual, in most cases, I do not distinguish between participants. Variation existed in the ways the officers viewed components of the course and their police work, which I tried to capture through juxtaposition to compose a nuanced portrayal. Descriptive renderings come from specific moments and locations in the training that best fit the narrative. In poems or narratives, I use indentations to reflect shifting voices.

outstretches her hand to shake mine, her blue-green eyes animated with warmth and energy. She wears a black police baseball cap with the police emblem on the front panels, her hair pulled into a ponytail with blonde wisps of hair poking out from under the cap's edges, black utility police pants, black sneakers, and a gray short-sleeve police polo with a silver pen clipped inside the pocket on the sleeve.

“Have you ever been here before? There's a lot of really cool stuff in here from over the years.” I notice glass cases on the ground against the wall with old weapons. She leads me down the hall, turned along the left wall, showcasing pictures from each Police Academy class over the years and going right to a picture in 1966. “When women first joined, they were called matrons and wore civilian clothes. By 1967, we had our first women officers, but they had to wear skirts—Can you imagine doing police work in that? They're wearing pumps! And, look at their badges. They were more petite. It wasn't until sometime in the 70s that women had the choice of wearing slacks or skirts.”

As we walked back to her office, we passed classrooms filled with rectangular tables and chairs arranged lecture-style and a bomb suit display. We turned a corner past a kitchen with an assortment of mugs stacked in the sink and entered a huge warehouse-style room with bright blue scenario buildings to the left and rooms for target practice on the right. Gunshots popped. My hands clammed. I moved my weight to the balls of my feet to avoid the strange click of my heels on the concrete floor. At the back corner of the warehouse, we turned right through the door to the office she shared with a couple others; her section was in the left corner of the room as we entered under a window, the blinds turned open to let in the afternoon light. Her desk make an L-shape and had little on it but

a Rubbermaid Tupperware with light pink-tinted Crystal Light 2/3 of the way up, two computer screens, and two smart phones beneath the screens on small stands propping them upright. She had already placed a blue plastic chair next to her desk for me to sit in, asking me if I had enough space; her tall, black file cabinet stood to my left, a stuffed koala and books, including the *DSM-IV*, on top. She closed the door from her office to the warehouse area “because they’re making a lot of noise.”

Purpose of Police I: Helper and Protector

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
<p>As a protector, as a guardian—to help.</p> <p>Me, personally—</p> <p>I don’t like bullies.</p> <p>I don’t like people who take advantage of the small guy, pushing somebody else around, stealin’ something from somebody... can’t stand thieves.</p> <p>I like to help those who can’t help themselves.</p>	<p>“White bourgeois heterosexual males (a.k.a. ‘Man’) represent the body and being that matters and has the greatest amount of authority and power within this system”— Who then is the small guy? Who pushes others around, and steals?— “...the subject who is protected and systematically benefits from the notions of ‘rights’ and laws” (Mendez, 2015, p. 44).</p>

Overview of the CIT Course

“Policing is a contact sport. We communicate everyday, all the time, to everyone. CIT is like the roadmap.”

Lynn’s left leg pretzeled under her right in her rolling desk chair, the black sole of her shoe protruding from underneath her leg. An early afternoon in the fall, the window’s blinds opened to bathe her back in sun, casting shadows on her face, her high cheekbones illuminated and her eyes sourcing a second light. After describing her desire to be a police officer from childhood—even though there were few, if any, female officers depicted on TV—Lynn describes the origins of CIT, before it was considered CIT. As she talks, her eye contact is steady, surging passion.

Ever since the first officer put a badge on, they’ve been dealing with social issues. Police were members of the community. They lived with the people they were policing. They were walking the beat, out amongst the citizens milling around and engaged in conversations. They knew who was mentally ill, even if they might not be able to label it.

When we got our cars, it’s removed us. We can definitely handle more ground and more calls per officer, so it was cheaper, but it also reduced that collaboration. There is a thoughtful effort to put officers back on the beat—on the street, on their feet—with bicycle units and community officers, where they’re specifically out there trying to engage with people and have conversations.

Before [CIT] had a name in the City, back in 1990, I went to the Academy, and I found it was my niche. I was able to get more cooperation, de-escalate people, and try to help problem solve with them, and things like that, where other

officers weren't as comfortable doing that or didn't necessarily have that skillset. I think it's just that I'm more of a nurturing kind of spirit.

As Lynn talks, her hands animate her words, and she speaks with a smooth tenor that connotes calm, confidence, and zeal: she believes deeply in what she does. A piercing electricity emanates from her eyes, locking me into her story. Her com/passion aligns with Chopko's (2011) concept of the compassionate warrior, where officers need to balance compassion with the brusque aspects of policing. Additionally, her reference of CIT-type skills as a part of police history, though unnamed as such, connects CIT officers as part of an "old and honorable tradition" (p. 324) of the compassionate warrior. For Chopko, understanding the historical and cultural aspect of warriors across communities and time periods—samurai, Native American warriors, Kung Fu monks, medieval knights, and the U.S. military—fosters spiritual connectedness and meaning for policing that attaches officers to "something larger than self" (p. 324). It gives purpose to their work that challenges their humanness and can make them numb:

To some extent, it's not good to get yourself super emotionally invested in cases 'cuz you might get—you'd get real pissed off. The child abuse. The domestic violence. It can piss you off... You come into contact with so much [pauses] ... and you just stop caring at a certain point... For a regular person, seeing a body is gonna, is gonna get 'em worked up. It's gonna scar 'em... You learn to just turn it off. It's not even a person any more. It's kind of... an object sitting over there.

Numbness is there for police officers, variable by the call and the pressures compounding in the moment. CIT requires tapping into a compassionate warrior purpose to reconnect with self and people on calls.

Purpose of Police II: Guardian or Warrior

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
<p>To be a warrior— a lot of people say a guardian. Are you a guardian warrior? Not necessarily a guardian because I can't guard everybody. But, the warrior aspect: We'll go out, we'll find, investigate any crimes, and search for our suspects— It's not necessarily to prevent crime, although it is. It's to help people pick up their pieces when they've been victimized and move through the system. There is no way that we'll be able to stop any—all crime...</p>	<p>Chopko (2011) calls police “compassionate warriors” with “ferocity in battle and the ability to display compassion during other situations” (p. 317). This tradition extends back in history with Samurai, Kung Fu Monks, Medieval Knights, and Native American Warriors. By tradition, warriors hold values like honor and benevolence, and their work taps into a spiritual dimension. How does a higher purpose in policing impact decisions</p>

<p>When it comes to my area, the more people that I meet and build rapport with, the more information that I get later. I try to be part of that community. I take responsibility for anything that happens out there... I try to do what they ask me to do. “They being?” Business owners. If they’d like extra patrols to keep transients out of their alleyways, their property, I’ll make that conscious effort to take care of that. My goal is to keep those people off our commander’s back. And so far so good.</p>	<p>and interactions? Are most police interactions self-serving, information-gathering rather than relational? What does it mean for police to be a part of a community, to take responsibility for it? They— business owners homeowners owners. Transients are not part of the community— because they don’t own property? Laws apply so that owners prosper and “those people”— the transients— are outside.</p>
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Developments of the City's CIT

My experience with CIT's kinda jaded. I mean, I don't know if you picked up on it, but CIT has a really bad name... overwhelmingly so, and really bad stereotypes attached to it. I realized maybe halfway through the class that, I realized why... And it's because I had the unfortunate experience of going through the old CIT. In the old CIT, at least my experience with it, there was no, I mean, literally, in every sense, there was no account for officer safety. I mean, it was completely unrealistic as far as my world goes. And, so, it was the physicians and the psychiatrists and the doctors and all the mental health professionals, they built the program for them. They built it when they walk into someone's house and say, "Hey, John. I see you're having a break today." And they should be, but they don't have to worry about the gun that John has behind his back. And there was no account for that, and so to tell, especially the older guys, to tell a 20-year cop that's seen everything under the sun, "No, you don't have a gun. No, you don't have backup. No, all you have is your mouth." I mean, it's just not even realistic—it wouldn't happen.

A thread across interviews with officers who have been around a while is the vast difference from the old CIT program to the new. Officers resisted the old training, began in the City in 2002, because it centered the clinical perspective, which both seemed to turn police officers into "social workers" and did not attend to officer safety as paramount. Officers communicated feeling like, "This is unrealistic. This is stupid... And it's not gonna work. Because if it gets to *this* point out on the streets, then talking's

done... It's just really dangerous." A couple officers described a scenario in the original CIT program where officers stood near a car of a person with a gun to the head and tried to de-escalate the person from suicide, creating an officer safety issue because of the proximity to a person with a gun. Similar scenarios and lessons that did not resonate with officer perception of what happens "on the streets" led to resistance to the training's goals.

And, so the old CIT, they allowed you to walk into these situations and be completely and utterly abused by the actors. And the actors were just relentless to the point where it's just like, at some point, I have a job to do. As much as... as important as this person's mental well-being is, I also have, you know, 3,000 calls in the queue that have to get handled and other people need help. And, so, the end game is, if this person's going to jail or if this person's going on a hold, we need to get there. Efficiently. Respectfully. But we need to get there. And, sometimes you can't sit there for 45 minutes and just be abused.

In 2008, CPD's CIT reorganized into to a co-responder model, where officers paired with clinicians on mental health calls. Concurrent budget cuts until 2012 halted the mandatory CIT trainings for all officers who had completed the probationary period. When they reinstated the training, Lynn's supervisor gave her autonomy to alter the CIT program to include nationwide best practices and develop a program best for everyone:

I told him, "Oh, you've opened a door. I have all kinds of ideas. You know, because the previous training was all done from the viewpoint of a clinician, and having worked in my old unit, I can tell you there are so many things that we need

to know as front line officers that aren't being addressed in the class. And, I've got a lot of great ideas. So, I took over the meeting room and three white boards where I charted out everything I thought we needed in the training. Lynn's arms mimicked the process of writing on the boards and the energy from ideas lightens her voice. I added in a bunch of different classes with new subject matter and more in-depth information than we had previously. I wanted to have this new model presented from a first responder viewpoint rather than a clinical viewpoint. We would teach how to recognize potential communication challenges through physical, verbal, and behavioral cues. Identifying potential challenges helps avoid misunderstandings and helps officers to be more strategic with their communication and helps officers verbally influence most individuals in crisis.

Lynn's relationships with the civilian partners allowed her to work with them to alter the curriculum with their input and backing. Lynn discussed several key changes from the original curriculum that are unique to the City's program. First, instead of "shrink run" classes, they pair officers with professional instructors of content so the officer can help "interpret" the clinical information and place it in context for the officers, increasing, in Dewey's (1938) terms, the educative nature of the information. For example, the new CIT curriculum intends for officers to interject their experiences related to the content: "You know, look, when I was on the street, A, B, and C happened, and this is exactly what this person is talking about right here... This is your job. This is not something separate from, it's not in addition to, it's part of everyday." It has started to "merge together" mental health and law enforcement as reciprocal partners.

Second, the new version of CIT emphasized officer safety to center police officers' training and the reality of their work. In the old CIT, the scenarios did not account for officer safety, so the officers would respond, "That's not gonna work. We can't even use that. What do you mean, I'll put my weapon down if you put your weapon down?" However, the clinicians' teaching now centers "different risks for officer safety" around behaviors associated with various mental and behavioral health conditions. As a whole, the instructors intend to teach officers about the various types of people they will encounter on the job and "equalize their options" between tactical and verbal so they are able to respond effectively and safely, with the "outside instructor" providing the "knowledge base piece" and the officer making "it practical... more real life, and... easier for cops to digest." The training tries to "arm [officers] with some tools," not only the skillsets, but also connecting people to resources.

It felt like the instructors were on the same page, and with the acceptance of like, "Okay. Officer safety's still number one." So if this person's having the mental breakdown of a lifetime, we're still not going to allow you to put yourself in a bad situation. 'Cuz it wouldn't happen like that on the street. It just wouldn't. If society doesn't like that or the news doesn't like that or whatever research doesn't like that, it's fact. Like, I get paid knowing that there's the risk that I won't go home at the end of my shift. I don't get paid to put myself in a position not to go home at the end of my shift. And those are two very different things.

Third, they re-worked the scenarios, utilizing actual police calls to make them more winnable and realistic for officers as to what they will see on the street. They

teamed the coaching for the scenarios, again pairing officers with psychologists and clinicians so the officer could make sure the feedback translated to “the law enforcement world.” Paid, professional actors served as the subjects of the calls, and, depending on how the officers in training applied the verbal de-escalation techniques, empathy, and problem solving, the actors responded accordingly. Feedback during scenario pauses focused on the above skillsets and officer safety. By altering scenarios, the trainers hoped to increase the buy-in and later implementation of the skillsets from the course.

It was a completely different experience this time, I'd say. I feel like everybody was on the same page. I feel like the actors had a better understanding of what it is we actually do, and what our goals are as far as someone's mental health and safety and well-being would be, as opposed to just like trying to force these... talking tools on someone that doesn't necessarily work... It was just a different tone, and it felt like they were there as a team to help you get to the same goal... as long as you were putting in the work, right. I mean, last time, I didn't feel that way.

Fourth, the training intended to work with the knowledge-base officers brought into the training, pre-testing the officers on the first day to meet officers where they are on skills. Numerous officers mentioned that CIT is “really no different than what police officers have been doing forever... Policing is a contact sport. You have to talk to people.” In the old training, officers mentioned feeling as though the class did not recognize the communication skillsets they already possessed. Lynn described a common reaction to the old course: “They’re not going to teach me how to talk to somebody. I

already know how to talk to somebody. I've been doing this job so long, I could teach them something." The new training took an asset-based viewpoint of officers, recognizing the communication skillsets officers already possess and instead focusing on building the identification of various mental or behavioral health factors that enhance crisis responses, specifying appropriate communication by circumstance and valuing the experiences of officers as sources of knowledge. In the scenarios, done in small groups with one officer as the primary in the scene, the new CIT elicited "group input":

"Oh, what about this?" or "Oh, you did this..." or "It seemed like you got this hook in, and that worked" or whatever. And so it [was] a team effort. It kinda felt like you felt like you had backup there even though you didn't with the pause... 'cuz that's what it would be on the street.

Finally, in re-crafting the CIT training, Lynn attended to various styles of learning by incorporating the PowerPoint into a manual as a reference, seating the class at table groups to facilitate discussions, and creating a review game called "Cop Land":

[laughs] Not nearly enough Sylvester Stallone references, I thought, but... that was directly teaching to the test. The questions, I think some of 'em were verbatim on the test... I'm not the education expert. I just know I hated that part... I mean, that to me was kinda reminiscent of how the entire Academy is run: people that don't have an education background teaching subjects with a lot of information in 'em, trying to get you to do well on a test that's kinda difficult.

Overall, the training comprises goals and approaches that cut across the role of police and elucidate a major driving force in the training: public perception of police. The

police's increased visibility in the public through access to technology builds buy-in from officers because they see a need to work differently in the community to avert criticism.

This [new CIT] is more like the stylistic or more the educational approach, and you gotta think smarter instead of working harder. Everything is recorded now. Everything. So, you have to explain and talk, and talk out what it is that you're doing because you're also evaluated by a whole bunch of people who don't do what you do professionally...Um, and I think that that gets 'em [the officers] like, "Yea, we do need to be smarter 'cuz now we've got this and this and all of this public scrutiny... We've got a thousand people reviewing us. Millions. And so we have to be as clean, as professional, and as great as we possibly can be." I think they understand that there's a lot of pressure to be that way. So they're open to [CIT] if you can figure out how you're going to present it.

Therefore, coupled with the positive alterations to the program that center officer experiences and realities, the ever-present sousveillance, or the veillance by an entity without power—the public, functions as “citizen undersight” (Browne, 2015, p. 19) and creates pressure on officers to change—or be open to changing—their practices and incorporate more verbal tactics. This pressure also creates the conditions that propels CIT as a mandatory training in the City and in areas around the country, in part funded by the 21st Century Cures Act, enacted in December of 2016 (Eide & Gorman, 2017):

I think the heavy push of CIT is definitely in response to the times... I would say it's pushed heavily because it's important, but also because it covers the department, right. So when you get that one bad ap—officer that flies off the

handle and does something crazy, the department can at least say, "Whoa. Whoa." You know, "That person went through CIT," like, "That's nothing we taught. That's nothing they learned here, so I don't know what happened. We're not liable for that" ...I mean, as important as the training is, and as important as the topics are, and as much as I feel like I learned, I also feel like it's a tool for the department to say, "You got this training. I don't know what you were doing. You're on your own" when you royally mess something up.

Thus, according to participants, the training serves to shift scrutinized incidents from institutional to individual blame and to absolve the police department as an entity from blame. Verbal strategies have the motive of not only de-escalating crises but also of minimizing public criticism.

If officers first utilize CIT on calls, they are...better able to articulate why you had to use force instead of just saying, "The guy wasn't listening. I had to do what I had to—" You can actually—It's like a roadmap. You can say, "I showed up. I tried this; it didn't work. I tried this; that didn't work." And just step-by-step-by step, so you can articulate a lot better why it got to a certain point, and you had to go hands-on with somebody or you had to take action.

The CIT skillset, augmented through the course, helps officers with the process of discretion on calls, helping them decide what action is necessary and when—as well as articulate their decisions on reports to justify force, if used. Thus, CIT can both be used to minimize force by using verbal de-escalation tactics and to justify force. For police work, the dual ability of CIT can provide officers with skillsets to handle a range of calls. The

rub lies in the over-representation of white behavior as normative, subtly swaying perception of actions; tactics are not value neutral.

Intended Role of Race and Culture

When asked about the role of race or culture in the training, trainers responded that culture is “threaded throughout” but does not center CIT. They shared that culture influences how individuals communicate, the need for sensitivity to difference in order to treat people with “respect and dignity,” and how groups receive formal mental health support and diagnoses. Lynn described the role of culture:

That’s something to be recognized, just like, you know, the exorcism [an approach she discussed that some cultures use to treat mental illness], ...or apprehension to, um, treatment. But, it just—we’re taught about cultural awareness in other classes... You know, there are some cultures where men won’t shake a woman’s hand. And, um, they don’t want women to talk to a man alone..., and those are things that we’re aware of. But, as far as the CIT training, that’s aside from.

As far as race is concerned, after attending the training, I asked why race and gender did not come up, and Lynn smiled widely and said, “Why would it? [pause; laughs] I don’t see that as a behavioral health issue, so... I don’t know.” Connected to the focus on behaviors over other markers, the psychologist discussed the various types of people police officers encounter:

Every different race, religion, creed, you name it. And, so, they have to become an expert on human behavior, too... to have a few markers so that we know that when we see this, it's probably that. And maybe we should try this.

CIT grounds in behaviorist psychology: “select the behavior, select the target, and then either enforce it, reward or, get rid of it.” Doctors “cannot tell the difference” between races by bodies, brains or blood; however, the primary marker of difference across cultures, beyond the optic of skin color, lies in behavioral differences (Kendi, 2016, p. 11). Culture, then, impacts behaviors, and identifying behaviors and implementing actions or communications that address them center CIT. To ground CIT in behavior as a neutral and objective marking minimizes the role of race and culture in behavior, thus over-representing white behaviors as normal and natural.

They're training you to [pauses] talk to people. They don't nec—they don't, I don't think it's a good idea to talk differently to someone based on their race or yours. You shouldn't change who you are. Um, I think the things that they taught us in that class were general. This is how people behave, and this is how people like or don't like to be talked to, and that's pretty universal. I've found, um, talking to anybody—Black, White, whatever—you disrespect them, you're going to piss them off. That's not good, so I I don't know what they would have said, “Talk to people of color differently in this way.” I [laughs], I don't know. Even if that was a good idea, I don't know what they would say that would, what would you say different. I don't know. Be yourself. Be nice. So, no, I I really don't think that they should mention it.

Purpose of Police III: Jack of All Trades

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
<p>A jack of all trades to be there when people need us, no matter what the problem is. It's a slippery slope... we are handling any and everything [sigh] A lot of outside groups— they take that serve and protect to the absolute extreme— There are 'real' issues and problems that we don't have enough time and people to deal with Our profession is becoming abused, not bein' used for what it should be use for: protection-type roles and prevention type roles. There are areas we know are hot spots where we can actually prevent crimes.</p>	<p>Police are tasked with everything: social work crisis intervention drug detox counselors case managers parents law enforcement What is the line of which role emerges, what is a problem, and what is a crisis? “New York City, Chicago, Miami-Dade County, and Houston schools all employ more security staff than counselors” (Barnum, 2016). (Are those schools considered hot spots? Is prevention the job of police?)</p>

Intended Components: Conceptual Map

One of the trainers describes CIT as broadening “the scope of law enforcement responsibility” because it incorporates multiple skillsets: tactical, equipment, verbal, and resource. She synthesized what they look for in officers as whether they are able to “utilize empathy to gain rapport and begin the problem-solving process with people before they gain compliance” rather than going “right to compliance.” The goals of the CIT course, communicated in the CIT Student Training Manual (CPD, 2017, p. 11), include the following:

- Recognition of mental illness.
- Strengthened communication skills
- Networking advantage when providing for special populations
- Strong understanding of State Law, CPD policies and procedures
- Tactical and equipment considerations in critical incidents.
- Basic knowledge of special populations.

Within the goals of the training, the overall intent of the CIT program, as communicated in interviews and my observations course itself, leads from the primary skillsets of officer safety, verbal de-escalation and communication skills, and identification of mental or behavioral health.

Figure 1:

Intended Components of CIT



The overarching laws and procedures dictate what officers can and cannot do and the expectations on them legally. Subject behaviors center the map, influencing how officers engage with the situation from a safety and communication standpoint, as well as the actions that follow contact. These components emerged in interviews about CIT's intentions, and they guide thinking about the alignment with intentions and what occurs in the training.

The Class Setting

So tell me what happens/When the waves break/And you're surrounded (Belle, 2013).

The soothing melodies of Andrew Belle's "Sister" calm my nerves as I park my car along the street adjacent to the police training facility, avoiding the parking lot because I don't belong. I listened to this song each morning on my way to the training, never realizing until this writing that the chorus says, "He tries to kill you/and you allow it." The other song I played on repeat this week refrains, "I found peace in your violence" (Robinson & Marshmello, 2017). Interesting. Perhaps some subtext about my complicity with violent systems.

A chilly October morning, a breeze cuts through my gray hooded sweater as I walk through the parking lot to the main training facility to check-in for Level One CIT, about twenty-five minutes early. Small clusters of people mill about inside the hall along the walls, the same ones filled with badges and pictures of training classes from years past. Each people pod converses with familiarity and relationality: people know each other. Individuals or bands of people part the groups to access other classes or their offices down the hall. About fifteen minutes prior to the training, someone informs us, "We are out in the annex this week."

The annex is a fancy way of saying the mobile trailer out front. We file out the double glass doors, exiting under the awning. The main building has white vertical metal siding with a blue foot or two wide horizontal stripe. A light blue retired police van sits under the awning, and we veer to the right on the sidewalk and up a ramp with a wooden railing, repainted white by some recruits during the week. Upon entering the single, metal

door, with a small window above the handle and a red-lettered “LEVEL ONE CIT” sign on 8.5” by 11” printer paper taped to the door, to what Lynn calls the “trailer,” I observe Lynn standing at the front right of the room’s computer podium, fiddling to prepare the slides for the day. The tables situate in rows, lecture-style with chairs behind. The chairs are mostly taupe, some gray, one blue. They have plastic arms and legs and are padded.

She leaves the room for a moment, asking someone to have everyone put the tables into “pods.” My group ambles about confusedly for a moment. I direct our tables to face each other, positioning the tables with the metal backs of the table pressed together in the center of the pod so no one would have their legs jammed and angled so we could all see the front, my education training at work. Everyone seemed willing to help re-organize the room, orienting the table groups so the two pillars along the center line of the room did not obstruct the tables. Some tables are horizontally placed so two people have their backs to the front of the room and the TV where the PowerPoint displays. I notice the table group across from me by the door has the metal back of the desk towards the outside, restricting the movement of people sitting there. By Wednesday, they turned the table.

I sit in the back, right corner where I can see everyone in the space; my back is to the side and back walls, and I face the door. The room has white walls, lightly textured. It almost looks like the texture was created by taking the brown, automatic roll paper towels and pressing them on the wall. They may be panels, because, along the sides, there are vertical lines every 3 feet. The back wall is a typical wall. Black scuff marks pepper the walls, some spots and smudges, others are lines. The part of the wall that is table height

has the most horizontal line scuff marks, which I can guess are from the tables pushing against the wall. When most people enter, they sit towards the front of the room, and many seem to know each other, remarking that this is like a “reunion” and showing pictures on their phones of nieces and nephews. The two who sat at the back table with me are from a different police department than most of the other people in class. As Lynn re-enters the room, she remarks, “Beautiful,” praising our work setting up the classroom.

The door has a silver metal push bar to exit. To the side of the door, towards the back wall, is a 3-switch light-switch plate, the left switch with a piece of gray duct tape over it in the on-position, and a message in black Sharpie that states, “DO NOT TURN OFF.” Three black metal chairs with a vinyl padded seat and back sit along the back wall, underneath the temperature control and a bulletin board. There is a poster on the right of the bulletin board that reads, “No matter what the vehicle code says, you’re not exempt from the laws of physics: Wear your belt. Wear your vest. Watch you speed. WIN—What’s Important Now? *Remember*: Complacency kills!” In a smaller font, it warns that it has been over 65 years since active line duty officers totaled less than 100 cars. There are also two environmental policy papers and an attendance sheet. Next to the bulletin board is a brown, wooden door with a gold, dual-lock, handle and bolt. A trash can, rectangular and thin, but tall, with a black bag tied tight into the can and a red fire extinguisher are immediately left of the door. Next to these are four black, swiveling desk chairs, one with an open box of Expo markers, black, bright orange, and bright green peeking out of the top of the box. Lynn covers the clock—black rimmed with black outside numbers and red inner numbers to 24, a dotted circle between them—with a piece

of white, 8.5” by 11” paper, taped at the 12 with black electrical tape. She has to go up on her tip-toes and use a ruler to press down the tape since she cannot reach. A poster, “Move Or Move to Cover” with the City’s Police Department, 2016 and a VW GTI flashing headlights is on the left edge of the back wall. A thin, fake wood fold-out table sits in the corner, the longer side facing the side wall at my back. It has a couple pieces of paper, an old tape roll, and a silver and fake wood coffee machine, unplugged, with two empty coffee pots, one in the coffee maker and the other sitting on the top.

The room contains four windows, two smaller ones with dark brown blinds closed, the left one down, and the right one up. Two silver circles are underneath and above each window, about 2 inches above, and 5 underneath, offset the window frame. The wall at my back has two windows, a bit bigger. The one behind me has an air conditioner in the bottom portion, the top part covered with dark brown blinds facing down, and the other has blinds over the whole window, but 7 of them, in groups of 2 – 2 – and 3, face up instead of down. The chilly fall day is evident through the window, a mixture of trees barren of leaves and those with leaves hued in red and yellow visibly swaying.

In the afternoons, the room is incredibly warm and stuffy—except for the last few days when the weather shifts to winterish. I notice somewhat, but really notice when returning from break to the stale air. Periodically, one of the three black, metal chairs with a vinyl pad and seat props the door open. Throughout the training, I hear an occasional tire screech, engine rev, or outside conversation as someone walks to their car in the lot.

Over lunch, children’s play—laughter and light-hearted screams—punctuate the distance, two schools nearby the training center, one across either street.

Almost everyone either has a mug, a Starbucks drink, or a water bottle at their seat. Three of the water bottles are plastic—a tall Arrowhead, an even bigger Aquafina, and a short Kirkland one like my mom buys. Mugs say things like “City Health” or “Police Corps.” I notice very few people drinking water, but that might be because I am writing so much. I am glad I am writing instead of recording; I can tell that people feel a bit uncomfortable by my notes. They ask, “What are you writing?” “Are you writing things verbatim?” They make notes about my scurrying pen, wonder how many pages are left in my notebook and if I have another, and whether I work for a news agency. I laugh and say, “No, I’m a graduate student studying the curriculum of the training.” As the week progresses, concerned comments turn to jokes about my nerdiness, evidence—in their words—that they “like me.” On Wednesday, I start parking in the lot.

The Course: Operational Curriculum

Communicated Purposes and Introductions

“Good morning! I appreciate everyone being here,” Lynn greets the class, twenty-three people arranged in table groups by fours. In the class, there are five women, including myself and a civilian attending the course. Nineteen people appear to be white. Lynn looks over the class, and then grounds the class in purpose of CIT: “

When it comes down to its core, it’s about safety and the need for effective communication to influence people to do what we need them to do. There are

physical, behavioral, and verbal components, but our goal is to de-escalate people in crisis. Anyone can have a crisis at any time.

She emphasizes officer safety and also public safety, repeating these concepts within the first few minutes as she overviews the course, as well as the fact that CIT is “not separate from policing.” She mentions the coming scenarios on days four and five, warning them that they “might get really sucked into role plays. It’s okay. We’re human, not robots.” If they get triggered, she tells them they can step out, take care of themselves, and return, but that they should “let us know, and we’ll help out.”

Immediately, the actions of the course align with its intentions, from the focus on safety, to facilitating table talks through by having us orient the tables in pods, and noting the role of CIT across calls as part of their jobs. The commitment to the police community and understanding of police materializes in the comment about support when triggered; despite the air of a hardened demeanor of police toward challenging calls, police hold a tacit understanding of the emotional labor of the job. The fact that the same person develops and teaches the course likely enhances the correspondence between the intents and the operations of the curriculum.

In the sections that follow, I include descriptive renderings of components of the course that represent aspects of the instructional arc or curricular features that demonstrate how the training situates socio-politically. What follows provides glimpses into pieces of the course that represent the course in aim, content, orientation, or mode of delivery. I cycle between description, story, and poem, interweaving various components of the course and voices of participants to compose a picture of the experiences of the

training, breaking from a linear rational telling and incorporating discrepant information from interviews and literature to build nuance.

Interlude

During break, I flip through the Student Training Manual (CPD, 2017). The first page of the manual includes CPD’s Mission, Vision, and Core Values; their inclusion intends to communicate CIT’s alignment to CPD’s broader purpose. The Mission stands out to me because it emphasizes the value of everyone, a well-intentioned vision of respecting each person in the community. I wonder, though, if this is a call-out to “All Lives Matter” and a denigration of “Black Lives Matter.” I looked back into archived police documents, and I found that the mission changed from the 2011 to 2012 Strategic Plan, with the 2012 plan noted as last updated on 3/11/2013 (CPD, 2011 & 2012). George Zimmerman was acquitted in July of 2013, the official beginning of the Black Lives Matter movement, according to their website (2018). The language change precedes the origin of the Black Lives Matter movement by a few months, but I still wonder about the incorporation of this language, particularly after hearing officers call out Black Lives Matter in interviews. Is it a coincidence? Is it purposeful in its continuation?

Purpose of Police IV: Helper and Savior

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
To help— serving and protecting the community, to make it better, stronger,	Is it perceived safety and comfort that makes a community feel stronger and

<p>more connected.</p> <p>but they're also protecting the community from people who are not good people— somebody has to step in and correct that.</p> <p>So, they're protectors, they're warriors, and they're like our domestic military.</p> <p>They protect our everyday living.</p> <p>And, they show up during horrible times where no one else would ever show up there.</p> <p>They do horrible privileges— horrible things that no one else would ever do.</p> <p>They run into the fire when everyone else is freaked out.</p> <p>They stay up all night long making sure that we enjoy our holidays, and there's not drunk drivers out.</p> <p>I mean,</p>	<p>more connected?</p> <p>“Everything in existence has fundamental internal contradictions” (Newton, 2002, p. 182)—both good and bad.</p> <p>We, again, ignore racial roots.</p> <p>“At the center of my analysis is... the <i>racial politics of protection</i>” (Gamal, 2016, p. 982), where some reap advantages of protection and others—surveillance and control.</p> <p>Yet—</p> <p>police can be heroes, holding someone’s hand while they die, shielding a child from an accident, running into an active shooter situation.</p> <p>“Horrible privileges” because police are in a position of extreme trust— and responsibility.</p> <p>They have the power to take away someone’s life,</p>
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they are saviors in some ways.	or save it,
Their role is huge,	to take away someone's freedom,
called upon to do tough things	or permit it—
no one else	things few people
would ever want to do	want to do
or ever even could do.	or can.

Content Delivery

After the pre-test—“which, I didn’t feel like served a purpose. They’re trying to gauge our knowledge for what? I I don’t know. Um, I think we went over a lot of that stuff *several* times”—a woman from the City Attorney’s Office, wearing a black jacket and black tank-top underneath and a red pencil skirt, and Lynn stand in the front of the room, the woman to the right of the TV as the main presenter and Lynn behind the podium, operating any slides and interjecting as needed. The City Attorney discusses the purpose of mental health holds: to keep people safe because they are not able to recognize their illness, have issues with their medication, or are not connected with services. She emphasizes that “jail is not the appropriate place” for people who have mental illness, what she defines as a “substantial disorder with brain functioning. That’s the disturbances you go on.” Possible symptoms include overwhelming fear, paranoia, depressed mood, trouble dealing with stress, confused thinking, heightened sensitivity to senses, tactile sensations, “uncharacteristic, peculiar behaviors... something doesn’t seem quite right.” She instructs officers to ask people about the last time they slept or ate or

about any family or roommates. Lynn interjects that the goal is to get a view of the person's baseline.

The two main considerations of the mental health hold (MI hold) include whether the person is a danger to themselves or to others. "What have people seen that would justify a mental health hold?"

"A man jumping out into traffic."

"I had a guy laying on a train track."

"Government agencies are sending 'em out to hurt people."

Lynn responds, "Yes, and we have to think about, 'Do they have the ability to do what it is they're threatening to do?' It can't just be a vague threat."

The City Attorney adds, "They have to have a mental illness and be a danger for a MI hold."

"They can be gravely disabled, however, where they're not able to take care of themselves. Generally, the homeless population wouldn't fit under gravely disabled because they've figured out how to manage their lives and survive."

Lynn laughs as she recalls an incident in her mind. "I was downtown, helping with the call load when we received a foul odor call in a tall high-rise. When we step out of the elevators, a waft of smells hits us. D.O.A. (Dead on Arrival), it's gotta be—I know it's going to be a suicide. We knock on the door and announce ourselves. This is an apartment from the Homeless Coalition. We see a guy with his back to us, sitting in a wheel chair with his TV on a crate. It is old, black and white, and has rabbit ears. He is sitting there, eating chips, in his own world. He

doesn't notice us. His foot is on the ground with a dark circle around it—blood is coming out of his shoe. We put him on grave disability and called paramedics. He was having socks and shoe issues: we were dumping maggots out. It had been going on so long, he had different generations of maggots. He'd been doing bad for a long time."

"Disgusting."

The presenters laugh and continue to describe the particular processes and laws used for grave disability. The presenters add information back and forth, melding their presentation, "Development disability, however, is different. Cerebral palsy, epilepsy, autism, or neurological conditions are different. They need additional support, but it's not mental illness. They can still be in crisis, though."

"Black's Law Dictionary defines imminent danger as an immediate real threat that justifies use of force."

"It is a privilege and a responsibility to put someone on a hold."

The City Attorney says, "Mental illness does not mean [the slide adds, "automatically"] dangerous; they are more likely to be victims. Their behaviors are unlikely to result in the death of officers or bystanders."

At this, Lynn interjects about officer safety, reminding officers that something can happen "at any point and time... we can't let our guard down."

"Most people who behave violently are not mentally ill."

"—Just butthead criminals."

“People have to be certified as being mentally ill.”

“There is a civil and criminal process. You pick the most appropriate, in your opinion, on the scene. You can’t do both; it’s one or the other. Just because they’re mentally ill doesn’t mean they get a freebie. You can be a criminal and mentally ill. The hospital is not the most appropriate place for criminals. Jail is.”

* * *

<i>Surface</i>	<i>Beneath</i>
So much here— seamlessness between the presenters, as they shift from information, to laws and procedures, to story. They hold content and process together, the officer always bringing it to the lived context of policing, the attorney depicting the reality of the law. Teaching is clear, incorporating police culture and the reality of officer safety	Mental illness, danger... criminal? “Most people who behave violently are not mentally ill.” Violence is criminal. Two paths: civil and criminal. You can only go one way. Which is it, in your opinion? What are the references for what are considered normative behaviors? What— or who—

<p>for understanding and buy-in.</p> <p>Humor—</p> <p>sometimes twisted,</p> <p>admittedly—</p> <p>connects to police culture</p> <p>and demonstrates the need</p> <p>to laugh to connect</p> <p>with each other</p> <p>and disconnect from the</p> <p>experienced trauma.</p> <p>Society is implicated</p> <p>in what it requires of</p> <p>officers (Grossman, 2009). Yet—</p>	<p>is between the</p> <p>lines drawn?</p> <p>Who draws</p> <p>the lines?</p> <p>(What if someone</p> <p>wants to draw</p> <p>outside?)</p> <p>Different, dirty, danger—</p> <p>Conquergood's (2012)</p> <p>recipe for</p> <p>marginalization,</p> <p>criminalization.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">False neutrality.</p>
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Perceptions of the Mental Illness and of the Community

Dr. Jess, a primary psychologist for CIT, tells the class that she is going to give a “mini version of my degree,” with every cheat tool she knows. She is stylish, with a ruddy, pink sweater that ends before the wrist and has fluffed sleeves from the elbow. The front and back of the sweater hang long over black pants, and she dons a knotted necklace that extends toward her belly-button with a smaller silver necklace, a silver bracelet, and dangly silver earrings. She speaks assuredly, firm and at a clip, part of her quick-witted demeanor that enraptures attention:

Brian: She's just got that personality that makes learning a dry, boring topic fun. And, it's that kinda stuff that helps me learn it. I don't pick up stuff just by reading it and retaining it, so as long as she's a she can apply it to a fun situation, I think that makes it the easiest way to learn it.

She tells them that the goal is not for them to diagnose, but to put a "name to what you smell already. What may I be able to do to intervene? Ultimately, I want to figure out their agenda, merge it with mine, and get them to do what I need them to do. It's a heckuva lot easier to de-escalate with empathy and rapport, so I need to figure out what drives people.

"Mental health is a spectrum, a continuum—we all have some. The key is to identify deviations from the baseline." She references Hoarders and My Strange Addictions, popular TV shows, to show that we all have "a little bit of crazy. It depends on when the stress gets bad enough. How do people generally function? As long as it's normal for them, it's okay."

Lynn adds, "We have to educate the public sometimes about odd behaviors. They don't mean they need to be taken away. We don't need to be afraid of everyone who is different."

"You have to collect your baseline to decide what's next. On the first trip to visit someone, you might just collect a baseline and create GO reports so there is a trail on the person. If I know where the baseline sits, I can figure out when

someone is in trouble. We can avoid the blowout from handling a situation blindly.”

Jess goes on to discuss the importance of gaining information, but also demonstrating understanding of what people are experiencing. When talking about neuro “things,” she emphasizes that they can create challenges, but that some are “almost slices of gifts. They can create immense frontal lobe growth, an incredible visual cortex. The hard part is, if they have challenges, if they don’t get help treating them, the negative can become a part of who they are, believing they are stupid, not bright, dirty, don’t know how to work with others... and then they operate in the world in that fashion.”

Most of the training vacillates between providing general descriptions of various mental illnesses and components of mental health with specific stories portraying the way mental health lives in bodies, as depicted in the above section. These stories are largely from the perspective of a presenter, psychologist, or officer and not the first-hand telling of the story, representing the training’s focus on officer perceptions and realities. However, each class, a speaker from the National Alliance on Mental Illness speaks to the class.

Building empathy. Our speaker, Ryan, has bipolar disorder. Diagnosed at 19, he is now 38. He is tall and lanky, with a blue/gray button down, a bit wrinkled, over a gray undershirt, olive green pants, groomed facial hair, a ring on his right ring finger, and glasses. His presentation switched between video segments, featuring experiences of various people with mental illnesses and his personal experiences.

I have bipolar, and it's pretty extreme. I get delusions when I have episodes. It is a seductive space that I'm drawn to because the world is fun, reinforcing. I feel grandiose. I go up, and then I fall into a depression where it's hard to thinking of anything but suicide.

During this portion of the class, the few cell phones that are typically out on laps are tucked away. Heads remain fixed to the front of the room, taking in his words:

Police has been involved in episodes from the beginning. Often. They've been very polite and took me to the hospital. My episodes ended almost always with police and my fate in the hands of police. I was lucky because the police were gentle and took me to hospitals, not jails.

Brian: [pause] I'd probably say the point where he said that, you know, you find yourself out doing illegal stuff [built my empathy]. But he doesn't know.... And if he really doesn't know, there's a difference to me if you honestly don't know you're doing something. I can go easier with that.

In Philadelphia, I was highly delusional, so I broke a store window with a brick. Eventually, I was picked up and taken to the station. They handcuffed me to a drain pipe in the basement for a long time. I went on and on about my delusion, and they released me.

Brian: A real criminal, they know what they're doing, and I have no issues dealing with him. But, when you look at his perspective,

...when I'm in my manic or my depression, sometimes I have no idea what I'm doing. I can kinda—can't really relate—but I can [pause] I can see it from his point of view. Like, I'm not a bad person. I'm doing these things because I don't have any control over it... That's not my goal to put someone in prison for something they don't know what they're doing.

My aunt had been trying to get me an involuntary commitment. Two officers with blue latex gloves approached me. I took off, and they chased me for about a mile. They were—I don't want to say, brutal—but they roughed me up. I was very resistant, and then they put me into a room. I thought it was the end of my life. It was traumatic. I thought I was going to die. They had me strapped down.

Brian: Jail's not the best place for them... Maybe that's not something that they're accustomed to, where some other people, yea, they're they know how to deal with jail, even with mental illness. But, for like the guy from NAMI, he didn't seem the kind that would, uh, fare well in jail.

They came in with a big needle... I woke up in the hospital.

Brian: [Before CIT], as far as I was concerned, they knew better. They should learn to manage themselves better, I guess. That was my mentality of it...

I've never been to jail—just close. I feel lucky. I had a ton of family support. A lot of people aren't so lucky. I received a call from someone whose son had schizophrenia and died in jail. There are protocols in jail when someone's delusional, but they didn't follow them.

Interviewer: So adding this information kinda changes some of that?

Brian: Yea.

Family is very important. My family is supportive. I have to take responsibility and live with criminal acts and mentally ill acts. I'm not just going to get off because of mental illness. It's not me, but it was still me."

Peter: [A parent of someone with a mental illness] was so impressed with whatever it was we were doing [in CIT] that we had that many contacts with his son, right, and took care of him still.

I see my illness as a gift: I am an artist and a philosopher. The kings of my world have been mentally ill. It is a ticket to being an abstract thinker and thinking outside the box. Experience gives a new perspective. Some of the most strange, weird, and amazing experiences of my life happened when I was sick.

Jess: Temple Grandin has autism, and she revolutionized the cattle industry. She is awkward, but brilliant. She's clearly off, clearly different, but she sees the world in pictures, which is also why she's incredibly successful. People operate incredibly differently.

Medicine is what keeps me well. Mood stabilizers work. I would have choked myself for saying this ten or fifteen years ago, but trusting doctors is huge. It's a process, and doctors have a lot against them. It's a hit and miss science, navigating the world of big pharma, insurance, and different approaches to treatment.

Bipolar goes up and down, but there are also periods where I'm level. I stop meds, and symptoms return. I experienced a lot of anger because family and friends were somehow preventing me from knowing something important. In mania, I felt like the king of the universe. All limitations disappear, and I feel like I have a part in creating a new perception of the world. I resist any kind of control.

Jess: Bipolar meds work to keep people stabilized in the middle, so they don't have major highs or low lows. But some don't want to be in the middle, on meds. Someone in my grad school was hypermanic and could do everything with a smile. They medicated her, and she told me, "I feel like everything is slow, and I'm tired, like I was hit in the neck with a rhino dart."

I am an artist with a Master's degree in art. The art studio was a retreat for me. It was hard to go back to college after my first episode and confront 'mums the world.' There is silence around illness. Art was my retreat to turn away from the world so I can come back to it, participate, and add to it.

I finally had independence—my own dingy, little trailer. Now, I am ten years straight without an episode. I have a wife, a car, and a job. I'm just proud of myself. I was kicked out of school four times, but I just kept going back.

I hope you take someone to the hospital and not jail; delusional people don't do well in jail. It can change somebody's fate, how police respond."

Interviewer: How does NAMI influence CIT?

Earl: NAMI, um, is a... a big supporter of us and influences us because everybody that's involved, um, with NAMI, they actually have people in their families that have mental health issues...

Many of those that are involved with NAMI, um, that have had to call before, um, they're like our biggest supporters in CIT. Because they know how the program can work and help people, and especially those special officers that are in the program.

Nuanced perspectives. From the course and interviews, officer perceptions of people in the community varied in tone, from a nuanced view that situates people within broader structures and realities to more stock views. For example, when discussing the mental health of police, a frequent centering in the training, a strong push to see the nuance within themselves and their community exists:

- “Depression looks just like you and me.”
- “We need to help each other out, and pay attention to each other.”
- “Police have a 69% higher risk for suicide than other professions.”
- “We deal with stuff a regular person doesn't want to see. It affects guys.”

- “If you see, ‘I used to...’ in colleagues and notice that they’re starting to disappear, do something to see where they are. Get them help.”
- “The only people watching us right now who are on our side is us.”
- “People think it’s not going to happen to us. It is built up.”

The statements around police situate the causes of mental illness with the stress of the job and as a natural reaction to it, in part to build communication and solidarity within the police community about how mental illness manifests for them. The trainers allude to police culture’s pervasive denial of mental illnesses, with officers believing that they are “indestructible,” likely an indicator of the masculine traits within policing.

With the broader community, the discussions center empathy and attempt to maintain that same level of respect as exists within the police community:

Part of their job, with CIT and I think with all the training of, “Hey, look, this person’s not right. They’re not just being a jerk cuz they’re a jerk. They actually are not okay, and they really need help. And, this is when it’s an emergency. Let’s pair them with a resource.”

The training pulls to not only de-escalating situations with verbal strategies and empathy, but also the desire to connect people to resources, in part so repeat calls—and the strain on the police department will decrease. But also, the committed CIT officers in particular seek to improve individual lives:

There was a lady who was in her 20s, and shorter statured, heart problems, intellectually disabled, many medical issues, was adopted by an older lady, and she lived in a house... with [the older lady and her] adult son. And,

...she was very sickly, um, but always running away. And this particular officer finally called me, and he's like, "We need to do something. Something's not right. You know, ...we need to figure something out." And, he reached out to me before he'd even gone through the CIT stuff, and he had that empathetic component going on, and then came back through the CIT class, and he's like, "Oh, I could've done blah blah blah blah blah." And all this stuff. And, we were able to problem solve, get social workers involved with it, get order to an appropriate housing place. ...[Later,] he saw her. And she was healthy, and she was doing good. And he's like, "Look at this!" You know. He's like, "Look at the effect that we had by being able to identify the issue and get this person over here. We helped somebody's quality of life."

CIT, at its perfect operation, interacts with respect, empathy, and communication to bridge people with resources and supports that they need. In this operation of CIT, the police role expands from law enforcement to "Mr. Officer Friendly, like, you know, 'I'm here to help. I'm here to keep things calm,'" enacting some of the social work type components of police. The officers I spoke with largely embraced this role of incorporating CIT in their work—"every call's a CIT call"—by talking about CIT as a crucial feature of their daily jobs. It seemed that, besides Lynn, the officers focused more on the benefits of CIT to their job than the corollary benefits to the community:

This isn't just some bullshit, voodoo, whatever, you know, and it's not, you know, it's also not, uh, some panacea that's going to cure all the woes of society. But what it is is a tool that's going to allow you to be better police.

The goal of using CIT is to be better police, not as much improving the community, perhaps because of the constant and heightened contact they have with the community that does not allow them to consider the impact of their actions beyond the current moment.

Additionally, the presenters often place people within their situation to build complexity and empathy. This situates mental health as mutually constituted effects of personality, family history, and society:

We had a hoarder. Elderly. Fixed income for years. Her basement flooded with sewage. Officers decided to clean her house, and they did a bang-up job. They let her pick and choose what was thrown away. A couple months, the same pattern returned because there wasn't help on the other side. We eliminated a health issue, but people hoard off of trauma. They need treatment to stop.

Acknowledging the trauma behind actions humanizes the behaviors, perhaps altering the discretion the officers use in the situation and the resources they utilize to support the person. This quality of the CIT training is powerful, with the potential to alter the course of interactions and appropriately intervene with help.

Discretion. Within the aims of supporting people and connecting them to resources, a line emerges: who is truly criminal versus who is having a mental health crisis? Interpreting behaviors on one of two sides requires immense discretion.

...A lot of people who are in crisis, too, are horrible. They're mean and nasty, kind of like an injured animal. You've got an injured animal... your animal that you've had for years. You reach down to try to offer it, um, some comfort,

console it, and your dog bites you. It happens. People do that all the time. Because they're panicked. They're completely freaked out. They're not well. ...And, they're really shitty, but they really need help. And, so, we have to help [officers] understand, "Hey, look, you're going to get punched in the face, but you're gonna get asked for a hug. Give 'em the hug. Suck it up, eat it, give 'em what they need so that we can get them to comply so that they don't die, they don't kill somebody else, something horrible doesn't happen, this doesn't escalate into something that's going to end disastrously, and let's see if we can get 'em some help."

In moments of crisis, when emotions are high, determining a need for help versus danger lands in perception of behavior. When is someone yelling or engaging in volatile behaviors in need of an intervention rather than a punishment? What factors influence the decision on what actions to take toward a civil or a criminal process? There are two routes, with no intersection.

The role of culture. Culture profoundly influences behavior and perception and treating of mental illness (Gonzalez, Alegría, Prihoda, Copeland, & Zeber, 2011; Holley, Tavassoli, & Stromwall, 2016). The psychology from CIT comes from a behaviorist psychology strain, which over-represents white normative behaviors (Shouhayib, 2015) and the universality of behavior (Cross, 2017). Moreover, psychological treatments reinforced in CIT privilege Western medicine, giving them precedence over the way various cultures handle mental illness. After a class video of an Asian family's negative

response to the daughter's schizophrenia, the class discussion brought up how accusatory and disbelieving the family is toward her mental illness, thinking she could control it.

Culturally, there are issues, too. People from different countries try exorcism to handle schizophrenia. It is difficult to challenge culture. We need to be strategic and not disrespect. There is a generational component, too, where the younger generation is more open and accepting. There is a fine line between getting someone the help they need and respecting their culture.

The implication here is that the CIT methods and resources are neutral and objective measures that make sense in response to mental illness, without accounting for the racial connectedness of psychology to universality and color-blindness (Cross, 2017) or alternative methods of care in communities (Conquergood, 2013). However, it is also crucial to address mental health across cultures and communities, as racial discrimination exists in access to treatment and reception during treatment (Holley et al., 2016) and cultures experience different attitudes about mental health treatment (Gonzalez et al., 2011).

The trainers describe multiculturalism as “threaded throughout the whole training” as “sensitivity to difference” and “treat people with respect and dignity.” The onus, however, for discussing “multicultural stuff... religious stuff... country of origin kind of stuff” lies on the officers with experience in districts “where those populations are more dense” giving examples. Such vague language exists in stark contrast to the specificity to which the trainer refers to psychological and training content, indicating a lack of comfort in the explicit address of race and culture. The examples officers bring up

in class center on what constitutes respect in various areas with the goal of compliance and control: “If you ever see somebody take their hat off and set it down, you know you’re in trouble, because here’s what’s coming next.” These examples prime police officers to predict dangerous situations so they can act in a way that maintains control of the situation. The trainer mentions opening the class up to a discussion of police experiences in various communities. However, the open discussions depend on having experienced officers in the course. Because the more experienced officers have already received CIT training, the officers in each CIT course are the ones who have just completed their probationary period and have been on the job for a year and a half. In the training I attended, then, the discussion did not occur.

It’s not a particular course [in the CIT training] or a particular, or “Hey, here’s how you can be multiculturally sensitive, and da-da-da...” We don’t do that.

The lack of explicit address of race or culture makes it an optional component of the course, impelled only by individual officers’ experiences or consciousness of the role of race and culture in interactions. “If an officer can pull something from experience, then I’ll start talking about it, too.” Placing this responsibility on officers without an intentional place for it makes it an optional part of the training, merely an aside, upholding the white normativity of the training and portraying the information on communication as objective and neutral—applicable to all.

The frequent spin of questions around addressing the role of race and culture in the course turns to respect:

The premise is pretty overreaching of treat everyone with respect. Um, here's some things that... here's ways that we can show it. If you notice that this is wrong or if you've offended someone, be an impact communicator instead of an intent communicator. How do you back up and apologize? How do you, um, let them know that you didn't mean to be offensive? How can you, um, correct things that are, that are going to be off, too?

Respect is not portrayed wholly as an objective state, as she provides an example of the communal nature of some cultures and how approaching people in front of their family demonstrates disrespect, a culturally constituted perception of respect. Furthermore, the discussions around noticing offense and targeting the impact of communication rather than their intent provides officers with a framework to reflect on their words and behaviors and places the responsibility on them for understanding cultures and their interactions with people. This is an important component of police work, particularly in minimizing negative interactions with people of color and further propelling division between police and communities of color, which only reinforces the division from the viewpoint of the community, a division that emerged prominently in interviews, often alongside assertions that community relationships are largely positive.

With regards to racial relationships, we have an awfully good relationship with many people in the African American community, particularly adults. Um, and I say adults, I'm talking older adults. There's just a lot of mutual respect.

“Who are you playing the chess game with? Outthink your opponent... If they feel understood, they may want to play with you.”

Their words to me: “I don’t talk to White bitches. You’re just doing this to me because I’m Brown, or because I’m Black.”

Purpose of Police V: Restore and Maintain Order

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
<p>To restore and maintain order, broadly.</p> <p>I mean, that can look like a lot of different things: traffic enforcement, you know— people drive like jerks around here, so that restores order to the roads. moving in on an active shooter, on the other end of the spectrum.</p> <p>We can’t work without the consent and the, um, acceptance of the populace—</p> <p>If they feel like we’re using too much force, it’s totally up to them</p>	<p>I saw a post of Facebook that said, “It’s generally understood that police exist to keep order. What’s not understood is that order is white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” (zellieimani, 2014).</p> <p>Discretion decides who’s stopped or how to interact with an active shooter; the consequences matter, and the impacts can be huge.</p> <p>“The ruling bloc’s ability to win consent from the mass is the latter’s inability to use legitimate force against the state...</p>

to say how it should be done.	consent has to be won...
It's up to use to change.	in order to remain in power...
It's a symbiotic relationship.	power...is constantly reconfigured...[with]
We need them; they need us.	new elements" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 7).

Scenarios

The final two days of the CIT course revolve around the officers acting out actual police calls marked as CIT. Each officer had three scenarios, and they observed and gave feedback to the other officers in their small group of about six officers.

When I went into it, I wanted to be there, but I also had that reservation, "I just don't wanna deal with this crap. I wanna deal with real stuff." But once you sat through the class, you learned everything..., and then, you know, you had three scenarios. They were hard, but the class actually, how do I put this? I basically learned how to do it and then applied it, and it actually worked.

Set up. Before the scenarios begin, the officer coach sets up the what will occur:

A few reminders before we start the scenarios: Everyone gets a turn as primary. We'll tell you the descriptors of the case before you go into the room and set up the details that you know from dispatch. The goal is to apply what you've learned, work, and get better. This is not an exercise in lowering guard; we are looking for you to maintain officer safety. Don't touch the actors. We want it to be realistic, but just verbalize everything you're doing. You have CIT coaches in the scenario, and everyone will have timeouts to pause and think about where we are

in the scene. Make sure to keep good, open-ended questions in your communication; we're not looking for perfection, but a good intervention.

Close connection. We huddle in the hall, next to the blue scenario apartments. On the other side of the hangar, chairs are set up for an Academy graduation. As we meet, people file past us to get to the graduation or to get to the bathroom that is within the office of our designated scenario room.

"Has anyone had a partner or co-worker die in duty?" One person raises his hand; it is his scenario.

"Are you okay to proceed?" A pervasive space of empathy surrounds officer experiences and their community. It is a tight-knit group that watches out for each other.

"Yeah." Eyes glint, watered, but at a blink, they return. Pipes sound as part of the Academy graduation; he told me earlier than this song makes him cry. He breathes out then in to prepare himself.

We enter the room, clustered at the door to create a wall separating us from the bathroom. In the scene, an officer (the actor) from another jurisdiction has a gun on his heart. The scenario officer approaches, shielding himself behind his car, his bright blue dummy gun cocked and ready in case the subject acts.

My notes suspend as the officer spoke to the actor of the scene, enraptured by his calm voice and adept maneuvers. The officer built rapport and stayed with the subject 100%. They would chat, then he asked the subject to take his finger off the trigger. When the scene paused, the clinician praised his calm, small requests,

and another class participant noted his tone of voice: respectful, but no nonsense. The officer coach told him to adjust his position of cover to be able to focus. “He doesn’t need to see your gun, and you don’t need to be exposed.”

The scene resumed, and he continued to build rapport and make small requests. “I want to talk to you with more respect, face-to-face. You deserve that respect. Can you set your gun down and push it away from you?” The actor complied, and the officer approached to talk to him face-to-face, connecting him to resources.

After the scene, the conversation turned to whether officers in a similar situation of threatening suicide would have their gun revoked from their possession, a major affront to their privacy and trust. “The officer’s supervisor should know about what happened.”

“It’s not like they will never get their gun back.”

Once the scene ended, the central officer, red, steps away from the group and down the hall. The female officer coach in the scenario went to go check on him.

This scene depicts the power of empathy and deep respect, and the efficacy of a skillful implementation of CIT. It also demonstrates the ease officers have in identifying with the experiences of other officers—and how much of a difference connection can make on the results of a call. Respect and understanding center the scene.

Reflective learning. Four of us cluster around a table in an office converted to a scenario room: a female psychologist, a male officer-coach (coach), a female actor, and a

researcher—me. Double mahogany doors flank the side of the room to my left, two desks T into the corner on the opposite side of the room, and shelves line the wall to my right, complete with training binders and award plaques. The actress readies herself with props, marking her arm with a red stick—perhaps lip liner—and fashioning a shard of glass out of packaging tape as the officer-coach and psychologist lay out expectations for the scene. They want her to demonstrate compounding dangers: sit with legs hanging over the edge of a building, actively flay her arm with the glass, and converse with voices in her head as part of a psychotic episode.

As the actress contemplates her role, the officer-coach, the psychologist, and I head to the hall, where five officers in CIT training wait for the scenario details, their conversation interrupted by the coaches' presence. For this scenario, the coach primarily describes the room so the officers understand the call: the desk is the ledge of a tall building. An officer with prior military experience will enact this scene and listens intently to the coaches. After the particulars, everyone returns to the room, filing along the walls and the table, leaving the desk area open for the scene.

The actress's legs hang over the building, her head tossing back and forth, audibly mumbling, and slicing her arm with the glass shard.

The officer immediately goes over to the woman to establish contact, approaching her from the left side and introducing himself. Upon his approach, the coach calls, "Timeout."

Coach (C): "What's important now?" The primary officer still stands near the actor in the scene, but he has turned toward the coaches and other officers.

The coach makes direct eye contact with the primary officer, warmly listening and opening the space for the officer to reflect.

Officer (O): “I know we want to say ledge...[pause] I have a real hard time letting someone sit there.” The officer stands with his feet outturned, resting the majority of his weight on his heels.

C: “Why are they cutting?” There is a pause from the officer, and the psychologist interjects with the clinical perspective.

Psychologist (P): “They cut to ground themselves, to feel something when they’re really hurting.”

O: “I’m not allowing someone to cut. I’m not making a bet that this is the suicide or that’s the suicide.” The officer, one of the more seasoned officers in this particular course, speaks deliberately but confidently, hesitation absent from his responses. Although new to this department, he holds experience in the military and other police departments.

C: “Does she even know you’re a person?” The coach leads a discussion about her current mental state and behaviors that we’re seeing, calling attention to her swaying her head and talking to herself. “You have to position yourself in a safe space to talk to her, to de-escalate her—and we need medical here.”

O: “I get where you’re going...” The officer’s words trail off. His eyes look up and to the right, likely imagining the scenario in his mind and what he’d have to do.

The coach lets him contemplate for a moment, noticing his internal conflict. “It still doesn’t sit well. That person’s needs... I’m not even arguing that it’s the right thing to do. It takes everything you have to not grab them,” his voice intensifies, displaying empathy from similar experiences, “but our goal is to go home. I don’t want to put myself in danger or my partner. If something happens where she cuts you, your partner will shoot her. You are creating your own jeopardy. Back up. Take things slow. Talk to her. Get medical there.” The coach delineates the factors in play on the scene, demonstrating possible “what-if” scenarios if she goes after the officer with a knife rather than complying. The ensuing chain of events would escalate quickly.

O: “I understand the learning moment... [the officer pauses] and trust what you’re saying. I would have a huge... [pauses] survivor’s guilt. I would have a big, big issue, a real issue if this individual died. No joke.”

C: “It is no joke.” The coach leans in toward the officer, hearing him. “Here is the challenge as you progress in this career: this job has things in store for you that you can’t even dream of... and I want you to be alive. I’ve been to too many officer’s funerals.”

O: “I have some PTSD type stuff—and... I can’t get myself there at this point today.”

C: “If I’m being honest, I’m going to disagree. The scenarios are about learning, and we just did some learning.” All the observers in the room wrapped

into the intense discussion between officer and coach, listening, still, pensive. The quiet in the room is tight, pulled from each corner.

Finally, the psychologist asks, “Any other experiences?”

A younger officer, probably about twenty-four remarks, “I don’t have the experience putting a partner in a situation to protect me.”

The primary officer is clearly still processing his reaction to this scenario, trying to think of the safest way that doesn’t “let” her cut herself, “You’re grabbing her, and I’m grabbing her. I don’t want to get cut, but it’s better than her dying.”

Another officer, a little older, offers, “It’s the totality of the circumstances. Your first instinct is to stop cutting. What if she has a gun and not a knife?”

C: “One of the things that I’m hearing is, ‘What if...,’ which changes your view.”

O: “Every day.”

C: “There is a textbook way to handle the situation, but it’s a game-time decision. Our job is to save this person without putting ourselves in danger.” It’s not always going to look perfect.

The officers file back into the hall, leaving the coach, the psychologist, the actress, and me. The coach states, “For him, there’s something in his past.”

The psychologist agrees. “I’m going to check-in with him later.”

* * *

intent listening and a commitment to growth

the scenarios center

learning

above rote memorization

or stock implementation

deep care—

this is not about the moment,

In that quick minute that you get, I think that helped out quite a bit. They didn't have all the pauses, I don't know if I'd have gotten through the scenario.

but the moments to come

[pause] But they also help you out. I'll remember those in the future, so if I deal with it in real life, I don't have those pauses. Hopefully, they'll just kick in in and they'll come.

and the experiences that have come before.

it is about the community—

most pointedly—

of officers.

it's not that the people in the community,

being contacted,

are irrelevant,

but they are subordinate
to officer safety

So, we walk up to the car. They won't roll down the windows—supposedly, they don't have keys—but they're all movin' around. And it just didn't feel right. And, so I'm like, "Step out of the car." They're like, "No, we're just chillin'." What do you want?" Something wasn't right. And so I fling open the back door, and I grab the guy... Hmm. We get him out of the car. Pat him down. I ask him if he has any weapons. He says, "No." I'm like, okay cool. I start to scoot this guy to the side. I open the front door. I said, "You're going to step out and talk to me." And he's like, "No, I'm not." And he starts to reach for the door. Well, I pull the door open, grabbed it, start to pull him out. Lo and behold a gun falls out, right. He's sitting on a gun. So we grab 'em. We put 'em all in cuffs. And then, with probable cause, we end up searching the car later, and, come to find out, this guy—the first guy I pulled out—had a loaded 9 mm on his lap as we were walking up to the car.

and officer preservation.

And I immediately realized: [pause] like, that could've been the end, right. That could've been the last call I ever took.

The dangers to officers
are real
and ever present.

And, yet—
the wide berth of discretion
emerges,
engulfing the scene.

The officer has a huge piece
in how this thing goes.

Power.

I mean, there's the whole CYA thing, right. Like, well I don't know why this officer did that when they've been through CIT. I think it's a blanket to be able to say, "Well, we trained this person to be able to communicate with somebody like that," if shit hits the fan, right. Um, so I mean, that's probably more of a conspiracy theory, but, ultimately, I think it's about communication and just having an understanding of some of the more common mental health conditions and and what that kinda fronts as and shows itself as and how to communicate with people. And understanding yourself, you know, when you're dealing with a

situation like that. I learned about myself without having anybody tell me what I was doing, if that makes sense.

It was pretty apparent in the first scenario, just, obviously it's controlled, and so I think your body reacts different, but I learned a lot about my body language and just different things that I do that, I don't know why. Like, apparently—I mess with my radio a lot. Um, and I don't know if it's a comfort thing or or what, but I was messing—I noticed I was messing with my radio, and it wasn't even on [laughs]. Like, we obviously weren't using them. Um, and... yea. I know, so I noticed some of my body language can be odd to me, so so I can only imagine what it looks like to other people [laughs]. Um, just as well as my tone of voice. I'm a pretty sarcastic person. Um, it's it's one of my... best traits and worst traits at the same time, and I think, oftentimes, I come off as sarcastic, and it's far from my intent. Um, and so I think it can rub people the wrong way: my tone of voice, or whatever it may be. And so sometimes, I noticed it kinda puts me behind the behind the eight-ball [laughs].

...I would say it [CIT] made me more self-aware. I don't know if it influenced the way I kinda debrief myself. Um, but, yea, I mean, I guess, looking back on a few situations since then, I mean, I can see where I've been in a situation. And, unintentionally, my brain has kinda drawn on CIT experience and just been like, "Okay, maybe don't say that" [laughs]... "in that tone of voice."

On Communication

Officers drawn to CIT mention communication as a primary component of their policing, noting a distinction between themselves and other officers in their ability to create connection and de-escalate situations. Qualities that emerge in effective communication include patience, listening to what the person needs, problem solving, and flexibility to change. When officers talked about a disconnect in communication, they often mention a racial barrier. A white officer said, “I mean the only calls I’ve ever gotten [pause] yelled at or whatever, um, yea, it’s usually people who don’t look like me.” Black Lives Matter came up in various officers’ interviews as related to an increase in assaults on officers and community discontent with the police, but one officer said that they don’t have a relationship with Black Lives Matter because it “doesn’t really exist” beyond as a social movement. “There is no head. There is no board. There is not structure.” What groups are considered as legitimate by the police to care about their concerns? Coulthard (2014) would argue that recognition of groups emanates from adherence to “colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power” that groups such as Black Lives Matter seek “to transcend” (p. 3). Thus, divisions within communities come from divergent ontological beliefs.

Poetic illumination.

<i>CIT Drawn Officer</i>	<i>Disconnected Communication</i>
I always felt like I was a really good communicator.	<i>Why do you feel like there’s resistance with the Black community and the</i>
I always felt like I was	<i>Hispanic community,</i>

<p>really patient with people.</p> <p>And, I was able to get through situations that a lot of officers, you know, just couldn't.</p> <p>They couldn't make that connection.</p> <p>I was flexible enough to know, "Okay. If they're not understanding me from this standpoint, I should be able to shift and meet them somewhere else and say, 'Okay, this isn't working. Let me try something else.'" A lot of guys'll just, kinda, keep hammering their head in and saying, "No, you need to listen. You need to do this." But I could take a step back: "Okay. This isn't workin'.</p>	<p><i>or what does that look like when you go on a call?</i></p> <p>Their words to me: "I don't talk to White bitches." "You're just doing this to me because I'm Brown, or because I'm Black"—which has absolutely nothing to do with why I'm there.</p> <p>[pause]</p> <p>and that's typically the way the conversation starts.</p> <p>And, once they start with that, now I have to work around, somehow building a rapport with 'em in order to gain compliance, or it's gonna turn to a use of force if I think they need to go in on a hold.</p> <p>Lot of times, that's 50-50 on what I can do,</p>
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<p>Why isn't it workin'?"</p> <p>You know,</p> <p>there's obviously something</p> <p>this person wants</p> <p>from this situa—</p> <p>I just need to find out</p> <p>what it is they truly want</p> <p>and find another way to approach that—</p> <p>or at least, something that would</p> <p>substitute what it is they're looking for.</p> <p>It's almost like a game, too,</p> <p>a chess match,</p> <p>trying to figure out</p> <p>if somebody's just bein' difficult,</p> <p>if somebody <i>truly</i>—</p> <p>if there's something that they truly</p> <p>wanted and needed...</p> <p>Being able to dig enough</p> <p>and have the patience to dig in—</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“Help me understand</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">what's going on in your world.”—</p> <p>and keep the communication lines open</p>	<p>gain that compliance from 'em.</p> <p><i>Why do you think that dynamic exists?</i></p> <p>Ever since Black Lives Matter</p> <p>popped up,</p> <p>that's just the way it's been.</p> <p>it's just been the culture ever since.</p> <p>They feel that white officers</p> <p>are racist against anybody other than</p> <p>white.</p> <p>They always bring in Trump.</p> <p>I really don't understand the concept</p> <p>because their belief system on that is</p> <p>totally so [pause] crazy.</p> <p>I just don't understand it.</p> <p>None of us really care who you are,</p> <p>what color.</p> <p>It's just, here's a symptom,</p> <p>and I need to treat it.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“Solutions meant to provide relief to</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Black pain failed to untangle the</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">socially injustice systems that cause</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">the pain in the first place” (Cross,</p>
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<p>until you can kinda figure that person out—</p> <p>“If they ask, ‘Don’t you see/hear it?’ don’t pretend to see or hear it. Instead say, ‘I don’t. I don’t see them.</p> <p>But I understand that you do.</p> <p>Is there anything I can do to reduce your fear?’”—</p> <p>and get to a point where you can at least bring a temporary solution.</p> <p>“I just want to help you.”</p> <p>Trust is key.</p>	<p>2016, p. 17).</p> <p>Or, you did this.</p> <p>Now, I need to take care of it.</p> <p>Black, White, Hispanic— it doesn’t really matter.</p> <p>They tell you from Day 1, “It doesn’t matter who you’re dealing with.</p> <p>A human’s a human.</p> <p>You’re gonna treat ‘em as such.”</p> <p>You have people set in their ways.</p> <p>Regardless of how you approach them, you’re not gonna change their mind on their view of you.</p>
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The distinction between intent and impact laced the training, and the trainers encouraged officers to think about the impact of their words, apologizing and correcting it as needed. This requires a sincere presence on the part of the officers to notice their words and a vulnerability to acknowledge ineffective moments. In a hyper-masculine environment where alphas reign and there is a posturing of power daily in interactions, such reflection seems challenging—especially without the spaces and means to support it on the job:

Interviewer: Do you find that same self-reflection from the scenarios occurs on job calls?

Josh: Hmm, I don't know if there's necessarily the opportunity to do that a lot of times... I think job calls are more... more goal-oriented, right. You gotta get to a certain place, and so we can, we can kinda debrief about it later, whether it's self-reflection or some sort of group reflection. Um, but it's all—to me—it's all mission-based. You have a call. There's a specific goal, and so there's not really time or the necessity to sit here and say, "Okay, well, why did I do that," or really even think about it at all... A theme lately has been, like, police-work is all outcome-based, so you can self-reflect post-situation and sort of analyze and debrief the outcome as opposed to, maybe, what you're doing in that moment, if that makes sense.

Officers' description of reflection as "rare" influences their capacities to communicate effectively with people on calls, particularly if communication skills are not their personal strength. Communication shapes calls, as its efficacy can de-escalate situations and lead to solution-oriented outcomes rather than punishment. Choices in communication can also lead from discretion surrounding the danger of the situation or propel subsequent decisions. Thus, the CIT skillsets around communication correspond to situation discretion and force.

CIT Skillsets Beyond the Training

Discretion

Discretion—according to the Merriam-Webster’s dictionary, the “power of free decision or latitude of choice within certain legal bounds” (2018)—threads throughout observations of the training and the interviews. At times, people state it explicitly: “I am a believer in officer discretion” or officers “may use reasonable methods of force; [it is] very discretionary.” Other times, officers talk about acting according to their “opinion on the scene.” Every day, momentary decisions influence the course of actions, as evidenced in the story that follows:

My very last call on Sunday—awesome CIT call. I get a call that this woman is too scared to call the police. Her neighbor calls for her. Neighbor says, uh, “This woman says that some guy drop-kicked her cat and then shot it with a BB gun.” Like, that’s weird. She doesn’t even want to call in herself.

So, this is probably going to be nothing.

So, I go up to the apartment. The neighbor that called in is outside, and the girl who this is happening to is sitting outside of her apartment. Next to her is like a 10-inch hunting knife and a baseball bat. And I’m there alone because I’m thinking this is a report call. Um, so I get her away from those things. She takes me in her apartment. And, uh, I can immediately see three cats that are perfectly fine. They’re running around. They’re try—they’re running away from her.

Interviewer: Do you notice a difference in how you interact with women versus men?

James: Hmm, that's a good question. There probably is a difference, but I don't think I notice it. I I would probably have to, like, watch my body cam footage to realize, especially with, like, mentally ill men versus women. For example, that call I was telling you about on Sunday, that knife and baseball bat? Had that been a guy, I might've reacted differently.

And she just starts... going off on how, um, this guy is following her, and he's living in her apartment when she's not there, in the walls, in the floor, and he's putting sonic devices in the floors and the walls. And in her phones. She has to keep breaking and buying new ones. Um, the apartment's filthy. And while I'm there, she starts tearing her mattress apart to try and show me wh-where this guy hides when she's not there.

She had all kinds of stuff in the apartment, too, that she.... like, I kept trying to keep her away from, but she just had so much everywhere. There was scissors she grabbed at one point, like, scissors. Not, like, threatening me, but not even realizing that, like, don't do that when a cop's around. Scissors and bear mace and brass knuckles, um [laughs].

Interviewer: Because...?

James: I I don't... I mean, some kind of subconscious something that tells me men are more dangerous, maybe. I don't know. It could have happened. I don't, I mean, there's no way of proving... That's a total hypothetical. [sigh] And not purposefully, I can tell

ya that. There's not a difference in how I treat people, um. But then again, I... yea. [pause] I've also never been in a fight with a woman. Never had a woman attack me. Um, so that probably plays into it a little bit. You're expecting to get hit a little bit more when it's a guy. Um, you're not sensing danger or expecting danger so much when it's a woman. Maybe that is part of it.

So I I was trying to not play into her delusions by telling her, "Yea, this guy's following ya. We need to get ya some help." Um, so I was trying to just get her to give me the full story on what's going on without, um, you know, telling her, "Yea, this is true." I was trying to be empathetic and listen to what she had to say... er, I'm really just gathering information for an M-1, real—I mean, as soon as I walked in there, I realized this is... I I saw this huge pool of stuff on the ground I thought was blood. It turned out to be tomato sauce, dried. But, that had me more concerned than anything else. ...It wasn't until we were leaving that she was like, "Oh, don't worry about that. That's tomato sauce."

She was also, like, frighteningly skinny. She said she hadn't eaten in a couple days, and she had lost 70 pounds this year. ...She was already causing problems. Like, she showed up to this neighbor's door with the knife and the baseball bat in her hand. That's a problem. She had already bear maced herself in her own apartment. Um, she almost got shot trying to tape a neighbor's door closed, like, from the outside she was trying to duct tape it. Um, so it was going to

end up being a criminal problem in some way, that she was going to be a victim or a suspect of something.

So, hopefully we can nip that one in the bud. Um, but that that was a really good call where I I was use—trying to use my CIT skills. And, I was there alone, so there was nobody there to help me. Um. And I think it went pretty well; she was pretty calm. Um, I think she trusted me by the end. We ended up getting her on an M-1, and I was able to talk her in the ambulance no problem.

The officer remained calm and utilized CIT skills to de-escalate the woman on the call and get her treatment. Clear risks existed on the call—bear mace, a bat, scissors, a knife—yet he used no force. And he didn't need to use any force. The woman posed no threat to the officer, despite her careless posing with the scissors. Other cases, though, mental health related or not, demonstrate that officer threat perception can dictate force. In the unarmed police killing of 22-year old Stephon Clark in his grandparents' backyard, the police department statement said:

Prior to the shooting, the involved officers saw the suspect facing them, advance forward with his arms extended, and holding an object in his hands. At the time of the shooting, the officers believed the suspect was pointing a firearm at them. After an exhaustive search, scene investigators did not locate any firearms. The only item found near the suspect was a cell phone. (Wamsley, 2018)

It is the perceptive set that reads people differently. CIT trains skillsets that could mitigate such tragic and targeted—even if unintended—actions, but discretion underlies whether or not to engage the skillset. And, the skillset privileges white normative behaviors and, perhaps, biased perception to guide its operation—as well as enforces

laws designed to breed inequity. Thus, the nexus of race, discretion, law, and skillset feed or starve physical force.

Force

Use of Force Policy⁵

The City's Police Department acknowledges the worth of all human life and commits to respecting human rights and the dignity of each person, and right in the Constitution to avoid excessive force by a police officer. (CPD, 2017, p. 75)

It's inevitable

that force is going to be used.

Aligned with these principles, officers shall use a level of force necessary and reasonable in the situation... The level of force used must be determined by a reasonable officer on the scene, not through the perfect vision of reflection... Officers should use a degree of force within an array of "objectively reasonable" options. Officers should utilize previous experience, training, their assessment of the circumstances to select a fitting degree of force to use. (CPD, 2017, p. 75)

What does "objectively reasonable" mean?

"Whiteness is dynamic, relational, and operating at all times and on myriad levels. These processes and practices include basic rights, values, beliefs, perspectives and experiences purported to be commonly shared by all but which are actually only

⁵ I have reworded the policy to protect the confidentiality of the police department.

consistently afforded to white people”
(DiAngelo, 2011, p. 56).

It happens.

People don't want their liberties
and their freedoms
and all those things

taken away.

Anytime we stop someone, we are taking away their control. We don't want to bind people into their own stupidity, like if they say they'll kick your ass... Allow people to save face where they don't have to feel stupid. If not, we lose because we look like assholes.

We have more cameras now.

You're gonna get people—
they have to go to jail,
and they don't want to go to jail.

Interviewer: Has CIT impacted the relationship between police officers and the community?

Lynn: Yea, definitely. You know, I... just seeing family members if not the individuals we have to encounter and put them in mental health holds or refer to different resources and support services,

things like that. Um, they're just, they're not embarrassed, they don't feel like they're being discounted.

Some of 'em are gonna be habitual offenders.

Nobody wants to go
to the root cause
of what may be behind all this stuff.

They see a little bit of a video—

“Well, that's an ass-whooping
that didn't have to happen.”

Josh: Yes, race and things of that nature should not influence the level of force at all. However, you know, somebody built like me is gonna require a different level of force than, yea... generally speaking, a lady or a woman or an elderly person, male or female, or a teenager that's, you know, oppositionally defiant. So yea, I think you do have to be aware of what level of force is necessary. Anybody that uses race to judge that is pretty, pretty foolish.

Interviewer: In some of those shootings, they've said, you know, it's like a 15-year-old, Black male, and they're like, “Oh, I thought he was, like, an adult.”

Josh: Yea.

Interviewer: If you don't have experience with a community, you're not as able to perceive and judge characteristics, like you could, like you would...

Josh: I agree [thumps], um, Tara, I agree.

Interviewer: So those are some of those things that, unintended, perhaps, but small things that—

Josh: Yea, have have big outcomes, right?

What led up to it—

all the background—

Nobody ever wants to talk about where [crime] exists and why.

In 1860, Mississippi senator Jefferson Davis said, “This Government was not founded nobody knows.

Nobody wants to discuss.

Everybody wants to talk about who it looks like you're contacting there.

by negroes nor for negroes,'

but 'by white men for white men...

Well, that's not my fault. That's a societal thing, for whatever reason. I don't know, but.

inequality of the white and black races [was] stamped from the beginning” (Kendi, 2016, p. 3).

Police don’t wanna fight—
I mean, you have to
hire from the human race—
it’s inevitable that you’re
gonna have people

Individual attitudes and practices become
“so fixed as to become institutional”
(Dewey, 1938, p. 29):

if those practices are condoned—or acquitted—they
become accepted.

that are gonna give
a black eye.

“Groups tend to be more immoral than
individuals” (King, 1963, p. 838).

You see a news snippet—

I mean, police don’t really,
they don’t really initiate
a lot of stuff.

They react and respond to things.

Right. I mean, yea. I would argue a lot of that is perception.

I don't know

what the answer is

as far as what change should be.

It should start with a discussion of

personal responsibility

“If Black people behaved admirably,... they would be undermining justifications for slavery [brutality] and proving that notions of their inferiority were wrong. ...Uplift suasion [:]... the idea that White people could be persuaded away from their racist ideas if they see Black people improving their behavior” (Kendi, 2016, p. 124).

Direct from the handbook—

There are two methods of gaining compliance:

Power

physics

force

and

Influence

psychology

magic. (CPD, 2017)

Comply

or

Consequence:

*It's one of those things
where you give people
dignity and respect
upfront,
and then
they either can accept that—
or then they'll be treated accordingly
if they choose to go the other way.
Comply
or eat a consequence
and then comply
...is there really a choice?*

because,
oftentimes,
the root cause
of the confrontation is
somebody committing a crime.

“...There are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws... Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws”
(King, 1963, p. 840).

The response...

Maybe it's excessive.

If the police department was completely ineffective when it comes to force, then there's there's no incentive to not, to not, you know, do whatever... And nobody wants to live in that society, so.

Maybe it's not.

Does it look good?

No.

Your job is to take 'em into custody.

Oftentimes,

that requires a level of force that

looks ugly—

it's not meant to be pretty.

You didn't die. I didn't die. Everybody's okay, so I think the kinder, gentler, like, "Sir please, sir please, sir please, sir please" until you get punched in the face is not well-accepted amongst the [officers] who have been doing it for a long time. There's this tried-and-true method of policing, as far as acting goes, that's been there forever. It's just a matter of how you talk about it and how you tailor it a little bit to be more accepted by society.

Oftentimes,
it's going to be
a life or death struggle.

People think they understand this stuff—

the dentist probably has a better idea of
what's going on with my tooth than I do—
maybe people don't have enough information
to make a quality judgment.
It becomes a rash judgment.

You flash something across the TV screen—

this is important to the nation.
That's a lot of power.

Who is qualified to decide
what is reasonable?
Certainly not criminals—
they can't think—
stuck in their body—
in action—
disassociated from their
Dr. Spock, rational mind—
Who would do such a thing?

When you start talking
about race,
then people,
they'll all,
they include,
say,
racism.

There's never a nexus that's shown—
or very rarely a nexus that's shown.

“Young Black males were *twenty-one times* more likely to be killed by police than their White counterparts between 2010 and 2012, according to federal statistics” (Kendi, 2016, p. 1; see also Alexander, 2012; Browne, 2015; Coulthard, 2014; Fanon, 1963/2004 & 1952/2008; McKittrick, 2006; Silva, 2001; Weheliye, 2014; Westcott, 2015; Wun, 2015).

It's not like an officer is beating somebody,
dropping N-bombs on that person
or something like that.

“Personally-mediated racism is defined as prejudice or discrimination... This is what most people think of when they hear the word ‘racism’” (Jones, 2000, p. 8-9).

But,
automatically,
it goes to racism or race.

“Institutional racism is defined as the differential access to the goods, service, and opportunities by race. [It] is normative, sometimes legalized... codified in our institutions of custom, practice, and law, so there need not be an identifiable perpetrator” (Jones, 2000, p. 8).

When people commit a crime,

“An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is *difference* made legal” (King, 1963, p. 840).

it’s not the officer’s determination

“National surveys have established that Blacks are no more likely to use illicit drugs than are Whites... With the passage of drug laws in the 1980s, upwards of 90% of juvenile drug arrests have involved Blacks” (Cross, 2003, p. 79).

what race that person is.

“Suggesting that a white person’s viewpoint comes from a racialized frame of reference [is a] challenge to objectivity” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 57).

If you work in a primarily
Black neighborhood,
or a primarily Hispanic neighborhood,
and you see a Mercedes coming through—
they’re either getting hookers
or they’re getting dope.

I mean,
that’s it.

You see a white guy comin’ through,
you know,
that’s what they’re doing.

“That car does not belong in my neighborhood.”

I don't live in the City at all. Um, so my connection to the City is pretty much work.

Einat says, “The feeling of safety when it’s your home is very different than how it is perceived” (qtd. in Stoudt et al., 2015, p. 4).

The racial profiling part...

“There was a general sense of feeling profiled for who we are or where we live and wanting the police to respect our community as more than just an alleged ‘high crime’ neighborhood” (Stoudt et al., 2015, p. 9).

does it happen?

I don’t doubt that it does.

Whether people want to admit it or acknowledge it or not, sometimes you judge a book by it’s cover. And that’s just this world. Like, it’s not pro—hm, it’s not profiling in this negative connotation sense. Like, you look at a dude with a shaved head, an L.A. tattooed on the back of his forehead, and a crown, and a 13, and, you know, devils, and and all these different symbolic tattoos. He didn't just get ‘em

*because he works, you know, on Wall Street. Like, this guy
earned those tattoos for a reason.*

To stop somebody based
on race alone
is not a reason to stop ‘em.
What people’s perceptual set is
and where they’ve grown up
and how they’ve been raised
to look at police.

Spinning, spinning
racism away with

“rationalizations and narratives”

(Smith, et al., 2008, p. 342)

—projections—through cultural racism, using

“culturally based arguments” such as Black

families raise children to hate police “to

explain the standing of minorities in society”

(Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 76).

If you’re a police that knows
your neighborhood,
a lot of times,
you know the people that have warrants

So, if you see this guy,
I'm gonna stop him.
He's got a warrant.
All of a sudden,
that narrative gets flipped—
“I was stopped for no reason.”
When you start talking
about race and policing,
I think the majority of it
goes to what's being told to kids
in those neighborhoods.

*We can't do anything right. Uhm, so to them, they they
either don't recognize what we do or they just take a blind
eye to it... There there's some people are that just grow up,
and again, some cultures within different communities, that
feel uh, as I was saying, the police can't do anything right
at all. ...Just gro-growing up within certain families, um,
people are influenced at a very young age.*

What happens
in a lot of these,
uh,
neighborhoods,

um,

where race comes into play—

“‘Whiteness’ refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed” (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 1).

is that’s how kids are raised

“I guess I would have to say primarily family structure.

Or, they’re raised in like a

gang household, or

in a single parent home

“Maybe it’s not [being] able to support the child’...

where they become gang bangers—

because it avoids mentioning the institutional effects of discrimination and the well-documented impact that discrimination has” (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 89).

but there’s not white gangs

necessarily,

um,

that are prominent,
other than the ones coming out of prison.
The easiest way to say it is...
You, as a police,
the only thing you can do
is go into
these neighborhoods

“While discourses about what makes a space good are tacitly understood as racially coded, this coding is explicitly denied by whites” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 59).

and try and communicate with people.

I'd say about 2/3rds of the call load requires at least a small portion of CIT... Prior to CIT, my communication skills with mentally ill people were not there. I ended up escalating things more than I de-escalated them.

It becomes a battle of wills—
what they're taught and raised as kids

“White ignorance” (p. 15): the ways white individuals and the white power structure reinforce the “white delusion of racial superiority” (p. 19) and a normative

centering of whiteness, rendering discrepant perspectives as unintelligible.

It's a matter of communication,
but it's fragile.

All you can do as the police
is try to communicate

Like if I tell a medical doctor, and I say, "Hey, shut your mouth." He understands that, and if I tell a gang member, "Shut your mouth," he's gonna be like, "What?! Da du da du da." That's why I say, "Shut the fuck up or I'm going to beat ya." Then this guy understands, because that's the environment that he has grown up in... His society is more violent a lot of times than what this guy understands... So, um, the neighborhood, the [pause] it's a different... I don't know how to explain it. It's like a different form of communication, um, because not everybody has the same experiences in life.

and undo some of those things,
build some of those bridges.

"Further, if we can't listen to or comprehend the perspectives of people of color, we

cannot bridge cross-racial divides”

(DiAngelo, 2011, p. 66).

You could go and start

laying blame all over the place:

police of the past

LBJ and the Great Society

fathering 5 or 6 kids from...

an increase in narcotics

a lack of businesses coming in

—for whatever reason

Avoidance of racial or institutional explanations

centralizes whiteness as natural and meritocratic.

The confrontation between police and,

like,

minority,

um,

neighborhoods

The division between police and community

reflects the tendency of power structures “to

live in monologue rather than dialogue”

(King, 1964, p. 838).

is you're kind of
the face of the government—
You're holding them responsible
for a lot of those things.

“Damage and loss of personal responsibility are seen as ‘properties’ of Black people, and support for such perceptions is considered factual (supported by research), natural, and commonsensical... if internalized by the police, everyday interactions with Black males are transformed into deadly encounters” (Cross, 2016, p. 4).

So that micro thing of what
you do—
look at the riot in Watts that
started from a traffic stop
but, it's not because of a traffic stop
It's a larger thing.

“I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects

and does not grapple with the underlying
cause” (King, 1963, p. 836).

We’re short-staffed,
and so it continues,
you know,
that progression downward
in certain places.

You kinda go back to like a
Martin Luther King kinda thing:

“Few members of the oppressor race can
understand the deep groans and passionate
yearnings of the oppressed race” (King,
1963, p. 845).

don’t worry about the color of the skin;
it’s the content of the character that
should be your focus.

Flip-flop,
personal and structural
trying to defend
colorblindness
with a sanitized version
of MLK

If you're responsible for protecting that particular neighborhood, you better know what's goin' on in that neighborhood

Purpose of Police V: Protector

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
<p>To protect life and property</p> <p>I mean,</p> <p>we get into all kinds of crazy, dumb things where you're serving public interest groups, which slows down productivity and sometimes doesn't allow us to do our main function.</p> <p>And that stuff gets frustrating.</p> <p>but the role of police is just to keep bad guys out of other people's business.</p> <p>It's evolved a ton—</p> <p>I think that it's gotten [pause] off-track a little bit.</p> <p>People want safety.</p>	<p>“The origins of property rights in the United States are rooted in racial domination” (Harris, 1995, p. 277).</p> <p>What does it mean to protect property, when property is racially rooted in land grant policies and red lines across property maps?</p> <p>In gentrification, and development that pushes people out.</p> <p>Bad guys.</p> <p>Is that who is pushed out of neighborhoods pulled by the pulse of money.</p> <p>Bad guys.</p>

<p>They want security. But they don't wanna see how it's done— it's not always the prettiest thing in the world. They say, 'Police are confrontational. Police are blah blah blah.' Nobody calls police when they're having a great day. The police react to everything. They react.</p>	<p>These words are weighted by criminalization by race (Cross, 2003). They don't want to see how what they've done impacts communities: they— the police, the gentrifiers, the schools that narrow instruction to standards and brains— ignore the bodies affected. How matters.</p>
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How can police officers use the CIT skillset to manage and understand situations so they can react most effectively? In crisis, emotions surge, and, commonly, emotions emerging in community officer interactions involve degrees of anger:

Jess: "What the difference between anger and rage? This is important.

What is the goal of rage?"

Class: "Destruction."

Jess: "Rage has elevated and triggered the aggression center in the brain; there is a need to take it out on someone. Anger generally will de-escalate on own. Use active listening. Let them vent, but if they got hotter, you want to stop

and derail them. Your intervention should switch between hot thoughts, to get information, and cold thoughts from their background that make them calm.

Jess: “You have to assess verbalizations, and there are levels: normal, negative, abusive—these are general, like ‘y’all suck.’ Then there’s derogatory, with personal attacks and target selection. What are they doing psychologically? When they name call, they are trying to tear you down before an act of violence occurs to make someone less before do violence. Finally, they make a threat.

“Think about yourselves before you go hands-on with someone. What are you saying to yourself? You are not saying nice things. You are priming yourself to engage in an act of violence toward someone else. Priming has to happen. It is more natural for some people than others. If there is dehumanization and you’re a thing to them, the likelihood of violence is high.”

Dehumanization primes violence—and it can be subtle and easily spun away. Consider the police killing of Philando Castile. Audio from Officer Yanez before the shooting cites Castile’s “wide set nose” as the reason for him looking like someone involved in a robbery (Craven, 2016). A wideset nose is an evolutionary trait associated with living in hot climates (Welch, 2017), and Kendi (2016) elucidates Aristotle’s climate theory from the 300s BCE as a perpetuator of racist ideas and justification for Greek slaveholding: “extreme hot or cold climates produced intellectually, physically, and morally inferior people who were ugly and lacked the capacity for freedom and self-government” (p. 17). Noting a person’s wide set nose seems to be an innocuous and miniscule marker, but long-standing racial mentalities that emerged to legitimize racial

hierarchy create impetus to mark Philando Castile as criminal based on a singular characteristic. If he were white, it is unlikely that a police officer would say they stopped someone for having blue eyes.

Thus, dehumanization occurs on both sides of police and community interactions, mediated by the power and control the officers' hold: comply or consequence. If community members accept the police control, they legitimize police and their laws, including those that are unjust, that target communities of color with disequilibrium. Kendi (2016) describes the conundrum African people experienced as slaves, which connects to how people of color in particular respond to police control:

No matter what African people did, they were barbaric beasts or brutalized like beasts. If they did not clamor for freedom, then their obedience showed they were naturally beasts of burden. If they nonviolently resisted enslavement, they were brutalized. (p. 70)

Comply or consequence assumes the justice, neutrality, and objectivity of laws, universally applied across race, class, and location—a reality that is simply not the case. What are the ramifications of feigning neutrality in a value-laden system?

On Police Brutality

While not directly connected to CIT, the officers describe “the heavy push of CIT” as a “response to the times” and a “lifeline” of police departments to temper societal criticisms of police brutality. Across interviews, police described societal criticisms of police brutality as something “sometimes on point,” “extremely unfair,” something an individual “bad apple” did, and as “nonsense.” In one particularly compelling interview, the officer’s words pulling across the jazz tune in the background, the intensity of his feelings evident in his face specked red:

Let's respond to just the phrase police brutality. That is a narrative driven mainly by activists, or those who are sympathetic to the activism, believing that that's actually true. The media picks it up and promotes it, and it's almost that, um, phenomenon that if you say something enough and keep repeating yourself enough, it becomes true. And that's, that's what's happened. Um, so police brutality, let me just tell ya here and now, doesn't exist... Were there a few bad ones? Yea. I'm gonna tell you right now, we on the inside even cringe, like, "Ugh, what is that officer doing?" ...But they wanna lump 'em together to promote that product... we don't speak of it in the same terms as, um, as others... Do we have some officers who are too aggressive? Yea. But are they just out there brutalizing people? Absolutely not. Now, if we have an officer who makes a bad choice, a poor decision and is involved in a shooting, he should've never been involved in, I guarantee he will be held accountable. But that's not police brutality, because the other part to that phrase implies it's an epidemic. It implies it's a pattern. That there's this—and that's simply not the case... Fortunately, the courts recognize that. The judges, the attorneys, which is why people are incensed, just incensed, "Why aren't more officers charged, or more..." Because the rule of law is blind.

Officers pull incidents onto individual officers rather than grappling with the relationship between society and police, a single line sloped toward whiteness, thus situating blame on individual officers or on the communities that receive the brutality. As Kendi (2016) discussed, resistance, then, constitutes grounds for brutality; nonresistance is consent. Challenging the individualism of officers by suggesting that their “group membership [to

the police] is significant... induces racial stress and white fragility” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 57). Hence, the pervasive discursive move to dislocate brutality onto individuals.

Blaming individual officers for “bad” incidents situates the majority of officers as good; however, the societal factors of white supremacy, patriarchy, heteronormativity, and ableism—among others—breathe into officers, as into all living within the milieu. Coupled with an institution that decides the enforcement of laws and freedom distorts individual good, providing the mortar that holds power and hegemony, differentially displaced on bodies. Characterizing laws as neutral and blind serves to uphold meritocratic notions of success without acknowledging the ways laws bolster “legalized discrimination” (Alexander, 2012, p. 1)—in health care, education, criminal justice, housing, voting, police protection (see also Au, 2013; Bacha et al., 2008; Barnum, 2016; Brown et al., 2017; Browne, 2015; Chakravartty & Silva, 2012; Conquergood, 2013; Coulthard, 2014; Fanon, 1963/2004; Gamal, 2016; Gay, 2000; Gillborn, 2005 & 2014; Harris, 1995; hooks, 1994; Kendi, 2016; Khalifa & Briscoe, 2015; King, 1963; Leonardo & Porter, 2010; Martin, 2007; McKittrick, 2014; Stovall, 2016).

Despite the extensive evidence of the intersection between race and differential outcomes, including by the police. Lopez (2017) depicted the disproportionality of policing: Black people make up 13% of the U.S. population, but 31% of all people killed by police, and 39% of all people killed by police when not attacking. While white people comprise the largest number of police killings, this ignores the fact that Black people are over-represented in police killings of all kinds compared to the population. In killings of

unarmed individuals, about 35% are white and over 60% are people of color (Lopez, 2017).

One officer equated the reaction to police killings as lawyers and communities “playing the lottery... you end up getting hurt or if you end up dying, *you* might not get the money, but your family might get the money. You know, it's all about the money.” Distorting police brutality through a capitalistic frame renders human bodies as commodities, disposable and ancillary to money, disregarding the humanity of the person killed and the human relationships within community. Such a callous statement of disregard likely comes from positioning the police action as good, reasonable, and necessary and the person killed as criminal or deserving of death. The officer continued to discuss the need for community accountability and repercussions for actions, further justifying the police reaction—even if a killing—and further fracturing the relationship with communities.

Purpose of Police VII: Ambivalence and Antagonism

<i>The Purpose of Police Is...</i>	<i>Talk-Back</i>
I don't know—	Ambivalence.
That's a heavy question.	A push-pull
I think, uh, the role of police is...	in perception
everything.	Everything.
It's antagonistic.	“I am both
It's a protector.	good
People look at firemen	and evil;

<p>as the heroes—</p> <p>they’ll come in and destroy your house,</p> <p>but they save you, right?</p> <p>The people I deal with</p> <p>are having their worst day</p> <p>ever—</p> <p>and I’m there to make it worse.</p> <p>Like, typically.</p> <p>A better question that answers the</p> <p>question is,</p> <p>‘What would it look like</p> <p>without police?’</p> <p>And, I think—</p> <p>every time I ask, like,</p> <p>‘What am I really doing</p> <p>with this job?’—</p> <p>I think about what it would look like</p> <p>without the people that do the job...</p> <p>Chaos.</p> <p>Chaos.</p> <p>Utter chaos.</p> <p>If you really think that you could function</p>	<p>good and evil</p> <p>are the two parts</p> <p>of the thing</p> <p>that is me” (Newton, 2002, p. 182).</p> <p>Resentment,</p> <p>perhaps,</p> <p>that police are often</p> <p>working both ends.</p> <p>Instead,</p> <p>answering through</p> <p>negation</p> <p>to comes to terms</p> <p>with what the job</p> <p>means.</p> <p>What would the world</p> <p>look like</p> <p>without police?</p> <p>Chaos, perhaps,</p> <p>without altering</p> <p>the logic—</p> <p>the terms—</p> <p>underneath</p>
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<p>in a world <i>without</i> police for 24 hours— it would be chaos.</p> <p>This world is full of predators, and I deal with them every day.</p> <p>If we didn't have— and I hate it— but if you didn't have that thin blue line between that, it would be chaos.</p> <p>We have a hard enough time controlling the population of people that make a living off preying off other people.</p> <p>If you weren't able to control it at all, it would be the <i>Walking Dead</i>... just the survival of the fittest.</p>	<p>why the police exist.</p> <p>Externalization of good and evil when it comes to the community—bad— and the police—good.</p> <p>Contradictions weight into bodies to determine who is controller and who is controlled, with the fittest over-representing white monied men.</p>
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Summary

The data presentation intended to demonstrate the myriad strands and nuances present in the CIT training and the societal dynamics feeding into and from it. The section started by illuminating the story behind the training, including the passionate people involved in creating and implementing the training as well as the intended

skillsets. The stories and excerpts in the sections epitomize contours of the training that I experienced, observed, and annotated in the interview transcripts, building from the local of the training to societal connections. My use of juxtaposition between various police officers as well as literature broke a linear rational narrative, instead interrogating the embedded ideologies within each of us that structure institutions and appear neutral and objective—as “prototypical whiteness” (Browne, 2015). The normative centering of whiteness enables discretionary decisions that over-represent white behaviors as natural and people of color as criminal, dangerous, risky. The discursive, discretionary, and active components of police work that exists in constant contact with communities are often nearly indistinct, moments that, singularly, hold little weight. However, when accumulated and situated historically, the micro acts parallel and amplify the societal context of white supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism, perpetuating them as unmarked and objective. In the final chapter, I expound upon the intersections between CIT and society, moving from the concrete features of the training itself and what can be learned from it to a structural view. I move from the description and interpretation of the data presentation to the evaluation and thematics I distilled from the training.

Chapter Five: Evaluation, Thematics, and Kinetic Lessons

Introduction to the Section

In the final chapter, I move from a concrete evaluation of the training, including the alignment of the instructional arc, the educative features of the training, and the way that curricular elements emerge in the training. I then move into the thematics significant to the data, augmenting discussions around the over-representation of white men, contradiction, consent as control, and discretion to situate CIT within society. Additionally, I discuss the significance of the training for various stakeholders. Finally, I contemplate ideas to move forward, both as reform and as revolution, concluding with implications and suggestions for future research.

Evaluation

Aligned Learning

The instructional arc of intended, operational, and received curriculum seemed smooth, with few perceptible divots. The training intended to teach the skillsets of verbal de-escalation and identification of mental illness through cycles of paired speakers and including officer experience and story-telling to illustrate the practical elements of the training. The training followed the schedule outlined in the Training Handbook verbatim, including all the listed components from the schedule in the listed order. It attended to technical (Tyler, 2013) standards and skillsets, rather than a moral, developmental, or

critical lens: police officers were expected to learn and apply a skillset. It was evident that this training has been given numerous times because of the seamlessness of the components: all the guest speakers seemed to know their role as well as the officer trainers. When they presented content, they did not react when Lynn or other officers jumped in to provide additional information or a story; it seemed expected and consistent with what they had done in previous trainings.

The trainers all mentioned the importance of officer safety as central to any police tactics—and especially to CIT. Discussions of officer safety cycled throughout the entire training and include psychological, emotional, financial, and legal safety. Interjections on safety issues emerged around working with people having various disorders or illnesses. For example, people with autism tend to need a calm environment for de-escalation. Also, they seek out water because it is shiny, so if they go missing, officers should search bodies of water. Or people with Downs Syndrome can have positional asphyxiation if they get into a fight with an officer. Such considerations of safety include both the officer's safety in a situation as well as how to maintain a safe environment for the person contacted. However, within community safety resides a strong pull for legal safety: fighting someone with Downs and causing their death would have legal ramifications for an officer. Thus, even within altruistic, seemingly community-oriented lessons, officer safety dominates. Despite the self-concerned quality of policing, this is part of the explicit *and* complementary part of the training because the nature of the job requires attention to the various safety components explicitly, but it also emerges as the individual beliefs of officers from their experiences and embeds the training.

Additionally, the curriculum aligns in its intentions and operations around the scenarios. The scenarios exist as practice of the communication and identification components of the training, and they are reinforced by the introduction to the scenarios, the orientation of the scenarios as actual calls, and the coaching during the scenarios. The coaching bolsters the centering of officer safety, as the feedback often relates cycles back to safety, for example, by noting the officer's position in the scene. Coaching also focuses on compliance via rapport and problem solving. The ultimate objective of police contact surrounds obtaining compliance: compliance to de-escalate the situation, to put a person on an M-1 hold if deemed necessary, to take a person into custody, to problem solve, and to connect to resources, if applicable. The decisions requiring compliance stem from officers' judgment and not the expression of the person contacted, although officers attempt to figure out what a person is looking for or needing—"let's pair them with a resource"—when utilizing the CIT skillset.

Ultimately, the incorporation of CIT skillset can promote mutually beneficial effects, but it often privileges the officer and the law above the person. Therefore, there is space within CIT to promote positive outcomes while also perpetuating hegemonic relationships. In effect, compliance to police actions relates to consent, "the euphemized form of coercion" (Leonardo, 2010, p. 7), acts which allow the force of the state to be considered as legitimate. The more compliance—the "more accepted by society"—the more legitimate police actions appear, thus bolstering and upholding them by law.

Regarding the role of race, gender, and culture in the training, the course followed its aims, viewing race and gender as unrelated components to behavior and culture as

something that materializes when appropriate. Thus, the orientation of the training to these components aligned with its intents, never mentioning race as a factor of CIT, only mentioning gender as it connects to the prevalence of mental health issues: women are more likely to be borderline, and men are more likely to be narcissistic. Culture came up as resistance to mental health interventions and the openness in communities to treatment or discussion of mental illness. Thus, trainers intended these aspects of human identity to be aside from or subordinate to the primary lessons of the training, and they were.

Unmet Features

The fundamental discrepancy from intent to operation occurred around the presentation of content. The trainer mentioned developing the curriculum with various learning styles in mind: the training intended to include discussions, table talks, and a game for review. However, the delivery of the training focused on technical features of the curriculum via the modes. Instead of having an interactive feel, with officers discussing and applying their experiences to the information in meaningful ways, the class taught rote knowledge about mental illness and their effects. Even when discussing verbal strategies, the instructors taught the class what to do through description or their own storytelling; officers had little opportunity to practice or engage with the information in a more active way before the scenarios. This could easily be added.

The table talks intended to increase officer interactivity, but the questions and tasks required a direct application of content rather than more problem solving or content-rich understanding. For example, one morning, each table group looked at an incident that involved use of force where officers were criminally cleared. The officers

then discussed to determine the broad points that the judge used in the case to help inform their actions on the street. While this practice aligns with the thread of officer safety from the standpoint of legal safety around use of force and illuminates various features of laws and protocols useful for officer actions, the task does not require the problem solving of determining how CIT could apply to and mitigate the incident. Additionally, the incidents were all a brief synopsis of an event, devoid of context and nuance. Adding more information about the event with targeted questions to elicit critical thinking could achieve the technical aim of the activity while increasing interactivity and CIT skillset development of the officers.

The following day had officers present on safety issues connected with various populations taught about in the course applied to an experience. While the task asked officers to connect information to an experience, it involved a lot of regurgitation of information for instructors to see if the officers retained course content. The developmental aspect of the task could be enhanced by providing guiding questions or giving an example of a complex application of the task. The game, Copland, increased interactivity and competition between the officers, but the questions stemmed directly from what would be on the test, again serving a technical orientation to the content. The technical aspect could be enhanced by having scenarios or vignettes attached to content concepts to go beyond rote memorization to concept application.

Educative Features

Technical. The training's strong alignment to its intentions reflects the close connection between the primary trainer, who also developed the course, and the course

delivery. The intentions of the training—building skillsets around officer safety, identification of the technical features of mental illness and intellectual disabilities, and verbal de-escalation—cycled through each component of the course. The officers received these features as well, evinced in their recall of previous day’s content during the training, the strong performance on the post-test, the incorporation of verbal and identification skills during scenarios (“I want to talk to you with more respect, face-to-face. Can you set your gun down and push it away from you?”), and in interviews. One officer remarked, “It’s only been a week, but in that week, I’ve actually seen like an improvement of gaining compliance.” The officers I interviewed reflected the techniques and values the training espoused, including empathy and communication. They connected the course content to their practice with specific job calls, such as the call from the woman with the bear mace and baseball bat, noting that they were already applying the skillsets a week to three weeks after the training. Their ability to associate the course content directly to their work demonstrates the alignment between the instructional arc of the course. The technical orientation came forth as improved skillsets; the training met its goals.

Developmental. Additionally, the training fulfills components of a developmental curricular orientation, particularly the coaching during the scenarios. The scenarios allow officers space to grapple with the course skillsets in practice, receiving feedback and questions to enhance their practice and build their ideas of how to read and approach a situation. Considering the various perspectives of the officers observing the scenario, the clinical and officer coaches, and the target officer heightened the learning to augment the

perceptivity of the scene. The three officers I interviewed who recently completed the training reflected the power of the developmental curriculum present in the training in the way they applied the scenarios to their practice. Their mention of reflection on their body postures, word choices, and tone of voice demonstrate the training did exceed technical, despite the technical focus of the content delivery prior to the scenarios.

Moral. While the training fostered attention to the mental health of the officers and intended to contribute to the mental health of the communities—if possible—part of Noddings (2005) moral curricular orientation, the training fell short of promoting a moral curriculum by enhancing relationships with the community and promoting true care—though Lynn reflects these attributes in her examples and discussions. Other officers often depicted community considerations as subservient to their ultimate goals of compliance and meeting their needs to control the situation. For example, one officer described talking to prisoners about people they know and their neighborhood so he is better able to “gain trust” when interacting with others in the community: ““Oh, man! You know Bobo?” And you’re like, ‘Yea, I know Bobo.’ Well, no, I don’t know Bobo. I’ve never met him, but the guy that was arrested a week ago, he was saying, well, he runs around with Bobo.” In this way, the relationships with the community seem inauthentic and self-serving, under the guise of compliance and control rather than how to best support the community and the people in it.

Moreover, the training comes from a belief in the objectivity and neutrality of the law and took the police role within societal context as natural and without question. This lack of self-reflection on the role of police in society—instead spinning the source of

police actions onto societal problems—fails to take responsibility for the ways that police actions propel racist ideas, such as that certain neighborhoods are bad and deserving of extra surveillance. Such racial coding without explicit address of the racism that exists or the structural conditions that affect neighborhoods compounds the criminalization of communities of color as natural (Cross, 2003), furthering the structural conditions present in those areas. Communities United and several other community organizations (2017) created a pamphlet describing how criminalization destabilizes communities. They described it as a cycle where “concerns over high crime rates” cause an “increased police budget...and expanded role of police,” which boosts criminalization and incarceration in communities of color and impoverished communities. In turn, “worsening community conditions [lead] to increased levels of crime,” which again expands police and furthers the criminalization of the most impacted areas (p. 13). Having the power to choose which areas to enforce laws—and which laws to enforce—likewise perpetuates King’s (1963) conceptualization of unjust laws as unequally applied, in this case under the guise of objectivity. This is not moral.

Furthermore, the police officers I spoke to all twisted police brutality to individual instances of poor policing, “one bad ap—officer,” rather than acknowledging the unequal application of use of force on communities and instead blaming communities of color for their negative attitudes toward police. The criticism of the police by communities of color then further justifies their force, in a comply or consequence system. Thus, people who maintain a critical stance of police are likely more reticent to comply with the police and, therefore, the police blame the noncompliant person for the force used by the police, a

contradiction Kendi (2016) discussed. The ramifications compound to target and further divest from communities of color, under the guise of the neutrality of law and interpretation of behavior. Moreover, the construction police brutality as a “spectacular, violent event” (p. 383) connects to Angela Davis’ response to the bombing of the church in Birmingham in 1963, which she argued “burst out of the daily, sometimes even dull, routine of racist oppression” (qtd. in Kendi, 2016, p. 383). In other words, singular events or individuals emerge from the power structures of society, yes, but also of police and law. Shifting blame and failing to acknowledge how individual police uphold a system of oppression is not moral.

Critical. Numerous officers mention that the society impacts police, arguing that the criticisms police receive are a “societal problem.” For the most part, the discourse by police on the connection between police and society serves to spin responsibility away from police for actions deemed as brutality or cruelty, such as diverting homeless people from certain areas. An officer argued, “the big story line [in the media] is police treat minorities a certain way or or whatever, and it’s a police problem. But I would argue that it’s a societal problem... That’s not targeting people. That’s historical. That’s systemic.” In this discussion, he described the role of race in interactions with the police, positing that the police react to societal conditions that already exist.

While it is true that police react to the society that is, they also reflect and kinetically feed societal dynamics through their decisions on what to enforce, how, and where, a dynamic that exists even without considering the lack of neutrality of laws themselves. Thus, even when considering the role of society on police, the officers fail to

consider the power relationships present in their decisions and their complicity in upholding racist and oppressive societal structures, seemingly taken them as given and their job as natural within the existing structure. In training such as CIT, a critical stance would be challenging: it is difficult to see the impact of what we directly do. Additionally, CIT primarily fulfills a technical and developmental function where a criticality is an aside. Since the police automatically serves as a power, a force of the state apparatus, critically analyzing information would simultaneously de(con)struct the training. However, reflexive engagement in the training via an interrogation of the role of police in upholding societal dynamics, such as white normativity and ableism, would create a praxis in police that could enhance discretion, mitigating the potential for noxious effects. The pessimist in me, however, sees the potential for a more conscious police system simply assuaging the masses, allowing the maintenance of a permanent inequity, a la Fanon's articulation of the cyclical nature of colonial control, where the controllers give a bit to the discontented in exchange for maintenance of the system (1963/2004).

Therefore, though the training does not intend to discuss race explicitly, targeting the relationship between race and institutions, in this case, with the police, is critical to creating an equitable society. While the universal idea of human ought to work, rendering race an aside to the training, a universal human requires an equitable society without racism, white domination, ableism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. In an inequitable society, addressing the ways that interactions and institutions influence bodies differently ought to emerge predominantly.

Despite the need, there are many challenges to incorporating racial consciousness, including the likelihood of essentializing race or other identity categories and propelling stock or stereotypical remedies rather than embracing nuance. Replacing no racial discussions with ineffective racial discussions would do nothing to alter the ideologies of whiteness that need to be troubled for a society that embraces all as human.

Thematics

Throughout the rich data I collected and the data presented in Chapter 4, I perceived contours of meanings, patterns of significance within the lens of my primary research question: How does CIT Training evince or contest the hidden curriculum of violence, dehumanization, and whiteness surrounding police work? As I annotated my data for contours, pervasive patterns, and movements between micro and macro levels, I primarily thought about Wynter's (2003) charting of man as damned and saved (Man₁) and irrational and rational (Man₂), overlaying racial logics onto the dichotomy between damned/irrational as people of color and saved/rational and over-representing white men as universal. The primary racial logics I considered that uphold or extend Wynter's two conceptualizations of Man include the frames of colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), white fragility (DiAngelo, 2011), and inclusion (Silva, 2001). I also incorporate the Critical Race Theory tenet challenging the "dominant ideology" of police departments around "objectivity, meritocracy, colorblindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity" (Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004, p. 4). I probe how racial logics move to inform a dichotomy of good and bad, the universality of whiteness, discretion, and, ultimately, consent as control.

Dichotomy of Good and Bad

“Legitimate force” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 7) requires the consent of the public. For the police to exist and work as it does, the populace must agree, broadly, to what they do. Who, though, is they—who needs the police? And for what? Protection. Of? Life and property. Whose lives matter? Who owns property? A consistent dichotomy exists in the language used to describe various members of the community, coding neighborhoods by race without explicit mention of race: “good” areas mean white (DiAngelo, 2011). For example, one officer essentially described kids in the hood as automatically bad: “It is always kids in the hood that ask for [badge stickers]. It’s never the good kids.” And, on the other hand, officers often position themselves as good and their actions as neutral as necessary: “You know, it used to be, years ago, when you saw a cop wrestling around on the ground with a civilian, there was no question about who the bad guy was. Now people question that.” Neighborhoods are either described as “really nice” or “bad areas.” Officers use a “bad dude” “a bad individual” to describe various people contacted, or they talk about how their interaction with someone “depends on how criminal they are, and it depends on what kind of interaction they’ve had with the police, um, in the past.”

Additionally, police patrol areas to “divert criminals somewhere else.” Moving criminals away from certain areas—“where the streets are clean and smooth, without a pothole, without a stone”—to “bad” areas—a disreputable place inhabited by disreputable people” (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 4) creates “a world compartmentalized” (p. 15). Certain behaviors and types of people fit in certain areas, and these patterns are often racially coded. The diversion of criminals secures the façade of safety and comfort in

certain areas and leaves underlying racism unaltered, removed from view and easier to deny or deem natural to certain areas (Cross, 2003), a hallmark of cultural racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Altogether, the language of police constructs the community that police serve and protect as the good areas, the good people, the property owners—a colorblind construction that impacts communities of color immensely, especially when officers must choose either “a civil or criminal process... the most appropriate, in your opinion, on the scene. You can’t do both; it’s one or the other.”

To illustrate the power of community perception, when talking about the increasing homeless population in the City and how that influences mental health in the City and, consequently, CIT contacts, an officer describes the ordinance to keep people from “camping” in city parks or sidewalks as beneficial for everybody:

The reason [for the ordinance] is for the greater good for other people going there to shop, you know. Businesses owners have a vested interest not to have that. Society has vested interest... because you want to encourage development and growth right down town. And the park isn't just for homeless. It's for families to go there and picnic and play volleyball. That park is for everybody. But if they don't feel comfortable going there because of what else is being allowed to occur... so there are ordinances on the book to help, um, keep it safe and clean for everybody.

The ordinance is supposedly for “everybody,” but the people protected are those considered central to society: families, property owners, business owners, volleyball players, consumers—and, though it is implied, not stated, the officer positions the

homeless outside the purview of society and protection, an inconvenience to be hidden or criminalized. The police are symbiotic with something: the preservation and amplification of whiteness as acceptable and powerful.

The language of separating certain communities or types of people from society, positioning them as antagonistic to the society's good, creates an emotional distancing of those constructed as "bad" from the police. Creating physical and emotional distance, including "cultural, moral, social, and mechanical" distance "plays a vital part in overcoming the resistance to killing" (Grossman, 2009, p. 158). Particularly relevant to this discussion, the cultural distance of "racial and ethnic differences... permit[s] the killer to dehumanize the victim," and moral distance develops "the kind of intense belief in moral superiority" (p. 160). Therefore, positioning police as good and certain communities as bad constructs a moral field of difference that, when overlaid with historical and ideological components, allows for pointed dehumanization along racial lines—shrouded within laws and the greater good, but pernicious in effect. Conquergood (2013), likewise, theorized the process of distancing of first noticing difference, then constructing it as dirty, and, finally, depicting it as dangerous. Homelessness connotes dirtiness and, as such, morally inferior, which moves to harmful. Once harmful, trying to make a community "good" via control logically follows.

This is exactly how slavery initiated and perpetuated: the slave-owners and politicians justified their domination of Black people as slaves and inferior via the racist idea that the control benefitted Black people (Kendi, 2016). In fact, Edward Jarvis used 1840 Census data—which he later found to be erroneous—to publish in the *New England*

Journal of Medicine that “northern free Blacks were about ten times more likely to have been classified as insane than enslaved southern Blacks” (p. 180), thus constructing slavery as a positive control on Black people. Articulations of the positive control of whiteness on Black populations extends back into the very origins of slavery. As Wynter (2003) argued, the definitions of human that over-represented white men as superior and influenced the presence of slavery inscribed into laws, the shifting the laws and the logic around them to cement and justify continued domination, even beyond slavery, such as Jim Crow laws of “separate but equal,” phrenology, eugenics, and Darwinian survival of the fittest, the war on drugs, the school-to-prison pipeline. Dorsey and Chambers (2014) theorized that such reformations of racial thought into news forms represents a convergence-divergence-reclamation cycle that situates interests of communities of color as oppositional to white (supremacy) interests; the maintenance of white supremacy requires concessions to appease people of color at times, but ultimately the interests diverge and the white supremacist structure seeks constant repossession of its power.

Whiteness as Universal

Throughout the training and the interviews, officers and clinicians used language of universalism to describe policing and the skillsets in the training: “a human’s a human. You’re gonna treat ‘em as such.” When people say that we have to treat everyone as human beings—which we all are—the subtext is that “everyone is the same” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 59). DiAngelo explained universalism as particularly problematic in the context of racism because it “functions to deny the significance of race and the advantages of being white. Further, universalism assumes that whites and people of color have the same

realities, the same experiences in the same contexts” (p. 59). People’s realities diverge when it comes to race and... policing, education, health care, housing. Thus, believing CIT occurs “aside from” societal dynamics of race protects whiteness and white normativity under the guise of neutrality.

For example, officers promoted the idea that conditions exist aside from social positions when they would say, “Regardless of what my religion is or what my race is or what my sex is, I can still have autism” or “If someone has schizophrenia, White, Black, whatever, they have schizophrenia, right. And that kinda is what it is” or “At the most basic core, everybody has the same type of values.” Another officer mentioned, “Why would [race and gender] come up. I mean, I don’t see that as a behavioral health issue.” CIT purposely ascribes race and gender as unimportant to the skillsets, which, in a power-equal society, makes sense. However, in our power-laden society, where “*whiteness* and only *whiteness* signifies *universality* [emphasis in original]” (Silva, 2001, p. 447), identity matters: it connects with material impacts on life and livelihood.

The universality of whiteness established and solidified in the origins of the United States and the perpetuation of the slave trade (Kendi, 2016; Wynter, 2003) as well as enlightenment thought positioned rationality on people of European origin (Kendi, 2016). The lack of racial address aligns to societal tropes of the neutrality of whiteness and the over-representation of white men in law and normativity. DiAngelo (2011) described how objectivity pairs with “positioning white people outside of culture” as a “norm for humanity” and, thus, able to “represent all of human experience” (p. 59). Utilizing an “unracialized identity” by not recognizing or naming whiteness “functions as

a kind of blindness” that fails to consider the impact of whiteness on lives (p. 59).

Universality, then, directly enables police to operate as “good” and neglect to consider how race and other identity factors influence their actions and reactions—and influence the distinct experiences of people as mediated by identity and race.

To illustrate, Morénike Giwa Onaiwu (2017), a self-described Black Autistic woman, portrayed how universality around autism as a “white male-presenting” condition obscures its impact on people outside that narrow view:

According to popular opinion, autistic people didn’t/don’t look like me; autistic people didn’t/don’t sound like me. Autism = (white male-presenting) toddler wearing a Thomas the Train t-shirt; autism = (white male-presenting) quirky teen game; autism = (white male-presenting) geeky computer programmer; autism = (white male-presenting) adult rocking and staring off into space... a ready scapegoat for all of their caregiver’s life disappointments; autism = Temple Grandin, puzzle pieces, ABA therapy, and Autism Speaks. (Onaiwu, 2017, p. xv)

While it is true that conditions cut across race, gender, religion, and other identity features, depicting behaviors and conditions as universal buries the societal dynamics that emerge in experiences—the nurture side of conditions. The minimization of experience and the transcendence of facts (Conquergood, 2013) hold tremendous potential for material impact when allied with power and control. It creates symbolic violence when naming conditions as unracialized that can manifest as physical violence when aligned with police contact, as both mental illness and race intensify police contact.

Discretion

Out of the whole training and the interviews, the central recurring strand surrounded the role of discretion in employing CIT or other tactics. During the course, a trainer described decisions to use CIT and/or other tactics as a “judgment on our

continuum to gain compliance.” The continuum includes tools of verbal de-escalation, equipment considerations, time, distance, and various methods of force. Of course, policing requires constant decision-making of micro to macro magnitudes of impact, such as who to stop, how, what tactics to use, and when to alter tactics. Moreover, communication techniques mold tactical decisions, so the cultural contingency of communication and its interpretation are central to police work and can sway the discretion within interactions. Language connects to power and culture (Delpit, 1988).

Communication is fundamental to CIT, and some trainers demonstrated optimism about how often officers utilize CIT on calls, believing that they use it most of the time. One of the street officers reported using CIT all the time. However, other officers on the street described CIT as something that about 30% of officers embody, about 30% disregard, and the remaining 40% use when it makes the most sense. An officer reflected on his CIT usage:

I know how to use it, and I can really empathize with ‘em to get what I need, but won’t just, like, I won’t live, like CIT... It’s just my personality. That’s all it is. It’s just ‘cuz I’ll lose it like that, and I can’t; I’m done with it.

In this statement, the officer demonstrates an autonomy to choose what tactics to employ and the role of personal demeanor and preference to decide. Certainly, some officers possess stronger communication and empathy skills than others, but the implications for discretion are huge: Is the space for patience equal across types of people? Are there patterns to the patience? Most officers confessed their empathy to be higher with children or people they perceive as true victims, and this officer elaborated on a contentious

relationship with communities of color during interviews. Do some communities or individuals receive a different continuum of judgment than others?

During the course, the trainer stated, “If you know the law and boundaries and what is reasonable, you are going to be fine.” The Use of Force policy terms “the reasonableness inquiry” as “an objective one... in life of the facts and circumstances confronting them, without regard to their underlying intent or motivation” (CPD, 2017, p. 75). Positioning reasonableness as objective aligns with dominant ideologies of whiteness, where the claim of objectivity “camouflage the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in U.S. society” (Yosso et al., 2004, p. 4). In other words, the Use of Force policy, as it currently stands, perpetuates the false notion of objectivity that protects whiteness under the guise of neutral systems, ignoring the power connected to use of force decisions and spinning them as non-racialized. The assertion of objectivity follows DiAngelo’s (2011) conceptualization of white fragility, where “suggesting... a racialized frame of reference” (p. 57) induces stress. Viewing force decisions as objective and individual acts allows the police to distance itself from the operation of whiteness in society and “demand to be granted the benefit of the doubt” (p. 59), an extension of the good/bad dichotomy, discussed later in this chapter.

Officers have immense latitude—protected by the law—to choose a “reasonable” action. While the differences between decisions across racial group, gender, neighborhood, and other facts may be subtle and seemingly trivial, these decisions coalesce and manifest as profound material inequities. According to the law, shooting Philando Castille for possessing a gun with a license is reasonable, as is the death in

police custody of Freddie Gray, who had a knife in his pocket; only about 35% of police killings end in a conviction, with the rest acquitted or the charges dropped (Park, 2018). Beyond what officers describe as the “bad” shootings and cases, discretion progresses the historically-rooted racist idea of the criminalization of people of color (Kendi, 2016). Individual perceptions and micro moments of discretion, then, cohere to compose institutions, such as when police officers describe concentrating their attention on the known “bad areas.” Collectively, fixing attention on one area over another destabilizes communities (Communities United et al., 2017) and reinforces two distinct zones: one to protect and the other to protect from (Fanon, 1963/2004).

Compliance, Consent—Control?

Officers’ discretion decisions largely reflect the level compliance of the person contacted. Officers deem de-escalation as “ultimately...up to that person [in the community] on whether they’re going to or not.” Interactions between police officers and communities involve both parties, but the police possess more control in situations because of their weapons and state-backing. To place the onus for escalation on the behaviors of the person contacted removes the police officer’s agency and responsibility, guising their escalation or use of force as an objective, neutral, and natural reaction—and upholding whiteness. Compliance upholds the neutral centering of laws and procedures as universal and not racially or culturally constituted.

In the course and interviews, I noticed a pull between compliance and consent. The officers utilize the language of compliance often—comply or consequence, asking for little bits to gain compliance. Asking for compliance is the first step of hard-style

verbalizations, a verbal strategy that bridges between the low-level rapport and empathy tactics to force and arrest control techniques. In other words, when people do not comply, officers alter their words and actions until they receive compliance; otherwise, they escalate to degrees of force. Officers only used consent twice in interviews, once to illustrate asking for consent to search with reasonable suspicion and the other to interpret the purpose of police as abiding with the “consent” or the “acceptance of the populace.”

Consent underscores compliance: to comply, on some level, people ascribe to the existence of police and legitimize their power to act. Compliance, though, does not equate to consent. People can comply in an interaction as part of the game to avoid physical harm or more severe punishment while also dissenting police power and action. Compliance happens in moments, an acquiescence to power dynamics. Consent encompasses multiple moments and crosses communities. Therefore, consent to the police comes from its supporters—or at least its beneficiaries, over-determining white and/or propertied people who gain most from police presence. The police protect the interests of “good” (read: white) communities and property by diverting “criminals” and keeping public parks and consumer streets free from homeless campers.

A couple police officers discussed a notion of the “silent majority” that supports the police while the raucous few rabble-rouse to stir dissatisfaction and unrest with the police. King (1963) would describe this silent majority as comprised both of those who truly support the police—in King’s words, the “White Citizen’s Counciler or the Ku Klux Klanner” (p. 842)—and also the white moderate. King describes the white moderate as...

more devoted to “order” than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice... Shallow

understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. (p. 842)

Thus, the consent of the white moderate enables the conditions of society and the relationship between police and communities of color. The white moderate's complicit acceptance of the protection of white interests without justice for all safeguards policing as is and officers' perceptions of compliance.

Compliance, though, most acutely impacts communities of color—"comply or consequence"—as criminalization, arrest rates, and prison sentences weight people of color (Alexander, 2012; Cross, 2003). White consent maintains the state right to state-sanctioned violence: "silent majorities aren't unhappy about things, so they sit back, there there's nothing for them to to speak about because they're not unhappy." The minimal resistance of the few "squeaky wheels," though annoying for the police—part of what they frequently describe as "occupational bias or occupational prejudice" toward police—does not threaten their block of power, as "hegemony assumes resistance" (Leonardo, 2010, p. 8), as long as it remains small scale.

Compliance, then, resides in individual actions, allowing officers to operate within the consent of dominant society and evade the negative associations of control. Consent (by the white moderate) creates the conditions for compliance—and the legitimization of law, police, government as neutral and objective—and this results in control. While control regulates all who live within it, given the value-laden presence of police in communities, "bad areas," the homeless, gangs—all raced constructs—endure the brunt of policing and experience the most control. CIT affects the method of pursuing compliance, and, in a pessimistic view, serves to promote white moderate consent by

making policing look nicer and more reasonable. Hence, CIT props police control and makes state-sanctioned control more palatable to the silent majority.

Ideas to Move

Recommendations: Reform-minded

From the evaluation of the curricular features and the patterns within the training—and the dynamics feeding into and from the training—I have determined some concrete recommendations in line with a reform mentality. In other words, what could the training do to improve *within* the current system?

Recommendation 1: Better connect the course and the operational side of CIT. A prominent pattern that emerged in the training, largely unspoken, is the disconnect that exists between CIT training and the operation of the training in practice. Lynn said that officers “use CIT everyday... it seeps out.” And, she said, “I like to think that the majority of people are getting it... It’s a choice whether they use it or not. I like to think they’ll use it.” However, it is at officer discretion on when and how to use it. Such a positive view of police, of giving them the ever-present benefit of the doubt, could allow the micro-moments and decisions at each officer’s discretion to be spun as the appropriate action and reasonable. A positive view without monitoring allows justifications from the police and its supporters that officers are trained and took the appropriate action. This edge has enormous implications.

On the job, little feedback exists to promote CIT usage; it depends on the sergeant and the leadership in each district on how they hold officers accountable. One officer described conducting video studies in meetings about once a week to discuss various

issues that emerge in calls, and this is one way that CIT skillsets can be reinforced in practice. However, the video studies exist as an initiative of a leader in a district and not a requirement of the department. Therefore, consistent structures to review with body cam footage or debrief calls that occur, particularly when involving CIT and/or use of force, could encourage embodying the CIT skillset and curtailing the problematic aspects of discretion. Debriefing video examples of CIT during the training or on the job could provide ideas to “steal” from watching “somebody who’s really good do it”—and so they can see the skillsets in action with exemplar CIT officers.

Additionally, Lynn used to have bi-monthly meetings with CIT coordinator sergeants, who coordinated CIT services and monitored needs in the districts. When the department reorganized, they placed coordination of CIT under a civilian’s jurisdiction, so the meetings are no longer occurring. Re-instating meetings could make a major difference in creating consistency, monitoring districts, and addressing needs. Also, the paperwork requirements to track CIT calls came up in several interviews: officers were unsure of which paperwork to use and when. One noted that he had never completed CIT paperwork. More documentation of the use of CIT in practice could provide valuable information on its operation and its needs. Increasing communication between the course and the operation of CIT could bridge between the two, strengthening CIT’s impact on communities, perhaps moving CIT from a skillset to a demeanor or attitude in communities.

Moreover, CIT pushes police to utilize community resources, but how strong are the mental health resources and the partnership between police and mental health

resources? How could those resources and partnerships be built? Should police be tied or would they best serve the community as separate from the police? Does the police connection to mental health resources stigmatize mental health even more for communities of color?

Recommendation 2: Incorporating racial literacy. Race never came up within the current CIT training, and trainers positioned the behavioral psychology undergirding the training as universal. Race needs to be a component in the training because of the immense connection between race and mental illness (Brown et al., 2017; Westcott, 2015). Ashkenazy (2017) argued that “we bring race into the great conversation about autism because autistic people of color are oftentimes having a vastly different life experience in comparison to their white peers” (p. xxxii)—and their experiences with the police mediated both by autism and race, compounding the variables of contact (Gardiner, 2017). Within police contacts, minute differences in behaviors of people or the perspectives of officers can create vastly different responses in officer discretion. Therefore, race ought to be addressed explicitly in training, perhaps by bringing in people of color from the community who have behavioral or mental health conditions.

In 2019, CPD plans to introduce a Level 2 CIT course, intended to train field instructors to provide CIT mentoring and enhance the implementation of CIT. Within the advanced course, features include more complex situations and would prime officers for more select positions, like hostage negotiation and threat level assessment. Despite the refresher and the more nuanced orientation of Level 2, components of race and power remain absent. A Level 2 CIT course component around intercultural communication and

community interactions could be a powerful way to take leaders in CIT and build racial literacy that enhances relationships and communication in communities. CIT officers with critical lenses could lead and mentor officers and facilitate review of body cam footage in a way that considers power dynamics and communication. Such a strand exists outside the purview of the current Level 2 CIT plans; it would perhaps need to be a sub-training or connected training.

Recommendation 3: Incorporating the community. The partnership with NAMI provides personalized information of the embodiment of mental illnesses that builds humanization of the population and contests the epistemological violence of presenting information that centers clinicians over community (Fox & Fine, 2013). Because the course focuses on officer skillsets to facilitate officer work, albeit with the corollary of possible positive impact on the community, the officers' purposes transcend the community's needs (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Presently, the NAMI portion of the course comprises a single session on one day, and the rest of the class comes from the perspective of clinicians, officers, and community resources. An officer in the course mentioned:

I would've loved to sit there and talk to the guy that had bipolar, ... just to kinda get some reflection from someone that has these conditions that is maybe more stabilized and able to say, "These are my experiences with law enforcement. Here's what I felt worked. Here's what didn't work, and here's why."

A sentiment of curiosity about hearing from people who have mental illnesses came across in every interview I had with officers from the training. Such perspectives are not

only important to support officers' actions but also to humanize populations in the community and provide space for their viewpoints.

Options exist to incorporate a stronger community presence. First, guest speakers from NAMI could be threaded throughout the days to respond to specific modules in the course. This would require a heightened partnership between NAMI and the police to enhance the technical course content with nuanced personal experiences, something that could be challenging given the amount of content included in the course.

Perhaps more practically, the NAMI segment could be adjusted to provide opportunities for officers to speak with representatives from NAMI at table groups. This would require increasing the number of NAMI members attending the class. However, having concentrated groups would break down the common officer resistance to asking questions and speaking in front of a group as well as provide a more intentional space to nuance understandings. Injecting discussion between the officers and community members rather than positioning the time as a presentation would push officers to build a dialogue and practice relationship with this population that they so frequently contact. Furthermore, partnering with people of color with mental illnesses would provide much-needed information of the nuances of lived mental illness, breaking a colorblind mentality that minimizes experiences of people of color.

Finally, in the model sites of Houston and Seattle, the partnership between clinical resources, officers, and social workers provide teamwork to problem solve plans for people in the community. The City could improve its partnership with community resources to create a teamed model of problem solving, which would require expanded

resources and relationships with community offerings. Teamed models, however, focus on the treatment side, again coming from the perspective of clinicians, officers, and social workers and not the person receiving the treatment. While this partnership can build the officers' skillsets around identification of and possible interventions for various mental illnesses, determining appropriate interventions for communities without their perspectives or consent treats the population as subservient; their feelings, histories, and decisions matter less than the people who carry power and control. This is a power over rather than a dialogical (Conquergood, 2013)—mutually-beneficial, co-determined and relationship centered, intervention. However, pairing teamed-interventions with community-focused interventions could build skillsets and understandings from multiple sides.

Recommendation 4: Build leader investment—not CYA. Police leadership seems to vary in its commitment to CIT, beyond it serving as a mechanism to shift blame from the department to individual officers when problematic incidents arise. “That's nothing we taught. That's nothing they learned here, so I don't know what happened. We're not liable for that.” Shifting blame to individuals situates the negative dynamics between communities of color and/or with mental illness and the police as a personal problem rather than sets of dynamics institutionally rooted in history and law. It absolves the police department of taking accountability for the ways it aligns to societal conditions: patriarchy, white supremacy, heteronormativity, capitalism, and ableism. The police leadership must invest in interrogating its relationship to society, rather than blaming society for its problems. Not accounting for the interplay between police and

community—where police hold the power, making the exchange unequal—allows police to describe police brutality as “nonsense.”

Connected to the recommendation to build officers’ racial literacy, leaders ought to shift the tenor of CIT from a “check the box” mentality to an authentic relationship with communities. When leaders do not take accountability for the officers within the department by dismissing blame, they hamper the police from instituting meaningful changes that could impact communities materially and significantly. The police department, then, maintains whiteness by not acceding the racist impact of the intersection of history, society, police, law, and power. Within the current sociopolitical context, CIT holds a lot of promise to de-escalate situations and promote communication. By embodying a deep investment to CIT, beyond the economic and safety benefits to officers—merely a matter of interest convergence (Bell, 1980) where the impact on communities is superficial—CIT could facilitate a healthier relationship between police and community, with vast material effects on communities.

Recommendation 5: Structured reflection. To enhance the developmental and moral curriculum of the training and its application to practice, the CIT training could incorporate structured reflection as a daily component element of the course. In education, classrooms often use “Exit Tickets” at the end of each class to provide space for assessment, self-reflection, and growth on objectives. (See Appendix C for an example.) While I doubt officers would receive the strict structure of the exit ticket well, trainers could modify the exit ticket to promote self-reflection, either using written self-reflection or discussion at table groups. Either way, feedback on the written reflection or

a debrief as a whole group would monitor the quality of the reflection and allow trainers to promote growth. For example, they could have officers connect course content to their personal experiences: Tell about a situation you have had that you would handle differently based upon information from this course. Or, they could ask a specific question around body language or verbal patterns: What body language or verbal patterns do you notice in yourself that may be getting in the way of your goals? Or, they could ask about communities: What do you do that impacts your relationship with communities? What did you learn about the community in which you work? How do CIT skillsets influence the way you think about interactions with people of color? On the final day, asking a question like, What are your goals for utilizing CIT in your work?, could aid officers in creating a deliberate plan to incorporate CIT meaningfully in their work.

Questions such as these could model the thinking that the trainers and coaches are trying to elicit in the scenarios and, thus, promote CIT use on the streets. Moreover, intentional questioning that promotes growth and interrogates the officer's behaviors disrupts whiteness and the portrayal of police officers as objective, neutral, automatically good entities. It requires officers to examine the ways in which their words, actions, and decisions impact communities. Encouraging and exemplifying reflection in the course could shape dispositions toward CIT that would emerge on the job.

Participant feedback. I elicited a response from the primary trainer on the recommendations for CIT in particular and my analysis of this study in general, which I was going to include unaltered. At the time of submission, I had not yet received her response for inclusion here; however, I plan to follow-up and seek a dialogue with her.

Thoughts on Transformation

The police exist as part and parcel of a society constructed on domination, structured to most benefit a narrow set of white propertied interests. Institutions within the societal milieu breathe from and feed the maintenance of the structure. As long as the undergirding ideologies remain, reforms will only allay negative conditions—and preserve the overarching structure. This section considers a couple ideological transformations that ground work to break from dominating structures.

Transformation 1: Psychology that breaches universality. Though psychology is not my area of expertise, Shouhayib (2015) discussed the racism existent within psychology, both regarding psychologists and subjects: less than one-fifth of psychologists are people of color and about 80% of subjects of psychological research come from “Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic (WEIRD) societies.” These associated aspects of psychology produce substantial significance on what is studied, where, by whom, and for what purposes, bolstering an epistemology that over-represents whiteness as universal and creating a supposedly neutral sense of experience tied to individual decisions, history, and work ethic rather than historied access (Yakushko, 2018). Moreover, Cross (2017) noted that the epistemological foundation within counseling psychology programs often “reinforce—albeit unintentionally—universalist color-blind attitudes” (p. 699) as they overview the field in broad strokes, nuancing with time and experience. In effect, a universal, color-blind approach posits that people are “more alike than different” (p. 700) psychologically, the undergirding behavior assumption in CIT: “This is how people behave, and this is how people like or don't like

to be talked to, and that's pretty universal.” However, a universalist perspective provides a *partial* story because it fails to account for the role of cultural difference, in part related to threat.

Related to officer interactions on the street, Cross (2016) discussed the ahistorical nature of theorization of oppositional identities within Black communities by scholars such as Ogbu and Degruy as rooted in pathological views of Black psychology and communities. The notion of oppositional identities emerged in interviews, as officers noted the ways that “people who usually don’t look like me” yell or call them “White bitches.” In effect, theorizations of an oppositional identity reinforce negative stereotypes of Black individuals and communities as full of “family instability, Black-on-Black homicide, and gang violence” (p. 4). Rendering Black psychology as pathological while not considering—or contesting—the material and legal policies that influence conditions allows police to justify increased surveillance of communities of color—coded as “bad areas”—and view police actions as positive and necessary. Shifting understanding of Black psychology, for example, to an agential view, wherein Black resistance to law enforcement makes sense in a historical construction, predicated in part on the real fear of violence at the hand of law enforcement, could alter interactions. It requires, though, self-reflexivity to understand individual officers’ operation within the macro dynamics of society.

Within these psychological veins, potential studies on CIT could include charting the psychology of CIT through a critical lens. What are the features and assumptions within the current training, based in universal ideas of behavior? What would it look like

to base CIT on psychology that does not stem from a universalist, colorblind position? How would shifting the psychology within the training shift the skillsets taught and how? How could shifts be done to the psychology in the training without essentializing race or reinforcing the grand narrative? Other opportunities for psychological study include considerations of officer psychology: How does the racial identity development and/or racial bias of an officer influence the interpretation of CIT material? How does racial identity development and or racial bias of an officer influence discretion? Or, how does providing a historical account of Black communities, including the institutional factors that affect communities, build the racial literacy of officers? How does racial literacy shape decisions? Critical and social justice oriented psychological lenses and theories could enhance understandings of CIT to provide research-based alterations.

Transformation 2: Breaking good. The police narrative structure valorizes itself—“Of course, law enforcement, ‘bless their hearts,’ show up right away”—and privileges rationality, reason, and the law in its interactions. Story-telling, an ever-present mode of teaching and processing in the CIT course, creates a mythical rendering of police that protects their goodness in their eyes. The constant division between “good” officers and communities and “bad” dudes or areas evinced in police language—and normative discourse—externalizes contradiction: good and bad exist in “two entirely different entities” (Newton, 2002, p. 182). For example, an officer described the purpose of police as, “It’s good.” Fixing police as good—and only good, with a few bad apples—perpetuates a pervasive lack of self-awareness that renders criticism as illogical and authentic change toward community as improbable. As Newton (2002) described, “Good

and evil fight for control over people” (p. 182). Therefore, when good over-represents whiteness and evil over-represents people of color, and the police seek to control evil, what follows is a police force that exerts ultra-control on people of color. This has been a well-documented disparity in the application of law, education, housing, and police force.

Conceiving of bodies as singular reduces them to fragments, and coding as good or bad influences daily interactions. Certainly, the consequences of positioning someone on the bad/evil/damned/irrational side generates pernicious material effects and reduces people of color to less than human. However, the positioning of white people as good/saved/rational creates within them the need for constant approval and self-assurance, a toxic condition that perpetrates ideologies such as colorblindness, white supremacy, ableism, and heteronormativity to validate their status as good and evade guilt.

In *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1963/2004) explicated the psychological disorders that emerge within those who perpetrate violence as opposed to those who receive it, arguing that the effect of maintaining dominance with violence in all its forms—symbolic, material, physical, epistemological, ontological—is more corrosive than receiving violence. This is because inflicting violence requires the constant dehumanization of fellow humans. A police officer described detachment in this way:

There's like a fog. You have to figure out how far into the fog you're gonna have to go because if you go too far, you're not gonna be able to do anything. It's all gone. But if you're just a little bit out, then maybe you're not gonna feel it as much, but you're gonna get it and feel it enough where you can try to handle it...

If you get too far into the fog, you're going to completely detach, and you're just going to be robotic... If you're that far gone, then you can't even see it. Then comes the officiousness.

The consequence of detaching from human emotions to do the job develops officiousness on the job, which, in moments, is the brusque interactions. Cumulatively, moments of separation and discourtesy feed discretion. Taken one-by-one, the significance seems small; people handle rudeness all the time. Compounded, however, the dehumanization of the self by police to complete their work breeds dehumanization of those contacted, again over-representing people of color. The people dehumanized by police as agents of the State then act with callousness, resistance, or dehumanization—of themselves, their communities, or power structures, depending on their consciousness. Dehumanization, then, cycles, embedding itself in “the very structure of society” (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 219), fed by power and continued by each.

Officers see themselves and their work as good, so they accept the dehumanization, beginning to believe its verity. Police do encounter many ugly aspects of our society, and they see crimes and blood and exploitation. But, unlike the consistent comment for people in the community to take a wider view of the contextual factors of situations before criticizing police, police, who praise white men on Wall Street who effectively steal from communities while disparaging homeless populations, need to widen their view to see the crimes against humanity that white supremacy produces. They—and we all—need to look beyond our peephole (Martel, 2001) to what surrounds us in the milieu, as David Foster Wallace (2005) encourages in his piece, “This is Water,”

where the fish does not think about the water where it swims: in what environment are we swimming, and what do we—especially the white moderate—accept as natural?

Consequently, to establish a new dynamic, a societal ideological shift needs to occur that breaks notions of good and bad as singular, inherent traits to fluid conceptions of internal contradiction flowing through every body. Rather than operating from a fixed and teleological view, “new properties will come into existence” (Newton, 2002, p. 182) that allow people to embrace their full selves—rife with contradictions in a constant battle for integration. While embracing internal contradiction seems discomfiting for those clinging to the idea of self as good, nonracist, hard-working, kind, a relationship with the self—and how it engages society—is the first step to deconstruct harming institutions. Maintaining a stance as solely good requires dehumanization, for one because good cannot “exist without the other” (Zedong, 1987), necessitating a positioning of some as bad. Breaking good, hence, grounds an ideological shift toward a new way of being in the world beyond domination (Fanon, 1963/2004; Wynter, 2003).

Transformation musings. Some grassroots organizations strive for police abolition because, as Jessica Disu articulated, “our police is not working” (qtd. in Dukmasova, 2016). The move for police abolition sounds as ridiculous today as calls for ending slavery sounded in the early 1800s (Kendi, 2016). The police’s origins in slave patrols (Dukmasova, 2016; Kendi, 2016; Parenti, 2003) mark the police as an overtly race-based body from the beginning, a history that most people either do not know, fail to acknowledge, or disregard. What would the world look like without police, with, instead, a transformative justice approach that places the responsibility for community health and

protection on communities? How could an alternative approach be organized to prevent reinscription of the undergirding ideologies of white supremacy present everywhere? What would it look like to disarm the police? What else would have to change around gun control? What laws would need to change? Could the role of police be lessened by creating community bodies to engage more directly and consistently with communities so that police are not the first contact?

As one of my participants reflected, the world would indeed be chaos without police—if they were removed without anything surrounding them shifting. Fanon (1963/2004) and Wynter's (2003) concept of the “new Man” center police abolition and/or transformation. According to their lead, individual decolonization from ideologies of white supremacy and capitalism precede a re-orientation of Man because, without decolonization, “envy,” “fear,” and mimicry serve as impediments to a “new start... a new way of thinking” (Fanon, 1963/2004, p. 238-9). As Leonardo (2010) asserted, revolutions “are prepared for, through the reconstruction of common sense, the imagining of the possible, and remaking of consciousness” (p. 9). This requires an “epistemic de-linking” from colonial agendas to uncover the structural nature of knowledge formation “carefully hidden” (Mignolo, 2009, p. 2) in schools, businesses, police, laws, and governments. Such a movement toward the new stems from the wretched, in Fanon's (1963/2004) terms, the people who have been least served by society because they have least to lose. The system maintains enough comfort for enough people, conceding as part a power game that ultimately differentiates (Willis, 1981) most people acceding into its structure through the consent of hegemony (Leonardo, 2010).

Police enact a pivotal role in upholding white supremacy given their power and responsibilities. However, as mentioned throughout interviews, society at large—and the individuals comprising it—hold responsibility as well. An officer talked about the community criticism of police enforcement of homeless camping laws while also not taking action and responsibility for what goes on in their community: “[People] don't want to see certain things happen, or they want to see certain things happen so long as it doesn't impact them.” Hypocrisy lives within each of us, individually and institutionally; we must each address the ways we contribute to ongoing violence and white supremacy. What would it look like for communities to be self-responsible, not to divert criminals or push problems away, but address each person with care as human?

Concluding Thoughts

“Police brutality does not exist.”

Words sink down into my stomach.

Amidst the hum and whir of blenders,

my mind contests with names,

with images of families—

but I resist

the “second-hand violence” (McKittrick, 2014, p. 21)

of regurgitation

falling into notions of recognition—

if only they would recognize police brutality,

it would change.

But it's not in the recognition
or the utterance of the fact or lack thereof.
Thinking doesn't make it so—
no, Descartes—
police brutality is not only a fact,
a statistic
a number
an abstraction—
though it is that, too.
It is an experience.
Questioning the fact of its existence
does nothing to address the racial logics
and ideologies present in the statement
and underneath
that reverberate in structures and bodies.
The ideology—
based in neutrality, goodness, protection—
of what?
whiteness—
on the one side and
criminality, deviance, degeneration
on the other.

In law.

By law.

Under law.

From Justice to Humanness

Fanon (1963/2004) investigated the mindsets of colonizers in Algeria during the Algerian Revolution. In a conversation with an Algerian child who killed his European playmate, the child asked Fanon:

“Has there ever been a European arrested and imprisoned for the murder of an Algerian?” I [Fanon] replied that in fact I had never seen any Europeans in prison.

“And yet there are Algerians killed every day, aren’t there?”

“Yes.”

“So why are there only Algerians in prison? How do you explain that?”

“I can’t.” (p. 200)

Contradictions exist throughout our systems of thought, predicated on what Fanon (1952/2008) witnessed as the maneuvering of people of color into zones of nonbeing. Without destructing the relationships of domination knit by race into society, whiteness will continue to code crime as Black and Brown. Thus, rather than emphasizing justice, law, and order, our values ought to proclaim humanness above all else. Such a move may require complete transformation—or abolition—of the police. However, so many dynamics flow and breathe into the relationships between institution and individual—a

dynamic police evince—and these ideologies must be deconstructed to create something new (Fanon, 1963/2004; Wynter, 2003).

Implications and Future Research Directions

What I found in my study is a highly passionate person, open to growth and transparency, committed to communities and people, spearheading CIT. That passion is infectious and makes CIT tick in the City. Within the present societal context, CIT efforts to improve interactions and processes between police and communities through its focus on empathy and communication. And, as an officer claimed, “if you have any level of compassion or common sense... you’ve used CIT every single day.” This does not mean the program is flawless because an individual does not alter the broader system; however, each person comprises a piece. I developed deep respect for the acts of individuals who want to do the “right thing” in a system and society designed for injustice, oppression, and criminalization. As Hanafi et al. (2008) asserted and I witnessed through the training and interviews, CIT can increase officers’ feeling of self-efficacy in how to respond so they don’t have to “just make stuff up on the fly in hopes it works,” enhanced empathy, and more understanding of treatment options. CIT, if operating as intended, has the power to enhance interactions between police and communities, reducing the material effects of escalation that targets people with mental and behavioral health conditions and communities of color.

Therefore, much can be learned from CPD’s CIT training: the importance of alignment between intentions and operation; the positive effect of strong collaboration between clinicians, resources, and police officers; the value of realistic scenarios that

center both officer safety and experiences as well as deep reflection and feedback, facilitated by coaches; the power of treating officers in the class in an asset-oriented way, where they bring in skillsets; and the importance of strong presenters and story-telling to maintain engagement. The training demonstrates the value strong communication, respect, and transparency between constituents and depicts a strong sense of trust in utilizing CPD officer skillsets to create a context-specific training addressing weaknesses in the original model. The trainers presented an openness to learn by asking me what I thought about various components or how to present more effectively.

Lessons for growth from CPD's CIT training include increasing the connection between the operational curriculum in the course and the way CIT operates on the street, perhaps by clarifying paperwork protocols, incorporating space for reflection or structured video review, and enhancing structures to encourage CIT use, such as by having CIT coordinator meetings. Level 2 CIT, coming in 2019, will help fit the need for coaching on the streets. More critical to the focus of this work, CIT would be enhanced by incorporating psychology that breaches universalistic tendencies to create a more complete understanding of the ways sociocultural components influence experiences with behavioral and mental health. Because of the embeddedness of racism within institutions and laws, race influences both how people experience mental and behavior health and also how police perceive threat, influencing discretion about which skillsets to engage when and how. Moreover, pushing for a more complex rendering of self beyond the good/bad binary, perhaps through targeted reflection undertaken first in the CIT course and then extended to the street, could build racial literacy and perceptive sets that would

influence decisions. Direct address of race, rather than colorblind constructions, on the part of presenters could alter the space to be more critically conscious of the intersections of race, power, mental illness, community, and police.

Opportunities for further research include interrogating the psychological foundations of the training, as discussed in the “Psychology that breaches universality” section. Such a study could consider the features and assumptions of the current training around behavior through a psychological lens. Further, a study could propose alterations to the training to expand from a universality, colorblind tradition and consider how such shifts impact the skillsets in the course. Other students could center officer psychology and positionality to create a localized study of the role of individual consciousness in understandings of CIT material. In my small sample, I perceived distinct differences in both background of officers, racial consciousness, and, consequently, how they received the course. I choose not to delve into these particularities in this study because of my commitment to an institutional focus and to preserve confidentiality commitments with participants. Briefly, what individual officers bring into the training in terms of experience and identity seems to impact their willingness to engage with empathy and CIT skillsets. This connects to Morabito et al.’s (2012) call for officer-centered investigation and the need for research on the emotional aspects of police work. Also, a building racial literacy into the CIT training or a CIT 2 course and considering the effects would be an area for further study.

A major untapped area for investigation connects to the role and the relationship with community resources, in terms of what the resources are, how relationships and

partnerships are built, and how those resources affect both the police and the communities they aim to serve. Compton et al. (2008) encouraged studies from the perspective of affected communities. This could be around the role of NAMI in developing CIT, NAMI's perceptions and involvement with the CIT course, or interactions with officers trained in CIT—including a study that looks at gender or race-based interactions.

Finally, police and schools operate similarly around race, protecting/educating white people and disciplining/controlling people of color (Alexander, 2012; Fanon, 1963/2004; Stovall, 2016), CIT provides insight into ways to gain compliance—or think about classroom management—in schools. A study could look into classroom management trainings for teachers, such as Doug Lemov's (2010) highly touted—and highly white normative, controlling, and achievement test centric—*Teach Like a Champion* techniques and compare them to CIT skillsets valuable to education, such as communicating empathy. A “CIT in schools” class—if breaking from a universalist, colorblind tradition—could provide powerful skillsets for teachers for de-escalating situations in classrooms. Such a move would have ample opportunity for study, including its development, implementation, instructional arc, and effects.

Conclusion

Within the existing system, CIT programs hold immense promise and importance to provide police officers with the necessary skillsets to de-escalate crises and interact with communities in respectful, empathetic ways. In CPD, the passion of the officers and clinicians leading CIT as well as support from the chief of police creates a powerful

training that aligns its intents with its operations. The CIT leaders engage critically important work that has the potential to minimize force in crisis situations for the community's benefit.

However, society is white supremacist, capitalist, and patriarchal, and the police exist in that milieu. Policing, then is not value-neutral and discretion weights communities differently, even in the presence of expanded skillsets. Silence around mental health, pervasive colorblindness and whiteness, and an inability to bridge political differences in discourse evinces daily in societal discourse. Thus, “[police brutality] may not be the root of social process but rather its destiny, its final resting place. It may not be the cause but an effect of social processes” (Leonardo, 2010, p. 10). In other words, dynamics between police and society stem from every day, often seemingly small incidents of racial oppression and interactions between people, including the police. Police brutality emerges because people—especially white people—call the police to report “suspicious” Black people, for example, loitering in a Starbucks (Gathright & Sullivan, 2018) or golfing “too slowly” (Caron, 2018). People in the community uphold the differential access to space and acceptability, just as police do by surveilling hot spots and suspicious behaviors: “that car does not belong in my neighborhood.”

CIT, then, evinces the hidden components of violence, dehumanization, and whiteness from the society that surrounds police work. Police both exists because of these dynamics and simultaneously reinforces them. CIT's blind spots to the role of whiteness in behavior and in officer decision-making stunts its potential to affect community conditions substantively. CIT over-represents white behaviors as normative and neglects

to consider the way that race impacts people's experiences in the world as well as how they are read. To some, this omission may seem irrelevant or inconsequential, but it is the everyday discretion that compounds to enable incidents of brutality. Brutality, then, does not exist in isolation, but feeds on daily dynamics, inscribed into the workings of the police to deem their discretionary decisions as "objectively reasonable."

Eldridge Cleaver, a prominent member of the Black Panther Party, articulated the relationship between police and the Black community: "The police are the armed guardians of the social order. The blacks are the chief domestic victims of the social order... A conflict of interest exists, therefore, between blacks and the police" (qtd. in Kendi, 2016, p. 401). In other words, a social order that over-represents white, cisgender, heterosexual Man as definitional human creates laws and norms that privilege said Man, which the police enforces. The preservation of this Man requires the dehumanization and exploitation of Black people and their communities, a dynamic which is, thus, embedded into the relationship between Black people and police. The police exist to maintain a white supremacist order, inscribed into law, institution, and ideology. Simply existing as Black violates society's constructed order, so the police, by the nature of their position, enact decisions of domination under the guise of neutrality, colorblindness, objectivity, and justice, somehow preserving a sense of moral superiority amidst actions fraught with contradiction.

Throughout my study, the Biblical image of the speck and the plank centered my mind's eye: "Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother's eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye?" (Matthew 7:3 New International Version). The

police look at the so-called heightened violence and criminality in Black communities and attribute them to the racist idea that Black communities possess inherent violence or inferiority (Bonilla-Silva, 2014) while neglecting outright the plank of white supremacy that influences the trajectory of light reflecting onto the retina. Officers kept referring to community members not understanding the whole context of negative interactions between police and community, but they did not see beyond the incident to the historically-rooted ideologies surrounding the micro-context. CIT—yes, a powerful program that can alter interactions between police and community for positive effect—exists within society, and, yet, CIT ignores the full ramifications of that connection. Because of its neglect of the role of racial logics in the construction of police writ large and also on micro-level decisions, CIT buttresses the plank in the eye by utilizing its verbal tactics to justify police decisions. CIT, then, as a police response to address accusations of police brutality, may bolster the milieu of police brutality by including verbal tactics without altering—or even addressing—the laws or racial logics underneath. In effect, CIT’s colorblindness and feigned neutrality and objectivity *sustain over-*represented Man as white and universal while promoting police as good and moral. Thus, CIT and its palatability can *improve* micro and daily interactions even as it bolsters police legitimacy, societal conditions for police brutality, and the surveillance of communities of color.

To borrow from CIT content, it is the impact, not the intent of the program, that matters, and CIT does not exist in isolation. How can police be racially literate when our education system, media, and popular discourse perpetuate colorblindness and an

inaccurate history, built off conquest, domination, and control? (Tuck & Yang, 2012). As Mignolo (2009) asserted, we as schools, police, and individuals must de-link from colonial thinking to grapple with and alter power dynamics in knowledge formation, shifting what we teach and consider as knowledge—and how we operate together in communities. We must account for history and its kinesis that continue to create conditions. And—most importantly—we ought to be accountable to humanness, even if that means breaking systems, structures, and even ideologies held within ourselves.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Protocols for Trainers

First Interview Protocol: Trainers

Interview Preparation Checklist:

- Call or text to confirm date, time, and location
- Consent form with extra copies
- Copies of interview guide
- Recording device
- Microphone, if needed
- Notepad
- Pens/pencils
- Business card

Introduction

Introduce myself, including where I grew up and what I study at DU to situate myself in the project. Say: This interview will allow me to gather data around your experiences with Crisis Intervention Training and how it influences your police work. It seeks to provide an asset-oriented (explain) and nuanced portrayal of your experiences and situate them in the context of literature on related topics. The professor advising me and I will be the only ones to have access to any of the data, and the original data on the audiotape will be destroyed as soon as I have transcribed and member-checked the interviews. Everything I gather through this study will be member-checked, meaning that you will be able to add to or alter pieces for accuracy prior to the writing. (Review consent. Ask for questions.)

My interview questions will focus on your experiences with Crisis Intervention, both in the training itself and in relation to your work, to get a sense of your perceptions and experiences. You are welcome to let me know if there are questions you are uncomfortable answering. You may also provide ideas for topics to explore further if a question doesn't quite get to it. You have the power to end the interview at any time, voiding consent. The interview will last about an hour.

Interview Guide

Prior to Starting: State my name, the name of the participant, the location and time, and the purpose of the interview (record)

Basic Demographics:

- Date of Birth
- Sex
- Race or ethnic background
- Where are you from?

Questions:

1. What is the history of CIT Training?
2. In your perspective, what is the purpose of CIT Training? What values does it reflect?
3. I am curious about how you became interested in Crisis Intervention Training (CIT) as a trainer. What are some experiences that led you to this work?
4. What do you consider the intentions of the training?
5. In your experience, how does CIT impact individual police officers?
6. In your experience, how does CIT impact the police department as a whole?
7. In your experience, how does CIT impact the relationships between police officers and community members?
8. What are your intentions in facilitating CIT Training? What do you want to achieve?
9. How do you know if you met your intentions?
10. In your perspective, what is the role of police officers?
11. How do you view your role as a trainer in relation to your ideas about the role of police officers?
12. What are experiences you have had that shape the way you think about your role as a trainer?
13. Have you experienced any shifts in your perceptions of your work as a trainer? If so, what caused them?
14. What was your opinion and experience with crisis intervention prior to the training? (Do you have an example?)
15. Tell me about the training itself: What did you do in the training? How did you do it?
16. How has CIT Training influence your opinion and experiences of crisis intervention? (Can you provide an example?)
17. Tell me about what you consider as the relationship between police and the community.
18. Have you experienced any shifts in your perceptions of your relationship with the community? (What aspect of the community? i.e., mental health, race) If so, what caused them?
19. Tell me about where you grew up. (Geographic location? Physical characteristics of the home/neighborhood?)
20. Who/what influenced your work the most?
21. What do you consider success when engaging with CIT work?
22. What are some experiences that shaped how you perceive crisis intervention?
23. What are some experiences that shaped who you are and/or how you perceive yourself?
24. From where did/do you most gain support for your work?
25. What is most important to you?
26. What hinders your success as a trainer? What barriers exist?

(If the participant seems to have a lot more left to discuss, ask if they would be willing to have a follow-up interview prior to the training.)

Second or Third Interview Protocol

Interview Preparation Checklist

- Call or text to confirm date, time, and location
- Consent form with extra copies
- Copies of interview guide
- Recording device
- Microphone, if needed
- Notepad
- Pens/pencils
- Business card

Introduction

Greet participant. Say: This interview will allow me to gather additional data for an intergenerational narrative. As a reminder, the professor advising me and I will be the only ones to have access to any of the data, and the original data on the audiotape will be destroyed as soon as I have transcribed and member-checked the interviews. Everything I gather through this study will be member-checked, meaning that you will be able to add to or alter pieces prior to the narrative's writing. (Remind of consent. Ask for questions.) You are welcome to be involved in the actual writing and construction of the narratives, particularly your own, as well as the publication route of the piece. I will review options for this throughout.

My interview questions today will continue to focus on your educational experiences, both in school and with your family and community, to get a sense of your perceptions and experiences. Today, I will specifically focus on deepening your responses and gathering specific examples. You are welcome to let me know if there are questions you are uncomfortable answering. You may also provide ideas for topics to explore further if a question doesn't quite get to it. You have the power to end the interview at any time, voiding consent. The interview will last about an hour.

Interview Guide

I will transcribe the first interview before conducting the second interview. The questions for the second interview will largely come from first, either follow-up questions to what the participant communicated, or questions that we did not discuss.

Prior to Starting: State my name, the name of the participant, the location and time, and the purpose of the interview (record)

*Below are additional questions to consider for the second or third interview (in addition to unanswered questions, go more in depth on a question answered, or connect to something the participant said in first interview):

- What did you expect me to ask?
- What advice might you give your younger self to guide you as a police officer?

- Would you do anything different with your work knowing what you know now?
- What reflections do you have about what you have shared?
- What is it like to work with CIT training?
- What stories illustrate your work?

FOLLOW-UP Statements (for both interviews):

- Can you give an example of what you mean?
- What was that experience like?
- Tell me more about...
- Can you help me understand how that affected...
- I am confused by...
- If the story seems off topic... Can you help me make the connection between ___ story and the topic?

Closing (for both interviews):

- Provide my business card so the participant can email/call/text me with follow-up information.
- Thank the participant.
- Touch base about the process/next interview, including what I hope we will be able to talk about based on the first interview.
- If there is anything you would like to talk about next interview, please bring them.

Appendix B: Interview Protocols for Officer-Participants

First Interview Protocol: Officer-Participants

Interview Preparation Checklist

- Call or text to confirm date, time, and location
- Consent form with extra copies
- Copies of interview guide
- Recording device
- Microphone, if needed
- Notepad
- Pens/pencils
- Business card

Introduction

Introduce myself, including where I grew up and what I study at DU to situate myself in the project. Say: This interview will allow me to gather data around your experiences with Crisis Intervention Training and how it influences your police work. It seeks to provide an asset-oriented (explain) and nuanced portrayal of your experiences and situate them in the context of literature on related topics. The professor advising me and I will be the only ones to have access to any of the data, and the original data on the audiotape will be destroyed as soon as I have transcribed and member-checked the interviews. Everything I gather through this study will be member-checked, meaning that you will be able to add to or alter pieces for accuracy prior to the writing. (Review consent. Ask for questions.)

My interview questions will focus on your experiences with Crisis Intervention, both in the training itself and in relation to your police work, to get a sense of your perceptions and experiences. You are welcome to let me know if there are questions you are uncomfortable answering. You may also provide ideas for topics to explore further if a question doesn't quite get to it. You have the power to end the interview at any time, voiding consent. The interview will last about an hour.

Interview Guide

Prior to Starting: State my name, the name of the participant, the location and time, and the purpose of the interview (record)

Basic Demographics:

- Date of Birth
- Sex
- Race or ethnic background
- Where are you from?

Questions:

1. I am curious about how you became interested in becoming a police officer. What are some experiences that led you to become a police officer?

2. In your perspective, what is the role of police? Of yourself as an officer?
 3. What are experiences you have had that shape the way you think about your role as a police officer?
 4. Have you experienced any shifts in your perceptions of your work as a police officer? If so, what caused them?
 5. In your perspective, what is the purpose of Crisis Intervention Training? What values does it reflect?
 6. What was your opinion and experience with crisis intervention prior to the training? (Do you have an example?)
 7. Tell me about the training itself: What did you do in the training? How did you do it?
 8. How did the training influence your opinion and experiences with crisis intervention? (Can you provide an example?)
 9. Tell me about what you consider as the relationship between police and the community.
 10. Have you experienced any shifts in your perceptions of your relationship with the community? (What aspect of the community? i.e., mental health, race) If so, what caused them?
 11. Tell me about where you grew up. (Geographic location? Physical characteristics of the home/neighborhood?)
 12. Who/what influenced your police work the most?
 13. What do you consider success when engaging with police work?
 14. What are some experiences that shaped who you are and/or how you perceive yourself?
 15. What are some experiences that shaped how you perceive crisis intervention?
 16. From where did/do you most gain support for your work?
 17. What is most important to you?
 18. What hinders your success as a police officer? What barriers exist?
- (If the participant seems to have a lot more left to discuss, ask if they would be willing to have a follow-up interview.)

Second or Third Interview Protocol

Interview Preparation Checklist

- Call or text to confirm date, time, and location
- Consent form with extra copies
- Copies of interview guide
- Recording device
- Microphone, if needed
- Notepad
- Pens/pencils
- Business card

Introduction

Greet participant. Say: This interview will allow me to gather additional data for an intergenerational narrative. As a reminder, the professor advising me and I will be the only ones to have access to any of the data, and the original data on the audiotape will be destroyed as soon as I have transcribed and member-checked the interviews. Everything I gather through this study will be member-checked, meaning that you will be able to add to or alter pieces prior to the narrative's writing. (Remind of consent. Ask for questions.) You are welcome to be involved in the actual writing and construction of the narratives, particularly your own, as well as the publication route of the piece. I will review options for this throughout.

My interview questions today will continue to focus on your educational experiences, both in school and with your family and community, to get a sense of your perceptions and experiences. Today, I will specifically focus on deepening your responses and gathering specific examples. You are welcome to let me know if there are questions you are uncomfortable answering. You may also provide ideas for topics to explore further if a question doesn't quite get to it. You have the power to end the interview at any time, voiding consent. The interview will last about an hour.

Interview Guide

I will transcribe the first interview before conducting the second interview. The questions for the second interview will largely come from first, either follow-up questions to what the participant communicated, or questions that we did not discuss.

Prior to Starting: State my name, the name of the participant, the location and time, and the purpose of the interview (record)

*Below are additional questions to consider for the second or third interview (in addition to unanswered questions, go more in depth on a question answered, or connect to something the participant said in first interview):

- What did you expect me to ask?
- What advice might you give your younger self to guide you as a police officer?
- Would you do anything different with your police work knowing what you know now?
- What reflections do you have about what you have shared?
- What is it like to be a police officer? What is it like to be a police officer trained in crisis intervention?
- What stories illustrate your work?

FOLLOW-UP Statements (for both interviews):

- Can you give an example of what you mean?
- What was that experience like?
- Tell me more about...
- Can you help me understand how that affected...

- I am confused by...
- If the story seems off topic... Can you help me make the connection between ___ story and the topic?

Closing (for both interviews):

- Provide my business card so the participant can email/call/text me with follow-up information.
- Thank the participant.
- Touch base about the process/next interview, including what I hope we will be able to talk about based on the first interview.
- If there is anything you would like to talk about next interview, please bring them.

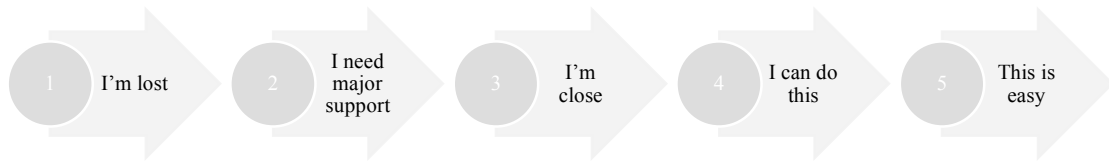
Appendix C: Example Exit Ticket

Name:

Date:

Objective	
Rationale (Why is this relevant to you?)	
Checkpoint	

Self-Assessment: Rate your progress on today's objective:



What support do you need to meet the objective?

Plus/delta about today's class: what went well? What should we change?

Appendix D: Tables

Table A2

Data Collection Plan

1 month before the training	Training Week	1 month after the training
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 1st interview with each trainer• Transcribe interviews• Revise interview protocols• Conduct 2nd interview with trainers (as needed)• Journaling	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Observe CIT Training• Informal conversations• Journaling	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 2nd or 3rd interview with trainer• 1st and 2nd interview with each police officer• Transcribe interviews• Member check trainer interviews• Journaling